HISTORICAL SURVEY OF CIVIC INSTRUCTION AND TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP IN IOWA

In the promotion of education in America — particularly that supported by public taxation — the aim has been the development of efficient citizens: it has long been recognized that the safety and prosperity of the country depend upon the intelligence and patriotism of the inhabitants. School training, however, has been largely individualistic and only incidentally social and patriotic. Intensely practical in their thinking, Americans have assumed that an education which developed the economic and intellectual ability of the individual proportionately increased his value to the state. Consequently specific training for citizenship has either been omitted altogether from the school courses of study or has been offered so late that the majority of those enrolled in the schools have failed to receive such training. Indeed, instruction in the fundamental principles of government and social organization was lacking in the elementary schools long after such subjects had been recognized in the colleges and universities. Very slowly, indeed, have those responsible for the education of the citizenry become conscious that selfishness and indifference to public duties must be overcome by specific instruction in the organization of government and the duties of the citizen to the community, the State, and the country.

I

THE AWAKENING

Nearly a hundred years ago (in 1827) an American school journal reprinted from an English authority a sug-

gestion which the editor deemed peculiarly adapted to a nation like the United States where the "preparation for the right discharge of public duty" becomes a "matter of immediate concern to the whole community." The sentiment to which the American journal called attention related to the education of those in England who on account of "birth, rank, and condition" might become statesmen or legislators — an education, indeed, which would acquaint a young man with the "moral and political history of man", the "principles upon which nations are founded", and the rise of "the rights, the duties, and the obligations of the human being, viewed as a member of a community." It was thought that the "history of human institutions" would become a source of inspiration; while a study of the forms of government and the origin and constitution of parliament and its methods of conducting business would be of much interest and value to the future political leader. Such instruction, whether designated as political economy, political science, or by some other name, was intended, to be sure, for those who had passed beyond the undergraduate period of education: it was to assume the rank of a professional subject and be carried on only in institutions of higher learning. And so it was regarded by the American journal as suitable to "the higher seminaries of our own country".[1]

Not even the academies or such other secondary schools as existed, it appears, were considered qualified to offer instruction in even the most elementary subjects which relate the pupil to his social environment. It was too early by many years to consider such work as suited to the common schools. Indeed, the observation mentioned above came at a time when the general awakening on the subject of popular education had just begun. That the higher in-

[1] *American Journal of Education* (Boston, 1827), Vol. II, pp. 13, 14, 16, 21.

stitutions might sometime inspire the lower schools to some appreciation of their opportunities in the training of citizens may have been hoped for, but no public mention of it was made at the time.

It was but a few years after the publication of the article from which the facts above are taken that the Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Territory of Iowa made the following statement: "It is exceedingly to be regretted that any citizen of our proud Territory should feel anything like indifference to the interests of our schools — to education. That he should imagine he has no interests to secure — no influence he can exert — no information he can give — no duty to perform or talent he can improve in this all important cause, for which he is accountable both to his country and to his God."[2] This outburst of regret was due to the failure of officers to perform their duty in applying and enforcing the new school law. And while there were many reasonable explanations of this neglect one may find similar complaints of indifference to education during a long period after that time. It is evident that the officials charged with the administration of the school laws had not been taught that citizens had definite duties and obligations which ought not to be neglected.

It is well known that under our first statutes teachers were examined by local officers, called township inspectors, who were strictly enjoined to "examine all persons presenting themselves touching their abilities to teach, both in regard to their education, and their moral character, and if he find said persons qualified, he shall give a certificate to this purport." Some difficulty arose in executing this provision inasmuch as the law did not prescribe the branches to be taught in the schools and hence the exam-

[2] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* in the *Journal of the Council*, 1841–1842, p. 280.

ination might not cover the subjects which the candidate would be expected to teach. A director might require the teaching of branches which the inspector had not included in the examination; and in order to harmonize these agencies, it was believed that the law should clearly specify the subjects to be taught in the common schools.

Along with this suggestion there was another which would permit a division of instruction so that the common branches — primary branches as distinguished from a "thorough course of academic instruction" — would be generally taught throughout the State, while subjects of a more advanced nature would be presented in higher schools. This suggestion made in 1848 marks the beginning of independent district higher schools — at least in this State. From that time, it seems, there has existed a notion that there must be a line, a clearly established line, between elementary or common schools and academic or higher schools. Such a distinction is not, perhaps, peculiar to Iowa but corresponds to older notions engrafted upon our school organization from the start — especially since borrowed statutes provided largely for the educational foundation up to 1858.[3]

The duty of the common school to measure up to its opportunity in Iowa was earnestly urged as early as 1850 by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Thomas H. Benton, Jr., who called attention to the striking advantages of the public school. It was designed for no special class: it was for all alike. Its mission was clear — it stood for free, universal education. Drawing his conclusion from the educational activities of the entire country the Superintendent said: "We stand pre-eminent among the nations of the earth, destined at no distant day to rule and govern

[3] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* in the *Journal of the Senate*, 1848–1849, pp. 305, 306.

the world. To rule and govern the world did I say? No, but to *teach the world how to rule and govern itself.*"[4]

II

EARLY INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT OF GOVERNMENT

Since prominence was given during the first twenty years of our State history to the academy and other private institutions which cared for the interests of advanced pupils, it is in the courses of study of such schools, if anywhere, that one would expect to find subjects relating the student to his country's history and government. It was the general opinion that the common branches only belonged to the elementary schools. In connection with the first college course available — that of Iowa College in 1854 — one notes *Story on the Constitution,* as a text pursued during the third term of the senior year. Again, in that idealistic course proposed in 1855 for the Female Eclectic Institute at Davenport, there are found the subjects of "political science" and "political economy" separately listed although they became hopelessly confused in later curricula. About the same time (1854) Burlington University, although it had then no collegiate department, mentioned international law and constitutional law as subjects for senior men and fourth-year women. Likewise, Shurtleff's *Governmental Instructor* was used as a text by Denmark Academy in 1855. In 1859 the Lyons Female College presented the Constitution of the United States as number nine in its list of studies. The subject was to be pursued, it seems, in the preparatory department. West Liberty Academy in 1860 advertised instruction in mental, political, and moral philosophy and political economy.[5]

[4] *Journal of the Senate,* 1850–1851, Appendix pp. 175, 176.

[5] *Catalogue of Iowa College,* 1853–1854, pp. 9–12; Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa,* Vol. III, p. 385; Vol. VI (in manuscript), Chap. VI; *Catalogue*

In 1862 Denmark Academy offered courses in the science of government and political economy. Under the department of ethics Griswold College, in 1865, offered courses in constitutional and international law and political economy. In 1866 Cornell College, under the heading of philosophy, included political economy and the history of civilization among the subjects assigned to the junior year. Likewise, Tabor College, in 1867, required political economy of men in the junior year, and in the senior year a text on the Constitution of the United States by Curtis was made the basis of a course. Women were allowed to pursue the former subject — a rule which, it appears, was also adopted in other schools. By 1869 Iowa College included in its curriculum political science, political economy, and the science of government, while lectures were to be delivered on the Constitution and on municipal government by John F. Dillon and others.[6]

There are only a few instances during the period covered by this discussion in which the curricula of the public schools show any attention to the study of government or social conditions. The first course of study extant, that of Dubuque in 1856, had the Constitution of the United States as a subject for the highest class of the third department — the grammar grade. Davenport in 1859 when forming its first high school course included the study of the government and Constitution of the United States. It is noted also that the high school at Burlington in 1864

of Burlington University, 1854–1855, pp. 16, 18, 22; *Catalogue of Denmark Academy*, 1855, p. 12; *Catalogue of Lyons Female College*, 1859, p. 9; *Catalogue of West Liberty Academy*, 1860, p. 12.

[6] *Catalogue of Denmark Academy*, 1862, p. 13; *Catalogue of Griswold College*, 1865, pp. 8–10; *Catalogue of Cornell College*, 1866, p. 23; *Catalogue of Tabor College*, 1867, pp. 15, 19; *Catalogue of Iowa College*, 1869, pp. 18–20; see Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa*, Vol. VI (in manuscript), Chap. XII.

provided for a study of the Constitution of the United States and also that of Iowa during the third term of the first year. In 1868 the high school students at Iowa City studied the Constitution of the United States for one year.

In view of these facts it is somewhat surprising that the committee on branches to be taught, which in 1858 submitted its report to the first State convention of county superintendents, did not refer to anything nearer to this subject than "moral lessons". It was suggested, however, that such branches as would meet the "immediate educational wants of the community" should become a part of the instruction in the proposed county high schools. The committee also proposed vocal music and calisthenics for the sub-district schools and ancient geography and ancient languages for the higher schools in the townships.[7]

The freedom of the individual to choose concerning his education or that of those dependent upon him seems to have been questioned in the Constitutional Convention of 1857. It was said then that "if a government should be arbitrary, should be thoroughly despotic, upon any one subject, it should be upon the subject of educating the youths of the country." During the debates of this convention reference was made to the independent districts — little republics in themselves as they were called — which controlled the school organization and the subject matter of instruction; and it is evident that some fear of arousing prejudice on the part of local interests was present in the convention. Nevertheless the whole debate on Article IX of our present State Constitution reveals the unanimous opinion that public education must be provided in order to establish a stable republican government. Although there

[7] Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa,* Vol. III, pp. 179, 185, 212, 288; *Rules and Regulations, Iowa City Public Schools,* 1868, p. 12; *The Voice of Iowa,* Vol. III, p. 51.

were radical differences of opinion on methods of organization there was no doubt but that in some way the State must assume responsibility for the development of an enlightened citizenry.[8]

Among the important steps which helped to clarify the idea of the purposes of education none, perhaps, was more influential than the report of the commissioners to revise the school laws of this State which was submitted to the legislature in 1856, just before the meeting of the Constitutional Convention of 1857. Mr. Horace Mann was the chairman of that commission, a fact that needs to be remembered when the principles laid down in the report are considered. For instance, it was recognized that while every youth in Iowa would be entitled to an elementary education, some would demand an opportunity to continue their education into the higher fields of study. The State would be expected to afford such advantages, *provided* it might thereafter *have the full benefit of their services to itself*. This was a perfectly clear statement of obligation on the part of the trained student. Education was understood to be a special training to fit individuals for more useful public service. To be sure, the details of the control of education and the content of instruction were left to be worked out, but the principles which were to be followed were distinctly indicated.[9]

When it was proposed to tax the property of the State to support the schools a new interest was aroused among those who had been accustomed to pay according to service rendered to the individual members of their families, or not at all. In other words *free* schools and universal education aroused the public to a new sense of obligation which was not to become fully recognized until a period of practice

[8] *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention*, 1857, Vol. II, p. 820.

[9] *Journal of the House*, 1856–1857, Appendix, pp. 192, 193.

had shown not only the advisability but the great advantage to be derived from educated and trained citizens. Perhaps even to-day this responsibility imposed in the form of taxes would be more cheerfully accepted if results were clearly manifested in a more reliable, praiseworthy, and constant citizenry.

Some friends of education observed in 1860 that the association of its interests with party politics had proved detrimental; and thus early in the history of the new school law of 1858 there were signs that its purposes might not be fully realized. It was urged that the State should protect the schools from such interferences and provide a "mental and moral training, which qualifies the citizen for his station in society and thus forms the ground-work of social stability." And in all popular elections of school officers party distinctions should be disregarded; qualifications alone should determine fitness; and in all respects the influences of the schools should be such as would produce enlightened and trustworthy citizens.[10]

III

ATTITUDE OF THE TEACHERS — FIRST PERIOD

Through the efforts of Iowa teachers and their friends, four hundred educational lectures in support of the new school law were delivered in Iowa during the years 1858 and 1859. Not less than 25,000 persons, it was asserted, were addressed during the campaign. The following objectives were definitely set forth: (1) to arouse the teachers; (2) to create interest among the citizens generally in the "full and proper development of the Moral, Intellectual and Physical of every child in this heaven-favored State"; and (3) to urge a thorough and impartial trial of the new law. It is such action that seems to warrant the

[10] *The Iowa Instructor*, Vol. II, pp. 19, 39, 41, 42.

conclusion that the teachers — or at least their leaders — were engaged in the promotion of practical and effective citizenship.

Early in 1860 the members of a teachers' institute assembled at Osceola in Clark County adopted resolutions in substance as follows: — They endorsed the doctrine that a well regulated and efficient system of schools was the basis of permanence in government, and asserted that education of all youth was the surest means of preventing crime, protecting property, elevating morals, and increasing wealth and general happiness. As teachers, they declared that they would endeavor to train pupils in the "fundamental principles of our Government and of loyalty to the confederation that our blood bought institutions and priceless liberty may be preserved." And they advocated the introduction of the fundamental principles of the Common Law as a school subject in order that people might become informed, peace and harmony be thereby promoted, and law suits be less frequent.[11]

By similar action in 1862 the teachers of Cedar County declared: "we will endeavor to impart to our pupils a general knowledge of the fundamental principles of our government, and instill into their minds a love for our Union, that our blood-bought institutions and priceless liberties may be preserved." Two years later the teachers of Wapello County expressed the opinion that every teacher should be familiar with the Constitution and history of the United States. It was the duty of the teachers to acquaint their pupils with these subjects and to provide instruction in "sound patriotism". The teachers of Buchanan County asserted that it was the duty of all teachers to instruct the children of the common schools in the great truths which underlie the foundation of our government; and that it was

[11] *The Iowa Instructor,* Vol. I, pp. 45, 238, 240.

the duty of nations and communities as much as individuals to abide by the rule of right.[12]

In the same spirit other assemblies of teachers set forth their purposes. Madison County teachers declared that they were ready to use all reasonable means to make themselves better citizens and to cultivate the principles of truth and patriotism in the hearts of their pupils. In Cerro Gordo County resolutions were adopted declaring that loyalty to the government should ever be the distinguishing mark of the teaching profession and that the county superintendent should withhold a certificate from any one not *known* to be true and loyal to the national government. In Ringgold County, in April, 1865, the teachers determined to use all their influence on the side of right and government and adopted the following principle of action: "the inculcation of sentiments of patriotism in our pupils, teaching them to reverence our Constitution and Laws as second only to their God." From Jasper County came a similar response in the declaration of the teachers that they would endeavor to kindle in the hearts of their pupils a spirit of patriotism; and they added the warning that any person who did not express appreciation of the soldiers in both word and deed was not worthy the name of citizen, much less the position of teacher.[13]

In Calhoun and adjoining counties a joint institute adopted a resolution that "we as teachers devote our time and talents to the restoration and preservation of the Union by teaching as far as we are capable the present and especially the rising generation the principles of self-government." In Sac County and other counties associated therewith in an institute the teachers pledged their best

[12] *The Iowa Instructor,* Vol. III, p. 124; *Iowa Instructor and School Journal,* Vol. VI, p. 127.

