CONGRESSIONAL PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL AID TO
EDUCATION FROM 1919 TO 1946

A Thesis Presented for the
Degree of Master of Arts

By

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Approved by:

[Signature]
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem

As educated Americans, all of us have a great interest in the support and control of education. This public interest dates back to the first settlements on the eastern coast when colonial governments made provisions for the establishment of schools even though they were on a voluntary or charity basis. Today we still regard education as a necessity for the most successful operation of our government. In a democratic government, such as ours, we are interested in keeping the control of the school system in the hands of the people. In other words, since the school system is supported by the people it has been held that the educational program should be controlled by the people.

Great controversies have arisen in the period from 1919 to 1946 over the question of support and control of education. Congresses have been made conscious of the great need for more aid to education and confronted with even greater problems when the type of aid was to be determined.
It is the purpose of this study, therefore, to name each proposal for federal aid to education that has been presented to Congress between the years 1819 and 1946. From this enumeration we shall determine (1) the purposes to be accomplished by the proposed federal aid; (2) the amount of control which the federal government would be permitted to exercise; (3) the type of aid that would have been distributed if the bills had been passed; and (4) the purposes of federal aid, the control actually exercised, and the type and amount of aid being distributed now.

**Definition of Terms**

Countless disagreements and misunderstandings arise merely because terms are not clearly defined. It is the writer's belief that feuds and even wars may be avoided if clear definitions are available. Therefore, it is necessary that we come to a clear understanding of the terms used in this study lest misunderstandings result.

**Federal Aid.** The federal government has provided for aid to education in the several states. Land grants have been used to assist the states since before our present Constitution, and direct appropriations are a more recent development. In this study, therefore, we shall define federal aid as any assistance which the federal government proposed
either in the form of gifts of land or in the form of direct appropriations to the states.

**Education.** Education is broadly defined and includes kindergarten, elementary, secondary, higher, and special education divisions in the public schools. Any aid that is proposed for the purpose of making it possible for pupils to remain in any of these schools is defined as an aid to education.

**Congressional Proposals.** The United States Congress consists of two houses -- the Senate and the House of Representatives. These are representative bodies, the members of which are elected by the people. The work of these senators and representatives, however, is not clearly defined to the public. Among the duties or responsibilities is the presentation of proposals. Proposals are more or less well-planned, carefully-worded documents that are presented to the Senate or House of Representatives for approval. This approval is not given readily and directly. The proposal, which is known as a "bill", is usually referred to a committee for study before it is debated or a vote is taken. The committees are made up of members of the respective houses. For example, in the Senate a bill concerning education is referred to the Committee on Labor and Education; in the House of Representatives such a bill is referred to the Committee on Education. A congressional proposal, then, will be defined as any bill which has been presented and
referred to a committee in either of the houses of the United States Congress.

The Sources Used

Source of Information. The information used in this study has been obtained from several sources. The enumeration of the bills was taken from the Congressional Record. Facts about the bills were found in the Hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, and Hearings before the Committee on Education, United States House of Representatives. In the committee hearings, copies of the provisions of the bill, statements concerning the provisions -- pro and con, and statistics in support of or against the provisions as stated in the bill are available. The greatest source, however, was the original bills. The writer is grateful to the National Education Association for supplying all of the bills that have been supported by that organization since 1919.

Significance of the Problem

As the population of the United States became more mobile the differing educational backgrounds became very noticeable. The armed forces felt the differences very keenly in World War I. Those men from sections which furnished
excellent educational opportunities showed greater ability than those from sections where educational opportunities were grossly inadequate. Investigations instigated by the testing of draftees of World War I further emphasized the inequalities and inadequacies of school systems in the different States -- a situation which still exists.

Since the impact of the first World War, the National Education Association has continuously sponsored bills proposing federal aid to the states for remedying inequalities in education. As this federal interest in aid to education gains momentum we are obligated to look behind the legislative scene to see what activity, if any, has been taking place.

Federal interest in education has always been present even though education was not mentioned in the Articles of Confederation or in the Constitution of the United States. This interest took the form of assistance to education before the Constitution of the United States was signed. The Ordinance of 1785 gave to each township lot number 16 for the support of public schools. This grant was only the beginning. Similar grants by the federal government were included when states were admitted to the Union. In 1802 with the admission of Ohio to statehood the early policy was continued. "Except for Maine, Texas, and West Virginia, all states admitted to the Union after 1802 received land grants
for schools.¹

In 1862 the Morrill Act provided further grants, either of land or of land script, for the establishment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts in all states.

In addition to aid to higher education the federal government granted aid to common schools. "The total amount of land given by the federal government specifically for common schools was about 121,130 square miles -- an area larger than the state of Colorado and three times the size of Ohio."²

Many attempts to vote money grants to the states for education were unsuccessful. But, in 1887, Congress was able to appropriate $15,000 a year to each of the land-grant colleges for the operation of an agricultural experiment station. The annual allocation for experiment stations conveniently increased to more than $134,500 per institution in 1940 and 1941.

In 1914 the Smith-Lever Act gave money to the states on condition that they raise a similar amount. This, in the writer's opinion, was a step toward more control by the federal agency. Likewise, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 created a system of federal and state matching of funds, but this time the funds were to be used to carry on vocational education in public high schools under the supervision of a

¹Federal Aid for Education, Research Bulletin of the National Education Association (June, 1942), p. 5.
²Ibid., p. 5.
federal board for vocational education. To show the enormous increase of federal activity in education let us examine the amount of federal money provided for under this legislation.

"Over a nine-year period the amount of federal money provided by this legislation was $7,000,000 annually. In 1936 the George-Deen Act Authorized an additional grant of $14,483,000, making available a total of over $21,000,000 of federal funds each year for vocational education under these two laws." 3

Although the federal government is materially aiding education, many proponents of federal aid see three lines for further participation in education. These three lines are:

"(1) a federal department of education with a secretary of education coordinate with the other federal departments such as the Department of State, the Department of the Navy, and the Department of Agriculture; (2) federal aid to general education, as is now given to certain phases of special education, such as vocational education; and (3) the establishment of a national university." 4

Are we going to support proposals which favor federal aid along these three lines? To jump at a conclusive answer to this important problem might have serious consequences,

3 Ibid., p. 6.
4 Ward G. Reeder, Fundamentals of Public School Administration, p. 49.
hence a study of the history of congressional bills might be in order. This history may furnish a better basis for intelligent answers and activity. In case one favors further federal participation in education after a thorough study of the history of federal-aid-to-education bills, the type of aid, the distribution of aid, and the control of education become the real problems. The magnitude of these problems must not be underestimated if educational programs are to continue to grow.

Related Studies

The National Education Association has published several short summaries of proposed legislation up to 1943. In none of these studies, however, is the whole field of congressional proposals for federal aid covered. The bills which have been supported by the association are the only ones included in the studies. For example, *Federal Aid to Education, A Review of Pertinent Facts* by the National Education Association, 1942, includes a very brief summary of congressional proposals for federal aid to education from 1919 to 1943.

To the writer's knowledge, there have been no detailed studies of all these proposals made to date.
Organization of Material

In an analysis of the proposals since 1919, specific provisions are made for aiding four different forms of education, (1) elementary, (2) secondary, (3) higher, and (4) special. This division of education into four forms is used to facilitate the reading and provide the pattern of the congressional interest in aiding education in the States over the periods from 1919 to 1931 and 1932 to 1946.

This work does not purport to treat all phases of the bills as they relate to education. To do this would require volumes. The writer has selected for treatment and illustration sections of the bills which seem to be most significant. However, it is hoped that the bills analyzed in this study will acquaint the reader with the efforts that are being made to furnish federal aid to education.

The body of each of the chapters is designed to provide an analysis leading to an understanding of the provisions set forth in the bills. For example, the provisions for aid to the various forms of education have differed in many respects. Differences have existed in the purposes, the amount of appropriation, and the method of appropriation or control.
CHAPTER II

CONGRESSIONAL PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION
(1919 - 1931)

This study includes the proposals from 1919 to 1946. In order to clarify the study this period has been divided into two parts: first, the period, 1919 to 1931; and second, the period, 1932 to 1946.

In 1931 President Hoover's Advisory Committee on Education made its recommendations to the President and Congress. It recommended "that all future Federal grants to States be made for education in general rather than for specific phases of it." Following this recommendation, only one proposal having the establishment of a federal department of education as its primary aim was presented.

The period preceding 1931 was marked by provisions for specific methods of administering federal aid. A study of the brief histories of these bills and the paramount purposes of each is given in Chapter II under five separate headings: (1) administration of proposed federal aid; (2) elementary

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education; (3) secondary education; (4) higher education; and (5) special and vocational education. Tables giving the brief histories of the bills as found in the Congressional Record may be found at the close of each section.

Administration Proposals for Federal Aid to Education

The period 1919 to 1946 has been characterized by numerous attempts to set up a federal administrative agency; and, provide for specific forms of aid to education. Logically, then, we should consider the early history of this period of federal legislation for aid to education before taking into consideration the different forms of education.

The legislation which follows attempted to establish a federal Department of Education in various ways. The federal Department of Education, as such, was not a new idea since such a department had existed in 1872. It had been short lived, however, and had soon become a bureau of education in the Department of the Interior.

Since the Department of Agriculture had been organized in 1918, the friends of education promptly instigated congressional attempts to do the same for education. Agriculture had gained a post in the President's cabinet, and some educational leaders felt that education was equally eligible for that status.
At the end of February, 1918, the National Education Association appointed a commission on the National Emergency in Education. The commission began at once to study the principle defects of the national education system as revealed by World War I. These were found to be: 2 (a) the failure of the schools to reach the non-English speaking aliens and native illiterates; (b) the failure of the schools to provide an effective program of health education; (c) the great inequalities of public schools and the inferiority of many rural schools; and (d) the lack of a sufficient supply of trained teachers.

Senator Hoke Smith introduced S. 4987 which was the first form of the bill to correct the worst of the defects noted above. Subsequently, as the result of criticisms from various quarters it was revised and reintroduced as the Smith-Towner Bill (S. 1017 3 and H. R. 7) in May, 1919.

The Committee of the American Council on Education did not carry out its plan to present a measure of its own, providing for the creation of a Department of Education, although it did draft such a bill.

On October 10, 1918, Senator Hoke Smith, Georgia, introduced in the Senate a bill to establish a Department of

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3 U. S. Senate Bill 1017, First Session, 66th Congress, Congressional Record, p. 3923.
Education, and Congressman Horace Mann Towner, Iowa, on January 28, 1919, introduced in the House a companion bill (H. R. 15238).\textsuperscript{4} The Senate Committee on Education and Labor held hearings on this bill, beginning December 5, 1918.

This bill was revised and was again introduced in the House on May 19, 1919, by Congressman Towner (H.R. 7), and a companion bill (S. 1017) was introduced in the Senate by Senator Smith of Georgia. Joint hearings were held on these bills by the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate and the Committee on Education of the House in July, 1919.

On January 17, 1921, the Committee on Education in the House of Representatives, to which the bill H.R. 7 was submitted, reported the same back to the House with certain amendments with the recommendation that the amendments be agreed to and that the bill as thus amended be passed.

On March 1, 1921, the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate also made a report back to the Senate on S. 1017.

This bill was again revised, and on April 11, 1921 was introduced in the House by Congressman Towner (H. R. 7), and in the Senate by Senator Thomas Sterling, of South Dakota (S. 1252). This bill was commonly known as the Towner-Sterling educational bill.

\textsuperscript{4} Third Session, 65th Congress, \textit{Congressional Record}, p. 2257.
On May 5, 1921, Senator William S. Kenyon introduced in the Senate in the first session of the Sixty-seventh Congress S. 1607, a bill to establish a Department of Public Welfare. A companion bill H. R. 5837 was introduced in the House of Representatives on the same day by Congressman Simeon D. Fess. During the same month joint hearings were held on these two bills. No report was made by either committee. Some educators and friends of education were opposed to the inclusion of education in a subordinate position in the proposed Department of Public Welfare as provided in this bill. They appeared at the hearing on this bill in May, 1921, and presented strong arguments in favor of a separate Department of Education with a Secretary of Education in the President's cabinet.

