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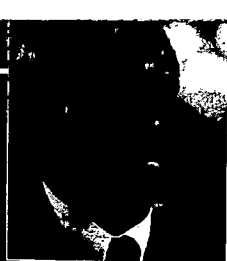
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CLARENCE THOMAS: The Pain of Being Black



Can This Man Save Our Schools?

**EDUCATION SECRETARY
LAMAR ALEXANDER**

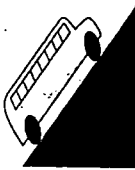


COVER STORIES

Tough Choice

Lamar Alexander claims to have a cure for the sorry U.S. public-school system. Right or wrong, something must be done.

By WALTER SHAPIRO



Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is a great equalizer of conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery.

—Horace Mann, 1848

How noble the dream, how ignoble the modern reality. Mann's crowning achievement was the 19th century American common school, a place where children from all backgrounds could nurture democracy through a shared educational experience. Not very long ago, that vision seemed an eternal verity, enshrined in the public-school system. But over the past generation, the balance wheel of the social machinery began to wobble badly. American schools today, as any parent knows, are anything but equal. And education, rather than bringing students together, has become a social dividing line, separating children rich with choices in life from those doomed to have nearly none.

The crisis of the common school, the American public school, is that all too commonly it fails to educate. By almost every measure, the nation's schools are mired in mediocrity—and most Americans know it. Whether it is an inner-city high school with as many security checkpoints as a Third World airport, or a suburban middle school where only "geeks" bother to do their homework, the school too often has become a place in which to serve time rather than to learn. The results are grimly apparent: clerks at fast-food restaurants who need computerized cash registers to show them how to make change; Americans who can drive but cannot read the road signs; a democracy in which an informed voter is a statistical oddity.

Since the 1950s and the era of *Why Johnny Can't Read*, Americans have worried about the quality of their schools. But this time around, the focus of that anxiety, even desperation, is not the teachers, the curriculum or the school budgets. Instead, public education itself, the very notion that government should run the schools, is under attack. Powerful figures, including

President George Bush and his Education Secretary, Lamar Alexander, have begun to assail the public schools as a self-satisfied, self-protective monopoly that needs to feel the hot breath of free-market competition. They pose a radical alternative: rather than one common school for all, many kinds of schools—public and private—competing for students, government funds and excellence, with parents and children of all walks of life free to choose among them.

This evolving movement—an odd amalgam of supply-side conservatives, frustrated educational reformers and a handful of militant black politicians—has begun to take shape on the national stage. Under the banner of "school choice," its adherents are pressing for some form of public financing to cover student tuition at private and even parochial schools. If cost were not a barrier, these schools could then compete with public schools for students.

No issue cuts closer to the core of America's sense of itself than the character of its public schools; for education is the function of government closest to the people. A lack of confidence in the public schools is nothing less than a failure of the state—different in degree, but not kind, from food lines in the communist Soviet Union. And the Bush Administration's impulse to rely on free-market forces in education has strong echoes in the surge to privatize state-owned industry and bureaucracy, not only across the U.S. but also around the world.

But Choice, the latest answer to the education crisis, raises other questions. If the free market is the only anti-

dote to top-heavy school bureaucracies and time-serving teachers, is America fast becoming an Ayn Rand universe in which everything—even the education of the young—is measured only by its price? Can government provide enough money to open the better private schools to all students? Is Choice merely a scheme to perform triage on failing inner-city schools, al-

WISCONSIN

Last September, Milwaukee offered low-income parents the option of using vouchers worth \$2,500 each for enrollment in private, nonsectarian schools. The plan is being challenged in the courts, and only a few students have been involved: 258 of 1,000 who were eligible.

Directors of the five small inner-city private schools in the plan claim to be pleased with the newcomers' performances, though the adjustment was difficult: the 101 Choice students at one school, for example, entered the institution behind their peers academically. The Milwaukee experiment is too small to be fully evaluated, but many of the children who were lagging as that year began are now reading at grade level.

Language class at the private Woodlands School in Milwaukee

lowing a few motivated students to escape and leaving the rest to fend for themselves?

With only a handful of educational experiments to point to—and none a valid test of truly free parental Choice—these questions defy clear-cut answers. Still, throughout the country there is a growing movement to make the traditional educational system less arbitrary and to grant parents more choices, often among competing public schools. But in no school district in the nation do parents have an unlimited right to pick any school for their children—that is, of course, unless they are able to pay private-school tuition.

This is the central tenet of the Choice argument: today most parents can select their children's schools, except the poor. Affluent parents exercise choice in the real estate market when they shop around to buy the right house in the right school dis-

HOW BUSH'S CHOICE PLAN WOULD WORK

States would pay for students to attend any school they selected—even private or parochial institutions.

Washington would:

- **Offer \$30 million in grants for states to design school Choice experiments.**
- **Provide \$200 million to help disadvantaged students participate in Choice programs.**
- **Change existing laws so that disadvantaged students would not lose federal aid if they changed schools under Choice programs, a reform worth as much as \$5.5 billion.**

trict. A choice of good schools was the lure as millions of middle-class white families fled the central cities during the past 40 years, leaving behind education systems unalterably segregated by race and class. Urban families that can scrape up tuition have flocked to parochial and other private schools. As Chester Finn Jr., a former Assistant Secretary of Education, puts it, "The only people who can't flee inner-city schools are the residents of the inner city."

True enough, but even with that ineq-

uity in mind, it remains murky how Choice might work in practice. The idea has its roots in the "voucher system," first proposed by conservative economist Milton Friedman in 1955, which would abolish existing school budgets and turn the money into tuition grants that students could use to enroll anywhere. This extreme free-market proposal would literally destroy the public schools in order to save them.

Few advocates of Choice are willing to go that far. Instead, the most plausible idea is a system of tuition grants large enough to enable all parents to afford a wide array of private and perhaps parochial or other religious schools, if that is what they think best for their children's education. Public schools would continue to operate, but each would have to justify its existence by attracting enough students in this new educational free market. This form of Choice gained mainstream re-



JAMES SCHNEPP FOR TIME



MASSACHUSETTS

Since 1981, the 7,700 students of the Cambridge school system have been able to name the three public schools they would prefer to attend; final assignment depends on available space and racial balance. The 14 district schools offer specialties ranging from classes for the academically gifted to remedial-reading groups. High school students can select from nine programs that include teenage parenting and work-study arrangements. During the past four years, reading and math scores have improved district-wide and the dropout rate has decreased. Parents generally laud the system but are concerned that some programs are superior to others.

Climbing high in Cambridge's Robert F. Kennedy School

spectability last year when the Brookings Institution, a liberal Washington think tank, published *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*, by John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe. The Brookings plan mandates a key role for state and local governments in monitoring school quality, educating parents and creating financial incentives for private schools to enroll disadvantaged students.

Well-intentioned policy proposals are as common a coinage in Washington as unproduced movie scripts are in Hollywood. Star power is what gets an idea off the shelf: a presidential endorsement is the governmental equivalent of a phone call from Kevin Costner. Bush, unveiling his educational strategy in mid-April, included this provocative passage: "It's time parents were free to choose the schools that their children attend. This approach will create the competitive climate that stimulates excellence in our private and parochial schools as well." For the first time, a President has made it a priority to question the monopoly power of America's public schools. In a few years, Choice has moved from the intellectual fringe to the bully pulpit of the White House.

Make no mistake, a major part of the allure of Choice in the frugal '90s is that it promises a radical restructuring of American schools with a minimal investment of federal funds. To buttress the Bush education strategy, the White House has offered legislative proposals that request \$230 million to support state and local Choice experiments. That is only a little more than

the total that the National League charged Miami and Denver groups for their baseball expansion franchises.

Rhetorically, at least, the Bush team is sparing no expense to embrace a far-reaching definition of Choice—including aid to parochial schools, if that will pass the hurdle of the First Amendment. Education Secretary Alexander has called government support of parochial-school students "as American as apple pie." Although the Administration would largely let the states set their own rules for Choice experiments, Alexander hopes eventually to erode the ironclad distinction between public and private education.

Despite the Administration's zeal, there are grave doubts whether Congress or the electorate is eager to enlist under the banners of unfettered Choice. The nation's 2.3 million-member teachers' unions and most other education groups are downright hostile toward aid to private or religious schools. Michael Casserly, a public-school lobbyist in Washington, predicts that Congress will not "turn over public money to private schools when the members believe the Administration is not doing all it can on public schools."

Strong public antipathy to aiding private and sectarian schools complicates the Choice debate. The issue is ready-made for grandstanding, even demagoguery. Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, hypothetically asks, "Do we really want tax dollars supporting Muslim schools that teach their students it is an obligation to assassinate Salman Rush-

die?" These hyperbolic comments from the senior statesman of teachers'-union leaders underline how divisive church-state questions are in education.

But to bar all religious schools from participating in Choice experiments would automatically toss out Roman Catholic parochial schools—the often successful large-scale competitor to troubled inner-city public schools. As political scientist Chubb, one of the authors of the Brookings plan, says, "We would insist that if there is genuine Choice, there has to be genuine competition. If there is competition, there must be alternative providers other than the existing public schools."

With few empty seats in most private and parochial schools, a valid test of Choice requires a dramatic expansion of the supply side. Otherwise, the risk is that Choice will prove to be little more than a government subsidy to parents who already pay private or parochial tuition for their children. Yet the Bush Administration cannot mandate the creation of alternative schools. Washington can goad and coax with the carrot of federal money, but revamping public education is largely beyond the purview of the White House and Congress.

Nonetheless, the traditional structure of public education, where students are assigned to schools by fiat, is under a sustained assault. The Bush plan perhaps should be regarded as a clever White House effort to put its imprimatur on a popular rebellion that was already reshaping educational policy from the grass roots

CALIFORNIA

The Richmond unified school district, northeast of San Francisco, adopted a Choice program in 1988—and it was costly. All 47 schools became specialized. Along with a basic curriculum, elementary- and secondary-school pupils could select from among 250 programs; courses included computer science and video production. Dropout numbers shrank and school-attendance rates improved, but student test scores were mostly unchanged. To hire new teachers and purchase classroom equipment, the district piled up a \$29 million debt. This year Richmond declared itself bankrupt, and students completed the last semester after a court ruled that the state had to keep schools open.

Making videos in a class at Richmond's Adams Middle School



up. Local school bureaucracies are already under siege from a variety of forces—innovative Governors, activist courts, maverick educators and aroused parents.

These potentially explosive changes, all happening beyond the orbit of Washington policymakers, include:

PUBLIC-SCHOOL CHOICE. The alternative-schools movement of the early 1970s gave parents in some cities options beyond sending their children to the neighborhood school. Prodded by desegregation orders from the courts, many urban school districts now practice open enrollment, which permits parents to place their children in any public school with vacant seats as long as racial balance is maintained. Some of these public-school Choice experiments (notably Cambridge, Mass.; St. Paul; and a New York City district in East Harlem) have been praised for encouraging innovation and raising student performance.

Beginning with Minnesota in 1988, and followed by Arkansas, roughly 15 states have taken the next step and have enacted or are seriously debating legislation to allow children to attend public schools outside their own districts. Again, such cross-district transfers are generally not

permitted if they would undermine racial balance; white students, for example, cannot opt out of schools in Minneapolis or Little Rock. So far, few parents have taken advantage of their newly found freedom; in Minnesota about 1% of the state's students have attended schools outside the districts where they reside. Choice advocates believe that the principle is as important as any numerical test. "People need to know they can walk away from bad schools," argues Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton. "Choice changes the psychology of it."

The consensus in Minnesota—the state with the largest open-enrollment plan—is

that public-school Choice works as far as it goes. True, there is some evidence that black and Hispanic parents, in particular, receive limited information about their school options. Transportation costs also could become a public burden if many more students decide to cross district lines. "Open enrollment has been fully in effect for only one year," summarizes Van Mueller, a professor of education policy at the University of Minnesota. "We don't know much, but almost all the participants are pretty happy with it. And most parents made their choice based on academics, not on finding the best soccer coach."

What kind of job are U.S. public schools doing educating children?

Very good ■ 5%
Good ■ 37%
Poor ■ 37%
Very poor ■ 18%

Do you favor or oppose using public-education money to give parents a choice of sending their children to private or religious schools?

Favor ■ 28%
Oppose ■ 68%

What kind of job are public schools in your community doing educating children?

Very good ■ 13%
Good ■ 45%
Poor ■ 27%
Very poor ■ 10%

Is it a good idea to give parents more choice over the schools their children attend even if some schools would be nearly all white and others all black?

Yes ■ 48%
No ■ 42%

THE PRIVATE-SCHOOL OPTION.

It began as a last-minute 1989 budget compromise in Wisconsin, an odd-couple deal between Tommy Thompson, the conservative Republican Governor, and Polly Williams, a black-separatist Democratic state representative from Milwaukee. The result was a virtually unprecedented school-voucher plan: the state approved legislation that would allow a group of inner-city Milwaukee students to attend private schools with \$2,500 tuition grants. Bitterly opposed by the N.A.A.C.P. and teachers' unions, the program was delayed for a year

From a nationwide poll of 500 Americans each by TIME/CNN on May 31. For more details, see the survey on p. 57 or enter A-57 on the survey card.

NEW YORK

Manhattan's District 4 once had an abysmal attendance rate and the city's lowest reading scores. The East Harlem area's 20 school buildings have been reorganized to contain 52 separately run institutions in order to give children a greater sense of community. Junior high students can choose among 23 schools, some with a traditional curriculum and others with a specific focus. This year the district was No. 2 in reading in Manhattan, and attendance among its 14,000 students stood at 90%.

Delving into science at Central Park East Secondary School in East Harlem



and whittled down in size. "What about the common school?" Williams asks in response to her critics. "How come nobody talked about destroying the system when the whites left? Now they want to block poor kids from leaving."

But what can a 258-student experiment reveal about how a free market in education would work? There are, after all, 97,000 students in the Milwaukee public schools. Without greater funding and many more alternative schools, the voucher plan will remain mostly a symbol of black anger at the quality of public education. Herbert Grover, Wisconsin's superin-

tendent of public instruction and a fierce opponent of the voucher program, argues, "Our preppy President went to Phillips Academy, which costs about \$13,000 a year. But it's O.K. to set a limit of \$2,500 for little black kids."

Polly Williams has inspired free-market visionaries elsewhere in the country. A proposal to provide tuition vouchers for 5,000 students in troubled New York schools was defeated this summer by the State Board of Regents by a surprisingly narrow margin. And a private corporation, the Golden Rule Insurance Co., has pledged to donate \$1.2 million over the

next three years to help 748 inner-city students in Indianapolis attend private schools.

CORPORATE SCHOOLS. Despite the pro-business rhetoric of national life, America has always been wary of mixing the profit motive with education. Private schools are usually run by not-for-profit boards rather than corporations worrying about second-quarter earnings. But in the middle-class suburb of Eagan, Minn., just south of St. Paul, Tesseract is a 200-student private elementary school run as a business by Education Alternatives, a for-profit company

Breaching the Church-State Wall

In proposing a voucher system that would subsidize the tuition of children who choose parochial schools, the Bush Administration is confronting one of the nation's sacrosanct principles: the First Amendment's stricture against "establishment of religion" creates a wall between church and state. That hurdle, while high, may not be impossible to surmount.

Over the years the Supreme Court has wrestled with the distinction between direct funding of religious institutions, which is forbidden, and indirect aid that is designed to serve a secular purpose, which may be permissible.

One guiding interpretation is the court's 1947 *Everson v. Board of Education* decision, which said public money could be spent on busing New Jersey parochial school students because it benefited the children. But funds could not go directly to the school involved because tax money could not be used to support any "institution which teaches the tenets and faith of any church." In 1971 the court strengthened that position further when it ruled in *Lemon v. Kurtzman* that the state could

not reimburse private religious schools for the costs of teaching secular subjects. Chief Justice Warren Burger set forth a stiff tripartite test for legitimate government aid. There must be a secular purpose; the principal effect must neither advance nor limit religion; nothing done should foster "an excessive government entanglement with religion."

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ."

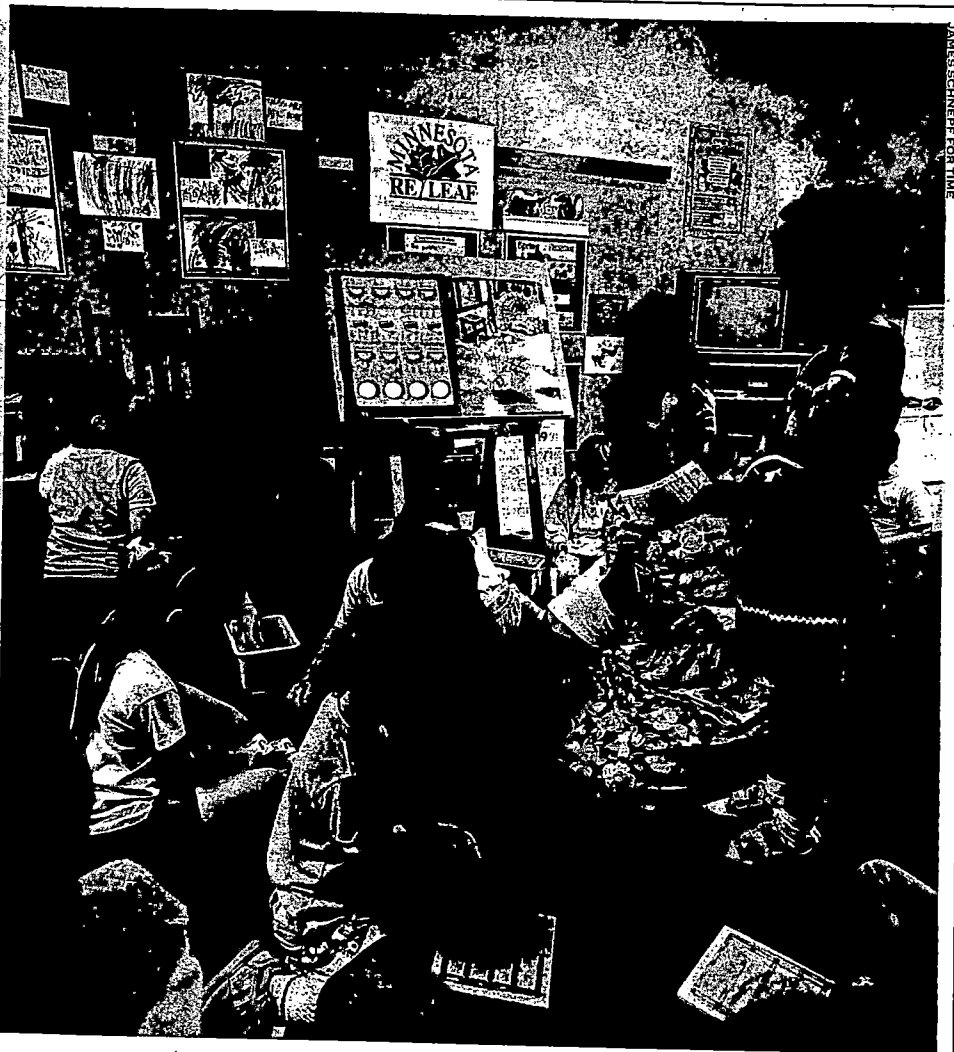
In recent years the court has been divided on the proper scope of government aid—direct or indirect—to sectarian schools. In 1983, by a 5-to-4 vote, it let stand a Minnesota law that permits parents to deduct parochial school tuition from their state income taxes.

Many experts believe there is a good chance the court would uphold a voucher plan like the one the Administration proposes. "It is exceedingly unlikely that this will be seen as a forbidden form of establishment," says Harvard law professor Laurence Tribe, a leading constitutional scholar. "Given the existing doctrine about the separation of church and state, I do not see a serious First Amendment problem in a reasonably written voucher program."

MINNESOTA

Last fall a program went into effect allowing students to enroll in any public school anywhere in the state. There are two restrictions: mandated racial balances in St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth must be maintained, and lack of available space at any school is cause for refusing admission. In the 1990-91 school year, 5,940 of 740,000 students made the switch; although this is a tiny minority—less than 1% of those eligible—state educators think the system will have long-term benefits. Small rural communities, for example, are creating magnet schools to attract new pupils. As a result of the plan, and related choice programs, more Minnesota students say they are satisfied with their schools, more are aiming for college, and some dropouts are returning.

Introduction to learning in St. Paul's Downtown Kindergarten Magnet



spun off in 1986 from multibillion-dollar Control Data. With Spanish lessons in the preschool, dozens of computers in the elementary grades and free-flowing wall-less classrooms, the school appears a success, though the secret seems more a dedicated staff flocking to an educational experiment than the magic elixir of the profit motive.

Education Alternatives originally envisioned running a national chain of for-profit schools. Instead, the company soon realized its primary skills were in teaching and management, not bricks and mortar. Last week, in another intriguing experiment, the company began operating a new public elementary school in an impoverished Hispanic neighborhood in Miami Beach. The firm has a contract from the Dade County school system, which was desperate to try new managerial techniques. "If we succeed with public-school teachers and these children in Dade County," says Kathryn Thomas, who oversees the project for Education Alternatives, "it will be Katie bar the door."

Far more ambitious are the aims of entrepreneur Chris Whittle, whose company, Whittle Communications, is partly owned by Time Warner. (Last week the Manhattan investment firm Forstmann Little & Co. agreed to buy a one-third interest for

\$350 million.) Whittle has announced plans to spend up to \$3 billion to create a coast-to-coast network of for-profit private schools that theoretically could enroll 2 million students by the year 2010. What Whittle—and other corporations that may follow in its wake—adds to the Choice debate is the potential to vastly expand the supply of schools that might compete with the public sector. But the stigma surrounding profitmaking schools makes even the Bush Administration nervous. "We don't see moving in the direction of for-profit public schools," says Assistant Secretary of Education Bruno Manno. "Our plan is more closely along the lines of supporting what's in the not-for-profit sector."

Still, new schools might embrace new social roles as they compete for "customers" by providing a greater array of services. This notion is buttressed by a two-year assessment of U.S. school systems sponsored by the advertising firm of Young & Rubicam. The researchers warned that the schools had become an inadequate receptacle for America's social problems. In response, they called for the creation of new types of schools, especially in the inner cities. Such schools would go beyond their traditional educational role to function as all-day community centers

that would provide social-welfare services, medical clinics and a healthy after-school environment.

Author Nicholas Lemann in *The Promised Land*—his best-selling study of black migration from the South—demonstrates that "community action" became a linchpin of the 1960s War on Poverty, even though few policymakers understood its mischievous implications. Lemann quotes a key Johnson Administration official as saying that community action (mobilizing the poor to pressure the local political establishment) "might lead somewhere, but we didn't know where." What makes this historical point relevant and disconcerting is that the same can be said about current White House support for unrestricted Choice: no one knows what it will produce. For as Bush White House domestic policy adviser Roger Porter puts it, "The Administration is committed to shaking up the system and breaking the mold."

In the end, almost all educational debates in America come down to questions of race and class. So too with Choice: What would it mean for students trapped in the holding-pen schools of the inner city? What are its implications for racial balance in the South, where the very word Choice conjures up white

flight to private academies in the 1960s and '70s? Can the nation offer parents true educational Choice without formally abandoning the ever-elusive goal of school desegregation?

Once again, there is little objective evidence, only personal speculation. David Bennett just stepped down as school superintendent in St. Paul to become president of Education Alternatives, the company that runs the Tesseract schools. It is easy to imagine that Bennett, a proponent of public-school open enrollment, would be a missionary for unrestricted Choice in his private-sector role. Not quite. "No matter how you dress up a voucher system," Bennett says, "the poverty kids will end up with the short end of the stick." In any game of educational musical chairs, someone has to lose. And almost certainly, the last student

stuck in a failing school will come from an impoverished background.

Many Choice proponents, like Chester Finn—whose proposals for reform appear in a new book, *We Must Take Charge*—do not believe school competition will cure all the ills of urban education. Still, Finn asks the blunt question: "Under Choice, would the kids attending inner-city schools be any worse off than they are today?" There is something irredeemably tragic about the question. But equally sad is the difficulty of framing either an affirmative answer or a plausible alternative vision for dramatically uplifting disadvantaged students.

The bitter truth is that American schools have become a reflection of the nation itself: divided by race, class and aspiration—and all too often animated by no higher calling than the selfish preservation

of the status quo. A decade of educational reforms has produced incremental results, laudable but limited. Against this bleak landscape, Choice might—just might—be worth the gamble as a way to radically transform the nation's schools in time to help educate today's children.

Early in the century, Louis Brandeis called state governments the laboratories of democracy. The phrase has become patriotic boilerplate, but in education the truth endures. No social experiment is more worthy than for an entire state—with a significant minority population—to embark on a true test of unrestricted Choice, complete with the participation of private, parochial and for-profit schools. The risks are grave, but so are the consequences of continued educational mediocrity.

—With reporting by Sam Allis/Little Rock

Britain's Brand of Choice

By JILL SMOLOWE

George Bush's ideas about school choice bear a strong resemblance to portions of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's 1988 Education Reform Act. Under this plan, England's education standards were unified under a national curriculum. District lines within the public system were eased to allow open enrollment at any of the 23,000 primary and secondary schools, and schools are assuming greater control over their own budgets, without interference from district authorities. Most pointedly, the government pledged that state money, an average of \$2,550 per student annually, would follow pupils to their public school of choice.

The Thatcher plan also offers a radical choice for which there is, as yet, no U.S. equivalent. Individual public schools may "opt out" of local school systems and instead receive funding directly from the national government. With this declaration of independence, a school's headmaster and a governing body that includes parents become responsible for most decisions, from hiring teachers to spending priorities. Because opt-outs do not lose a portion of their budgets to district-authority overhead, they often have money for more books, new facilities and additional teachers.

To opt out, a school must first secure the consent of a majority of its students' parents. In the two years since Thatcher's plan went into effect, 102 schools have cut their ties; 11 are on the verge of final action; 88 more await government approval. They are the first patches in a quilt of autonomous schools—which are tax supported and tuition free but in effect can operate as if they were privately run—that the country's Conservative government hopes will blanket the country.

Do opt-outs live up to the Thatcherite vision of efficiency and competitive excellence? Two years ago, Hendon, a public secondary school in north London, faced dissolution and the merger of its dwindling student population into a nearby school. Today, as an institution that opted out, Hendon, with 850 students, gets two applications for every available place. (Students with hearing problems and learning disabilities are given priority.) Since it changed status in 1989, Hendon has doubled spending

on books and teaching materials and quadrupled its payout for classroom equipment and furniture. Money that once disappeared into bureaucratic coffers has hired more support staff and refurbished a computer lab. Parents have also been galvanized: they are painting the school's walls for free in order to save money for books and other educational tools.