[13] *Iowa Instructor and School Journal,* Vol. VI, pp. 154, 289, 290, 321.

efforts to convince parents that it was their duty to give their children a liberal education in the arts and sciences "including that of Government." In Cass County it was declared to be the duty of the teachers to impress upon the rising generation the value of free institutions and the necessity of preserving and perpetuating a government that fosters and protects all that is dear to a free people. Likewise in Keokuk County the teachers were desirous of inculcating in those under their instruction a love of country and the spirit of a free government. No one not thoroughly in sympathy with such a doctrine, it was declared, should be permitted for one moment to control a school. In Winneshiek County also it was recognized that the national crisis placed responsibilities upon the teachers who pledged themselves to make known the principles of universal freedom and to engage in any service which would benefit the cause of liberty.

In 1865 the teachers of Buchanan County again declared their belief in the principles of freedom and equal rights which were the foundation of this government. They agreed to use all their power in training their pupils to respect and honor our country and its institutions — as well as those who had fought its battles. The same year Page County teachers pledged their fidelity to the nation and made a public declaration of their intention to impress upon those under their tuition the feeling of obligation to the government and the State.[14]

While these local groups were expressing their convictions the State Teachers Association was putting itself on record through its officers or committees as approving their acts. In 1861 Mr. A. S. Kissell during his address as

[14] *Iowa Instructor and School Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 336, 400, Vol. V, pp. 127, 160, 352, Vol. VII, pp. 61, 94.

president of the association said: "In times of great political and financial distress, like the present, superficial minds are disposed to neglect future interests in providing against present calamities." In this connection he emphasized the hopeful side of government by a free people, asserting that while the "ravages of a foreign war are terrible, and the fierceness and extermination of civil strife are still more fearful; yet, in great civilized nations, these are comparatively but temporary evils. For a moment the reins of government are tightened, the enginery of battle is let loose, business briefly pauses, the property of a few changes hands, some noble and heroic ones perish on the field of victory, and all is over. Business resumes its accustomed channels, the noise of battle is hushed, government relaxes her hand, and the elastic energies of a nation rebound to a fresher and more vigorous prosperity."

Continuing, he pointed out the great conflict of truth, learning, and virtue against ignorance and vice which must remain a problem for all in time of war as well as in peace; and citing the action of Prussia in maintaining schools, while under the domination of a conqueror, he asserted that if such a policy had been wise for that nation far behind us in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, how "forcibly does it commend itself to a government based upon the individual power of the people, through the elective franchise."

Since the status of education during the war would soon have to be decided by the people, it was declared to be the duty of the State Teachers Association to use its influence to prevent any lowering of the educational standard. What advantage, it was asked, would victory bring to an ignorant people? If the common schools were securely protected "no foe, either foreign or internal", could overthrow this government since the "spirit of freedom" would rise

from "every defeat, to inspire humanity anew with more determined zeal". Besides, the Association could not be "indifferent to the fact that many of the legal advantages which we enjoy, stand upon a very precarious foundation" inasmuch as they could be overthrown by a mere party vote: a majority of those who sought to carry popular elections were not the ones best suited to advance the educational interests of the State. Such men only as had shown themselves able and trustworthy should be supported for office.[15]

It was during the same session of the Association that the committee on the "Increased Importance of Continuing our Public Schools" submitted for adoption a resolution which declared that "the liberties of the American people are more safely guarded by the success of our public schools, than by fleets and armies." At the same meeting, August 20, 1861, Professor Oliver M. Spencer of the State University made a stirring address in which he declared that the teacher must be a patriotic man, not a mere partisan, but a genuine patriot. "His love for his country should be next to that for his God . . . . He should not only entertain such principles himself, but endeavor to instill them into the minds of his pupils. At such a time as this, when our distracted country is torn and rent by civil dissension, this should constitute one of the great staples of his instruction . . . . I would to God, to-night, that every teacher in our land would bring his pupils as Hamilcar did Hannibal, to their country's altar, and there bid them swear eternal enmity to political wrong."

The speaker was in doubt as to the length of the contest just then beginning, but hoped "though it may take the last dollar and the last man, that it will last until the damnable doctrine of secession has forever received its

[15] *The Iowa Instructor,* Vol. III, pp. 6, 7, 9, 10, 33, 34.

quietus. Some say it will last ten or fifteen years. At any rate, we shall have to educate a generation of soldiers, and when the war shall have been brought to a happy issue, as we all hope and trust it may, it will still be necessary for us to cultivate a martial spirit, whilst we shall learn from our present unhappy experience, that the surest way of avoiding war is always to be prepared for war."[16]

In 1863 the State Teachers Association, in session at Grinnell, adopted the report of the committee on "the state of the country", which declared that in times of national calamity it became the duty of educators to identify themselves heartily with the cause of their country. Education, moreover, it was decided, should include training in the preservation of good government. The teachers pledged themselves to renewed vigilance in aiding the perpetuation and growth of free institutions. Again in 1865 a general pledge was made to favor the orphans of soldiers; and the State was exhorted to provide a home where such children might be taught to respect, to admire, and to love a government which made such provision for its dependents and be reminded of the honor in which their fathers were held.[17]

At the meeting in 1865 State Superintendent Oran Faville spoke on "The Relation of the Teacher to the State". It was his conclusion that the teachers had never before had such an opportunity for constructive work. The war had been one of principles: force had determined not only the rights and duties of the government but also the rights

[16] *The Iowa Instructor,* Vol. II, p. 370, Vol. III, pp. 103, 104, 120.

Professor Spencer referred in this address to his recent visit to the University of Michigan where a military department had just been established. He would have a similar department at the University of Iowa. It was in December following this address in August that the State Board of Education passed an act establishing such instruction.—See *School Laws of Iowa,* 1864, p. 39.

[17] *Iowa Instructor and School Journal,* Vol. V, p. 12, Vol. VII, p. 5.

and duties of citizens. The government was now entering upon a new epoch or career, and statesmen would require the most profound wisdom in order to properly frame constitutions and draft laws. On no class of workers, however, would the demand be "more imperative for well-directed effort than upon the teacher."

The triumph of free institutions in the contest just closed had revealed the important work of the public schools. One could now comprehend the assertion that "virtue and intelligence are the safeguards of a republic", and teachers were to be commissioned anew for the continuation of such work. However able the press, the pulpit, and the higher institutions of learning, these could not reach the masses of the people until some elementary work had prepared a foundation for their teaching. In addition to all the former motives for adequate education there came an appeal, nay, a demand, from both the dead and the living soldiers that the children be made *patriotic* citizens. Never before had the relations of the teacher to the State been so clearly defined. And furthermore, he asserted, our social and political life would be lifted and purified "just in proportion to our estimate of the office of the public school teacher."

In addition to all former requirements, Mr. Faville declared, the State now demanded that the teacher should not only instruct in the rights and duties of the American citizen but that he should also "instill such a love for republican institutions, such a reverence for the Union, that its fearful cost of restoration may never prove to have been too dear; in fine, to bind the conscience and the intelligence of the youth to our great national ideas." In order to accomplish this the rules and formulas of text-books would be insufficient. On the contrary there must be "lessons from life, from history, from the Constitution and from

the Bible." Indeed, the ability to teach only such branches as the law specified would scarcely qualify one to instruct children who were to assume the "duties and responsibilities of a regenerated nation": the State would expect the coming generation to "possess an enlightened conscience and a developed intellect"—in fact, they must be "*fully* trained for citizenship." Problems of reconstruction resulting from the war were such that the teacher could not be neutral; but they must be met in a patriotic rather than in a partisan spirit, unless, indeed, "he is a partizan who teaches regard for law—love for the Union and respect for its brave defenders."[18]

Again, in 1866, the State Teachers Association expressed its belief that national security could be maintained only by the proper education of all citizens of this country, and that national provision should be made for the development of such a general culture among the masses as would give a right comprehension of the spirit and working of free institutions. At that session Professor Leonard F. Parker of Iowa College presented an appeal for universal, patriotic education. He said, in substance, that a state or nation fostered education for the interests it considered most important. History had shown this to be true since education was "rigidly confined in quantity and quality to the limits of governmental advantage." When a government was founded on popular will and maintained and directed for public benefit, however, the educational policy would naturally take wider range. In such instances there should be no limits to the provisions until a point had been reached where further expansion would raise the interests of a few above the whole number. The people of this country had nothing to discourage and much to encourage them in the most liberal measures for education. But while

[18] *Iowa Instructor and School Journal*, Vol. VII, pp. 33–36, 38–41.

education might be encouraged and supported because, for instance, it tended toward an increased wealth, or because it enlarged the powers and trained the intellect of the individual, it should be first of all "*American,* broadly, generously and invariably American".

It had been observed, declared Professor Parker, that "school systems of all nations are planned to give strength and permanence to the governments . . . . education in America is *for* Americans and *from* them, and it should be written *all over* with living proofs of its *origin* and its *object.*" And more specifically: "American education should be *brim-full of patriotism*", which meant, it appears, a "*rational, broad, hearty love of country*" rather than a merely local interest. Thus far, he said, we had "education in America, but technically no American education", by which he meant that there was no national educational system or ideal. It would be wise to nationalize instruction in order to force certain sections of the country to come up to such a standard of intelligence that no voter would be unable to read. Since the general government must exercise the right to punish the infraction of laws, ought it not, therefore, to make some direct "effort to instruct each citizen as to his duty?" National legislation was felt to be necessary, and the Federal government was urged to "incite all to a lofty patriotism by acquainting them with the excellencies of our government and enabling them to appreciate its worth and its claims, and to learn how the public good comprehends and fortifies the interests of each." The address was an appeal for universal, patriotic education under a centralized authority, if necessary, to carry out its provisions.[19]

[19] *Iowa Instructor and School Journal,* Vol. VIII, pp. 16, 70–76.

IV

ATTITUDE OF THE TEACHERS — SECOND PERIOD

If one may judge correctly from current publications and the proceedings of meetings in which teachers were in control, there was a slackening of enthusiasm for patriotic instruction following the period outlined in the preceding pages. This conclusion does not imply that those giving instruction in the schools were any less patriotic personally, nor that they would not have joined heartily in any movement designed to promote better citizenship. But the thought of the teacher had been diverted in other directions: the inspiration of the reconstruction period was overshadowed by the commonplace problems.

About 1876, however, when the thought of the nation was directed toward the hundredth anniversary of its birth, the entire country became interested in history and government. Such a revival is shown in the proceedings of the State Teachers Association, and there has been since then no total neglect of the subject. Among the first to suggest a larger attention to political subjects was Superintendent N. E. Goldthwaite of Boone who, at the Grinnell meeting in 1876, delivered an address on "Political Science in the Public School".

He began by calling attention to the teachings of Herbert Spencer who put a "knowledge of our political relations, and of the municipal laws that surround us" as fourth in the relative importance of knowledge. To be sure, Mr. Goldthwaite might have referred also to the third of Mr. Spencer's group — a knowledge of our social duties — inasmuch as we have come to include much of this in our discussion of civic functions. To set forth reasons for the study of government in the public schools, however, was at least opening up a new subject for discussion. Such knowledge was slowly being recognized as essential to

scholarship; and if the young American citizen wished to aspire "to any influence or consideration among his fellow countrymen", he must be thoroughly informed on the principles of the government under which he lived. With this idea in view argument for the "science of government" as a school subject was presented.

The nature of our government, it was argued, made it essential that every man should be informed not only as to his responsibilities as a citizen, but also as to the processes by which his rights might be maintained and his influence be made effective in public affairs. In addition to instruction in "morality, temperance, justice, moderation" and other virtues which were desirable in a republic, it was believed to be as important to teach "the elements of political science in a school where just and intelligent sentiments prevail. The family, society, and the affairs of life may do their part in this grand work, but all of them will not excuse the public school from its responsibility". Well known events in the country's history were briefly recounted to prove that the democratic spirit of equality could be comprehended only if special attention was paid to the evolution of government in those countries where the people ruled through their own prerogatives.

It seems certain that events then being enacted had led to the selection of this topic for presentation before the State Teachers Association in 1876. In several of the States of the Union there was not only unrest but actual conflict between rival political organizations; and there were many exposures of mal-administration in the public service. An exciting presidential campaign had just been closed and was yet undecided; while in the recent centennial exhibition attention had been drawn to the activities of other nations. This fact, perhaps, accounts for the urgent appeal for the study of international law in high schools and

other secondary institutions. Because of our intimate relation with other nations in trade and in diplomacy it was becoming evident that people should be informed, to some extent at least, on the law of nations. Current events, likewise, offered a profitable field for instruction so that the actual workings of society might be more readily understood.

One speaker denied emphatically any intention to introduce partisan politics into the school room — which was one of the objections to the proposed instruction in government — declaring that it was desirable to present only those "general principles of political science that underlie the fabric of our national institutions, and upon which all parties agree. We desire to notice the comparative advantages and disadvantages of free and liberal institutions over those hereditary and prescriptive governments that exist in Europe and Asia. Let our youth be taught the reasons that induced our ancestors, at the expense of life and treasure, to establish the form of government that we enjoy." A knowledge of the patriotism and achievements of those founders of our government would tend to overcome the "rancor and bitterness" so often present in political contests. Certainly it would be as proper to teach the "principles of patriotism, love of country, knowledge of her institutions, a comparison of them with the institutions of other nations, and even to inquire into the character and policy of the two great parties that always exist in a free government", as to teach family affection and loyalty.

Although want of time was often set up as an obstacle to the introduction of such subjects into our schools it was pointed out in this address that if the need of such instruction was clearly shown time must be found for it. And it was forthwith suggested that the time given to arithmetic

might be reduced and the details of geography or technical grammar omitted, in order that time might be available to form the "manners and characteristics of our future citizens."[20]

In 1877 Miss Phoebe W. Sudlow, the president of the State Teachers Association, called attention to the situation then as compared to that of the year before. The events of the year had not been a "pleasing retrospect and national self-gratulation"; on the contrary there were serious problems before the public. There were questions in "national politics and social economy" that had to be considered and answered. Although the Association had not assembled solely for the discussion of such problems, Miss Sudlow declared that as educators of youth "whatever affects the future manhood or womanhood of her citizenship" merited consideration.

It was at this session that Professor Jesse Macy of Iowa College made the definite contribution of a well organized plan for teaching "political science". In presenting his method he said that "it is but fair to contend that those who have a voice in a government, should have some idea of the principles on which that government is based. The rudiments of political science should, therefore, be taught in every common school." Mr. Macy believed that the instructor should begin with the road district and teach the duties of the officers connected therewith; and the study of the township, the county, the State, and the nation with their respective organizations would follow. During discussion of this paper by Superintendent James H. Thompson and others, the opinion was expressed that the subject should be introduced in the intermediate grades. It is to be noted also that in the resolutions adopted at the close of the session the Association endorsed the views of the

[20] *Proceedings of the Iowa State Teachers Association*, 1876, pp. 29–35.

speakers who discussed this subject, for it was resolved that a "general acquaintance with social and political science especially as revealed in history, is increasingly important, and should be taught as early and as thoroughly as possible; in their elements in the lower schools, and in their wider relations in the higher."[21]

Again, in 1878, Superintendent Henry Sabin of Clinton in his address as president of the Association said that "in the light of recent discussions, we ought to re-affirm our convictions, that as a free state necessarily imposes duties and obligations of a high order upon its citizens, so it is the duty of the state to furnish for its children, an education commensurate with the intelligence it will demand of them as citizens". At the same session President George T. Carpenter of Oskaloosa College delivered an address on "The Reciprocal Relations of Our Public Schools and the State and General Government" in which he set forth his belief that the teacher should "instruct every embryo American citizen in the elements of *republican government,* of the *relation of capital* and *labor,* of *rulers* and *people.*" He would have the child taught early what money is and also "the relations between nation and nation, state and

[21] *The Iowa Normal Monthly,* Vol. I, pp. 174, 182, 186.