This same bill was introduced on December 17, 1923, by Congressman Reed, New York, in the House (H. R. 3923), and in the Senate by Senator Sterling (S. 1337). The Senate committee on Education and Labor held hearings on this bill January 23, 1924, and the Committee on Education of the House held hearings on it from February 20, 1924, to June 4, 1924.

The Towner-Sterling Bill proposed to create a Department of Education with an office in the cabinet and various other officers, and authorized an appropriation of $100,000,000 per year to be divided as follows:

Seven million five hundred thousand dollars for the removal of illiteracy, $7,500,000 for Americanization,
$20,000,000 for physical education, $15,000,000 for the preparation of public school teachers, and $50,000,000 for the equalization of educational opportunities in the States.

The basis of apportionment would have been as follows: The $7,500,000 for the removal of illiteracy was to be apportioned to the States in the proportions which their illiterate population of 14 years or over, not including foreign-born illiterates, bears to the total illiterate population of the United States. The $7,500,000 for Americanization was to be apportioned in the proportion which the respective foreign-born population of the States bears to the total population of the United States.

The $20,000,000 for physical education was to be apportioned to the States in the proportion which their respective population bears to the total population of the United States (per capita basis). The $15,000,000 for the training of teachers was to be apportioned in the proportion in which the number of public-school teachers in the respective States bears to the total number of public-school teachers in the United States. The $50,000,000 for equalization of educational opportunities was to be apportioned one-half in the proportion that the number of children in the State bears to the number of children in the United States, and one-half in the proportion which the number of public school teachers employed in the respective State bears to the total number of public
school teachers employed in the United States.\footnote{U. S. Senate Bill 1337, First Session, Sixty-eighth Congress, p. 319.}

Congressional proposals for a Department of Education have been accompanied by proposals for direct aid to teachers and to public schools in general. Federal aid to public schools was further specified in the legislation of the Sixty-ninth Congress.

On December 11, 1925, Congressman Reed, New York, introduced a new bill (H. R. 5000) to create a Department of Education, and in the Senate a companion bill was introduced on December 8, 1925, by Senator Curtis, of Kansas, (S. 291). It provides in general for the following:

1. For the creation of a Secretary of Education to be appointed by the President at a salary of $15,000 per annum.

2. The appointment of an Assistant Secretary of Education to be appointed by the President at a salary of $10,000 per annum.

3. The appointment of a solicitor, chief clerk, disbursing clerk, and such chiefs of bureaus and such scientific, technical, and clerical assistants as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of the act.

4. The Bureau of Education is transferred from the Department of Interior to the Department of Education.
(5) The Federal Board for Vocational Education is transferred to the Department of Education.

(6) The authorities, powers, and duties conferred and imposed by law upon the Secretary of the Interior with relation to the Columbia Institution for the deaf and Howard University shall be exercised and performed by the Secretary of Education.

(7) The Department of Education shall collect such statistics as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and in foreign countries. In order to aid the people of the several States in establishing and maintaining more efficient schools and school systems, in devising better methods of organization, administration, and financing of education, in developing better types of school buildings, and in providing for their use, in improving methods of teaching, and in developing more adequate curricula and courses of study, research shall be undertaken in (a) rural education; (b) elementary education; (c) secondary education; (d) higher education; (e) professional education; (f) physical education; (g) special education for the mentally and physically handicapped; (h) the training of teachers; (i) immigrant education; and (j) adult education.

(8) Authorizes annual appropriations of $1,500,000 for paying salaries and the conducting of studies and investigations.6

On December 8, 1925, Congressman Tillman, Arkansas, introduced in the House a bill (H. R. 4097) to create a Department of Education. This bill was referred to the House Committee on Education.

On January 23, 1926, Senator Means, Colorado, introduced in the Senate a bill (S. 2841) to create a Department of Education. This bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. It differs from the Curtis-Reed bill in three points: First, in paragraph 6 and 7 the Means bill provides for one advisory committee to consist of the superintendent of schools (or similar officer) in each State, and of the territories and possessions making 53 in all; the advisory committee is to meet in Washington annually to consider and report back to the States on the report of the Secretary of Education.

The Means Bill \(^7\) provides a salary of $12,000 for the Secretary of Education and provides for three assistants with salaries of $7,500, $6,000 and $5,000. The appropriation is reduced to $500,000. The Curtis \(^8\) Bill provides for an appropriation of $1,500,000.

The Curtis-Reed bill provides that the Federal Board of Vocational Education be transferred to the Department of Education, and all the authority, powers, and duties conferred

\(^7\) U.S. Senate Bill 291 was introduced by Senator Means.

\(^8\) U.S. Senate Bill 2841 was introduced by Senator Curtis.
or imposed by law upon the Federal Board for Vocational Education shall be exercised and performed by the board as a division of the Department of Education. The Secretary of Education shall be a member of the Federal Board of Vocational Education and ex-officio chairman of said board. The Authority, powers, and duties conferred and imposed by law upon the Secretary of the Interior concerning the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Howard University, shall be exercised and performed by the Secretary of Education. The Means bill makes no such provision for vocational education, Columbia Institute, and Howard University. Joint hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor and the House Committee on Education were held on the bills S. 291 and H. R. 5000 and S. 2841 on February 24, 25, 26, 1926.

The year 1926 appeared to be the point at which work for a Department of Education began to wane. In 1927 a Department of Education was proposed again in the first session of the Seventieth Congress in the form of the Curtis-Reed Bill. Again, it did not get out of committee.

Further attempts to get a bill before the house proposing a Department of Education were made in 1929 and 1931 when Senator Capper and Congressman Reed again made such proposals in the United States Senate and House of Representatives. The bills were referred to the Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on Education respectively.

President Hoover appointed a National Advisory Commission
to study the need for federal aid to the States and to make recommendations for allotments to the States. This committee recommended, in 1931, that all future Federal grants to the States be made for education in general rather than for specific phases of it. It is with this recommendation that the trend of proposals turned to the appropriation of funds for general education.

No bills recommending a Department of Education has been proposed since the first session of the Seventy-first Congress. (See Table I, p. 22).
TABLE I: SENATE PROPOSALS AND COMPANION HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BILLS FOR A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (1919 - 1931)

**First Session, 66th Congress (1919)**

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<th>Sponsor</th>
<th>Committee</th>
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<td>S. 1017 (H. R. 7)</td>
<td>To create a department of education.</td>
<td>Mr. Smith</td>
<td>Committee on Education and Labor</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. 819</td>
<td>To create a department of education.</td>
<td>Mr. Owen</td>
<td>Committee on Education and Labor</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. 15 (H. R. 2023)</td>
<td>To create a department of education and for other purposes.</td>
<td>Mr. Smith</td>
<td>Committee on Education and Labor</td>
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**First Session, 67th Congress (1921)**

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>S. 523</td>
<td>To create the department of education.</td>
<td>Mr. Owen</td>
<td>Committee on Education and Labor</td>
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<td>S. 1252 (H. R. 7)</td>
<td>To create a department of education, to authorize appropriations for the conduct of said department, to authorize the appropriation of money to encourage the States in the support of education and for other purposes.</td>
<td>Mr. Sterling</td>
<td>Committee on Education and Labor</td>
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<td>S. 1607 (H. R. 5837)</td>
<td>To create a department of public welfare.</td>
<td>Mr. Kenyon</td>
<td>Committee on Education and Labor</td>
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**First Session, 68th Congress (1924)**

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<td>S. 1337 (H. R. 3923)</td>
<td>To create the department of education, to authorize appropriations for the conduct of said department, to authorize the appropriation of money to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education and for other purposes.</td>
<td>Mr. Sterling</td>
<td>Committee on Education and Labor</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. 3157 (H. R. 9589)</td>
<td>To create a department of education.</td>
<td>Mr. Owen</td>
<td>Committee on Education and Labor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Second Session, 68th Congress (1925)

S. 3445 To create a department of education and relief.
(H. R. 10273) Mr. Smoot; Placed on calendar, 10248.

First Session, 69th Congress (1925 - 1926)

S. 291 To create a department of education and for
(H. R. 5000) other purposes.
Mr. Means; Committee on Education and Labor,
2864.

S. 2841 To create a department of education and for
(H. R. 4097) other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Education and Labor,
477. -- Debated 4590, 4696.

First Session, 70th Congress (1927 - 1928)

S. 1584 To create a department of education and for
(H. R. 7) other purposes.
(H. R. 5693) Mr. Curtis; Committee on Education and Labor, 543.
(H. R. 5790)

First Session, 71st Congress (1929)

S. 1586 To create a department of public education and
(H. R. 10) for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Education and Labor,
3401.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BILLS FOR A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
(1919 - 1931)

Third Session, 65th Congress (1919)

H. R. 13709 To create a department of education and human
welfare and to arrange for the cooperation be-
tween the federal government and the States in
the encouragement and support of education; and
for other purposes.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Education, 1129.

H. R. 15238 To create a department of education to appro-
(H.R. 15400) priate money for the conduct of said department,
to appropriate money to encourage the States
in the promotion and support of education, and for other purposes.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Education, 2257.

**Extra Session, 69th Congress (1926 - 1927)**

H. R. 17184 To create a department of public education to authorize appropriations for the conduct and maintenance of said department and for other purposes.
Mr. Green of Florida; Committee on Education, 4012.

**First Session, 72nd Congress (1931 - 1932)**

H. R. 4757 To create a department of education and for other purposes.
Mr. Reed of New York; Committee on Education, 165.
Proposals for Elementary Education

The great need for education was recognized by a few when the Constitution was signed. The establishment of elementary schools was encouraged as a result of the felt need. Although there has been growth of local school systems, the need for further growth has been felt and expressed openly on the floors of each of the Houses of Congress. The open discussions have centered around proposals made by Senators and Congressmen who have been impressed with the need of such legislation.

Since 1919 seems to mark the beginning of an era of more organized activity of education organizations, the Senators and Congressmen have been influenced sufficiently to propose legislation for federal aid to elementary education. The proposed legislation may or may not definitely state that the aid is for elementary schools. In some proposals the writer has interpreted the purpose to be aid to elementary schools where no particular form of education is designated.

The purposes as stated in the proposal for federal aid to education by Senator Smith of Georgia show early interest in schools that would give all citizens a better appreciation of this country and government. It provided for aid in the fight against illiteracy. The introduction of this bill into
the third session of the Thirty-fifth Congress in 1919 provided for the education of (1) the native illiterates, (2) the persons unable to understand and use the English language, and (3) the persons of foreign birth.9

In 1919 the pressure of groups in the educational organizations believed that provisions should be made for

"the cooperation of the States in the education of such persons in the English language, the fundamental principles of government and citizenship, the elements of knowledge pertaining to self-support and home-making, and in such other work as will assist in preparing such illiterates and foreign-born persons for successful living and intelligent American citizenship."10

From this proposal the problem at hand seemed to be that of making better citizens of the foreign born and the illiterates. But during the third session of the Thirty-fifth Congress another bill was introduced "to aid in the education of the boys and girls of America, and to provide funds therefore."10 These bills met with no success and died in committee.

The United States Senate Bill 2203 (S. 2203) was introduced in the Senate during the first session of the Thirty-sixth Congress and provided for "improvements to rural education." In this provision elementary education was gaining support.


10 U. S. Senate Bill 5660, op. cit., p. 4207.
Likewise S. 1017 attempted to provide aid to education by providing a department of education and money for the removal of illiteracy, expediting americanization, and further equalizing educational opportunities. These reasons for federal aid change little from year to year until in 1946 the main argument for federal aid to education is to equalize educational opportunities. Here we see a mere change in emphasis.

Emphasis was turned to the promotion of public education in 1919 when the relationship of public elementary and secondary education was considered vital to the welfare of the community.

Any specific proposals to aid elementary education during the period from 1920 to 1925 are lacking. In 1925, however, Congressman Fitzgerald proposed a bill to give direct federal aid for investigation of mentally handicapped children in the schools. Although no direct aid was earmarked for the elementary schools in this bill, it would have allowed aid in studying children of elementary schools. Unfortunately or fortunately this was not passed and states remained the agent for making investigations of and caring for their handicapped children.