Foes of the program warn that successes like Hendon do not reflect the real impact of the program. Schools that opt out disrupt county planning efforts and drain from districts money that traditionally has been applied to a wide range of services, including the provision of child psychologists, substitute teachers and special-

education instructors. Says Margaret Maden, the chief education officer of Warwickshire: "Opting out takes money from the system as a whole and affects the schools that are left."

Many educators also warn that opting out may mean sliding back into the class-based system of education that divided England into elite schools for the Oxbridge bound and lesser places for everyone else. "Better schools get better; worse schools risk terminal decline," says Tony Edwards, an education professor at the University of Newcastle. But for those who try it, Britain's version of Choice seems to deliver considerable rewards.

—Reported by Anne Constable/London



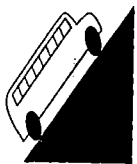
Chemistry class in London: Living up to the Thatcherite vision?

DAVID LEVISON FOR TIME

George Bush's Point Man

The Education Secretary is putting his political skills—and his ambitions—on the line to sell Choice to Capitol Hill

By SAM ALLIS WASHINGTON



Author Alex Haley and his friend Lamar Alexander booked passage together in 1988 on a cargo ship from California to Australia, aiming to write books away from the distractions of their Tennessee home base. Every evening the pair would emerge from a day of writing in their cabins to watch the "green flash," which can sometimes be seen just before the sun disappears below the horizon. "He'd talk, and I'd listen," Haley recalls. "Lamar talked night after night about the desperate need to improve American education. It was in his marrow. He felt impotent to do the things that needed to be done."

Alexander is frustrated no longer. He is now the point man for George Bush's educational goals, including the idea of school Choice, and he is using his soft-spoken salesmanship to market them to Congress and the American public. The role is the most challenging yet for the man named by Bush as Secretary of Education last December, whose mild and courteous demeanor masks a high-octane ambition. His goal is to transform the Department of Education, which Ronald Reagan once pledged to abolish, from a backwater operation in the shadow of the Air and Space Museum into one of Washington's leading domestic agencies.

Alexander, 51, brings a degree of political acumen to his job that was never seen under predecessors Lauro Cavazos and William Bennett. He learned from masters, serving first as an aide to Tennessee Senator Howard Baker and then in the Nixon White House before emerging in his own right as a two-term Republican Governor (1979-87). This background gives him a big advantage when he travels to Capitol Hill, as he often does, to lobby for his program. He understands compromise. "I can work with a guy like that," says William Ford, the crusty House education committee chairman.

But behind the agreeable exterior is a flinty vision of American public education and its various ills that is sweeping in its condemnation. "The problem is the sys-

tem," he says flatly. Alexander refers to the Supreme Court as "an obstacle" blocking the use of tax dollars for religious schools. He is wound tighter than he looks. His celebrated affability sometimes cracks when challenged—when he is asked, for example, why his younger son William attends a Washington private school rather than a school in the public system. "I chose it because I like it," he snaps.

The boyish-looking, sandy-haired native of the small east Tennessee town of Maryville forgets nothing. "If he ever met you, he'll remember you," says Haley. Alexander is an inveterate notetaker, scribbling reminders about all sorts of ideas and



TEAM PLAYERS Alexander, left, and Deputy Secretary Kearns: seeking to transform a backwater into one of Washington's leading agencies

activities on clipboard pads or handy scraps of paper. On his sea voyage—where he was writing *Six Months Off*, a memoir of stepping out of his professional life—Alexander made a list of things to be accomplished each day and crossed them off each evening. "If he has a fault, it is that he is not much at having a whole helluva lot of fun," says Haley.

The sense of discipline comes from his mother Florence, a no-nonsense woman who ran a nursery school in her backyard, and his late father Andrew, who served briefly as an elementary school principal. Lamar began piano lessons at four and studied diligently through his freshman year at Vanderbilt. Today he can deftly play Chopin or pound out rocket-top country piano, as he did in Bourbon Street watering holes while clerking for Federal Judge John Minor Wisdom after his 1965

graduation from New York University law school.

As Governor, he pushed through a 10-point program to improve public education in Tennessee (including classroom computers and merit pay for teachers) and a 1¢-on-the-dollar sales tax to pay for it. Bush liked what he saw and sought Alexander's counsel periodically on education matters. The two get along well, and Alexander's wife Honey is a friend of Barbara Bush's from Texas. This background leads to speculation that his brand of progressive Republicanism and his Southern political base would make him an attractive alternative to Dan Quayle as a vice-presidential candidate in 1992.

But not everyone is enamored of Alexander's record as an education Governor. "He brought education to the forefront as a topic at everyone's kitchen table," concedes Relzie Payton, president of the Tennessee Education Association, the state teachers' union. But Alexander was also a tireless self-promoter, she argues, whose follow-through was less impressive than his goals. Alexander's educational efforts in Tennessee have met with mixed success, and, Payton adds, "Choice was mentioned, if at all, in passing while he was Governor."

So far, the new Education Secretary has received high marks for his energy and the caliber of his appointments. Directly under him as Deputy Secretary is David Kearns, 61, former chairman of Xerox Corp. Kearns will be, in Alexander's words, "my chief operating officer" and will spearhead a drive to raise \$150 million from business

for innovative schooling ideas.

Another interesting selection is Diane Ravitch, the incisive conservative thinker and education historian from Columbia University who has defended pluralism on college campuses against the assault of censorious "political correctness." Ravitch is in charge of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement and also serves as counselor to Alexander.

No one has ever accused Lamar Alexander of lacking confidence, either in his ideas or in himself. "Five years from now, Choice will not be an issue," he serenely predicts. Instead, he insists, it will be the foundation for a transformed system of education that has long been his political and personal dream. Whether that is confidence or evidence of a quietly unbending temperament is something only he can prove.

EDUCATION

Reinventing school

George Bush pledges better education

Increasingly during the past decade, teachers, business leaders and other critics have expressed concern that the U.S. school system is slipping behind those of other nations and failing to educate young Americans adequately. Indeed, when the Stockholm-based International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement published the results of a recent survey of 20 nations, American eighth graders ranked 10th in arithmetic and 12th in algebra. Japanese students came first in both categories. Responding to concern about the American education system, George Bush promised during his successful 1988 presidential campaign to become "the education president." And last week, Bush took steps to make good his pledge by unveiling a sweeping program for educational reform that he said would "reinvent" the nation's education system by providing, among other things, hundreds of new experimental schools and establishing a system of national examinations for students.

The President's plan, entitled America 2000 and announced before an audience of teachers, businessmen and members of Congress at the White House, called on Congress to provide \$620 million to pay for more than 500 experimental schools that would investigate new teaching methods. Bush also called for more involvement in education by parents and the business community to create "a nation of students." Added Bush: "We're not afraid of new ideas, and my job is to do everything in my power to give these ideas a chance."

Although some Democratic politicians charged that the plan lacked substance, many experts said that the strategy could lead to improvements in student performance. In Ottawa, some critics of Canada's education system called for a similar commitment to improved education from the federal government and the provinces. Said Ronald Duhamel, education critic for the opposition Liberal party: "We need to see that kind of concern here."

Bush said that his plan was designed to meet a set of national educational goals that he and the state governors announced at a meeting

held in Charlottesville, Va., in September, 1989. The goals included efforts to ensure that every child be fit and healthy enough to start school and that students at all levels be competent in such core subjects as English, mathematics and science. Other goals called for



Bush with elementary-school children: calling for the creation of a 'nation of students'

raising the high-school graduation rate to 90 per cent from its current level of about 70 per cent, and enabling American students to stand first in the world in mathematics and science. As well, Bush called for the liberation of "every American school from drugs and violence."

As a way of encouraging higher national standards of education, Bush called for voluntary national examinations to test students' performance in core subjects in grades 4, 8 and 12. To help finance the search for better teaching methods, he called on businesses to contribute up to \$230 million to encourage educational research.

Some of Bush's proposals came under immediate attack. He called for federal funding to be made available to parents who send their children to private schools or schools operated by religious groups. But critics said that program could drain badly needed funding from the public school system. "Every school should be excellent," said Gary Marx, a spokesman for the American Association of School Administrators in Arlington, Va. "Choice leaves the less-motivated students behind."

Bush also revived a long-simmering debate over school examinations with his proposal for American achievement tests to measure student performance against ambitious national standards. Some experts said that national examinations, which the President said should begin as soon as September, 1993, do not take into account regional or cultural differences or the priorities of different school systems. Some critics contend that American blacks and members of other minorities often perform poorly on standardized examinations for good reasons. Those tests, the critics maintain, are designed primarily for white, middle-class students. Said Francis Whyte, director general of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, an interprovincial educational organization: "National tests only give you a bit of information and they don't solve the problem."

Still, some Canadian commentators said that a similar national education strategy is needed in Canada. According to Statistics Canada, 38 per cent of all adult Canadians are unable to perform the ordinary reading and arithmetical tasks they encounter in daily life. "We have put the entire burden on teachers," said James Nininger, president of the Ottawa-based Conference Board of Canada, which set up a National Business Education Centre last October to foster corporate involvement in schools. Added Nininger: "It has to be a community priority."

In August, 1989, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney called for a federal-provincial task force to study education issues. But the government dropped the idea after Quebec refused to participate following the failure of the Meech Lake accord last June. Now, critics of North American education standards in both countries will discover whether Bush's clarion call for a revitalized education system meets the tests of excellence.

DIANE BRADY

Playing Catch-Up

This week Bush will call for education reform—but districts across the nation are way ahead of him

George Bush's vow to be the education president has so far consisted of more talk than action. School reformers say his midterm grade is, at best, a solid C. This week Bush will get a chance to pull up that grade when he releases what is being billed as a far-reaching—and perhaps even revolutionary—education plan. With the public increasingly angry and anxious about schools, the president is under pressure to deliver. There's a political subtext as well. Bush's advisers hope a well-received education program will insulate the president from persistent charges that he has virtually no domestic policy.

But finding a workable formula won't be easy—especially since Bush won't put any significant amount of new federal money into schools. "No matter what he stands for, there are going to be voices that say, 'If he doesn't stand for billions and billions of new money for education, then he doesn't deserve to be called the education president,'" says John Chubb of the Brookings Institution. "But I'd argue that if he's willing to speak out loudly and clearly for the evaluation of schools by performance, if he's willing to speak out strongly that academic excellence is the most important goal of the schools, if he's willing to take to task the existing system as the source of failure, then he deserves to be regarded as a serious player."

To some extent, Bush can spotlight educational initiatives just by showing up. "If reform works, we'll get some of the credit," says one administration official. In what may be a preview of many photo opportunities to come, the president last week flew to West Virginia to present the national Teacher of the Year Award. With his new education secretary, former Tennessee governor Lamar Alexander, at his side (following story), he promised to "spark a nationwide movement that touches every school and every student in America."

Publicity alone won't accomplish that ambitious goal. Although the White House is keeping the specifics of Bush's program quiet until the public announcement, a cornerstone will probably be expanded national testing. Many reformers feel that the current federal test, the National Assessment of Educational Progress, given every four years, is too broad and too infrequent. At the same time, most local districts give tests of their own—few of them comparable with one another. Virtually anyone can claim to be above average. "We need a way to tell if we've made progress, instead of just talking about it," says Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. "If that's done intelligently, that will be a revolutionary move."

Corporate challenge: The president is also expected to put education higher on the corporate agenda by challenging private industry to fund a national competition to "reinvent" the public school. Companies would then set up a network of six model schools around the country. There's no guarantee that businesses would sign up,

Focusing the spotlight on success: Bush in West

but even if they do, educators say the model schools will have to be pretty spectacular—and easily replicated. "We've always been able to produce wonderful demonstration schools," says Linda Darling-Hammond, a professor of education at Columbia University. "You can always get terrific teachers in one school, but we're not doing enough to address the fact that we're not producing

Making Milwaukee a 'model' for troubled urban systems: Williams outside a city school

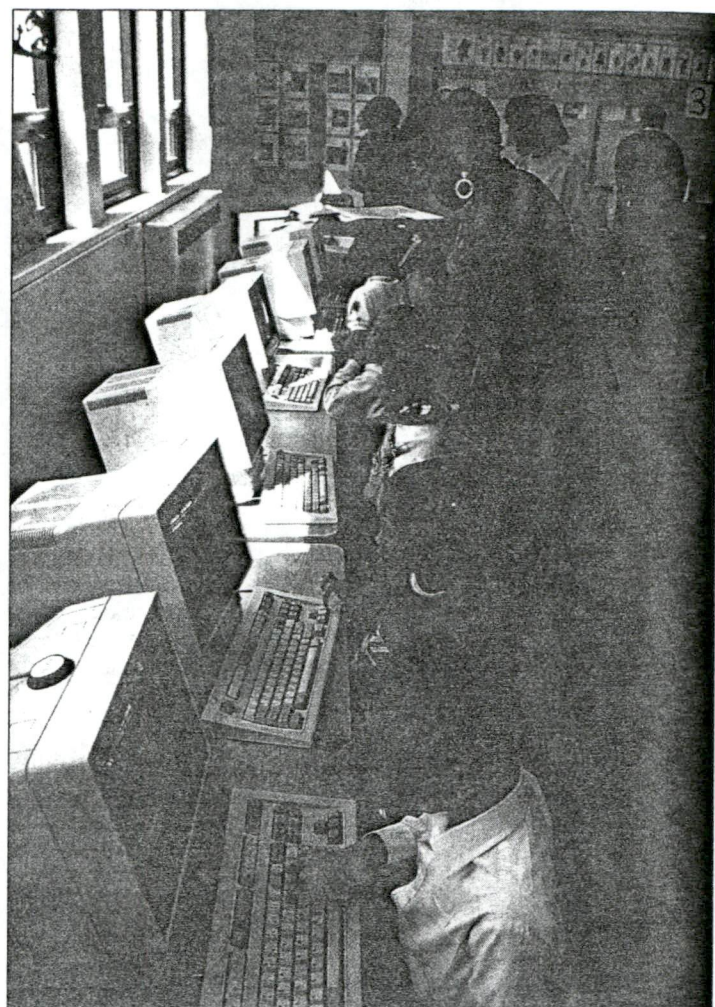
STEVE LEONARD—BLACK STAR





LARY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

West Virginia and, right, a class at the Corporate School in Chicago



STEVE LEONARD—BLACK STAR

enough terrific teachers for all schools."

The Bush proposal will push parents to become activists. The president has long been a backer of school choice and vouchers. He's expected to support choice in some form, although his advisers won't say whether their plan will include the more radical use of publicly funded vouchers to send kids to private schools or will simply promote choice among public schools. Bush may also propose revamping Chapter I, the mammoth, federally funded remedial-education program.

Given that there has been little educational leadership from Washington for more than a decade, any comprehensive plan from the White House would be revolutionary. But Bush is only playing catch-up with the rest of the country. In despair over high dropout rates and low scores, districts nationwide are implementing reforms that would have been called outrageous even two years ago. "Not only did the reforms of the '80s not work," says Chester Finn of Vanderbilt University, "they can't work. They were not bold enough to succeed, to overcome the restraints on our schools."

Now educators think about swinging a wrecking ball against the building, not just sprucing up with paint. Earlier this year in

Detroit, two school-board members even proposed admitting private schools into the public-school system. About 19,000 Detroit students attend private schools, which means about \$60 million less in state aid for the public system. Under the plan, the private schools would no longer charge tuition—they'd get money from a central office—but they'd be otherwise free to structure their curriculum. No one expects this proposal to go into effect any time soon, but the fact that it has even been considered is a measure of educators' frustration.

Critics say too much change, too soon, is dangerous. William Honig, California's superintendent of public instruction, favors the gradual reforms introduced in his state over the last decade. "Is this the French Revolution where everyone tries to outpace the last person in moving further to the left?" asks Honig. "Well, that ended with everybody killing each other. The real issue we face is how to teach more demanding curricula to a greater number of kids."

The "radicals" say that's exactly what they are doing. Here's a sampling of some innovative programs around the country:

■ **Exeter in the Bronx.** Boarding school has always been a privilege of the rich. But in the south Bronx, educators realized that

classroom reforms weren't enough. With 10 percent of the 350 students at Bronx Regional High School homeless, school officials decided to build a dormitory amid the decay of their neighborhood. Joining forces with a nonprofit community group, they purchased an abandoned city-owned tenement that had been a crack house.

Work on the site began last year, with a \$1 million budget from the state and city, and is scheduled for completion in the fall of 1992. Students have done much of the work, earning course credits and learning job skills. "It makes you feel good because you're doing something good," says Carlos Marrero, 20. Inspiring pride is crucial, says principal Mark Weiss. He jokes that he might call the building "Phillips Bronx Academy." In fact, there's no decision on the name yet. "We'll think about that when the ivy starts to grow," he says.

■ **Choice in Milwaukee.** Although school districts in 30 states are now experimenting with some form of school choice, Milwaukee is the first city to try vouchers. Last year Wisconsin agreed to pay about \$2,500 of the tuition for up to 1,000 public-school students who wanted to attend private schools, and in September 341 pupils signed up at seven private schools. There

has been considerable opposition. Herbert Grover, the state school superintendent, calls it "educational Darwinism." But Polly Williams, a state legislator, calls Milwaukee a "model for the nation."

The first year has been rocky. The Juanita Virgil Academy, which had taken 63 students, abandoned the program in January after a dispute between the full-tuition parents and the state. The parents wanted religion classes—forbidden in the voucher program. When the school withdrew, most of the voucher students were back in public schools. But there have been successes, too. At the Urban Day School, some 90 percent of the voucher students are expected to return next year.

■ **All boys in Baltimore.** In a run-down west Baltimore neighborhood, there are 27 third-grade boys who love school. They're



RON ALSTON—STUDIO STUDIO

A surrogate father: Boynton and his students in Baltimore

learning the three R's—and "how to behave like a man," says their principal, Leah Hasty. Hasty established the all-boy class at Matthew Henson Elementary School, headed by teacher Richard Boynton, in order to give the boys, all black, a positive male role model. Most live with

single mothers. "I thought having a male teacher might raise these boys' self-esteem, help them aspire, realize what they can be," says Hasty. The two-year-old program has been so successful (discipline problems are down, attendance and reading scores are up) that the class and teacher moved from second to third grade together. Hasty said she recently decided to send them to fourth grade as well. Says Boynton: "It's almost like I have 27 sons."

■ **A new contract in Colorado.**

When Colorado Gov. Roy Romer decided in January that the only way to end the bitter wrangling between the Denver teachers' union and the city school board was to rewrite the contract from scratch, there could have been lawsuits or a strike. Instead teachers, administrators, parents and business leaders joined Romer for nine days of hearings

A Salesman Without a Sledgehammer

Lamar Alexander has a fine sense of timing. He's been tapped for the country's top education job just as George Bush has decided that it's time to focus on the nation's schools.

The former Tennessee governor has a far better chance to succeed than his predecessor at Education, Lauro Cavazos, who will be remembered for nothing, other than that he did nothing memorable. Like Reagan's education secretary, William Bennett, Alexander is outspoken. But while Bennett so alienated the education establishment that he accomplished little, Alexander is skilled at building consensus and bending bureaucracies to his will. He also has plenty of experience dealing with teachers' unions and education administrators, and, as former president of the National Governors' Association (he directed its five-year study of education reform), he has strong relationships with state leaders across the country. "Lamar Alexander is Bill Bennett without the sledgehammer," one Senate aide said.

An ability to adapt has always been Alexander's strong suit. Trained as a concert pianist, he learned to play the washboard at campaign stops. He lost his first bid for the governor's job in 1974 with a "coat-and-tie Republican campaign in an overwhelmingly Democratic state," says political consultant Doug Bailey. The next time out, in 1978, he spent six months walking across the state in what became his trademark red and black checked shirt.

He became an education reformer during his second term, convinced that better schools would boost Tennessee's image and prosperity. He was an early advocate of putting computers in classrooms and won wide support for proposals to increase high-school science and math requirements and to create alternative schools for disruptive children. But he also endorsed career ladders—an innovation that was supposed to reward good teachers but in-

stead caused confusion and damaged morale.

Alexander's allies on the governors' council backed him for Education's top spot, but questions about his finances delayed the confirmation. Senate investigators concluded that several high-return investments gave "the appearance of using his high public office for ... private financial benefit," but that he'd done nothing illegal. That embarrassment faded amid the praise Alexander quickly won for his finesse in dealing with a legal flap over minority scholarships. And the new education chief put together an impressive team—including David Kearns, the former chairman of Xerox Corp., and Diane Ravitch, an education professor and feisty reformer from Columbia University. When the time came for Bush to design his national strategy, the team offered him dozens of ideas. Now their task will be to package and then peddle education reform—and Alexander is likely to excel. As his old adversary, Tennessee teachers' union chief Cavit Cheshier, said, "When it comes to selling things to the public, he gets an A-plus."

Bending bureaucracies to his will: Education chief Alexander

LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK



to find a better way to run the city's troubled schools. They may have found it.

The new contract, which teachers are expected to ratify this week, calls for a complete shake-up. Schools will be run not by the central office but by a committee of teachers, parents, the principal and a business leader. The committee will determine staffing, salaries and the structure and philosophy of the school. The district will set goals and provide administrative services. The contract was accepted, Romer says, because everyone was ready for a dramatic change. No one knows yet whether it will be successful, but, says Romer, "now I think everyone feels they have an oar."

■ **A partnership in Chicago.** The loftily named Corporate/Community Schools of America consists of one recycled Roman Catholic school in a neighborhood on the West Side of Chicago where 84 percent of the children are born to single mothers. Financed by a long list of Chicago-based corporations, the three-year-old school currently enrolls 250 students, ages 2 through 11. Parents get help, too. A staff member aggressively guides them through the maze of public-health and welfare agencies.

Founder Joseph Kellman, the owner of a glass and mirror company, says the school spends no more than most big-city districts. Current costs: about \$5,400 per pupil per year. There's no tuition. The children are chosen by lottery because the school didn't want to be accused of taking only promising youngsters.

The school operates year-round with a solid curriculum. Graduates will speak French, Spanish, Japanese—and the language of business. For example, Elaine Mosley's full title is principal and CEO. Teachers have broader authority and responsibilities than in most schools, functioning as de facto middle managers. No report cards are sent home; instead, parents must come to school a minimum of four times a year to receive written evaluations. There is, says music teacher Beverly Westergren, "an expectation of excellence. You will succeed." That's a good bottom line for any school.

Bush's education package may never inspire such radical change on a wide scale. But educators say they're hungry for any leadership from the White House. "We've gone through the Paul Revere stage of hollering about the problem," says Denis Doyle, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and coauthor of "Winning the Brain Race." "Now we're entering the serious action stage. It's become clear that success can't be achieved without a heroic effort." This is one war Bush—and the country—can't afford to lose.

BARBARA KANTROWITZ with PAT WINGERT and ANN MCDANIEL in Washington, JOHN MCCORMICK and TODD BARRETT in Chicago, GREGORY CERIO in New York and bureau reports

There Goes the Judge

Why Bush's appeals-court nominee was rejected



JOHN DURICKA—AP

Racially insensitive remarks: Ryskamp

With his record of racially insensitive remarks, it wasn't surprising that Kenneth L. Ryskamp was rejected by the Senate Judiciary Committee last week as an appeals-court judge. He once told four blacks who filed suit after being mauled by police dogs that "it might not be inappropriate to carry around a few scars to remind you of your wrongdoing"—even though two of the four were never charged with a crime. He complained from the bench that people were "thin-skinned" if they took offense at calling a black area "colored town." Until last month he was a member of a country club that reputedly excluded blacks and Jews. But in Washington, Ryskamp's undoing was less his record than his failure to observe the cardinal rules of surviving confirmation: he was arrogant with lawmakers when he should have groveled, and he failed to listen to advisers who knew how to play the game.

George Bush nominated Ryskamp last year to the influential appeals court covering Florida, Georgia and Alabama. A Miami lawyer chosen by Ronald Reagan to be a federal judge in 1986, Ryskamp would likely have tipped the balance on the appeals court in favor of conservatives. All he

had to do was clear the same Senate committee that had unanimously approved him five years earlier. Nominations to the federal courts generally are approved by the Senate with little debate. Bush has had 76 confirmation victories in a row, and the Senate Judiciary Committee hasn't rejected a court nominee since 1988.

But liberal-interest groups have been looking for a chance to display their strength. That should have put Ryskamp on notice. Instead, he privately complained to an aide to Democratic Sen. Paul Simon that "Miami is like a foreign country" where the store clerks speak Spanish and stock only ethnic food. Cubans, he said, "always show up two hours late" to weddings. In public Ryskamp was no better. Rather than apologize, he tried in his testimony to put his racial comments "in context." In the dog-bite case, he mused on the "irony" that criminals could recover damages if they were mistreated by police. Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr., initially a yea vote, became a nay. He said he was floored by Ryskamp's "dumbfounding remarks" to his "softball questioning."

'**Fatal RBI**': Smelling a chance to embarrass the administration, the liberal groups moved in. Their most important convert was Florida Sen. Bob Graham, a moderate Democrat. Opposition from a home-state senator is rare—and in this case it was "fatal, the game-winning RBI," conceded one administration official. Graham's position gave political cover to moderate Democrats like Dennis DeConcini of Arizona and Alabama's Howell Heflin.

Republican Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming called the campaign against Ryskamp a "hatchet job, an execution by people who do not know the man." More damaging was the administration's failure to twist arms on behalf of Ryskamp, whose nomination had become more trouble than it was worth. No Bush official ever called Patrick Leahy, a swing vote from Vermont. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh placed a perfunctory call to Biden just minutes before the vote.

As a practical matter, the Bush administration could afford to lose this skirmish, since it's winning the real contest: control of the federal bench. Bush has 144 more judicial vacancies to go. When these slots are filled, 70 percent of the federal judiciary will be Reagan and Bush appointees—and like Ryskamp, most of them are white, male, wealthy and conservative.

BOB COHN in Washington



CECILIA JOHNSON

The President reads to elementary school pupils in Arlington, Va.: promoting creativity, competition and accountability

Education

A Revolution Hoping for a Miracle

George Bush announces an ambitious plan to provoke radical change in America's troubled schools—but without the money that might really make a difference

By RICHARD N. OSTLING

George Bush may be the savior of Kuwait, but in 1992 the voters will want to know what he is doing to save America. One early promise was to be "the education President," but his marks for that endeavor have been decidedly mixed. The President has apparently been doing his homework. Last week, striving to fulfill his promise to launch a major domestic initiative, he presented an ambitious national plan called "America 2000: An Education Strategy" to improve troubled U.S. elementary and secondary schools. Bush spoke of bringing about "a revolution in

American education." The goal is lofty enough, but the President hopes to perform a miracle: he is offering relatively little federal money to back up his plan.