The outline on local government used by Professor Jesse Macy in the Poweshiek County institute in 1880 was in substance as shown below. It was distributed to the teachers who were to use it later in their own schools. Subsequently, (in 1882) a pamphlet was prepared for general use and counties ordered them in large numbers. The outline was probably followed in the order presented. Under each head there were suggestions of the duties of each officer.

Objects of Government

1, Protection; 2, Public Improvement; 3, Education; 4, Care of Unfortunate.

County Government

1, Supervisors; 2, Auditor; 3, Treasurer; 4, Recorder; 5, Surveyor; 6, Sheriff; 7, Coroner; 8, Clerk; 9, Superintendent.

Township Government

1, Road Supervisor; 2, Trustees; 3, Clerk; 4, Assessor; 5, Justices of the Peace; 6, Constables; 7, Sub-director and School Board. — *The Iowa Normal Monthly,* Vol. XX, pp. 317, 318.

state, of the individual to his government, of individual to individual". Indeed he would introduce "one more new text-book, which should combine the elements of political economy and moral philosophy. Any educational system that fails here, fails of its true end." If too many subjects already occupied the attention of the public school, Mr. Carpenter declared that he would "let the most important of these take precedence. And what can be more importanf than the knowledge of our relations to the government of which we each form so important an integer? Discard . . . . any one of a half dozen other studies crowded into some of our school courses, but add a suitable work on Social and Moral Science."[22]

Another Iowa teacher, Superintendent J. W. Johnson of Knoxville, in pointing out the desirable improvements in practical training said, in 1879, that the school must inspire a warmer love of country. "When the fires of patriotism shall go out", he declared, "when in pursuit of wealth or power we shall forget our country's honor then shall the star of our glory go down forever. It must teach the necessity of, and correct theories concerning government; must analyze and defend the principles of our Union; must create national pride and national honesty; must rear hearts too pure and noble to defraud or debase the land that gave them birth and protects them in social and religious privileges. It must bring all men to see that no higher duty falls to man than the right understanding and right exercise of political principles, and that he who neglects political duties because demagogues corrupt the ballot is unworthy and weak. We must have the best men at the front in politics and the school must put them there."[23]

[22] *The Iowa Normal Monthly,* Vol. II, pp. 177, 218, 219.

[23] *The Iowa Normal Monthly,* Vol. III, p. 240.

In 1880 Rev. A. L. Frisbie of Des Moines appeared before the State Teachers Association using for his evening address "The Teacher As an Ally of Good Government." In the very beginning he drew a contrast between the German and the American teacher, showing that while the former was more directly connected with the government the latter had a much greater opportunity to influence the character of the government under which he lived. The pupils of the American teacher were finally the "sovereigns in the state through the use of the ballot box, and many among them might rise to the highest official positions, almost beyond the reach of the German just entering upon life." The teacher was held to be "an ally of good government by as much as he helps to shape a citizen" who would support the right under all situations, be obedient to the truth, and become a self-governing agent in the interests of all that is best.

The next year State Superintendent John W. Akers took for his subject "The Teacher's Responsibility as a Citizen"; and discussed the moral, social, and political responsibilities of the public school teacher. Although all these duties claimed, or should claim, some portion of time and some care, attention was called to the fact that the political responsibilities were both "numerous and important". To discharge these obligations in such a manner as to increase the influence of the teacher would always require the "exercise of great prudence and sound judgment." Although a teacher should take an active part in politics, Mr. Akers did not believe that he could become a partisan in such a sense as to engage in campaigns with any party. It was to be understood, however, that to influence an election indirectly for good government was a strictly legitimate political activity. At all events the teacher should "take a high stand among men — able, competent and willing to

discharge the whole duty of a citizen and content to do nothing less". An active participation in all things pertaining to citizenship was the duty of everyone in a community where each citizen might exert some influence in shaping laws and, to some extent, in determining the character of the government.

Superintendent J. J. McConnell of Atlantic discussed the same subject: he interpreted it as the responsibility of the teachers in their relation to society. A clearer appreciation of such responsibility might be gained, he asserted, by recalling the object of the entire educational system. That was the fitting of youth "for the duties of citizenship." The teacher ought to be such a citizen as he expects his pupils to become, and should be active in supporting all movements for the betterment of the community. As a class, he said, teachers were charged with neglect of public duties which really belonged to them. There were reasons why men and women engaged in teaching failed to exercise their prerogatives as citizens in the fullest sense, and their "dependency upon public favor" for employment was not the least of these.

In this discussion there was a portion which it seems proper at this time (1919) to quote in full: "What shall be the character of our citizenship in the future is a question that is to-day [1881] pressing for an answer. It is being asked by our best men with much anxiety. Whatever it is to be, it is to develop from incongruous and conflicting elements . . . . by our large immigration the principles that threaten the thrones and endanger the empires of the old world, are being rapidly transplanted to this continent. Our first and our highest duty is to mold into a new creation these incongruous elements; to teach those who come to us to forget their allegiance, in every sense, to the nations they have left, and to fall in love with our institu-

tions, to which they have come for protection." And finally it was said that schools needed to teach patriotism more than arithmetic, grammar, or history.[24]

Other school men were of the same opinion. In 1882 Principal O. C. Scott of Oskaloosa said that since the high school was maintained to instruct those who were to participate in the government of the country it should teach what that government represents, that is, its aims and how they are to be accomplished. In addition to the study of the Constitution of the United States, the Constitution of the State, and the organization of the government, it was urged that young people should be instructed in the legitimate powers of the various departments by which the government is administered. What, for example, is the authority of the legislature and what are the limitations on its powers?

The next year President George F. Magoun of Iowa College proposed additions to and subtractions from the course of study commonly considered fundamental. He advocated teaching the duty of the individual to society and the characteristics of the various forms of government under which society was organized. It was really absurd, he declared, to postpone such teaching until the pupil was mature enough to take up an analysis of the constitution. What would the young citizen be learning about his duties and obligations in the meantime? Might he not infer that there was no authority over him other than the home and school government? The civil community might be farthest from his conception; and with such a body of untrained and uninformed youth what could the government expect in the way of an intelligent performance of the duties of citizenship?

The various aspects of training in the home, in the

[24] *The Iowa Normal Monthly,* Vol. IV, pp. 152, 153, Vol. V, pp. 202–205.

church, and in the school were, according to President Magoun, wholly insufficient to prepare the pupil for the discharge of the duties which would come to him as a citizen of this republic. In other words, the authority of the civil government must be felt and understood. "For a whole generation", he said, "I have been arguing for this addition to our common school work, even at the cost of some subtraction from grammar and geography", and if need be some slight infringement upon the three R's. Besides it had been his belief for nearly as long that such instruction should commence with the "lowest and simplest civil organizations, the school district, the township, the ward, the town, the city, those that are nearest to the pupil and should be most familiar and binding". In this connection he referred to the application of this plan to the common schools by "a professor in one of our colleges"—a reference to Professor Jesse Macy who, in 1880, had presented his outline of local government at the Poweshiek County Institute.[25]

In 1886 the president of the Association, Professor M. W. Bartlett, raised the question, "How can the schools contribute more efficiently to a better citizenship?" He asserted that the State had never approached the subject in a manner which promised a solution of the problem of training citizens. Our best security, it seemed to him, lay in education along the lines which would give a broad understanding of the basic truths of social, political, and moral science. An education which is paid for by the State should secure results of direct benefit to the State: such education, in short, should make good citizens, fitted and able to serve the people rather than trained merely for personal advantage. He insisted, however, that it would be

[25] *The Iowa Normal Monthly*, Vol. VI, p. 254, Vol. VII, p. 319, Vol. XX, p. 317

discovered that what was best for the individuals would in the end be best for the State also. The entire address was a discussion of the problems of moral and civic instruction and an appeal for progressive action.

There were at the same time other evidences of interest in this subject. It was early recognized that while the study of political administration should be considered in making up the school program, social and economic problems must not be neglected. Even the work of assimilating the immigrant was discussed, for it was believed by some that if the country failed in this it would lose something of its original character and fail to measure up to the ideals of its founders. There must be some positive action in transforming the foreign element into intelligent citizens. All might desire liberty of thought, speech, and action; but such freedom, if not regulated by knowledge and patriotism, might become dangerous to the community. The question to be answered was what was meant by liberty and how it could be exercised in conformity with the obligations of a true citizen? Before the close of the session in 1886 a committee which, it appears, had been making some inquiry on this subject reported that among twenty-three high schools which had answered the question, "To what extent are civil government and political economy taught in your school?", all replied that civil government was in the curriculum while about one-half included political economy.[26]

The session of the Association in 1887 might well have been characterized as a citizenship meeting, inasmuch as at least four addresses or reports related to this subject. First, in the address of the president, Superintendent L. T. Weld, the good citizen was defined as one who loves his country and zealously supports its interests: he would pro-

[26] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association*, 1886, pp. 35, 36, 58, 165.

tect its rights and maintain its laws and institutions. Such citizens, Superintendent Weld declared, should be secured by home and school training. "He who honors and obeys proper authority when a child will honor and obey the mandates of law when a man." Such a law-abiding citizenry ought to insure national prosperity. Throughout the address there was a plea for more attention to instruction in government: it was believed that too little consideration had theretofore been given to this subject.

Indeed, the subject of civics both in the public schools and in the colleges came before the Association at this time. Superintendent A. A. Weaver of Webster City presented the subject as he thought it should be taught in the public schools. Since the American child was to become an integral part of the United States, which takes its rank and position among the nations from the average intelligence of its citizens, what more important subject than the "nature, rights, duties and obligations of citizenship" could occupy the attention of teachers and pupils? In this matter, however, the schools had been decidedly deficient. Indeed, Mr. Weaver wondered what the pupil really knew of the government which he was taught to regard as the best on earth. And further, what had the schools done to equip the young man who came to the polls to deposit his first ballot?

Although it was true that there were texts on civil government in many schools, it was well known that they failed to interest the average pupil. From such sources, therefore, little practical benefit was to be derived. On that occasion the question was put directly to the assembled educators: "How many teachers in Iowa to-day [1887] feel competent to give their pupils a real, intelligent, comprehensive understanding of the underlying principles of American government, and of the real nature

and bearing of the public questions demanding the attention of American citizenship?'' The child who is old enough to read and think, said the speaker, is old enough to begin the study of civics ''in its broad sense, the consideration of the duties and obligations of citizenship.'' While the teaching of this relationship might involve a knowledge of the machinery of government, as usually found in text-books, instruction in technical details, it was felt, should be postponed until the pupil reached the higher grades, when he was expected to have sufficient preliminary training to enable him to comprehend the ''ponderous subject.''

Since the youth when he becomes an adult is expected to perform certain public duties, Mr. Weaver would have all children learn something of these privileges and responsibilities as they pass through the public schools. Moreover, he believed that certain social relations involving the rights of others might be illustrated in the daily events of school life. Clearly this design contemplated the adjustment of the instruction to the period of the child's life, leaving technical terms until they became necessary to explain the organization of government. Much would depend, it appears, upon the ingenuity of the teacher and on his preparation and willingness to carry out such a plan. These suggestions were not unlike some that had been elaborated a decade before, although they were doubtless intended to cover a larger field of activity.

On the same occasion, before the collegiate department of the Association, President W. I. Chamberlain of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts presented the claims of civics under the subject of ''The College and Citizenship''. Within a period of four years, it appears, he had twice severely arraigned the colleges because they had failed to measure up to the new demands

by connecting their curricula with the wide range of new subjects in science; and likewise, because they trained their students to acquire knowledge rather than how to use it. In 1887 he came forward to charge these institutions with neglecting to instruct fully in the duties of citizenship and to impress students with "an intelligent, ardent and self-sacrificing love of country." In his vocabulary civics included not only the science of government but also all the rights and duties of citizenship. In college, he declared, the teaching of civics ought to include an analysis of the basis of organized society and along with that a study of the origin and history of our own government.

The colleges should dwell more on the duties than on the rights of citizens if these institutions are to fulfill their part in the educational life of a State, he asserted. From them must come men trained in sound principles of government and wise administration through the courses of study offered in them. At every step it might be shown how important was the need for "a broad and wise and Christian statesmanship"; and if the college graduates are to become such leaders the responsibility of the school wherein they are trained becomes very great. "Most recreant shall we, as instructors, be to our duty to the commonwealth and to the nation if we do not make prominent in our curriculum that most important class of studies that we group and characterize by the most suggestive name of 'Civics'."

At the same time before another department of the Association the phase of instruction in civics belonging to the high school was being presented. The period was marked by such an awakening in politics, it was said, that some careful consideration seemed necessary in order to discover what the function of the public high school really was. Unquestionably, declared the speaker, one of the

most important duties of the public school was to create a desire on the part of its students to investigate "problems of practical politics" and to become well informed in the "duties of citizenship." The plan of instruction should include: "1. A systematic inculcation of those qualities which go to make up good citizenship. 2. A knowledge of the machinery of our government. 3. A thoro understanding of the history of the civil policy. 4. Elementary instruction in political economy. 5. The establishment of chairs of political science in the colleges, with ample provisions for advanced work."

In a republican government, politics, as the subject seemed to be defined, constituted an important if not the chief element in the education of its people. And the young people of the high schools were particularly interested in the subjects which were the usual topics of conversation in the families from which they came. It was the function of the school, therefore, to encourage and to direct the thoughts of its students along the lines of a more effective citizenship; and the course in civics should contribute to that end.

Again the advantage of beginning with local government as a starting point in instruction was emphasized. It would be useless, said the speaker, to present the organization of the general government to those who by lack of experience of preliminary training were unprepared to follow the subject intelligently. At the same time no textbook alone would suffice to instruct in the well-known terms of local government: a practical knowledge would be necessary. And therein lay the promise of success in teaching, for a thorough comprehension of the local government and its relation to the individual would lay a foundation upon which the larger structure of the study of constitutions could be based. After civil government it would be

well for the students to pursue a course in political economy in order to establish right habits of thinking on economic questions. It was well known that the great majority of citizens were wholly ignorant of the "first principles of political economy", and the public high school had a great opportunity to create a spirit of independent action on the part of its students.