Congressmen and organized education groups sought to

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aid the states with many general bills. The establishment of a department of education had been proposed year after year and the failure of such bills has indicated the unpopularity of such legislation. The proposal for a department of education as an executive branch of the federal government became less popular and definite forms of education were found to be needing aid from the federal government.

Elementary education was to be aided in 1927 when Mr. Berger introduced a bill "to combat illiteracy in the several States." This bill suffered as had all other bills which provided aid for public education. It died in committee without being read on the floor of the House.

Senate Bill 1491, as introduced by Mr. Nye, suffered the same fate. This bill was attempting "to aid in the reduction of taxes on farm lands and to promote elementary education in rural areas of the United States and to cooperate with the States in the promotion of these objectives." During the same session of Congress Mr. Glover's bill, H. R. 3140, never proceeded beyond the Committee on Education. It provided for "aid in the promotion of elementary and high school education in rural areas of the United States; and

encouragement of agriculture, horticulture, stock and poultry raising, and domestic science, and cooperation with the states in the promotion of these objectives."\(^{14}\)

These bills were not the last to provide for specific appropriations to elementary education. Elementary education became one of the important forms of education to be included in the expression "public education" for which federal aid was to be proposed many times before 1946. As proposals for aids to elementary education became a part of more general proposals for aid to public education, further emphasis was placed on less control by federal agencies as is evidenced in the following provisions. In 1924 Senate Bill 1337 proposed that States obtain specific appropriations. Unless the laws of a state provided for the following, it was not eligible for Federal aid under S. 1337:

"(a) a legal school term of at least twenty-four weeks in each year for the benefit of all children of school age in such State; (b) a compulsory school attendance law requiring all children between the ages of seven and fourteen years to attend some school for at least four weeks in each year; (c) that the English language shall be the basic language of instruction in the common school branches in all schools, public, and private." \(^{15}\)

Great control would have been exerted by the Federal

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\(^{14}\) Ibid., p. 1594.

\(^{15}\) U. S. Senate Bill 1337, Table II, p. 30.
Government if the bill had passed. On the other hand let us consider S. 131 -- a proposal of 1945. In order to qualify for funds under this bill, a State must have:

"provided from State revenues for all public elementary and public secondary-school purposes not less than either the total amount, or the amount per pupil in average daily attendance, actually spent for such purposes in the fiscal year ended in 1944." 16

Less control was being advocated in 1931 and proposals for federal aid to public education tended to propose funds for education in general.

16 U. S. Senate Bill 131, Table VI, p. 76.
### TABLE II: SENATE PROPOSALS AND COMPANION HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BILLS FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

(1919 - 1931)

**Third Session, 65th Congress (1919)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bill</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>S. 5464 (H. R. 1540)</td>
<td>To promote the education of native illiterates, of persons unable to understand and use the English language, and of other resident persons of foreign birth; to provide for cooperation with the States in the education of such persons in the English language, the fundamental principals of government and citizenship, the elements of knowledge pertaining to self-support and home making, and in such other work as will assist in preparing such illiterates and foreign-born persons for successful living and intelligent American citizenship. By Mr. Smith of Georgia; Committee on Education and Labor, 2191. — Reported back, 4391. — Debated, 4391, 4392, 4583, 4564, 4565.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 5660</td>
<td>To aid in the education of the boys and girls of America, and to provide funds therefore. By Mr. Pollock; Committee on Education and Labor, 4207.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**First Session, 66th Congress (1919)**

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. 2203</td>
<td>To promote improvement of rural education. By Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Education and Labor, 1542.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 1017 (H. R. 7)</td>
<td>To create a department of education and for other purposes. By Mr. Smith; Committee on Education and Labor, 351.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Second Session, 66th Congress (1919)**

<table>
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<td>S. 1017 (H. R. 7)</td>
<td>To create a department of education and for other purposes. By Mr. Smith; Committee on Education and Labor, 351.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
First Session, 68th Congress (1924)

S. 1337
(H. R. 3923) To create the department of education, to authorize appropriations for the conduct of said department, to authorize the appropriation of money to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education, and for other purposes.
By Mr. Sterling; Committee on Education and Labor, 319.

S. 3445
(H. R. 9629) To provide for the reorganization and more effective coordination of the executive branch of the government, to create the department of education and relief, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smoot; placed on calendar, 10248.

Second Session, 68th Congress (1925)

S. 3445 To create a Department of Education and Relief.
(H. R. 10273) Debated, 2707.

First Session, 69th Congress (1925 - 1926)

S. 291
(H. R. 5000) To create a department of education and for other purposes.
Mr. Means; Committee on Education and Labor, 2864.

S. 2941 To create a department of education and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Education and Labor, 477. -- Debated 4590, 4696.

First Session, 70th Congress (1927 - 1928)

S. 1584
(H. R. 7) To create a department of education and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Education and Labor, 543.

S. 1180 To increase the proportion of the annual receipts from national forests to be paid to the States for the benefit of the public schools and public roads.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 347.

First Session, 71st Congress (1929)

S. 1586
(H. R. 10) To create a department of public education, and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Education and Labor, 3401.
S. 1491 (H. R. 2570) To aid in the reduction of taxes on farm lands and to promote elementary education in rural areas of the United States and to cooperate with the States in the promotion of these objectives.
Mr. Nye; Committee on Education and Labor, 2719.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BILLS PROPOSING AID TO ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (1919 - 1931)

Third Session, 65th Congress (1919)

H. R. 13709 To create a department of education and human welfare and to arrange for the cooperation between the federal government and the States in the encouragement and support of education, and for other purposes.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Education, 1129.

H. R. 15238 To create a department of education to appropriate money for the conduct of said department, to appropriate money to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education, and for other purposes.
By Mr. Towner; Committee on Education, 2257.

H. R. 15400 (Restatement of H. R. 15238.)
Mr. Towner; Committee on Education, 2411.

First Session, 66th Congress (1919)

H. R. 8479 Bill to establish division for investigation of mentally handicapped children in Bureau.
By Mr. Dyer; Committee on Appropriations, 3976.

Second Session, 68th Congress (1925)

H. R. 10407 To establish a station for the investigation of mentally handicapped children in the schools.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Education, 247.

First Session, 69th Congress (1925 - 1926)

H. R. 400 Bureau of Education -- establish a division for the investigation of mentally handicapped children in the schools.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Education, 404.
First Session, 70th Congress (1928)

H. R. 11274  To aid and encourage educational work in the several States and Territories.  
Mr. McSwain; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 3405.

H. R. 140   To establish a division for the investigation of handicapped children in the schools.  
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Education, 21.

H. R. 10155  To Combat illiteracy in the several States, and for other purposes.  
Mr. Berger; Committee on Education, 2223.

First Session, 71st Congress (1929)

H. R. 3140  To aid in the promotion of elementary and high school education in rural areas of the United States; and to encourage agriculture, horticulture, stock and poultry raising, and domestic science, and to cooperate with the states in the promotion of these objectives.  
Mr. Glover; Committee on Education, 1594.
Proposals for Secondary Education

Secondary education was considered unconstitutional until 1872 when the Supreme Court of Michigan gave legal sanction to the movement of publicly supported high schools. After that date, however, great advances were made with help from the federal government. State aid had been added to local funds with reservation as the movement progressed to extend educational opportunity upward. The reservation that characterized this great step was still present in 1919. Although the legislature had seen fit to give the federal government control in agriculture before 1919, such a program for education was more than the public could understand. The pressure for local control was strong enough to create great obstacles to the securing of federal aid. The proposals to aid education by allotting federal equalization funds were no exception.

Equivalence of opportunities for the boys and girls of America was considered basic to our way of life in 1919. Senate Bill 566017 was an effort to correct the inequalities in elementary and secondary school systems. It would have provided for "aid in the education of boys and girls of

17
The proposal further designated that sufficient funds would be provided by federal sources.

Not only legislators were in favor of one hundred percent federal aid to states. Instead, the policy which the federal government had adopted in the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 was again proposed. This time it was for general education. House of Representatives Bill 13709 was referred to the Committee on Education during the Third Session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. It provided for "a department of education and human welfare to arrange for the cooperation between the federal government and the States in the encouragement and support of education."

A specific reference was made to equalization of educational opportunities when S. 2203 provided federal aid "to promote improvement of rural education." Thus, in 1919 congressmen were being pressed to action by educational groups who felt that federal aid was necessary. The lack of opportunities for secondary education in rural areas was justification for much legislative controversy.

As Table III indicates there was little reference made to secondary education. In fact, H. R. 3140 was the only bill that named secondary education in its main purposes.

18 Ibid., p. 4207.
The Smith-Towner Bill (S. 1017, H. R. 7) made its provisions for aid to secondary education in Section 10 and 11. $50,000,000 was to be apportioned for equalizing educational opportunities in Section 10. Section 11 would have apportioned $20,000,000 for physical education, including health education and sanitation.

The attempts to correct the health conditions existing throughout the school systems were continued. It was not enough that a commission be appointed by the National Education Association to make a study of the National Emergency in Education. This commission was appointed in February, 1918. Following the formation of the commission the legislature in the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress proposed aid to elementary and secondary schools as well as colleges and universities. This session, in 1919, in the form of United States Senate Bill 3950 included the proposal

"to provide for the promotion of physical education in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education including medical examiners and school nurses, to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure." 20

This bill suffered a defeat comparable to other congressional proposals for aid to general education.

In the period from 1919 to 1931 there were eight

20 U. S. Senate Bill 3950, Second Session, Sixty-sixth Congress, Table III, p. 38.
United States Senate Bills with companion bills in the House of Representatives which had as their main purpose the setting up of an administrative department. The administrative department was to be responsible for the distribution of federal funds and other details concerning federal appropriations. These proposed appropriations were usually riders on the bills attempting to set up a department of education. Riders on the bills which would have aided secondary schools had they become effective may be classed in three groups: (1) provisions for equalizing the opportunities of the children of the United States; (2) provisions for a more effective health program; and (3) provisions for the Americanization of immigrants.

In January 22, 1924, the Sterling-Reed Bill (S. 1337) provided for an equalization fund which would have attempted to correct the deficiencies outlined by the Commission on the Emergency in Education. This bill was a restatement of the Smith-Towner bill and the appropriation recommended for equalization, hence for secondary schools, was unchanged from the $7,500,000 for Americanization of immigrants, $50,000,000 for equalization, and $20,000,000 for physical education.

As can be seen in Table III, p. 38, the bills to aid secondary education have not been strong, and in the majority of cases the Committee on Education and Labor and the Committee on Education have failed to report the bills for a vote.
TABLE III: SENATE PROPOSALS AND COMPANION HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BILLS FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION
(1919 - 1931)

Third Session, 65th Congress (1919)

S. 5660 To aid in the education of the boys and girls of America, and to provide funds therefor.
Mr. Pollock; Committee on Education and Labor, 4207.

S. 5639 To establish and promote civic, social, and health extension education.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Education and Labor, 3745.

First Session, 66th Congress (1919)

S. 1536 To establish and promote civic, social, and health extension education.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Education and Labor, 3745.

S. 819 To create a department of education, and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Education and Labor, 235.

S. 2203 To promote improvement of rural education.
Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Education and Labor, 1542.

S. 1017 (H. R. 7) To create a department of education, and for other purposes.
Mr. Smith; Committee on Education and Labor, 3239.

Second Session, 66th Congress (1919)

S. 3950 To provide for the promotion of physical education in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education including medical examiners and school nurses, to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Education and Labor, 3326.
First Session, 68th Congress (1924)

S. 1337 (H. R. 3923) To create a Department of Education, and for other purposes.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Education and Labor, 319.

S. 3157 (H. R. 9589) To create a Department of Education and for other purposes.
Mr. Owen; Committee on Education and Labor, 6932.

First Session, 69th Congress (1925)

S. 291 (H. R. 5000) To create a department of education and for other purposes.
Mr. Means; Committee on Education and Labor, 2864.

S. 2841 (H. R. 4097) To create a department of education and for other purposes -- to authorize the appropriation of money to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Education and Labor, 477 -- Debated 4590, 4896.

First Session, 70th Congress (1927)

S. 1584 (H. R. 7) To create a Department of Education and for other purposes.
Mr. Curtis; Committee on Education and Labor, 543.

