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Floyd Wesley Reeves

ABSTRACT

FLOYD WESLEY REEVES: PIONEER IN SHAPING FEDERAL LEGISLATION IN SUPPORT OF ADULT EDUCATION

By

Carl T. Pacacha

This research is a study of the contributions of one man, Dr. Floyd Wesley Reeves, to the formulation of a national public policy toward education. National committees directed by Dr. Reeves made recommendations which were incorporated into federal legislation for education. Among the many committees were the Advisory Committee on Education and the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel. Particular attention was devoted to his role in formulating proposed federal legislation for education during the decade 1935-1945. One of his unique contributions related especially to federal involvement in the education of adults. As a pioneer in federal legislation for education, Dr. Reeves drafted proposals contained in one major law, the "GI Bill," and developed other proposals which were incorporated into other laws enacted over a period of three decades, 1938-1968. The effect

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of these enactments on education is pervasive; each level of education--elementary, secondary, higher, and adult--has benefited.

This study investigated: (1) the emergence of Dr. Reeves as a spokesman for education during the period, 1935-1945, (2) recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education (which he headed) for improving the quality of schools, (3) the proposed Federal Aid to Education Act of 1939, which embodied many of the recommendations of this committee, (4) the work of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel, 1942-43, (5) proposals of the Conference (which he headed) which resulted in the GI Bill of Rights, and (6) major recommendations contained in the Advisory Committee Report of 1938, which were enacted over the next three decades.

Data was gathered chiefly from recorded interviews with Dr. Reeves, from his personal accounts, addresses, publications, and correspondence, from interviews and correspondence with associates and government officials, from government documents, from minutes and published reports of the Advisory Committee and Conference on Postwar Readjustment, and the legislative history (bills, committee reports, Congressional Record, etc.) of federal enactments in support of adult education.

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Employing the "great man" theory of history, which posits that certain individuals possess qualities that make them capable of serving great social purposes, this study investigated the role played by Dr. Reeves in the development of national policy for education. The study sought to determine: (1) the process by which national educational policy evolves, and (2) the role of educators themselves in influencing that policy. By virtue of his leadership ability and the operative social forces of a given period, Dr. Reeves had a marked influence on the course and outcome of national educational policy. During time of depression, war and national transition, he developed a master plan for education.

The most significant contribution of Dr. Reeves toward the development of a national educational policy was that he sketched in broad strokes plans which have led to a vast, new chapter in the federal government's relationship to education. While he made major contributions to the development of federal support for education generally, through the confluence of his own personal convictions and the impingement of major social forces of the period, adult education became the first and major realization of his effort.

Dr. Reeves developed a master plan for education during periods of national stress. He had the capacity to work with individuals and agencies and effect consensus

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and coordination of effort. He demonstrated courage and perserverance through the long, tedious process of en-acting legislation. Possessing creativity, flexibility and imagination, Dr. Reeves was able to convert apparent obstacles to a platform of seizing opportunity for national policy. He had the capacity to merge his "blue-print" for education with the strongly held plans of others to advance his interests while serving the interests of potential antagonists. In addition to his bold plans, he had some critical and innovative ideas that were incorporated into later legislation: impacted areas, child benefit theory, and equality for Negro-Americans. Dr. Reeves emphasized problems in rural America, where many educational problems originate.

This study makes no claim that Dr. Reeves and his colleagues were solely responsible for the legislation that evolved from 1938-68. There were many social forces which necessitated, and many creative leaders who designed and promoted increased aid for education. Evidence has been discovered to suggest that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and other educational legislation were facilitated by the Advisory Committee Report.

In the process of conducting this study it became clearly evident that Dr. Reeves made many other contributions to education and which deserve to be

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studied. Six have been identified: (1) role in shaping social policy in the Tennessee Valley Authority, (2) influence in establishing continuing education programs for leadership in metropolitan government, (3) influence on higher education, (4) contributions to general education in colleges and universities, (5) role in the growth of Michigan State University, (6) contribution to international education.

Results of this research should contribute to an increased awareness of the contributions of Dr. Reeves in influencing the provisions of federal legislation for adult education. In doing so it should illuminate the strategic significance of one man's work in influencing public policy.

On the basis of the evidence discovered, this study demonstrates that a man who possessed a burning commitment to federal aid to education, and who performed with excellence in strategic governmental positions during times of national crises, has had a significant influence on the character and availability of education in America over the past thirty years. Through his zeal and ability in enlisting others in resolving major educational problems, he was able to promote, and to a certain degree, implement the American ideal of equality of educational opportunity for children, older youth, and adults.

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Educational problems brought about by social change require the intervention of a perceptive leader who can facilitate the solution of these problems. He can bring about significant change through his mental and moral qualities, his talent and knowledge, his resoluteness and courage. The professional educator who possesses these unique qualities of leadership, useful precisely at a given time, can significantly influence the course of education.

FLOYD WESLEY REEVES: PIONEER IN SHAPING FEDERAL
LEGISLATION IN SUPPORT OF ADULT EDUCATION

By

Carl T. Pacacha

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

College of Education

1970

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The writer is deeply indebted to the chairman of his Doctoral Committee, Professor Russell J. Kleis. The careful and wise guidance he provided as well as his generosity with his precious time, are particularly appreciated.

Grateful acknowledgment is also due the members of the Doctoral Committee: Drs. Clyde Campbell, Albert Levak, Richard Featherstone, Jay Artis and George Johnson, for their support and encouragement.

He wishes to express appreciation to Miss Betty Hopkins, documents librarian at Wayne State University, for her valuable services.

To Mom and Tut, who were denied an adequate formal education, he is deeply grateful. Their inspiration and guidance were ever present.

Most importantly, the writer wishes to express gratitude to his wife Joan for her quiet encouragement and support. He also wishes to thank Susan and Janet, his two children, for their patience and understanding while Daddy was "going to school."

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CHAPTER I

THE PROFESSIONAL LEADER AND THE SHAPING OF FEDERAL POLICY ON EDUCATION

Federal policy is rapidly becoming a dominant force in determining the character and availability of education for both children and adults in the United States. With the advent of great social changes in America and the world, concern for education has expanded, gradually at first and then quite dramatically, from state and local arenas to become a major item of national policy. The well-being and security of the nation are being seen as inextricably tied to education. Important policy decisions are being made now that will shape education for years to come. It becomes imperative that educators understand more fully:

1. the process by which national educational policy evolves, and
2. the role of educators themselves in influencing that policy.

It has been the purpose of this study to investigate the involvement of one professional education leader, Floyd Wesley Reeves, in the formulation of federal policy in support of adult education, to examine the roles he

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filled, the strategies he employed, the forces he encountered, the influence he appears to have exerted, and the implications of his experiences for the involvement of professional adult educators in shaping federal educational policy.

The Shaping of Federal Educational Policy

The establishing of educational policy, in the United States, especially with respect to elementary and secondary education, has traditionally been confined to the state and local levels. The concept of state responsibility and local control has prevailed. Local tax support has provided the financial base for school operation. However, local school districts have increasingly had to depend upon the state for additional appropriations and within the decade of the 1960's federal grants have become essential components of many local school budgets.

The financial needs of adult and higher education institutions have also greatly increased in recent years. With larger enrollments, an increased sense of social significance, and an increased demand for services, adult and higher education have had to look to the national treasury for needed support. Often and

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increasingly financial resources for adult education¹ have been provided from federal sources. Legislation in support of adult education is not always highly visible. It is frequently incorporated with that supporting children and youth education, or in enactments not popularly identified as "education" legislation at all.

The education of children and that of adults are interdependent. One measure of the effectiveness of childhood education is the extent to which education is continued in some form or another in later life. On the other hand, well-developed programs of adult education have an important effect upon school attendance and performance of children. A program of adult education that effectively enlists the interests of parents usually contributes to a heightened interest in education for all in the community. Such interdependency appears to have been acknowledged by Congress in enacting such recent legislation as the Economic Opportunity Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

¹Within the present context adult education includes all the planned and organized educational endeavors that are sponsored by public and private agencies for older youth and adults for whom education is no longer their principal occupation. Adult education programs include provision for civic, general, and vocational education, in addition to citizenship education for aliens, basic education, and library and counseling services for out-of-school youth and adults. The various programs of education for veterans are specifically included.

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Federal policy for education evolves out of basic societal forces, such as population mobility, technological advancement, war, and depression. These forces are not local in character; they are national and international in scope. To meet the problems created by these social forces, local communities or special interest groups traditionally undertake to effect change in educational policy. Many communities and interest groups are likely to undertake such efforts simultaneously. The efforts are often taken up by privately or publicly sponsored task forces, such as the Conant study of high schools or a Presidential advisory committee. Such "antecedent movements"¹ develop proposals which commonly generate conflict and political action among community or special interest groups. As articulators of social concerns, local, state, and national interest groups (often already formed) coalesce to champion their cause² and to seek national political resolution of the policy issues.

¹Roald F. Campbell, Luvern L. Cunningham and Roderick F. McPhee, The Organization and Control of American Education (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1965), p. 37.

²Philip Meranto, The Politics of Federal Aid to Education in 1965 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967), Chapter I.

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Schattschneider¹ contends that politicized conflict is never confined to the original combatants. Observers enter the conflict and as more and more people become involved, the issues become more complex. As the scope of the conflict is enlarged from the local center it tends to move to the national capital, where it may or may not be resolved. Proposed legislation is advanced; proponents and opponents contend; and relevant social forces contend in a swirl of activity surrounding and converging upon the President and the Congress. Decisions determining the outcome of the conflict are made at the vortex of the struggle, in the committee and floor votes of the federal Congress.

Through such a process, often requiring many years to be completed, proposals are modified and adopted by the dominant group and are incorporated into national policy for education. This process is depicted in the following paradigm:

A Flow Chart on Policy Formation in Education²

I	II	III	IV
Basic Forces	Antecedent Movements	Political Action	Formal Enactment
Social, economic, political, and technical	Usually national in scope, such	By organizations usually interrelated	May be at local, state and national

¹Elmer Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People (New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1960), Chapter I.

²Campbell, et. al., op. cit., p. 37.

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I	II	III	IV
nological forces, usually national or worldwide in scope	as the Nation- al Manpower Commission, Rockefeller Bros. study, Conant studies, etc.	at local, state, and na- tional levels, such as U. S. Chamber of Commerce, AFL- CIO, and NEA	levels; and through le- gislative, judicial, and execu- tive agencies.

The role of the individual leader in such a complex, long-range, amorphous process is not easy to understand. Can one man, operating as a professional or political leader, significantly influence the process and its outcome? If so, what is the nature of the influence and by what strategies and under what conditions is it most likely to be effective? This study has sought new insight into those questions by examining selected leadership roles of Dr. Floyd Wesley Reeves.

The Individual Leader in the Shaping of Federal Policy

A number of scholars have formulated "great man" theories of leadership. The social determinists' theory appears to offer an appropriate conceptual model for organizing and presenting the development of federal legislation for adult education. According to that theory, great men, by virtue of particular traits of character which make them most capable of serving great social needs of their times, play a significant part in historical development. The fact that great men can and do make

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history is dependent on the social setting, on the major social forces operative. In addition to the social forces and conditions at work--they are always at work--the articulation of goals and formulating of means require the great man to initiate, organize, and lead. The unique talent of a man and the social forces of a given period combine to produce the historic step.

For a man who possesses a particular kind of talent to influence greatly the course of events, two conditions are needed:

First, this talent must make him more conformable to the social needs of the given epoch than anyone else. Second, the existing social order must not bar the road to the person possessing the talent which¹ is needed and useful precisely at the given time.

Such a man in a democracy is a pioneer in the sense that he sees further than others and his will to action is stronger. His knowledge of what must be done to achieve what he sees is more certain. As a result he usually finds himself in a minority. His sense of purpose causes him to fight for his view. A loyalty to the democratic ideal compels him to make this view the common ideal of the majority.

¹Georgi Plekhanov, in Theories of History, edited by Patrick Gardiner (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 160-161.

The Role of Floyd Wesley Reeves

On September 19, 1936, Dr. Floyd Wesley Reeves was appointed by President Roosevelt to direct a study of vocational education programs financed by the federal government. The study group, known as the President's National Committee on Vocational Education, was to present recommendations on the need for an expanded program of federal aid to vocational education. After careful study the Committee decided that it could not adequately study vocational education separate from the whole of education and requested that the President authorize the more complete study they deemed to be necessary.

The President had given much thought to the general relationship of the federal government to education (a number of general education bills were pending in Congress) and directed on April 19, 1937, that the Committee enlarge its study to include the total subject of the federal relationship to state and local conduct of education. The enlarged committee was renamed the Advisory Committee on Education. Dr. Reeves and his colleagues set out to study the broader problems facing American education.

The Advisory Committee Report was submitted to the President, who forwarded it to Congress on February 23, 1938. With slight modification the Report's contents were incorporated into Senate bill 1305. (Federal Aid

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to Education Act of 1939). Although the proposals contained in the Bill were not enacted in 1939, many of them were eventually passed during the next three decades. Some of the provisions later included in the GI Bill were suggested by the Advisory Committee.

Servicemen returned to civilian life by the millions at the close of World War II. Though many of them left as youths, they returned as men and women. After having been trained to function successfully in war, they needed a similar form of preparation to function well in peacetime.

In 1942 Dr. Reeves became chairman of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel. Because of the realization that unpreparedness for peace could bring calamity as great as unpreparedness for war, the Conference set out to consider the reorientation of veterans and civilians to peacetime living. Many of the proposals of the Conference were incorporated in the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944,¹ commonly referred to as the "GI Bill."

The GI Bill was popularly conceived as a program designed to assist in the readjustment of veterans. In the fullest sense the provisions set forth in the Bill were not merely repayment of a debt to individuals; they

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went beyond that both in intent and in outcomes. They constituted a national program to equalize educational opportunity, a dream long held by architects of social reform. The Bill represents a great advancement for adult education in the United States and for the principle that the education of a citizen should be determined by ability, and not be his economic or social station.

Traditionally, education in America had been an activity reserved largely for the more affluent. The cost of education, especially higher education, had precluded many individuals from achieving it. By its provisions that any young man or woman inducted into military service before reaching the age of 25 years was presumed to have had his or her education interrupted, that every veteran with a discharge other than dishonorable was entitled to at least one year of further education, and that older veterans could quite readily qualify for educational benefits beyond the one year minimum, the GI Bill assured to these veterans as adults a level of education that had been neither available to nor desired by many of them as youths.

Dr. Reeves' leadership in the shaping of federal policy was especially active during a time of national depression and transition, the period of 1935-1945. Conditions were such that a perceptive and powerful man

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was needed to articulate goals and propose means by which American education might become adequate to the new requirements upon it. Dr. Reeves was an instrument of historical forces; the meaning of his acts on behalf of federal aid to adult education must be comprehended primarily in terms of historical trends that have commenced in the past, encompass the present, and point to the future.

Appointed to direct the work of national committees, Dr. Reeves responded to a social imperative of his time--the improvement of the American education enterprise, and within it, adult education.

Dr. Cyril Houle, eminent adult educator and former student of Dr. Reeves, comments about his mentor as a pioneer:

He had a capacity to come to the right decision on the basis of insufficient evidence . . . the basis of all innovative leadership, for the pioneer must act before all the data are in . . . I was constantly astounded by Dr. Reeves' capacity to do just that--and then be proved right.¹

Purpose and Plan of the Study

This study sought to determine the extent and nature of the influence of Dr. Reeves on national policy in support of adult education. Specifically, it has sought answers to the following questions:

¹Cyril Houle, letter to Carl Pacacha, June 20, 1969.

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1. What factors led to the emergence of Dr. Reeves as a policy designer for education during the period, 1935-1945?
2. What were Dr. Reeves' special contributions as chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education and of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel?
3. What was the role of Dr. Reeves in advancing proposals of the Advisory Committee from the time they were submitted to the President until the Federal Aid to Education Act of 1939 was finally defeated in Congress?
4. What was the role of Dr. Reeves in advancing the proposals of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel from the time they were submitted to the President until they were enacted?
5. What linkages can be identified between the proposals of the Advisory Committee on Education and the Conference and the provision in later federal legislation, 1940-1968?
6. What role, if any, did Dr. Reeves play with respect to the 1940-1968 developments?

The basic problem of this study, then, is to determine what influence Dr. Floyd Reeves has had upon the enactment and the provisions of federal legislation in support of adult education.

Answers to these questions should lead to a better understanding of the role of one man in influencing federal policy toward adult education as it has evolved over the past thirty years. As an exemplar of educators who have helped shape national policy for education, Dr. Reeves' life and work are richly instructive. Not only were his contributions significant in their own

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right; they also offer unique opportunity for educators to gain new insight into the shaping of federal policy toward education.

Overview of the Dissertation

This chapter has identified a conceptual framework and specific questions which form a construct for chapters to follow. The remainder of this work focuses on Dr. Floyd Reeves and his pioneering role in shaping federal policy in support of adult education. In Chapter II a review of the history of federal involvement in education is presented. A biographical sketch of Dr. Reeves is presented in Chapter III. It highlights those events in his life which prepared him for the leadership responsibilities he was to undertake in Washington. Chapter IV discusses the influence of Dr. Reeves as chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education and presents the recommendations of the Committee. Chapter V provides information about the subsequent actions taken in Congress with respect to the proposals of the Advisory Committee and Dr. Reeves' efforts on behalf of them. Chapter VI relates the influence of Dr. Reeves as chairman of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel and its recommendations for postwar readjustment. Chapter VII traces the recommendations of the Advisory Committee from the

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time they were rejected in Congress in 1939 until the eventual enactment of many of them several decades later. Chapter VIII contains: (1) a summary of the contributions of Dr. Reeves toward a national policy of federal aid to adult education, and (2) conclusions as to the role of educators in the continued struggle to shape federal policy relating to education in general and adult education in particular.