That objections to the expansion of instruction in civil government or civics would be raised was anticipated; and so such objections were answered in advance. The over-crowded curriculum must be rearranged to meet this new demand: it must not continue to neglect such an important phase of public interest. Two or three years of regular instruction in government should be provided even if some science or some language had to go; for no subject offered could rank in importance with the one so closely related to the life of the citizen. The most formidable obstacle to the introduction of this study in the high schools was the lack of preparation on the part of those called upon to teach the subject. And yet this could be overcome by application and an appreciation of what such preparation meant. To be sure there was no adequate text-book which could wholly meet the needs of the situation; but even that objection had been partly met. Such were the views of a practical school supervisor, whose outline for civic instruction in the elementary schools supplemented that suggested for the colleges.[27]

In his address on "What the Great Public Expects of Its Public Schools", Professor J. L. Pickard of the State University, president of the State Teachers Association in 1888, drew some practical illustrations from the political campaign just closed. "What lessons have we learned",

[27] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association*, 1887, pp. 27, 28, 31, 88–90, 106, 110, 113, 114, 152–157.

he asked, from the so-called "educational campaign" of the political parties. Had the schools prepared the voter to make an intelligent decision upon public questions? How many had been taught the principles of free government? And, furthermore, were patriotic ideals rather than partisan belief the basis of instruction? He chose to speak on the subject of political science because he felt that it was "so closely allied with every other interest".

Among the many questions which the public schools must meet none seemed more important to President Pickard than those raised as to their responsibility for the training in citizenship. If the schools were established to insure the permanence of free institutions their instruction must be so planned as to develop citizens informed on the fundamentals of free government. Nor were the elementary steps in such instruction to be neglected. On the contrary, the occasion of an election ought to be utilized by calling attention to its management and the significance of each movement. The laws affecting daily actions might likewise furnish texts for many practical lessons. Nevertheless, education alone would not be sufficient: there must be a patriotic inclination to learn and to act; and to inspire this attitude, it appears, was the real function of the public schools.

As pointed out above, President W. I. Chamberlain in 1887 delivered an address before the college section of the Association on the subject of "The College and Citizenship". Now, in 1888, he presented the same topic from the standpoint of the public schools. Again he defined civics as "a systematic knowledge of our form of government and of the rights and duties of citizenship under it." Did civics have the status of a science in the public schools, was the question propounded at the beginning. He asserted that this question must be answered in the affirmative if

the State intended to continue the provision for free public schools. The property tax for education was justified only if education produced more skillful workers and more patriotic citizens. Without skill the republic would come to poverty; without virtue it would perish; without patriotism it would become the domicile of a selfish people, and disintegration would ensue.

Only through the public schools could such instruction reach the masses, since so few obtained a higher education. Indeed, there was reason to expect that such training should be begun in the elementary schools by giving the children an appreciation of the great resources of our nation. Such an understanding would later aid them in comprehending the rights and duties of citizens. In the high schools a study of the organization of the State and general governments and constitutions together with commercial law and political economy should be included in the course. Lastly there should be an intensive study of "'Civics' proper, that is of the rights and duties of citizens under our free government." As to the subject matter under the head of civics the speaker said he must be "somewhat specific, as we have as yet I think no text-book that exactly meets the wants of our High Schools." He would have a text which would show the "philosophic and ethical basis of right conduct in society and under government, and show what new dangers threaten liberty . . . . and how our liberties may be preserved, increased and made more secure." With this fundamental idea in mind he proceeded to outline the content of a desirable text.

The department of secondary instruction, at this meeting, was considering the same subject. Mr. T. F. Tobin of the Vinton Academy called attention to the fact that the future rulers of nations governed by hereditary principles were trained in the practices and doctrines of their native

land. Certainly, then, it was extremely important to prepare for a similar responsibility the youth of a country in which each one participated in the affairs of government. The pupil of to-day might become a future executive or maker of laws. In any event he would aid in molding public opinion for good or ill and would thereby be an influential factor in the social organization.

The schools, therefore, could not evade responsibility for the intellectual growth nor for the civic and patriotic spirit of those intrusted to them. The preservation of this republic, continued Mr. Tobin, depended upon the training of the people in their duties toward all forms of public activity; and since the composition of the population was so varied, positive measures, even to "compelling its children and youth to be trained to understand the rights, duties and obligations, incumbent upon a citizen of this country", should be taken. Nothing less than a working knowledge of this government combined with a high type of patriotism would effectively safeguard the future of the country and justify the expenditures for public education.

That the schools measured up to this expectation was doubtful. Nevertheless, it seemed reasonable to the speaker to consider that their chief function was the training of the pupils in the science of our government and the rights and duties of citizenship. He asserted "that *civics* or civil government should assume a more important place in the curriculum of our schools".[1] It was his belief that this subject should not be confined to the high schools and colleges, but rather that instruction in this most important feature of an education should be started as soon as the pupil had entered school and should be continued throughout the course. The teacher should be prepared to make clear the origin and nature of our government and to compare it with those of other nations in order to point out

the advantages of our own. Along with this the practical operation of the government, both local and national, should constitute a very definite part of the teaching. In addition, there were new problems arising almost daily which would provide material for consideration in advanced classes. In all departments the teacher must present a broad view of the subject and be fully prepared to arouse the enthusiasm without which no intelligent patriotism could be developed.[28]

About two years later Superintendent William M. Beardshear of West Des Moines used a similar argument in his address on "State Education — Its Purposes and Needs". He, too, referred to the lessons which might be drawn from the practice of foreign nations. "Any sovereign of a foreign principality or kingdom", he declared, "is taken in his youth and thoroughly indoctrinated in the genius of his government, familiarized with its history and imbued with its most loyal sentiment. There remains no more strategic point for the welfare of a nation within the power of state education than that of a judicious system of teaching civics in our schools and colleges." At the same time he called attention to the fact that the first books on civics were just appearing and that what should "constitute a citizenship education" was largely undetermined. At all events more definite instruction as to our history, institutions, and laws was demanded. He agreed with former speakers that the organization of the town, the county, and the State government, the principles governing the founding of our nation, the Constitution of the United States, and the biographies of American patriots should be used as the basic materials in a civics course. The time spent on such subjects would be used to much

[28] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association*, 1888, pp. 27, 30–33, 110–112, 250–254.

better advantage than so many years of extra mathematics, for example, and a study of the relation of the individual to the government "should have the first rank in the curricula of our higher institutions of learning." Although much had already been done it was yet, in the opinion of the speaker, only the A B C of the subject.[29]

In 1892 Superintendent Amos Hiatt said that "the time is coming when all the children of this broad land shall be educated in the English language; when they shall become familiar with the history of this nation, and the principles of this government; when they shall be taught patriotism and loyalty to the stars and stripes without any mental reservation." Since then important events have made the authorities realize the importance of this prophecy. But during the period immediately following Mr. Hiatt's speech men went on telling what *ought to be done;* resolutions were passed approving their suggestions; and the inactivity of former years still characterized the schools in so far as training for citizenship was concerned.

In 1894 Superintendent George Chandler pointed out the relation between the school and the citizen; and in so doing he declared that the common belief that pupils were being educated for citizenship was true only in the sense that they were being trained to perform their private duties as men and women. To be sure, the primary purpose of education was understood, but material and methods used were at fault. If intelligent citizens were being turned out it was not due to any direct and matured plan of civic instruction. Those in authority were laboring under a misapprehension if they believed that the schools were preparing their pupils for definite and patriotic service to their country. From this point of view they were a "dismal failure."

[29] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association,* 1890, pp. 33, 38.

Without any definite aim or concerted action on the part of the instructors it was expected that the good, bad, and indifferent elements in the school population would by some indirect process acquire a sufficient knowledge of the duties of citizenship. The government would ultimately be turned over to the men thus educated in the confident belief that all would be well. Indeed, such faith in the indirect influence of public education had been exhibited that the right of suffrage had been granted to nearly a million men of foreign birth who had never attended our schools and who were not even naturalized citizens of the United States. It was time to stop boasting about our education, declared this speaker, and to submit arguments based on facts.

Just at that time corruption in the government of the city of New York afforded a convenient illustration of the evil results of the lack of training for citizenship. Although it was granted that schools could not at once remedy the situation, there was reason to believe that they might help the coming generation to better appreciate their responsibilities. To accomplish such a desirable result, in Mr. Chandler's opinion, it would be necessary to offer "systematic instruction as to what those duties and responsibilities are." Up to that time, it was said, not a single State had provided for instruction in civics in all the schools. Not even a first step had been taken in Iowa in this direction: in fact our teachers were not required to take an examination in civics or civil government. A recent report showed that out of one hundred and forty-three Iowa high schools one hundred and one taught civil government somewhere in the course of study, but only thirteen gave any attention to the local or State government of Iowa. No law, of course, required such instruction, the course of study being under the control of the district authorities.

Some very concrete suggestions were made in this address. It would not be sufficient to teach the facts only concerning the administration of the government: if schools were to train citizens, they must be prepared to teach the principles of honor and patriotism upon which the success of a government so largely depends. And from the primary grades to the high school, inclusive, a portion of time must be given to such instruction. Moreover, it must be plainly shown that "a man who lies in politics is a *liar,* and the officer who takes what does not belong to him in the administration of his official duties is a *thief*". If there was to be training in a wholesome respect for law, it could not well be postponed to the high school age, since only a small per cent of the young people ever reached this grade. A few months in a high school, however, was not sufficient time to "put on" a working knowledge of a citizen's real duties and obligations. Lastly, attention was called to the fact that Iowa had already made the study of physiology compulsory. Why, therefore, it was asked, would it not be equally to the advantage of the rising generation and the public in general to make instruction in civics compulsory?[30]

After all these addresses, papers, and discussions it seems quite remarkable that the committee on the classification and unification of high schools, appointed in 1894 and making its report in 1895, required only four lines to express its convictions on the subject of civil government. The committee, composed of seven representative men and women from different departments of public school work, recommended the teaching of many of the problems of politics and government in connection with history. It was decided, however, that the study of civics or civil gov-

[30] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association*, 1892, p. 61, 1894, pp. 146–148

ernment should have a definite place in the program and special attention should be given to the study of the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Iowa, their chief similarities and differences. As arranged in the schedule then submitted a single term in the eleventh school year in the Latin course, and possibly a half year in the tenth grade in other courses, would comprise the specific requirement in this subject.

"Patriotism in Our Public Schools" was the subject of the address by Professor C. P. Colegrove at this session of the State Association. In his opinion, if flag raisings and patriotic programs with quotations and recitations constituted the chief agency in preparing for citizenship and there was no further training in the fundamental social activities, then a better type of patriotism seemed a remote ideal. The remedy for apparent evils was not so much in reformative measures as it was in formative and educational training. In order to retain a republican form of political institutions it was essential that there be a healthy local self-government. A right conception of duty would lead men to take such an interest in community activities that they would seek to influence for good the result of every election. One who failed in this particular function was to be considered an enemy of good self-government and of whatever depended upon it. Indeed, Mr. Colegrove considered that the local election was of much greater importance than that of Governor or President. How to train the future voter to accept his responsibility in local government was the great problem. Citizens who served their communities were the true patriots.

Only from the public schools could such a product be expected, continued the speaker. "Patriotism, then, must be taught in our public schools . . . . It is gratifying to see that this truth is being more and more recognized, to

see thoughtful men turning to our schools as the place from which must come the leaven that is to work reformation in our national and political life." Although many teachers had already done something to arouse the people to "an active interest in patriotism" the work had generally been quite unsystematic. The chief difficulty seemed to be in determining what real patriotism meant and what constituted a preparation for teaching it. Few, indeed, were qualified, for few understood the problem. The patriotism of a self-governing people ought to be more than the mere instinct of self-defense, more than a sentiment, more than an emotion. The mission of this country was not to excel in war, but rather to lead in maintaining peace in the world.

Mr. Colegrove agreed with others already quoted that the first instruction ought to relate to the community where the individual's influence was most effective for good or evil. Besides, actual participation in a citizen's duties should commence early in life, in order that there might be an appreciation of what lay before the adult when he claimed all the privileges and prerogatives of an American. The schools should strive to develop a willingness to serve without a hope of reward in every instance, for the State could not always return an equivalent value. Community life and its interests should be made a common topic of conversation and a spirit of active participation and leadership should be the result sought. Again reference was made to the possible necessity of eliminating to some extent the routine subject matter of old-type programs.

In the discussion of the paper just summarized attention was called to the "pugilistic patriotism" most prominent in arousing the feelings of the average citizen. A contest of armed forces would naturally, perhaps, appeal more

strongly to what was commonly understood as patriotism than an effort to control clearly defined evils through the use of the ballot. An appeal to the baser passions, rather than to reason, sometimes produced the readier response. While schools could not be held responsible for everything that went wrong in the government, there was an opportunity for them to aid in molding public opinion by inspiring a patriotic and intelligent view of public service.[31]

After July 4, 1896, the teachers in Iowa were required to pass an examination in civics and economics. This measure was discussed before the State Teachers Association in the following December by Professor Hamline H. Freer of Cornell College. Both subjects, he said, were desirable in the courses of study offered by the public schools. He defined civics as "the science of the rights and duties of citizens", although a more complete definition might include all knowledge that would prepare the individual to obtain his civil rights and to perform his civic duties. Authorities were quoted to illustrate the prevailing opinion relative to such instruction, and objections to its introduction were answered. To the charge that university work would be pushed down into the public schools Professor Freer replied that elementary civics would include no more than well informed people should know and nothing that children could not readily comprehend. The instruction should be practical and quite elementary, and regardless of whether it was considered an advanced subject or not it must be taught in the public schools. Patriotism could be taught to children, and there were many reasons why they should study the organization of the government.

It might be said also, admitted the speaker, that teachers were not prepared to instruct in such subjects; but neither were they fully prepared to teach some other branches.

[31] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association,* 1895, pp. 9, 10-12, 90-96.

The remedy was a better general preparation of teachers which would aid materially in furnishing persons qualified to teach the general duties of a citizen. If it should be objected that the course of study was already crowded, Mr. Freer answered that the only remedy was in curtailing some other subjects to make a place for citizenship training. But it was "not necessary to add a new study, for good instruction in civics was given in many of our schools in connection with history and civil government before there was a law requiring it" in teachers' examinations. It will be observed that a distinction is made in this discussion between civics and civil government. As to the fear that partisan feeling might be aroused in connection with topics dealing with political questions there should be tact enough on the part of the instructor to avoid any unfortunate development.