S. 1180 To increase the proportion of the annual receipts from national forests to be paid to the States for the benefit of the public schools and public roads.
Mr. McNary; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 347.

First Session, 71st Congress (1929)

S. 1491 (H. R. 2570) To aid in the reduction of taxes on farm lands and to promote elementary education in rural areas of the United States and to cooperate with the States in the promotion of these objectives.
Mr. Nye; Committee on Education and Labor, 2719.

S. 1586 (H. R. 10) To create a Department of Public Education and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Education and Labor, 3401.
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PROPOSALS FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION
(1919 - 1931) *

Third Session, 65th Congress (1919)

H. R. 13709  To create a department of education and human welfare and to arrange for the cooperation between the federal government and the States in the encouragement and support of education; and for other purposes.
Mr. Baer; Committee on Education, 1129.

H. R. 15238  To create a department of education to appropriate money for the conduct of said department, to appropriate money to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education, and for other purposes.
Mr. Towner; Committee on Education, 2257.

H. R. 15400  (Restatement of H. R. 15238)
Mr. Towner; Committee on Education, 2411.

First Session, 66th Congress (1919)

H. R. 3079  Bill for establishment of division of civic training in Bureau of Education.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Education, 273.

H. R. 8479  Bill to establish division for investigation of mentally handicapped children in Bureau.
Mr. Dyer; Committee on Appropriations, 3978.

Second Session, 68th Congress (1925)

H. R. 10407  To establish a station for the investigation of mentally handicapped children in the schools.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Education, 247.

First Session, 69th Congress (1925 - 1926)

H. R. 400  To establish a division for the investigation of mentally handicapped children in the schools.
Mr. Fitzgerald; Committee on Education, 404.

First Session, 71st Congress (1929)

H. R. 3140  To aid in the promotion of elementary and high school education in rural areas of the United

* Companion bills of the Senate bills have not been repeated on this page.
States; and to encourage agriculture, horticulture, stock and poultry raising, and domestic science, and to cooperate with the states in the promotion of these objectives.
Mr. Glover; Committee on Education, 1594.
Proposals for Higher Education

Proposals for federal aid for elementary and secondary education have been unsuccessful as riders to department-of-education bills. Some of these bills that provided for a department of education proposed aid to higher education. The provisions of such bills attempting to aid higher education were unsuccessful.

For successful bills of this period our attention must be turned to special and vocational means of promoting higher education. In 1928 educational institutions and museums became the owners of government aeronautical equipment by the passing of S. 1822. It "authorized the Secretary of War to transfer or loan aeronautical equipment to museums and educational institutions." For a brief history of the bill see Table IV, p. 45.

Along similar lines institutions of higher learning were aided when H. R. 12212 was passed "Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to dispose of obsolete aeronautical equipment to accredited schools, colleges, and universities. This bill was passed during the extra session of the Sixty-ninth Congress (1926 - 1927).

These bills, in themselves, were very insignificant

21 U. S. Senate Bill 1822, First Session, 70th Congress, Congressional Record (1928), pp. 678, 9692, 10050, 10255.
yet it further emphasized the trend toward support of special education.

The first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress (1924) was the setting for the reintroduction of a bill the principle of which had been advocated by George Washington. It had been Washington's desire to have a national university when he was President.

The main purpose of the bill S. 1410 was to create a national university. After the introduction of S. 1410 by Senator Fess in 1924, the bill was held in the Committee on Education and Labor and not reported back.

In 1924, higher education was to be granted federal aid by a provision "for promotion of physical education in the United States through the cooperation with the States in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education, including health supervisors and school nurses, and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure." This bill was S. 1409 in the Sixty-eighth Congress. It was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. Its companion bill was H. R. 4800 and failed to be reported out of committee in the House.

Similar attempts to aid higher education, either cooperatively or one hundred percent federally, failed as is shown in Table IV, page 45-48.

A college of Narcotic Education was proposed with the
same results that had accompanied the other bills for general aid to higher education. The bill (S. 5204) was submitted to the Committee of Education and Labor and considered unlikely to succeed. It died in committee in 1927, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

Elementary, secondary, and higher education have not received federal aid as a result of any of the proposals from 1919 to 1931 except in the form of the navy and army donations of obsolete materials to higher education. Special education, we shall see, was aided by federal appropriations during the period 1919 to 1931.
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<th><strong>Third Session, 65th Congress (1919)</strong></th>
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<td><strong>S. 3125</strong></td>
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<td><strong>H. R. 15625</strong></td>
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<td><strong>S. 1536</strong></td>
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<td><strong>S. 2121</strong></td>
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<td><strong>S. 2677</strong></td>
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<td><strong>S. 2203</strong></td>
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<td><strong>S. 3950</strong></td>
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education in the preparation and payment of 
supervisors and teachers of physical education 
including medical examiners and school nurses, 
to appropriate money and regulate its expendi-
ture, and for other purposes. 
Mr. Capper; Committee on Education and Labor, 
3326.

S. 4133 
(H.R. 11724) 
(H.R. 12078) 
To amend an act entitled "an act to provide 
for the promotion of vocational education; to 
provide for cooperation with the States in the 
promotion of such education in Agriculture and 
the trades and industries; to provide for coop-
eration with the States in the preparation of 
teachers of vocational subjects; and to appro-
priate money and regulate its expenditure. 
Approved February 23, 1917."
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Education and Labor, 
4802.

First Session, 67th Congress (1921)

S. 4133 
(S. 1061) 
To amend an act entitled "An act to provide 
for the promotion of vocational education; to 
provide for cooperation with the States in the 
promotion of such education in Agriculture and 
the trades and industries; to provide for coop-
eration with the States in the preparation of 
teachers of vocational subjects; and to appro-
priate money and regulate its expenditure, 
approved February 23, 1917."
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Education and Labor, 
4802.

First Session, 68th Congress (1924)

S. 557 
(H. R. 633) 
To provide for library information service in 
the Bureau of Education.
Mr. McLean; Committee on Education and Labor, 
212.

S. 1337 
(S. 3157) 
(H. R. 3923) 
(H. R. 9589) 
To create the department of education and for 
other purposes.
Mr. Sterling; Committee on Education and Labor, 
319.

S. 1408 
(H. R. 6141) 
Same as 1061.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Education and Labor, 
321.
S. 1409 (S. 2713) (H. R. 4800) To provide for promotion of physical education in the United States through the cooperation with the States in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education, including health supervisors and school nurses, to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, and for other purposes. Mr. Fess; Committee on Education and Labor, 321.

S. 1410 To create a national university. Mr. Fess; Committee on Education and Labor, 321.

First Session, 69th Congress (1925)

S. 291 (H. R. 5000) To create a department of education and for other purposes. Mr. Means; Committee on Education and Labor, 2864.

S. 2841 (H. R. 4097) To create a department of education and for other purposes. Mr. Curtis; Committee on Education and Labor, 477. -- Debated 4690, 4696.

Extra Session, 69th Congress (1926 - 1927)

S. 5204 (H.R. 16439) Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to submit plans and estimates for the establishment of a United States college of narcotic education. Mr. Copeland; Committee on Education and Labor, 1415.

First Session, 70th Congress (1927 - 1928)

S. 1584 (H. R. 7) (H. R. 5693) (H. R. 5780) To create a department of education and for other purposes. Mr. Curtis; Committee on Education and Labor, 543.

S. 1180 To increase the proportion of the annual receipts from national forests to be paid to the States for the benefit of the public schools and public roads. Mr. McNary; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 347.

S. 1822 (H. R. 246) (H. R. 7214) To authorize the Secretary of War to transfer or loan aeronautical equipment to museums and educational institutions.
Mr. Reed of Pennsylvania; Committee on Military Affairs, 678. -- Conference Report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 9692. -- Examined and signed, 9882, 10007. -- Presented to the President, 10050. -- Approved (Public, No. 524, 10255).

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BILLS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

(1919 - 1931)

First Session, 66th Congress (1919)

H. R. 3079  Bill for establishment of division of civic training in Bureau of Education.
Mr. Nolan; Committee on Appropriations, 3976.

Extra Session, 69 Congress (1926 - 1927)

H. R. 12212  Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to dispose of obsolete aeronautical equipment to accredited schools, colleges, and universities.

Reported with amendment (H. R. 1639), 793. -- Amended and passed House, 1779. -- Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 1830. -- Reported back (S. Rept. 1413), 3011. -- Passed Senate, 3155. -- Examined and signed, 3314, 3319. -- Presented to the President, 3396. -- Approved (Public, No. 615), 4938.
Proposals for Special Education

Since 1919, federal aid to special education has been great. The matching type of federal aid became effective in 1914 when the Smith-Lever Act was passed. McCracken wrote to Congressman Jenkins on August 3, 1944, favoring federal aid to education. In his letter he attacks the matching type of federal aid, and shows the amount the different acts have designated for special education "at the expense of general education." 22

By the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 provisions were made for agricultural extension service which amounted to the sum of $4,100,000 by 1923. In 1917, the Smith-Hughes Act amounted to $7,200,000 annually by 1925. Both of these Acts were effective during the period 1919 - 1931 when federal aid to public education in general was being proposed at nearly every session of Congress.

To provide further special education Senate Bill 1731 in the first session of the Seventieth Congress (1929) was passed by both houses and approved by the President. It further increased the appropriations of the Smith-Hughes Act.

"For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, the sum of $500,000 and for each year thereafter for four years, a sum exceeding by $500,000 the sum appropriated each preceding year. One-half of such sums shall be allotted to the States and Territories in the proportion that their farm population bears to the total farm population in the United States and shall be used for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects in such States and Territories. The remaining half of such sums shall be allotted to the States and Territories in the proportion that their rural population bears to the total population of the United States, ... and shall be used for the salaries of teachers, supervisors and directors, development and improvement of home-economics subjects in such States and Territories."

One hundred thousand dollars were also appropriated to the Federal Board of Vocational Education for carrying out the provisions of this act.

The agricultural interests were aided again by federal appropriation. With that aid was implied more federal control as $100,000 was appropriated for the work of the Federal Board of Vocational Education.

The Smith-Bankhead Act had become effective June 2, 1920. It provided "for rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment." The act was introduced as Senate Bill 5038 and was proposed during the third session of the Sixty-fifth Congress by Senator Smith as an amendment to the vocational rehabilitation act approved June 27, 1918.

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23 U.S. Senate Bill 1731, Table V, p. 55.
Simultaneously special types of education were being promoted by federal matching funds while grants for public education were being turned down in Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives. The special proposals which failed to meet the approval in the respective committees of the two Houses of Congress may be found in Table V, pp. 53 – 56.

Senate Bill 3950 of the Sixty-sixth Congress proposed federal aid to support physical education, however, the committees did not report it back to the Senate for amendment or vote.

There were minor attempts to amend the acts which called for cooperation of the States in promoting agricultural education. The bill to make the amendment was proposed three times: (1) in the second session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, (2) in the first session of the Sixty-seventh Congress, and (3) in the first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress.

The dollar-for-dollar matching was not growing in popularity by 1928 as is shown in Mann's attack. Mann "holds that under the (dollar-for-dollar) fifty-fifty plan the States are simply matching fifty cents of their own money, and that in doing this they are sacrificing their own heritage of independence." Further evidence of the lack of faith in

the fifty-fifty plan will be seen in 1936 when a plan is presented for obtaining federal aid to the States. The George-Deen bill provided that the State should match fifty cents for one dollar. This amount was to be increased each year by ten cents until the States were paying on the dollar-for-dollar basis.

Practically all of the important acts from 1914 to 1931 have carried the matching provision. Special education is the only form of education materially aided during this period. All of the other proposals ended in committee or in debate.
TABLE V: SENATE PROPOSALS AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BILLS FOR SPECIAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(1919 - 1931)

Third Session, 66th Congress (1919)

S. 5038  Extending the use of the special fund for vocational education provided by Section 7 of the vocational rehabilitation act, approved June 27, 1913, and for other purposes. Mr. Smith of Georgia; reported with amendment (S. Rept. 618) 176, Debated, amended, and passed Senate 176, 177, 178. -- with amendments (House Rept. 981), 2029, -- Debated, amended, and passed house, 3599-3605. -- Senate concurs in House Amendments, 3823. -- examined and signed, 4009, 4016. -- Approved by the President (Public, No. 279), 4308.