Even so, there was a sense of relief that he was planning *something*. The blueprint, says California education superintendent Bill Honig, "is comprehensive, long-term and hits the important issues." Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, calls it "a historic turning point in American education" and the boldest education initiative ever to come from the White House. If not a turning point, America 2000 is at least a talking point that forces attention on one of the

country's most serious problems. After his lackluster domestic performance to date, Bush intends to push broad educational changes through the power of the Federal Government and the clout of new Education Secretary Lamar Alexander.

Though revolution is too strong a term for the plan, it does call for firm steps to shake up the muscle-bound education establishment. It also aims to encourage creativity and competition among schools and make them more accountable to parents and taxpayers. The most controversial ideas:

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS. A panel backed by the nation's Governors is already work-

ing to set standards for what youngsters need to know in the traditional core subjects of English, geography, history, math and science. Bush then wants to monitor performance through nationwide tests, beginning with fourth-graders in 1993; eighth- and 12th-graders would be included later.

Although test taking would supposedly be voluntary, Bush hopes that the scores will become a routine part of college and job applications, pressing students and schools to do better.

REPORT CARDS. The government will exert further pressure by compiling results of these tests in public reports. This will allow comparisons of the performance of states and of the nation's 110,000 public schools. Again the idea is that citizens will demand progress.

NEW SCHOOLS. The President wants to "reinvent the American school." Federal grants of \$1 million each would go to start 535 brand-new experimental schools by 1996, with at least one in each congressional district. Meanwhile, businesses would contribute \$150 million or more to a research-and-development fund. The schools would "break the mold," says Bush. Sponsors could be public or private. Once reforms are working, he hopes, a populist ground swell will demand that they be imitated.

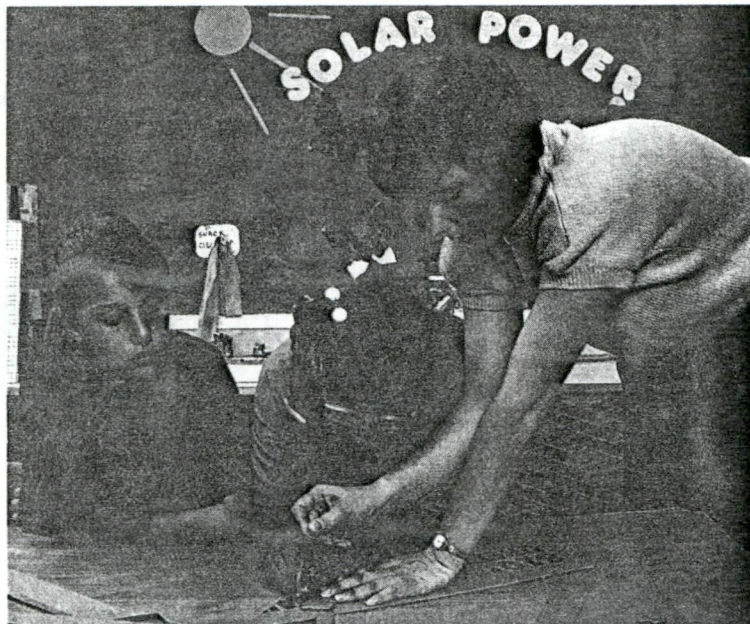
Much of the rest of America 2000 is either conventional, cosmetic or fuzzy. Bush reiterated his desire that states replace public school monopolies with parental "choice" among competing public and private schools. The report recycled some widely used remedies—merit pay and alternative-teacher certification, for example. The President also urged greater efforts to improve adult literacy and job skills, and he recognized—without promising big money—that community ills must be addressed if pupils are to perform.

The President plans to ask Congress for \$690 million to carry out his new strategy in fiscal 1992, but that money will simply be shifted from existing programs. To boost the use of choice, Bush wants Congress to give the currently allotted \$6 billion in federal aid for learning-disabled students to parents rather than to school districts. Federal funding provides only 7% of public school spending—and Bush intends to keep it that way.

Both Bush and Alexander believe more money will not repair U.S. education. In 1983 a report titled *A Nation at Risk* shocked the country into big spending in-

creases by warning that mediocre schools threatened the future of the U.S. Since 1980, per-pupil spending has gone from \$2,272 to \$4,639, a huge jump even allowing for inflation. But by most measures, overall student performance has barely improved and in some respects worsened.

Obviously, something was needed besides the budget boosts and back-to-basics plans of the 1980s. To address the education crisis, Bush in 1989 summoned all the nation's Governors for the first meeting of its kind since the Depression. As a result, the Governors last year agreed on six ambitious—and probably unrealistic—education goals to be met nationwide by the year



Studying science: for too many, performance has barely improved

2000, among them purging all schools of drugs and achieving a 90% high school graduation rate. The new plan is aimed at meeting all six goals.

Fortunately, Bush now has an able team committed to tackling his program. In the 50-year-old Alexander, the President chose an energetic, politically wired secretary who plumped for educational progress as a two-term Governor of Tennessee, then ran the 40,000-student state university system. Alexander put together America 2000 following his selection for the job in December. His deputy secretary will be a front-rank businessman, Xerox chairman David Kearns, with seasoned educator Ted Sanders as No. 3. The research assistant secretary will be Diane Ravitch, a clearheaded Columbia University scholar. "For the first time, there is real leadership at the national level," says Thomas Kean, former New Jersey Governor and president of Drew University.

Some congressional Democrats, who traditionally guard education as their special province, felt outflanked by Bush's initiative, but not Senator Edward Kennedy, who last week rammed a \$472 million education bill through committee. Other Democrats appear willing to give Bush's new ideas an open hearing, but insist that increased social help for the disadvantaged is essential to boost education.

"Choice" is especially controversial. Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton is worried that Bush seems to want almost unlimited aid vouchers for private school parents. Secretary Alexander (who has two children in private schools) goes further yet. He be-

lieves that "a child ought to have a choice with public dollars of any school that is willing to be publicly accountable." Aid for students in religious schools, he says, is "as American as apple pie." Alexander contends that increased school options will benefit poor families the most, though many educators question whether those families will know how to work the system to their advantage.

As for accountability, there are sure to be furious debates about who draws up the exams and what they contain. Minority groups, upset over the ubiquitous SAT, are worried by super-tests. Educators grumble about "teaching to the test" instead of full-orbed instruction. Says Mary Futrell

of George Washington University, "We're on a fast track to a centralized curriculum in this country. It will be bad if the test wags the curriculum."

The most glaring fault in the Administration's plan is that it says next to nothing about helping classroom teachers. "If you're going to make the schools better, you're going to have to make the teachers better too," says Thomas Wolanin of the House education committee staff. Or as respected Chicago principal Marva Collins puts it, "We need those already teaching to

admit that it has to be done differently." That will not be easy, nor will the various aspects of the plan produce quick results. "There will be no great transformation by the next presidential election," says Secretary Alexander. "You should settle in for the long haul." That appears to be what he and the President expect to do.

—Reported by Sam Allis and Ann Blackman/Washington and Katherine L. Mihok/New York



Master of the plan: Alexander

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EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY See Church and education

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EDUCATION AND STATE

See also
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991 [with editorial comment]

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l. M. Fleischmann

about

ighead. il pors *Runner's World*action. il *World Press Review*

13 AUGUST 1786

pamphlet has been found; the latter may have been one of Priestley's annual defenses of unitarianism, and it was possibly a French translation of the pamphlet; TJ received Stockdale's letter of 8 Aug. on 13 Aug.]

To George Wythe

DEAR SIR

Paris Aug. 13. 1786.

Your favors of Jan. 10. and Feb. 10. came to hand on the 20th. and 23d of May. I availed myself of the first opportunity which occurred, by a gentleman going to England, of sending to Mr. Joddrel a copy of the Notes on our country, with a line informing him that it was you who had emboldened me to take that liberty. Madison, no doubt, informed you of the reason why I had sent only a single copy to Virginia. Being assured by him that they will not do the harm I had apprehended, but on the contrary may do some good, I propose to send thither the copies remaining on hand, which are fewer than I had intended, but of the numerous corrections they need, there are one or two so essential that I must have them made, by printing a few new leaves and substituting them for the old. This will be done while they are engraving a map which I have constructed of the country from Albemarle sound to Lake Erie, and which will be inserted in the book. A bad French translation which is getting out here, will probably oblige me to publish the original more freely, which it neither deserved nor was ever intended. Your wishes, which are laws to me, will justify my destining a copy for you. Otherwise I should as soon have thought of sending you a horn-book; for there is no truth there that is not familiar to you, and it's errors I should hardly have proposed to treat you with.

Immediately on the receipt of your letter, I wrote to a correspondent at Florence to enquire after the family of Tagliaferro as you desired. I received his answer two days ago, a copy of which I now inclose. The original shall be sent by some other occasion. I will have the copper plate immediately engraved. This may be ready within a few days, but the probability is that I shall be long getting an opportunity of sending it to you, as these rarely occur. You do not mention the size of the plate but, presuming it is intended for labels for the inside of books, I shall have it made of a proper size for that. I shall omit the word *apisos*,¹ according to the license you allow me, because I think the beauty of a motto is to condense

to have become staff of the custom houses, some other circumstances Portugal are ane I suspect that the were to become super-hoped to find a great into's courier, which w hours too late for the conveyance, and s been critical. There myself will succeed to uld be favourable to on to the value of a candid, and has just wards us.

at the Hague, as he nd, at the same time, in treaty. But I send es he will speedily be we consider whether hope that any negotia- a prodigious addition clude on the negative, pence of Mr. Barclay's itional information, by natum, and the advan- a all suspense by pos- of Spain too being con- ference can weigh as iers is a fiercer power. of the highest respect umble servant,

TH: JEFFERSON

DNA: PCC, No. 107). En- June 1786. (2) Carmichael

le

r this date reads: "Stock- either the letter nor the

13 AUGUST 1786

much matter in as few words as possible. The word omitted will be supplied by every reader.

The European papers have announced that the assembly of Virginia were occupied on the revisal of their Code of laws. This, with some other similar intelligence, has contributed much to convince the people of Europe, that what the English papers are constantly publishing of our anarchy, is false; as they are sensible that such a work is that of a people only who are in perfect tranquillity. Our act for freedom of religion is extremely applauded. The Ambassadors and ministers of the several nations of Europe resident at this court have asked of me copies of it to send to their sovereigns, and it is inserted at full length in several books now in the press; among others, in the new Encyclopedie. I think it will produce considerable good even in these countries where ignorance, superstition, poverty and oppression of body and mind in every form, are so firmly settled on the mass of the people, that their redemption from them can never be hoped. If the almighty had begotten a thousand sons, instead of one, they would not have sufficed for this task. If all the sovereigns of Europe were to set themselves to work to emancipate the minds of their subjects from their present ignorance and prejudices, and that as zealously as they now endeavor the contrary, a thousand years would not place them on that high ground on which our common people are now setting out. Ours could not have been so fairly put into the hands of their own common sense, had they not been separated from their parent stock and been kept from contamination, either from them, or the other people of the old world, by the intervention of so wide an ocean. To know the worth of this, one must see the want of it here. I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowlege among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom, and happiness. If any body thinks that kings, nobles, or priests are good conservators of the public happiness,² send them here. It is the best school in the universe to cure them of that folly. They will see here with their own eyes that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of people. The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved than in this country particularly, where notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay, and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible, where such a people I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are yet loaded with misery by

kings, nobles and a crusade against educating the common people alone can which will be paid part of what will up among us if England, I think half an eye to see in their disposition wealth, and pomp no means the first. Their learned men and infinitely less country. An evening, which will no longer doubt completed, that it will to hold the whole to enable this country station to protect oblige the English king, who, with himself absolute myself to the first ferro and his family of the affectionate & servt.,

PrC (DLC). En vanni Fabbioni to Mr. R. T.: R WILL HAVE THE CO ATELY ENGRAVED: Short wrote to W will be delivered to tin of Williamsbu Paris a few days a ately to return to of London. Mr. Je also the Arms of t ferro as received Short Papers; see Apr. 1787; TJ to V

13 AUGUST 1786

kings, nobles and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests and nobles who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance.—The people of England, I think, are less oppressed than here. But it needs but half an eye to see, when among them, that the foundation is laid in their dispositions, for the establishment of a despotism. Nobility, wealth, and pomp are the objects of their adoration. They are by no means the free-minded people we suppose them in America. Their learned men too are few in number, and are less learned and infinitely less emancipated from prejudice than those of this country. An event too seems to be prospering, in the order of things, which will probably decide the fate of that country. It is no longer doubtful that the harbour of Cherbourg will be completed, that it will be a most excellent one, and capacious enough to hold the whole navy of France. Nothing has ever been wanting to enable this country to invade that, but a naval force conveniently stationed to protect the transports. This change of situation, must oblige the English to keep up a great standing army, and there is no king, who, with a sufficient force, is not always ready to make himself absolute.—My paper warns me it is time to recommend myself to the friendly recollection of Mrs. Wythe, of Colo. Taliaferro and his family and particularly of Mr. R. T. and to assure you of the affectionate esteem with which I am Dear Sir your friend & servt.,

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC). Enclosure: Tr of Giovanni Fabbroni to TJ, 20 July 1786.

Mr. R. T.: Richard Taliaferro. I WILL HAVE THE COPPER PLATE IMMEDIATELY ENGRAVED: On 25 Oct. 1786 Short wrote to William Nelson: "This will be delivered to you by Major Martin of Williamsburg. He has been in Paris a few days and leaves it immediately to return to America by the way of London. Mr. Jefferson sends by him also the Arms of the Family of Tagliaferro as received from Italy" (DLC: Short Papers; see also TJ to Short, 7 Apr. 1787; TJ to Wythe, 16 Sep. 1787).

The original copperplate of the Taliaferro arms is owned by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., and is in the Wythe House, Williamsburg.

¹ Thus in MS; TJ followed Wythe's use of the word literally, both as to the erroneous spelling and as to the form of the first sigma; see Wythe to TJ, 10 Jan. and 10 Feb. 1786.

² The preceding seven words were interlined in substitution for: "could give any aid towards their preservation," deleted.

20 DECEMBER 1787

could be urged on them. I own I am not a friend to a very energetic government. It is always oppressive. The late rebellion in Massachusetts has given more alarm than I think it should have done. Calculate that one rebellion in 13 states in the course of 11 years, is but one for each state in a century and a half. No country should be so long without one. Nor will any degree of power in the hands of government prevent insurrections. France with all its despotism, and two or three hundred thousand men always in arms has had three insurrections in the three years I have been here in every one of which greater numbers were engaged than in Massachusetts and a great deal more blood was spilt. In Turkey, which Montesquieu supposes more despotic, insurrections are the events of every day. In England, where the hand of power is lighter than here, but heavier than with us they happen every half dozen years. Compare again the ferocious depredations of their insurgents with the order, the moderation and the almost self extinguishment of ours.—After all, it is my principle that the will of the Majority should always prevail. If they approve the proposed Convention in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they shall find it work wrong. I think our governments will remain virtuous for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there shall be vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe. Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on their good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty. I have tired you by this time with my disquisitions and will therefore only add assurances of the sincerity of those sentiments of esteem and attachment with which I am Dear Sir your affectionate friend & servant,

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. The instability of our laws is really an immense evil. I think it would be well to provide in our constitutions that there shall always be a twelvemonth between the ingrossing a bill and passing it: that it should then be offered to its passage without changing a word: and that if circumstances should be thought to require a speedier passage, it should take two thirds of both houses instead of a bare majority.

RC (DLC: Madison Papers); endorsed. PrC (DLC). PrC of an Extract (DLC) made from Tr in TJ's hand, with numerous alterations and variations in phraseology. This Extract was enclosed in TJ to Uriah Forrest, 20

20 D

Dec. 1787, where, because of importance of the variant expression is printed as an enclosure.

This famous letter has been many times from 1826 to the its two forms have caused and have led at least one to assume that liberties had been with the text (Ford, IV, 47; HAW as the offender). The version, along with its covering appears to have been first printed in *The Port-Folio*, XXI (July, 1826) and was copied in the *National Intelligencer* for 23 Sep. 1826 and in other papers also. It is very probable that TJ intended or hoped that

From

DEAR SIR

The packet has been delivered which you will receive along with the packet suggested by an apprehension of the trees on board for you

Mr. De la Forest the Consul and told me he had informed Morris having found the roading the resolutions of its continuance. He observed that of the goods it was consequently the worst as little hurtful to the trade as an expedient that farm tract among six or seven to be required to ship annually of goods. This he supposed purchases here and would goods here. The latter could be, or executed by a single abolish the farm. These are

Since the date of my opinion have unanimously adopted Pennsylvania has adopted it by a Jersey is sitting and will the Conventions that have

From La Rochefoucauld

Paris. 4. Jer. 1786.

D'après la permission que vous m'en avez donnée, Monsieur, M. Demeunier s'empresse d'avoir l'honneur de vous voir. Il est Auteur des deux Articles *Caroline* dans la Nouvelle Encyclopédie, et se propose de publier successivement les autres Articles des Etats Unis; personne ne peut lui donner de meilleurs conseils que vous, et personne n'en fera un meilleur usage que M. Demeunier, Auteur de plusieurs Traductions et de plusieurs Ouvrages estimés.

Je saisis avec plaisir l'occasion qu'il me procure de vous renouveler par écrit les assurances sincères de l'inviolable attachement avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur, LE DUC DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD

RC (ViWC); endorsed by TJ: "Rochefoucauld, Duc de."

To George Washington

Paris Jan. 4. 1785 [i.e. 1786].

SIR

I have been honoured with your letter of Sep. 26. which was delivered me by Mr. Houdon, who is safely returned. He has brought with him the mould of the face only, having left the other parts of his work, with his workmen to come by some other conveyance. Doctor Franklin, who was joined with me in the superintendence of this just monument, having left us before what was called the costume of the statue was decided on, I cannot so well satisfy myself, and I am persuaded I should not so well satisfy the world, as by consulting your own wish or inclination as to this article. Permit me therefore to ask you whether there is any particular dress, or any particular attitude which you would rather wish to be adopted. I shall take a singular pleasure in having your own idea executed if you will be so good as to make it known to me. I thank you for the trouble you have taken in answering my enquiries on the subject of Bushnel's machine. Colo. Humphreys could only give me a general idea of it from the effects proposed, rather than the means contrived to produce them.

I sincerely rejoice that three such works as the opening the Patowmac, James river, and a canal from the Dismal are like to be carried through. There is still a fourth however, which I

had the honour I b
15. 1784. from A
unite the heads of
this, and even the
of the lakes will
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from General Han
these waters as he
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The institutions
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Britain, it is said
humour. But he
We are trying

had the honour I beleive of mentioning to you in a letter of Mar. 15. 1784. from Annapolis. It is the cutting a canal which shall unite the heads of Cayahoga and Beaver creek. The utility of this, and even the necessity of it, if we mean to aim at the trade of the lakes will be palpable to you. The only question is it's practicability. The best information I could get as to this was from General Hand, who described the country as champain, and these waters as heading in lagoons which would be easily united. Maryland and Pennsylvania are both interested to concur with us in this work.

The institutions you propose to establish by the shares in the Patowmac and James river companies given you by the assembly, and the particular objects of those institutions are most worthy. It occurs to me however that if the bill 'for the more general diffusion of knowlege' which is in the revisal, should be passed, it would supersede the use, and obscure the existence of the charity schools you have thought of. I suppose in fact that that bill, or some other like it, will be passed. I never saw one received with more enthusiasm than that was by the house of delegates in the year 1778. and ordered to be printed, and it seemed afterwards that nothing but the extreme distress of our resources prevented it's being carried into execution even during the war. It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that too of the people with a certain degree of instruction. This it is the business of the state to effect, and on a general plan. Should you see a probability of this however, you can never be at a loss for worthy objects of this donation. Even the remitting that proportion of the toll on all articles transported would present itself under many favorable considerations, and it would in effect be to make the state do in a certain proportion what they ought to have done wholly; for I think they should clear all the rivers and lay them open and free to all. However you are infinitely the best judge how the most good may be effected with these shares.

All is quiet here. There are indeed two specks in the horizon, the exchange of Bavaria, and the demarcation between the Emperor and Turks. We may add as a third the interference by the king of Prussia in the domestic disputes of the Dutch. Great Britain, it is said, begins to look towards us with a little more good humour. But how true this may be I cannot say with certainty. We are trying to render her commerce as little necessary to us

Jer. 1786.

, Monsieur,
voir. Il est
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Articles des
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M. Demeu-
s Ouvrages

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OUCAULD

i.e. 1786].

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5 JANUARY 1786

as possible by finding other markets for our produce. A most favourable reduction of duties on whale oil has taken place here, which will give us a vent for that article paying a duty of a guinea and a half a ton only.

I have the honor to be with the highest esteem & respect Dear Sir Your most obedient and most humble servant,

TH: JEFFERSON

RC (DLC: Washington Papers); endorsed, in part: "4th. Jany 1786." PrC (DLC). Noted in SJL as sent "via London by Mr Bingham."

To David Humphreys

DEAR SIR

Paris Jan. 5. 1785 [i.e. 1786].

Your letter on the subject of the medals came duly to hand, but the workman has not applied to me since as I expected, and, if I ever had his address, I have mislaid it, so that I cannot send to him. However I am not afraid that any thing is going wrong, as I had desired him to leave the part in question for the last.

I inclose you two letters which have lately come to hand for you. Our town affords little new and interesting. Your pretty Mademoiselle Lucille, now Madame Deville, is expected to die. However the handsome Chanoinesse will suffice to comfort you. I forget whether Mademlle. Renaud had acquired her great celebrity before you left us. She is now all in all. The success of Penelope has been but moderate. Yet the Connoisseurs are much pleased with it. The Cardinal de Rohan's case is still undecided. But it is thought he will lose all his livings. Mr. Barclay and Colo. Franks will set out about the middle of next week. I am absolutely exhausted with this run of news. I will therefore proceed to avail myself of your kind offer of executing commissions for me in London, and will pray you to procure for me the following articles.

A pair of thick waxed leather shoes.

A pair of thin dress shoes of waxed leather also.

A pair of slippers of waxed leather, rather thick, for walking in the garden, inclosed is the measure for these.

½ doz. tooth brushes, the hair neither too strong nor too weak, without sponges.

½ doz. do. with the strongest hair, such as hog's bristle, without sponges also.

A silver tooth pick case, the smallest possible, such as you may

have seen
They cost
The remaining
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A pair of bras
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Your friend

RC (A. S. W.)
"by Mr. Bingham"

SIR

I take the
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Memorial ac
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COMPLETE JEFFERSON

*Containing His Major Writings,
Published and Unpublished, Except His Letters*

... Thomas, pms., U. S., 1773-1826.

ASSEMBLED AND ARRANGED BY

SAUL K. PADOVER

With Illustrations and analytic index



DUELL, SLOAN & PEARCE, INC.

NEW YORK

master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown
'is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture.
er proposes to proportion crimes and punishments
following scale:

- nt extends to LIFE.
- h by hanging.
- iture of lands and goods to the commonwealth.
- h by hanging. Dissection.
- iture of half the lands and goods to the representatives
the party slain.
- on. Death by poison.
 - Forfeiture of one-half, as before.
- Death by hanging: Gibbeting, if the challenger.
- Forfeiture of one-half as before, unless it be the party
challenged, then the forfeiture is to the common-
wealth.
- other way. Death by hanging.
 - Forfeiture of one-half as before.
- second offence is murder.
- nt goes to LIMB.
- mberment.
- tion, and the forfeiture of half of the lands and goods to
sufferer.
- ABOR.
- fence. Labor VII. years for the Forfeiture of half, as
public. in murder.
- ey. Labor VI. years Forfeiture of land
and goods to the
commonwealth.
- els. { Labor V. years Reparation three-
fold.
- { Labor IV. years Reparation double.
- { Labor III. years Reparation.
- Labor II. years Reparation. Pillory.
- Labor I. year Reparation. Pillory.
- craft, &c. Ducking. Stripes.
- { To be pitied, not punished.

if clergy are proposed to be abolished; but if the ver-
dant, the court in their discretion may allow a new
se a corruption of blood, or forfeiture of dower. Slaves
able in others by labor, to be transported to Africa

or elsewhere, as the circumstances of the time admit, there to be continued in
slavery. A rigorous regimen proposed for those condemned to labor.
Another object of the revival is, to diffuse knowledge more generally through
the mass of the people. This bill proposes to lay off every county into small
districts of five or six miles square, called hundreds, and in each of them to
establish a school for teaching, reading, writing, and arithmetic. The tutor to
be supported by the hundred, and every person in it entitled to send their chil-
dren three years gratis, and as much longer as they please, paying for it. These
schools to be under a visitor who is annually to choose the boy of best genius
in the school, of those whose parents are too poor to give them further educa-
tion, and to send him forward to one of the grammar schools, of which twenty
are proposed to be erected in different parts of the country, for teaching Greek,
Latin, Geography, and the higher branches of numerical arithmetic. Of the
boys thus sent in one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or
two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years,
and the residue dismissed. By this means twenty of the best geniuses will be
taken from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expense, so
far as the grammar schools go. At the end of six years instruction, one half are
to be discontinued (from among whom the grammar schools will probably be
supplied with future masters); and the other half, who are to be chosen for
the superiority of their parts and disposition, are to be sent and continued
three years in the study of such sciences as they shall choose, at William and
Mary college, the plan of which is proposed to be enlarged, as will be hereafter
explained, and extended to all the useful sciences. The ultimate result of the
whole scheme of education would be the teaching all the children of the State
reading, writing, and common arithmetic; turning out ten annually, of superior
genius, well taught in Greek, Latin, Geography, and the higher branches of
arithmetic; turning out ten others annually, of still superior parts, who, to those
branches of learning, shall have added such of the sciences as their genius shall
have led them to; the furnishing to the wealthier part of the people convenient
schools at which their children may be educated at their own expense. The gen-
eral objects of this law are to provide an education adapted to the years, to the
capacity, and the condition of everyone, and directed to their freedom and
happiness. Specific details were not proper for the law. These must be the busi-
ness of the visitors entrusted with its execution. The first stage of this education
being the schools of the hundreds, wherein the great mass of the people will
receive their instruction, the principal foundations of future order will be laid
here. Instead, therefore, of putting the Bible and Testament into the hands of
the children at an age when their judgments are not sufficiently matured for
religious inquiries, their memories may here be stored with the most useful
facts from Grecian, Roman, European and American history. The first elements
of morality too may be instilled into their minds; such as, when further devel-
oped as their judgments advance in strength, may teach them how to work out
their own greatest happiness, by showing them that it does not depend on the
condition of life in which chance has placed them, but is always the result of a

good conscience, good health, occupation, and freedom in all just pursuits. Those whom either the wealth of their parents or the adoption of the State shall destine to higher degrees of learning, will go on to the grammar schools, which constitute the next stage, there to be instructed in the languages. The learning Greek and Latin, I am told, is going into disuse in Europe. I know not what their manners and occupations may call for; but it would be very ill-judged in us to follow their example in this instance. There is a certain period of life, say from eight to fifteen or sixteen years of age, when the mind like the body is not yet firm enough for laborious and close operations. If applied to such, it falls an early victim to premature exertion; exhibiting, indeed, at first, in these young and tender subjects, the flattering appearance of their being men while they are yet children, but ending in reducing them to be children when they should be men. The memory is then most susceptible and tenacious of impressions; and the learning of languages being chiefly a work of memory, it seems precisely fitted to the powers of this period, which is long enough too for acquiring the most useful languages, ancient and modern. I do not pretend that language is science. It is only an instrument for the attainment of science. But that time is not lost which is employed in providing tools for future operation; more especially as in this case the books put into the hands of the youth for this purpose may be such as will at the same time impress their minds with useful facts and good principles. If this period be suffered to pass in idleness, the mind becomes lethargic and impotent, as would the body it inhabits if unexercised during the same time. The sympathy between body and mind during their rise, progress and decline, is too strict and obvious to endanger our being misled while we reason from the one to the other. As soon as they are of sufficient age, it is supposed they will be sent on from the grammar schools to the university, which constitutes our third and last stage, there to study those sciences which may be adapted to their views. By that part of our plan which prescribes the selection of the youths of genius from among the classes of the poor, we hope to avail the State of those talents which nature has sown as liberally among the poor as the rich, but which perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated. But of the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty. For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where *they* will receive their whole education, is proposed, as has been said, to be chiefly historical. History, by apprizing them of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views. In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe, their minds must be improved to a

certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary. An amendment of our constitution and public education. The influence over government of the people. If every individual which composes the public authority, the government will be more virtuous than the mass will exceed any private resources provided but by levies on the people. I pay his own price. The government of the country is in the hands of a few cause but one man in ten has a right to be a member of the government, therefore, get the government into the hands of a few to a few of the wealthier of the people strained by an extension of that right to the means of corruption.

