

SPEECH OF
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(Concluded from 1st page.)

judgment upon any policy, beneficial or injurious to the commonwealth. This Government has been preserved thro' the predominance of general intelligence, and all will concede that it would long since have disappeared had ignorance and illiteracy dominated.

There are several hundred thousand of illiterate colored citizens in the Southern States who were suddenly granted the obligations of citizenship without knowledge of its duties and responsibilities, and the number is increasing. This mass of ignorance suddenly granted the highest boon in the power of mankind, American citizenship, may join a dangerous crusade against the best interests of the whole country. It is a lurking enemy around the basis of republican institutions, and a powerful element, if left alone, that may strike our Federal system and threaten civil liberty. It is a mercenary and menacing power that may be ready to rend the Constitution itself.

I ask, does not the whole Constitution as a means of Government, permit the exercise of power to preserve itself? Can this organic law be dissolved because there is no express power therein given to preserve it against any pre-conceived contingency? Then the foundation of republican government is being undermined, shall we say there is no power given to preserve it? Does not the organization of this Government as a whole carry with it, at all times, inherent power, which may be exercised for its own safety?

I answer, is not the power of preservation innate, inwro't in the organization, so as to be inseparable from the Government itself, inseparable as the inherent qualities of the magnet? inseparable as the inherent rights of men to life and liberty? Is not preservative power so interwoven in the great framework that it can not be excluded? I would say, preserve the Constitution and the Federal Government by express powers, if any there be, but if none, still preserve the Government, though in doing so employed means not named in the organic laws, yet I would have the Government left to all by the exercise of them.

When the very foundation of this Government, to wit, intelligence and virtue of the people is being affected by growing illiteracy, can not power be rightfully exercised to prevent its continuance and preserve the structure? The central life of government holds ready all power on earth for its own preservation. Allay there is ample power of preservation against all armed warfare. But is it the idea that the only mode of preservation is force, military force? Can not there be peaceful means used to preserve the Government, or is the military force the only one? When the increasing illiterate population, white and black, now numbering over 2,000,000 voters, uniting with powerful factions, give consent for some other worse form of government, then it is too late for peaceful remedies.

The will of the people to dissolve this Government for another is irresistible and there would be no contest about it, but if the will of the people is an intelligent one, an enlightened one, the theory is it would stand as the best ever founded by mankind, but an illiterate or ignorant will might destroy the best for the worst ever produced. War powers, not given by any law, may be exercised as a State necessity. Peace powers may be assumed as a state necessity. For the Government may be peacefully dissolved as well as forcibly by war. The Government has a right to fortify itself against the attack of growing illiteracy, and in doing so it aids itself. When intelligence is generally diffused the Constitution is aided and strengthened. Is that a harmful exercise of power? I think not, because it gives me my Government, after its exercise, found than it was before, and that can not be a

violation of the Constitution.

The manumitted slaves enfranchised forced and unexpected mass of illiteracy into a political power in the affairs of government. It was the result of state necessity, which continues its self to make this new political force an intelligent and supportive power to the Government. We are brought face to face with a proposition that undermines the Government and all its civil institutions. All will admit that class ignorance and general illiteracy is inimical to a government founded on popular intelligence. It has contempt for law and all government policy, and is a sure element of disturbance and destruction wherever found. Men exclaim there is no danger, that the illiterate population is impotent for evil. I answer that the illiterate population of the whole country is a powerful factor for evil. It now holds the balance of political power.

The census returns of 1880 show 10,000,000 voters in the United States and Territories. The total number over 21 years of age who can not read or write is 4,004,363, of whom 2,056,463 are whites and 2,147,900 are colored, including 300,000 Indians and 100,000 Asiatics. Assume one half are females, which leaves over 2,000,000 illiterate voters who can not write their names or read their ballots. The illiterate voters constitute one-fifth of the whole voting population; one voter in five can not read his ballot or write his name. Generally they are in the power of low demagogues, and possess no higher aim than prejudice, jealousy, and revenge. They can not tell the Constitution of their country, if under the eye, from the advertisement of a horse jockey. They know nothing of the laws of the State wherein they reside. To them the Declaration of Independence is a dark blank and the Bill of Rights an enigma. I read a part of the report of the committee on this subject:

The illiterate voters of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, to short of every Middle, Southern, and most of the Western States, have power, if combined, to decide any political issue that is now, or for years is likely to be pending between political parties. They represent ten of our fifty millions of people.