S. 3125  To provide for further educational facilities by requiring the War Department to loan certain machine tools not in use for Government purposes to trade and technical schools and universities, and for other purposes. Mr. Caldwell, Committee on Military Affairs, 2721.

First Session, 66th Congress (1919)

S. 2344  Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to lend unused or obsolete machinery to educational institutions. Mr. Lodge: Committee on Education and Labor, 2144.

S. 2677  To provide for further educational facilities by authorizing the Secretary of War to sell at reduced rates certain machine tools not in use for Government purposes to trade and technical schools and universities, other recognized educational institutions and for other purposes. Mr. Wadsworth; Committee on Military Affairs, 2210.
Second Session, 68th Congress (1919)

S. 3950 To provide for the promotion of physical education in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education including medical examiners and school nurses, to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Education and Labor, 3328.

S. 4133 (H.R. 11724) (H.R. 12078) To amend an act entitled "an act to provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in Agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, approved February 23, 1917.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Education and Labor, 4902.

First Session, 67th Congress (1921)

S. 4133 (S. 1061) To amend an act entitled "an act to provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the States in the promotion of such education in Agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for the cooperation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, approved February 23, 1917.
Mr. Kenyon; Committee on Education and Labor, 4902.

First Session, 68th Congress (1924)

S. 1408 Same as S. 4133 of 67th Congress.
(H. R. 6141) Mr. Fess, Committee on Education and Labor, 321.

S. 1409 (S. 2713) (H.R. 4800) To provide for promotion of physical education in the United States through the cooperation with the States in the preparation and payment of supervisors and teachers of physical education, including health supervisors and school nurses, to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure, and for other purposes.
Mr. Fess; Committee on Education and Labor, 321.
Second Session, 68th Congress (1923)

S. 3873  For the promotion of prevocational education. Mr. Sheppard; Committee on Education and Labor, 1436.

First Session, 70th Congress (1927 - 1928)

S. 1822  To authorize the Secretary of War to transfer or loan aeronautical equipment to museums and educational institutions. Mr. Reed of Pennsylvania, Committee on Military Affairs, 678. -- Conference Report submitted in Senate and agreed to, 9692. -- Examined and signed, 9882, 10007. -- Presented to the President, 10050. -- Approved (Public, No. 524), 10255.

S. 1731  To provide for the further development of vocational education in the several States and Territories. Mr. George; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 677. -- Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 451) 3910. -- Amended and passed Senate, 6083. -- Referred to House Committee on Education 6218. -- Reported back (H. Rept. 1667). 8879.

Second Session, 70th Congress (1929 - 1929)

S. 1731  To provide for the further development of vocational education in the several States and Territories. Made Special Order (H. Res. 297), 2375. -- Debated 2376, 2391, 2392, 2393. -- Amended and passed House, 2391. -- Senate concurs in House Amendments, 2401. -- Examined and signed, 2430, 2478. -- Presented to the President, 2510. -- Approved (Public, No. 702). 2969.

Third Session, 71 Congress (1930 - 1931)

S. 3969  To provide for further development of vocational education in the several States and Territories, and for other purposes. Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1793), 6038. -- Debated, 6963.
H. R. 4438  To provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment.
Mr. Fess; Reported with amendment, 1312. -- Debated, amended and passed Senate 5535, 5536. -- Senate ask for conference, 5536. -- Referred to House Committee on Education, 6104. -- Reported back, 7593. -- Debated, 7593 - 7603. -- House agrees to Senate amendment, 7603. -- Examined and signed, 7739, 7780. -- Presented to the President, 7921. -- Approved (Public, No. 236), 8553.

H. R. 12212  Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to dispose of obsolete aeronautical equipment to accredited schools, colleges, and universities. Reported with amendment (H. Rept. 1638); 793. -- Amended and passed House, 1779. -- Referred to Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, 1830. -- Reported back (S. Rept. 1413), 3011. -- Passed Senate, 3155. -- Examined and signed, 3314, 3319. -- Presented to the President, 3396. -- Approved (Public, No. 615), 4938.

Mr. Reed; Committee on Education 434. -- Reported back, (H. Rept. 2076), 1706. -- Debated, 2790.
CHAPTER III

CONGRESSIONAL PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

1932 - 1946

The report of President Hoover's National Advisory Committee on Education in 1931 influenced the form of bills recommending federal aid to education. From 1931, it has been noted that there has been but one proposal for a federal department of education. Other bills have included general provisions for public education. Many of these provisions were riders on department-of-education bills and disclosed a decided shift in emphasis.

In the first session of the Seventy-second Congress (1931-1932) there was a bill (H. R. 4757) proposed for the creation of a department of education and for other purposes. The other purposes were further emphasized in later bills such as Senate Bill 4933 that had as its primary purpose the encouragement and promotion of education. Then, too, the provision for further development of vocational education was proposed by Senator Capper. No action was taken except in the Committee on Education and Labor (S. 3884) and the Committee on Education (H. R. 8241).

From the brief history of each bill in Table VI it
seems to have become evident to a few Senators and Representatives that a more unified attempt would be necessary if federal aid to public education was to be realized. To be sure it cannot be proved that many legislators did realize this need, and in the second session of the Seventy-second Congress Senate Bill 5434 proposed aid to American industry, promotion of education, and facilitation of the pursuit of the avocation of philately. In this bill both vocational and general public education were to be promoted. Again no action was taken.

Since 1933 was one of the most difficult years for obtaining support for public education, emergency action was needed. George F. Zook, United States Commissioner of Education, took steps to meet this emergency. He called a meeting of the representatives of 32 national organizations. At their meeting in Washington as the Federal Advisory Committee on Emergency Aid in Education the representatives proposed a program of relief for schools.

The committee, fully cognizant of the aid now being rendered the schools by the federal relief agencies, recommended to the administration and to congress the following six types of emergency aid to education:

"1. The emergency problem of keeping elementary and secondary schools open on as nearly normal a basis as possible during the school year 1933-1934 should be met by a federal appropriation of 50 million dollars to be
allocated according to emergency needs in the several States. This sum may be provided in one of two ways:
(a) by a special provision in the relief act or less preferably
(b) by a separate federal appropriation.
In either case such appropriation shall be administered by a board of which the U. S. Commissioner of Education shall be chairman and executive officer.

2. In view of the fact that the inability of many communities adequately to maintain schools is certain to continue during the fiscal year 1934-1935 a federal emergency appropriation or allocation of not less than one-hundred million should be made available beginning July 1, 1934; this appropriation or allocation to be distributed in an objective manner determined by a board of which the U. S. Commissioner of Education shall be chairman and executive officer, and based upon reasonable evidence of needs and resources.

3. . . . instability of educational support even in the able States and communities, due to the shrinkage of local ability to support schools during the depression constitutes an aspect of the present emergency of such proportions as to endanger the effectiveness throughout the nation . . . . "

4. Local funds should be released for school maintenance by (a) refinancing school district indebtedness, and (b) providing federal loans to school districts . . . . for educational purposes.

5. Out of any new appropriations made for public works not less than 10% shall be allocated for building schools, colleges, and other educational enterprises . . . . We recommend that grants be made on a 100 percent basis . . . . major attention should be given to the needs of the rural schools.

6. A federal appropriation or allocation of 30 million dollars should be provided to assist students to attend institutions of higher
education for the period ending July 1, 1935."

The report given by the committee gives a good background for better understanding the great number of bills introduced in the second session of the Seventy-third Congress (1934). Table VI, page 69, indicates how closely the various proposals compare with the recommendations of this committee.

There were thirteen bills introduced during the second session of the Seventy-third Congress (1934) that called for the cooperation of the federal government with the several states and territories to meet the crisis in education. In this same session H. R. 6367, H. R. 8093, H. R. 9465, H. R. 7981 each would have authorized loans to States, school districts, and boards of educations, but each failed to pass.

The successful bills for aid to education in the second session of the Seventy-third Congress were H. R. 9143 and H. R. 7059. These bills provided aid for special education and vocational education respectively. In providing educational opportunities for the children of soldiers, sailors, and marines who died during the World War I, the federal government was aiding special education.

Vocational education was extended by the federal aid granted under the act which was known as H. R. 7059 in the

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1 James H. Richmond, "American Educators Offer a Plan for Federal Aid", Congressional Digest (February, 1934), pp. 42, 43, 64.
House of Representatives (1934). This bill gave authority for the appropriation of $3,750,000. Of this sum one-third was allotted for salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agriculture on the basis of farm population, one-third on the basis of rural population, and one-third on the basis of non-rural population. Another $100,000 was provided for administration of the fund.

There were no other successful attempts to relieve the school districts in the Seventy-fourth Congress in spite of the numerous proposals enumerated in Table VI, pages 69-71. However, the National Education Association was to sponsor a bill in the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress for the general welfare. The purpose of Senate Bill 419 was "to promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs of public education." This bill was known as the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill. More reference will be made to this bill in Chapter IV when a study is made of the recommended methods of distribution of funds. This bill failed of passage and was revised to be introduced again in the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress.

The Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill in its revised form was introduced as the Thomas-Harrison Bill (S. 1305) in 1939. Its contents conform very closely to the recommendations of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education which was appointed in 1936. A report of the committee was filed
in 1938 recommending:

"General appropriations for elementary and secondary education to finally reach $140,000,000 (per) year; (2) the establishment of special federal funds to aid the States in (a) improving the preparation of teachers; (b) constructing public school buildings; (c) administering State departments of education; (d) aid to adult education; (e) extending rural library services; and (f) carrying on educational research and planning." 2

The Thomas-Harrison Bill (S. 1305) had five major provisions. Each provision had to do with grants to aid the States in specific ways. The five grants may be generally stated as follows:

1. Grants to States for the improvement of public elementary and secondary schools.
2. Grants to States for adult education.
3. Grants to States for rural library service.
4. Grants for cooperative educational research and demonstration for administration.
5. Grants for education of children residing on federal reservations. 3

There was strength behind S. 1305 during the first session of the Seventy-sixth Congress (1939). The leaders of

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3 U. S. Senate Bill 1305, First Session, Seventy-sixth Congress, Hearings of the Committee on Education and Labor, p. 2.
national organizations had drawn up the bill in such a manner that more support was promised. Although this organized support failed to bring the bill to a vote, the general interest in federal support of public education was to be seen in the repeated proposal for various aspects of public education. Included in this group of proposals were provisions for funds; for public elementary schools, public secondary schools, handicapped children, extension of opportunities in public education, evening schools and colleges, and adult civic education. 4

As new problems arise in the United States, legislators are moved to new activity. The threat of war in 1941 set the stage for a proposal known as the "National Preparedness Act of 1941." The purpose of the new bill was

"to promote national preparedness and the national welfare through appropriation of funds to assist the several States and Territories in making adequate provisions through schools for physical education, including athletics; instruction and guidance in healthful living; wider recreational use of school facilities; and the development of school camps." 5

Since the "National Preparedness Act of 1941" failed to become an act or a law, it was amended and reintroduced as S. 1313 in the second session of the Seventy-seventh Congress. On July 16, 1942, it was introduced as the "Educational

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4 Table VI, pp. 65-76.
5 House of Representatives Bill 1047, First Session, Seventy-seventh Congress, Table VI, p. 73.
Finance Act of 1942. The bill was attempting to correct the inequalities in educational opportunities which were being discovered through testing and questioning the draftees of World War II. These inequalities reemphasized the financial emergency and seemed to require provisions for federal assistance to the States. Provisions for breaking down the inequalities and for meeting the financial emergency were included in Senate Bill 1313.

"The Educational Finance Act of 1942" (S. 1313) was the beginning of a series of comparable bills. They were introduced in 1943 and 1945 -- in the Seventy-eighth and Seventy-ninth Congresses respectively. Since the state of war still existed in 1943 and 1945 and other conditions were similar, the educational acts of these two years remained fundamentally the same. Further analysis of these bills will be found later in this writing when the method and extent of financing are considered.