A part of Professor Freer's address dealt with the methods of teaching civics, since it was foreseen that many would inquire how to proceed. The suggestion offered on this point may be summarized in the expression that "little more could be done than to make suggestions, as age of pupils, their advancement, and previous knowledge, and the attainments of the teacher must determine the character of the instruction." Nevertheless, it was the opinion of the speaker that the environment ought to be made the starting point in every instance. And finally he declared that "above all, patriotism should be taught."[32]

A decade later President J. H. T. Main of Iowa College in his address as president of the State Teachers Association made an additional plea for instruction in the duties of citizenship. He declared that "the best way to increase the agricultural value of a state, or the commercial value,

[32] *Laws of Iowa*, 1896, p. 44; *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association*, 1896, pp. 71, 72, 75, 77.

or any value, is to increase the value of the youth who are to be its citizens, by giving them acquaintance with their own powers and with the life and the materials of the life they are to live . . . . It would cost much money to instruct the child in such a way that he would come into real touch with the life he is going to live; but, however much it might cost, it would not be expensive, because the returns would be more than commensurate with the expenditure . . . . If we give the children an interest in things, and give them adjustment to their environment, social and material, large results are sure to follow . . . . This is spiritual law . . . . This is economic law . . . . it is education — education in the only true sense.''[33]

In 1911 Superintendent Aaron Palmer of Marshalltown presented the outline of a course in civics for that city before the round table of history and civics of the State Teachers Association — a conference which had been first held in the session of 1908. In the presentation of this plan attention was directed to the former practice of including all such instruction in a brief period given to history and civics combined. American government had been ''hunting its place in the curriculum of the high schools'' and the time had come for it to receive a consideration equivalent to that given to American history. Such a view implied that the teaching of civics should commence with the first grade of the public schools and be continued throughout the course. It was important that those giving instruction in the grades should appreciate the advantage to pupils as they approached the higher classes, if they had acquired a knowledge of civics in the elementary schools.

At Marshalltown, in 1911, the pupils in each grade from the kindergarten up devoted some time to the study of

[33] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association*, 1906, p. 25.

their duties as citizens. In this place reference need be made only to the general plan in force at that time. For the kindergarten and the first and second grades the instruction had to do largely with the family life; in the third grade patriotic days and the lives of historical characters furnished the basis for the lessons. A definite theme of "sympathy with fellowmen" was adopted for the fourth grade with illustrations from the lives of discoverers and explorers or the public service of life saving crews and light houses. In the fifth grade the pupils came directly to a study of the work of the men who helped to make this nation and the principles by which such men were actuated; and here the theme included "obedience to law; sympathy with fellow men; respect for institutions; respect for labor." A study of forms of government was introduced in the sixth grade, and the responsibility of citizens as to "honesty, truth and loyalty" seems to have been the theme. The seventh grade was concerned with certain influential factors in civilization — especially those characterized by the heroic, while the eighth grade pupils took up "the idea of popular representation".

In all these steps there was a leading up to the formation of the national constitution and the development of American institutions. The outline was continued through the high school in connection "with history, economics, ethics, business law, and other related subjects." The main purpose throughout was to devote some time to civics in each year of the child's school life. If such a plan could be made effective it was believed that the schools might "turn the pupils over into their office in the community life with equipment adequate for the performance of the duties of citizenship."[34]

[34] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association*, 1908, p. 4, 1911, pp. 104, 105.

Under the stimulating direction of the teachers of history and civics considerable discussion has taken place in the meetings held in connection with the State Association. Such topics as the correlation of history and civics (1912); problems in the teaching of civics (1913); what is being done with civics (1914); and the place civics should hold in relation to other subjects (1915) had attracted the attention of the teachers. After this long period of agitation and discussion the problem of training the young citizen ought finally to be clearly comprehended by the public mind.

V

A PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT

After the enactment of the new school law in 1858 — the fundamental act in the establishment of our present school organization — the leaders in the promotion of public education sought to arouse the citizens to a sense of greater responsibility. The school system and the public schools soon became "absorbing themes everywhere", as if a new discovery had been made in the functions of the State. It was generally believed to be an opportune time not only to show one's interest in his own rights, but likewise to concern himself with possible advantages to the general public. Nevertheless, according to one speaker, it was a "fact to be regretted, that the majority of our leading citizens are almost, if not quite indifferent to the prosperity of our common schools."

From such indifference, produced probably by the previous decentralized organization of the independent districts, some time would be necessary to rouse the average voter. And it may be assumed that this attitude extended to the choice of the subjects of instruction. It was a period of bitter partisanship and when the mere suggestion that

political science or any kindred subject should be taught in the public schools would have aroused a feeling of animosity between the adherents of the different parties.

The press of that time would have been hostile to any instruction which tended to develop independence in voting; so that beyond a study of the Constitution of the United States in a few higher classes or some general instruction on democracy in the colleges, there is but little to suggest the larger view that is beginning to prevail in the teaching of citizenship and patriotism. The new school law of Iowa, however, did much to stir the public to a sense of duty. Even opposition to the execution of its provisions was held to be beneficial: it was at least regarded as better than the apathy which had formerly existed.

A school journal of 1859 suggested a practical test of patriotism to be propounded to politicians soliciting votes. Had he actively aided in securing good roads, bridges, village sidewalks, and crossings? Was he interested in providing shade trees and public parks? Would he advocate a lyceum, a library, or a reading room? Was he a friend of good schools and would he exert himself in behalf of good equipment? Had he a sympathetic interest in the problems of the teacher? Did he contribute to the comfort of the unfortunate or aid in the building of churches? Did he ever plant vegetables, flowers, roses, fruit trees, or corn? If an affirmative answer could be given to all these questions it would be safe to cast one's ballot for such a candidate without regard to his party affiliations.[35] This questionnaire suggests the kind of instruction which should be included in the public school curriculum.

[35] See *The Iowa Instructor*, Vol. I, pp. 23, 27, 28, 59; *The Iowa School Journal*, Vol. I, p. 26.

In 1859 at the school election in Davenport some half dozen boys canvassed for the tax which would insure the continuance of the public schools. Was that action a practical lesson in citizenship?

It will be observed that in the several discussions already reviewed there are few recommendations for legislation in regard to the course of study in the public school. Perhaps it was thought sufficient to proceed on the theory that the desired instruction would be introduced whenever people had been educated to believe in it. This view was consistent with the democratic belief that such questions should be decided by local authority. If these leaders were convinced that a better citizenry might be secured by some form of direct teaching, how does it happen that there was not an earlier response? An answer may, perhaps, be found in the principle by which questions of religion were excluded from the public schools. The fear of sectarianism was so great that it led to the almost total exclusion of any mention of morals, although among the first qualifications which the law specified for teachers was a good moral character. If the same fear governed those who differed in politics, the indifference in regard to instruction in subjects relating to government may be accounted for.

It is probable that under the general title of instruction in morals there was the thought of an important element in the qualifications of a citizen. In these lessons, however, there was lacking the instruction in the active services demanded from every individual who exercised the right of suffrage. A man might be strictly moral and yet refrain from participation in those activities which directly affected the welfare of his community. Perhaps that was the secret of the apathy which characterized many individuals relative to educational interests previous to 1858. It is noticeable that about 1871 the controversy over the content of instruction in morals led the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mr. A. S. Kissell, to write fully on this subject. And in that connection there was much discussion as to what constituted good citizenship. Nevertheless, the

real basis of training in the duties and obligations of a citizen, in so far as his active participation in public affairs was concerned, does not appear to have been considered. The entire question was treated subjectively; the relation of the individual to problems confronting him was static rather than dynamic.[36]

The department of public instruction seems to have given little attention to the subject of direct instruction in civics until about 1890. Under the old plan of a four years course for normal institutes those in the fourth year only had studied civil government. There were no general lectures or other sources to suggest the teacher's function in relating the pupil to the community. The few who continued to attend institutes for four years finally came to a course of four weeks in the study of the Federal government. There was nothing about Iowa. About the same time (1885) the Teachers' Reading Circle, a State organization, under the head of "Science" proposed to include social and political science. But the outline for the first year of reading did not contain any references to these subjects.

In 1889 Superintendent Henry Sabin in his instructions to county superintendents and institute conductors said that the plan of general exercises which called attention to "local geography, township and county government", as well as "lessons on common things" was to be commended. In addition, he sent to each county superintendent a single "pamphlet copy of the State constitution . . . . for use in the institute, and afterward to be retained in the county superintendent's office." The Secretary of State had provided these copies and no more could be furnished.

The report of the State Superintendent for that year

[36] See *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* pp. 35–37, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents,* 1872, Vol. I.

contained a chapter on "The Cultivation of the Moral Sense" wherein it was said that "Honesty, reverence, temperance, purity, patriotism, justice, mercy, obedience, whatever tends to add to the usefulness of the citizen or the stability of the government, comes within the legitimate exercise" of the duty to teach public morals. "It is especially necessary that patriotism, love of our native land, should be inculcated", he continued. "The flag should be displayed in every school-room and children should be taught what it signifies." The school should have a part in every public patriotic program in order that the pupils might appreciate, in so far as possible, the sacrifices which have been made for their country. Such a knowledge of the growth and resources of the land and of its possibilities should be gained that any child would be proud to say that he was an "American citizen"; while obedience to law and respect for those in authority should constitute a part of every day's lesson. The schools should teach that a good and loyal citizen can not disregard any law.

Again, in 1891, Superintendent Sabin referred to the fact that he had not failed, whenever there had been an opportunity to address teachers, "to urge upon them the necessity of inculcating in the minds of their pupils love of country, reverence for the flag, and obedience to law." It was well-known that the public schools offered the only opportunity "to implant right ideas concerning the duties of citizenship, and the responsibilities inseparable from it." Furthermore, he had impressed upon all teachers the fact that "the schools must be American, in tone and in their instruction, that the English language is the only language in which the common schools are authorized by law to be taught". It is apparent that this instruction in the duties of citizens should, in the opinion of Mr. Sabin, begin early, since he urged that "the necessities of those

children who are compelled to leave school at an early age'' should have consideration.[37]

During the year 1895 special patriotic leaflets giving programs for the observance of February 22nd and May 30th were issued. In commenting on their purpose Mr. Sabin said that they were ''calculated to arouse and quicken love of country'' among pupils. Although patriotism should be taught at all times and in different ways, he believed that it was well to emphasize the life and the deeds of patriots and to make history real. A pride in American institutions should be fostered and in all teaching of patriotism there must be the thought that ''the republic is perpetual.'' The purchase of flags, under a ruling of the Department of Public Instruction permitting the use of the contingent fund for that purpose, was commended but voluntary action was to be preferred to a requirement of law. The respect and honor in which the emblem was held should be the manifestation of a patriotic instinct. The purchase of flags for the schools should become universal: the patriotic sentiment ought to be encouraged until every school owned one and until all children had been ''taught to salute and respect it as the symbol of all that makes their country great.''

It is clear, however, that the State Superintendent did not regard the observance of patriotic days as sufficient to insure a real appreciation of the meaning of citizenship on the part of the pupil. For in his next report, in 1897, he observed that ''very much that passes for patriotic teaching has but little effect in making a good citizen of the child. It produces no lasting impression because it appeals only to transient impulses which are forgotten in a

[37] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, pp. 96, 104, 105, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1886, Vol. V; the same, pp. 67, 119, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1890, Vol. II; the same, p. 155, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1892, Vol. II.

day. To implant the germs of good citizenship it is necessary to inform the child of the principles upon which republican institutions rest." The schools, he continued, must not forget to train the child so that he would be qualified to "discharge rightly, magnanimously and conscientiously all the duties of American citizenship." It was for this purpose that the public school was founded and for which it had been maintained. In order to become an intelligent citizen "the child must know why he is proud of his country."

Elsewhere in the same report the subject of civics was mentioned as deserving a permanent place in the public schools. Its study should give to the pupils some knowledge of the duties of officers, the management of elections, the value of the ballot, and why it came to be of such great power. The embryo voter should be instructed as to the obligations relative to the ballot and should be taught the importance of voting at every election "in strict compliance with the dictates of reason and patriotism". There was no other way "to purify politics at the fountain head." Every school regardless of size must assume its share of responsibility for the training of pupils in whatever tends to arouse patriotism and to make good citizens.[38]

VI

THE TEACHING OF GOVERNMENT IN THE ACADEMIES AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Reference has already been made to the study of the Constitution of the United States, international law, and the science of government in the curricula prepared for the academies before 1860 and to the texts available for teach-

[38] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction,* pp. 76, 77, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents,* 1896, Vol. II; the same, pp. 111, 112, 135, 167, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents,* 1898, Vol. II.

ing these subjects. Attention has also been called to the earliest of the high schools in which there was a curriculum similar to that of an academy. It remains to indicate briefly the steps by which these subjects came to be recognized as vitally connected with the work of educating the youth of the State.

In 1872 the Troy Normal School offered civil government and the school law of Iowa in the second year of its professional course. The nature of the course in civil government is suggested by the text used — Townsend's *Analysis of Civil Government.* The Iowa school law, no doubt, was a valuable addition to any course for teachers; and it is an interesting fact that this private institution was so farsighted. It seems appropriate to mention here the difficulty experienced by teachers who sought preparation for an examination in the school law when, some twenty years later, it became a required subject for a State certificate. Although the statute required the examination there was no possible way by which a teacher could purchase a copy of the school laws.

On that occasion State Superintendent John B. Knoepfler said that it was "glaringly inconsistent for the state to establish a grade of qualifications for its teachers and then block the way for attaining those qualifications." It may be assumed that during those twenty years little attention outside of teachers' classes had been devoted to a consideration of the general information relative to the State which an instructor should possess.

It was somewhat unusual to find a course of study like that provided for Keokuk County in 1876. Under the direction of an active county superintendent the pupils of the rural district schools were arranged in five classes. For the third year class there were lessons on the history of Keokuk County and of the State, presented orally; in the

fourth year the biographies of prominent persons in the country's history were studied; while the fifth class took up the principles of civil government along with United States history.[39]

As to the work offered in the public high schools, it may be said in general that it has been the custom to give somewhere during the course of three or four years a term or a half year to civil government. Only recently has the word "Civics" been employed; and the place of this subject in the high school has varied according to the whim of the one who arranged the course of study. For example, in Monticello, in 1874, civil government was one of four subjects found in the third term of the second year. In 1877 the high school of Iowa City had the same subject as one of three in the second term of the first year. In the two-year business course at Dubuque in 1878 the Constitution of the United States and political economy constituted a single subject during the second half of the first year. Although it appeared to be an elective in this instance, it must have been a required subject in the Latin-scientific course at the same time. The Burlington high school in 1879 offered five courses, but there is no suggestion that civics or any study of government was required in any of them. In 1883 the Cedar Rapids high school had science of government in its C class for a half year and political economy for the same time in the A class.[40]

In 1886 the Oskaloosa high school offered a combination of history of the United States and civil government for a half of the ninth year or D class; political economy had the same allotment of time in the A class. In 1888 civil

[39] Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 107; *Course of Study*, Keokuk County, 1876 (unpaged); *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, pp. 136, 137, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1894, Vol. II.