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CHAPTER II

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND AID TO EDUCATION TO 1935

The earliest leaders of our nation viewed education as a matter with which they might appropriately be concerned. Provision of federal support for education was among the earliest public policy decisions in the emerging republic. The Ordinance of 1785 allocated federally owned land for public education. Additional legislation, though infrequent, has contributed significantly to the support of education for both youth and adults.

Since World War II the federal interest has grown enormously. The greatest advance came in the 1960's, when more than sixty federal education-related laws were enacted. Among them were the Higher Education Act with its provision for community services and continuing education, the Economic Opportunity Act with provision for adult basic education, and the historic Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which was amended at the end of one year to incorporate the Adult Education Act of 1966.

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The United States Office of Education distributed \$713,700, 127 in the fiscal year 1959.¹ In 1968 the USOE had appropriated to it \$4,141,629,455,² a 480 per cent increase for the nine-year period. The federal interest is expected to heighten in future years. United States Commissioner of Education James Allen predicted, in 1969, that the federal share of total school costs would increase from that year's level of 7.3 per cent to 25 to 30 per cent by 1980.³ Clearly the federal government is now making and will continue to make major investments in education.

The Federal Involvement in Education to 1900

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the exact point at which the national government first became interested in aiding education. A very early suggestion that the national government aid education was made in the proposals of Colonel Timothy Pickering for the settlement of the Ohio territory in 1783.

Article 7 of these proposals states:

¹Charles A. Quattlebaum, Federal Educational Policies, Programs and Proposals, Part II (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 372.

²United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Annual Report (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 177.

³James Allen, "News Front," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 51 (September, 1969), p. 54.

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all the surplus lands shall be the common property of the State and be disposed of for the common good; as for laying out roads, creating public buildings, establishing schools and academies . . .¹

Though Pickering's proposals were not put into effect at the time, his thinking was similar enough to the sentiment expressed in the Northwest Ordinances of 1785 and 1787 to suggest that his proposals may have influenced the Continental Congress in its deliberations.

The initial precedents for national support for education were the reservation for the schools of the sixteenth section of every township, provided for in the Ordinance of 1785,² and the establishment and encouragement of schools and the means of education as assured in the Northwest Territory Ordinance of 1787.³ Henry Taylor contends that

While it is maintained by some that these measures were considered primarily as means of attracting settlers rather than as educational advances, the strength of the precedents for public education thereby established cannot be denied.⁴

¹As quoted in Ellwood P. Cubberly, State School Administration: A Textbook of Principles (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1927), p. 19.

²As appeared in Francis N. Thorpe, The Federal and State Constitutions, Vol. II of 7 volumes (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 961.

³Ordinance of 1787, 1 Stat. 50-53 (1789).

⁴Henry C. Taylor, The Educational Significance of the Early Federal Land Ordinances (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1922), p. 115.

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President George Washington showed great interest in promoting education and federal support on its behalf. Because of his concern for political intelligence as a national safeguard and as a means of diminishing sectional rivalry, he advocated the establishment of a national university.

Land grants were continued in the Statehood Acts, starting with the Ohio Enabling Act of 1802.¹ Thus Congress confirmed the validity of the Ordinances drafted under the Continental Congress. Sidney Tiedt indicates the extensive scope of these and later land grants: "A total acreage of 98.5 million acres has been granted by the federal government to states for public schools."²

The next significant development in federal commitment to education came with the enactment of the Morrill Act of 1862.³ Each state received 30,000 acres of public land for each of its members in Congress for the purpose of establishing a land-grant college. In the case of certain Eastern states where no available public land remained, scrip was issued. George Works and Barton Morgan state three purposes of the legislation:

¹Ohio Enabling Act, 2 Stat. 173-175 (1850).

²Sidney W. Tiedt, The Role of the Federal Government in Education (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 17.

³Morrill Act, 12 Stat. 503-505 (1862).

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1. A protest against the then characteristic dominance of the classics in higher education.
2. A desire to develop, at the college level, instruction relating to the practical activities of life.
3. An attempt to offer to those belonging to the industrial classes preparation for the 'professions' of life.¹

This Act was an important development in adult education as the land-grant colleges not only provided education for degree-seeking students, but were later to provide an extensive cooperative extension service, a major national effort in education for adults and out-of-school youth.

The 1860's were notable for other legislation relating to adult education. The United States Department of Agriculture² was established in 1862 for the purpose of regulatory, scientific and educational work for the improvement of agriculture.

The Freedmen's Bureau³ was established in 1865 to assist freed slaves who entered upon their new life with few advantages of any kind. Most of them had no education except the lore of the plantation and a very

¹George A. Works and Barton Morgan, The Land Grant Colleges, Staff Study No. 10, prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 11.

²U. S. Department of Agriculture, 12 Stat. 387-388 (1862).

³Freedmen's Bureau, 13 Stat. 507-509 (1865).

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restricted vocational training. The Bureau assumed the guardianship of the emancipated race and undertook to play a determining role in the process of reorganizing Southern society. An important function of the Bureau was that of education for both youth and adults, particularly literacy education.

In 1867 the United States Office of Education¹ was established within the Department of Interior. Tiedt states the purposes of the Office as:

. . . the collection and diffusion of information about education and the encouragement of education. These purposes were to be effected through the collection and publishing of educational research, and through the administration of funds and various programs.²

The Hoar bill,³ introduced in 1870, was designed to establish a national system of education. Although defeated, the bill was significant for its purpose of compelling, by national authority, the establishment of a thorough and efficient system of public instruction throughout the nation. The President would have been granted the authority to determine if a satisfactory school system were in operation in each state. If a state were delinquent, the President could have designated a federal superintendent of schools for that state.

¹U. S. Office of Education, 15 Stat. 106 (1867).

²Tiedt, op. cit., p. 19.

³H. R. 1326, introduced February 25, 1870.

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The bill would have provided for federal financing of schools. Gordon Lee, reporting on the public response to the Hoar proposal, states, "The reaction of the country to the suggestion of a national system of common schools, though of small proportions, was almost universally unfavorable."¹

Even though the extreme policies underlying the Hoar bill had apparently been discredited and discarded, the need for educational improvement grew more intense. There was revived the earlier idea of providing general aid to all the states from the sale of public land. The Perce bill² of 1872 would have provided funds for teachers' salaries and the maintenance of institutions for the training of common school teachers in addition to its general aid for common schools.

Lee indicates that this bill to apply the proceeds of public land sales to education was significant for several reasons:

1. It introduced the concept of devoting the public domain to common school education.
2. The consideration of this proposal served to crystallize Congressional sentiment with regard to the basic issue of federal aid and to sharpen markedly the political alignments on this issue.

¹Gordon Canfield Lee, The Struggle for Federal Aid (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949), pp. 43-44.

²H. R. 1043, 42nd Cong. (1872).

3. No more able Congressional debate on the relation of the Federal government to education had yet been held, nor was its equal to occur until 1884.
4. The Perce bill was the last proposal dealing with Federal aid to the common schools to receive serious consideration on the floor of the House of Representatives until the Curtis-Tillman bill of 1925.¹

The Burnside bill² of 1879 had as its purpose the application of proceeds from the sale of public lands to support national colleges for the advancement of scientific and industrial education. Both the Perce and Burnside bills, although defeated, proposed a new principle of permitting the use of federal funds in states which maintained separate school systems for the different races and both proposed federal support for education of persons beyond high school age and engaged in professional life--a form of adult education.

A totally new concept in federal aid legislation commenced with the Blair bills³ presented from 1884-1890. These bills proposed the direct appropriation of money from the national treasury to the states; and they are recognized by some authorities as the real beginnings of current activity in this matter. Except in the case

¹Lee, op. cit., p. 81.

²S. 133, 46th Cong. (1879).

³S. 185, S. 194, S. 371, S. 398, S. 3241, 48th-51st. Cong. (1884-1890).

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of teacher training, each state was to be given discretionary authority over funds. Other important measures in the bills provided for distribution of funds based on rates of illiteracy, the incorporation of the "matching" principle, and the exclusion of denominational schools from the benefits of the legislation. Although the defeat of the Blair proposals can be attributed to political, regional, and religious differences, Lee surmises that

To many, maintenance of local prerogative loomed far larger than educational improvement; to many more, independence from federal control was essential to that improvement.¹

It was not until 1918 that another bill to aid common schools was introduced. However, "categorical" aid, including aid to adult education, was already being provided by that date.

After the establishment of land-grant colleges, the need for research in agriculture became imperative. The Hatch Act² of 1887 made experiment station work an integral part of the land-grant operation. Money, not land payments, was appropriated for the support of such stations; the funds were to be utilized for one purpose only, namely research; and only the productive phase of

¹Lee, op. cit., p. 165.

²Hatch Act, 24 Stat. 173-175 (1887).

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agriculture was to be investigated. This Act became the basis of later adult education programs within the land-grant college system.

Federal Policy, 1900-1935

In 1905 the federal government took another step toward support of adult education. To strengthen the nation's basic industry-agriculture, through adult education of farmers, the Office of Farm Management was created within the United States Department of Agriculture. The following account describes the work of the Office:

Studies were made of farming conditions and practices in various sections of the country, especially among the most successful farms. On the basis of these, plans were drawn up to put into operation more efficient systems of farm management. Information was made available to producers through summarizing publications. In certain areas, especially where single-crop farming prevailed, systems of diversification were started. The aim of these farms . . . was to attract attention of local farmers to profits that might be received by changing production practices.¹

By 1914 agriculture faced mounting problems which would require the additional attention of the federal government. Increased urbanization, mechanization and complicated marketing and crop production problems demanded attention if farming were to remain a viable

¹Gladys L. Baker, et al., The First 100 Years of The United States Department of Agriculture (Washington: USDA, 1963), p. 45.

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industry. For these reasons the Smith-Lever Act¹ of 1914 was passed. The Act created an agricultural extension service in each of the land-grant colleges for the purpose of "disseminating among the people useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics." Section 2 of the Act indicates the emphasis placed on adult education through the extension service:

. . . cooperative agricultural extension work shall consist of the giving of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to persons not attending or resident in said colleges in the several communities, and imparting to such persons information on said subjects through field demonstrations, publication, and otherwise . . .²

The increasing industrialization of the United States led to the increased demand for adequately trained workers. To promote vocational education among youth and adults in public schools below the college level the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917³ was enacted. The Act placed emphasis upon adult education through evening industrial schools. Only instruction supplemental to daily employment was permitted. Funds were provided for program and teacher training in agriculture, home economics, and trades and industries.

¹P. L. 63-94.

²Ibid.

³P. L. 64-347.

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Following World War I another attempt was made to secure federal aid for general education. The effort developed primarily as a result of the educational inadequacies revealed by the war and a general desire to improve the quality of education. In 1918 the Smith-Towner bill¹ proposed to provide funds to the states for the purpose of equalizing educational opportunity, especially in regard to literacy and Americanization programs, physical and health education, and teacher training. The bill failed to reach the floor of either house of Congress.

Because of conflicting views as to the role the federal government should take in educational matters, the National Advisory Committee on Education was appointed by President Hoover in 1929 to formulate a federal educational policy. The Advisory Committee Report² recommended that all levels of government cooperate in administering federal aid to education, with the local government maintaining dominant control. However, the Report called for a five-year postponement of federal aid to the states (except existing aid) until the results of finance surveys could determine the desirability and need for

¹S. 4185, 75th Cong. (1918).

²National Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee, Federal Relations to Education, Part I, Committee Findings and Recommendations (Washington: National Capital Press, Inc., 1931).

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federal subventions. Harry Zeitlin, commenting on the Committee's dilatory action, states that "Lack of specific, concrete recommendations made the task of creating a bill extremely difficult."¹

The Great Depression, beginning in most rural areas about 1920 and spreading nationwide by 1932, struck at the heart of American education. The public educational system comprised 127,000 separate and independent school districts,² offering routine instruction which in many ways was irrelevant to youth and adults. Many of these districts were reduced to a marginal or sub-marginal basis. Even at the peak of prosperity these units had found it difficult to provide meagre programs; during the Great Depression they could not survive without outside help. The worst educational conditions were to be found in the rural areas. It is significant that of the total number of children in public schools in 1934, 49.3 per cent lived in rural areas.³

¹Harry Zeitlin, Federal Relations in American Education, 1933-1943: A Study of New Deal Efforts and Innovations, Published Dissertation from Columbia University (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1967), p. 257.

²The Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 6.

³Katherine M. Cook, "Review of Conditions and Developments in Education in Rural and Sparsely Settled Areas," Chapter V in Biennial Survey of Education, 1934-1936 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), pp. 45-46, 49-50.

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Evidences of educational difficulties revealed by the Great Depression included widespread curtailment of school terms, elimination of entire sections of the curriculum, increased crowding of schools, provision of fewer teachers, and the diminution of salaries of those teachers remaining.

In higher education a parallel deterioration occurred:

Enrollment dropped almost nine per cent between 1931-1932 and 1933-1934, faculty salaries were substantially reduced, income from gifts, endowments, and similar sources was lost, and building and research programs were curtailed or suspended.¹

Following the precedent set by earlier federal legislation for education, the New Deal² created educational programs, but did so not for educational reasons only. Instead, federal assistance to education was viewed chiefly as a means of providing economic relief for youth and adults and for aiding the nation's recovery. Among the depression-inspired education programs were included:

¹Walter S. Deffenbaugh, "Effects of the Depression Upon Elementary and Secondary Schools and Upon Colleges and Universities," Chapter VI in Biennial Survey of Education, 1934-1936 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), pp. 45-46, 49-50.

²The term New Deal referred to the total program of President Roosevelt in dealing with problems of the Great Depression. In his inaugural address on March 4, 1933, he gave hope to a disillusioned and depressed America. He promised a "new deal" for the "forgotten man"--a promise that he attempted to carry out in the legislation of the next several years.

1. Civil Works Administration¹ (CWA) established within the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1933. CWA tackled a variety of jobs: road construction, playgrounds, school construction. Fifty-thousand teachers were employed in country schools or city adult education programs.
2. Public Works Administration² (PWA) established in 1933 under the National Industrial Recovery Act, Title II, to aid in construction of public works, schools, and colleges. Between 1933-1939 PWA built seventy per cent of the new educational buildings in America.
3. Civilian Conservation Corps³ (CCC) established in 1933 to provide employment and vocational training for older unemployed young men through development of natural resources. CCC included an adult education component for the men after the work day was completed.
4. Tennessee Valley Authority⁴ (TVA) established in 1933 for the purposes of flood control, navigation, reforestation, electrical power, national defense, and the agricultural and industrial development of the Tennessee Valley. TVA sponsored extensive adult education programs, which aided in the development and conservation of human resources.
5. Works Progress Administration⁵ (WPA) established in 1935 to distribute relief and support a number of educational projects, including literacy education, high school diploma programs for adults, and the hiring of unemployed teachers and other professionals.
6. National Youth Administration⁶ (NYA) established within WPA in 1935 to provide relief and employment

¹CWA established within FERA by Executive Order No. 6420-B, November 9, 1933.

²P. L. 73-67.

³P. L. 75-163.

⁴P. L. 73-17.

⁵WPA established by Executive Order No. 7034, May 6, 1935.

⁶NYA established by Executive Order NO. 7086, June 26, 1935.

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to individuals 16-25 years of age. Education, guidance, and placement were important aspects of the program for both in-school and out-of-school youth and young adults.

These New Deal programs caused apprehension among state and local education authorities as they were established largely apart from traditional institutions of education. Educators viewed these parallel programs as a threat to public education. Popular sentiment, however, reinforced the New Deal belief that its programs fulfilled human and educational needs for millions of Americans.

There were rather continuous efforts to promote federal aid to general elementary and secondary education during the 1930's. Primarily because of the plight of rural education, eleven bills were drafted to provide funds for general education. Zeitlin, studying the failure of enactment of these bills, contends that

. . . it would seem likely that if the New Deal Administration had indicated at this point its desire for the passage of legislation calling for direct Federal aid, there would have been a good chance for affirmative Congressional action.¹

There remained a great need for adult education programs and facilities during the Depression. Unemployment, migration, and occupational shifts made the vocational retraining of adult workers a problem of major

¹Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 257.

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proportions. Illiteracy was another problem that demanded attention. The Advisory Committee on Education Report of 1938 focuses on the educational needs of adults:

The 75,000,000 persons who constitute the adult population of the United States today were in most cases given only limited educational opportunities in childhood. Over 36,000,000 of them did not finish elementary school; at least 3,000,000 are completely illiterate. Among the 4,300,000 resident aliens, large numbers are in need of elementary education, and almost all need further training in American principles and practices in order to become citizens.¹

President Roosevelt, like several of his predecessors, was concerned about educational problems and the federal Government's responsibility toward resolving them. He, too, appointed a committee of eminent national leaders--the Advisory Committee on Education--to study the federal Government's relationship to education.

During the decade 1936-1945 intensive efforts were made to secure federal aid for education. It was in this period that Dr. Reeves directed the activities of the Advisory Committee on Education and the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel. The recommendations of the Advisory Committee were eventually enacted over the next three decades 1938-1968. The proposals of the Conference on Postwar

¹The Advisory Committee on Education, op. cit., p. 86.

Readjustment led to the enactment of the historic GI Bill of Rights. This review of federal involvement in support of general and adult education, from the beginnings of the republic to 1935, reveals that:

1. Federal interest in education extends throughout the history of the nation, antedating the formation of the Union in 1789.
2. Federal activity in education parallels the development of the nation; as societal needs arose, the federal government has frequently attempted to assist in meeting these needs through support of education.
3. Early attempts to provide federal aid to education has been largely financed through land-grants or funds from the sale of public lands.
4. Attempts to obtain federal aid for general education have not been as successful as attempts to fund special areas of education, e.g., agricultural education, vocational education, adult education.
5. Education has been viewed increasingly as a national responsibility, with a corresponding trend toward providing aid to general education and the promotion of equality of educational opportunity.
6. Federal support for adult education has grown through legislation enacted in periods of national stress, e.g., Civil War, Great Depression, World War II.