It is essential, however, to note briefly the two outstanding bills of the first session of the Seventy-ninth Congress. Senate Bill 181 and 717 have each proposed federal aid to education. However, the basic difference between the two bills may be stated in a word as the difference between a "public school" bill and a "private school" bill. Senate Bill 181, the "public school" bill, offers aid to public schools alone while Senate Bill 717 offers aid to non-public
schools as well as public. There are basic departures throughout the two bills in keeping with the difference just noted. Since the methods of distribution are different, further study of these two bills will appear in Chapter IV.
TABLE VI: BRIEF HISTORY OF CONGRESSIONAL PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION (1932 - 1946)

72ND CONGRESS
1931-1932

1st Session

H. R. 4757  To create a department of education and for other purposes.
Mr. Reed; Committee on Education, 165.

S. 4933  To encourage and promote education.
Mr. Metcalf; Committee on Education and Labor, 13812.

S. 3884  H. R. 8241  To provide for the further development of vocational education in the several States and Territories and for other purposes.
Mr. Capper; Committee on Education and Labor, 4937.

72ND CONGRESS
1932-1933

2nd Session

S. 5434  H.R. 14131  To foster American industry, promote education, and facilitate pursuit of the avocation of philately.
Mr. Dale; Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, 1932.

S. 5263  To amend section 201 of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932 to provide for certain loans by the RFC to aid in the support and maintenance of public schools.
Mr. George; Committee on Banking and Currency, 820.

73RD CONGRESS
1933

1st Session

H. R. 4339  To foster American industry, promote education
and facilitate pursuit of the avocation of philately.
Mr. Montague; Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, 1007.

S. 501
To amend section 201 of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932 to provide for certain loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and to aid in the support of public schools.
Mr. George; Committee on Banking and Currency, 504.

73RD CONGRESS
1934

2nd Session

H. R. 7520
To assist Public Schools in maintaining full terms, and to reimburse unpaid teachers and employees.
Mr. Cartwright; Committee on Education, 1733.

H. R. 3289
To provide Federal aid for public schools.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Education, 3273.

H. R. 9142
To aid common schools.
Mr. McSwain; Committee on Education, 6689.

H. R. 9143
Provided educational opportunities for the children of soldiers, sailors, and marines who died during the World War.
Mrs. Norton; Committee on District of Columbia 6689, Reported back (H. Rept. 1508) Passed House, 9724, 9745. Referred to Senate Committee on District of Columbia, 10070. Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1248) 10344. Amended and passed Senate, 11284. House agrees to Senate amendment, 11757. Examined and signed, 11811, 11976. Presented to President, 12259. Approved (Public, No. 435), 12453.

H. R. 6367
To promote education. (Authorizes and directs the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to accept at full face value for a loan all teachers warrants regularly issued and due for teachers' salary in the U. S. from January 1, 1933 to January 1, 1934. Rate of interest to be 3%.)
Mr. Glover; Committee on Banking and Currency, 133.
H. R. 6533  To promote education, relieve unemployment, and economic distress, and for other purposes. Mr. Swank; Committee on Education, 260.

H. R. 8093  H. R. 9485  To authorize the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans to States, School Districts, and Boards of Education. Mr. Terry; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2822.

S. 2402  To provide for the cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States and Territories and District of Columbia in meeting the crisis of Public Education. Mr. George; Committee on Education and Labor, 911.

S. 2522  Same as S. 2402 with Mr. George; Committee on Education and Labor, 1544.

S. 2837  Same -- Mr. George; Committee on Education and Labor, 2829.

H. R. 7477  Same -- Mr. Collins; Committee on Education, 1647.

H. R. 7479  Same -- Mr. Ellzey; Committee on Education, 1647.

H. R. 7525  Same -- Mr. Brown; Committee on Education, 1734.

H. R. 7873  Same -- Mr. Johnson; Committee on Education, 2379. Remarks, 4952.

H. R. 8137  Same -- Mr. Johnson; Committee on Education, 2939. Remarks, 2934.

H. R. 8219  Same -- Mr. Deen; Committee on Education, 3116.

H. R. 8433  Same -- Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Education, 3634.

H. R. 9544  Same -- Mr. Douglas; Committee on Education, 8359, Reported back, 8558.

H. R. 9786  Same -- Mr. Chase; Committee on Education, 9922.

H. R. 9907  Same -- Mr. Bloom; Committee on Education, 11106.

H. R. 7981  To authorize Reconstruction Finance Corporation to loan money to school teachers on orders issued by school districts. Mr. Keller; Committee on Banking and Currency, 2828.
H. R. 7059  For further development of Vocational Education. Mr. Elzey; Committee on Education, 907. Reported with amendments (H. Rept. 861), 3634; made special order (H. Res. 324), 7371, 7462, 7463. Debated, 7463, 7477, amended and passed House, 7477. Referred to Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 7599. Reported back (S. Rept. 874). Passed Senate, 8473. Examined and signed, 8604, 8659. Presented to the President, 8913. Approved (Public, No. 245), 9375.

S. 2119  For further development of Vocational Education. Mr. George; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 304.

H. R. 7089  For further development of Vocational Education. Mr. Jeffry; Committee on Education, 950.

H. R. 7802  For further development of Vocational Education. Mr. Black; Committee on Education, 2230.

74TH CONGRESS

1st Session

S. 3123  For relief of public-school districts and other public school authorities.

H. R. 8623  Mr. Robison; Committee on Banking and Currency


H. R. 6360  To provide aid for the operation and maintenance of adequate public-school facilities throughout the nation. Mr. Lundeen; Committee on Education, 2915.

H. R. 4990  Authorized Federal loans to non-denominational education institutions. Mr. Guyer; Committee on Banking and Currency, 1202.

H. R. 4543  To establish a National Conservatory of Music for the education of pupils in music in all its branches, vocal and instrumental, and for other purposes. Mr. Gavagan; Committee on Education, 861.
H. R. 2060 To authorize loans to maintain public schools.
Mr. Knutson; Committee on Banking and Currency, 51.

H. R. 2867 For aid in keeping elementary schools going.
Mr. Terry, Committee on Banking and Currency, 55.

H. R. 5296 To provide Federal Aid for public schools.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Education, 1457.

H. R. 6959 To provide Federal Aid for public schools.
Mr. Robison; Committee on Education, 4336.

H. R. 6201 To meet emergency needs of public schools.
Mr. Sauthoff; Committee on Education, 2643.

H. R. 6370 To establish a permanent policy of financial
cooperation by the Federal Government with the
State in promotion of the benefits of Education.
Mr. Ford; Committee on Education, 2916, remarks,
5351 -- Bill printed in Record, 5351.

2nd Session

S. 4793 To appropriate funds to assist the States and
(H. R. 13021) Territories in providing more effective programs
of public education.
Mr. Harrison; Committee on Education and Labor,
10360.

S. 3658 To provide full educational opportunities for
(H.R. 10189) high school, college, and post graduate students.
Mr. Benson; Committee on Education and Labor,
460.

H. R. 2368 To meet crisis in public education.
Mr. Terry; Committee on Education, 55.

H. R. 4552 To give aid in maintaining the public-school
4614 system and for other purposes.
Mr. Johnson; Committee on Education, 861.

H. R. 4677 To meet the crisis in public education.
Mr. Rogers; Committee on Education, 903.

H. R. 4745 To meet the crisis in public education.
Mr. Deen; Committee on Education, 1031.

H. R. 5264 To meet Educational Emergency problem.
Mr. Kenney; Committee on Education, 1456.
H. R. 5719  To equalize benefits of education.
          Mr. Lee; Committee on Education, 1991.

H. R. 5923  To equalize benefits of education.
          Mr. Lee; Committee on Education, 2259.

H. R. 6955  To equalize benefits of education.
          Mr. Deen; Committee on Education, 4336.

H. R. 8430  To meet the kindergarten crisis.
          Mr. Bloom; Committee on Education, 9030.

75TH CONGRESS
1937

1st Session

S. 419  To promote the general welfare through the appropria-
(H. R. 5962) tion of funds to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs
          of public education.
          Messrs. Black and Harrison; Committee on Educa-
          tion and Labor, ----.

S. 1355  To promote the general welfare through the appropria-
          tion of funds to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs
          of public pre-grade education.

3rd Session (1939)

H. R. 10340 (H. R. 10390) To promote the general welfare through appropriation of funds to assist the States and
          Territories in providing more effective public education.
          Mr. Fletcher; Committee on Education, 5680.

H. R. 10220 To assist and promote elementary and secondary education conducted in and by the several
          States and Territories.
          Mr. Collins; Committee on Education, 5291.

H. R. 10260 To provide for cooperative work in business education in various States and Territories
          between the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and State universities.
          Mr. Patman; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 5374.
S. 3629 (H. R. 9627)
To provide for assistance to the several States in the development of public-school-building facilities.
Mr. Schwellenbach; Committee on Education and Labor, 2354.

H. R. 9366
To promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States in establishing and developing demonstration centers in adult civic education during a 3-year period.
Mr. Randolph; Committee on Education, 1617.

H. R. 9087
To establish a U. S. post graduate medical and surgical college and research institute, to provide properly trained medical surgical and health personnel for the Military, Naval, and Public Health Services, to coordinate and improve health research activities of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.
Mr. May; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 2858.

S. 3607 (H. R. 9743)
To authorize an annual appropriation to be apportioned to the various States, Territories, and the District of Columbia to assist them in the removal of illiteracy among adults.
Mr. Hatch; Committee on Education and Labor, 2306.

H. R. 8952
To authorize an annual appropriation for adult education in evening colleges and high schools.
Mr. Kramer; Committee on Education, 490.

77TH CONGRESS
1941

1st Session

S. 593 (H. R. 106)
To promote industrial prosperity, to increase industrial employment, and to develop and conserve the natural resources by aiding and promoting research in the engineering experiment stations connected with colleges and schools of engineering in the several States and Territorial universities and colleges, and for other purposes.
Mr. Head; Committee on Education and Labor, 310.
S. 818
To provide that the funds available under the Act of June 2, 1920, as amended, for matching State funds used for vocational rehabilitation may also be used for matching State funds for physical rehabilitation.
Mr. Barbour and Mr. Smathers; Committee on Education and Labor, 821.

S. 906
To provide for Federal assistance in the States in making surveys and studies as to school building needs . . . . that will serve and encourage a modern, comprehensive educational program . . .
Mr. Lee; Committee on Education and Labor, 1095.

S. 1041
To provide for better rural homes and farm structures through further endowment of cooperative agricultural extension work, agricultural research, and residence instruction in the land-grant colleges.
Mr. Caraway; Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 1665.

S. 1313
(H. R. 1047)
(H. R. 4761)
To strengthen the national defense and promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in meeting financial emergencies in education and in reducing inequalities of educational opportunities.
Messrs. Thomas and Harrison; Committee on Education and Labor, 3055, 3059.

S. 1380
To provide for cooperation of Federal Government with colleges in providing additional facilities for the teaching of chemical engineering.
Mr. Reynolds; Committee on Education and Labor, 3300.

H. R. 4960
To provide for the transfer of surplus personal property of the United States to certain schools conducting vocational or defense training courses.
Mr. Larrabee; Committee on Education, 4729.

H. R. 4454
To aid in measures for national defense by the development and testing of new devices and materials and by directing natural resources to that end, and at all times to increase industrial employment and to enhance national prosperity by aiding and promoting research, and training of research workers in the engineering experiment stations connected with colleges and
schools of engineering in the several State and Territorial universities and colleges, and for other purposes.
Mr. Green; Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 3228.

H. R. 1070
To promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in establishing and developing programs in adult education providing for (a) removal of illiteracy, (b) naturalization education, and (c) public affairs forums, during a 4-year period.
Mr. Randolph; Committee on Education, 19.

H. R. 1100
To provide vocational guidance, vocational training, and employment opportunities for youth between the ages of 16 and 25; to provide increased educational opportunities for high school, college, and post graduate students, and for other purposes.
Mr. Marcantonio; Committee on Education, 20.

H. R. 1798
For a complete survey of the physical-education resources existing within the United States now in use as outdoor recreative and competitive areas, gymnasium, stadia, swimming pools, parks, etc., and for other purposes.
Mr. Sutphin; Committee on Education, 121.