States and Territories.	White.	Col'd.	Total.
Alabama	60,174	206,572	267,652
Arizona	3,550	883	3,633
Arkansas	50,294	88,444	116,679
California	22,625	23,100	44,725
Colorado	7,055	465	7,590
Connecticut	23,339	1,495	24,835
Dakota	3,20	458	3,664
Delaware	6,462	7,835	14,297
District of Columbia	8,849	19,416	28,265
Florida	10,885	67,733	78,618
Georgia	71,993	247,318	319,011
Idaho	510	945	1,455
Illinois	99,356	10,397	109,753
Indiana	77,076	8,906	85,982
Iowa	35,815	1,958	37,773
Kansas	17,751	1,162	18,913
Louisiana	13,733	90,738	105,461
Maine	34,81	178,789	213,601
Maryland	16,234	833	16,569
Massachusetts	34,155	66,957	100,512
Michigan	84,291	3,738	87,948
Minnesota	27,455	7,695	35,150
Mississippi	27,78	208,123	235,911
Missouri	89,9	40,57	130,361
Montana	5	777	782
Nebraska	7,6	496	8,31
New Hampshire	1,48	3,445	4,923
New Jersey	10,65	81	10,736
New Mexico	37,3	7,844	45,192
New York	33,6	5,309	38,882
North Carolina	182,6	10,134	192,184
Ohio	116,4	174,550	260,591
Pennsylvania	12,61	14,158	106,768
Rhode Island	12,299	13,551	19,850
South Carolina	18,611	1,131	19,750
Tennessee	34,335	200,063	231,408
Texas	116,793	126,939	245,732
Utah	65,117	121,827	186,944
Vermont	5,884	516	5,980
Virginia	12,295	13,401	25,696
Washington	17,004	214,349	262,353
West Virginia	45,340	7,539	53,879
Wisconsin	45,798	46,173	91,971
Wyoming	285	144	429
Total	2,056,463	2,147,900	4,204,363

—Including Indians and Asiatics.

The people who intelligently support the General Government have a right to ask aid to arrest the growth of illiteracy. Their social relations, their business affairs, their personal safety are threatened by this element growing in their midst. There was a time when a certain class in Europe and America refused education of their children. Now they ask for it not only on account of its elevating influence over the vices and on mind and morals, but for the aptitude and intelligence it gives to the manner of labor. They know now that an intelligent laborer is worth more than an ignorant one the world over. Intelligent labor means quick work, better work, and more work. An intelligent carpenter or bricklayer will do more and better work than an ignorant one, command better wages and higher respect of the employer, all of which inter-as-regard and dignity for labor. In every business relation the intelligent laborer is the best and safest employee makes more for his employer, makes better wages for himself, and is a better citizen. The poor workmen of overcrowded Europe see the preferment of intelligent labor because of correctness of work and the saving of materials to the employer, and are using all means at command to educate their children. The old governments have responded liberally to their call, as I show by the following statistics beginning with France:

Government aid to primary education — In 1860 the Government aid to primary education amounted to 3,424,036 francs; in 1870 (under the empire) 817,513 francs; in 1877 (under the republic) 2,035,760 francs. In 1882 the Government aid will be about 50,000,000 francs for primary education. During the two weeks from April 15 to April 30, 1882, the Government has spent 1,241,855 francs for new school-houses. The total amount spent by the Government alone in 1881-82 for all phases of instruction amounts to 114,353,841 francs, or \$22,717,880.

2. BELGIUM.

The following table shows the Government grants to education from 1881 to 1882:

Frances.	217,000
1843	466,000
1845	711,000
1852	1,230,000
1857	1,689,000
1864	3,707,000
1870	6,525,000
1878	11,500,000
1882	20,4,000

These statistics show that foreign governments aid the poorer classes to

The population of Belgium is 5,403,000.

In 1880, when Belgium separated from Holland, there were only 1,149 public primary schools. In 1875, there were 4,152 public primary schools and 2,615 adult schools. In 1877 41,06 per cent of the conscripts were illiterate; in 1881, 35,35 per cent; and in 1882, only 19,59 per cent.

3. ITALY.

Italy has a population of 28,209,620 and a school population (6-12) of 4,27,282. Of this number 2,057,977 attend school, against 1,604,978 in 1879. The number of public elementary schools has risen from 32,782 in 1880 to 41,108 in 1879. The annual grant to these schools in 1882 is 31,000,000 lire (\$6,200,000). The 7,422 private elementary schools receive no state aid. In 1878 the Government grant was 15,000,000 lire (\$3,000,000); in 1876 20,000,000 lire (\$4,000,000); and in 1875, 24,000,000 lire (\$4,800,000). This shows an increase of 16,000,000 lire or \$3,200,000 since 1873.