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CHAPTER III

FLOYD WESLEY REEVES, EDUCATOR:

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Floyd Reeves was born on November 16, 1890, in Castalia, South Dakota, son of Charles and Ella Reeves. As a child and as a youth he had a strong thirst for knowledge, but little opportunity to secure it through schooling.

An Uncommon Student

Possessing unusual competence and initiative, he completed high school after only one full year of attendance and taking examinations in subjects studied independently. When not in school, Floyd worked on his parents' ranch, or farm, where the corn harvest was often not completed until Christmas. In college he continued the practice of "writing off" by examination such subjects as advanced algebra, solid geometry, and trigonometry. At the age of seventeen (more than three years before his first full year in high school), he taught in a rural elementary school a few miles from his home near St. Lawrence, South Dakota at a salary of \$280 for the year.

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In the fall of 1910 he entered Miller High School, passed several courses by examination and graduated in the spring of 1911. During most years prior to that time he had attended school only a few months each year and some years not at all.

He earned his B.S. Degree from Huron College, South Dakota in less than three years, graduating in 1915. He excelled in forensics, winning the \$50 prize for debate in each of his three years at Huron. He graduated with high academic standing.

Floyd Reeves' mother, well educated and articulate, encouraged him to consider either medicine, law, or theology as a career. It was during high school that he cast his lot with education, a choice that was to prove fortuitous for Dr. Reeves, the education profession, and the nation.

President Harry Morehouse Gage¹ of Huron College had a profound influence on the young student, dissuading him from studying speech or law and suggesting that educational administration offered him a brighter opportunity. In a letter three decades later Floyd Reeves expressed his gratitude to Dr. Gage for this early counsel:

¹During 1912-13 Dr. Gage was dean of Huron College and Reeves' teacher of psychology. Later he served as President of the College. He held important offices in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the American Association of Colleges. In addition, Dr. Gage served as president of three other colleges.

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I often think of how different my experiences would probably have been had you not asked me into your office one day in 1915 to suggest that I consider entering the field of educational administration, instead of teaching public speaking.¹

Time magazine capsuled the early education of Floyd Reeves as follows:

Floyd Wesley Reeves, born on a South Dakota ranch staked out by his father not far from Custer's last stand, spent his boyhood tending cattle instead of going to school. He went through Robinson's Complete Arithmetic by himself, read Tennyson, Wordsworth, Shakespeare and Horatio Alger, began to teach in a country school at 17. Three years later he went to high school, finished it in a year, and then got a degree from Huron College in two and a half years.²

After graduating from Huron College, Floyd Reeves became principal of a Huron elementary school. It was here that Dr. Reeves made his first major contribution to adult education. He established a night school for adults which was one of the first in the state and served as a model for other districts.

Even at this early date, he was cognizant of educational developments in Washington. His program of vocational education was the first in South Dakota established under the Smith-Hughes Act in its first year of operation.

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves' letter to Dr. Harry Morehouse Gage, 1400 Second Avenue, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, August 28, 1946.

²Time, Vol. 33 (May 29, 1939), p. 59.

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Because he wanted to acquire a broader educational background, Mr. Reeves accepted positions as superintendent of schools first in Gregory and then in Winner, South Dakota, from 1917-1922.

During the summer of 1916 Mr. Reeves studied sociology and educational administration at the University of Wisconsin. Under the tutelage of Dr. Edward Ross, noted sociologist, he learned that professional educators had much to gain from the behavioral sciences. The principles acquired at Wisconsin were to be applied throughout his educational and governmental experiences.

After leaving Wisconsin, he went to the University of Chicago on the recommendation of Dr. Ross. The University was then the center of sociological study in America. While there he obtained a fellowship to study under the direction of W. I. Thomas, another eminent sociologist. Dr. Thomas, cognizant of the young student's promise, invited him to be a staff member and personal assistant.

While at the University of Chicago, he met another prominent educator who was to have a marked influence on his career. Dr. Charles H. Judd, director of the school of education in the division of social sciences, encouraged him in the study of educational psychology. Mr. Reeves was particularly interested in instruments of educational measurement, which he refined

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through usage in the public schools. He received his M.S. in the field of educational psychology in 1921.

He distinguished himself as a doctoral student at the University of Chicago. He graduated Magna Cum Laude in 1925 and his dissertation, "The Political Unit of School Finance in Illinois,"¹ was published in 1924 prior to the oral examination. Because the study had implications for the social sciences in general, it was accepted by three departments at the university: political science, education, and economics. Mr. Reeves requested that his degree be granted in educational administration. The research, a study of the financing of schools in the state, cited the educational inequalities among and within counties due to disparities in taxation policy. One major conclusion was that a reliance on the property tax was inadequate; the income of a taxpayer would be a more reliable indicator of ability to pay than the property tax alone.

An Uncommon Professor

During his two years (1923-24) at Transylvania College, Mr. Reeves served as professor of education.

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, The Political Unit of Public School Finance in Illinois (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924).

In addition, he served progressively as Director of the Graduate School of Education, Dean of the Liberal Arts College and Acting President of a university complex consisting of Transylvania College, the graduate school of education, the graduate college of the Bible and a junior college for young women. This university complex operated under three separate boards of trustees. Dr. Reeves was instrumental in securing a single board to govern the university complex.

The first of his many notable studies was conducted for the Efficiency Commission of the state of Kentucky. The investigation cited the need for the creation of a state board of education to have administrative control of all educational agencies, the consolidation of small school districts, and a revised plan for financial support of schools. In the report of the Commission Reeves presented a basic principle of school finance which he was to re-emphasize in later educational studies:

. . . districts . . . should receive aid in inverse proportion to their 'ability' to support schools as shown by their true valuations per teacher or per child of school age, and in direct proportion to the amount of effort they make to support schools as shown by their true tax rates.¹

¹The Government of Kentucky, Report of the Efficiency Commission of Kentucky, Vol. II (Frankfort: The State Journal Company, January 1, 1924), p. 273.

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Upon completion of his doctorate in 1925, Dr. Reeves moved from Transylvania College to the University of Kentucky. There he served as head of the Department of Educational Administration and organizer and director of the Bureau of School Service. The Bureau conducted many studies of education in institutions ranging from local schools through college in Kentucky and in institutions of higher education throughout the nation. These investigations covered a wide range of educational subjects, including accreditation, instruction, and finance.

Dr. Reeves was a champion of federal aid to education. From his many studies of education he concluded that because of the concentration of money and production capacity in large industrial centers, small rural school districts, rural counties, whole states in many instances, and even entire regions of the nation did not possess the economic potential necessary to equitably support quality education and other social services out of local and state revenues. Much of the national wealth and income was so concentrated in certain cities and states as to preclude equitable taxation except by the federal government. Similarly, if the taxing power of the state was to be equitably exercised, it must be increasingly administered by the state governments rather

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than delegated to the smaller political units. Dr.

Reeves summarizes:

I believe that this idea of necessary financial aid coming from the larger taxing jurisdiction to the smaller governmental unit, applicable to all three levels of government, and preserving a very large measure of local autonomy and field for local initiative, is a most important principle of democratic administration.¹

Returning to the University of Chicago in 1929, Dr. Reeves assumed the position of professor of education. For the next four years he was director of the University of Chicago Survey,² a monumental work that investigated the major aspects of the university, including its faculty, administration, and extension service. The twelve-volume study was published and distributed throughout the nation. It led, over the next several years, to a restructuring of the University of Chicago, and is generally credited with significant influence upon the structure and administrative patterns in many other colleges and universities.

An Uncommon Public Servant

The educational accomplishments of Dr. Reeves soon gained national acclaim. He became known as a

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, class lecture notes titled, "Principles of Democratic Administration," dated November 10, 1965, p. 13.

²The University of Chicago Survey, Volume I-XII (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933).

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spokesman for education; his opinions and recommendations on volatile issues were weighed carefully by both antagonists and protagonists.

Dr. Reeves' first assignment with the federal government was as a staff member of President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1929-1930. He served on the technical advisory subcommittee on school health surveys. In his letter of appreciation to Dr. Reeves for having participated in the Conference, President Hoover stated:

I wish to express to you my personal thanks for your attendance at the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Your cooperation was an important part in making it what I feel to be a long step forward in the high service of the children of our country. Its findings are truly The Children's Charter. I am glad of this opportunity to extend to you the greetings of the season.¹

When President Roosevelt assumed office, he found the nation in great difficulty. He immediately seized upon the opportunity to reshape many elements of American life. He believed that education was one of the important means of achieving change.

The Great Depression had caused serious social disorganization in America. One particularly hard-hit region was the poverty-stricken valley of the Tennessee River. Unemployment had become a way of life for

¹President Herbert Hoover, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, December, 1930.

millions. Many youth and adults were denied an education as schools were hard-pressed to provide even a minimal educational program for children.

While conducting a study of Antioch College in 1926, Dr. Reeves had begun an association with Dr. Arthur Morgan, president of the college. That association was to lead eventually to Dr. Reeves' involvement and major contributions within the federal government under President Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was Dr. Morgan, who, as chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933, suggested to President Franklin D. Roosevelt that Dr. Reeves would make a valuable contribution in government service.

Not only had there been waste of human resources in the Tennessee Valley, but destruction of natural resources as well. The long misuse of forests and land led to serious floods and erosion. After seventeen years of debate on the efficacy of a program for the region, Congress established the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in 1933. The controversy centered on what was to be done with the government nitrate plant and Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals, Alabama. These projects, built under the National Defense Act of 1916, were not completed in time for use in World War I, when it was feared that America's nitrate supply might be cut off from Chile. The TVA

Act transferred the Wilson Dam and nitrate plant from the War Department to the TVA.

The new corporation represented a major change in national policy. Before, responsibility for the various projects (agriculture, navigation, conservation) in the valley were divided among various departments of government. TVA was placed under one agency responsible for the coordination of all projects. The TVA was an attempt to get man and nature working together to restore life to a seven-state region. The conservation of human resources, as well as natural ones, became a major goal of the TVA.

An Uncommon Vision of Adult Education

In 1933 Dr. Reeves, with the approval of President Roosevelt, was appointed as Director of Personnel and Training and also as Director of Social and Economic Research and Planning, Tennessee Valley Authority. This assignment was the beginning of a long relationship between the President and Dr. Reeves. With the TVA Dr. Reeves supervised the hiring of more than 30,000 workmen who were employed in shifts of five-and-one-half hours, thus making it possible for them to participate in adult education programs, contributing to the total change of people. Many of the workers were secured through the Civil Works Administration (CWA), a temporary work

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relief program, which Dr. Reeves also directed in 1934. After Dr. Reeves was detailed to the CWA, he established offices in each of the eleven Southeastern states. During that year he divided his time equally between the TVA and CWA.

Education of youth and adults became a major function of the TVA as communities were built to accommodate the ingress of workers into the valley. Schools had to be established and staffed. Adult education, especially literacy education and library services, was of paramount importance in the total development of the area. With abundant leisure presenting a major opportunity, Dr. Reeves developed an adult education program for workers and their families. The program gave special emphasis to developing skills which workers could utilize when no longer employed by the TVA. Additional adult education offerings included basic education, leadership training, homemaking, agriculture, and a variety of trades.

After leaving the TVA in 1935, Dr. Reeves returned to the University of Chicago. In collaboration with Thomas Fansler and Cyril Houle, Dr. Reeves conducted a major study of adult education in New York, 1937-1938. Their study, reported under the title Adult Education,¹

¹Floyd W. Reeves, Thomas Fansler and Cyril O. Houle, Adult Education. The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938).

was one of ten concurrent investigations sponsored by the Regent's Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the state of New York. The major conclusion of the study was that adult education should be placed on a parity with elementary, secondary, and higher education in the state.

The problems confronting education were not endemic to New York. During the Great Depression exigent problems faced all of American education--programs were emasculated or curtailed; many children, older youth, and adults faced the bleak prospects of inactivity and unemployment.

Uncommon Tasks Undertaken

By 1936 many educational and political leaders were convinced of the need to develop a national policy in support of education. While the educational programs established in the Civilian Conservation Corps, Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration were commendable, the President believed that much more could be done. The controversy over vocational education in general, and the recently-enacted George-Deen vocational education act in particular, prompted the President to take action. President Roosevelt that year appointed Dr. Reeves to head the National Committee on Vocational Education. Because Dr. Reeves believed that vocational

education could not be studied apart from general education, he requested that the President enlarge the scope of the committee and its study to include all of education. The President agreed and the Committee became known as the Advisory Committee on Education. As chairman of the Advisory Committee, Dr. Reeves was much concerned about the need for federal support, educational organization, and adult education.

The report of the Advisory Committee contained many recommendations which were embodied in the Federal Aid to Education Act of 1939. Although the proposed act was defeated, its major proposals served as a basis for the rethinking of education which occurred after World War II and subsequently. Paul T. David, secretary of the Advisory Committee, comments on Dr. Reeves' contribution as chairman of the Committee:

He was the presiding genius of the whole affair. I have no reason to think that any other person then living could have done more with the assignment, or as much.¹

Dr. Reeves was a member of the President's Committee on Administrative Management in 1937. He and Paul T. David collaborated on the report of the Committee,

¹Paul T. David, letter to Carl Pacacha, July 7, 1969.

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Personnel Administration in the Federal Service,¹ which was a study of personnel utilization in the executive branch. The New York Herald Tribune stated that

The report is the first of a series in support of a five-point program as recommended to Congress in January. The five major recommendations were to provide the President with six administrative assistants; strengthen and develop the managerial agencies under the President dealing with budgeting, planning and personnel; extend the merit system and reorganize and improve the civil service administration; reorganize the executive branch by placing all independent agencies within one of twelve executive departments, and establish an independent post-audit of all fiscal transactions to enable Congress to hold the executive strictly accountable.²

The report, which proposed a unified service of personnel administration, contributed to improved practices of recruitment, placement, training, and morale-building. It concluded:

Major benefits may be expected from the proposed reorganization soon after it is begun if the work of reorganization is done carefully. The full benefits may not be realized for many years to come, but they can be of very great importance to the future of the Federal Government and the Nation.³

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves and Paul T. David, Personnel Administration in the Federal Service, Study No. 1 on Administrative Management in the Government of the United States, the President's Committee on Administrative Management, Louis J. Brownlow, chairman (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937).

²New York Herald Tribune, "Roosevelt Body Asks Expansion of Merit System," June 28, 1937.

³Floyd Wesley Reeves and Paul T. David, op. cit., p. 9.

From 1939-1942 Dr. Reeves was Director of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education. The American Council on Education represents higher education in the United States and is interested in adult education and out-of-school youth, as well as in-school students. With four million youth and young adults unemployed during those years, the Commission sought to alleviate problems of youth brought about by depression and industrialization. Composed of leading educators and laymen, the Commission had been studying every phase of the youth problem for six years. Their report, Youth and the Future,¹ identified problems facing youth and presented recommendations for the solution of youth problems. Regarding the various means of supporting education, the Commission suggests: "In dealing with a problem, such as the operation of public schools, . . . the use of federal grants is the appropriate method."²

The American Youth Commission was among the first to recognize the seriousness of the young adult problem. As director of the Commission, Dr. Reeves studied the problems of youth, especially as they related to education and work relief programs. The

¹American Youth Commission, American Council on Education, Youth and the Future (Washington: American Council on Education, 1942).

²Ibid., p. 234.

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Washington Post comments about one of the Commission's
recommendations:

The recommendation that the CCC and NYA be merged comes direct from the proverbial 'feedbox' . . . Reeves has studied Government reorganization and has helped draft reports on the subject to the President. Therefore, the merger suggestion takes on an official color.¹

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt also had a keen interest in the problems of youth. She and Dr. Reeves often consulted about these matters. Writing in her daily column "My Day," she remarks about the work of Dr. Reeves with the Commission:

I had an opportunity yesterday morning to talk to Dr. Reeves, who is carrying on the work of the youth commission so ably begun by Dr. Rainey. They have done a most wonderful piece of research work and I am most anxious to know what conclusions they will come to as a result of their findings. Their suggestion for the use of facts which they have discovered will be valuable to every community.²

In a letter to Dr. Reeves in 1939, Mrs. Roosevelt stated:

Thank you very much for sending me an advance copy of the statement of the American Youth Commission on Employment.

You have done a wonderful job in getting the Commission to make these recommendations. I shall look forward to seeing the two further statements.³

¹ Jerry Kluttz in the Washington Post, February 6, 1940.

² Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day," in the Chicago Daily News, October 12, 1939.

³ Eleanor Roosevelt, personal letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, November 27, 1939.

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In her memoirs, Mrs. Roosevelt reflects:

. . . I stopped in for a talk with Floyd Reeves, Director of the American Youth Commission, a non-partisan prestigious body . . . The Commission's efforts to improve job, health, and school opportunities of young people were carefully researched and thought through. They carried weight in Washington.¹

Dr. Reeves was a member of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, 1939-1940. The Conference addressed itself to the interests of all the children of the nation and to every aspect of child welfare, including home life, national security, and education.

As United States' participation in World War II became more involved, the nation experienced staggering manpower problems. With millions of young men and women being called into the armed forces, American industries, businesses, and farms were in great need of workers.

Dr. Reeves, too, became more identified with the war effort. In 1940 he was appointed as Director of Labor Supply under Sidney Hillman.²

¹Joesph P. Lash, Eleanor Roosevelt, a Friend's Memoir (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1964), p. 24.

²Hillman's office first operated as a part of the Advisory Commission for the Council of National Defense and later as a part of the Office of Production Management, which was established under the co-directorship of William Knudsen and Sidney Hillman.

This position included the securing and training of workers through the schools, the NYA, the CCC, the WPA and private industry.