H. R. 1825
To provide for the education of all types of physically handicapped children, to make an appropriation of money therefor, and to regulate its expenditure.
Mr. Boland; Committee on Education, 122.

H. R. 4695
To enable school districts in which real estate has been acquired by the United States for national defense purposes to maintain school facilities and other school essential services and pay principal and interest on bonded indebtedness.
Mr. Thomas; Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, 3811.

77TH CONGRESS

2nd Session

S. 1313
To strengthen the national defense and promote
the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in meeting financial emergencies in education and in reducing inequalities of educational opportunities.

Messrs. Thomas and Harrison; Committee on Education and Labor, Reported with amendments (S. Rept. 1548) 6225.

S. 2595 To provide programs of public kindergartens and nursery schools. To promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs of public kindergarten or kindergarten and nursery-school education.

Mr. Pepper; Committee on Education and Labor, 5187.

78TH CONGRESS
1943

1st Session

S. 637
(H. R. 2849) To authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in more adequately financing their systems of public education during emergency, and in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities through public elementary and secondary schools.

Messrs. Thomas and Hill; Committee on Education and Labor.

H. R. 3733 To provide for college education for qualified post-war veterans.

Mr. Barry; Committee on Education, 9975.

H. R. 2160 To provide funds to maintain educational facilities in defense areas.

Mr. Voorhis of California; Committee on Education, 1895.

79TH CONGRESS

1st Session -- 1945

H. R. 1296 Bill to authorize appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in more
adequately financing their systems of public education during the emergency, and in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities through public elementary and secondary schools. Referred to Committee in both Senate and House. "Educational Finance Act of 1945" Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck Bill.

H. R. 3116 Bill to establish a temporary agency to be known as the Commission on Emergency Federal Aid to Higher Educational Institutions, and for other purposes.
Mr. Barden.

S. 717 Bill to authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the states in more adequately financing education and in removing substandard conditions in education. To aid in establishing and maintaining education services; to eradicate illiteracy; to preserve and promote the national security in peace and in war; to raise the educational level of the Nation; and to promote the general welfare.
Mr. Mead and Mr. Aiken; Com. on Ed. and Labor, 1922. Introduced in the Senate March 8, 1945. The AFT-AFL Federal Aid Bill.

2nd Session -- 1946

S. 619 Amendment to the George Deen Act of 1936.

H. R. 4384 (Passed House and Senate at close of 79th Congress, the bill was placed on the President's desk for approval. On July 30, 1946, it had not been approved.)
CHAPTER IV

AMOUNTS AND DISTRIBUTION OF PROPOSED
AND ACTUAL FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

From the foregoing analyses of the primary purposes to be accomplished by each bill we have found that aid to education may be given in various ways. There are two special types of aid to education: (1) aids which provide for the promotion and encouragement of education through provisions for organized research and study; and (2) aids which provide for grants or matching funds to be used in improving education in the several states and in administering such funds.

The latter type of aid to education as proposed throughout the past twenty-seven years (1919 to 1946) has been determined in this study. Special attention was given to bills sponsored by the National Education Association and the successful bills for aid to special education, vocational education in particular.

Appropriations Sponsored by NEA

The Amount. The amount of the proposed appropriations
sponsored by the National Education Association from 1919 to 1946 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Bill</th>
<th>Amount of Administration</th>
<th>Amount to be Appropriated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Smith-Towner Bill</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>100 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Sterling-Reed Bill</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>100 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Curtis-Reed Bill</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>100 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Means Bill</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>100 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Nye Bill</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>100 Million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Harrison-Fletcher Bill</td>
<td>100 to 300 Million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Harrison-Fletcher Bill</td>
<td>100 to 300 Million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Thomas-Harrison Bill</td>
<td>40 to 140 Million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Thomas-Harrison Bill</td>
<td>300 Million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Schwert Bill</td>
<td>50 Million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck Bill</td>
<td>1 percent-100 to 300 Million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck Bill</td>
<td>1 percent-100 to 300 Million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>Mead-Aiken Bill</td>
<td>550 Million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The appropriations estimate was fairly constant. The variations in amounts of federal aid to be given the states for education were few. In 1919 the sum of $100,000,000 was stated as a sufficient sum to aid education and in the depression years of the early twenties found it the same. The bills appropriating federal funds did not meet with approval.
in either House of Congress as great controls were proposed at these early dates.

The appropriation of $500,000,000 was proposed by the committee of the National Education Association in 1941. At this time less and less control by the federal government was apparently attempted, however, little reduction was obvious to the Congressmen who were serving as members of the Committees on Education.

In 1945 and again in 1946 a sum or $200,000,000 was proposed for meeting the emergency due to the war. This would have become ineffective one year after the President declared the emergency over. However, $100,000,000 was to be apportioned to the states each fiscal year according to the provisions of the bill in addition to the $200,000,000.

**Methods of Distribution.** The great problem of distribution has taxed the best authorities in school finance. Naturally various solutions to the problem of proper distribution of federal aid to education have been proposed.

These proposals were drafted under two differing views: first, the view was held in the early part of the twentieth century that it was satisfactory to distribute money in proportion to the number in average daily attendance, to the number enrolled, or to the number of children of school age; and second, the view that was apparent later took into consideration the numerous variables of each locality including the educational needs and local ability to pay.
The first view was held by those who drafted the bills which were sponsored by the National Education Association from 1919, when the Smith-Towner Bill was drafted, until the Thomas-Harrison Bill of 1939. These earlier bills had recommended the distribution of a definite sum by means of a proportion. This proportion was usually based upon the number of children five to twenty or some similar age group. Section 2 of Senate Bill 419 of the first session of the Seventy-fifth Congress (1937) provided that:

"the amounts appropriated under authority of this Act . . . shall be apportioned among the States and Territories in the proportion which the number of their inhabitants aged five to twenty years, inclusive, bears to the total number of inhabitants aged five to twenty years, inclusive of all the States and Territories."

This provision and each comparable provision was accompanied by the source of the population figures upon which the appropriation would be based. In 1937 the figures of 1935 were used to compute the proposed appropriation to each state.

This system of proportional appropriation was shown to be absurd and schemes were devised to distribute funds in proportion to effort and need. This in turn has recently been expanded to give equality among the various localities.

On February 13, 1939, Senate Bill 1305 provided that

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1 Table VI, p. 66.
$40,000,000 be distributed according to a formula. The educational load and financial ability of each were necessary to compute the portion which each state should have if education were to be more nearly equalized among the states.

To determine the apportionment an index of educational load was computed from the school population as presented in the most recent census. From the 1935 census report the number of urban and rural children could be determined. The educational factors used to compute the educational load were 1 for each urban child and 1.4 for each rural child. The difference in weighting was computed from annual school reports. Since it was possible to compute what a group of educators thought to be a fair educational load index, an index of financial ability would be possible in a more concrete manner perhaps. By using these two indexes a financial need index may be computed.

Chism and Newcomer² both sought to develop an index of the taxpaying ability of states under a defensible tax system. From this defensible tax system the financial ability index for S. 1305 was computed. One-hundred percent represented the financial ability of all the states and each state had a fraction of that as their index of financial ability. Ohio, for example, had an index of 5.039 percent.

² Paul Mort and Walter Reusser, Public School Finance (1941), p. 475.
In other words, the ability of Ohio bears to the ability of the whole nation to pay as 5.039 bears to 100.000. However, 85 percent of the index of financial ability was used in the actual formula allowing for the noncollection of all of the taxes of the defensible tax system and for waste.

The difference between the index of educational load and 85 percent of the index of financial ability is the index of financial need objectively computed. This last index is applied to the total allocation giving the amount the state should receive.

**TABLE VIII: ILLUSTRATIVE DISTRIBUTION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Index of Educational Load</th>
<th>85 Percent of Financial Ability</th>
<th>Index of Need</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U. S.</td>
<td>100.000</td>
<td>85.000</td>
<td>34.914</td>
<td>$40,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>4.715</td>
<td>4.283</td>
<td>.432</td>
<td>494,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>5.320</td>
<td>2.523</td>
<td>2.797</td>
<td>3,204,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>2.741</td>
<td>.521</td>
<td>2.220</td>
<td>2,543,392</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the formula method of computing needs, the states with the greatest number of children may not be the greatest benefactors. The financial ability is a determining factor as seen in Table VIII. Ohio and Texas have similar educational loads as shown by the indexes of educational load 4.715 and 5.320

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3 U. S. Senate Bill 1305, 1939.
respectively. Yet the renumeration proposed is $494,930 for Ohio and $3,204,445 for Texas. This is a case of a great difference in ability to pay. Texas, even with an excellent tax program, is not able to support an adequate school system without outside aid. The same situation exists in Alabama which has a financial ability index of .521 and an educational load index of 2.741. Alabama would have received $2,543,392 as an equalization sum if Senate Bill 1305 had become law in 1939.

The equalization of educational opportunities has been continually stressed since 1939 in the bills sponsored by the National Education Association. In 1941, the Thomas-Harrison Bill proposed a sum which would increase to $300,000,000 to be distributed primarily for equalization. Again in 1943 the Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck Bill was sponsored to aid the needy states and raise the standards of education throughout those states. The Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck bill failed in 1943 and in 1945 made further provisions for federal aid to public education.

Further provisions for federal aid were included in the bill which was presented in the House by Representative Ramspeck on January 9, 1945. It was known as H. R. 1296 in the House. An identical bill in the Senate was S. 181. The Senate committee held a hearing on this bill which extended until 71 witnesses were heard. During this hearing opposition was keenest on the method of allotment, control and the use
of the money. The amount of federal aid was not the primary difference between the proponents and the opponents of the bill. It was the method of distribution.

Since S. 181 provided federal aid to public education, it is not difficult to understand that the National Catholic Welfare Conference opposed such use of federal funds. The position which the Catholics have supported with regard to Federal support of education was well expressed by Johnson:

"We have always been opposed to any movement which would take the direction and control of the purposes and policies of American education out of the hands of the state and the local communities and centralize them in the Federal Government. . . . . . . . . .

"As Catholics we are opposed to the principle of Federal aid to education, but if such is given, we demand our just share." 4

The opponents of the "public school" bill introduced a "private school" bill. This bill, S. 717, was strongly supported by the National Catholic Welfare Conference and led by the American Federation of Labor. This group planned to include all schools. Private and denominational schools were to receive federal aid if the first session of the Seventy-ninth Congress passed this bill. The bill did not pass.

The distribution of funds to all schools is quite a different matter than distribution of funds to public schools.

Private as well as denominational schools would receive federal aid as would public schools under the "private school" bill. Since the "public school" bill is faced with probably the greatest organized opposition since 1919, a complete analysis of the main features of S. 181 as printed in the February, 1946 issue of the Congressional Digest would clarify the differences suggested previously in this writing.

"1. How Much It Would Cost
   The Federal Government: An appropriation of $100,000,000 annually is authorized to the States for the use in public elementary and secondary schools on the basis of the formula shown below. (Sec. 2)
   The State Government: The States are not required to match any Federal funds placed at their disposal. However each State participating in the Act is required to allot no less for education to public primary and secondary schools from State revenue than it did in 1944.

"2. How Funds Are Apportioned to States
   Apportionment is made by an "equalization" formula based on the ratio of State income payments to the number of 5 to 17 year-old persons in each State. This is the formula: State:(a) Determine what percentage the number of 5 to 17-year-old persons in each State is of the total number of that age bracket in all the States. (b) Determine what percentage (percent) the total estimated income payments in each State is of the total estimated income payments of all the States. (c) Determine for each State the amount by which the first mentioned percentage exceeds 65 percent of the second mentioned percentage. That excess, if any, is the "index of financial need" for the State. Federal: (d) The actual amount apportioned a State by the Federal Government is an amount bearing the same ratio to 98 percent of the total fund as its "index" bears to the sum of the indexes of all the States. . . . (e) The remaining 2 percent of the funds are earmarked for the territories and United States held islands (Sec. 3).