Lastly, it is proposed, by a bill in this gallery, by laying out a certain sum ann

QUER

The Colleges and Public Establishments

The college of William and Mary is in this State. It was founded in the time of James II. It was granted to it twenty thousand acres of certain tobaccoes exported from Virginia by the statute of 25 Car. II. The assent of the assembly on liquors imported, and skins and furs, it received upwards of three thousand pounds. The buildings are of brick, sufficient for an hundred students. By its charter it was to have twelve visitors, who were to be its legislators, twelve professors, who were incorporated. It was to have an assembly. Under this charter, a professorship of mathematics, one of the most useful, were established. To these were annexed a considerable donation by Mr. Boyle, of England, and their conversion to Christianity. The college was given. The admission of the learners of the college. This rendering it disagreeable to the assembly, ready prepared for entering on the science, and thus the schools for mathematics might have been of some service, became exhausted in accommodating those who were sent to the college. After the present revolution, t

occupation, and freedom in all just pursuits. The education of their parents or the adoption of the State of learning, will go on to the grammar school, there to be instructed in the languages. The mode now told, is going into disuse in Europe. It is known that occupations may call for; but it would be very dangerous in this instance. There is a certain number of years of age, when the mind is not strong enough for laborious and close operations. If a child is a victim to premature exertion; exhibiting, indeed, under subjects, the flattering appearance of their talents, but ending in reducing them to be weak. The memory is then most susceptible and the learning of languages being chiefly a work of the powers of this period, which is long. The most useful languages, ancient and modern, are not science. It is only an instrument for the time. The time is not lost which is employed in providing for the people especially as in this case the books put into their hands may be such as will at the same time teach facts and good principles. If this period be suffered to become lethargic and impotent, as would be the case during the same time. The sympathy between the mind and progress, is too strict and obvious while we reason from the one to the other. As the mind is supposed they will be sent on from the State, which constitutes our third and last stage, which may be adapted to their views. By that plan the selection of the youths of genius from among the people to avail the State of those talents which nature has bestowed, is poor as the rich, but which perish without use. But of the views of this law none is more important than that of rendering the people the safe as well as of their own liberty. For this purpose the reading they will receive their whole education, is chiefly historical. History, by apprizing them of the conduct of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the conduct of others; it will enable them to know ambition under all its forms, and knowing it, to defeat its views. In every age of human weakness, some germ of corruption will discover, and wickedness insensibly every government degenerates when trusted to the people themselves therefore are its only safety. In them safe, their minds must be improved to a

certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence over government must be shared among all the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe; because the corrupting the whole mass will exceed any private resources of wealth; and public ones cannot be provided but by levies on the people. In this case every man would have to pay his own price. The government of Great Britain has been corrupted, because but one man in ten has a right to vote for members of parliament. The members of the government, therefore, get nine-tenths of their price clear. It has been thought that corruption is restrained by confining the right of suffrage to a few of the wealthier of the people; but it would be more effectually restrained by an extension of that right to such numbers as would bid defiance to the means of corruption.

Lastly, it is proposed, by a bill in this revisal, to begin a public library and gallery, by laying out a certain sum annually in books, paintings, and statues.

QUERY XV

The Colleges and Public Establishments, the Roads, Buildings, &c.

The college of William and Mary is the only public seminary of learning in this State. It was founded in the time of king William and queen Mary, who granted to it twenty thousand acres of land, and a penny a pound duty on certain tobaccoes exported from Virginia and Maryland, which had been levied by the statute of 25 Car. II. The assembly also gave it, by temporary laws, a duty on liquors imported, and skins and furs exported. From these resources it received upwards of three thousand pounds *communibus annis*. The buildings are of brick, sufficient for an indifferent accommodation of perhaps an hundred students. By its charter it was to be under the government of twenty visitors, who were to be its legislators, and to have a president and six professors, who were incorporated. It was allowed a representative in the general assembly. Under this charter, a professorship of the Greek and Latin languages, a professorship of mathematics, one of moral philosophy, and two of divinity, were established. To these were annexed, for a sixth professorship, a considerable donation by Mr. Boyle, of England, for the instruction of the Indians, and their conversion to Christianity. This was called the professorship of Brainerd, from an estate of that name in England, purchased with the monies given. The admission of the learners of Latin and Greek filled the college with children. This rendering it disagreeable and degrading to young gentlemen already prepared for entering on the sciences, they were discouraged from resorting to it, and thus the schools for mathematics and moral philosophy, which might have been of some service, became of very little. The revenues, too, were exhausted in accommodating those who came only to acquire the rudiments of science. After the present revolution, the visitors, having no power to change

A BILL FOR THE MORE GENERAL DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE¹

1779

SECTION I. Whereas it appeareth that however certain forms of government are better calculated than others to protect individuals in the free exercise of their natural rights, and are at the same time themselves better guarded against degeneracy, yet experience hath shewn, that even under the best forms, those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be, to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts, which history exhibiteth, that, possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be enabled to know ambition under all its shapes, and prompt to exert their natural powers to defeat its purposes; And whereas it is generally true that that people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for promoting the public happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expence, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for and educated at the common expence of all, than that the happiness of all should be confined to the weak or wicked:

SECTION II. Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, that in every county within this commonwealth, there shall be chosen annually, by the electors qualified to vote for Delegates, three of the most honest and able men of their county, to be called the Aldermen of the county; and that the election of the said Aldermen shall be held at the same time and place, before the same persons, and notified and conducted in the same manner as by law is directed, for the annual election of Delegates for the county.

SECTION III. The person before whom such election is holden shall certify to the court of the said county the names of the Aldermen chosen, in order that the same may be entered of record, and shall give notice of their election to the said Aldermen within a fortnight after such election.

¹ Ch. LXXIX of the *Report of the Revisors*.

SECTION IV. The said Aldermen on the fair, and if not, then on the next fair day at the court-house of their county, and proceed to divide the same into hundreds, bounding the same by water course or run and marked, if they think necessary, at the county expence, regulating the size of the same to the best of their discretion, so as that they may be able to receive a number of children to make up a school, and be able to receive a number of children within each hundred may daily attend therein, and distinguishing each hundred by a name, to be entered of record, with the names of the several hundreds of the county and be entered of record, and in case of an increase or decrease of inhabitants shall be regulated to the opinion of any succeeding Aldermen of the court of the county.

SECTION V. The electors aforesaid residing in the county on the third Monday in October after the year shall be called to the place, within their hundred, as the said Aldermen shall direct, as the said Aldermen being previously given to them by such person, and as the said Aldermen shall require who shall be qualified by requisition, on pain of being punished by the court of the county. The electors being so assembled shall choose a person or persons within their hundred for building a school, and the person or persons having a greater number of votes than any other person or persons themselves, the Aldermen, or such of them as shall be on information thereof, shall decide between them, and forthwith proceed to have a school-house built, and see that the same shall be kept in repair, and shall be built; but whenever they shall think necessary to give notice as before directed, to the electors of the said school-house, on such a day as they shall think proper in the manner before directed, whether at the same or what other place in the hundred.

SECTION VI. At every of those schools shall be kept a common arithmetick, and the books written for instructing the children to read shall be such as shall acquaint them with Graecian, Roman, and English, and these schools all the free children, male and female, of every respective hundred, shall be intitled to receive instruction for three years, and as much longer, at their own expence, or the guardians, or friends shall think proper.

SECTION VII. Over every ten of these schools shall be appointed a

that however certain forms of government protect individuals in the free exercise of their rights, and that even under the best forms, those rights are often lost, and by slow operations, perverted it into the most effectual means of preventing this. It is therefore, the minds of the people at large, and the knowledge of those facts, which history and the experience of other ages and countries have taught us, and prompt us to pursue its purposes; And whereas it is generally acknowledged that the happiest whose laws are best, and are the most wisely formed, and honestly administered, and administer them as well as to the public happiness, but also to the promotion of the public happiness, and are endowed with genius and virtue, and are able to guard the liberties of their fellow citizens, and that without regard to wealth, birth or other considerations, but the indigence of the greater number, at their own expence, those of their own kindred and disposed to become useful in the world, that such should be sought for and educated, and that the happiness of all should be

by the General Assembly, that in every year there shall be chosen annually, by the electors, three of the most honest and able Aldermen of the county; and that the election shall be held at the same time and place, be conducted in the same manner as by the electors of Delegates for the county. In such election is holden shall certify the names of the Aldermen chosen, in order of rank, and shall give notice of their election the next night after such election.

SECTION IV. The said Aldermen on the first Monday in October, if it be a fair day, and if not, then on the next fair day, excluding Sunday, shall meet at the court-house of their county, and proceed to divide their said county into hundreds, bounding the same by water courses, mountains, or limits, to be run and marked, if they think necessary, by the county surveyor, and at the county expence, regulating the size of the said hundreds, according to the best of their discretion, so as that they may contain a convenient number of children to make up a school, and be of such convenient size that all the children within each hundred may daily attend the school to be established therein, and distinguishing each hundred by a particular name; which division, with the names of the several hundreds, shall be returned to the court of the county and be entered of record, and shall remain unaltered until the increase or decrease of inhabitants shall render an alteration necessary, in the opinion of any succeeding Alderman, and also in the opinion of the court of the county.

SECTION V. The electors aforesaid residing within every hundred shall meet on the third Monday in October after the first election of Aldermen, at such place, within their hundred, as the said Aldermen shall direct, notice thereof being previously given to them by such person residing within the hundred as the said Aldermen shall require who is hereby enjoined to obey such requisition, on pain of being punished by amercement and imprisonment. The electors being so assembled shall choose the most convenient place within their hundred for building a school-house. If two or more places, having a greater number of votes than any others, shall yet be equal between themselves, the Aldermen, or such of them as are not of the same hundred, on information thereof, shall decide between them. The said Aldermen shall forthwith proceed to have a school-house built at the said place, and shall see that the same shall be kept in repair, and, when necessary, that it be rebuilt; but whenever they shall think necessary that it be rebuilt, they shall give notice as before directed, to the electors of the hundred to meet at the said school-house, on such a day as they shall appoint, to determine by vote, in the manner before directed, whether it shall be rebuilt at the same, or what other place in the hundred.

SECTION VI. At every of those schools shall be taught reading, writing, and common arithmetick, and the books which shall be used therein for instructing the children to read shall be such as will at the same time make them acquainted with Graecian, Roman, English, and American history. At these schools all the free children, male and female, resident within the respective hundred, shall be intitled to receive tuition gratis, for the term of three years, and as much longer, at their private expence, as their parents, guardians, or friends shall think proper.

SECTION VII. Over every ten of these schools (or such other number nearest

thereto, as the number of hundreds in the county will admit, without fractional divisions) an overseer shall be appointed annually by the Aldermen at their first meeting, eminent for his learning, integrity, and fidelity to the commonwealth, whose business and duty it shall be, from time to time, to appoint a teacher to each school, who shall give assurance of fidelity to the commonwealth, and to remove him as he shall see cause; to visit every school once in every half year at the least; to examine the scholars; see that any general plan of reading and instruction recommended by the visitors of William and Mary College shall be observed; and to superintend the conduct of the teacher in everything relative to his school.

SECTION VIII. Every teacher shall receive a salary of — by the year, which, with the expences of building and repairing the school-houses, shall be provided in such manner as other county expences are by law directed to be provided and shall also have his diet, lodging, and washing found him, to be levied in like manner, save only that such levy shall be on the inhabitants of each hundred for the board of their own teacher only.

SECTION IX. And in order that grammar schools may be rendered convenient to the youth in every part of the commonwealth, be it therefore enacted, that on the first Monday in November, after the first appointment of overseers for the hundred schools, if fair, and if not, then on the next fair day, excluding Sunday, after the hour of one in the afternoon, the said overseer appointed for the schools in the counties of Princess Ann, Norfolk, Nansemond and Isle-of-Wight, shall meet at Nansemond court-house; those for the counties of Southampton, Sussex, Surry and Prince George, shall meet at Sussex court-house; those for the counties of Brunswick, Mecklenburg and Lunenburg, shall meet at Lunenburg court-house; those for the counties of Dinwiddie, Amelia and Chesterfield, shall meet at Chesterfield court-house; those for the counties of Powhatan, Cumberland, Goochland, Henrico and Hanover, shall meet at Henrico court-house; those for the counties of Prince Edward, Charlotte and Halifax, shall meet at Charlotte court-house; those for the counties of Henry, Pittsylvania and Bedford, shall meet at Pittsylvania court-house; those for the counties of Buckingham, Amherst, Albemarle and Fluvanna, shall meet at Albemarle court-house; those for the counties of Botetourt, Rockbridge, Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky, shall meet at Botetourt court-house; those for the counties of Augusta, Rockingham and Greenbriar, shall meet at Augusta court-house; those for the counties of Accomack and Northampton, shall meet at Accomack court-house; those for the counties of Elizabeth City, Warwick, York, Gloucester, James City, Charles City and New-Kent, shall meet at James City court-house; those for the counties of Middlesex, Essex, King and Queen, King William and Caroline, shall meet at King and Queen court-house; those for the counties of Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond and Westmore-

land, shall meet at Richmond court-house George, Stafford, Spotsylvania, Prince W Spotsylvania court-house; those for the co shall meet at Loudoun court-house; tho Orange and Louisa, shall meet at Orange of Shenandoah and Frederick, shall meet a the counties of Hampshire and Berkeley, s and those for the counties of Yohogania, l at the Monongalia court-house; and shall counties in their district as shall be most school-house, endeavoring that the situatic inhabitants of the said counties, that it be venient to plentiful supplies of provision a that it be healthy. And if a majority of concur in their choice of any one place pr ing shall be as follows: If two places only divided, they shall decide between them by two places were proposed, the question sha the first division had the greater number a a greater number of votes than the others, and equal lot (unless it can be agreed by a places having equal numbers shall be throw the question shall be put on the remaining tion the votes shall be equally divided, it sh

SECTION X. The said overseers having de-
grammar school for their district shall be b
can otherwise agree with the proprietors of
tion and price) make application to the cl
said house is to be situated, who shall there
of a writ of ad quod damnum, directed to
commanding him to summon and impane
the place, so destined for the grammer scho
named in the said writ, not less than five, n
date thereof; and also to give notice of the
ants of the lands to be viewed if they be f
not, then to their agents therein if any the
be charged by the said sheriff impartially, a
judgment to view the lands round about th
circumscribe, by certain meets and bounds,
ing regard therein principally to the benef
school, but respecting in some measure also
prieters, and to value and appraise the same

...in the county will admit, without frac-
hall be appointed annually by the Aldermen at
for his learning, integrity, and fidelity to the
ss and duty it shall be, from time to time, to
ool, who shall give assurance of fidelity to the
ve him as he shall see cause; to visit every
at the least; to examine the scholars; see that
and instruction recommended by the visitors
shall be observed; and to superintend the con-
ing relative to his school.

hall receive a salary of — by the year, which,
and repairing the school-houses, shall be pro-
r county expences are by law directed to be
his diet, lodging, and washing found him, to
only that such levy shall be on the inhabitants
l of their own teacher only.

hat grammar schools may be rendered con-
part of the commonwealth, be it therefore
day in November, after the first appointment
hools, if fair, and if not, then on the next fair
hour of one in the afternoon, the said over-
in the counties of Princess Ann, Norfolk,
shall meet at Nansemond court-house; those
on, Sussex, Surry and Prince George, shall
ose for the counties of Brunswick, Mecklen-
et at Lunenburg court-house; those for the
and Chesterfield, shall meet at Chesterfield
ties of Powhatan, Cumberland, Goochland,
et at Henrico court-house; those for the coun-
e and Halifax, shall meet at Charlotte court-
Henry, Pittsylvania and Bedford, shall meet
e for the counties of Buckingham, Amherst,
meet at Albemarle court-house; those for the
e, Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky,
se; those for the counties of Augusta, Rock-
meet at Augusta court-house; those for the
rthampton, shall meet at Accomack court-
Elizabeth City, Warwick, York, Gloucester,
New-Kent, shall meet at James City court-
Middlesex, Essex, King and Queen, King
et at King and Queen court-house; those
orthumberland, Richmond and Westmore-

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land, shall meet at Richmond court-house; those for the counties of King
George, Stafford, Spotsylvania, Prince William and Fairfax, shall meet at
Spotsylvania court-house; those for the counties of Loudoun and Fauquier,
shall meet at Loudoun court-house; those for the counties of Culpeper,
Orange and Louisa, shall meet at Orange court-house; those for the county
of Shenandoah and Frederick, shall meet at Frederick court-house; those for
the counties of Hampshire and Berkeley, shall meet at Berkeley court-house;
and those for the counties of Yohogania, Monongalia, and Ohio, shall meet
at the Monongalia court-house; and shall fix on such place in some of the
counties in their district as shall be most proper for situating a grammar
school-house, endeavoring that the situation be as central as may be to the
inhabitants of the said counties, that it be furnished with good water, con-
venient to plentiful supplies of provision and fuel, and more than all things
that it be healthy. And if a majority of the overseers present should not
concur in their choice of any one place proposed, the method of determin-
ing shall be as follows: If two places only were proposed, and the votes be
divided, they shall decide between them by fair and equal lot; if more than
two places were proposed, the question shall be put on those two which on
the first division had the greater number of votes; or if no two places had
a greater number of votes than the others, then it shall be decided by fair
and equal lot (unless it can be agreed by a majority of votes) which of the
places having equal numbers shall be thrown out of the competition, so that
the question shall be put on the remaining two, and if on this ultimate ques-
tion the votes shall be equally divided, it shall then be decided finally by lot.

SECTION X. The said overseers having determined the place at which the
grammar school for their district shall be built, shall forthwith (unless they
can otherwise agree with the proprietors of the circumjacent lands as to loca-
tion and price) make application to the clerk of the county in which the
said house is to be situated, who shall thereupon issue a writ, in the nature
of a writ of ad quod damnum, directed to the sheriff of the said county
commanding him to summon and impanel twelve fit persons to meet at
the place, so destined for the grammar school-house, on a certain day, to be
named in the said writ, not less than five, nor more than ten, days from the
date thereof; and also to give notice of the same to the proprietors and ten-
ants of the lands to be viewed if they be found within the county, and if
not, then to their agents therein if any they have. Which freeholders shall
be charged by the said sheriff impartially, and to the best of their skill and
judgment to view the lands round about the said place, and to locate and
circumscribe, by certain meets and bounds, one hundred acres thereof, hav-
ing regard therein principally to the benefit and convenience of the said
school, but respecting in some measure also the convenience of the said pro-
prietors, and to value and appraise the same in so many several and distinct

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parcels as shall be owned or held by several and distinct owners or tenants, and according to their respective interests and estates therein. And after such location and appraisement so made, the said sheriff shall forthwith return the same under the hands and seals of the said jurors, together with the writ, to the clerk's office of the said county and the right and property of the said proprietors and tenants in the said lands so circumscribed shall be immediately devested and be transferred to the commonwealth for the use of the said grammar school, in full and absolute dominion, any want of consent or disability to consent in the said owners or tenants notwithstanding. But it shall not be lawful for the said overseers so to situate the grammar school-house, nor to the said jurors so to locate the said lands, as to include the mansion-house of the proprietor of the lands, nor the offices, curtilage, or garden, thereunto immediately belonging.

SECTION XI. The said overseers shall forthwith proceed to have a house of brick or stone, for the said grammar school, with necessary offices, built on the said lands, which grammar school-house shall contain a room for the school, a hall to dine in, four rooms for a master and usher, and ten or twelve lodging rooms for the scholars.

SECTION XII. To each of the said grammar schools shall be allowed out of the public treasury, the sum of — pounds, out of which shall be paid by the Treasurer, on warrant from the Auditors, to the proprietors or tenants of the lands located, the value of their several interests as fixed by the jury, and the balance thereof shall be delivered to the said overseers to defray the expense of the said buildings.

SECTION XIII. In either of these grammar schools shall be taught the Latin and Greek languages, English Grammar, geography, and the higher part of numerical arithmetick, to wit, vulgar and decimal fractions, and the extrication of the square and cube roots.

SECTION XIV. A visiter from each county constituting the district shall be appointed, by the overseers, for the county, in the month of October annually, either from their own body or from their county at large, which visitors, or the greater part of them, meeting together at the said grammar school on the first Monday in November, if fair, and if not, then on the next fair day, excluding Sunday, shall have power to choose their own Rector, who shall call and preside at future meetings, to employ from time to time a master, and if necessary, an usher, for the said school, to remove them at their will, and to settle the price of tuition to be paid by the scholars. They shall also visit the school twice in every year at the least, either together or separately at their discretion, examine the scholars, and see that any general plan of instruction recommended by the visitors, of William and Mary College shall be observed. The said masters and ushers, before they enter on the

execution of their office, shall give assent and wealth.

SECTION XV. A steward shall be employed by the master, on such wages as the visitors shall determine, for the procuring provisions, fuels, servants, washing, mending, and gardening, the expence of which, together with the steward's wages among all the scholars boarding either on the part of those who are on private expences due to the master or usher, shall be paid by the scholars, their parents, or guardians, and together with costs, on motion in any thereof being previously given to the parsons, or enquire of the damages. The direction of the visitors, see that the necessary enclosures be made and repaired, at time to time, be submitted to the Auditor and Treasurer.

SECTION XVI. Every overseer of the hundred shall, on the first of September annually, after the most diligent inquiry, appoint from among the boys within the district at least at some one of the schools under his care, if the parents are too poor to give them farther education, a boy of most promising genius and disposition, of his district; which appointment shall be made by the visitors of the county, and on the court day for that month, or the next fair day, excluding Sunday, in the presence of them at the least, assembled on the bench, the overseer being previously sworn by them to do his duty in favor or affection, according to the best opinion of the overseer, and interrogated by the Aldermen, either on the spot or from the parents, guardians, friends, or friends, for such appointment; which teachers shall be nominated by the Aldermen. On which intimation they be not satisfied with the appointment, they may remove it; whereupon the said visiter may present the matter and the said Aldermen again to interrogate the overseer until an appointment be approved.

SECTION XVII. Every boy so appointed shall be sent to the grammar school of his district, there to be educated, for the time as is hereafter limited; and his quarters shall be provided together with a compensation to the master

eral and distinct owners or tenants, and estates therein. And after such said sheriff shall forthwith returne said jurors, together with the writ, and the right and property of the said so circumscribed shall be immediately commonwealth for the use of the dominion, any want of consent or or tenants notwithstanding. But it is so to situate the grammar school in the said lands, as to include the lands, nor the offices, curtilage, or

mar schools shall be allowed out of the said lands, out of which shall be paid by the said jurors, to the proprietors or tenants of the interests as fixed by the jury, and the said overseers to defray the expense

ar schools shall be taught the Latin, geography, and the higher part of decimal fractions, and the extrica-

ity constituting the district shall be met together in the month of October annually, from their county at large, which meeting together at the said grammar school, if fair, and if not, then on the next fair day, to choose their own Rector, who shall employ from time to time a schoolmaster for the said school, to remove them at any time on to be paid by the scholars. They shall be paid yearly at the least, either together or separately, and see that any general meeting of the visiters, of William and Mary College, and ushers, before they enter on the

execution of their office, shall give assurance of fidelity to the commonwealth.

SECTION XV. A steward shall be employed, and removed at will by the master, on such wages as the visiters shall direct; which steward shall see to the procuring provisions, fuels, servants for cooking, waiting, house cleaning, washing, mending, and gardening on the most reasonable terms; the expence of which, together with the steward's wages, shall be divided equally among all the scholars boarding either on the public or private expence. And the part of those who are on private expence, and also the price of their tuitions due to the master or usher, shall be paid quarterly by the respective scholars, their parents, or guardians, and shall be recoverable, if withheld, together with costs, on motion in any Court of Record, ten days' notice thereof being previously given to the party, and a jury impanelled to try the issue joined, or enquire of the damages. The said steward shall also, under the direction of the visiters, see that the houses be kept in repair, and necessary enclosures be made and repaired, the accounts for which, shall, from time to time, be submitted to the Auditors, and on their warrant paid by the Treasurer.