Dr. Reeves was well-suited for this role by virtue of having supervised the enlisting and training of thousands of workers for the TVA and its important work. Sidney Hillman, director of the Office of Production Management, wrote Dr. Reeves when the latter resigned in 1941 because of his work with the American Youth Commission.

It is with the deepest reluctance that I accept this decision on your part. Your contribution, during the first year of the defense program, in formulating and directing the recruitment, training, and placement of defense workers has not only been extraordinarily efficient and successful but also has laid a firm groundwork for meeting this great problem in the future.

In view of your unique experience in, and knowledge of this field, I am taking this opportunity to urge, even to insist, that you continue in a consultant capacity on my staff and be available to participate in developing policies which relate to the defense labor supply program.¹

Time magazine also comments on his accomplishments in his capacity with the Office of Production Management: "Major credit for the work so far done goes to quiet, wiry, little Floyd Wesley Reeves."²

¹Sidney Hillman, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, June 24, 1941.

²Time, Vol. 37 (June 16, 1941), p. 42.

Even while our country was engaged in the greatest war in her history, plans were being made for the postwar readjustment of service personnel at the conclusion of the war. Dr. Reeves became chairman of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel, 1943-1943. The task of the Conference was to provide a plan for the reorientation of both veterans and civilians engaged in war activities into civilian life. Many of the Conference's proposals were incorporated into the GI Bill of Rights, providing for American veterans a program of educational and other benefits that exceeded all previous programs. General Lewis B. Hershey, former member of the Conference, reflects on Dr. Reeves' leadership:

I think that Dr. Reeves in his role as chairman . . . , demonstrated great capacity, as a well from which ideas flowed. I would rate him high in his ability to articulate ideas advanced by other members of the Conference.¹

The "inner circle" of the White House contained such figures as Adolph Berle, Bernard Baruch, Raymond Moley, Rexford Tugwell, and others. Dr. Reeves was also a member of this coterie. His principal role was that of liaison for President Roosevelt in educational matters. The President and Mrs. Roosevelt had a fondness for Dr. Reeves; it was not uncommon for the educator and the

¹Lewis B. Hershey, letter to Carl Pacacha, August 20, 1969.

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Roosevelts to discuss educational matters while lunching together. The following letter from Dr. Reeves to Mrs. Roosevelt exemplifies the fine relationship with the Roosevelts:

Your letter of July 20 from Hyde Park was waiting for me when I reached the office on my return from Chicago and the West Coast. I appreciate very much the opportunity to see the President at seven p.m. Wednesday, tomorrow, and will be delighted to stay to dinner as you suggest.

I shall have a brief statement ready for the President.

In the rush of travel and an even dozen lectures during the last few days, I have neglected to write to you about my stay at Campobello. I want you to know how very much I enjoyed the days there. The visit was one of the most enjoyable experiences I have ever had, and your cordial hospitality will be long remembered.¹

Other officials in the federal government had a high regard for Dr. Reeves. Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, stated in a letter to the educator:

I am sitting here on New Year's Day thinking of the people who have made a real contribution to the future of our Nation and I find myself placing you in the forefront.

I am sure your taking the Youth Commission job and what you latterly have done has made a real dent in the national thinking.

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, letters to Eleanor Roosevelt, July 22, 1941.

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I just want to tell you how much I think you mean to the whole (and important problem of young people) democratic state.¹

After the death of the President in 1945, Dr. Reeves was requested to supply an account of his relationship to the President by the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Foundation. Grace Tully, executive secretary of the Foundation and former secretary to President Roosevelt, states in her letter of request:

You played an important role in the events of the era which began in 1933, and also a versatile one . . . As a leading educator you were in a strategic position to observe and evaluate the effect of the Roosevelt Administration policies upon our country's educational system. You have much to contribute to the comprehensive historical record of this era . . . Throughout this busy period of your life, President Roosevelt placed high value on your advice and counsel.²

Dr. Reeves was also deeply involved in activities of professional associations of educators. In collaboration with Dr. George Counts, Dr. Reeves sought to unite the National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers during the middle 1940's. Both held dual memberships for eight years in the two major professional education organizations. They believed that educators must be engaged in shaping policies that affect

¹Aubrey Williams, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, January 1, 1940.

²Grace Tully, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, July 20, 1948.

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education, and that the best way to achieve this was through united political action. Dr. Reeves emphasizes this point:

If I had a choice to give up participation in any pressure group or give up casting the ballot, I'd give up the ballot, providing, of course, I wanted my influence to have any effect.¹

Dr. Reeves was the first chairman of the Commission on Educational Reconstruction of the AFT 1944-1948. The purposes of the Commission were to develop plans for the solution of postwar educational problems, to increase financial support for education, and to develop a statement of goals for American education. The Commission's provocative report,² published in 1948, offered a challenging approach to educational problems. The study exposed the major deficiencies in American education and outlined a program for the newly emergent atomic age, including a vast program of federal aid.

Even while in Washington, Dr. Reeves continued to conduct surveys of state educational systems and institutions. In 1948 he headed the New York State Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University,

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Pressure Group Most Potent Power in Getting Things Done," Missouri Sunday News and Leader, February 17, 1946.

²American Federation of Teachers, Federal Aid and the Crisis in American Education (Chicago: American Federation of Teachers, 1948).

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which resulted in the establishment of a state university system in New York.

In 1943 Dr. Reeves joined Michigan State College (since 1955, Michigan State University) as consultant to its President, Dr. John Hannah. In this capacity he assisted in the planning of the Basic College and reorganization of the Divisions of Liberal Arts and Applied Science. These contributions were consistent with his belief in the need of a liberally educated man for a democratic society. Victor Noll comments about these developments: "Both were given much of their impetus by Floyd W. Reeves."¹

The international significance of atomic energy as a military weapon and its potential peacetime uses were readily apparent in 1945. One of the major problems in this relatively new area of science was the lack of trained personnel. The national welfare and security demanded a continuous pursuit for researchers.

Under the sponsorship of the Atomic Energy Commission and in cooperation with the TVA, the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies was developed in 1945 to meet this problem. In the early development of the Institute, Dr. Reeves served as a consultant. Gordon

¹Victor N. Noll, The Preparation of Teachers at Michigan State University (East Lansing: College of Education, 1968), p. 114.

Clapp, general manager of the TVA, wrote Dr. Reeves in regard to this contribution:

Your week with us was extremely helpful from our point of view. Your counsel and the proposals developed clarified everyone's thinking greatly, and we feel that we can prompt [sic] next steps with assurance that we know where this business ought to wind up eventually.¹

The following letter to Dr. Reeves from David Lilienthal, chairman of the AEC, illuminates the gravity of the Reeves' assignment with the Institute:

You have undoubtedly seen newspaper reports or excerpts concerning the enclosed document. I hope, however, you will find time to read the entire text, which presents a program for the international control of atomic energy. It was developed and written by a Board of Consultants to the State Department, of which I served as Chairman.

The subject matter of this report is, obviously, of the utmost gravity and importance. The hope of finding a way of meeting this problem of atomic energy lies, first of all, in securing thorough-going and critical public discussion of a specific proposal for dealing with it; it is for this reason that I send the report to you and urge its reading.

There is, in my opinion, a considerable element of time urgency about this whole matter, as I think a reading of the report will indicate.²

A number of advisory positions with foreign governments were also held by Dr. Reeves. In 1949 he served as Chairman of the UNESCO Consultative Educational Mission

¹Gordon Clapp, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, July 8, 1946.

²David Lilienthal, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, May 6, 1946.

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to the Phillipines. That group studied elementary education, teacher training, and adult education. The report¹ of the Mission was published in Spanish, French, and English. Vitaliano Bernadino, UNESCO official, commented upon the significance of the Mission and of Dr. Reeves' role in it:

The importance that UNESCO attaches to the present mission may be judged from the caliber of the men that compose it. The mission is headed by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves . . . An internationally recognized authority on school administration in the United States, he has had extensive experience in educational surveys, planning, and reconstruction.²

Dr. Reeves also served as a consultant to the governments of Puerto Rico, South Vietnam, Thailand and Pakistan.

An Uncommon Man: Author, Teacher
Prophet, Pioneer

He was a staunch foe of discrimination in education. For three years, 1953-1956, he served on the Committee on Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education of the American Council on Education. In spite of increasing enrollments in higher education, the Committee

¹UNESCO, Report of the Mission to the Phillipines, July 28, 1949, Floyd W. Reeves, Chairman, Dr. Viriato Comacho, Dr. Paul Hanna, Dr. A. C. Lewis.

²Vitaliana Bernardino, "UCEMP, A Project in International Cooperation," Educational Newsletter, April, 1949, p. 11.

indicated that financial handicaps and discrimination because of race, religion and national origin continued to exist. The Committee attempted to identify such barriers and worked toward their reduction and eventual elimination. Addressing a national conference on discrimination in college admissions in 1950, Dr. Reeves stated: "Bias against minorities falls most heavily on the best qualified applicants."¹

Professional writing was another major educational activity of Dr. Reeves. He is author or co-author of 75 books and has written more than 400 articles for journals.² While he wrote on a wide variety of educational topics, much of his writing concerned adult and higher education, and federal aid to education. Through his writing, Dr. Reeves helped to focus national attention on the need for a national policy in support of education.

He holds honorary doctorates from four institutions: Albion College, Kent State University, Bethany College, and Temple University.

As a teacher Dr. Reeves possessed the ability to bring out the full potential in his students. Among the

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, Address to National Conference on Discrimination in College Admissions, University of Chicago, November 3, 1950.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, personal file.

list of his former students who have made major leadership contributions are: Gordon Clapp, manager and chairman of the board, Tennessee Valley Authority, Maurice Seay, formerly director of education for the Kellogg Foundation, Henry Harmon, president of Drake University, Cyril Houle, professor of adult education at the University of Chicago, Thomas Hamilton, president of the State University of New York and later president of the University of Hawaii, David Henry, president of the University of Illinois, John Dale Russell, director of institutional research, New York University, and Francis Chase, Dean of Education, University of Chicago. George T. de Hueck, former student of the professor, writes about this influence:

You have taught more than you perhaps realize, and I suggest to you that your lessons taught a way of life as well as principles of,¹ what you call, organization and administration.

Dr. Reeves was an educator, scholar, and most importantly, a humanitarian. He was interested in the welfare of people. The many and diverse public and governmental organizations he was associated with and the varied committees that he headed attest to his record of public service. He possessed the uncommon ability to perceive complex educational problems and to

¹George T. de Hueck, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, August 9, 1945.



offer recommendations for their solution. His advice was constantly being sought on educational matters, as typified in the following from Dr. Robert Havighurst, distinguished educator:

If you are in Chicago this weekend, and if you have the time to see me, I should like very much to ask your advice about some work in rural education, in which we are interested.¹

In the years since 1950, the community college has come to represent one of the most rapid areas of expansion in education, having as its function a unifying role in the community. In 1947 Dr. Reeves perceived this development:

The most significant development that I foresee in the coming years is the further extension upward of the common school to include at least two years of post-high school education for a majority of young men and women. . . This . . . education will be provided by community institutions and will include both education for full-time students and a broad program of adult education. . . These community institutions will be peoples colleges.²

In 1931 Dr. Reeves made a characteristic prediction. Enclosed within the cornerstone of Judd Hall, the graduate education building at the University of Chicago, is a statement which he was requested to prepare for the dedicatory rite. It bears his forecast of major trends

¹Robert Havighurst, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, March 29, 1939.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, "What Lies Ahead in Education?," School Management, March, 1947, pp. 3, 12-13.

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in American education during the century closing in 2031.

It reads:

It appears probable that during the century the school day and the school year will both be lengthened for the child below the age of eighteen years, and shortened for young men and women beyond eighteen years of age. A majority of men and women will participate in some form of adult education throughout life. There will be a tendency to make more extensive use of mass production methods in education. This will result in a more highly centralized educational system. Educational centers will be established for the purpose of broadcasting lectures, music, art exhibits, and demonstrations of various kinds. Methods employed in broadcasting will include the filmophone and television. Travel will have an important place in formal school programs. Entire schools and other educational institutions will be transported by air to distant points, in order that pupils and students may obtain first hand information and make personal observations.¹

Dr. Reeves' career in professional education has spanned nearly a half-century. In that time he has been a teacher, administrator, government servant, and consultant to administrators and policy makers in his own and many other countries. He has displayed a rare talent for analyzing problems of the present, predicting possibilities for the future and articulating policy alternatives for dealing with both. As a pioneer in shaping federal legislation in support of adult education, Dr.

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, statement placed in cornerstone of Judd Hall, graduate education building, the University of Chicago, in 1931.

Reeves worked to resolve the pressing issues of the present within the framework of a long view,--and a world view,--of the role of education in serving individuals and the societies in which they live.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The United States was locked in a serious economic depression in 1933. Factories, mills, and other businesses throughout the country were either closed or operating far below capacity. Millions of adults had lost their jobs, and many older youth were out of school and out of work. Many banks became insolvent, and others were in a precarious financial condition.

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed Office on March 4 of that year, he was faced with three major tasks:

(1) Relief: Sixteen million unemployed and all their dependents were threatened with cold, hunger, and despair. (2) Recovery: Business, industry, and agriculture were prostrate and in dire need of getting back on their feet. (3) Reform: The evils which caused or worsened the depression needed to be remedied if the next generation was to be free from a like disaster.¹

Solutions to the problems of the depression were not easy. What helped one segment of the economy might be injurious to another. For example, farmers demanded

¹David Muzzey and Arthur Link, Our Country's History (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1965), p. 549.

higher prices for their food products to escape debt but fought the higher prices which manufacturers of farm implements contended were essential to business recovery. Nevertheless, the President and Congress were willing to try something to alleviate the distressed state of American economic and social life.

Between 1933 and 1940 a stream of new laws was passed to attack the problems of the depression. New agencies of government were created, including the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the National Recovery Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Civilian Conservation Corps, among others. These New Deal programs represented an attempt on the part of the federal government to attack the depression on many fronts at once. They also represented major shifts on political philosophy.

President Roosevelt believed that the problems facing America were inextricably tied to education. He viewed education as an agent of social change, capable of transforming America into a viable society. His appointment of the Advisory Committee on Education in 1936 was not an isolated event; it was an integral part of a comprehensive reform movement.

Circumstances in the last 1930's were propitious for one who possessed vision and social skill to make

significant contributions to American society. Dr. Reeves had been involved in several of the New Deal programs, notable the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. His experience in these agencies, his convictions concerning relations between education and public administration eminently qualified him to serve as chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education.

During the depression public education in America had reached a state of deterioration that demanded immediate attention.

During the 1932-33 school year, 81% of the children in white rural schools in Alabama were schoolless; Georgia closed more than a thousand schools with an enrollment of over 170,000 pupils; Dayton schools in early 1933 opened only three days a week.¹

The traditional high school curriculum was inadequate for many youth. Vocational education programs federally funded by the Smith-Hughes Act since 1917 were in need of revision. A major deficiency in the Act was that requiring matching funds. Instead of equalizing educational opportunity, the Act tended to favor wealthy states, which were more able to provide the matching funds. In addition, many believed there was too much emphasis on professional job preparation as compared

¹William E. Leuchtenburg, Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940. (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 21.

with non-professional training. While vocational training in agriculture appeared satisfactory, job training in the trades and industry was irrelevant to many youth. Most of it did not provide adequate on-the-job experience. There were cries from public educators that the federal government exerted too much control over the vocational programs. It was generally felt that these educational problems must not continue.

President Roosevelt was much concerned about the state of education in general, and vocational education in particular. While governor of the state of New York (1929-1932), he had viewed with concern the vocational education program in his state (with the largest state vocational education program in America). In spite of the effort exerted by the state and federal governments on behalf of vocational education, the program in New York did not meet the needs of either youth or adults.

The President wished that vocational education in America be studied carefully by an impartial committee. The immediate event leading up to the establishment of a study committee was the enactment of H. R. 12120, the George-Deen Act.¹ Though the President signed the bill into law on June 8, 1936, he was far from satisfied that its purpose and provisions were all that

¹H. R. 12120, introduced April 1, 1936, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, P. L. 74-673.

they should be. On the same date, he addressed identical letters to a number of Congressional members who had been instrumental in gaining passage of the Act, including Senator George and Congressman Deen. The text read as follows:

I have approved H. R. 12120, a bill 'to provide for the further development of vocational education in the several states and territories,' because of my deep interest in providing our young people with adequate opportunities for vocational training.

So many criticisms have been directed at the bill in its present state, however, that it seems to be advisable, before the Act goes into effect on July first, 1937, that a disinterested group review its provisions in relation to the experience of the Government under the existing program of Federal aid for vocational education, and the relation of such training for general education and to prevailing economic and social conditions.

Accordingly, I shall take steps in the immediate future for an appointment of such a group with instructions to make studies and recommendations which will be available to Congress and the Executive at the beginning of the next session.¹

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins nominated and the President appointed Mrs. Clara Beyer, director of apprenticeship training, to chair a committee to investigate the selection of an outstanding individual to direct an inquiry into vocational education in the United States. The committee informed the President that they

¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, letter to Senators Walter George (Georgia), and Ellison Smith (S. C.), and Representatives Vincent Palmisano (Md.), and Braswell Deen (Georgia). These four individuals were instrumental in the passage of H. R. 12120.

had canvassed the nation and selected the best man for the task--Dr. Floyd Wesley Reeves.

On September 26, 1936, Dr. Reeves was appointed by President Roosevelt to a committee on the study of vocational education. In a second action the President requested him to serve as the committee's chairman. In the letter of appointment to the chairmanship, the President stated:

Supplementing the letter I sent to you asking you to serve as a member of the Committee on Vocational Education, I shall be very glad indeed if you will find it possible to serve as the Chairman of this Committee.