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Ibid., p. 43.
3. How the Funds Could Be Used

Federal: (a) Federal agencies, departments or officers are prohibited from the control or supervision of any institution participating in this Act, and from the direction of any part of the educational program. (Sec. 1.) (b) Provisions of this Act cannot be construed to fix the limits of the public education program in any State. (Sec. 5.) State: (a) In order more nearly to equalize educational opportunities, the funds paid to a State from funds appropriated under Section 2B ($100,000,000) of this Act shall be available for disbursement by the State to local public school jurisdictions, or other State public education agencies, for all types of expenditures for public elementary schools (which may include kindergarten and nursery schools) and public secondary schools (which may include through the fourteenth grade). (Sec. 5.) (b) Authorization is made for the expenditure of 1 percent of the money received by any State for administrative purposes . . . . (c) Not less than a proportionate share of the funds, based on population, shall be made available to minority-race schools. No special funds are earmarked for teachers' pay."

Opposed to Senate Bill 181 is Senate Bill 717 with the following differences:

1. Non-public schools are included in all features of the act, as well as public schools.
2. Authorizes $550,000,000 annually -- of this amount $500,000,000 is allocated to the States on a "basis of need"; $100,000,000 is allocated (half on population basis, half on "relative need" basis) for current expenditures of transportation, library facilities, health programs, school materials, etc.; $150 million is allocated for needy students on population basis.
3. A five-man National Board of Apportionment, within Federal Security Agency, is appointed by the President, with consent of the Senate. This board formulates policies for allocation of funds (determines the "basis of need") and reviews operations of programs. The permanent secretary is the U. S. Commissioner of Education.

Ibid., p. 64.
4. No formula for distribution of funds is included.
5. Plans for buildings under this Act must be submitted to the board by State or private educational agencies for approval.
6. The Board makes rules and regulations necessary to facilitate administration.
7. Seventy-five per cent of the $300,000,000 fund (or $225,000,000) is earmarked for teachers' salaries.
8. The States are required to notify the board if the State law prohibits use of public funds in non-public schools.
9. For such States, the board appoints a trustee (nominated by the State governor) who receives and allocates funds to non-public schools. No such funds are available for teachers' salaries.

From these two bills favoring federal aid to education an accumulation of the best provisions of previous bills may be seen. They have been judged the best by students of the techniques of public school finance and students of public reactions.

Actual Appropriations to Vocational Education

Amount of Appropriations. Federal funds for education in 1941 and 1942 were computed from the census of figures for 1940 for the first time. A fairly accurate statement of the amount of federal appropriations may be obtained when the 1940 census figures have been used. Recognition must also be made that funds for further endowment and support of land-grant institutions and vocational education at the secondary school level did not increase between 1939 and
1942. It may be stated that under terms of existing laws there have been no increases from 1939 and 1942. The amount of these funds for agricultural experiment stations and agricultural extension service reached the maximum amount in 1940 under the terms of the Bankhead-Jones Act.

"The amounts provided for 1942 follow: $5,030,000 for the further endowment and support of land-grant institutions; $6,926,207 for agricultural experiment station work; $18,956,918 for cooperative agricultural extension service; $21,768,122 for vocational education at the secondary school level; and $3,030,000 for vocational rehabilitation." 8

**Methods of Distribution.** Federal funds provided for the five purposes named in the preceding paragraph are allotted to the state and territories as flat grants and on the basis of their population. Under the terms of the oldest laws the former method is used. In most cases later laws, in addition to providing specific amounts for each state and territory, provide funds for distribution to them in accordance with the population, or certain elements of the population, of each. Of the regular funds provided for 1942, $10,492,500 were allotted in the form of flat grants and $44,570,457 on

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7 Land-grant Acts, Smith-Lever Act, Smith-Hughes Act, Bankhead-Jones Act, and George-Deen Act are the principle acts providing aid to vocational education.

the basis of population, while $648,290 were used where needed for specific purposes, as determined by the official of the Federal Government in charge of their administration. 9

Let us look at the act which became effective February 5, 1929, for example. The existing Smith-Hughes Act of February 23, 1917 was amended to provide further development of vocational education in the States and Territories. Appropriations were made in addition to and subject to the same conditions as the appropriations made in the act of February 23, 1917.

"For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, the sum of $500,000 and for each year thereafter, for four years, a sum exceeding by $500,000 the sum appropriated each preceding year."

This increase was provided with definite stipulations as to the method of distribution.

"One-half of such funds shall be allotted to the States and Territories in the proportion that their farm population bears to the total farm population in the United States... and shall be used for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects in such States and Territories. The remaining half of such sums shall be allotted to the States and Territories in the proportion that their rural population bears to the total population of the United States, ... and shall be used for the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors in development and improvement of home-economics

subjects in such States and Territories."

There we sense a little of the control assumed by the Federal Board for Vocational Education under such new laws.

In 1936, The George Deen Act provided for a 4, 4, 4, 1 distribution of funds between education in vocational agriculture, vocational home-economics, trades and industry, and distributive education respectively. By the 4, 4, 4, 1 distribution is meant that $4,000,000 was authorized for vocational agriculture, $4,000,000 for vocational home-economics, $4,000,000 for trades and industry, and $1,000,000 for distributive education.

For the past ten years it has been impossible to pass bills for vocational education. Before July 30, 1946, however, in the second session of the Seventy-ninth Congress, an amendment to the George Deen Act reached the President's desk. It was known as Senate Bill 619 in the Senate and House of Representatives Bill 4384 in the House. The Committee on Education amended the Senate Bill 619 after it had passed the Senate and the exact form of the bill as it appears on the President's desk is uncertain at the time of this writing. (August 1, 1946).

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Ibid., p. 39.
Emergency Funds

A complete study or even review of emergency funds to education is not within the bounds of this study. However, it will suffice to point out a few of the aids given education in the depression era.

National Youth Administration. Total expenditures for student-aid from 1934 to 1938 amounted to nearly $37,000,000. At the peak of the program, during 1936 - 1937 school year, 435,000 high school, college and university students received aid from the National Youth Administration.

Public Works Administration. The largest part of the federal government's contribution has consisted of financial assistance to localities for the construction of school buildings.

"The total estimated cost of all school projects constructed with Public Works Administration funds is approximately $550,000,000 of which $252,000,000 or 46 percent, was supplied by local governments. Of total Public Works Administration allotments of $298,000,000, nearly $214,000,000 was in the form of nonrepayable grants and $84,000,000 in the form of loans.

"Between the years 1933 and 1937 work relief programs for repairing school buildings cost more than $125,000,000."

11

During the worst years of the depression, it was necessary to provide funds to keep schools open in many rural areas. Federal aid of this type amounted to a total of about $22,000,000.12

Civilian Conservation Corps. The Corps was established in 1933 as a form of work relief, developed a new type of public program for youth combining work with other varieties of educational experience. More than 1,800,000 young men were enrolled in the Corps during its first five years.

Such emergency activities arose out of pressures that could not be denied, and which in many cases were only made more compelling by the depression. At the same time, however, the Federal Government continued and expanded its older activities to assist education. Particularly, the grants to the States for instruction and research at the land-grant colleges, for agricultural and home economics extension work for the men, women, and children of rural areas, and for vocational education in the public schools have all been expanded in recent years. This trend of increasing educational opportunities may be expected to continue.

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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary. From a careful enumeration of the bills proposing federal aid to education, it is evident that the trend is toward more opportunities in education. Emphasis was placed on equalization as well as broadening of opportunities in education after World War I. Because of this pressure many proposals for federal aid to promote equalization of educational opportunities among the States were introduced.

The National Education Association was found to be very active along the line of aid to general public education. During the period (1919 - 1945) the bills sponsored by the National Education Association were highly unsuccessful. Although bills recommending federal aid for general public education were sponsored in each Congress, none passed.

The amounts which were proposed to aid the States ranged from $40,000,000 to $550,000,000. The latter was proposed in 1945 and is the only one of its kind. It was to provide federal aid to all schools, public and private.

Recommended methods of distributing federal aid to the States were based solely on population in 1919. From 1939 to 1946 the formula or objective method of determining
the amount to be granted to the States was proposed. The objective method took into account the need and the financial ability. By determining the method of distribution of federal funds, control of some form was inevitable.

From 1919 to 1946 there were two general methods of control advocated. Both controls were constructed as means of distributing funds equitably among the several States.

(1) The first control was the means of distributing the appropriated funds. By this method there would be a board appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate whose duty it would be to determine a just distribution of funds to the States. In other words, the provisions in the Congressional proposal necessary to achieve the latter would be to propose qualifications of the board and the duties of the same.

(2) The second was the statutory method which meant that the controls for allotting the money was legislatively determined by a formula or a simple proportion. The application of a simple fraction or proportion/the population has since 1939 appeared inadequate to equalize the educational opportunity to any great extent. As a rule, under this system, the United States Commissioner of Education would have worked directly with the treasury department to make the appropriations to the States according to the formula prescribed in the law.

The position of a federal board has been studied in
the form of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The various increases in appropriations for vocational education were distributed to the States as the board directed and as the board interpreted the laws.

**Recommendations.** After a study of the proposals for Federal aid to education, it is possible to make some far-reaching recommendations. Some of these recommendations with respect to the amount, distribution, and administration of Federal aid for education have been suggested by the Advisory Committees on Education. Others have come indirectly from bills. Since the bills were analyzed by authorities in many of the published hearings of the Committee on Education and the Committee on Education and Labor, the writer is able to draw some personal conclusions. After due consideration, these conclusions have taken the form of recommendations.

In order to greatly improve elementary and secondary education in the poorer districts general Federal aid to public education is recommended. The schools most in need of additional funds, however, are least prepared to spend them effectively. With this in mind the general Federal aid, opposed to special Federal aid, for elementary and secondary schools should be started as small grants. These small grants would be important not because of their size, but rather because of their objective. They would be provided primarily
for the purpose of improving the schools that are least satisfactory. To improve the schools requires cooperation of the States and their department of education.

The grants would be made available to the States for general use in the current operation and maintenance expenses of public elementary and secondary schools. To assure the proper use of the taxpayers' money, the Federal Government must aid in the distribution within the States until the object of distributing such funds is well understood. State aid has been accepted as an equalizing fund in a State which aids the poorer county at the expense of the wealthier county. Perhaps it is not inconceivable, then, that eventually such a cooperation between the States and the Federal Government would be attained.

For each State a State plan of distribution would be prepared jointly by the State educational authorities and the United States Office of Education. This action would be directed toward the equalization plan which would divide the funds among the local school districts so as to lessen, most effectively, the inequalities of opportunity for elementary and secondary education.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


An excellent study of the abilities of the states to pay for education throughout the period 1922-1932.

Congressional Record. Vol. 58 to 91; May 19, 1919 to June 8, 1945.

The indexes give brief histories of all proposals that are introduced in the United States Congress.


Discusses the varying public relations with private schools at all levels in the 48 states. The Catholic viewpoint is stressed.


A study in which a formula is derived for the computation of an equitable distribution of funds to the poorer school districts.


An investigation of educational need and relative ability of states to support education as it bears on the matter of federal aid to education.

This chapter discusses the amount and distribution of federal aid to the states.


Summarizes various federal aids to education.

**Magazine Articles**


A review of pro and con arguments concerning federal aid to education.


A brief summary of congressional proposals for federal aid to education and an analysis of the bills of the 79th Congress are given.


Gives an analysis of the Fess-Kenyon bill which advocated a Department of Public Welfare with a cabinet officer.

**Bulletins**


Discusses the federal expenditures for education in detail.

Lists regularly recurring appropriations for education as well as emergency appropriations as a specialist in school finance would interpret it.


Leads statistically to the conclusion that financial aid from the federal government is needed by many of the poorer states.


Summarizes the appropriations made to education by the federal government up to the end of 1942 fiscal year.


Summary of all appropriations made to education in 1944.


Part I summarizes conclusions, pro and con, of the committee concerning federal aid to education under 12 headings. Part II presents a complete and detailed picture of federal participation in school support.

Federal Support for Education, The Issues and the Facts, National Education Association, Research Division,
Vol. 15, No. 4, September, 1937, pp. 155-183.

The proposals sponsored by the National Education Association which provide for federal aid to public education are analyzed.


Summarizes concisely some of the major provisions for federal aid to education.