[40] Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 317, 321, 325, 326, 327, 329.

government was given for three days in the week, alternating with reading, for an entire year. Townsend's shorter course was the text in civil government, while the reading matter was not specified in the manual. By 1891 the class in government was allowed five months in the first year. In 1889 *The Youth's Companion* offered to present a fine flag to the school in this State which produced the best essay on the "Patriotic influence of the flag when raised over the public school". The contest was won by the Oskaloosa high school; whereupon a letter from the publishers of the *Companion* expressed the hope that the good influence of the school might bear fruit in the next generation; and that it might become the "nursery of patriots and statesmen".[41]

The schools of Independence in 1891 offered four separate courses, in all of which civil government was required for nineteen weeks in the third year. From 1890 to 1896 the subject was variously provided for in the Sioux City high school. For example, in 1890 a term's work in civics was offered in the fourth year of two courses, but classical students did not study it; in 1891 it appeared for a term in the second year of all courses; in 1894 the subject was defined as "Civics" and was allowed ten weeks in the second year of all courses; but in 1896 the subject was entirely omitted in the high school.

New Hampton, in 1897, offered civil government for one semester in the first year of the high school, constitutional history of the United States for half of the third year, and political economy for one semester in the fourth year. The town of Laurens in 1898, although it had only a three-year course, gave an entire year to the subject of government. This practice was followed also at Northwood in 1899,

[41] *Manual of the Public Schools*, Oskaloosa, 1888, p. 52; Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 330, 332; *Annual Report of the Public Schools*, Oskaloosa, 1889–1890, p. 29.

where a study of Iowa and the nation was continued throughout the ninth year. Indianola, perhaps, furnished a further illustration of this attitude since two terms in the first year and one term in the third year of the high school may be considered equivalent to a year of continuous work. To be sure, those who elected Latin did not have more than one term of government.[42]

During this period several conclusions relative to the function of the high school were submitted by individuals or committees. The top-heavy courses, condemned as early as 1877, did not, it was declared, include the subjects which would be most profitable to well-informed citizens. Again, in 1886, a well-known high school principal advised that instruction in such subjects as were most essential to the development of effective citizens should be made the chief concern of that department; while the elementary school should prepare the pupil for earning a living. Character forming was the ideal task proposed for the high school teacher in 1887. Along with these opinions of educators there appeared those of business men who seemed to have no direct interest in training for citizenship unless, indeed, this was comprehended in what they considered a more practical education.

It was in a summary of these views made in 1887 that civil government, political economy, commercial law, and business courses were recommended as profitable subjects, especially for boys who remained in schools where such courses were available. Nevertheless, a committee on the high school curriculum reported in 1895 that the study of government should not always be a subordinate subject: it should have a definite share of time in all schedules.

[42] Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 335, 338, 339, 342; *Course of Study*, New Hampton, 1896–1897, p. 20; *Course of Study*, Laurens, 1898, p. 18; *Manual and Course of Study*, Northwood, 1899, p. 20; *Course of Study*, Indianola, 1899, pp. 30, 31.

Again, in 1899, another committee decided that the high school was an institution which ought to prepare the individual for the various duties that might confront him subsequent to his graduation. The subjects to be included in the course of study, therefore, ought to be those which were of the greatest interest to pupils and patrons and should be determined to a great extent by the environment. There was, however, no detailed enumeration of such subjects. Then in 1901 a large number of high school teachers were requested to submit their views on what should constitute the course of study. Although the replies indicated a great variety of opinions, most of them agreed that half a year should be given to the study of some phase of government.[43]

Although these general recommendations attracted some attention, it can not be said that subsequent changes were due to them. A few examples will illustrate later tendencies. In 1897 the course at Creston provided for civil government throughout the third year — although no committee had suggested a full year. By 1900 Sioux City had located civics in the eighth grade where twelve weeks were given to the study of the government and Constitution of Iowa; only for a half year in commercial courses was it included in the high school. United States history and civics constituting a year's work were required subjects in East Des Moines in 1901. In Marshalltown at the same time American history and civics were taught for four periods a week during the twelfth year. There seems to have been at that time a cautious presentation of the subject in the eighth grade at Washington, inasmuch as simple lessons in civil government were given in connection with the review of United States history. Thereafter half of

[43] Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa,* Vol. III, pp. 232, 234, 238, 241, 249, 256, 266.

the twelfth year was allowed for history and civics in the high school.

These towns were not so ambitious as Orange City which at the same time listed civil government as a subject for a half year in the ninth grade. A text book as well as the constitutions of the United States and the State furnished the sources of instruction. In conjunction with this plan, reference was also made to economics and economic theory with special attention to original investigations. The place assigned the study of government at that time in the high schools is readily shown by the following examples: Vinton required a half-year of government in the ninth grade; Tipton the same in the tenth; Nashua the same in the eleventh; and Spencer the same in the twelfth.[44]

Here and there in public school announcements or reports since 1900 a little more freedom in dealing with this subject may be observed. A few illustrations will suffice to show the tendency in this direction. In a general suggestion regarding the correlation of geography and history a Lake City teacher made the statement that the schools should "teach patriotism at all times." The next year (1904) the course of study for the Rock Rapids schools contained the suggestion that in every lesson in eighth grade history some point of interest with reference to citizenship should be emphasized. Under the subject of morals and manners, civic duties, it was thought, could be taught in all grades. Such instruction was designed to inculcate love of country and of the flag, respect for rulers, obedience to law, and faithfulness in office, and to make clear the meaning of an oath and of perjury, the right and wrong

[44] Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 345, 355, 361, 362; *Report of the Public Schools*, Sioux City, 1900, pp. 66, 74; *Course of Study*, Washington, 1901, pp. 10, 14; *Report of the Public Schools*, Orange City, 1901, pp. 13, 15; *Manual of the Public Schools*, Vinton, 1901–1902, pp. 24, 25; *Course of Study*, Tipton, 1902, p. 40; *Course of Study*, Nashua, 1902, p. 29.

use of the ballot, the dignity and honor of citizenship, and the principles of justice.

In 1904 East Waterloo required civics in all courses for one-half of the second year in the high school. At the same time, it appears, the government of Iowa was an elective in the fourth year of the commercial course. While the text-book was used as a guide, current events, it was said, were utilized for illustrative purposes. Classes were encouraged to acquaint themselves with the activities of civil officers, and some attention was given to learning how municipal, township, county, and State business was conducted. *The Code of Iowa,* it was said, became a "constant source" of information. The economic aspect of political problems and constitutional development were also emphasized.[45]

Sometimes the course was designated as history and civics, sometimes as civics and history. Presumably this arrangement meant either the division of time in the week or in the term, and it probably resulted in a neglect of government. Reference may be made, however, to the purpose as set forth in the Storm Lake course of study in 1905. The aim was to "inspire in the pupil a sympathy for the past, to aid his discriminating powers, strengthen his judgment, to acquaint him with economic conditions, and prepare him for the duties of citizenship." The course in civics in this school included a careful study of the government of Iowa and of the United States, and any text might serve as a basis.

One of the eight groups of subjects comprised in the Burlington high school courses in 1906 included history, civics, and economics. Civics was an elective in the third year of the high school. It was desired to give to the stu-

[45] *Course of Study,* Lake City, 1902–1903, pp. 21, 40; *Course of Study,* Rock Rapids, 1904, pp. 38, 42; *Manual of Public Schools,* East Waterloo, 1904, pp. 54, 64.

dents who elected this subject, a "clear idea of the principles underlying the local, state, and national government", while the growth of the national constitution received considerable attention. The aim of this instruction was to teach enough of the "machinery of all these forms of government" to equip the pupil for "the exercise of the duties and privileges of citizenship."

In a discussion of the methods of teaching civics, the superintendent of the Iowa City schools in 1906–1907 declared that the end to be attained was the fitting of the pupil for citizenship and the duties of social life. Its presentation in the high school, he believed, should be preceded by the study of American history. And during the instruction a first-hand acquaintance with the caucus, the convention, the jury trial, and with the duties of the officers of town and county government should be acquired. Civics must be closely related to history, although the relative importance of the local government in the life of the citizen as compared to the general government should be made prominent. If such explicit views on the subject were adopted, it might be expected that all grades of the Iowa City schools would be required to give some time to its study. Indeed, it would not be too much to anticipate a complete outline for the teaching of civics throughout the school life; and yet this subject appears to have been an elective.[46]

Many of the leading schools have required civics or civil government in a majority of the courses offered. The classical or college preparatory course, however, has often been excepted. Civics was an elective at Dubuque in 1911; and at Mason City, in 1912, half of the fourth year in the high school in four courses must be given to the subject

[46] *Course of Study*, Storm Lake, 1905, pp. 18, 20; *Public Schools of Burlington*, 1906, pp. 51, 53, 64; *Catalogue of High School*, Iowa City, 1906–1907, pp. 24, 25.

for the very definite purpose, it was said, of training for citizenship. In 1913 at Keokuk the standard normal course for teachers seems to have been the only one where civics was required or offered. At Osage in 1914 all courses, except the college preparatory course, required civics for half of the third year. At the same time in Marengo, Marshalltown, and Ottumwa, the subject was required for half a year. At Ottumwa, there was likewise a suggestion that patriotism should be taught in the lower grades in connection with general lessons. About the same time Council Bluffs required a year's work in American history and civics from all except those in the classical course. Here, also, the work was postponed until the last year.[47]

Occasionally some details of the work accompany the outlined courses of study. For example, the announcement from Ames in 1913–1914 mentioned the use of a text which distinguished between civics and civil government. By the arrangement then in operation the discussion of the machinery and powers of government was assigned a place in the fourth year of the course. In the second year, however, it appears that an opportunity to gain some ideas of community life, of the real meaning of citizenship, of the relation of the citizen to society, of his duties toward society, and of the service the community performs for the citizen was given to the pupils. It was intended that interest should center in local history which, it was believed, would materially assist in the study of local government.

Another view of this field is revealed in the outline adopted by Centerville in 1915, where a year in the eighth grade was devoted to history and civics before the work

[47] *Course of Study,* Dubuque, 1911, (unpaged); *Course of Study,* Mason City, 1912, (unpaged); *Course of Study,* Keokuk, 1913, (folder); *Course of Study, Osage,* 1914, (folder); *Course of Study,* Marengo, 1914, (copy); *Course of Study,* Marshalltown, 1914, outline, p. 12; *Course of Study,* Ottumwa, 1914, pp. 35, 39; *Course of Study,* Council Bluffs, 1913, (folder).

was taken up in the second year of the high school. In the higher classes local, county, State, and national governments were considered. The duties as citizens were emphasized in discussions, recitations, explanations, assigned readings, reports on local government activities, and in visits to the court-house, the jail, and the city hall. The powers and services of the government were observed in the post-office, in the levy and collection of taxes, in elections, and in the enactment and enforcement of laws. The purpose of this course was to teach the pupil the duties of a citizen and how to perform them rather than the number of offices in some department of government and the salaries enjoyed by the officials. An effort was made, also, to keep in touch with the proceedings of Congress and the legislature when those bodies were in session.[48]

If all the schools could be examined some additional information which would throw light on the practices in presenting this subject might be obtained. It is not expedient, however, to include a great many in a brief consideration but it is assumed that the examples given are sufficiently illuminating.

VII

THE TEACHING OF GOVERNMENT IN THE COLLEGES

In 1891 Professor Hamline H. Freer, the president of the State Teachers Association, said that an examination of the catalogs of leading universities from 1860 to 1890 revealed a surprising though gradual increase in the number of courses in American history, international law, political economy, and other subjects within the domain of the political and social sciences. But the example set by these institutions was not followed by the smaller colleges.

[48] *Course of Study,* Ames, 1913–1914, pp. 18, 19; *Course of Study,* Centerville, 1914–1915, pp. 46, 74.

Circumstances if not prejudice, it was asserted, had forced a rather close adherence to the orthodox curriculum.[49]

The changes in this field of citizen instruction and training may be determined from the actual record in catalogs and other forms of announcements issued by the colleges. While the truth may not always be told in catalogs or bulletins it is assumed that institutions are fairly well represented by these several sources of information. At all events the fact that James Harlan was professor of political economy and international law at Iowa Wesleyan University in 1859 is not a subject for dispute; and in this connection the term political economy will be understood as including a general view of political activities.

It may be well to point out the titles of courses for the decade from 1860 to 1870 in some of these Iowa institutions. For example, at the State University of Iowa in 1860 the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution and school laws of Iowa were required in the third year of the normal department. At the same time there was a department of history and political economy where it was said care would be taken to apply the lessons of history to the principles of political economy and the science of government as developed in American institutions; and besides, political philosophy and American constitutions were prescribed for the senior class. This arrangement persisted, it seems, with little change during the decade, for in 1870 the science of government was assigned to the junior year and political economy and constitutional law were subjects assigned to the senior year.[50]

[49] *Proceedings of the State Teachers Association,* 1891, p. 17.

[50] *The Iowa School Journal,* 1859, Vol. I, p. 28; *Catalogue State University of Iowa,* 1860–1861, pp. 16, 18, 1869–1870, pp. 27, 28.

The examining committee for the normal department in 1860 reported that the Constitution of the United States was very well recited, but there appeared to be a want of familiarity with the school law of the State.— *The Iowa Instructor,* Vol. II, p. 380.

The English and normal departments at Iowa College in 1867–1868 required a course in the school laws of Iowa. In the senior collegiate year one term was given to political economy and one term also to the science of government under the heading of political science. In the department exclusively for women there was no subject relating to government. In 1871 the courses in government appear to have consisted largely of political economy and the study of the Constitution of the United States. In 1866 Cornell College, under the head of philosophy, offered a course in political economy and the history of civilization during the junior year. By 1868 the science course had been extended a year and international law was one of the subjects added. About the same time (in 1869) Iowa Wesleyan University devoted one term in the junior year to the Constitution of the United States, but by 1871 that had given way to jurisprudence. Perhaps this change was due to the establishment of a law department.[51]

The advances during the twenty years from about 1870 to 1890 may be best shown by the actual claims in the college publications. By 1876 Iowa College had extended the course for women to four years and they were allowed the same privileges as men in the study of government. In 1883, it appears, Professor Jesse Macy was acting professor of history and political science, and the Constitution of the United States and that of England were mentioned as special subjects of study for the seniors. Then in 1888 or before it appears the chair of constitutional history and political economy was established.

Although it was not until about 1886 that history and politics formed a separate department at Cornell College, in 1872 Lieber's *Civil Liberty and Self-Government* was

[51] *Catalogue of Iowa College*, 1867–1868, pp. 16, 19, 1871–1872, pp. 20, 21; *Catalogue of Cornell College*, 1866–1867, p. 23, 1868–1869, p. 23; *Catalogue of Iowa Wesleyan University*, 1869–1870, p. 21, 1871–1872, p. 20.

the text in politics for a term in the senior year. This work, it may be said, was adopted as a text at Yale in 1874. It was a popular work among Iowa institutions, and according to printed documents was used for about twenty-two years at Simpson College. Upper Iowa University in 1880 also based part of the instruction in politics on the same authority. At the same time the college was advertising courses in the social sciences, political economy, political science, international law, and — in the normal department — the history of the Constitution of the United States.[52]

At Tabor College in 1870 the Constitution of the United States was given some consideration in the classical and scientific courses, while in the classes for women political economy was the inclusive term for any work on government. Within five years thereafter civil government, the Constitution of the United States, and international law were general subjects for men, while the latter study together with political economy was assigned also to the fourth year class for women. By 1880 there was a course in the history of American politics, but this subject did not appear after 1883 and by 1890 civil government had been transferred to the English or normal department, while political science was included in political economy. International law, however, was retained as in 1874.[53]

As already pointed out, the science of government along with political economy and constitutional law formed a part of the course in the junior and senior years at the

[52] *Catalogue of Iowa College,* 1883–1884, p. 27, 1888–1889, p. 3; *The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Cornell College,* 1903, p. 118; *Catalogue of Cornell College,* 1872–1873, pp. 21, 23; Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* Vol. III, p. 710; *Catalogue of Simpson College,* 1879–1880, pp. 21, 24, 27; *Catalogue of Upper Iowa University,* 1879–1880, pp. 18, 19, 21.