The success of the work of the Committee will be greatly enhanced by your chairmanship.¹

The study group, designated as the National Committee on Vocational Education, was to present recommendations on the need for an expanded program of federal aid to vocational education. The Committee, vocational at the beginning and more general after April, 1937, was concerned with education of all ages, youth and adult. While most of its recommendations pertained to the education of youth, important proposals relating to adult education were also included.

¹Franklin Delano Roosevelt, letter to Dr. Reeves, September 26, 1936. OF 504, FDRL, Hyde Park, New York.

Dr. Reeves was well qualified to direct the study charged to the Committee. From 1924-1936 he had conducted or participated in conducting numerous studies in education. These investigations had covered a wide range of topics, e.g., accreditation, instruction, finance and administration. Dr. Reeves had remarked in 1930, ". . . it has been my privilege to participate in surveys of more than one-hundred-and-fifty colleges, junior colleges, normal schools, and universities."¹

He and members of the National Committee on Vocational Education were charged with a formidable task. Babbidge and Rosenweig, commenting on the problems of advisory committees, state:

Governmental advisory committees in the field of education start out with so many disadvantages that the true wonder is that they are able to accomplish anything at all. The first problem is that of who is represented on the committee, and the committee can easily founder on that reef before the first meeting is held. There must be, in every group, representatives of public and private institutions, and the group must be balanced geographically and represent major religious and economic interests. The result is often a group that cannot reach agreement on any but the broadest principles of virtue, generally, and good education in particular.

Even beyond this set of difficulties, however, there is the fact that advisory committees are by definition impermanent beings without any self-sustaining powers that would provide the continuity and follow-through needed to translate advice into policy.

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Critical and Constructive Suggestions from Surveys of Higher Education," Pennsylvania School Journal, Vol. 78, (March, 1930), p. 403.

Their recommendations are, after all, only that; to be accepted or rejected, pushed vigorously, mildly, or not at all, as the responsible officials see fit. All in all, advisory bodies face a formidable set of obstacles.¹

Chairman Reeves was cognizant of these problems in organizing the committee for action. The first major task, the selection of committee members, devolved upon Secretary Frances Perkins, Director Clara Beyer, and Oscar Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior. They compiled a list of individuals who might make valuable contributions toward the development of a sound program of vocational education. They agreed that it should be the prerogative of Dr. Reeves to reject any of their nominations. Because he had worked closely with many eminent vocational educators in the Tennessee Valley Authority, Dr. Reeves was conversant with the qualifications of those nominated by Perkins, Beyer, and Chapman. Seventeen committee members² were proposed by them, approved by Dr. Reeves and appointed by President Roosevelt.

Each of the members brought special expertise to the committee. For example, Edmund Brunner, Gordon Clapp, and George Googe had extensive experience in

¹Homer D. Babbidge, Jr., and Robert Rosenweig, The Federal Interest in Higher Education (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962), pp. 82-83.

²For a complete list of committee members, see Appendix A.

adult education, Mordecai Ezekiel had been economic adviser to the Secretary, Department of Agriculture, and Alice Edwards specialized in vocational education for the handicapped. Some committee members were chosen because of the influence they wielded in certain arenas. Dr. Reeves states:

I had to have the most important man in the field of Catholic education. And that man was Monsignor Johnson, director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. This organization has been the voice of the hierarchy. I chose Oscar Chapman because the United States Office of Education had been located in his department, that of the Interior. From labor I got Thomas Kennedy, who had been Lt. governor of Pennsylvania.¹

The budget of the Committee amounted to \$200,000. The budget was administered through the National Youth Administration. Each member of the Committee was paid twenty-five dollars for each day of meeting, plus expenses. Dr. Reeves received \$9,500 as director of studies for the Committee, in addition to the daily stipend as Committee member.

Dr. Reeves had planned extensively for the work of the Committee: he consulted with the President; he presented committee members with an outline of the Committee's broad purposes; he made the necessary budgetary arrangements for the work of the Committee.

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, personal interview, February 10, 1970.



The first several sessions of the Committee were devoted to basic operations such as: (1) purposes, (2) budget, (3) scope, (4) staff, and (5) the existing program of vocational education under the Smith-Hughes Act.¹ Dr. Reeves commented about these early sessions:

The first thing the Committee did was meet and discuss basic issues as to the purposes and scope of the study. The second session I came in with recommendations relative to the selection of my assistants. The third meeting was devoted to two purposes: (1) a breakdown of the study into parts, and (2) recommendations pertaining to individuals who would head up parts of the study.²

The Committee adopted a number of principles which were to guide its work:

1. The welfare of society demands that opportunity be offered every individual for the well-rounded development of his capabilities along socially desirable lines.
2. No clear line of demarcation can be drawn between general education and vocational education.
3. The major obligation of the public school in the field of vocational preparation is to train broadly for general occupational opportunity, rather than narrowly for specialized jobs.
4. Vocational counsel, vocational training, and follow-up in employment, are inseparable parts of any well conceived plan of education.
5. Training for occupational employment in any local center should be based upon the combined local and national picture of vocational opportunity.

¹Minutes of National Committee on Vocational Education, November 6 and 7, 1936.

²Floyd W. Reeves, interview with Carl Pacacha, February 20, 1969.

6. Preparation for a specific occupation, to be effective, should be given as closely as possible to the time of actual entry on employment.
7. It is socially and economically undesirable for immature youth to be gainfully employed in full-time occupations.
8. The desirability of the development of the work habit during youth should be recognized in planning for educational programs and for the part-time occupations of young persons.
9. Training for public service occupations should be provided at public expense.
10. Three types of vocational training on the adult level are an obligation of society: (a) retraining for those who have suffered loss of employment opportunities through technological change and through loss of skill during unemployment; (b) training for those whom society failed to give adequate training in their youth; (c) training for those who will be enabled thereby to render more efficient service in their present or related lines of work.
11. The provision, under governmental auspices, of training for the physically handicapped for gainful employment is socially and economically desirable.
12. The Federal Government has at least three responsibilities in the field of education: (a) stimulation of State and local effort; (b) equalization of educational opportunity between states; (c) research and reporting of information.¹

A conference committee of seven members was organized to plan and expedite the work of the Committee. Cooperative arrangements were made between the Committee and a number of other organizations to facilitate the investigation. The Report of the Committee details those cooperative arrangements:

¹Minutes of National Committee on Vocational Education, November 6 and 7, 1936.

[It involved] the Governors, the departments of education, and other branches of government in all 48 States; from the school and city officials of the District of Columbia; and from the Governor and the Commissioner of Education of Puerto Rico.

At all stages of its work, the Committee has received much assistance from the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, which has been carrying on an extensive program of research in fields related to those with which the Committee has been concerned.

The United States Office of Education has been of the greatest assistance throughout the course of the Committee's studies; it has furnished a very large part of the factual information needed by the Committee.

The National Resources Committee has made its files of information available to the Committee, has cooperated on various joint studies, and has been most helpful at all times.

Many other agencies of the Federal Government have assisted the Committee in important ways. Among these should be noted the Extension Service, the Forest Service, the Office of Experiment Stations, and the Soil Conservation Service in the Department of Agriculture; the Bureau of Fisheries and the Bureau of Lighthouses in the Department of Commerce; the Bureau of Reclamation, the Division of Territories and Island Possessions, the National Park Service, and the Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior; the Bureau of Prisons in the Department of Justice; the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Children's Bureau, the Division of Labor Standards, and the United States Employment Service in the Department of Labor; the Office of Island Governments and the Bureau of Navigation in the Department of the Navy; the Office of Fiscal and Budget Affairs in the Department of State; the Bureau of the Public Health Service in the Department of the Treasury; the Office of The Adjutant General in the Department of War; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the National Youth Administration; the Panama Canal; the Resettlement Administration; the Tennessee Valley Authority; the Veterans' Administration; and the Works Progress Administration.¹

¹Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, Printed as House Document No. 529, and referred to the Committee on Education, February 23, 1938, 75th Congress, 3rd Session. (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938), VIII, IX.

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The Committee was organized into task forces to study seven major areas of vocational education: agriculture, home economics, trades and industry, distributive occupations, vocational rehabilitation, federal relief programs, and the Federal Board for Vocational Education.¹ Major emphasis in the study would be in the first three areas. Dr. Lewis Smith, Dr. Barton Morgan, Dr. Walter Cocking, Mrs. Clara Brown, and Miss Anne Davis were hired as specialists to assist the task forces. The securing of personnel to assist the Committee remained the prerogative of Dr. Reeves:

It was agreed that the Chairman will continue to consult with the Conference Committee prior to all major appointments and on other appointments at his discretion, but shall otherwise have full authority to proceed with the selection and recommendation for employment of other members of the staff.²

Dr. Reeves concluded that vocational education could not be studied apart from general education. He discussed this matter with the total Committee and they concurred unanimously. Dr. Reeves then met with the President on April 19, 1937, to request that the Committee be authorized to enlarge the scope of its work

¹National Committee on Vocational Education, Minutes of November 7, 1936.

²Minutes of the Conference Committee, National Committee on Vocational Education, Third Meeting, December 9, 1936.

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to include all of education. Dr. Reeves recalls that he informed the President:

It is perfectly clear that we cannot study vocational education in any true sense without studying all aspects of education, in school and out. Vocational education has become too fragmented; it contains a whole series of satellite curriculums; agriculture, trades and industry, and professions.¹

The President responded that he had given much thought to the general relationship of the federal government to education (a number of educational bills were pending in Congress) and directed that the Committee enlarge its study to include the whole subject of the federal relationship to the state and local conduct of education. In addition, he approved the employment of four additional committee members as suggested by Dr. Reeves. The enlarged Committee² was renamed the Advisory Committee on Education. The President's letter to Dr. Reeves stated in part:

Inasmuch as the Committee of which you are Chairman, appointed last Fall to study vocational training, is

¹Floyd W. Reeves, interview with Carl Pacacha, February 20, 1969.

²Four new members were added: Charles H. Judd, George F. Zook, Frank P. Graham, and Luther Gulick. Dr. Paul David, who had served as Director of the Studies under the National Committee on Vocational Education became the Assistant Director of Studies and Dr. Reeves the Director for the Advisory Committee on Education. Under the reorganization Dr. Reeves and Dr. David retained the positions as Chairman and Secretary, respectively.

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also charged with considering the relation of such training to general education, it occurs to me that you already have considerable information at hand.

I am, therefore, asking your Committee to give more extended consideration to the whole subject of Federal relationship to state and local conduct of education and to let me have a report. I appreciate that this will take more time than that allotted to your Committee.¹

The expanded purview of the study required additional considerations in committee organization. In addition to a concentrated study of vocational education, other pertinent areas of education would have to be identified and integrated into the Committee's work. Additional consultants would have to be secured to assist in the study, and a synthesized report of the Committee's findings would have to be compiled and sent to the President.

An outline of suggested studies in education was developed and committee members and appropriate staff members assigned. Ten groups of studies were organized, with directors appointed as follows:

- I. Social, economic, and fiscal aspects of Federal aid to education, Newton Edwards and Paul Mort.
- II. The quality of the educational programs in the states, with special reference to major needs for reorganization of programs, Payson Smith.
- III. The organization and quality of the administration of education in the states, Walter D. Cocking.

¹President Roosevelt letter to Floyd W. Reeves, April 19, 1937, OF 405, FDRL, Hyde Park.

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- IV. The financing of education in the states, Paul Mort, Newton Edwards.
- V. Education in special Federal jurisdictions, Floyd Blauch.
- VI. Federal aid to vocational education, John Dale Russell.
- VII. New and emergency Federal education programs, Doak S. Campbell.
- VIII. Federal and state research, developmental and demonstration programs in education, Charles Judd.
- IX. Federal administrative organization for education, deferred study. (No director)
- X. Special studies, Leonard Power.¹

In place of the conference committee an executive committee was formed to authorize expenditures, pass upon recommendations for appointment to major staff positions, assist the planning studies, review staff studies, assist in preparing the preliminary draft of the Committee report, and confer from time to time between meetings of the Committee on matters connected with progress of the studies.²

The principal research of the Committee was conducted by approximately eighty sub-committees, which were comprised of temporary appointees from the ranks of professional research workers with expertise in education, public administration and economics. The greater part of this sub-committee work was completed during the summer of 1937. As time did not permit an extensive amount

¹Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Education, May 13, 1937.

²Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Education, Minutes of Executive Committee, May 19, 1937.



of original research, such investigation was not attempted except where existing information appeared entirely inadequate. The major function of the sub-committees was to collect, analyze and interpret available data. Explaining this function to a group of educators in 1937, Dr. Reeves stated,

Our objective is to organize effectively the results of professional thinking and the research studies that have already been completed. In other words, we intend to skim the cream off of the work that has already been done.¹

Published materials were utilized to a great extent; equally extensive use was made of unpublished information in the possession of the United States Office of Education and other federal agencies. Inquiries into many aspects of education were made through the use of questionnaires. This was particularly true in the case of vocational education. Field work was involved in some of the studies, particularly in regard to the study of state educational administration. Each state department of education was visited by at least one staff member for a period of from three days to a week.

The staff studies resulted in numerous memoranda and reports which were presented to the Committee during

¹Floyd W. Reeves, "Purpose and Functions of the Advisory Committee on Education," Advance Text of an Address delivered before the general session of the National Education Association, June 28, 1937.

the fall of 1939. These materials were compiled in a series of nineteen monographs¹ published by the Committee.

In addition to the materials prepared by the staff, additional valuable information was solicited by the Committee from governmental agencies, groups, organizations, and persons concerned about education. Part of this information came as submitted statements which were reproduced and distributed to Committee members. Much of it was obtained through conferences at which representatives of organizations and agencies presented their views directly to the members of the Committee.

After having accumulated the multifarious subcommittee reports, the Advisory Committee on Education set out to formulate its final report. The basic outline of the report was developed by Dr. Reeves and responsibility for the drafting of the report was given to Paul David, secretary of the Committee. Dr. Reeves gave instructions to his staff, sometimes carefully prepared, and sometimes with immediacy. Dr. David notes:

The final report had its genesis in some scribbled notes of Dr. Reeves on the back of an envelope. These contained the major topics that were to be treated in the report.²

¹For a complete list of the monographs, see Appendix A.

²Paul T. David, interview with Carl Pacacha, August 8, 1969.

On December 9-11, 1937, the Committee met for a general discussion of the preliminary report. At the last meeting of the total Committee, held on January 24, 1938, a final draft was agreed upon, with the executive board being granted the authority for editing and publication.

In an unusual action the members of the Advisory Committee on Education adopted a resolution that expressed to Dr. Reeves, Dr. David and the staff their deep appreciation for the effective manner in which they had carried on the work of the Committee. The resolution stated in part:

Without this invaluable assistance it would have been quite impossible to complete a report which the Committee believes will be a noteworthy contribution to the cause of education.¹

The Committee then adjourned sine die, January 24, 1938.²

In the judgment of Dr. David, secretary of the Committee, Dr. Reeves was highly creative in this policy situation:

He has extraordinary skill in dealing with other major participants in a policy situation. He can achieve great empathy even with people with whom he is in fundamental disagreement on substantive policy; frequently they are not aware of the disagreement until it comes to the final crunch where people have to be counted. He has great skill in extracting information from other people that will reveal their

¹Minutes of the Advisory Committee on Education, January 24, 1938.

²Ibid.

views, motivation, and probable posture in an oncoming policy situation. Reeves is also a great administrator in terms of how he handles his own time; he could always make time for his top priority jobs, and somehow or other he got everything else delegated that had to be delegated to give him time for what he had to do himself . . .

As a Committee Chairman, Reeves was highly skillful as presiding officer. He did not inject many of his own ideas while the Committee was actually meeting, let the discussion run free, and produced summarizing comments that gave direction on many occasions. The Committee always had an agenda and documentation in front of it in which Reeves had already made his impact . . .

He always did his substantive homework adequately; he had a very sharp awareness of limits within which other participants were thinking; he did what he could with them individually and privately in shifting and adjusting those limits, and then came up with his own proposal of what to do. Frequently his proposals were innovative in the sense that he had invented some unsuspected formula for satisfying everyone while getting the major substance of what he wanted himself.¹

The Report of the Advisory Committee on Education²

The most salient finding of the Committee was the great inequality of educational opportunity among the various regions of the country. This inequality was most pronounced in rural America, especially the seventeen-state Southeast region. The major reason for this inequality was judged to be the manner in which public

¹Paul T. David, letter to Carl Pacacha, July 7, 1969.

²Advisory Committee on Education, Report of, op. cit.

schools were financed. The vast majority of school funds were derived from the property tax. Consequently the fortunes of education were dependent largely upon the ability and willingness of property owners to pay taxes. The Report adds, "No other great social service is dependent so largely upon so unsatisfactory a tax base."¹ Children and adults living in a school district with little property tax base received an inferior education, unless aid came from outside the district. There was a high correlation between expenditures per pupil and quality of education.

Great differences existed among states as to the amount of funds spent for education. Figures 1 and 2 present the differences in funds expended by states for education in the year 1935-1936.

The amounts shown are average expenditures within the states and include state and local funds, and federal grants for vocational education. The range of expenditures between the highest and lowest states was striking; while New York and Nevada were providing expenditures of more than \$120 per pupil, Arkansas and Mississippi were spending less than \$30 per pupil.

This great disparity was not due to the lack of interest or effort on the part of Arkansas and Mississippi

¹Ibid., p. 12.