The above grants are made in addition to large buildings and gardens given for educational purposes in nearly every city and town of the kingdom.

According to the census of 1861, out of a population of 21,777,234, there were 16,939,701 who could neither read nor write — 7,839,238 males, and 9,110,463 females.

In 1871, out of a population of 2,860,144, there were 19,533,792 who could neither read nor write.

The present minister of public instruction has taken energetic steps to provide accommodations for all the children of school age, and to enforce the law which makes attendance at school obligatory for all children between the ages of 6 and 12.

4. ENGLAND.

The annual parliamentary grants to elementary schools in England and Wales was, in 1840, £30,000; in 1850, £10,110; in 1858, £668,873, in 1862, £774,748; in 1863, £831,366, in 1866, £649,006; in 1867, £682,201; in 1868, £680,429; in 1869, £40,711; in 1870, £913,721; in 1873, £1,313,078; in 1875, £1,566,271; in 1877, £2,127,720; in 1879, £2,733,404; in 1882, £2,749,863.

The number of schools has risen from 16,751 in 1872 to 17,14 in 1880; the number of seats, from 2,897,745 in 1872, to 4,240,753 in 1880; and the average number of children in attendance from 1,445,326 in 1872 to 2,50,916 in 1880.

The population of England and Wales is 25,968,286.

5. SCOTLAND.

Population, 3,734,370. The parliamentary grant to elementary schools amounts to £4,852 for 1882-83. The number of elementary schools has increased from 1,962 in 1873 to 3,056 in 1880; the number of seats from 267,412 in 1872 to 602,054 in 1880, and the number of children in average attendance from 206,90 in 1872 to 44,618 in 1880.

6. IRELAND.

Population, 5,159,839. Number of elementary schools, 7,522. Number of pupils, 1,081,905. The parliamentary grants for popular education in Ireland amounted to a total of £9,948,669 in the ten years 1860-69; in 1868 it was £270,195; in 1872 £243,390; and in 1882-83 it amounts to £729,865.

7. PRUSSIA.

Population, 27,25,067. The government expenditure for education amounts to \$11,458,256 in 1882, against \$10,000,000 in 1861. As nearly all the Prussian schools derive income from endowments, the government grants are chiefly devoted to the establishment of new schools and the improvement of old ones.

8. RUSSIA.

Russia with a population of 73,500,000, and a school population of 15,000,000 has only 2825 elementary schools and 2,123,325 pupils. The annual government grant to all grades of schools amounts to \$9,000,000. Of this amount only \$475,000 is devoted to elementary education. The finances of Russia exhibit large annual deficits, caused partly by an enormous expenditure for war, and partly by the construction of railways. According to official returns, the total war outlay incurred by Russia during the four years 1876-79 amounted to \$72,984,625.

The mass of the population of Russia is as yet without education. In 1860, only two out of every hundred recruits levied for the army were able to read and write, but the proportion had largely increased in 1870, when eleven out of every one hundred were found to be possessed of these elements of knowledge.

10. AUSTRIA.

Education until recently was in a backward state in Austria, the bulk of the agricultural population, constituting two-thirds of the empire, being almost entirely illiterate. During the last twelve years, however, the Government has made vigorous efforts to bring about an improvement by founding new schools at the expense of the state wherever the conveniences were too poor. A law was passed in 1868 making education obligatory for all children between the ages of 6 and 14.

The Government expenditure for primary education amounted to \$2,300,000 in 1870 to \$6,500,000 in 1881. In this connection, as illustrating the educational impulse moving the whole British Empire, we annex the following table of schools in the Province of Ontario:

The population of Ontario is 1,011,460, and the school population 49,824. In 1844 there were 2,500 in the province, 2,505 schools, with 93,756 pupils; in 1875 5,000 schools, with 494,655 pupils; and in 1880, 5,454 schools, with 596,855 pupils. The total expenses for education were \$275,000 in 1844, \$2,297,794 in 1851, \$3,258,125 in 1873, \$3,483,210 in 1875, and \$4,426,267 in 1880.

It will be observed that in every instance cited the nation assumes the duty and exercises the power not only of assisting but of controlling the subdivisions which makes up the whole and provides for compulsory attendance of the child. The principle is, fully recognized that when the general welfare demands, individuals and subdivisions must submit, if necessary for any cause, to receive compulsory blessing, coupled with which is the duty which implies the right of the whole to provide for the protection and safety of all the parts by the utmost