SECTION XVI. Every overseer of the hundred schools shall, in the month of September annually, after the most diligent and impartial examination and inquiry, appoint from among the boys who shall have been two years at the least at some one of the schools under his superintendence, and whose parents are too poor to give them farther education, someone of the best and most promising genius and disposition, to proceed to the grammar school of his district; which appointment shall be made in the court-house of the county, and on the court day for that month if fair, and if not, then on the next fair day, excluding Sunday, in the presence of the Aldermen, or two of them at the least, assembled on the bench for that purpose, the said overseer being previously sworn by them to make such appointment, without favor or affection, according to the best of his skill and judgment, and being interrogated by the Aldermen, either on their own motion, or on suggestions from the parents, guardians, friends, or teachers of the children, competitors for such appointment; which teachers the parents shall attend for the information of the Aldermen. On which interrogatories the said Aldermen, if they be not satisfied with the appointment proposed, shall have right to negative it; whereupon the said visiter may proceed to make a new appointment, and the said Aldermen again to interrogate and negative, and so toties quoties until an appointment be approved.

SECTION XVII. Every boy so appointed shall be authorized to proceed to the grammar school of his district, there to be educated and boarded during such time as is hereafter limited; and his quota of the expences of the house together with a compensation to the master or usher for his tuition, at the

rate of twenty dollars by the year, shall be paid by the Treasurer quarterly on warrant from the Auditors.

SECTION XVIII. A visitation shall be held, for the purpose of probation, annually at the said grammar school on the last Monday in September, if fair, and if not, then on the next fair day, excluding Sunday, at which one third of the boys sent thither by appointment of the said overseers, and who shall have been there one year only, shall be discontinued as public foundationers, being those who, on the most diligent examination and enquiry, shall be thought to be the least promising genius and disposition; and of those who shall have been there two years, all shall be discontinued save one only the best in genius and disposition, who shall be at liberty to continue there four years longer on the public foundation, and shall thence forward be deemed a senior.

SECTION XIX. The visitors for the districts which, or any part of which, be southward and westward of James river, as known by that name, or by the names of Fluvanna and Jackson's river, in every other year, to wit, at the probation meetings held in the years, distinguished in the Christian computation by odd numbers, and the visitors for all the other districts at their said meetings to be held in those years, distinguished by even numbers, after diligent examination and enquiry as before directed, shall chuse one among the said seniors, of the best learning and most hopeful genius and disposition, who shall be authorized by them to proceed to William and Mary College; there to be educated, boarded, and clothed, three years; the expence of which annually shall be paid by the Treasurer on warrant from the Auditors.

A BILL FOR ESTABLISHING A PUBLIC LIBRARY¹

1779

SECTION I. Be it enacted by the General Assembly, that on the first day of January, in every year, there shall be paid out of the treasury the sum of two thousand pounds, to be laid out in such books and maps as may be proper to be preserved in a public library, and in defraying the expences necessary for the care and preservation thereof; which library shall be established at the town of Richmond.²

SECTION II. The two houses of Assembly shall appoint three persons of learning and attention to literary matters, to be visitors of the said library, and shall remove them, and fill any vacancies from time to time, as they shall think fit; which visitors shall have power to receive the annual sums before mentioned, and therewith to procure such books and maps as afore-

¹ This is Chapter LXXXI of the *Report of the Revisors*.

² Richmond became the capital of Virginia in 1779.

said, and shall superintend the press; if they shall be found necessary they shall be paid at their will, on such annual salary as they shall think reasonable.

SECTION III. If during the time of importation shall be hazardous, or if the rate of importation from any state from which such articles are imported be such that they cannot be imported to this country in future day, the visitors shall place them in the public loan office, if any there be, and shall suffer them to remain in the trust of the public, employing them.

SECTION IV. It shall not be lawful for any person to remove from the library, or any other person to remove from the library, unless it be for the necessary use of the library, by indulging the researches of the public, in said library, without fee or reward, and in good order and condition.

SECTION V. The visitors shall annually receive the vouchers and leave with them the vouchers into their hands.

OBJECTIONS TO SENDING EUROPEAN YOUTH TO AMERICA

October

But why send an American youth to Europe for the objects of an useful American education? Languages, chiefly French, Spanish, and Italian, Philosophy, Natural history, Civil history, and the mean to include Chemistry and Agriculture, Botany, as well as the other branches of science, that the habit of speaking the modern languages in America; but every other article can be learned in America; as at any place in Europe, as at Mary College, as at any place in Europe, with, and a young man is to prepare himself for his eyes (for America) either on Law or Philosophy, or to apply so advantageously as to Mr. Wyllyams in Europe: the medical class of students, to come to Europe. To enumerate them

¹ Letter, from Paris, to J. Bannister.

ficer of the students adjacent to his own lodge, which should include those of his own class of preference, and might be at the head of their table, if, as I suppose, it can be reconciled with the necessary economy to dine them in smaller and separate parties, rather than in a large and common mess. Those separate buildings, too, might be erected successively and occasionally, as the number of professorships and students should be increased, or the funds become competent.

I pray you to pardon me if I have stepped aside into the province of counsel; but much observation and reflection on these institutions have long convinced me that the large and crowded buildings in which youths are pent up, are equally unfriendly to health, to manners, morals and order.

PLAN FOR AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM¹

September 7, 1814

DEAR SIR: On the subject of the academy or college proposed to be established in our neighborhood, I promised the trustees that I would prepare for them a plan, adapted, in the first instance, to our slender funds, but susceptible of being enlarged, either by their own growth or by accession from other quarters.

I have long entertained the hope that this, our native State, would take up the subject of education, and make an establishment, either with or without incorporation, into that of William and Mary, where every branch of science, deemed useful at this day, should be taught in its highest degree. With this view, I have lost no occasion of making myself acquainted with the organization of the best seminaries in other countries, and with the opinions of the most enlightened individuals, on the subject of the sciences worthy of a place in such an institution. In order to prepare what I have promised our trustees, I have lately revised these several plans with attention; and I am struck with the diversity of arrangement observable in them—no two alike. Yet, I have no doubt that these several arrangements have been the subject of mature reflection, by wise and learned men, who, contemplating local circumstances, have adapted them to the conditions of the section of society for which they have been framed. I am strengthened in this conclusion by an examination of each separately, and a conviction that no one of them, if adopted without change, would be suited to the circumstances and pursuit of our country. The example they set, then, is authority for us to select from their different institutions the materials which are good for us, and, with them, to erect a structure, whose arrangement

shall correspond with our own social largement in proportion to the encouragement. As I may not be able to attend the meeting, I have deposited with you the depository of my ideas on the subject. You may proceed, by the better view of other institutions, to the prospects which open upon us, and provide for.

In the first place, we must ascertain the extent of the institution, by taking a survey of the ground, and then divide out the portion we mean to occupy at present. Our views beyond that, should we be able to extend them, should be as comprehensive as we would wish.

I. ELEMENTARY

It is highly interesting to our country, and to our families, to provide that every citizen in the land be proportioned to the condition and pursuits of his life. The land may be divided into two classes—the laboring and the learned. The laboring will need the first grade of education, and the learned will need it as a basis for higher studies. A plan was formerly proposed, dividing every county into hundreds or wards, within each of which should be a school, where they should receive reading, writing, arithmetic as far as fits the trade, and geography. The Legislature at one time introduced this plan, which having failed, it is now proposed to resume it in a more promising form.

2. GENERAL SCHOOLS

At the discharging of the pupils from the primary classes separate—those destined for labor, agriculture, or enter into apprenticeships, and those who, by their choice, their companions, destined to proceed to the college, which will consist, in part, of professional schools. The general schools of education.

The learned class may still be subdivided into those who are destined for learned professions, as the clergy, the wealthy, who, possessing independent fortune, are engaged in conducting the affairs of the nation, or to live in the private ranks of life. Both of these

¹ Letter to Peter Carr.

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EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM¹

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you the depository of my ideas on the subject, which may be corrected, as
you proceed, by the better view of others, and adapted, from time to time,
to the prospects which open upon us, and which cannot be specifically seen
and provided for.

In the first place, we must ascertain with precision the object of our in-
stitution, by taking a survey of the general field of science, and marking
out the portion we mean to occupy at first, and the ultimate extension of
our views beyond that, should we be enabled to render it, in the end, as
comprehensive as we would wish.

I. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

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aries, to provide that every citizen in it should receive an education pro-
portioned to the condition and pursuits of his life. The mass of our citizens
may be divided into two classes—the laboring and the learned. The labor-
ing will need the first grade of education to qualify them for their pursuits
and duties; the learned will need it as a foundation for further acquire-
ments. A plan was formerly proposed to the legislature of this State for
laying off every county into hundreds or wards of five or six miles square,
within each of which should be a school for the education of the children
of the ward, wherein they should receive three years' instruction gratis, in
reading, writing, arithmetic as far as fractions, the roots and ratios, and
geography. The Legislature at one time tried an ineffectual expedient for
introducing this plan, which having failed, it is hoped they will some day
resume it in a more promising form.

2. GENERAL SCHOOLS

At the discharging of the pupils from the elementary schools, the two
classes separate—those destined for labor will engage in the business of
agriculture, or enter into apprenticeships to such handicraft art as may be
their choice; their companions, destined to the pursuits of science, will pro-
ceed to the college, which will consist, 1st of general schools; and, 2d, of
professional schools. The general schools will constitute the second grade
of education.

The learned class may still be subdivided into two sections: 1, Those who
are destined for learned professions, as means of livelihood; and, 2, The
wealthy, who, possessing independent fortunes, may aspire to share in con-
ducting the affairs of the nation, or to live with usefulness and respect in
the private ranks of life. Both of these sections will require instruction in

all the higher branches of science; the wealthy to qualify them for either public or private life; the professional section will need those branches, especially, which are the basis of their future profession, and a general knowledge of the others, as auxiliary to that, and necessary to their standing and association with the scientific class. All the branches, then, of useful science, ought to be taught in the general schools, to a competent degree, in the first instance. These sciences may be arranged into three departments, not rigorously scientific, indeed, but sufficiently so for our purposes. These are, I. Language; II. Mathematics; III. Philosophy.

I. Language. In the first department, I would arrange a distinct science. 1, Languages and History, ancient and modern; 2, Grammar; 3, Belles Lettres; 4, Rhetoric and Oratory; 5, A school for the deaf, dumb and blind. History is here associated with languages, not as a kindred subject, but on the principle of economy, because both may be attained by the same course of reading, if books are selected with that view.

II. Mathematics. In the department of Mathematics, I should give place distinctly: 1, Mathematics pure; 2, Physico-Mathematics; 3, Physics; 4, Chemistry; 5, Natural History, *to wit*: Mineralogy; 6, Botany; and 7, Zoology; 8, Anatomy; 9, the Theory of Medicine.

III. Philosophy. In the Philosophical department, I should distinguish: 1, Ideology; 2, Ethics; 3, the Law of Nature and Nations; 4, Government; 5, Political Economy.

But, some of these terms being used by different writers, in different degrees of extension, I shall define exactly what I mean to comprehend in each of them.

I. 3. Within the term of Belles Lettres I include poetry and composition generally, and criticism.

II. 1. I consider pure mathematics as the science of, 1, Numbers, and 2, Measure in the abstract; that of numbers comprehending Arithmetic, Algebra and Fluxions; that of Measure (under the general appellation of Geometry), comprehending Trigonometry, plane and spherical, conic sections, and transcendental curves.

II. 2. Physico-Mathematics treat of physical subjects by the aid of mathematical calculation. These are Mechanics, Statics, Hydrostatics, Hydrodynamics, Navigation, Astronomy, Geography, Optics, Pneumatics, Acoustics.

II. 3. Physics, or Natural Philosophy (not entering the limits of Chemistry), treat of natural substances, their properties, mutual relations and action. They particularly examine the subjects of motion, action, magnetism, electricity, galvanism, light, meteorology, with an etc. not easily enumerated. These definitions and specifications render immaterial the question whether I use the generic terms in the exact degree of comprehension in which others use them; to be understood is all that is necessary to the present object.

3. PROFESSIONAL

At the close of this course the student will have acquired a sufficient stock of knowledge, to which their views may lead them, in the professional schools, constituting the third department, the particular sciences which they are to pursue, with more minuteness and depth than in the general schools for the second grade. In the professional schools each science is to be taught in its own department. They are to be the

1st Department, the fine arts, to wit: Painting, Sculpture, and the Theory of Music.

2d Department, Architecture, Military Engineering, Economy (comprehending Agriculture, Commerce, Political Philosophy, the Practice of Medicine and Surgery. In the

3d Department, Theology and Ecclesiastical History, Foreign.

To these professional schools will correspond the first elementary course, to wit:

The lawyer to the school of law.

The ecclesiastic to that of theology and church history.

The physician to those of medicine, surgery, and anatomy.

The military man to that of military engineering and fortifications.

The agricultor to that of rural economy.

The gentleman, the architect, the painter, the musician to the school of fine arts.

And to that of technical philosophy will correspond the schools of the shipwright, pumpmaker, clockmaker, gunsmith, founder, cutler, druggist, brewer, vintner, soapmaker, tanner, powdermaker, saltpetre maker, as shall be necessary to pursue their art with precision. These schools, as well as those of geometry, mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, navigation, astronomy, geography, optics, natural history, botany, mineralogy and chemistry, will be taught in the professional schools.

The school of technical philosophy will be distinct from the other professional schools. The particular sciences taught in the professional schools will be taught on a general scale only. The technical schools will be taught on a particular scale.

al section will need those branches, their future profession, and a general to that, and necessary to their standard. All the branches, then, of use: general schools, to a competent degree may be arranged into three degrees, but sufficiently so for our purposes; III. Philosophy.

I would arrange a distinct science, and modern; 2, Grammar; 3, Belles school for the deaf, dumb and blind, as, not as a kindred subject, but on may be attained by the same course that view.

of Mathematics, I should give place Physico-Mathematics; 3, Physics; 4, Mineralogy; 6, Botany; and 7, Zoology.

department, I should distinguish: Nature and Nations; 4, Government;

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the science of, 1, Numbers, and 2, Arts comprehending Arithmetic, Algebra (under the general appellation of Geometry, plane and spherical, conic sections

ysical subjects by the aid of mathematics, Statics, Hydrostatics, Hydrodynamics, Optics, Pneumatics, Acoustics, not entering the limits of Chemistry, properties, mutual relations and effects of motion, action, magnetism, with an etc. not easily enumerated. I immaterial the question whether of comprehension in which others necessary to the present object.

At the close of this course the students separate; the wealthy retiring, with a sufficient stock of knowledge, to improve themselves to any degree to which their views may lead them, and the professional section to the professional schools, constituting the third grade of education, and teaching the particular sciences which the individuals of this section mean to pursue, with more minuteness and detail than was within the scope of the general schools for the second grade of instruction. In these professional schools each science is to be taught in the highest degree it has yet attained. They are to be the

1st *Department*, the fine arts, to wit: Civil Architecture, Gardening, Painting, Sculpture, and the Theory of Music; the

2d *Department*, Architecture, Military and Naval; Projectiles, Rural Economy (comprehending Agriculture, Horticulture and Veterinary), Technical Philosophy, the Practice of Medicine, Materia Medica, Pharmacy and Surgery. In the

3d *Department*, Theology and Ecclesiastical History; Law, Municipal and Foreign.

To these professional schools will come those who separated at the close of their first elementary course, to wit:

The lawyer to the school of law.

The ecclesiastic to that of theology and ecclesiastical history.

The physician to those of medicine, materia medica, pharmacy and surgery.

The military man to that of military and naval architecture and projectiles.

The agricultor to that of rural economy.

The gentleman, the architect, the pleasure gardener, painter and musician to the school of fine arts.

And to that of technical philosophy will come the mariner, carpenter, shipwright, pumpmaker, clockmaker, machinist, optician, metallurgist, founder, cutler, druggist, brewer, vintner, distiller, dyer, painter, bleacher, soapmaker, tanner, powdermaker, saltmaker, glassmaker, to learn as much as shall be necessary to pursue their art understandingly, of the sciences of geometry, mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydrodynamics, navigation, astronomy, geography, optics, pneumatics, physics, chemistry, natural history, botany, mineralogy and pharmacy.

The school of technical philosophy will differ essentially in its functions from the other professional schools. The others are instituted to ramify and dilate the particular sciences taught in the schools of the second grade on a general scale only. The technical school is to abridge those which were

taught there too much *in extenso* for the limited wants of the artificer or practical man. These artificers must be grouped together, according to the particular branch of science in which they need elementary and practical instruction; and a special lecture or lectures should be prepared for each group. And these lectures should be given in the evening, so as not to interrupt the labors of the day. The school, particularly, should be maintained wholly at the public expense, on the same principles with that of the ward schools. Through the whole of the collegiate course, at the hours of recreation on certain days, all the students should be taught the manual exercise; military evolutions and manœuvres should be under a standing organization as a military corps, and with proper officers to train and command them.

A tabular statement of this distribution of the sciences will place the system of instruction more particularly in view:

1st or Elementary Grade in the Ward Schools.

Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography.

2d, or General Grade.

1. Language and History, ancient and modern.
2. Mathematics, *viz.*: Mathematics pure, Physico-Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Anatomy, Theory of Medicine, Zoology, Botany and Mineralogy.
3. Philosophy, *viz.*: Ideology, and Ethics, Law of Nature and Nations, Government, Political Economy.

3d, or Professional Grades.

Theology and Ecclesiastical History; Law, Municipal and Foreign; Practice of Medicine; Materia Medica and Pharmacy; Surgery; Architecture, Military and Naval, and Projectiles; Technical Philosophy; Rural Economy; Fine Arts.

On this survey of the field of science, I recur to the question, what portion of it we mark out for the occupation of our institution? With the first grade of education we shall have nothing to do. The sciences of the second grade are our first object; and, to adapt them to our slender beginnings, we must separate them into groups, comprehending many sciences each, and greatly more, in the first instance, than ought to be imposed on, or can be competently conducted by a single professor permanently. They must be subdivided from time to time, as our means increase, until each professor shall have no more under his care than he can attend to with advantage to his pupils and ease to himself. For the present, we may group the sciences into professorships, as follows, subject, however, to be changed, according to the qualifications of the persons we may be able to engage.

I. Professor.

Language and History, and Belles Lettres, Rhetoric and

II. Professor.

Mathematics pure, Physics, Physics, Anatomy, Medicine

III. Professor.

Chemistry, Zoology, Botany

IV. Professor.

Philosophy.

The organization of the branch of the government, police and economy, depending affinity with those of its institution, may be of great consideration.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TRA
MONTICELLO 1

February 27.

The books stand at present in pine cases. The cases are generally of three tiers high in the whole. The lowest case is 6¾ inches and the uppermost 5¾, averaging for the front of boards to be nailed on, we have measured the surface of wall which be 855.39 feet, which divided into the depth of the feet would be the feet the books. I find a cubical foot of books is the weight of dry pine also, we need not of the wood and the books, but say the weight makes 27,046 pounds, or eleven waggon loads.

It is said that waggon hire at Washington themselves here it is exactly half that price.

¹ This accompanied a letter to Samuel Harrison authorizing the purchase of Jefferson's library, consisting of 1815. Altogether it took 10 wagons to transport the on May 8. The trip from Monticello to Washington wrote to Smith, May 8, 1815: "It is the choicest collection I hope it will not be without some general effect. The library became the foundation of the great Library of his superb collection.

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 and Pharmacy; Surgery; Architecture,
 Technical Philosophy; Rural Economy;

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 an ought to be imposed on, or can be
 professor permanently. They must be
 ir means increase, until each professor
 an he can attend to with advantage to
 he present, we may group the sciences
 ct, however, to be changed, according
 e may be able to engage.

68]

I. Professorship.

Language and History, ancient and modern.
 Belles Lettres, Rhetoric and Oratory.

II. Professorship.

Mathematics pure, Physico-Mathematics.
 Physics, Anatomy, Medicine, Theory.

III. Professorship.

Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy.

IV. Professorship.

Philosophy.

The organization of the branch of the institution which respects its gov-
 ernment, police and economy, depending on principles which have no
 affinity with those of its institution, may be the subject of separate and subse-
 quent consideration.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TRANSPORTATION OF THE MONTICELLO LIBRARY¹

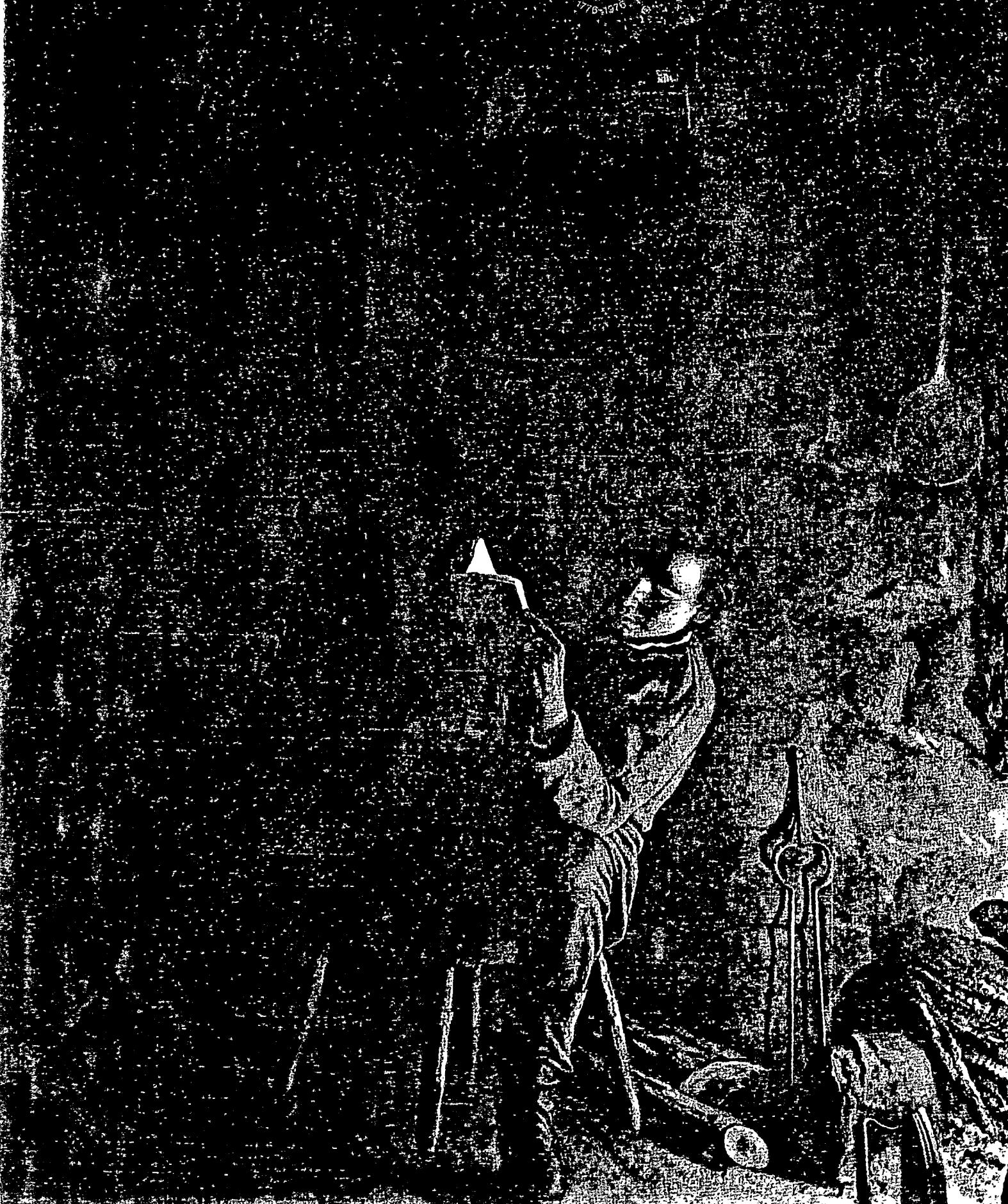
February 27, 1815

The books stand at present in pine cases with backs and shelves without
 fronts. The cases are generally of three tier, one upon another, about 9 feet
 high in the whole. The lowest case is generally 13 inches deep, the second
 6¾ inches and the uppermost 5¾, averaging 8½ inches, to that add ¾ inch
 for the front of boards to be nailed on, and it makes 9¼ inches depth. I
 have measured the surface of wall which these cases cover and find it to
 be 855.39 feet, which divided into the depth of 9½ inches equals 676 cubic
 feet; of this 232 cubic feet would be the wood of the cases and 444 cubic
 feet the books. I find a cubical foot of books to weigh 40 pounds, and as this
 is the weight of dry pine also, we need not distinguish between the weight
 of the wood and the books, but say the whole 676 cubic feet at 40 pounds
 makes 27,046 pounds, or eleven waggon loads of 2,458 each.

It is said that waggon hire at Washington is eight dollars a day, finding
 themselves here it is exactly half that price, or a half dozen waggons can be

¹ This accompanied a letter to Samuel Harrison Smith, Jefferson's agent. Congress had au-
 thorized the purchase of Jefferson's library, consisting of nearly 6,500 volumes, on January 30,
 1815. Altogether it took 10 wagons to transport the books, the last wagon leaving Monticello
 on May 8. The trip from Monticello to Washington took six days. Of his library, Jefferson
 wrote to Smith, May 8, 1815: "It is the choicest collection of books in the United States, and
 I hope it will not be without some general effect on the literature of our country." The li-
 brary became the foundation of the great Library of Congress. Jefferson received \$23,950 for
 his superb collection.