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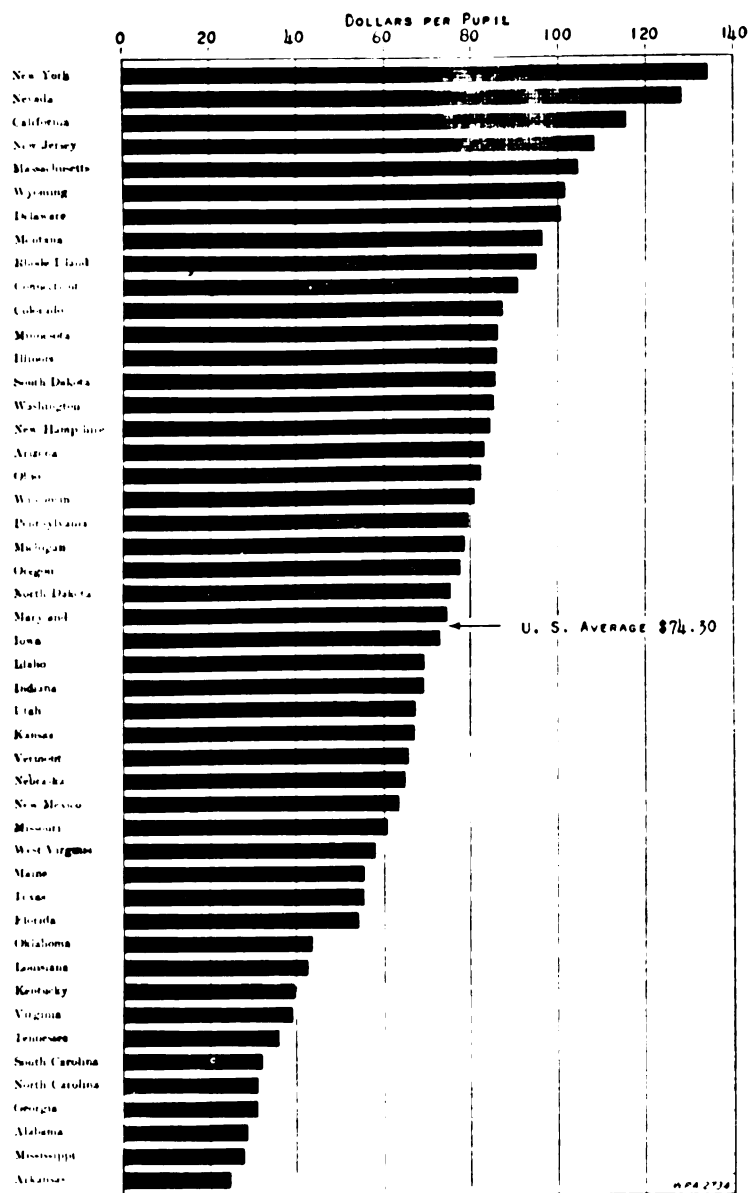


Figure 1.--Current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in the various States, 1935-36.¹

¹Ibid., p. 14.

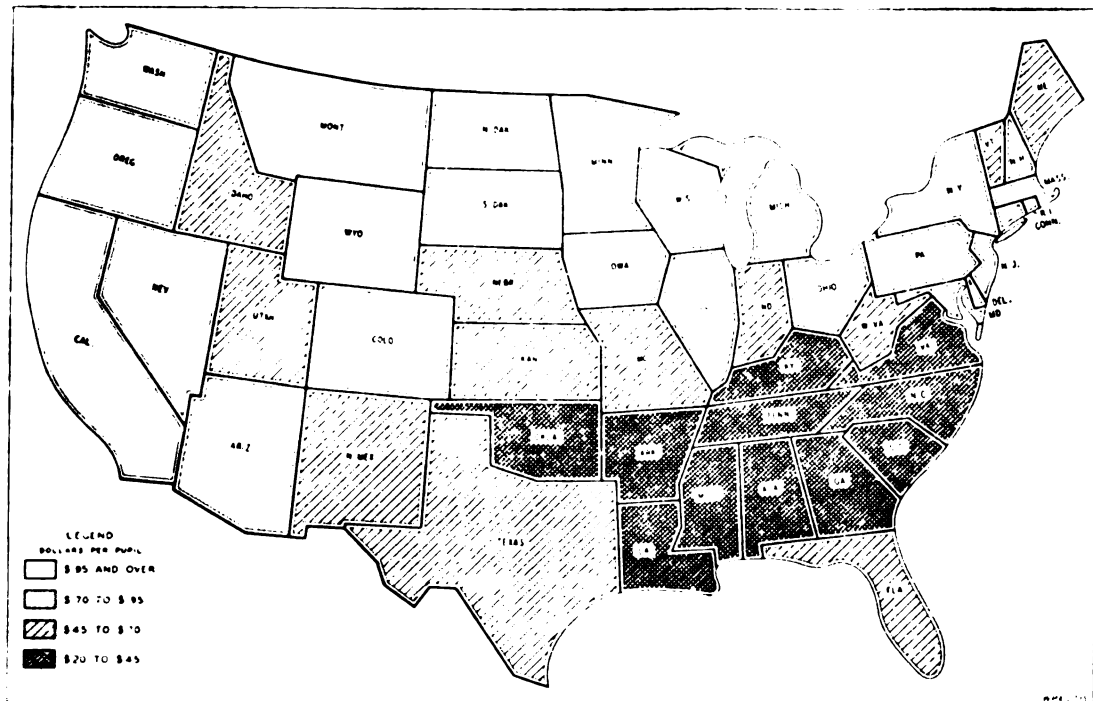


Figure 2.--Current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in the various States, 1935-36.¹

to provide higher quality education. On the contrary, they were putting forth the greater effort,

. . . the productive workers of the Southeast carry a burden of child care and education about 80 per cent greater than that carried by the similar age group of adults in the Far West. In 9 states, of which 6 are in the Southeast, there were in 1930 over 600 children 5 to 17 years of age per 1000 adults 20 to 64. In 6 states--New York, Illinois, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, and California--there were fewer than 400 children 5 to 17 years of age per 1000 adults 20 to 64 years of age.²

¹Ibid., p. 15.

²Ibid., p. 16.

The difference was due largely to: (1) a lack of ability to support schools, and (2) the high ratio of children to adults due to the migration of single adults and small families to urban centers. Figure 3 presents the ratio of children to adults in rural and urban areas.

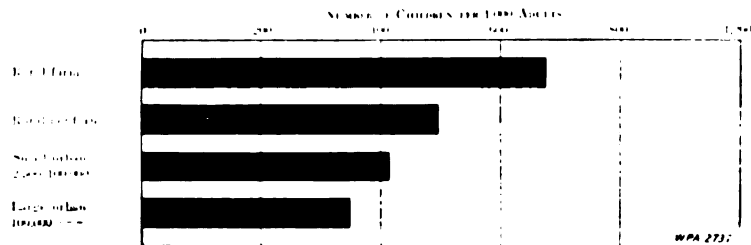


Figure 3.--Number of children 5-17 years of age per 1,000 adults 20-64 years of age, by size of community, 1930. Note:--Rural-farm, 675, rural-nonfarm, 495; small urban, 413; large urban, 348.¹

In each state the adult rural population was carrying an education load, in terms of number of children to be educated, that far exceeded the load carried by the adult urban population. The heaviest load of all was carried by the rural farm population, with almost double the number of children in proportion to adults found in large cities. The farm population's burden was not only disproportionate, but:

¹Ibid., p. 17. (Appearing as Figure 4 in Report)

. . . it must carry the load on a per capita income markedly less than that of the non-farm population. In 1930 the farm population was responsible for the care and education of 31 per cent of the children, but the farmers received only 9 per cent of the national income.¹

The problem of inequality of educational opportunity was primarily one of rural-urban differences in educational load and financial resources.

Approximately 20 per cent of school age children in the United States lived in states where an average expenditure of more than \$75 per child could be provided for education, yet another 20 per cent lived in states where not more than \$25 could be secured with average effort. Sixty per cent of children lived in states that could not provide \$50 for schools without more than average effort.

The financially able states were generally making less than average effort to support education while the less able states generally made a greater than average effort to support education. The states of low ability spent a greater percentage of their income for schools but provided the poorest education.

Many measures of educational service were highly correlated with variations in average expenditures among states. These included: teacher's salaries, length of school term, proportion of young people of high school

¹Ibid., p. 17.

age enrolled in high school, value of public school property, quality and amount of instructional materials and equipment and health and welfare services provided by schools.

The egress of the rural population to the city during the decade 1920-1930 was dominated by youth under twenty-five years of age. The early depression years acted as a check on the movement from farm to city, but by 1935 the migration increased again. Because of technological advances in agriculture, the egress to the city could be expected to continue. The problem became increasingly acute as youth educated in inferior schools moved to the city in search of economic opportunity.

The Report argued that the inequalities that exist in American education cannot go unchallenged if American is to continue as the bulwark of democracy. Millions of children are destined to receive an inferior education because of place of birth. The Report, citing the need for equalizing educational opportunity throughout the nation, states:

If, for a long period of years, each succeeding generation is drawn in disproportionately large numbers from those areas in which economic conditions are poorest, if the population reserves of the Nation continue to be recruited from economically underprivileged groups, and if the inability of the depressed economic areas and groups to provide proper education for their children is not corrected from areas and groups more prosperous, the effect on

American civilization and representative political institutions may be disastrous.¹

The Committee recommended that the allocation of funds among the states be made by means of a complex and objective formula based upon financial ability (determined by the Treasury Department), number of children of school age, 5-19 (determined by the Census Bureau), the ratio of enrollment in elementary and secondary schools, the sparsity of population, and other related factors. The only exception to the above allocation of funds would be the flat-grant to each state department of education. The United States Commissioner of Education would be vested with the power to determine the allocation of proposed grants to the states.

Provisions for Children and Youth

A Recommended Program of General Federal Aid for Elementary and Secondary Education

The Advisory Committee recommended a six-year program of general federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, the largest single allocation in the Report. The program was to commence July 1, 1939, and include the following amounts:²

¹Ibid., p. 23.

²Ibid., p. 31.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount</u>
1939-40	\$40 million	1942-43	\$100 million
1940-41	\$60 million	1943-44	\$120 million
1941-43	\$80 million	1944-45	\$140 million

The relatively small amounts were viewed by the Committee as a beginning, with the hope that substantial increases would be made after an evaluation of the proposed program's effectiveness. The funds were to be administered through existing state departments of education, in cooperation with the United States Office of Education. Allotments to local school districts would be determined by formulae based on objective data.

Grants were recommended for a wide range of operating and maintenance expenses of public elementary and secondary education, including:

1. The operation of school libraries, such libraries wherever feasible to be open to public use.
2. Such health, welfare, and recreational activities for children and youth as are placed under the direction of elementary and secondary schools through community plans developed with the cooperation of other community medical, health, welfare, and recreational agencies and organizations.
3. Preprimary training.
4. Services for handicapped pupils.
5. Educational and vocational guidance activities developed under community plans.
6. Vocational education, including supervision of club work and home projects.
7. Placement activities in cooperation with public employment services.
8. Technical and vocational institutes and other educational programs primarily for youth under 20 years of age that are operated as parts of

- local secondary school systems, not including normal schools.
9. Part-time civic, general, and vocational adult educational and recreational activities under the auspices of school systems.
 10. Provision for books and other reading and instructional materials.
 11. The transportation of pupils.
 12. Scholarships.¹

The last three items were deemed to require special attention and funds were to be allocated separately.

The Committee recommended that services such as reading materials, transportation, scholarships; and health and welfare services also be made available to non-public schools. The provision of such services was left to the discretion of the states.

Each state would be responsible for submitting reports to the United States Office of Education relative to the distribution and use of federal funds. In addition, the state would be required to report on the status of education in its schools.

Supplementary Special Aid

1. Teacher preparation--the amounts recommended are \$2 million for the fiscal year 1939-1940 to \$6 million for the years 1941-1945. The amount for each state is to be determined by the proportion of general aid for elementary and secondary education. The provision of grants should be made available for the current operating and maintenance expenditures of the following types of publicly controlled institutions: (1) Separate teacher-preparation institutions of more than

¹Ibid., pp. 33-34.

junior college grade, (2) Teacher-preparation divisions operated as parts of colleges and universities, and (3) Other schools, colleges, and departments operated as parts of colleges and universities in which a substantial proportion of the students are preparing for elementary-and-secondary-school teaching and administration, student guidance, school library service, and educational research.¹

2. School construction--the amount of \$20,000,000 is recommended for the fiscal year 1939-1940; it should be increased to \$30,000,000 for the following years through June 30, 1945. The fund should be available for not to exceed 50 per cent of the cost of construction and equipment of school buildings, exclusive of land. School buildings and equipment should be broadly defined; the policy of including facilities in school buildings for public libraries and community-center activities should be encouraged.²
3. State departments of education--the funds are intended to improve the educational administration, research and coordinating functions of the states. They would not be used for salaries of department personnel. The Committee therefore recommends special Federal grants . . . as follows: \$1,000,000 during the fiscal year 1939-40; \$1,500,000 during the fiscal year 1940-41; and \$2,000,000 during each of the succeeding fiscal years through 1944-45, by which time the grants should be reconsidered. A flat grant of \$5,000 is recommended for each State each year; the remainder of the fund should be distributed on the same basis as the general aid to elementary and secondary education.³

Provisions for Adult Education

In the parlance of the Advisory Committee, adult education included programs of civic, general, vocational, and basic education for out-of-school youth and adults.

¹Ibid., p. 40.

²Ibid., p. 42.

³Ibid., p. 44.

Within the purview of this study, adult education includes all commonly identified efforts of schools and colleges to provide education for out-of-school youth and adults, plus such other efforts as library services, correspondence study, veterans' education, community service programs, in-service training in the vocations and professions, and adult guidance, counseling, and placement services.

Vocational Education

The major agency for the preparation of young people for a vocation was taken to be the public high school. The deficiencies of this school were great, particularly the education offered to the vast majority of youth who did not go on to college. Even if adequate programs had been provided, existing facilities could not have accommodated the increased enrollments that would have resulted. The drop-out rate among high school students was great, ranging from 58 per cent to 75 per cent of first year enrollments.¹ The two major causes of the high drop-out rate were seen as (1) poverty at home, and (2) inadequate high school programs of study. Though the schools could not be criticized for the loss of pupils because of poverty, they had to accept a major share of the responsibility for inadequate curricula.

¹Ibid., p. 63.

The Advisory Committee cited the great need for improving vocational education programs. The basic statutes providing federal aid for vocational education needed revision so as to grant local districts more authority in devising their own programs. The provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act discouraged experimentation and innovation in vocational education programs. Federal funds were to be made available for a wide range of occupational training, with stress on apprenticeship programs and an occupational outlook service. The student aid program was to be continued. Because vocational education programs tended to produce a supply of workers without reference to demands for such labor, there were needed such services as guidance and placement.

There was substantial evidence to indicate that some businesses and industries exploited youth in the in-plant training programs. Foremen were sometimes paid as teachers; beginning workers were classified as pupils long after they had mastered skills; and workers were paid low wages or none at all.

The public schools were very deficient in providing adult education programs in vocational education, particularly the retraining of adults.

The present method of distributing federal funds was inadequate as:

1. the earmarking of funds did not take into account changing economic and job requirements, which required flexibility in allocation of appropriations from one area of vocational education to another.
2. discrimination existed in the distribution of funds to Negro schools in the South.
3. the matching principle was inimical to equalization as most rural areas find it difficult or impossible to match.

Recommendations for the Improvement of Vocational Education

1. The student aid program of the National Youth Administration should be continued. Whereas aid for needy high school students 17 and 18 years of age should be continued as at present, aid for college youth and other students over 18 should be authorized on a work basis only.
2. An occupational outlook service should be provided by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The initial appropriation of at least \$50,000 should be provided for this service.
3. Vocational guidance, counseling and placement should be provided in the United States Employment Service, with an appropriation of \$500,000 allocated.
4. An appropriation of \$135,000 should be provided for the stimulation of apprenticeship training.
5. Work camps and projects provided by the Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration should be continued through public agencies until the time that youth can be absorbed into regular employment. An attempt should be made to provide educational experiences in addition to work experience. The CCC should be placed under civilian control.¹

¹Ibid., pp. 83-86.

Educational Services for Adults

Education had been viewed by most individuals as an activity that ceased at the end of elementary school or upon receiving the high school diploma. It was readily apparent that industrialization, technology, and other rapid social and economic changes required an educated citizenry. The need for education in America was great. Approximately one-half the adult population in the United States did not finish elementary school and approximately 4 per cent were completely illiterate.¹

The enrollment of adults into effective programs had an impact on all of education. It was reasonable to expect that an increased interest in learning among adults would produce an increased interest in learning by children and youth.

Recommended Educational Services for Adults

1. Special Federal grants to the States should be provided for educational services to adults. The amounts recommended are: \$5,000,000 during the fiscal year 1939-40; \$10,000,000 during the fiscal year 1940-41; and \$15,000,000 during each of the succeeding fiscal years through 1944-45. The grants should be allocated among the States in proportion to their respective total adult population.
2. The primary purpose of the grants should be to stimulate the States to make adequate provision for civic, general, and vocational part-time adult

¹Ibid., p. 86.

educational activities, including workers' education, citizenship classes for aliens, and the teaching of illiterates.

3. The grants should not be restricted to expenditure through the public schools; they should also be available for expenditure through the extension services of colleges and universities and through other appropriate nonprofit educational agencies.
4. The grants should be conditioned upon the designation by each State of its department of education, or a board of education controlling that department, as the agency to cooperate in the distribution of the grants. Distribution within States should be provided for through plans jointly agreed upon by the respective State and Federal administrative agencies. The plan for each State should be prepared with the assistance of a State council on adult education, on which each major type of adult education program in the State should be represented.
5. Suitable provision should be made for audits and reports, and for an equitable distribution of the grants in those States maintaining separate schools and institutions for Negroes.
6. If the general work-relief program of the Federal Government is continued, the continuation of the existing emergency adult education program is recommended. If the emergency adult education program is continued, there should be greatly increased emphasis upon cooperation with departments of education in the various States in the planning and administration of the program.¹

Work Camps and Work Projects

The Advisory Committee believed that useful work activities had to be provided by public agencies so that out-of-school young people could have opportunities for

¹Ibid., pp. 88-89.