[53] *Catalogue of Tabor College,* 1869–1870, pp. 14, 16, 18, 1874–1875, pp. 20, 23, 1880–1881, p. 19, 1882–1883, pp. 20, 21, 1889–1890, pp. 23, 25.

State University in 1870. In 1871, however, constitutional law was dropped, and the science of government also was omitted from the college course in 1872. It was retained, however, together with school laws in the normal department. All subjects relating to government or politics were first collected under the head of political and moral science in 1873–1874. Again, under the title of political economy the history of political science was given for twelve weeks in 1878–1879. There was likewise a brief course in the history of political parties in the United States, and a series of lectures on international law with the addition of a text-book for reference and review. In 1885 political science included courses dealing with systems of political economy, the elements of political economy, the Constitution of the United States, political parties and administrations, land tenure, United States revenue and expenditure, taxation, debts, coinage and mints, social problems, and international law.[54]

At the Iowa State College of Agriculture in 1871 constitutional law and political economy, given in the senior year, constituted the only courses relating to government. Subsequently commercial law and sociology were added to this group. By 1885 the work had been elaborated to include a study of the history of civilization with certain definite objects in view: there was to be a study of the forces that promote civilization in order to gain a clear and concise history of the origin and growth of government, religion, science, language, education, industry, and mechanic arts. Besides, there was a class committee appointed to pursue special lines of investigation and to submit reports as the occasion seemed to require. In this special work the student was expected to select a topic closely associated

[54] *Catalogue of the State University of Iowa*, 1869–1870, pp. 27, 28, 1870–1871, p. 33, 1871–1872, pp. 35, 36, 44, 1873–1874, p. 44, 1878–1879, p. 21, 1885–1886, p. 16.

with his future vocation. The aim in all this preparation was the laying of a foundation for further acquirements along some branch of learning which every student was expected to plan for himself. The purpose of the social sciences was to familiarize the student with questions of public policy concerning which there was a wide diversity of opinion. Along with this it was felt there should be an understanding of common business practices.[55]

There have been some significant changes in the subject matter as well as in the division of labor in the teaching of government or politics in the colleges since 1890. A brief outline of these advances may be of value in forming an estimate of the gain to citizenship. The State institutions seem to have led in this respect, although some colleges have expanded the instruction to include features probably not even thought of during the previous decade. It was in 1888 that Professor J. L. Pickard became a lecturer in political science at the State University. He was soon succeeded by Professor I. A. Loos, and the subject as then announced included economics, finance, diplomacy, international law, history of politics, practical politics, comparative study of administrations, and local government — especially municipal government. The work of the first year was intended as introductory to political — or as it was otherwise defined — national economy, which included elementary lessons on government and administration.

About 1890 the first seminar in political science was organized at the University. In 1894–1895 there was a division of instruction into: (1) economics and finance, (2) politics and administration. At least five professors gave instruction in these two divisions. In 1896 the government

[55] *The Annual of the Iowa Agricultural College,* 1871, p. 34, 1883, pp. 21, 22, 1885, pp. 19, 28, 29.

of Iowa, its history, and characteristic features, was first presented, and attention was given to the political institutions of the State. By 1897 there was a further classification of the subject: into one division called political science were grouped political economy, finance, sociology, and political philosophy; while a second division contained the courses on government and administration. It is to be noted that politics or government did not then touch the freshmen.

When the school of political and social science was organized about 1900 there were no courses open to freshmen. There were courses in sociology, economics, politics, and history wherein the aim was to give a general view of the political and social sciences and to encourage their development. The immediate, practical purpose, however, was the preparation of the student for the intelligent exercise of the rights and duties of citizenship in a free commonwealth, and to fit him for the various branches of public service. Such courses were intended to supplement the course in law, to give an adequate training in historical, economic, and legal subjects for those students who might take up journalism, and to prepare teachers of these subjects. By 1905 a course in actual American government which was designed to take up the subject where the high schools left off was offered to freshmen. The school of political and social science took on the additional title of commerce in 1907 and it continued under that title until 1914 when the school of commerce was authorized. The general purpose of the commerce course is the fitting of students for a business career or for social service.[56]

President William M. Beardshear of the State College of

[56] *Catalogue of the State University of Iowa*, 1887–1888, p. 4, 1889–1890, pp. 6, 28, 29, 1890–1891, p. 34, 1894–1895, pp. 36, 37, 1896–1897, pp. 50, 51, 1897–1898, pp. 52–58, 1900–1901, p. 178, 1905–1906, p. 150, 1907–1908, p. 255, 1914–1915, p. 131.

Agriculture said in 1893 that instruction in ethics aimed to give students a "most practicable acquaintance with the duties of a faithful life and good citizenship." The teaching of government in his institution at that period was associated closely with history, since the two have been inextricably associated in the development of the United States. There were lectures also on the relation of government to human progress and the characteristic features of different nations. Again, in 1900, under the general subject of history, there was a study of the "origin and growth of social, economic and political institutions" of America, and some attention was given to the present-day movements in the United States as factors in world politics. Indeed, the courses in history were said to be planned to provide practical training, since the purpose was to fit the student for "intelligently assuming the duties of citizenship."

Not until 1904 was the department of civics established and organized at the State College. Civics was first defined as the science that treated of citizenship and the relations between citizens and the government, duty toward society, the civil policy, the law in its application, the history of civic development, the structure and working of government, and the inter-relation of states. From the beginning it was designed not only to study the existing institutions of American government but also to look forward and consider problems which might arise. Education which did not relate itself to the duties, obligations, and opportunities of citizenship was at least incomplete, if not wholly a failure. It seemed appropriate, therefore, to those who planned the course of study for the State Agricultural College not only to call attention to the "reasonable and patriotic duty" of citizens in regard to present laws, but also to point out to the students new ways of be-

coming useful members of the civic community and of keeping informed on public affairs.

The five courses offered in political and social science in 1904 were substantially as follows: the first related to local government, the study of constitutions, the departments of government, and questions involved in current topics; the principles of American government constituted the second course; the State and federal constitutions were the basis of another; the family and its government — a course more especially concerned with moral training — the duties of citizens and improvement of government comprised a fourth course; while the fifth course, a study of rural laws, included such subjects as the rights and duties of citizens with regard to highways, fences, weeds, water rights, ditching, drainage, live stock, and other phases of law which affected the farmer. Actual government and comparative governments added in 1905 made the sixth and seventh courses. In 1910 such subjects as school supervision, practical problems in school organization, and administration for school superintendents and principals were offered in connection with this department. Educational legislation, also, had some attention. At the death of Professor Richard C. Barrett who had organized this work in political science the departments of economics and history took it over, so that there was a reduction in the number of courses offered in civics. The fundamentals, however, were retained, and other courses covering some of the former subjects have since been introduced.[57]

The Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Iowa were the foundation of the work in civil government at the State Normal School in 1890. The school laws of the State were also required in connection with

[57] *Catalogue of the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts*, 1893–1894, pp. 60, 62, 63, 1900–1901, pp. 272, 274, 1904–1905, pp. 301, 303, 1905–1906, pp. 345, 346, 1909–1910, p. 322, 1910–1911, pp. 298, 313, 314.

the professional classes. Not until about 1893, when it was the custom to organize a class each term for entering students, does one find a description of the courses. The method employed was defined as historical rather than descriptive. By 1894 there was a department of political science which included all the instruction in civics and political economy. About a year later the courses were outlined as follows: elementary civics, which required one term in the first year; historical civics, or the development of State and national constitutions, along with a comparative view of various State papers which formed the basis of work for second year students; while the origin, development, nature, and objects of government with a comparative study of the governments of several European nations were the topics presented to advanced students. When the law requiring civics and economics in all examinations for teachers' certificates went into effect plans were made to organize special classes each term.

About 1900 the faculty of this department was enlarged and the work as planned in elementary civics included the constitutions of the general government and Iowa and the political history of the State. There was a course in advanced civics, and in the English constitution; one called comparative civics wherein different constitutions were considered; and another in constitutional and international law which was elective, it appears, for advanced students. In 1902 there seems to have been a division of subject matter between the departments of government and of economics. The former controlled the courses in elementary civics, American government, and English government. At the same time the preparation of teachers of civics for graded and high schools was kept constantly in view. To further equip such teachers for high schools a fourth course, defined as modern constitutional government, was provided the following year.

There was a further division of the instruction in 1908 into normal and college courses so that elementary civics only was left in the normal work. American constitutional history was added to the subjects already enumerated. In 1909 comparative politics, international law, and the principles of constitutional law were further developed in the college courses. In 1910 the teachers' certificate courses were first outlined. The history and civil government of Iowa with special attention to the political and educational institutions, and elementary civil government of the United States throughout the year were mentioned as desirable in such courses. The study of modern European governments was likewise added to the courses for the collegiate department.[58]

Under the plan of organization adopted in 1914 there were ten degree courses in government, three of which were open to first year students. The same conditions governed students in the diploma courses, while those in the normal division were limited to elementary government of Iowa and the nation and a combined course in these two fields. In 1917 the sub-collegiate courses in government for those preparing to teach in the rural and consolidated schools required elementary or community civics. In addition to the ten courses mentioned above instruction was sometimes given in special subjects to meet specific needs. Local government and related problems are not now as formerly open to freshmen.

In connection with the extension work in 1916 for the improvement of teachers in service the topics directly con-

[58] *Catalogue of the State Normal School,* 1881–1882, p. 42, 1890–1891, pp. 8, 9, 1893–1894, pp. 42, 43, 1894–1895, pp. 50, 51, 1895–1896, pp. 53, 54, 1896–1897, p. 59; *Bulletin of the State Normal School,* Vol. II, No. 1, 1901–1902, pp. 83, 84, Vol. III, No. 1, 1902–1903, pp. 91, 92, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 101, 102, Vol. IX, No. 1, 1908–1909, pp. 138, 139; *Bulletin of the Iowa State Teachers College,* Vol. X, No. 1, 1909–1910, pp. 128, 129, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1910–1911, pp. 130, 132.

cerned with government were as follows: community civics, some phases of local government, the civics of Iowa, the history of Iowa and how to preserve it, the relation of history teaching to citizenship, and type lessons in history and civics. In the report of progress in rural education, put out in 1916, the elementary course in rural education calls for work in civics during one quarter; the advanced course, which is of college grade, requires American government. It was thought that rural economics and sociology might perhaps be correlated with this course since there was an unusual opportunity in the schools associated with the institution to demonstrate such instruction; and besides, the actual working of community center activities would serve to illustrate the instruction.

In the report of extension work for 1916–1917 it was shown that some phase of civics was discussed on fifty-seven different occasions. Methods of teaching civics, both State and national; the relation of civics teaching to citizenship; community civics; and type lessons in civics were among these topics considered. As compared to other subjects, however, the popularity of civics was not great. For example, agriculture was chosen eighty-six times, arithmetic sixty-five times, didactics one hundred and fifty-eight times, domestic science one hundred and fifty times, grammar and language sixty-two times, manual training one hundred and thirty-three times, and reading eighty-seven times. The credit extension course in government included American government, municipal government, English government, modern European governments, and elementary civics. If the suggestions made in 1917 for the organization and classification of rural schools is adopted it will place lessons in good citizenship throughout the elementary grades. Oral lessons should be given in grades one to four at least once each week. An elementary text might be

used in the fifth and sixth grades; while an advanced text in American history should be used in grades seven and eight as a foundation for the study of civics and citizenship.[59]

At Iowa College in 1900 there were two main divisions shown under the head of political science, namely: political science proper, and political economy. A minor course in the former included a detailed study of the English and the American governments. A major course involved political parties and methods of political leadership, more especially in the United States. The theory of the State was also treated; while finance and other economic questions came in the appropriate connection. By 1903 the work had been further extended, and municipal government had displaced political parties as a separate subject. About 1904, it appears, political science and political economy were given separate chairs. It is noteworthy, however, that there was always a provision for a course in "some phase of political dynamics." As pointed out above a minor course in political science in 1909 included a detailed study of the American republic, local and municipal government, and comparative government. A major course required political philosophy, international law, constitutional law, legislation, and legislative methods. None of these courses seem to have been open to freshmen, and admission to the major work, of course, depended upon a previous preparation in the minor group.

Three purposes distinguished the work in political science or government in Grinnell College (formerly Iowa College) in 1910: first, to prepare students for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship; second, to "train men

[59] *Bulletin of the Iowa State Teachers College*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1914, pp. 55, 56, 88, 109, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1917, pp. 68, 114, 125, Vol. XVI, No. 4, Pt. 1, 1916, p. 19, Vol. XVI, No. 4, Pt. 2, 1916, pp. 16, 18, 36, 41–43, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Pt. 1, 1917, pp. 23–27, 34, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Pt. 3, 1917, p. 5.

for leadership in politics and for the public service''; and third, to aid those who would enter upon a professional career in law, journalism, or in teaching. In every instance the aim was to arouse a ''genuine interest in current politics and to help the student to think clearly upon present-day governmental problems.'' To accomplish these purposes at least nineteen courses were available.

By 1913 the number had been increased to twenty and among those added or so modified as to be practically new courses were rural government and its problems, conservation of national resources, and government and business. An introductory course, and one in Iowa government and politics were open to freshmen. In the latter course the aim was ''to give such knowledge as every citizen should possess.'' The course in rural government involved a ''detailed study of the county, township, and village, in the United States, and of such problems as public order, public safety, administration of justice, enforcement of law, good roads'', and other problems related to local interests. It is believed that this course in some of its features was original with Grinnell College, at least so far as the colleges of this State were concerned. From time to time these titles were changed, and the content doubtless varied for the purpose of presenting the practical side of citizenship. In 1917 a course in ''public affairs survey'' given jointly by the departments of history, political science, and economics was announced. To be sure, this was for seniors only, but at the same time the freshmen had an opportunity to ground themselves in the fundamentals of a free government in courses especially provided for them.[60]

[60] *Catalogue of Iowa College*, 1900–1901, p. 88; *Iowa College Bulletin*, 1903–1904, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 114, 115, 1904–1905, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 12, 13, 91; *Grinnell College Bulletin*, 1909, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 118, 119, 1910, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 131–136, 1913, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 148–153, 1917, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 138–142.