EVOLUTION OF LEARNERS

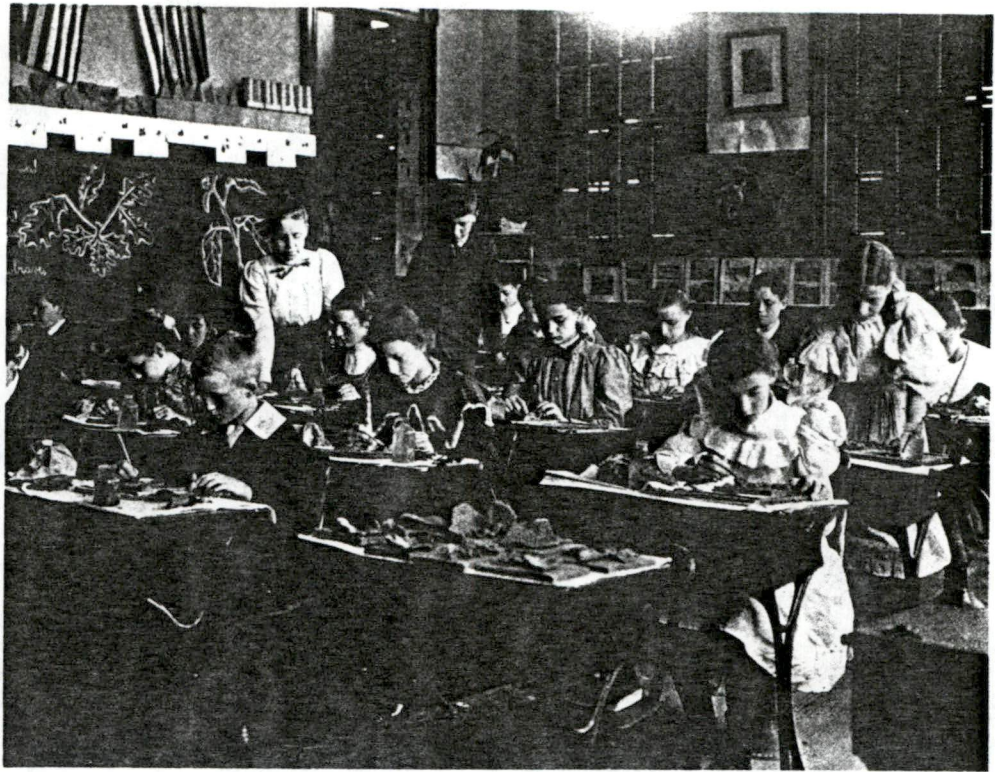


in a few sheltered crafts like the
ng' trades; in which traditional
iques remained intact. In the fluid,
hanging environment of the United
after 1870, children no longer took it
anted that they would usually follow
cupations of their parents. Kinship
rks were no longer adequate, and an
ative method of finding niches for
oung or of sorting them out and
ring them for future careers was
ial.

ericans thrust the responsibility for
ming that function upon the schools
in the process, transformed the system
ucation so that it could do the job of
ion and of vocational training. The
is were the appropriate instruments
se they had long asserted the claim
hey were useful and at the same time
conveyors of culture; they could
nstrate the validity of their claim by
ling a series of filters at the crucial
of life which would direct each
dual to the station his talents
ved. The Jeffersonian view of
tion as an instrument for defining
istocracy of talent to lead the Nation
broadened into a vision of a
nism for assigning all places in
y.

e concept of the school as the testing
id for ability was in accord with the
cratic impulses gaining power as the
ry drew to a close. It offered a means
solving all the relics of privilege and
ited status which limited equality of
rtunity. Within the walls of the school
er family, nor wealth, nor race, nor
would count, only merit. On this
al ground, therefore, each person
compete without handicap in the
st for the success to which all aspired.
the practice fell far short of these
ards, and that family, race, and
still counted did not diminish the
r of the ideal.

a century, American schools
gled to adapt themselves for service as
els of social mobility. Only criteria,
nistration, organization, and
ing that were uniform and standard
enable them to turn out a product
g credentials recognizable as valid in
part of the country. The old hit-or-
lays when each institution devised its
curriculum and hired whatever
ctors it could afford were no longer
ate. A system developed within
the child passed through successive,
articulated stages to his destination.
entary, secondary, and higher
ation formed a three-tiered
anism of scrutiny, teaching, and
g, in the effort to locate ability and to
each pupil to his or her proper role



To insure the efficiency of the process
demanded professionalism of staff.
Trained teachers and administrators
would not only command knowledge of the
subjects taught but also of the procedures
for conveying the information and skills
and for evaluating the progress of the
students. The evolving bureaucratic
structure crowded out the casuals who had
formerly moved in and out of teaching,
the expedients being to insist upon a defined
course of preparation and to establish firm
qualifications for entering upon and
advancing in careers in the schools.

In retrospect, the imperfections of the
system are evident. Residual biases favored
some families, ethnic groups, regions, and
classes at the expense of others. From the
perspective of the 1970s, the conditions of

competition seem to have been far from
equal, and the very conception of a merit-
oriented competitive process may be
questioned. But viewed in the context of
the era in which it developed, the
educational system deserves a more
favorable judgment; in a period of rapid
change, it undoubtedly furthered social
mobility and it inhibited stratification,
thus helping to preserve in an industrial
environment the open access to
opportunity the frontier had provided in
the rural past.

The evolving American schools after
1870 also performed another social
function. Ever more often they were
expected, in addition to whatever else they
did, to act as agencies of acculturation and
assimilation, instructing their charges in a



have received doctoral or
lent professional degrees from
an universities over the past
. For most blacks and ethnic poor,
education has been a nonachievable
The situation has improved
at during the past decade. But the
ilities remain. A far larger
tion of whites than blacks enter
. The ratio is nearly two to one.

ured by the experience of other
s, of course, the American story of
ing higher educational opportunity
extraordinary success. Over nine
young Americans presently attend
s and universities in the United

A group that size represents a
ing "elite" by any measure. In one
the term "elite" becomes
gless when applied to the modern
generation. On the basis of
ent statistics alone, equality of
ional opportunity during the past
v has increased by quantum leaps.

, the story is more complex than the
arithmetic suggests. Not only has
ination persisted toward women
norities, a class system has survived
hrough the egalitarian revolution.

institutions of higher education are
d equal." Tradition has given some
s a peculiar distinctiveness; private
and the social position of the
s of students have blessed these or
institutions with special prestige;
nts of leadership and State pride
made some of the great State
ities "more equal" than others; of
nstitutions of higher education, not
than 100 or so are recognized as
centers of creative scholarship. The

to survival of all-black and of
is colleges are real and, if they do
ear, valued options for students will
uced still further. For millions of

students, local community colleges, four-
year/low-tuition public institutions, or
proprietary schools are the real
opportunities for postsecondary education.

Patently, not everyone can go to
Harvard. But controversy still exists about
what principles should determine who goes
to an Ivy League college. Should academic
brilliance be the sole qualification? If so,
does the system not substitute a
meritocracy for an aristocracy—
perpetuating elitist tendencies in the social
order? Should Harvard, in the name of
equality, admit a random sample of high
school graduates from across the Nation?
On the other hand, is a lottery a useful
surrogate for real equality? And if such a
random sample of students competed as
Harvard undergraduates, would not only
the top scholars survive and be admitted to
graduate professional schools, and to
graduate schools of arts and sciences—
enthroning an elite at a different level of
education? And why not? Who would want
to receive medical treatment or legal
services from poorly qualified
professionals?

Public policy and institutional policy are
trying to thread their way through these
and related moral issues. As the late
Richard Hofstadter wrote in his brilliant
essays for the Commission on Financing
Higher Education in the early 1950s: "The
United States has developed a system of
mass education without achieving the goal
of educational equality." The task of the
future is to sort out what we really mean by
educational equality, to assay its
compatibility with educational quality,
and to develop arrangements and
programs that can approximate what our
most informed moral sense tells us about
the contemporary educational meaning of
"All men are created equal."

Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness

A strange ambivalence has always
characterized America's moral posture: a
stated belief in equality; a rousing defense
of individual vitality. Like so many
dilemmas, this one can never be resolved.
Equality without individual freedom leads
to a social ant heap; freedom without
equality produces a vicious Darwinian
jungle.

For most of our history, the search of
individuals for a new life, for liberty, for
the pursuit of happiness has had a real
significance for an increasing number of
our citizens. Blessed with enormous
natural resources, and a political and
economic theory compatible with their
exploitation, the American Nation opened
up dazzling opportunities for alert and
aggressive individuals. Horatio Alger tales
of rags to riches were more than fiction.

They were part of the reality of national
growth.

"Higher Education—American Style"
has been a handmaiden of upward
mobility. The intellectually promising,
regardless of class status, have found far
greater opportunities here for access to
higher education, and for entry into
prestigious professions, than in any other
nation.

It is true, of course, that the classical
conservatism of the pre-Civil War
curriculum turned many entrepreneurial
types away from the higher learning. It is
also true that parts of the American
population, notably agriculture, have
always had a deep suspicion of "book
farmin'" and "book larnin'." But by the
turn of the 20th century, when Land-
Grant experiment stations and extension
services were conveying useful new
knowledge to the farming population, even
these attitudes began to change. The past
half century has seen a remarkable
demonstration of an increasing of faith in
the proposition that higher education is
an essential instrument for maximizing
career choice and avocational options.
When nine million young Americans incur
for themselves or their parents substantial
financial burdens in order to meet the
expenses and the opportunity costs of
higher education, someone obviously
believes in the worth of the enterprise.
Parents, students, philanthropists, and
local, State, and Federal governments
presently spend an estimated \$35 billion a
year on higher education.

There are, however, some disturbing
portents of disenchantment. Rising costs
and uncertainties about the occupational
"pay-offs" of a liberal education have
caused some students to switch to trade
and technical schools, proprietary
institutes, and paraprofessional courses
taught in community colleges. High-
tuition but nonprestigious private
institutions are being particularly hard hit
by these changing costs and beliefs,
although a number of four-year residential
public institutions as well are suffering
drops in enrollment. After 1980, because
of changing demographic trends in the
Nation at large, enrollments in higher
education institutions are likely to drop in
any case. Unless some means are found to
ease the direct financial burdens of higher
education on parents and students, the
drop may be severe.

Will the next quarter century see the
rapid demise of our faith that the *quality*
of individual lives, encapsulated in spirit
by the "life, liberty, pursuit of happiness"
clause of the Declaration, is somehow
related to higher education? This is surely
one possibility. Social institutions are not
immortal. Unless they continually justify

LIFELONG LEARNING



BY RONALD AND BEATRICE GROSS



In the education of a nation, as in that of an individual, the greater part occurs outside of schools and colleges. As the distinguished educational statesman Dewey wrote in 1930, "Schools are the ultimate formative force. Social conditions, the trend of occupations, the pattern of social arrangements, and the controlling influences in shaping Effective education, that really leaves a stamp on character and thought, is obtained when graduates take their part in the activities of society."

It is a touchstone of sanity in thinking about the roots of learning and teaching. We learn what we live. The classroom offers one specialized kind of learning, confined to one period of life and one part of the population. But the learning that enables individuals and communities to meet changing conditions and fulfill their potentialities is not stored

up during the years of schooling alone. It is, as it has always been, the daily creation of people learning and living together. The further back we peer into our educational history, and the further we look into its future, the clearer we see the force of nonschool learning.

As we cast our eyes backward it becomes clear that our greatest teachers were the land itself, in its vast loneliness and its promise of richness; the political and economic challenge of building whole communities, and later a whole society, from the ground up; voluntary groups, which the French observer Alexis de Tocqueville rightly remarked as so characteristically American; popular culture, variously represented by early newssheets, the Lyceums and Chautauquas of the 19th century, and today's commercial and public television; and a potent tradition of self-education stretching from Benjamin Franklin and Abraham Lincoln through Thomas Edison and Henry Ford down to Eric Hoffer and Malcolm X in our own day.

Above all, the great spur to learning was the American dream itself. The driving idea was that in this new world a man could fulfill his highest potentialities, become all that he was capable of being. In practice, to be sure, that noble ideal has not been uniformly applied. Throughout our history, considerably less than unlimited individual opportunity has been

afforded to various minorities, and perhaps most pervasively to black Americans. The ideal nevertheless persists. Thus in *Frontiers of American Culture*, the eminent historian, James Truslow Adams, observed after a lifetime of studying our past:

I think that what has perhaps struck me most has been the almost unique mobility of life in America, and, due to its infinite opportunities, the variety of jobs and positions—economic, social, political or other—which any individual may find himself filling in the course of his life. . . . from this has followed the need, above that felt in almost any other country, for constant readjustments, with their educational adjuncts of one sort or another, at almost any age This appears to have been an essential corollary to the whole nature of American life and the American Dream.

Let's focus in on some key moments in American history, to get at least a post-hoc sense of the pervasiveness and power of nonschool learning. The first settlers to these shores faced, and for the most part mastered, a learning challenge that dwarfs our highly touted "future shock." Imagine uprooting your family to emigrate to China—no, not China, more like the moon: an unknown, primitive, uncivilized, awesome fresh world. At once you face the task of disengaging

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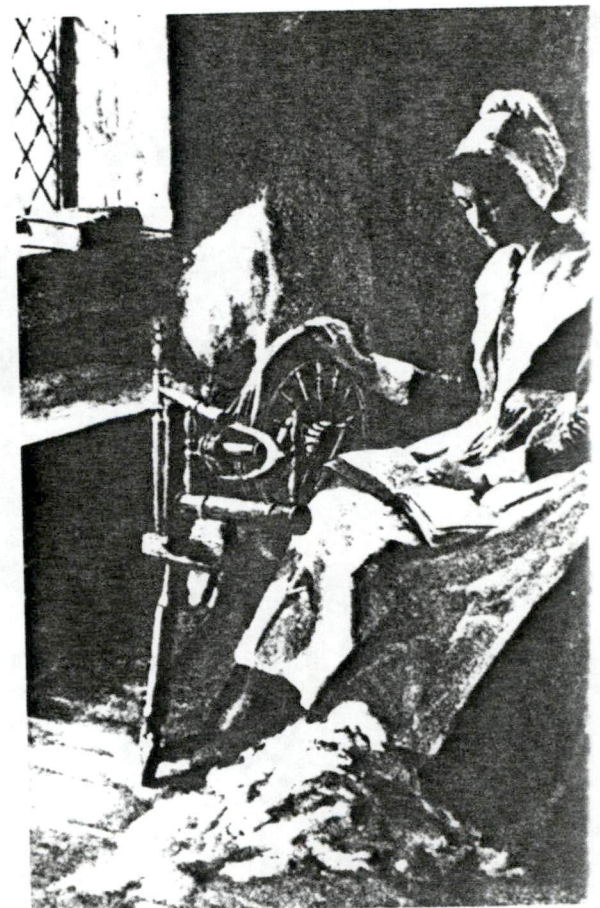
yourself from your cultural and social setting, of planning for the trip, of trying to foresee what the new world will be like, of planning and preparing for it. Once you get there you have the problems of acclimatization, of providing yourself with the necessities of life, of creating a culture, of writing laws and running a government, of creating a system of justice, of providing needed professional services. What other people have ever faced such a challenge to their ability to master new skills, understand situations quickly and well, make decisions, and create together? Beyond all other countries, this one has confronted its people with the challenge to learn and grow—or die.

The culture of the Colonies was created and transmitted without reliance on schools and colleges. We are taught that Massachusetts established schools in every township in 1647 and that Harvard was founded in 1636. But in fact what Massachusetts did was simply pass a statute which was honored more in the breach than in the observance until well into the 19th century. And what was created at Cambridge in the 17th century was not Harvard as we know it, but an inflated grammar school. Our now-great universities—Yale, Princeton, Wisconsin, California, and the like—are barely three generations old, in the sense of being true institutions of higher learning.



In early America it was the community and its institutions which educated the young. "Schooling went on anywhere and everywhere," one historian has noted. "Pupils were taught by anyone and everyone . . . and most teaching proceeded on an individual basis." If adults in general—rather than professional teachers—educated the children, who educated the adults? Their textbooks were the agendas of their town meetings,

the Sunday sermons and mid-winter lectures of their clergymen, the books, pamphlets, newspaper almanacs which proliferated in the 18th century. Voluntary organizations came to the fore early on. Its inspired by the Puritan divine Mather, who proposed in 1711 that neighbors form "benefit societies" to address themselves to the follow-



Bush advocates strong community influence

ich could well serve as the guid-
 iples for one of Ralph Nader's
 crest groups today:

any matter to be humbly moved unto
 ative power, to be enacted into a law
 benefit?

ny particular person whose disorderly
 may be so scandalous and so notorious
 ay do well to send unto the said person
 able admonitions?

e appear any instance of oppression or
 ce in the dealings of any sort of people
 all for our essays to get it rectified?

further methods be devised that
 and wickedness may be chased from
 in general and that household piety
 lar may flourish among them?

the founding fathers articulated
 ions of education, they thought
 ms of schooling but of the entire
 Jefferson was a great believer in
 "education historian Lawrence
 bserves, "but it never occurred to
 schooling would be the chief ed-
 influence on the young. School-
 t provide technical skills and
 wledge, but it was the press and
 ion in politics that really ed-
 ie citizenry. Public education
 only one part of the education
 ublic, and a relatively minor part

oint of view echoes throughout
 tive years of the Republic. It is
 dsomer ideal than the mere
 and maintenance of schools. It
 a society designed and operated
 wironment for learning and
 Washington, in his Farewell
 alled upon his countrymen to
 as an object of primary im-
 institutions for the general dif-
 knowledge." This commitment
 ularization of knowledge, to
 ion to every man the means to
 ly and act wisely, is rightly rec-
 y Dr. Cremin as the true
 f American education." We
 een, first and foremost, build-
 ational systems. We have been
 rs of learners.

great research universities and
 a time, towering intellectual
 ific figures, we nonetheless ex-
 ne democratization of culture.
 the earliest observers of pre-
 ry American life, as Merle
 ws in *Growth of American*
 noted the unique diffusion of
 here. America, it might be
 ished on a lot of little know-
 ner than on pinnacles of con-
 rainpower. It was an interest-
 nent which shaped intellectual

life in striking congruence with our
 democratic impulses. One would have to
 be bold to claim that our contemporary
 pattern—highly trained experts, expen-
 sive professionals, diplomaed and cre-
 dentialized managers, and government
 subsidized research—is an unequivocal
 advance.

Even more than Jefferson, the founder
 who symbolizes nonformal education is
 Benjamin Franklin. Himself self-edu-
 cated, he nevertheless fully recognized
 the need for institutional supports for
 learners. His informal group of 12 mem-
 bers, the Junto, met continually for 30
 years to discuss ideas and initiate social
 improvements. From their deliberations
 came a number of other organizations of
 nonformal education: a subscription li-
 brary, the American Philosophical

Society, an academy for young boys.

As America entered the 19th century,
 the burgeoning of splendid initiatives in
 nonformal education exceeds summariza-
 tion here. Two stunning inventions must
 be mentioned: the Lyceum and
 Chautauqua. The first, launched by
 Josiah Holbrook in 1826, endeavored to
 popularize scientific knowledge through
 the sponsorship of study groups and
 lecturers, and also to agitate for the es-
 tablishment of tax-supported public
 schools. In less than ten years it had 3,500
 local organizations, with an overlay of
 county, State, and national organiza-
 tions. The chapters created libraries and
 mini-museums, held weekly meetings, as-
 sembled and provided equipment for
 scientific experimentation, and hosted
 outside experts. Thoreau wrote in
Walden that "The one hundred and

THE
ILLUSTRATED
PRIMER;
 OR THE
FIRST BOOK FOR CHILDREN:
 DESIGNED FOR
HOME OR PARENTAL INSTRUCTION.
 EMBELLISHED WITH
NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS, AND PRETTY STORIES,
Which will please the Children amazingly!



OH, WHAT A PRETTY BOOK! SAID CHARLEY TO ANNE.

NEW YORK:
 PUBLISHED BY GEORGE F. COOLEIDGE & BROTHER,
 323 PEARL STREET, FRANKLIN SQUARE.
 And also published and for sale by all the principal Booksellers
 throughout the United States of America
 and the Territories.

twenty-five dollars annually subscribed for a Lyceum in the winter is better spent than any other equal sum raised in the town."

Following Franklin's fine pattern of stressing both individual self-improvement and social reconstruction, the Lyceums stimulated not only the public school movement but also, some historians argue, the establishment of the U.S. Weather Bureau, library extension, museums and scientific laboratories, the National Education Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

In the late 19th century the Chautauqua movement revived many of the impulses behind the Lyceums, though with added features—including summer schools offering plays, concerts, lectures, recreational activities, and formal courses; and for those unable to break away, correspondence study and guided home reading. The motivating forces were religion, money, and self-improvement—perhaps the most quintessentially American educational mixture ever con-

cocted. The ideal of its inventor, John Vincent, could hardly be improved on today as an ideal for educators: "that education is the privilege of all, young and old, rich and poor, that mental development is only begun in school and college, and should be continued all of life." With the passage of time its small town base, its religious thrust, and its inevitable excesses and lapses have turned its name into a synonym for American middle-brow cultural strivings. But when it was vital, Chautauqua was an important vehicle in spreading progressive ideas on social, political, and economic issues—"the kind of thinking that supported the careers of Presidents like Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt," according to historian C. Hartley Grattan.

The Lyceums and Chautauqua were merely institutionalized distillations of an oceanic educational ferment during the 19th century. We can only tick off the other nonformal educational agencies and modes which proliferated: public libraries, institutes like Cooper Union in

New York, Lowell in Boston, Franklin in Philadelphia; vocational associations of myriad kinds; men's and women's service organizations, university worker's education, the pop culture of the great national debates on policy, movements such as temperance, women's suffrage, the founding of experimental communities.

Even more important than these were the social and economic conditions of the times. These were still conducive to learning and growth: young people could be educated, and participate in the world as it occurred around them. Apprenticeship training in most occupations there were few restrictions to the need for formal education and opportunities were plentiful for people to find and fulfill their needs.

Until the last 50 or 60 years, education thrived on an on-the-whole



"Soap and schooling," cautioned Mark Twain, "are not as sudden as a massacre, but are more deadly in the long run."

actical rather than academic learning. Learning outside of schools and colleges had been the mainstream. Distrust of schools stretches from Mark Twain, who remarked that "Soap and schooling are as sudden as a massacre, but are more so in the long run," to Margaret Fuller, who said: "My grandmother wanted me to get an education, so she sent me out of school." At the start of the nineteenth century, only ten percent of college-bound youngsters went on to college; the country was run by what we now call (to our damage) "dropouts," and who could argue that it was run with distinctly less humanity and reasonableness than if without computer technology and television research?

The significance of the Lyceums and the Nauvoo lies in the models they offered of an alternate tradition in American education—alternate to our mainstream conviction that education equals schooling. Horace Mann's crusade for public schools in the mid-1800s is usually presented as an unalloyed blessing. But there was another side to the matter, and from our historical vantage point it assumes considerable importance. "In the afternoon after hearing Horace Mann deliver one of his talks," writes philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson in his Journal: "We are shut in by the walls . . . for ten or fifteen years, and come out at last with a bellyful of words that do not know a thing." To know, for Emerson, meant to feel his poetic imagination soar. It meant to open his soul to



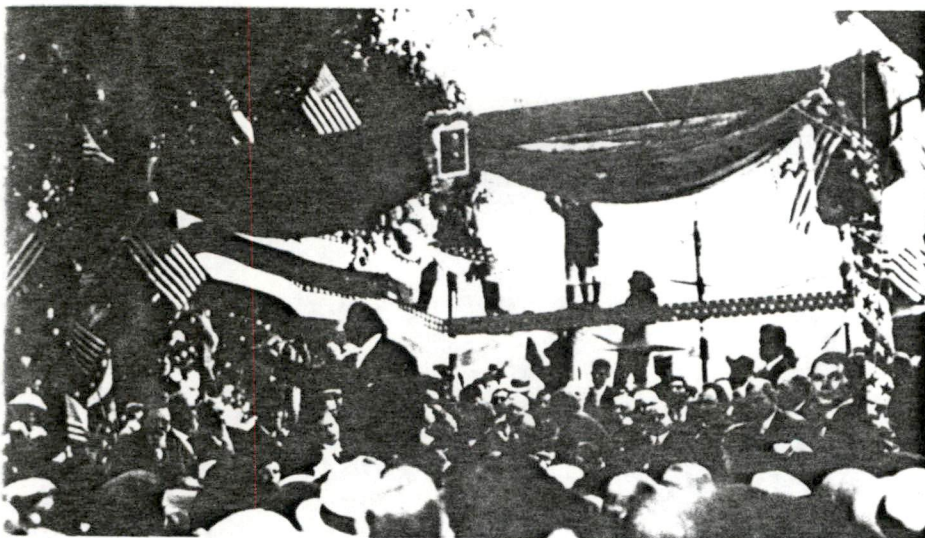
'private door.' If, as was likely, the school inculcated vulgar and self-serving habits, or the values associated with Trade, it would merely serve to perpetuate an inadequate society, an Establishment that was basically inhumane."

Of course, Mann won. The public school movement swept all before it. But the suppressed tradition of nonformal, anti-statist, individual education continued flowing underground. It bursts forth periodically, when the oppressiveness and ineffectiveness of the established system becomes intolerable. The most thoughtful spokesman in our time was

tive, and fulfilling callings and things to do, to grow up into. The policy I am proposing tends in this direction rather than away from it. By multiplying options, it should be possible to find an interesting course for each individual youth, as we now do for only some of the emotionally disturbed and the troublemakers. Voluntary adolescent choices are often random and foolish and usually transitory; but they are the likeliest ways of growing up reasonably. What is most essential is for the youth to see that he is taken seriously as a person, rather than fitted into an institutional system.

We do not have to peer into the past to see the potency of noninstitutionalized learning. If we merely open our eyes we will see it all around us today.

Even with schools and colleges so dominating our vision of education, the pervasiveness and importance of nonformal learning is readily demonstrable. Consider the vast educational enterprises of business and industry—occupational training, inservice training, occupational upgrading, manpower development, management and executive training. Add to it education in labor unions—apprentice programs, training of foremen and shop stewards—and an enormous armed forces network involving correspondence study, televised courses, and classroom instruction. Pile on top of this the educational work of churches and synagogues, community centers, civic organizations, voluntary groups, professional organizations with their conferences and conventions, the national health organizations, museums and galleries, libraries, government agencies, service clubs, and public television. Most



"The Great Commoner," William Jennings Bryan.

oversoul,' to see by the 'Divine light of reason' with which every human being is endowed. The Common School, being conventional or 'common' habit of thought and perception, seemed to be a barrier against authenticity. The reformers, he believed, would make impossible the 'self-reliance' which permitted God to enter through the

Paul Goodman, who thought through carefully but boldly the ways in which nonformal learning could provide answers to the problems besetting us in education today. His credo brings the suppressed tradition up to our own time: *Ideally, the polis itself is the educational environment; a good community consists of worthwhile, attrac-*

ent of all, add in the individual projects which, research reveals, ults engage in but don't consider "because they have been l to equate learning with taking

result of cumulating these diverse g activities is to reveal the linea- of a vast nonsystem of individual up learning which dwarfs institu- ed schooling. This is the kind of g by which Americans as persons, r communities and society, really nanging and expanding to meet g challenges of individual and ve life. The quality of learning



THOMAS EDISON

f life for us as individuals, and for Nation, is best measured by the y of these learning opportunities. If are narrow in breadth and uni- rative in character, our lives will be hial and unenterprising. If they are d, handsome, and challenging, so e our prospects for growth.

is is true even for children. Recent ses of the extant research on the h of youngsters in and outside of ls—by Earl Shaefer, James nan, and Christopher Jencks—re- hree truths which should deflate the ators' *chutzpah*. First, the most and formative period of a person's opment occurs before he or she en- school, and of course the family is the powerful agency in this develop-

ment. Second, the Coleman report and others reveal that the impact of the school on students' learning is much less than we have thought. Finally, the Jencks report showed that schooling as preparation for adult life is much less effective than most people believed. In short, each of us is essentially shaped *before school, outside of school, and after school*.