Table 1.--Proposed grants for adult education distributed among the States and other areas in proportion to adult population.¹

State	1939-40	1940-41	* 1941-42
Total.....	\$5,000,000	\$10,000,000	\$15,000,000
Alabama.....	92,168	184,336	276,504
Arizona.....	16,547	33,094	49,641
Arkansas.....	66,107	132,214	198,321
California.....	259,055	518,110	777,165
Colorado.....	42,118	84,236	126,354
Connecticut.....	66,764	133,528	199,692
Delaware.....	10,950	21,900	32,850
Florida.....	58,644	117,288	175,932
Georgia.....	102,746	205,492	308,238
Idaho.....	16,735	33,470	50,205
Illinois.....	326,547	653,094	979,641
Indiana.....	135,086	270,172	405,258
Iowa.....	101,723	203,446	305,169
Kansas.....	76,184	152,368	228,552
Kentucky.....	96,372	192,744	289,116
Louisiana.....	77,378	154,756	232,134
Maine.....	32,831	65,662	98,493
Maryland.....	67,199	134,398	201,597
Massachusetts.....	181,020	362,040	543,060
Michigan.....	198,350	396,700	595,050
Minnesota.....	104,985	209,970	314,955
Mississippi.....	70,654	141,308	211,962
Missouri.....	153,197	306,394	459,591
Montana.....	21,532	43,064	64,596
Nebraska.....	55,030	110,060	165,090
Nevada.....	4,083	8,166	12,249
New Hampshire.....	19,811	39,622	59,433
New Jersey.....	169,592	339,184	508,776
New Mexico.....	14,774	29,548	44,321
New York.....	549,274	1,098,548	1,647,822
North Carolina.....	105,659	211,318	316,977
North Dakota.....	24,415	48,830	73,245
Ohio.....	275,755	551,510	827,265
Oklahoma.....	87,771	175,542	263,313
Oregon.....	41,879	83,758	125,637
Pennsylvania.....	387,849	775,698	1,163,547
Rhode Island.....	28,162	56,324	84,486
South Carolina.....	56,427	112,854	169,281
South Dakota.....	26,181	52,362	78,543
Tennessee.....	96,514	193,028	289,542
Texas.....	219,432	438,864	658,296
Utah.....	18,014	36,028	54,042
Vermont.....	14,887	29,774	44,661
Virginia.....	88,519	177,038	265,557
Washington.....	68,002	136,004	204,006
West Virginia.....	61,275	122,550	183,825
Wisconsin.....	119,462	238,924	358,386
Wyoming.....	9,000	18,000	27,000
District of Columbia.....	22,923	45,846	68,769
Alaska.....	2,425	4,850	7,275
American Samoa.....	306	612	918
Guam.....	13,579	27,158	40,737
Hawaii.....	13,242	26,484	39,726
Puerto Rico.....	46,533	93,066	139,599
Virgin Islands.....	861	1,722	2,583

¹ Number of persons 20 years of age and over in 1930 is used.

* This grant is to be continued for the succeeding 3 years.

¹ Ibid., p. 147. (Appearing as Table 3 in Report.)

employment and education. It endorsed the existent federal work camps of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the work projects of the National Youth Administration.

The CCC, employing young men 17-26, was originally established for purposes of relief and conservation. It soon became evident, however, that the education needs of the enrollees were great: it was found that 84 per cent of them had not completed high school, 44 per cent had not completed the elementary grades, and many were practically illiterate.¹ The Advisory Committee concluded that although the educational achievements of the CCC had been creditable under the circumstances, the Corps would not realize its potential as an educational enterprise until certain obstacles had been removed.

The NYA was established to provide relief, education, and rehabilitation for young men and women, 16-24. Most individuals did not leave home while enrolled in the program. They carried out a wide variety of conservation projects, including beautification and repairs.

Recommendation for Work Camps
and Work Projects

1. The work camps of the CCC and work projects of the NYA should be continued for the time being

¹Ibid., p. 76.

and efforts for their improvement be continued.

2. Work camps should be located near existing educational facilities and definite cooperative arrangements should be made. The youth engaged on work projects and living at home should also be stimulated to participate, on a voluntary basis, in part-time local educational programs when suitable programs can be arranged.
3. Because of the similarity in objectives and activities of the CCC and NYA, the Committee recommends that they be placed under the direction of a single new agency, which might be appropriately designated as the National Youth Service Administration.
4. The administration of the CCC camps should be placed entirely on a civilian basis. It is particularly important that all personnel stationed in the camps be placed upon a civilian status, that educational factors be given major consideration in their selection, and that their tenure be placed upon a more regular basis. The camp directors should continue to have responsibility for educational leadership in camps, and only such personnel as are capable of providing cooperative educational leadership should be selected or retained as camp directors.
5. The work projects program of the existing National Youth Administration should be continued along much the same lines as at present, with additional effort to increase the educational value of the projects and to stimulate the educational interests of the youth concerned. Some form of educational activity should be provided in connection with all work projects.¹

Rural Library Service

The best libraries were to be found in urban areas. In most rural areas public library service was not available. Not only was there a great need for

¹Ibid., pp. 79-81.

library services, but these services had to be brought into a closer relationship to the schools, particularly in rural areas.

Recommended Library Services

1. Special Federal grants to the States were to be provided for the extension of library service to rural areas. The amounts recommended were \$2,000,000 during the fiscal year 1939-40; \$4,000,000 during the fiscal year 1940-41; and \$6,000,000 during each of the succeeding fiscal years through 1944-45. These amounts should be allocated among the States in proportion to their respective rural populations.
2. The United States Office of Education should be designated as the Federal agency to allocate the library fund and to cooperate with the States in its administration.
3. The grants to each State should be conditioned upon the establishment and maintenance of a State-wide library system through which free library service will be available to each inhabitant. It will be necessary for each State to designate or establish an administrative agency; the States should not be required to designate their departments of education, although it is to be hoped that most States will do so.
4. Suitable provision should be made for joint plans to be prepared cooperatively by the State and Federal administrative agencies. The plan for each State should provide (a) for the maintenance of a cooperative and integrated system of library service throughout the State; (b) for expenditure of the Federal funds within the State in such manner as to equalize opportunity for library service so far as feasible; (c) for suitable cooperative arrangements with school systems, the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service, and other appropriate agencies; (d) for the employment of only qualified personnel; (e) for

audits and reports; and (f) for avoidance of any discrimination between races in the services provided by Federal funds.¹

Higher Education

In the perception of the Committee, higher education in America was characterized by internal conflict and lack of coordination of its many services. The federal government should encourage a greater measure of cooperation within states with respect to activities that receive federal subventions. While the federal government should not take action to force consolidation of higher education institutions in any state, it should avoid any action that might contribute to duplication of facilities or diffusion of resources.

Recommendations for Higher Education

1. If the Cooperative Agricultural Extension Service continues to be primarily an educational agency administered by the land-grant colleges, increasing attention should be given to the development of appropriate relationships between the Extension Service and the public school systems in the rural areas of the various States.
2. Attention should be given to the development of increased cooperation between the Extension Service and the schools in providing adult education for agriculture and home making. In view of the established position of the Extension Service in the special type of education it provides for adults, public schools should seldom provide courses in agriculture and home making for adults

¹Ibid., p. 91.

in farming areas without the sponsorship and active cooperation of the local representatives of the Extension Service.

3. The existing grants for instruction in the land-grant colleges and for the related activities of research and extension should be continued and the increases now authorized by law should be made. Whenever the legislation providing for these grants is reconsidered, careful attention should be given to the bases of allocation among the States and to the revision of the matching requirements that now exist in connection with certain of the funds. The land-grant colleges and the United States Department of Agriculture should give increased attention to a more equitable distribution of the extension funds within states.
4. Attention should be given to a more equitable division of the Federal grants for agricultural research and extension between services for the two races in those States maintaining separate schools and institutions for Negroes. Cooperative arrangements between the land-grant institutions for white and the corresponding institutions for Negroes should be developed wherever practicable, in order that the special problems of all rural people may receive attention through constructive, realistic, and well-coordinated research.¹

Related Areas of Education

The Advisory Committee was also concerned with special problem areas of education: vocational rehabilitation, the District of Columbia, the Indians, research and coordination of educational services.

Recommendations

1. A nation-wide survey should be made of the needs for vocational rehabilitation. In addition, the

¹Ibid., p. 100.

Federal Vocational Rehabilitation Service should be expanded to cooperate with other Federal agencies concerned with health, welfare, and employment.

2. The District of Columbia, the territories, and outlying possessions should be included in any system of grants on the same basis as a state.
3. Special attention should be given to the educational problems of Indians.
4. The United States Office of Education should increase its services of research and leadership. Its administrative responsibility toward schools should be confined to the administration of grants. Suggested appropriations for 1939-40 include \$1,250,000, reaching \$3,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1940-45. There should be cooperative long-range planning for education by federal, state, local, and private agencies. The land-grant colleges, colleges of education and state departments of education should be involved in this planning.
5. The various educational activities of federal agencies should be coordinated to avoid waste and duplication.¹

The Advisory Committee Report represents a comprehensive study of American education during the period of the 1930's. Tables 2 and 3 present the existing and proposed Federal grants for educational service, and the provisions of proposed new Federal grants.

The major finding of this investigation was the inequality of educational opportunity among the various sections of the country. Urban center schools, although in need of improvement, were judged to offer the most effective education. There were great deficiencies in

¹Ibid., pp. 101-124.

Table 2.--Amounts of existing and proposed Federal grants for educational services.¹

[In thousands of dollars]

Fiscal year	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
Existing grants							
Vocational education	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785
Vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983
Land grant colleges							
Resident instruction	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030
Agricultural research	6,860	7,177	7,500	7,512	7,525	7,537	7,512
Extension service	17,996	18,333	18,373	18,113	18,453	18,493	18,563
Total existing grants	53,594	54,608	54,671	54,723	54,776	54,828	54,873
Proposed grants							
General aid to elementary and secondary education		10,000	60,000	80,000	100,000	120,000	140,000
Improved preparation of teachers and other educational personnel		2,000	1,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Construction of school buildings to facilitate district reorganization		20,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000
Administration of State department of education		1,000	1,500	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Educational services for adults		5,000	10,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000
Library service for rural areas		2,000	1,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Cooperative educational research, demonstrations, and planning		1,250	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Total proposed grants		112,000	112,500	142,000	162,000	182,000	202,000

¹Ibid., p. 125. (Appearing as Table 1 in Report)

Table 3.--Provisions of proposed new Federal grants to the States for educational services.¹

Provision	General aid for elementary and secondary education	Aid for teacher preparation	Aid for school buildings	Aid for State departments	Aid for adult education	Aid for library service
Basis of allocation among States	Financial needs of the States.	Proportional to general aid	Proportional to general aid	\$5,000 grant to each State; remainder proportional to general aid.	Adult population	Rural population.
Matching by State or local funds required.	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Joint planning required, to cover method of distribution within the State	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
State agency to be designated to coordinate equitable distribution to Negroes required.	State department of education. ¹ Yes	State department of education. ¹ Yes	State department of education. ¹ Yes	No joint planning required. Not applicable.	State department of education. ¹ Yes	State to designate. Yes.

¹ Or a board of education controlling that department.

¹Ibid., p. 126. (Appearing as Table 2 in Report)

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rural education. The recommendations of the Advisory Committee were an attempt to equalize educational opportunity throughout the United States.

One Committee member submitted a minority report containing supplementary and dissenting views. Mr. T. J. Thomas, although in accord with the major findings of the Report, dissented with the Committee, stating:

I believe that no State is entitled to receive Federal aid until it has made a reasonable beginning in the work of equalizing educational opportunity within its own borders, even though to do so may require the amendment of State laws or even State constitutions.¹

He also recommended a smaller program of grants on the assumption that the restoration of industry and employment would preclude the necessity for large subventions. Thomas' minority report actually strengthened the majority one; it showed that there was Committee unanimity on the need for federal aid to education.

In 1941, three years after the Report was made public, Dr. Reeves made these observations:

The Advisory Committee did not recommend a special board for distributing the funds to the States. As I look back over the discussions within the committee, I think that point was never raised. Personally, I favor such a provision very strongly. I believe this provision appears for the first time in a Federal-aid bill. [S. 1313]

There was one other aspect of this situation to which the Advisory Committee did not give adequate

¹Ibid., p. 142.

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recognition. I suppose we did not have enough information at that time to realize the importance of the problem. I refer to the problem of education of migratory workers. On the basis of the studies that have been made since the Committee reported, I realize how important it is that provision be made for educating the children of migratory workers.¹

Commenting on the Report some three decades later, Dr. Reeves observed:

It was more than a research report; it was a political report. It was to advise politicians not only what had to be done, but equally important what could realistically be accomplished. \$300 million was not enough to meet the educational needs of the nation--but we didn't want to fight windmills.²

The completed Advisory Committee Report was presented to the President on February 18, 1938. In a personal letter on the following day, Reeves noted:

Yesterday morning at 9:30 I delivered the report to the President. He has taken it with him to Hyde Park to read over Washington's birthday. Wednesday it will be transmitted to Congress and released to the public.³

The President, in turn, forwarded the Report to the Congress of the United States without recommendation on February 23, 1938. His message read:

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Educational Finance Act of 1941," Hearings before a Sub-committee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, Seventy-seventh Congress, First Session (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941), April 28-30, p. 99.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, interview with Carl Pacacha, February 18, 1969.

³Floyd Wesley Reeves, personal letter to his wife, Hazel, February 19, 1938.

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I transmit herewith, for the information of the Congress, report of the Advisory Committee on Education appointed by me in September, 1936 to study the experience under the existing program of Federal aid for vocational education, the relation of such training to general education and to prevailing economic and social conditions, and the extent of the need for an expanded program.¹

In addition to provisions for general federal aid to elementary and secondary education, higher education, and related areas of education, the Advisory Committee Report stressed the need for adult education. The proposed programs for adults included vocational education, library services, and civic, general, basic and citizenship education. These provisions were strengthened in later federal enactments, notably the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title III, as amended, the Library Services and Construction Act, and Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

The report of the Advisory Committee on Education was significant for two reasons: (1) it focused attention on the most serious problems affecting American education, and (2) it offered a program of action to deal with these problems. The Congressional Quarterly Service reports:

¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, Message of the President to the Congress, February 23, 1938.

Exhibit C

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The report of the Advisory Committee on Education in 1938 documented what had long been suspected--that there was substantial inequality of educational opportunity between the states.¹

The significant contributions of the Advisory Committee can be summarized:

1. The Report of the Committee promptly became the leading document in its field among professional educators, replacing the previous proposals of the National Education Association. This resource of information was cited often in later deliberations over federal aid to education.
2. The Report of the Committee documented what had already been known--education in America had deteriorated in all areas of the country.
3. The Report of the Committee called attention to the inequality of educational opportunity in America.
4. The Report of the Committee substantiated the need for federal aid to education.
5. The Advisory Committee, as contrasted with what had been done in previous proposals for education, called attention to the need for aiding the whole of education in attempting to achieve social change.
6. The Advisory Committee proposed funds for education on the basis of need, not on a matching fund basis, as had often been done previously in legislation for education.
7. The Advisory Committee assigned a significant role to adult education. It viewed the education of children and adults as a continuous process.

¹Congressional Quarterly Service, Federal Role in Education (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967), p. 17.

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A summary of the major recommendations of the Advisory Committee included provisions for the following types of programs:

1. General elementary and secondary education
2. Adult education
3. Higher education
4. Textbooks and other instructional materials
5. Vocational education
6. Transportation of pupils
7. Scholarships
8. Teacher preparation
9. School construction
10. State departments of education
11. Research
12. Library services
13. Work camps and work projects
14. Selected aid to non-public schools
15. Aid to federally impacted areas.

Of the fifteen categories of services recommended by the Advisory Committee, more than one third (6) carried provision for adults and out-of-school youth. The Committee demonstrated its concern for adult education by including these provisions: vocational education, general adult education, in-service teacher preparation, university extension, library services, and work camps

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and work projects. To a large degree the Report of the Committee focused on adult education, as well as education of children and youth. Through its provisions for all types of educational programs, the Committee called attention to the inter-relatedness of elementary, secondary, adult, and higher education. And it provided a reference document which would provide basic data for initiating or supporting federal legislation on behalf of education for youth and adults for three decades.

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CHAPTER V

FROM WHITE HOUSE TO CAPITOL HILL

The chief executive often serves as a source of ideas for the programs which Congress considers. This came to be especially characteristic of the legislative process during the 1930's; almost all important legislation originated in the White House. Nelson Polsby¹ states that a number of factors have led to the expansion of the presidential powers beyond the limits conceived by the authors of the Constitution: the emergence of America as a world power, the growth of the executive branch, the communications revolution, and the industrialization of American society.

It is in Congress, however, where the nation's social forces converge with the turbulence of a whirlpool at the foot of a waterfall. Vast and conflicting regional, economic, social, and political interests focus there from our country and abroad. Capitol Hill is the locus of thrust and counter thrust in the formulation of national policy. Almost never does a major

¹Nelson Polsby, Congress and the Presidency. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 12-14.

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new policy or program pass through the Congress when first introduced; rather initial "success" consists of keeping it afloat, having it seriously considered, having its merit agreed to rather broadly and keeping it on the agenda.

Dr. Reeves did not act in a vacuum; his successes and failures were determined to a large extent by social forces operative at the time: some recently born of depression, war, and political upheaval, and others old and persistent, in the form of sectional and religious interest, political philosophy, and ethnic or economic concern. Negotiating this maze of social currents and cross currents, Dr. Reeves concentrated upon one goal-- a national policy for education. The Advisory Committee on Education had been commissioned by the President; its report was received by him and forwarded to Congress.