At Cornell College in 1896 the instruction in government or politics was under the auspices of the department of history, and covered comparative politics, constitutional and political history, and international law. In 1899 history, civics, and economics were still closely associated. There was a course in local, State, and national government in the sub-preparatory year. Iowa government had special attention, and the duties of citizenship were emphasized; besides, an advanced course over this same field, it appears, was available. In 1901 the aim in such instruction was to produce "sound thinking on governmental and political questions, the promotion of good citizenship, preparation for the study of law and for teaching civil government, and a training which shall be helpful in the direction of honorable and useful service on the part of those who may subsequently enter public life." The subjects which it was thought would most nearly meet such demand were provided. By 1907 there were eight courses including some of those already mentioned. At the present time the study of government is grouped under three or four heads, but history and political science still form a department under one management.[61]

The entrance examination at Coe College in 1891 included the science of government. The only reference to government in the college course itself at that time, however, seems to have been in a two-hour course in political science during the senior year. In 1892 the subject appeared as an elective in the form of a course in jurisprudence. According to the plan of organization at Coe in 1897, department A was devoted to philosophy and political science, and whatever attention was given to the social sciences, so-called, at that time was in that connection. In

[61] *Catalogue of Cornell College,* 1896–1897, p. 21, 1899–1900, pp. 43, 44, 1901–1902, pp. 24, 46, 1907–1908, pp. 43, 44, 1917–1918, pp. 60, 61.

1898 the subjects in department A were divided so that political and social science and constitutional law constituted the basis of a lecture course by Mr. William R. Boyd. At the same time Mr. James W. Good gave a course of lectures on elementary and international law. By 1900, however, history and political science were combined in one department, although the lectures were continued. In 1902 the president, it seems, took over the instruction in these subjects and the courses were extended, mainly in economics. There was no reference to any work in actual government or administration. Finally in 1905 the title of economics and sociology was used to designate the political and social sciences; and that arrangement seems to have been retained for American government and a general course in political science formed a part of the social science group in 1915.[62]

The normal college department of Drake University in 1900 taught the duties and privileges of an American citizen, the principles of his government, and incidentally, in connection with civil government, prepared teachers for an examination in civics. In addition to instruction in theoretical principles, the practical phases of government were illustrated by visits to the legislature, the various courts of the city of Des Moines, and the departments of State government at the capitol — in fact it was intended that the instructor would utilize all the opportunities to observe the administration of government. By 1903, however, very definite plans had been evolved by the department of economics and political and social sciences. There were at least six courses in government for juniors and seniors. The object of such courses was set forth in 1907 as liberal culture primarily, although it was hoped that the

[62] *Catalogue of Coe College*, 1891–1892, pp. 23, 26, 28, 31, 1892–1893, p. 31, 1897–1898, pp. 17, 18, 20, 1898–1899, pp. 23, 24, 1902–1903, pp. 49, 50, 1905–1906, pp. 57, 58, 1915–1916, p. 86.

student would gain a knowledge of facts and principles essential to success in business, commerce, civil and consular service, the professions, or in philanthropy. Among the nine courses offered in 1911–1912 was one in civics which treated of the forms and workings of government and the methods and practices in politics which affect the daily life of the citizen in local and State affairs. The department also took up questions relating to national, State, and municipal government. The outline for 1916–1917 shows several courses in political science, including American government.[63]

At Iowa Wesleyan University in 1893 Lieber's *Political Ethics,* in two volumes, was the text for political science in the junior year. International law was the only other course in government or politics. The study of Lieber's text gave way in 1901 to historical and descriptive politics. In 1902 the aim of the instruction was summarized as follows: to study the chief characteristics of the governments of other nations and their relation to the government of the United States; to suggest reform in political practice and to develop habits of unprejudiced thinking on political questions; and to give training of direct practical value to those about to enter upon the active duties of citizens. As late as 1917 the subjects offered seem to have been limited to a general course in political science, a course in the elements of politics, and one in international law.[64]

The status of this subject at Parsons College in 1879 is revealed in the announcement that in requiring the Constitution of the United States and international law in both classical and science courses the institution was acting in harmony with the leading colleges of the country. In 1893

[63] *Catalogue of Drake University,* 1900–1901, p. 83, 1903–1904, pp. 94, 95, 1907–1908, p. 98, 1911–1912, p. 65, 1916–1917, p. 109.

[64] *Catalogue of Iowa Wesleyan University,* 1893–1894, p. 12, 1901–1902, p. 24, 1902–1903, pp. 23, 34, 36, 1916–1917, p. 33.

another announcement contained the statement that "Political Science includes Political Economy, International Law, and the Constitution of the United States." From a group of subjects catalogued under political and social science in 1900, jurisprudence was the only one relating directly to government. The Federal government, however, was treated in the department of history, where there were also lectures on the Constitution of the United States. It was the practice at that time to require elementary civics, with special attention to the government of Iowa, in the academy. The subject of American government and its actual working was introduced about 1904, but in 1916–1917 the time devoted to government seems to be less than that given to economics and sociology.[65]

About 1900 Penn College established a department including political and social sciences and economics. American politics and international law were taught there while elementary civics was included in the course of study in the academy. In 1904 political science was not offered in any form but the next year constitutional and political history appeared in connection with the department of philosophy and history. Later, the purpose to so teach history that it would include the study of civics and lead to the practice of good citizenship was clearly expressed.[66]

The students at Simpson College in 1898 were expected to study the principles of civil liberty from Lieber's *Political Ethics,* constitutional law, and the evolution of such principles in the history of civilization. In 1902 moral science, civics, and economics, including a study of civic and social problems, were included under the general term of philosophy. Some attention was given to England and

[65] *Catalogue of Parsons College,* 1878–1879, pp. 12, 13, 1893–1894, p. 27, 1902–1903, pp. 22, 23, 24, 25, 69, 1904–1905, p. 23, 1916–1917, p. 64.

[66] *Catalogue of Penn College,* 1901–1902, pp. 15, 36, 1904–1905, p. 20, 1914–1915, p. 45.

the United States as representing the principles of self-government. Recent announcements mention American government and politics and a general course in political science, which is not, however, open to freshmen.[67]

The history of civilization seems to have been an all-inclusive title for a long period. It is among the earliest of the subjects cited, and in 1891 Tabor College had a half year devoted to it while the principles of the Constitution of the United States completed the work of the year. The constitutional history of the United States and England together with international law were the subjects dealing with problems of citizenship offered at Tabor in 1898. In 1900 the same courses were available under the department of history and a seminar was established to investigate some controverted questions in politics or history through reference to public documents owned by the college library. In 1902 the course laid out for seniors provided by terms for the following: the unification of the United States, interpretation of the Constitution, and the expansion of the United States. This scheme, however, seems to have been short lived since a new instructor in 1903 ceased to follow it. In 1908 "Government" becomes the general title for a study of the constitutional history and government of the United States and England and international law. But by 1914 this field had been limited to the political history of the United States.[68]

A department of political and social science at Upper Iowa University in 1900 carried three courses: (1) American politics dealing with the political and social institutions of the United States, the national and State govern-

[67] *Catalogue of Simpson College*, 1898–1899, p. 21, 1902–1903, pp. 34, 35, 1916–1917, p. 72.

[68] *Catalogue of Tabor College*, 1891–1892, p. 24, 1897–1898, p. 32, 1900–1901, p. 44, 1902–1903, p. 31, 1903–1904, pp. 32, 33, 1908–1909, p. 54, 1914–1915, p. 26.

ment, and the party system; (2) political ethics, based on Lieber's manual; and (3) institutional history. It was designed to give the student a comprehensive view of historical and practical politics, a knowledge of the nature and the development of law, and the functions and purpose of government. By 1915 it was definitely stated that the course in American government aimed to prepare young men and women for good citizenship.

About 1913 Leander Clark College offered two courses in politics or subjects dealing with government: (1) introduction to political science, and (2) American government and politics. In 1915 an outline was prepared for a detailed study of local government in order to familiarize the student with the organization of the government with which he was most closely identified. The three upper classes were expected to take this course; but unfortunately, it would seem, the next year diplomatic history displaced the study of local affairs. At Morningside College history and politics or government were under one management until about 1917, when economics and politics were put under one department or chair. For some years previous to that time five courses in government were listed, but only a part of these were given in any one year. In fact, government and politics in the United States was the only course given in 1916, although three were announced for 1917.[69]

It is noteworthy that Mount St. Joseph's College, an institution for girls at Dubuque, offers work in the constitutional history of the United States, which involves a study of the origin and development of the principles, the formation, interpretation, and the amendments of the Con-

[69] *Catalogue of Upper Iowa University,* 1899–1900, p. 24, 1915–1916, p. 48; *Bulletin of Leander Clark College,* 1913, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 72; *Catalogue of Leander Clark College,* 1915, p. 62, 1916, p. 63; *Morningside College Bulletin,* 1916, No. 30, p. 74, 1917, No. 36, p. 72.

stitution. Reference is made also to the unwritten constitution, to the development of the United States in the twentieth century, and to the political and social changes which have taken place. Six or more courses dealing with subjects relating to citizenship were announced.[70]

At Dubuque College — formerly St. Joseph's — instruction in civics included, in 1914, a study of the national and State government, the Federal union, party government, as well as the political rights and duties of citizens. The Dubuque College and Seminary, another private institution, made the spirit of patriotism and duty to one's country a feature of the teaching. Attention was called to the recent tendencies toward improvement in State and local government. Six distinct courses relating to government were described in 1917.[71]

Wartburg College, at Clinton, in 1914 required civil government in the first class of the academy, and American government in the classical and science courses of the college. The student was encouraged to draw upon current news for illustrative material. Luther College at Decorah has, it seems, no course in government, except in preparatory work. The Lutheran College at Jewell in 1914 had American government, both local and national, together with Iowa government which was studied in comparison with that of other States.[72]

In this brief review of the work in some of the Iowa higher institutions a very great diversity in plans and practices is apparent. Indeed, one may at once pronounce the verdict that there have been sinners among the best of them. There have been, however, some leaders among the

[70] *Year Book of Mount St. Joseph's College,* 1917, pp. 26, 27.

[71] *Catalogue of Dubuque College,* 1914–1915, p. 92; *Catalogue of Dubuque College and Seminary,* 1917–1918, pp. 30, 54, 56.

[72] *Catalogue of Wartburg College,* 1914–1915, p. 11; *Catalogue of Jewell Lutheran College,* 1913–1914, p. 17.

men identified with the colleges who have realized that there was an opportunity at hand to establish a department or to build a structure firmly devoted to the training of men and women in the higher ideals of political life. It is not difficult to select these leaders and the institutions they represented. The mystery lies in the seeming failure to get together on plans and purposes.

VIII

SOME RECENT OPINIONS AND ACTIVITIES

The president of the National Security League has said: "Knowing the profound patriotism of Americans when they hear a call of duty, I submit that the treatment of the great issues by the masses is proof positive that public education has not equipped the citizen to serve the country; it has failed to give the average man knowledge of the problems of government . . . . America has to compete with countries . . . . with whose citizens patriotism is a religion. It is ridiculous for us to think that we can maintain our position without thorough, general, mental preparedness. This calls for a revolution in the practice and teaching of citizenship and emphasizes the truth that knowledge by the people is national security."[73]

If present endeavors mean anything the public schools may be expected to profit by the instruction from the higher authorities and institutions which are sending out suggestions for new activities. This is not a time to curtail public schools was the warning issued by the Federal Bureau of Education; "patriotism demands that taxes and funds be raised for *local education as well as for other war projects.*" Citizenship can not be taught, it is said, without materials, and these should include books, newspapers,

[73] S. Stanwood Menken's *A Concept of National Service* in the National Security League's *Patriotism Through Education Series*, No. 27, p. 4.

magazines, town and city ordinances, information on local industries, and a history of the community. In other words, there must be a disposition to "tie up the school with reality if you would make live citizens." Indeed, "we are not building permanently unless the youth of our land are made fully acquainted with the meaning of American citizenship. We must give patriotism a vitality which will find expression in service." In this connection the rural schools and the schools of the small town have been charged with a really greater responsibility than the city systems, since there are so many more of them; and besides, it might have been said that their opportunities are probably greater.

It is quite clear that the teacher must become impressed with both the opportunity and the responsibility if the desired program is to be carried out. Among the recently published comments on this subject the following sentences may be quoted:—"In passing, may I express the hope that the committee on education will urge the establishment of citizenship classes to teach teachers". "In teaching citizenship, do not forget that you are yourself a citizen". "Education in citizenship will equip us to deal with many public questions, responsibility for which we now dodge".[74]

If "good government has become *every man's business*", and if the responsibility for producing well-informed citizens rests upon the public schools and colleges, it seems that the agitation which has been so marked at certain periods in the past half century should soon begin to bear fruit. Concerted efforts should be made to equip the average man with a "knowledge of the problems of govern-

[74] *Secondary School Circular of the United States Bureau of Education*, April, 1918, No. 2, p. 6; The National Security League's *Teachers Patriotic Leaflets*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 2, 4, 6, 9; The National Security League's *Patriotism Through Education Series*, No. 27, pp. 5, 6.

ment''. It is always easy to talk, but difficult to act. The history of this reform, however, is but the repetition of that of many others: until some are ready to sacrifice for the end desired success will never be attained. The objective in this instance can only be reached by the united action of men in all ranks of education.

Whether the war activities of the public schools will produce a permanent result in the form of citizen training can not be determined at this time: history itself must reveal the results. To be sure, never before have the schools of the nation presented such a spectacle as at present, and the lessons learned will be more surely impressed the longer the activities are continued. National aid has been provided to equip the several grades of instruction with material which will show in a new way the resources of this country and some of its problems. Some of the schools of Iowa immediately took advantage of such assistance because the man or woman in charge appreciated the opportunity. Besides, the local organizations for food and fuel conservation, the war savings campaign, the junior red cross, the boy scouts, the working reserve, the garden clubs — all agencies to help the nation — are concrete demonstrations of civic instruction. Their meaning can not be misunderstood.

Along with these efforts there is also a tendency to get away from the old type of formal civil government teaching: civics has been given more attention, and the practical side of administration has been emphasized rather than the mere skeleton of government. The community, where instruction should begin, has had some consideration, and inquiry shows a disposition to adapt instruction to the environment. Logic has given way to psychology; sense and feeling have replaced in some degree the cold and

formal presentation of facts. Examples are at hand to demonstrate the possibilities in the newer conception of teaching citizenship, and it may be that the reorganized instruction will forever make it impossible to justly criticise the public schools for neglect of this duty.

Adjustment along the entire line from the primary school through the college ought to make it possible for men and women to know not only the fundamentals of a free government but also to be familiar with the daily procedure of the community and nation. This can not be done, however, by public school teachers who refuse to inform themselves about the homely affairs of the government in which they seem often to have no interest. Nor can the college student profoundly respect the instructor who is "too busy" to be informed on the great problems of the day. The rights and duties of citizens — it is a great text for all Americans.

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