In other countries, by the way, what we call "nonformal education" is increasingly recognized as a prime concern of those committed to enhancing the role of reason and learning in national life. In nations as diverse as France, Denmark, Yugoslavia, China, and Tanzania, the first principle of educational theory and practice is that what we learn, what we become, derives from the press of our entire social and cultural experience. A proper concern for education, therefore, must far transcend preoccupation with schools and colleges. It must embrace not only continuing education of a formal or informal kind, but even more what the British cultural historian Raymond Williams calls "the whole environment, its institutions and relationships, (which) actively and profoundly teach." "Education permanente" is the label UNESCO has given to this broader set of concerns; it might also be described simply as learn-

ing and growth that are lifelong and life-wide, supported by a congenial environment of institutions and laws.

There is much talk today of the need to move toward a "Learning Society." But it is rarely recognized that there are two ways to reach for this great goal. One is to further extend and strengthen schools and colleges. The other is to empower individuals to learn and grow by giving them the resources, support, encouragement, and motivation to move forward on their own. We can concentrate exclusively on increasing the scope, the power, and the quality of formal education. Or we can choose to enlarge and multiply the opportunities to learn throughout the lifespan and throughout the society.

The fact that we grew the second way suggests that this may be a style that can serve us in the future. Having once learned together through our work and professions, through our communal life in city and country, through an inner commitment to individual fulfillment—perhaps we can create the kind of climate where that native impulse can catch fire anew. Perhaps we can go beyond expanding and improving formal education, and become once again a nation of learners.



TOWARD "A LEARNING SOCIETY"



BY STANLEY ELAM



no concept governing man's relations with man is more heady and beguiling than the one asserted early in the Declaration of Independence as self-evident: that **all men are created equal.** On this glittering generality successive generations have striven to build a system that will give everyone an equal chance. But there are questions: If everyone is born equal, should not the governance system remain aloof? Or, on the proposition that life itself produces inequalities, should it not devise rules and procedures for maintaining the balance?

The author of that provocative phrase in the Declaration was throughout his life an education zealot. He said: "Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day." He said: "Any nation that expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, expects what never was and never will be." And only three years after writing the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson and his friend George Wythe prepared for the consideration of the Virginia legislature "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge." It was intended to make universal education possible at public expense. Each free child (i.e., each white child) would attend

school for at least three years without charge. There was also to be a secondary and higher education system operated at State expense, with free tuition for the best scholars (boys only) of poor parents, though the less gifted offspring of the poor would be rigorously winnowed out.

It is a measure of the evolution of our democratic values that Jefferson's plan for education in Virginia is now considered supremely elitist, whereas in his own time it was judged so excessively philanthropic and hopelessly naive that the legislature refused even to debate it. Note that Jefferson could call for "general enlightenment" but exclude girls, Indians, and slaves and see no

inconsistency. Small wonder that we are still groping for an acceptable definition of universal education despite having debated the concept in philosophical, political, social, and economic terms ever since Jefferson wrote to a friend in 1786: "Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance, establish and improve the law for educating the common people."

Toward that end many writers and intellectuals at the turn of the 18th century offered ideas for a national system of education in the new Republic. A winning essayist in a competition sponsored by the American Philosophical Society (of which Jefferson was a chief officer) suggested schooling for all male





children from age five to 18, with every parent to see to it that his child either attend a classroom or receive a compensatory amount of instructional time at home. A number of writers called for a system supported, at least in part, from a fund to be raised by a tax on property.

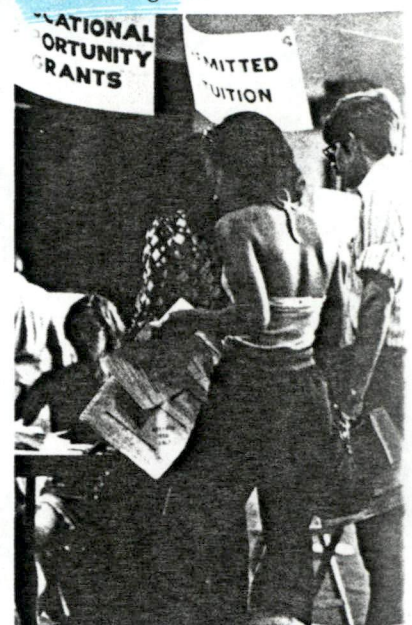
No national system was ever adopted, of course, for a variety of complex reasons. First, by the end of the Colonial period the idea of local control was already firmly entrenched. In addition, traditions varied so greatly from New England to the Carolinas, and communications were so difficult, that while national uniformity rolled readily from the pens of the essayists, it was in hard reality virtually impossible of achievement. Moreover, there was no little

opposition to the idea of universal education and the egalitarianism it implied. John Randolph proudly proclaimed, "I love liberty; I hate equality," and a subscriber to the *Raleigh Register* wrote, "I hope that you do not conceive it at all necessary that everybody should be able to read, write, and cipher." While it is probably accurate to say that most people in the early national period took a somewhat more liberal stance, the idea of providing education at public expense was something else again. Well into the 1800s in such bellwether cities as New York and Philadelphia, education was available to children of the poor only as a matter of private philanthropy, not public policy.

People reared on the pro-education

aphorisms of Jefferson, James M. George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin may in fact find it hard to appreciate how scanty formal education was in the early Republic. Not more than one school-age child in ten was enrolled in a State or community-supported school because so few of them existed, and as higher education is concerned, there were only about 3,000 graduates of the nine American colleges or one college graduate among each 100 people. It was not until 1870 that more than 50 percent of the adult population had graduated from any kind of school, public or private. Despite the entreaties of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and other Founding Fathers, universal education remained little more than an ideal over the first half of the Nation's history.

Among the first to enunciate the concept of a "common" school for all was an instrument for removing the barrier between differing socioeconomic classes was a Virginia Federalist named Fenton Mercer. "The equality on which our (democratic) institution is founded," he wrote in 1826, "cannot be too intimately interwoven in the habits of thinking among our youth; and it is obvious that it would be greatly promoted by their continuance together, for the longest possible period, in the same school; to sit up the same forms; engage in the same competitions; partake of the same recreations and amusements, and pursue the same studies, in connection with each other; under the same discipline, and obedience to the same authority." He saw a public school system as providing a means of perpetuating the American democratic structure by preventing differences in economic status from undermining it.



Mr. Mercér's notion of the positive, guiding role of the common school created the thinking of reformers for several decades. It was reflected in temporary talk about developing a "common education." It was used as an argument against the expansion of private schools. Soon it was to become fundamental in "Americanizing" the continually swelling tide of immigrants from countries lacking democratic traditions. On this subject, as many observers pointed out, to alien philosophies. As Horace Mann said in one of his reports as Secretary of Education in Massachusetts, "Everybody acknowledges the justness of the declaration that a foreign people, born and bred and dwarfed under the despotism of the Old World, cannot be transformed to the full stature of American citizens merely by a voyage across the Atlantic or by subscribing to the oath of naturalization." And more basically, universal education—education for all at public expense—was increasingly being seen as fundamental to the achievement of the new national purposes as increased activity and fighting poverty and crime.



Thus emerged the great Common School Movement, sometimes called "Horace Mann's Crusade," the grand vision of which was apparent in most ways by the time of the Civil War. There were stringent laws against child labor. Compulsory school attendance laws were passed. The school was longer—now ten months in many cities, not the few winter months of Colonial days. There were uniform textbooks, like the Webster spellers, and there were more and more public secondary schools. Though it took the Michigan Supreme Court's 1874 Kalamazoo decision to establish secondary education as a recognized part of the tax-supported system).



THOMAS JEFFERSON

By 1860 America was committed to four fundamental principles: There would be common schools available without cost to the young of the whole community. Such schools would provide students of varying backgrounds with a minimum common educational experience, including the intellectual and moral learning necessary to the exercise of responsible citizenship, while avoiding areas that might be destructive of a commitment to universality. The common school would be a community effort supported by taxes. And finally, the common schools would be controlled by the overall community through elected representatives rather than by sectarian, political, or economic groups.

What came after the Civil War can be called, in the jargon of our own time, implementation, or at least major progress toward that end. There were to be many reinterpretations of the basic principles. The effort to make education available on an equitable basis to all young people often faltered, and continues to do so, notably in

the cases of ethnic and economic minorities—blacks, Indians, Chicanos, and the poor—and of females. On the basis of sheer numbers, however, the movement toward universal education has been triumphant and by traditional standards revolutionary.

As early as 1910 some 79 percent of the Nation's school-age children—that is, boys and girls between the ages of five and 17—were in fact in school. By 1930 the figure had risen to better than 90 percent, and it stands today at 96 percent. This upsurge was in part stimulated by various court decisions (e.g., Kalamazoo) and in part by increasingly generous State and local financial provisions. The clincher, however, came from the compulsory school attendance laws adopted over the six decades following the enactment of the first such law in Massachusetts in 1852.



The traditional view of creating an enlightened citizenry aside, two primary motives spurred the compulsory education movement. There was most obviously the humanitarian desire to keep children out of the mines and factories. Less often mentioned but present nonetheless was the feeling that the wilder impulses of the young had to be brought under control, and this custodial function was turned over to the schools.

The immediate result, in any case, was that the concept of universal education became at least in numerical terms a reality. For the long term, moreover, the compulsory attendance laws had an effect on equalizing educational opportunities that its proponents doubtless did not foresee. For the principle of these laws came to be seen as applying not just to youngsters who might otherwise be working in a sweat shop or a mill, but also to thousands upon thousands of boys and girls—the handicapped, for example—who in former times would have been rejected by the schools. As has been set forth in a number of Federal education



laws and either stated or implied in some of the most far-reaching court decisions of our time, compulsory attendance is now seen as being a two-way street, imposing an obligation not only on all youngsters to attend the schools but on the schools to educate all youngsters, in a fashion suitable to their individual needs.

America is, in short, on the verge of becoming truly a "learning society." Today at any one time nearly 59 million people—more than one-fourth of the entire population—are enrolled in formal education programs, and of course the number of learners would be far greater than that if it included those pursuing programs offered through educational television. More than 61 percent of the adult population (those 25 years of age or older) are high school graduates, compared with 49 percent ten years ago and 14 percent in 1910. Nearly 60 percent of the current high school graduates continue their education at a college or university, many of them under "open enrollment" plans that smooth the path toward higher learning for individuals

never before considered "college material." Through such Federal programs as the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, the Nation has in fact gone a long way toward making a commitment to provide a college education or its equivalent to every qualified young person willing to make the necessary effort.

Moreover, graduation from a high school or college is no longer seen as the end of schooling. Adult education in many forms—public and private, formal and informal, for pleasure and for profit—nowadays touches the lives of nearly half the adult population at one time or another. At the other end of the scale, formal schooling is fast becoming standard in early childhood. Kindergartens have of course long since been common and are now available at public expense in more than half the States. But there is also a significant movement toward nursery schooling, with 13 States making children down to the age of three eligible for State or federally supported education programs. The annual cost of the array of

educational opportunities available Americans today is some \$108 billion: nearly eight percent of the Gross National Product, the highest percentage among the developed nations.

It must be acknowledged that education still falls short of true universality, particularly in effectiveness than numbers. For a significant proportion of children, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds, much of current educational practice just does not "take." The treatment of minority children, and of the handicapped, leaves much to be desired. Lack of motivation continues to deprive many promising young people of a chance to reach their full potential.

Still, universal education is far closer to achievement than it has ever been anywhere in the world. And as Horace Mann and Charles Fenton Mercer foreseen, it has made a major contribution—perhaps the major contribution—to keeping our democratic principles and institutions strong and vibrant.



Horace Mann's Client



ur national pantheon is peopled by a few visionaries and many men and women of action, but it is the rare occupant who has been both a dreamer and a doer.

Along with Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and a few others, Horace Mann belongs to this most exclusive group. His was the vision of a democracy created and constantly regenerated by an educated populace, and more than any other person, he worked to make this possible by laying the foundations of the American public school system.

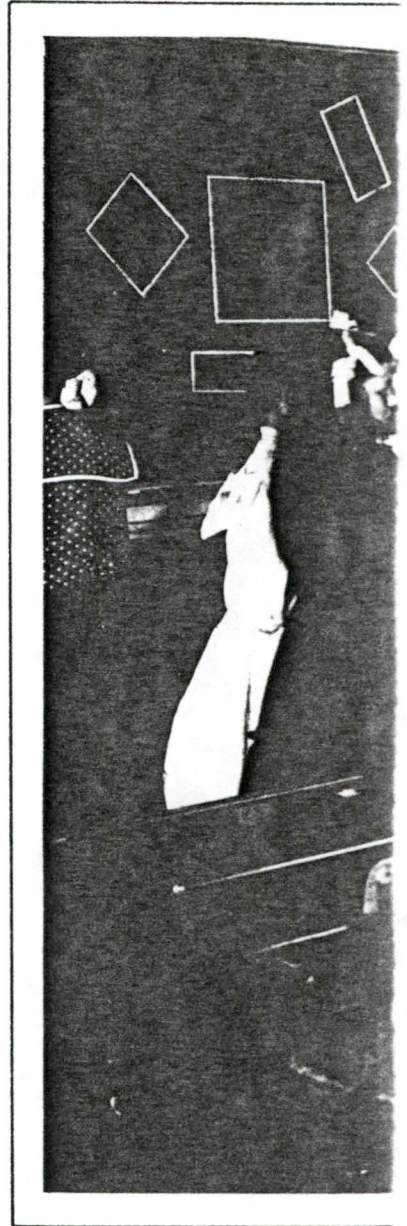
To be sure, he had both predecessors and contemporaries in the new Republic who labored to bring learning to greater numbers of children. Mann, however, went far beyond them, his achievements outshining anything they had accomplished and casting a ray of light across the decades, even into our own times. Where others had hoped, planned, and even made modest beginnings, Mann brought dream and action together in a way that eventually enabled the children of an entire nation to go to school.

With the onset of the American Revolution Bicentennial, it is fitting to reconsider two elements of his work which remain particularly current today. One was his unflinching commitment to the ideal of equality of educational opportunity. The other was his belief in the power of the public school to nurture and shape a sound sense of personal and public virtue in succeeding generations of American citizens.

Born in 1796, the son of a Massachusetts yeoman farmer, the young Horace Mann gained what he could from the sparse formal training available to him in a nearby primitive schoolhouse. To this he added the wealth of less formal lessons to be learned by growing up in a New England town and on a family homestead first farmed by his grandfather in 1709. Motivated and intelligent, he graduated from Brown University and Judge Tapping Reeves' Litchfield Law School before embarking on a successful legal and political career. Upon his election to the Massachu-

setts General Court, he worked tirelessly to advance a variety of humanitarian causes including psychiatric treatment for the insane, the abolition of imprisonment for debtors, better prison conditions, and temperance laws to help curb what seemed to be a tide of alcoholism in the Commonwealth. Conceived with the highest of hopes and the best intentions, each of these efforts provided little in lasting social reform. Approaching the age of 40, Mann reluctantly acknowledged the limitations of these efforts and concluded that adult human attitudes and behaviors were stubbornly intransigent to change. The tragic death of his young wife further compounded his sense of futility. A grief-stricken widower in 1837, he turned his back on a highly successful political career (he had become president of the State Senate and seemed headed for the governorship) and embarked on an educational crusade for children. Thus Mann set a pattern for other educational reformers. As citizen, politician, and lawyer he came to his great work from outside the ranks of educators, generally cognizant of the relation between the greater social needs of the Nation and the tasks of its classroom. Believing he could mount a reform that would effectively end the need for further reforms, he set aside his law books and recorded in his private journal at the time, "Let the next generation, then, be my client."

Beginning with Jefferson's historic declaration that "all men are created equal," Mann translated this credo into a powerful kind of egalitarian social action. Through the spoken and written word (sometimes he penned as many as 30 letters a day, all handwritten with a quill) he managed to convince legislators, town officials, taxpayers, and parents — men and women in every social, economic, religious, and ethnic group — that a free and comprehensive education was the birthright of every American child. For us who now hold this proposition as a self-evident truth, it is difficult to comprehend the magnitude of such a revolutionary concept in his own day. For centuries, those ancient, medieval, and renaissance men and women who had thought about education held the circumscribed view of schooling as a privilege largely belonging to the well-



born. Even in Colonial New England where towns were required to support a schoolmaster, the youth were not required to attend the school. Instead, parents were merely held responsible to see that their children were given a rudimentary literary and religious training by whatever means they chose. As a result, the content and character of young people's education essentially depended upon the advantage their parents were able and saw fit to provide.



By comparison, Mann's conception was more radical and comprehensive. He envisioned a system of education in which the door of the American schoolhouse would be wide open and freely accessible to all, regardless of their creed, economic condition, or ethnic origin. In his words, such a system would countenance:

"... no distinction of rich and poor, of bond and free, or between those, who, in the imperfect light of this

world, are seeking, through different avenues, to reach the gate of heaven. Without money and without price, it throws open its doors, and spreads the table of its bounty, for all the children of the State."

Until there was truly an equality of educational opportunity here in the United States, Mann believed that the promise of political equality implicit in the American Revolution would remain unfulfilled. If it

were to be achieved, it would come not by storming a counterpart to the Bastille or some other symbol of oppression, but by helping millions of children move through the portals of the schoolhouse.

Any of his contemporaries, however, still held that middle class parents could and should pay for the education of their own children and that if free public schooling was to be offered at all, it should only be provided for the children of the poor. Holding this distinction to be discriminatory, Mann proposed a new public responsibility for providing schools in which all children, rich and poor, native born and immigrant, shared a common educational experience. For him, both the individual and the public interest could be served only when three elements were forged together in the creation of a new institution: Although there was little enthusiasm for the idea at the time, Mann believed that public support for education should be joined to public control of it. And in addition to public control and support, he believed in public or compulsory attendance. Only by bringing these three together could the people fashion institutions accountable to the common interest which would provide an equality of opportunity. As if he were anticipating and paraphrasing Lincoln, Mann advocated and worked to achieve a system of education which was of, by, and for the American people.

Less revolutionary but no less powerful was Mann's belief in what these schools should accomplish. Obviously he expected them to provide all children with a fund of knowledge and a sufficiency of literary and mathematical skills. Foreseeing that children might grow up technically literate while remaining uneducated in any deeper sense, however, he also saw a role for the schools in developing young people's moral character, rather than leaving this process to the vagaries of lessons learned at home and in the street. With the emergence of Jacksonian democracy, countless "ordinary" citizens now had access to positions previously monopolized by the rich and well-born. As a result, never before had there been such an imperative for training in citizenship and religious values. Mann also saw the necessity, however, of

1990-91 BLUE RIBBON SCHOOLS

A Few Profile Statistics of Interest

- During the nine years of Blue Ribbon Schools Program operations, 1982-83 through 1990-91, a total of 2,123 schools have been recognized; 62 of the schools have been recognized twice.
- In 1990-91, 222 schools are being awarded national recognition at the September 24-25, 1991, ceremony in Washington DC.
- Some 76% of these Blue Ribbon Schools are public schools, and 24% are private.
- The 222 schools enroll 203,345 students. This includes 172,652 students in the 169 public schools being recognized, and 30,693 students in the 53 private schools.
- The 222 schools are situated in the following kinds of communities: 40% are located in suburbs or large towns; 36% are in large central cities or mid-size cities; and 24% are located in rural or small town areas.
- The enrollment sizes of schools being recognized range as follows: Overall, 64 to 3,143 students; public schools, 82 to 3,143 students; private schools, 64 to 1,873 students. Some 25% of the schools being recognized have enrollments under 500; 38% enroll 500-999 students; 23% enroll 1,000-1,499; 8% enroll 1,500-1,999; and 6% have enrollments over 2,000. Approximately half of all public schools being recognized have enrollments over 1,000; only 15% of the private schools enroll over 1,000 students. Indeed, 51% of the private schools enroll under 500 students, while this is true of only 16.5% of the public schools.
- The grade spans of schools being recognized are as follows: Overall, 52% are 9-12 schools, 25% 5-10, 9.5% 7-12, 9.5% 7-9, and 3% 5-12. Approximately 81% of the public schools are 9-12 high schools; this is true of 68% of the private schools, while another 21% of the private schools enroll grades 7-12.
- The overall racial/ethnic makeup of students enrolled at recognized schools is approximately 78% White, 11% African-American, 6% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 1% Native American.
- At approximately 23% of the schools being recognized, minorities comprise more than one-third of the student population. Minorities comprise 10% or less of the student population at 41% of the schools being recognized. Of note, 10 public schools (6% of all public schools being recognized) and 5 private schools (9% of the private schools being recognized) have enrollments that are more than two-thirds non-White.
- Some 16.5% of the schools being recognized are characterized by high or very high poverty. The category breakdowns are as follows: 3% very high poverty (i.e., schools in which 50% or more of the students come from low income families); 13% high (25% to 49% of the students are from low income families); 29% medium (10% to 24% of the students are from low income families); and 54% low poverty (less than 10% of the students are from low income families). These low income estimates are based on 182 schools that reported free/reduced price lunch and other poverty-related information; excluded are 75% of the private schools, which do not participate in the federal school lunch program and were unable to provide alternative estimates.

invaluable

A BRIEF HISTORY

Created by the Secretary of Education in 1982, the purpose of the Blue Ribbon Schools Program is to identify and honor America's outstanding public and private schools while encouraging other schools and communities to look to them for ideas and inspiration. To receive recognition, a school must first be nominated by its Chief State School Officer or the Council for American Private Education and then pass a rigorous screening and a two-day site visit. Each school is evaluated on outcome measures and conditions of effective schooling, such as leadership, teaching environment, curriculum and instruction, student environment, parent and community support, and organizational vitality. Recommendations on which schools best meet the recognition program criteria are made to the Secretary of Education by a national panel of distinguished educators and other prominent private citizens.

In the first year of the Blue Ribbon Schools Program, 42 States and the District of Columbia participated. Since then, every State in the Union, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of Defense Dependents Schools have joined the ranks. For the first three years, the program identified only secondary schools. In 1986, "the Year of the Elementary School," Secretary Bennett expanded the program to include primary and intermediate levels. The program now honors elementary and secondary schools in alternate years. During its nine-year history, the Blue Ribbon Schools Program has honored 2,123 schools. Sixty-two schools recognized in earlier years of the program have been successful a second time, demonstrating their unusual ability to continue to strive toward excellence.

Each year two special emphases are designated. For the 1990-91 Program, content-rich visual and performing arts and history were selected. The subjects chosen represent areas in which, according to national and international comparisons and professional judgment, school performance needs to be greatly improved and where effective models are sought. Excellence in these areas, however, is not a condition of national recognition.

It has been commonly noted that schools honored in the Blue Ribbon Schools Program represent the full diversity of American education. Some schools are large, and some are quite small; some are traditional, and some are very innovative. They exist in urban, suburban and rural communities. They serve students from a wide range of social, ethnic, and economic backgrounds. But while other things differ, their commitment to excellence as a singular purpose does not. This is their hallmark. Their message to the American people is that with the winning combination of leadership, hard work, caring, vision and common sense, excellence can be achieved in even the most unexpected situations.

The 1990-91 program, which continued the search for outstanding secondary schools, highlighted the National Education Goals adopted by the President and the 50 Governors. As a result, the schools selected for national recognition this year possess a number of characteristics of AMERICA 2000'S "better and more accountable schools" for today's students as well as innovative features of "a new generation of American schools" for tomorrow's students.

AMERICA
2000

The creation of any successful large-scale program is a difficult feat. The positive reaction by the public to the Blue Ribbon Schools Program has exceeded even the highest expectations of the U.S. Department of Education. For this success, we owe particular thanks to the Council of Chief State School Officers and the other major education associations, most especially the Council for American Private Education and the National Association of Elementary and Secondary School Principals.

James Madison Memorial High School
Madison, Wisconsin

Assinute, Inc.

24

Rationale

James Madison Memorial High School has modified its curriculum and added new support services to serve its increasingly disadvantaged student population. As the school's proportion of college-bound graduates declined, Memorial added innovative vocational ^{what} classes and career counseling. Teachers ^{hands on course & at risk freshmen (3yrs. old)} also developed alternative educational and support programs for the growing number of students experiencing failure in one area or another. An increasingly multicultural and multilingual student population prompted the school to revise its curriculum to reflect students' diversity. Through all of its changes, Memorial has maintained a consistently high level of community involvement in the school and remarkable student achievement. ^{still pretty high} ^{all at community}

Memorial serves ^{1,500} 1,484 students in grades 9-12, with minorities making up 14 percent of the school. Five percent of its students qualify for free or reduced-price lunches. James Madison Memorial High School was recognized as a Blue Ribbon School in 1990-91. ^{for what}

Project Description

Memorial offers all of its students a challenging array of courses designed to prepare them for postsecondary educational careers or employment. College-bound students enroll in a wide range of Advanced Placement, foreign language, and elective courses in drama, journalism, and speech. Non-college-bound students are encouraged to enroll in challenging, college-prep courses and may also select courses emphasizing basic skills in English, social studies, math, science, reading, and health. They can enroll in vocational

(28)

courses such as aerospace technology, drafting, business education, and marketing. They may take a course on how to start a small business.

Cooperative programs allow staff and local businesses to work together to train students for jobs in the local community.

Madison also offers at-risk students the opportunity to experience success in and out of school. The Freshmen Focus program, developed by six staff members following a five-day conference on at-risk students, targets incoming freshmen whom junior high teachers identify as needing special attention. Focus students enroll in regular classes and attend small sessions that develop their study skills, vocational awareness, and self-esteem; tutors also provide homework assistance in groups of five students. In 1990-91, 91 percent of the Focus students passed all of their classes in the first quarter. The School Within A School program serves 60 juniors and seniors who have fallen behind in accumulating credits for graduation. The program offers students smaller classes, career counseling services, and on-the-job training in a professional field. Memorial was also the first Madison high school to open an on-site daycare facility for teen parents and community-based tutoring centers staffed by University of Wisconsin student volunteers.

The school has made impressive progress in adjusting to its increasingly diverse student population. English and American History teachers, for example, make extensive use of multicultural readings in their classes. A Minority Parents Advisory Group meets monthly with the principal and Minority Services Coordinator to discuss issues relevant to them and their children. A 1990-91 Minority Achievement grant from the district allowed the school to develop pilot programs to raise minority students' achievement in the school.

The school has also expanded its English as a Second Language and foreign language programs.

In 1990, 82 percent of Memorial's students took the American College Test (ACT) and tied with a high school in Iowa for the highest median scores in the United States. On average, students score in the 70th and 80th percentiles in reading and math on the California Achievement Test. The average daily student attendance rate is 93 percent, and 6 percent of the students dropped out in 1989-90. Eighty-seven percent of the 1990 graduating class continued their education at a postsecondary institution.

Contact

Carolyn Taylor
Principal, James Madison Memorial High School
201 S. Gammon Rd.
Madison, WI 53717
(608) 829-4000

services - first of March visit by team

have celebrations planned all yr. long -

community - resp. very positive
parents very supportive

don't - have annual @ 12th grade
last yr. not have a school @
it is a journey

sm. urban setting ->
inc. in crime inc. violent
acts - on increase by from
Chicago - wide variance in preparation
lvs of students -

first person from family to graduate
to Stanford and Harvard -
on same state -
strive to make pd. work for everybody

Teacher
Er
St

Friend

Art. S

Shirley Padden

9/17/91
Called @
4:30 pm
left msg.

Community C

at 1:30 pm

increase in diverse comm.
both ethnically & economically -> state
Capital and Univ. of Ill. home main
campus

3

first time won @ national lvl.

names of Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska Schools and
attendants

names of attendus

17 SEPTEMBER 1991
3:45 p.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: JEANNIE BUNTON *[Signature]*
SUBJECT: EVEN More BLUE RIBBON SCHOOLS

Gaylin Hooley said they were expecting 10-15 minutes of remarks - I said at 8 in the morning!

DEEP BACKGROUND: POTUS returned from National Governor's Education Summit (Charlottesville, VA) on 9/28/89 to Blue Ribbon Schools Program on South Lawn. [2 years ago this month - almost to the day]

At last year's Blue Ribbon speech [9/17/90] he listed the 6 national education goals to be met by the year 2000. Talked about choice in school selection.

April 91 launched America 2000.

And its working...

More than 2,500 people called the America 2000 hotline week ending Oct. 30 for information about America 2000.

Week of Sept. 1, Maine, Maryland, Nebraska, and City of Omaha joined America 2000. On Aug. 22 Oregon joined Colorado as one of the first states to adopt America 2000. Tulsa 2000 was launched on Aug. 23.

A recent USA TODAY poll found that 28 of 37 Governors support the America 2000 strategy and think it will work.

ACKs: Include Sec. Alexander, Corporate Sponsors (about 30), audience of 850 broken down as follows: 3 avg. from each of 222 winning schools - some students, faculty, board of directors, community people, parents, Blue Ribbon selection team members: site visitors and review panelists.

43 states will be represented - farthest are Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico; closest is Washington, D.C....also one BIA school from New Mexico and the DOD School from Germany will be represented - no one is coming from Germany.

Of this year's 222 awardees, 32 are winning for the second time -- 1/2 the total of all-time 2-time awardees (62).

32 winners.

name

CONFIGURATION: Sec. Alexander and POTUS come from Oval, ascend to dias, (no remarks from Alexander) POTUS speaks, at conclusion POTUS goes to first row of seats to shake hands with students and some corporate sponsors.

Random quote: "Nothing will kill the movies except education."
Will Rogers

more coming -- the Madison and the Vermont principals are in board meetings -- I'm waiting call backs...

7 time winner?
No
First time winning National

4pm 9/17/91

Diane Jones - selection process info)
(219-2146)

- how many repeat winners

32

furthest away - has Hawaii come way yet?

Steve O'Brian - (219-2141)



[names of schools] 304

coming from - PR, HA, AK > by song district)
and Washington, DC.
(couple)

maybe half the
total of all-time
winners

9/18/91 @ 9:11 am. is fixing over info on the
schools from farthest and
closest

7/17/91

Gaylin Holiday @ 12:20 p.m.

- 850 attend⁶ → 3 (or more) from ea. of 222 schools — students, faculty, ball mbrs, community people, board mbrs, parents, selection team → site visitors and review panelists
- no governors have been invited; no congressional call pol to find out

- Sec. Alexander on stage w/ POTUS

sec. regional reps & b in audience, Corporate Sponsor

- configuration open seat⁶; Corp spon. front row; couple of NUNS from one school;

no remarks from Alexander
walk to dias from oval

- (10-15 min remarks) @ 8 a.m.

POTUS shake corp pep — but more kids hands

- 43 states represented → Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico — furthest closest DC.

Y in addi: BIA school from New Mexico; (DOD school from Germany) no one from Germany

- ~~schools repeat winners~~ (4 yrs. ago or more)
repeat winners —

17 SEPTEMBER 1991
9:45 a.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: JEANNIE BUNTON 
SUBJECT: More BLUE RIBBON SCHOOLS

POTUS returned from National Governor's Education Summit (Charlottesville, VA) on 9/28/89 to Blue Ribbon Schools Program on South Lawn. [2 years ago this month - almost to the day]

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*Colorado?
august?*

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A recent USA TODAY poll found that 28 of 37 Governors support the America 2000 strategy and think it will work.

ALSO:

ACKs. include Sec. Alexander and Corporate Sponsors (about 30). still calling on it....

**States attending →*

*repeat winners →
how many*

*who is coming? kids - administrators? How many
how did they get here
enrollment - who from school -*

Share -

Blue Ribbon Schools

acknowledgements → VIP types.

■ Corporate Sponsors: (about 30 tot.)

■ VIPS →

→

JAYLIN HOOLEY (401-0404) [ED.] FOUND ZERO
left a message @ 9:15 am

~~are any recipients winning for second time?~~

~~any "Education" Govt attend^g; any gov^s attending?~~

[~~Sec. Alexander~~] → and some corp. sponsors.

~~James Madison Sch. (school) - what's neighborhood like? [urban?; achievement
get more info → putting~~

Gifts by Card, etc. → are
any given to anyone?

small, big

①. From Mann quote → direct quote -
"low e grades"

Horace Mann
moved
ed → then moved
back to school
address
- answered in letter
State public education

Call Foster
in Utah
State of Utah

Calling
Bill

(19)

**Northside Health Careers High School
San Antonio, Texas**

Rationale

Northside Health Careers High School (NHCHS) is a magnet school for students interested in pursuing careers in health care. The Northside School District, in collaboration with the South Texas Medical Center, created NHCHS to relieve a shortage of skilled health care personnel. For admission, interested students must fill out an application, be approved by their home school counselor, and have at least a "C" average in their previous school. The school has operated for seven years and has a reputation for providing students with an understanding of careers in health and medicine, while promoting excellence in all subjects.

NHCHS serves 819 students in grades 9-12 from 23 school districts. The school's enrollment is 55 percent Hispanic, 37 percent white, 5 percent black, and 3 percent Asian. Twenty-five percent of the students qualify for free or reduced-price lunches. The U.S. Department of Education recognized NHCHS as a Blue Ribbon School in 1990-91.

Project Description

NHCHS students take many math and science courses to prepare for careers in medical and health-related fields. All students complete biology, anatomy and physiology, and chemistry by the end of their sophomore year, and many continue with physics and Advanced Placement courses in the sciences. NHCHS promotes hands-on experience, with students performing over 40 percent of their science work in the lab. Math courses integrate practical medical applications: geometry students learn how to design an orthodontic layout for

braces, and calculus students compute the dissipation rates for different medicines in the body.

Students' skills in communication and other subjects are not neglected, however. To maintain students' reading and writing skills during the summer, NHCHS administers a summer English program. All students are given assigned readings and asked to complete a summer writer's notebook.

Because the medical profession changes so rapidly, NHCHS faculty research and compile their own study guides and reading materials instead of using textbooks. In addition, NHCHS students take a variety of field trips to hospitals and medical clinics in their first and second years. As juniors, they get hands-on experience in a clinical rotation program where they spend part of each day in a hospital, rotating through various departments. Students shadow professional medical staff in each department and serve in a variety of capacities, including lab assistant or nurse's aide. Seniors enroll in a daily two-hour seminar on their chosen field.

NHCHS works closely with parents and the community. Over 50 percent of the parents and all teachers play an active role in the PTA. Parents often give lectures on their specialty field, recruit other guest speakers, and sponsor field trips. The San Antonio Medical Foundation and Bexar County Medical Society provide scholarship support and donate supplies and equipment. Many other local health care facilities serve as sites for clinical assignments.

NHCHS students score well above the district average on the Test of Achievement and Proficiency (TAP), and consistently score in the 90th percentile on the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TAAS). The school's average daily attendance rate is 96 percent, and less than one percent of its students dropped out in 1989-90.

(26)

Contact

John M. Boyers
 Northside Health Careers High School
 4646 Hamilton Wolfe
 San Antonio, TX 78229
 (512) 692-0022 *conv. of*

*the Phoenix,
 royal blue, maroon, white*

54% Hispanic

37% other

2% Asian/Pacific Islander

8% Black

at 7 highschools in

3rd largest % of free or reduced lunch program in district.

in South Texas medical complex - medical support entities

some poor to some quite wealthy - broad range

Attendees Mrs. Joy Lynch, ast. principal

Mrs. Dorothy Hall, english teacher

Mrs. Gayle Adams, history teacher

Mrs. Isabel VAZQUEZ, head secretary

John Boyers

*Mrs. Peggy Brown, mbr. school advisory comm., works w/ Baptist
 Hosp. System - his/school partners*

can't compare to other schools?

Craftsbury Academy
Craftsbury Common, Vermont

Rationale

Craftsbury Academy actively involves the local community in its educational programming and offers its students state-of-the-art educational technology. Founded in 1829 and recognized as a Blue Ribbon School in 1990-91, Craftsbury Academy is a public school that serves 160 students in grades 5-12. The region has suffered through an economic turn-down for several years, and as a result its average personal income ranks in the bottom 10 percent nationally. A majority of adults in the area have not continued their education beyond high school graduation.

Project Description

Craftsbury maintains close ties with community members, graduates, and local institutions. Some parents teach classes to prepare students for annual thematic-study expeditions to locations, such as Washington, DC, New York City, and Canada, that emphasize cultural and ethnic awareness. Craftsbury has access to local college libraries and uses college gymnasiums for physical education classes. The Green Mountain Teen Institute trains Craftsbury students in peer intervention strategies to deal with alcohol and drug abuse. Its students take part in a local college's Outward Bound program for low-income, college-bound youth.

Although it is one of the smallest schools in the state, Craftsbury Academy offers its students access to a wide variety of technologically advanced learning materials. With a \$50,000 private donation, the school purchased a satellite dish that links students and teachers to a number of universities across the country. Students take satellite-transmitted courses

PITTS VIL
NASA ON 9/17/91
TELECONFERENCE

(23)

in Russian and advanced math and have held teleconferences with NASA officials. Students use the school's computer lab to develop computer programs in BASIC, Cobol, and Pascal. They can also study meteorology with the help of weather data and photos transmitted to their computers from local weather stations. Music students compose songs using several new synthesizers.

Seventh and eighth grade students at Craftsbury score, on average, 1.5 to 2.0 years above grade level in reading and math on national exams. Students also perform well above average on SAT tests, compared with students from similar backgrounds. The average daily attendance rate is 93 percent, and only four students have dropped out of the school during the last five years. The school estimates that 60 percent of its students continue their education at a postsecondary institution.

last yr. 90% went to college / Shanley
see notes

Contact

Richard Shanley
Principal, Craftsbury Academy
P.O. Box 73
Craftsbury Common, VT 05827
(802) 586-2541

Called 9/18/91 @ 3:40 p.m.

Spoke w/ Jane Hink
re update on Gary Houston

9/17/91

Called @ 4:30 pm
Jane Hink
Farming community →
unemployed, retired,
bed room community
rural - small
place →

Craftsby Academy

11:30 9/18/91

Cono w/ Richard Shockey

very rural community (farms on desk in) Principal
D.V.L.
School

- blend of people, retirees, and poor
commute 70-80 miles away
- 1-6 prog. free; reduce lunch at 50% participation
and grading

who attending?

↓
Gary Houston, selected by teachers -
parent, a businessman owns several farms, com
form bld. mtr.; Craftsby Trustee who helped
bring new \$1 million bldg. computer lab, library
science, classrooms' telecommunications system
(Massey)

Student Jason Massey, (a
Sr. → 17th ~~th~~ ~~th~~
Aug 4, 1974 - chosen by faculty's str
as regent member - sports, student council
member; b-ball

Teacher - Walter Gutzman (GOOTZ MAN)
science - graduate of Craftsby Academy (1959)
and principal - in 3rd yr. of school

celebration planned Oct. 11th - first loss in 20 games
1829 - mascot the Chargers → horse blue & white
Go D.V.L. 4 state chm
- boys varsity soccer 16-0

91- ^{date} Br 4 Boys run g
m with team

this g is-captain of soccer team

~~9-12 80 kids; 40 play sports per week~~

Russian language clubhouse → telecom
part monitored; took course w/ president

70% last yr. not to enroll —

18 SEPTEMBER 1991

9:15 a.m.

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: JEANNIE BUNTON *JB*
SUBJECT: BLUE RIBBON SCHOOLS

JAMES MADISON MEMORIAL HIGH SCHOOL:
Madison, Wisconsin

Convo with Carolyn Taylor, principal

"We don't think we have arrived at excellence last year or in one year, nor have we achieved it; it's a journey."

FIRST TIME MADISON HAS WON ON NATIONAL LEVEL

Attending: Mr. Carroll Theobald, English teacher, Chair of English dept., selected by school staff to attend the event; Carolyn Taylor, principal, Shirley Baum, ast. superintendent for secondary education and former principal of school

Madison: is small urban city of 200,000 with four large public high schools, all schools are about the same size; increasingly diverse community both ethnically and economically, state Capital, Univ. of Wisconsin main campus located there, called it a small urban setting, increase in crime, increase in violent acts, up from Chicago on interstate.

neat thing is on same graduation stage have students going to Harvard and Stanford and students who are first person from their family to graduate.

CRAFTSBURY ACADEMY
Craftsbury Common, Vermont

Convo with Richard Shanley, principal

Craftsbury Common is a very rural community (farming community), blend of people, retirees and poor, a bedroom community - some people commute 70-80 miles away to work, in the 1-6 grade programs about 50% of the students qualify for the free and reduced lunch program

Attendees: *bd. of* Gary Houston, selected by teachers to attend, *not wealthy* he's a parent, a large farm owner, former school board member and member of Craftsbury trustees who *helped finance* build a \$1 million resource center for the school, which includes a telecommunications center (recently students studied Russian Language and Culture through this system and a parent

1964 graduate of Craftsbury
kids in or thru that school
109 E father of 4 children enrolled
Megan — A sophomore a sixth grader — Jesse (male)
Jody (male) — Freshman
Anne — second grader

volunteered to take the class and monitor it), computer lab, library, classrooms,

Student **Jason Masse** (Mass EEE) 17 year-old, senior, chosen by faculty and staff because he is a model student, student council member and athlete, currently co-captain of the boys varsity soccer team, member of the 1990 boys varsity soccer team which won the Division 4 State championship (16-0 record) and a member of the 1991 Division 4 boys State Runner-up basketball team,

Principal - Richard Shanley

Walter Gutzman (GOOTZ MAN) a science teacher at the school, is a ~~1959~~ ¹⁹⁵⁸ graduate of the Craftsbury school.

Celebration planned Oct. 11

School open since 1829, mascot "The Chargers" - a charging horse, colors blue and white

FURTHEST/CLOSEST:

East Anchorage High School, AK
Kalaheo High, HI
Ponce De Leon High, PR
Colegio Ponceno, PR

→ Hine Junior High, DC
Benjamin Banneker High, DC

9/18/91
Gaylin Hooley 3:45
DOD School
is coming from
Germany what city?
Dr. Dennis
McGuane
(McWayne)
Hahn American High School
COUNTY 496 543 3307

Genesis
Kansas City, Missouri

Rationale

Genesis is an independent alternative middle school serving youth aged 11-19 with special needs. The school improves the academic and living skills of its disadvantaged population through partnerships with community service agencies, family literacy and counseling programs, and an interdisciplinary curriculum that draws on students' interests and backgrounds. Begun in 1975 as a federally-funded VISTA program, the nonprofit school now receives 75 percent of its funding from private sources, including businesses, foundations, and the United Way, and 25 percent from local government sources.

Genesis enrolls approximately 60 basic skills students and 30 G.E.D. students at any given time, with a total of 300 students enrolled throughout the 11-month school year. In addition, the school serves 200 teenage mothers and family members annually through the Family Unit Literacy program. Eighty-five percent of Genesis students come from single-parent, minority families living below the poverty line, and 35 percent of the female students are unwed mothers. Recognized as a Blue Ribbon school in 1990-91, Genesis' student population is over 80 percent black, 11 percent white, 4 percent Hispanic, and 3 percent Native American.

Project Description

Genesis has created an elaborate collaborative network with community agencies, health and social service providers, businesses, and other local organizations. These collaborative efforts provide financial support to the school, raise public awareness of its mission, and increase the ability of the

school to deliver varied services. The Family Unit Literacy program for teenage mothers and their children unites child care providers, public transportation, social services, and employment training agencies in an effort to help young families function effectively and become self-sufficient. Another collaborative effort, the At-Risk Task Force, brings together 200 community agencies and 300 local businesses to help reduce the dropout rate and provide support for teenage parents.

Genesis' goals reflect its commitment to preparing at-risk youth and families for a successful and productive future. Its objective is to ensure that each student either returns to public school, earns a GED, enrolls in college, or obtains employment. The school uses a mix of basic skills and critical thinking skills instruction, cultural and artistic programs, and counseling to help its students. One of Genesis' most important elements is its use of a service delivery model that emphasizes the holistic treatment of families and their interrelated needs. A case manager works closely with each family and with school personnel to guide and support youth and their families. Afterschool and Saturday programs provide an opportunity for teenage mothers and children to work with school staff and for teenage fathers to participate in child-rearing.

Staff involvement in decision making is another hallmark of Genesis's educational program. Each teacher is responsible for planning and implementing a schoolwide program; examples include Ethnic Awareness Month, the Writers' Program, Women's and Men's Groups, Read-A-Thons, student radio shows, and student government. Faculty members developed a multicultural, thematic curriculum to enrich students' academic experience. Teachers also

(18)

conduct local and national workshops on strategies for educating at-risk children and youth.

Based on its stated goals, Genesis achieves a 65 percent success rate, a remarkable record given its high-risk population. Average daily attendance is 81 percent, with 16 to 21 percent of students dropping out. Students show modest academic improvement on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills and on special reading tests designed to measure their progress in the Writers' Project.

Contact

Hill - Resource Development

Mamie Isler - (Susan ext.)
Executive Director, Genesis
3831 East 43rd
Kansas City, MO 64130
(816) 921-0775

AVISTA PROJECT

- Heart of inner city - alternative inner city school for at risk youth
- located in 38th district - mostly African Am in Afr. Am. community
- lower class, working class neighborhood
- family oriented school

no mascot no school colors

most students do return to public schools -

some get GED there; majority return to public school 1-2 yrs or less - students for one reason or another have not achieved success in public school

first award

AIAN M. DuBOIS - ~~first~~ first and only div. of school

MAMIE ISLER (ISS VER) NOT (12) program director

John OFFILER - ~~dir.~~ ^{Chor.} of youth services

(enrollment) - 450 youth/yr.
65% of students are positively placed - don't go back to courts don't drop out
considerable # for people considered 3rd years

Administrative Staff

Amended: when a story is awarded, appear in the paper
one must write a letter want to know why @ didn't
make first day

story on news of school - @ image
my family to be a part of something 50 yrs.

activity - committed -
team management approach
Groom - new beginning -

Alvin Poirer:
Student tasks
in an
Census
radio show
present, travel from in 2 yrs. now have
has a scholarship to an even quite school
15 Janae Gaston

1 out of school 4 gr. has received her GED and now second grade
14 work 4 years for to carry on them.
Debbie Wade

Joseph Newton - was laid off, told he had become disabled,
the 1/1.5 yr. granted school! given scholarship
to Art Institute (Kansas City) now in college -
18

have give students a voice - it's about empowerment
help them from that side - so they can help others find theirs. 11
19

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 25, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION'S BLUE RIBBON SCHOOLS

The Sheraton Washington Hotel
Washington, D.C.

12:07 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very, very much. Thank you ever so much, Lamar Alexander. What a job our Secretary is doing. First class. (Applause.) I kind of like the music beyond the wall over there -- (laughter) -- but I don't think they could hold a candle to the Marine Band. I want to thank them very much for being here. (Applause.)

And I know that all of you were perhaps as disappointed as Barbara and I were by the weather today. You see, we'd planned on hosting all 800 of you on the White House Lawn; and here I am, the one who ended up making the field trip, along with Bar. (Laughter.)

But let me recognize, first off, the many corporate contributors to the Blue Ribbon Program who are here today. And, of course, I'm very pleased, again, to introduce or to acknowledge or to thank our first-rate Secretary of Education, Lamar Alexander, who got us over here. And believe me, he is a real taskmaster. He is seeing to it that both Barbara and I mind our Ps and Qs and stay actively involved in this education program we believe so strongly about.

Barbara and I are delighted to recognize the schools that represent this nation's Blue Ribbon best. And we've bestowed blue ribbons now for nine years. Some of your schools are no strangers to the winner's circle. And today, we host a record 32 two-time winners. We meet at a moment when this nation has embarked on what really is a crusade for real reform, revolutionary reform in our schools. A crusade we call America 2000 -- a revolution that will ready us to enter the new world now on our horizon.

As you know, right now the news for American education is anything but good. Part of the necessary business of reform is to shine a light into the dark corners of the system, focus on the schools that aren't making the grade, shake people out of their complacency, and show them we need change.

But there's another part, another part of the business of building better schools across America, shining the spotlight on the schools that work and the people that make them work. The success stories like each one of the 222 schools here today.

Last December, with the world's attention riveted on Desert Shield, I laid out five principles to guide our efforts to restructure and revitalize our schools. With the state of our schools back in the national spotlight, those principles bear repeating today.

First we've got to raise expectations -- hold our schools and students to a higher level of achievement. Second, we must decentralize the authority -- clear some room for our teachers and principals to do what they do best -- make learning come alive. And third, we need responsible schools, customer-driven, and that means school choice.

MORE

If we want to create a climate for change, let parents decide which school, public or private, is best for the kids. And fourth, we must make certain our schools are market-oriented. By that I mean competition. Competition works in the business world; it can spur excellence in our schools. And fifth and finally, we must make sure that our schools are performance-based. We need to measure our schools by real results, by the students they produce rather than the resources that we pour in. Quite simply, then, measure by what works.

Two years ago, I met with the governors of your state at the Education Summit in Charlottesville, Virginia. There in the shadow of Mr. Jefferson's university we set in motion the process that identified six ambitious national education goals to prepare our children for the challenges of a new century -- the challenges that that century is destined to bring.

We came away from Charlottesville with a solid consensus that what matters most is results. Now, a few days from now the governors and members of our administration, who together constitute the National Education Goals Panel, will tell us just how far America needs to go to reach our goals for the year 2000. We already know there is bad news. And this new national report card isn't going to be one that we want to post on our refrigerators. The point is, it's a place to start, though. Finding out where we stand is the first step towards moving forward.

For a long time -- too long, really -- we spent our time and energy talking about reform rather than taking action. And that is changing now. And, again, I salute our Secretary of Education. We're charting a new course for this nation's schools, and in that effort, your schools are the pioneers -- the ones blazing a trail the rest will follow someday. The levels of achievement we're looking for in the year 2000 are the goals you're shooting for today.

And we here in Washington want to do what we can. Clearly, we can lend a hand. But the real revolution takes place in the communities that you call home. And when you come from as far away as Kalaheo High in Hawaii, Alaska's -- here are a couple of people who have come from as far away as Kalaheo High in Hawaii back there -- Alaska's East Anchorage High School or Hahn American High School on Hahn Air Force Base in Germany or as near to this place as DC's own Benjamin Banneker and Hine Junior High, you see at a glance that each school travels its own path to excellence.

One sad note for any of the kids here who made this short trip from Banneker and Hine, the problem is that right after lunch you'll have to be back in class. (Laughter.)

Some schools here today mirror the communities they come from. Their successes reflect years of love and interest and just plain hard work from communities that care. Some of the schools represented here today triumphed against all odds in spite of tough, cruel surroundings. For their students, these schools are islands of calm in the midst of chaos. And that drives home today's lesson: There's no blueprint for the one school that works for everyone. But there is a blue ribbon for every school that works best.

Take Genesis, an alternative school for kids with special needs out in Kansas City, Missouri. Genesis began as a Vista program back in the mid-'70s. And today the vast majority of its funds come from the private sector, from national organizations like the United Way, down to local businesses.

Genesis serves the kids who have fallen through the cracks, the dropouts, the teen mothers, children coping with broken homes and shattered hopes. And it turns around two-thirds of the troubled kids that come through its doors, prepares them to go back

to their old schools or go on to get a GED. For these students, Genesis is literally a new beginning, a second chance that gives them their best shot at a promising future.

The schools we honor today come in all shapes and sizes, serve students of all races and creeds and colors. From America's major cities to our tiniest town, each one of you represents the tip of the iceberg, the collective accomplishment of teachers and students, principals, parents and the communities you come from.

Consider one of the smallest schools here today, Craftsbury Academy -- a 180-student public school out in the Vermont farm country, in a town called Craftsbury Common. Times are tough out there. But economic difficulties haven't stopped that community from giving its children every possible opportunity to learn.

I think it says something about Craftsbury that when the teachers voted to send someone to today's ceremony, they sent a parent -- Gary Houston -- a past graduate of Craftsbury whose four kids go there now. So please accept our thanks for all the mothers and fathers who understand what powerful teachers parents can be.

So today, your shining example must spark a revolution in American education, spur reform that will literally reinvent the American Schools. Each of your schools is well on the way to where all of us must be. We'll reach our goals by challenging the best minds and big thinkers out there to help us create a new generation of American Schools and have these schools up and running in every congressional district across America by the year 1996. By challenging every city and town to join the crusade -- become an America 2000 community. And I'm proud to tell you that so far, nine states and one territory are already part of the great and growing America 2000 community. And I assure you there is room for every state, city and town across this country.

We really have to start now -- improve those schools that lag behind, and make our best schools better still. We won't write anyone off. We won't waste time wringing hands about the fact that the year 2000 is just a little more than eight years away. Look at it from a kid's point of view, a child's point of view: Eight years is a lifetime of learning. So let's spend the time between now and the year 2000 opening a new world of possibility for our children.

And that's the spirit that will get us to our goals for the year 2000. One community at a time, one school at a time, one student at a time, for the sake of our future we will win this American revolution.

And let me just say that if I ever let up and if I ever don't show the proper leadership or the proper support for America 2000, I get it both ways. I get it coming on me from the Secretary of Education who says, you are committed, now stay that way. And you can bet your neck I get it from the person sitting on my right who's dedicated a lot of her life to helping illiteracy. (Applause.)

So congratulations to all of you. And when you get home with your blue ribbons, please share my thanks with everybody -- it's not just you all -- but with everybody who makes your schools so successful.

Thank you and may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

12:20 P.M. EDT