The Controversial Committee Report

A general advance press release, an article of sixteen pages outlining the salient features of the Committee's Report, was distributed to 850 general newspapers and 224 labor newspapers throughout the United States and to 122 correspondents and bureaus of press associations in Washington. A briefer release, stressing

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the advantages to rural areas, was mailed to 152 weekly country newspapers and journals.¹

Some of the larger newspapers, such as the New York Times and Christian Science Monitor, printed long stories produced by their own writers. The Times reproduced the entire sixteen page release. In addition, radio news programs featured the Report.

When the content of the Advisory Committee Report was made public on February 23, 1938, it soon became the center of intensive discussion in many quarters. The major findings of the Committee pertaining to educational needs were unchallenged; they had substantiated the case for federal aid to education. Adult education, an important component of the Report, remained outside the arena of controversy; popular and legislative discussion was not on adult education. Such disagreement as resulted from discussion of the Committee Report was concerned almost entirely with details of the plans recommended by the Committee to effect improvement in education for children and youth.

However, Dr. Reeves was concerned about the plight of adult education, non-existent in some school units and operating on meager funds in many others. Speaking in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he had stated:

¹Paul T. David, Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Education, Memorandum to Committee Members, February 28, 1938.

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Increased financial support for adult education is necessary today and . . . it should no longer be required to subsist on the margin of funds left over after the needs of other educational levels have been met. While adult education is voluntary, social and economic forces affecting the individual are strong and often make such education 'socially compulsory.' It is not confined to mature adults, but may include youths who have left the full-time school for a job . . .¹

Newspaper editors were generally opposed to federal aid in 1938 on the grounds that the federal government would usurp local control of education. One magazine which sampled press opinion found that 78 per cent of the editorials responded unfavorably and 22 per cent responded favorably to the Report.²

Those dissenting with the Report were concerned primarily with three issues:

1. federal control over education
2. separation of church and state
3. allotment of funds on the basis of need.

The issue of Dr. Reeves and his colleagues--federal aid to education--was obscured by these issues (which they did not raise). Their issue was not settled by Congress; instead the tangential questions of federal control, religion and allotment were debated in the halls

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "More Attention to Education of Adults Urged," The Evening News, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, September 23, 1937, p. 7.

²United States News, Editorial, Vol. 6 (March 14, 1938), p. 6.

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of Congress and across the land. Thus, the scope of the conflict had become enlarged; the real issue had become clouded; and the question of federal aid had become more complex.

Typical of the trepidation over federal control of education was an editorial in the Patterson (New Jersey) News, stating in part:

It is hardly open to doubt that extensive federal aid to weak school districts will be accompanied by federal control over curricula, teaching methods, and teachers' training.

Just as federal aid to farmers has meant federal control over farm production, just as federal aid to state militias has meant federal control of organization and training, so federal expenditures for education will carry an implication of bureaucratic control over the substance of education.¹

The St. Louis Post Dispatch made known its concern:

Above and beyond the question of need, above and beyond the question of ability of the Treasury to stand this added drain, is the graver one as to whether the march toward Federal Empire is to be given this added impetus.²

The Washington Post on February 25 editorialized that Federal influence could not, in the long run, be sufficiently restrained: "Paying the piper, there is a strong probability that Congress would, sooner or later, try to call the tune."³

¹Patterson News, Editorial, May 18, 1939.

²St. Louis Post Dispatch, Editorial, February 25, 1938.

³Washington Post, Editorial, February 25, 1938.

Dr. Reeves crossed and recrossed the nation in support of the Advisory Committee proposals. In speeches, periodicals, and seminars he stressed the need for federal aid to education, while at the same time assuaging the deep concern over federal control, separation of church and state, and allocation of funds. Sympathizing with those concerned about federal domination of education, Dr. Reeves attempted to alleviate these fears:

In no case should the federal government attempt to control or manage the schools. In no case should it determine the content of the educational program or the processes of education. These matters belong to the states and local communities.¹

That provision in the Report which would permit states to utilize federal funds for special services in non-public schools generated a storm of protest. Contending that such aid was in direct violation of the principle of separation of church and state, the dissenters hoped to influence public opinion. Though in favor of federal aid to public schools, Dr. George S. Counts, Professor of Education at Columbia University, contended: "I think that is a very dangerous and vicious recommendation. It seems to me that it is an entering wedge to destroy the public school system."² A more

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Reeves Warns of U.S. Control," Chicago Daily News, July 23, 1938.

²George S. Counts, New York Times, February 26, 1938, L-17. (It is interesting to point out that Counts reversed himself on federal aid to education for non-public schools in the early '40's. He joined Reeves on

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vociferous opponent was Columbia University Professor George D. Strayer, who appeared repeatedly in public to denounce the Committee's recommendation that each state decide which schools should receive aid. The John Dewey Society and the Horace Mann League also opposed the Report on this issue. Vigorously defending the Committee's position on non-public school aid, Dr. Reeves responded:

The Advisory Committee did not recommend that the states make Federal funds available to children in private schools for any one of these services. [Transportation, textbooks, health and welfare services] It did recommend specifically that the states be not prohibited from determining the matter.¹

Opposition to the Report also focused on the allotment of funds to states on the basis of need. This point was raised by newspapers in the wealthier Northern and Eastern states, such as New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. Samuel Rosenman, special assistant to President Roosevelt, reflects on the President's concern for inequality of educational opportunity:

On his first trips to Warm Springs, Georgia, the President had been gravely disturbed by the poor educational facilities in many counties in the

the Commission on Education Reconstruction of the American Federation of Teachers in 1944 to champion federal aid for all children and adults.)

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Educators Ask Federal Aid for Public Schools," Christian Science Monitor, March 1, 1939.

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South. In private conversation he often made it clear that he felt strongly that there was no reason why a child born in some county too poor to sustain a good school system should have to start life in competition with children from sections of the country that had fine schools. If the states were not themselves willing or able to provide enough money to help, he felt that the only way to equalize educational opportunities was through the resources and Treasury of the United States.¹

The President himself attempted to justify the practice of upgrading education in poorer communities. Speaking at the National Education Association (a major proponent of federal aid) convention in New York City in 1938, he stated:

. . . but we know that in many places local government unfortunately cannot adequately finance either the freedom or the facilities to learn. And there the Federal Government can properly supplement local resources . . . We know that the weakest educational link in the system lies in those communities which have the lowest taxable values.²

Although the President favored federal subventions for education, he knew that such aid was unlikely. Events at home and abroad dominated decisions; the New Deal legislative program would have to wait. Intraparty conflict, the hassle over Supreme Court packing, and an economic recession dominated much of the President's attention in 1938-39. In the off-year election of 1938

¹Samuel Rosenman, Working with Roosevelt (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), pp. 394-395.

²Franklin D. Roosevelt, Address to National Education Association, World's Fair Grounds, New York City, June 30, 1938.

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the electors, as they so often do in such elections, reduced his support in the House of Representatives. The ominous world situation caused immediate concern. As Rexford Tugwell stated: "He would have to confirm the choice he had begun to make in 1938: sacrifice of the New Deal for foreign policy."¹

Despite the negative opinions regarding the Report, there were many who hailed it as the most significant educational plan yet devised for American education. Congressman Noah Mason, speaking at the same NEA convention, referred to the Report as

. . . one of the most comprehensive reports ever made in the field of education in the United States. It is a beacon light that marks the way we have come, that illuminates the serious situation that confronts American education today and that points the way that education must travel from now on if substantial progress is to be made.²

The Nations' Schools warmly supported it:

The recommendations of the committee were based on intensive research by a staff of specialists of unusual ability . . . The outstanding contribution of the report is its emphasis on improvement, its reasonable recommendations for progressive achievement and its safeguarding of state and community control of education.³

¹Rexford Tugwell, The Democratic Roosevelt (Garden City, 1957), p. 476.

²Noah Mason, "Teachers' Fight for U.S. Aid Urged," New York Times, June 28, 1938, p. 10.

³Nation's Schools, "Looking Forward," Vol. 21 (March, 1938), pp. 17-18.

The same publication also called the report one of the

two most important reports ever made in this country on the problem of federal relations to education: the Hoover advisory committee's report of 1931 and the Roosevelt advisory committee's report of 1938.¹

Both major professional organizations, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, endorsed the Advisory Committee Report. More than any other single organization, the NEA had been the champion of federal support of education. In the voluminous literature it published, the NEA staunchly defended the Report and the need for federal aid. Official commendation of the Report came from the Legislative Commission of the NEA on February 26, 1938.² The announcement followed a two-day study of the Report, including a conference between President Roosevelt and officers of the organization. The American Federation of Teachers sent identical congratulatory telegrams to President Roosevelt and Dr. Reeves urging enactment of a program of federal aid to education, and adding: "The American Federation of Teachers extends its congratulations to the President's Advisory Committee on Education for its

¹Nation's Schools, "Side Glances," Vol. 6 (June, 1938), p. 3.

²National Education Association, Statement of the Legislative Commission, meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 26, 1938.

forward-looking report."¹ Thus the two most significant education organizations in America had concurred with the Committee's findings and recommendations.

Approval came from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor: "In the main, Labor concurs in the Committee's findings and in sponsoring the bill to put them into effect."²

Time cited the Report's success in neutralizing Catholic opposition to federal aid:

'The momentous report,' submitted by a committee headed by University of Chicago's hard-working Floyd Wesley Reeves, removed two stumbling blocks to the Fletcher-Harrison bill: size of proposed appropriation and Catholic opposition.³

This opposition was not fully neutralized, however. Many Catholic spokesmen expressed trepidation over federal control. In its editorial of April 2, 1938, America, a prominent Catholic weekly, issued this trenchant assertion:

How many years will pass before the political pedagogs at Washington completely control the schools in the states, once the subsidy system is installed? We think rather, that the term will be measured in

¹Mary Foley Grossman, National Legislative Representative, American Federation of Teachers, March 1, 1938.

²William Green, Federal Aid for Education, no date.

³Time, "Glaring Inequalities," Vol. 31 (March 7, 1938), pp. 41-42.

months. Washington has not cooperated with the states. . . Cooperation belongs to the horse-and-buggy age, Washington does not cooperate. It controls.¹

Newsweek detailed the Committee's recommendations and presumed that the Report, rather than the pending Harrison-Fletcher bill, "will be the basis of the Administration's future educational legislation."²

School Executive stated about the Report:

This report makes history, and if enacted into law, will be the culmination of a vigorous campaign for Federal aid that has extended over a period of twenty years.³

After the Report was made public, many educators and Congressmen believed that President Roosevelt would publicly endorse attempts to gain federal aid to education. Senator Pat Harrison (D-Miss.) had tried unsuccessfully in 1937 to promote federal legislation for education. On January 5, 1937, Senators Harrison and Black and Congressman Fletcher co-sponsored S. 419, which would have provided federal funds for education. This bill, endorsed by the NEA, would have provided appropriations on the basis of population in each state.

¹America, "Federal School Funds," Vol. 58 (April 2, 1938), p. 613.

²Newsweek, "President's Committee Urges Subsidy to Modernize the Country Schoolhouse," Vol. 11 (March 7, 1938), p. 25.

³School Executive, Vol. 57 (April, 1938), p. 339.

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However, the bill languished in the Senate. Senator Harrison was undaunted, however, stating:

In view of this report, it is hoped that the President will put his stamp of approval on the legislation and that this Congress . . . can take it up for consideration. The report of the advisory committee certainly simplifies the matter.¹

The Advisory Committee Report became the center of attention to those sponsors of pending legislation for education: Senators Pat Harrison and Elbert Thomas, and Congressman Brooks Fletcher. They viewed the Report as a powerful instrument of support for the cause and the specific legislation they had been advocating.

The President's Dilemma

Following the release of the Advisory Committee Report, the legislative Commission of the NEA, in cooperation with representatives of the Advisory Committee and numerous national organizations, drafted a bill which was introduced as a substitute for S. 419. Dr. Reeves, Dr. Zook, and Dr. David of the Advisory Committee attended the special meeting of the Legislative Commission on March 23 to explain the Report, answer questions, and participate in the drafting of the substitute bill.

¹Pat Harrison, New York Times, February 25, 1938, p. 19.

Dr. Reeves expressed some concern as to whether any proposed legislation were consonant with the President's budget. He proceeded to dispatch a letter to the Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget David Bell:

We have been requested by the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor to assist in drafting a bill which will place in legislative form recommendations contained in the report of the Advisory Committee, which, as you know, was transmitted to Congress by the President on February 23.

In view of the instructions contained in Budget Circular No. 344, November 15, 1937, we should be glad to be advised as to the attitude we should take and the procedure we should follow in connection with legislation to carry out the Committee's recommendations, and in particular, whether any statement should be made as to the position of the President other than that expressed in his message to Congress transmitting the report of the Committee.¹

Bell's reply² was that Reeves and any other Committee member should act as private citizens in the drafting process, and not to indicate the relation of the proposed legislation to the program of the President.

This action of the Bureau of the Budget was highly significant. The Bureau is the President in the "institutionalized presidency" sense. When the Bureau of the Budget director stated that Reeves was "not to

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, letter to David Bell, Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget, March 11, 1938.

²David W. Bell, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, March 18, 1938.

indicate the relation of the proposed legislation to the program of the President," that was much more reliable than if the President had stated it himself. That is because the President might have had to say something nice for public consumption; the Bureau was the President doing, not saying.

The budget, according to David E. Bell, President Kennedy's first Director of the Bureau of the Budget, is

. . . a major means for unifying and setting forth an over-all executive program. . . [It] reflects [the President's] judgment on the relative priority of different Federal activities. Thus, the President's budget necessarily reflects his policy judgments and the Congress in acting on the President's budget necessarily reviews these policy judgments as to the relative importance of alternative uses of national resources.

. . . The essential idea of the budget process is to permit a systematic consideration of our Government's program requirements in the light of available resources; to identify marginal choices and the judgment factors that bear on them; to balance competing requirements against each other; and, finally, to enable the President to decide upon priorities and present them to the Congress in the form of a coherent work program and financial plan.¹

Education was a major component of the New Deal. However, the disastrous Congressional elections and recession of 1938, the adverse effects of the Supreme Court packing attempt, and the ominous world situation caused the President to sacrifice his educational

¹David E. Bell, in Nelson Polsby, op. cit., p. 83.

program (he had hoped temporarily) to preserve something more valuable--the national security. Faced with a difficult decision, the President had established his priorities.

The President did not put his weight behind the proposed legislation. Being a politically sensitive man, he knew any action on the part of Congress, Reeves, Harrison, Thomas, et al. would have to be unilateral; that is, without Presidential support.

The ambivalent position of President Roosevelt toward publicly supporting the Advisory Committee Report and the subsequent legislative proposals had a deleterious effect on attempts to secure federal aid in 1938 and later. The President's views on federal aid to education were influenced by some of the people very close to him and whose judgment he trusted. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes exerted particular influence. In a letter to Frances Perkins, Ickes had stated very shortly after the Committee report had been submitted:

It seems to me, in view of all the circumstances surrounding any proposed legislation dealing with the exceedingly complicated question of Federal financial support for education in the States, the looking toward radical revision in existing acts of Congress, we should not advise the President at this time to commit himself to the many specific recommendations of the Advisory Committee.¹

¹Harold Ickes, letter to Frances Perkins, May 17, 1938. FDRL, OF 504.

The President's position first became apparent after the final draft of the Advisory Committee Report had been presented to him. In a memorandum to his secretary, Marvin McIntyre, the President issued these instructions: "It is OK to print this report but with no implication of Presidential approval."¹

The President was flooded with correspondence in 1939 urging him to support federal aid to education. However, he eschewed support of the pending bills in Congress. The following are typical evasive replies to those requesting executive action: ". . . I shall give careful consideration to your recommendation that I send a message to the Congress urging enactment of S. 1305."² Also, "Should this bill come to me for final approval you may rest assured that it will have my thoughtful consideration."³

Some believed that, in terms of President Roosevelt's own perception of how to move the country forward, he did not rely on public education as a major instrumentality. While he supported categorical programs of

¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, memo to Marvin McIntyre, February 12, 1938, OF 504, FDRL.

²Franklin D. Roosevelt, telegram to Frank M. Dixon, Governor of Alabama, March 14, 1939, OF 107, FDRL.

³Franklin D. Roosevelt, telegram to Miguel A. Garcia Mendez, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Puerto Rico, April 29, 1939, OF 107, FDRL.

literacy, relief, and vocational education administered through federal agencies, he was not ready to accept a total financial package for public education. In retrospect Dr. David states:

I never had any reason to think that President Roosevelt was positively inclined to back the kind of program that Reeves was moving in the direction of. In fact, some people thought the Advisory Committee was created to filibuster federal aid to education. The White House was never excited about federal aid. I think this was a mistake.¹

In fairness to the President, however, it can be stated that he at least did not take more drastic action, such as suppression of the Committee Report or the dissuasion of Congress from acting on federal aid.

The Advisory Committee recommendation that each state determine which schools would be recipients of aid generated more intense reaction from two segments of American society. On the one hand were the implacable adherents to the principle of separation of church and state. On the other were Catholics and a smaller number of denominational school representatives who were certain that their schools would be excluded from federal funds.

The President did not want to incur the wrath of the Catholics, a sizable voting bloc, which could spell defeat in the approaching election of 1940. Rather than

¹Paul T. David, interview with Carl Pacacha, August 18, 1969.

commit this political blunder, he withheld support of the federal aid to education proposals. The President alluded to this political factor stated in a memorandum to Lauchlin Currie, administrative assistant:

In regard to your memorandum on . . . the subject of education bill, I think frankly that in view of the political situation--not the need--it is best to defer any educational grant at this session.¹

Thus, as of March 18, 1938, the President had officially abandoned Dr. Reeves, not only for the present, but in years to come. The perseverence of Dr. Reeves and the Bills' sponsors was a testimony to their singular purpose of upgrading education through federal intervention.

Congress: The Whirlpool of Social Forces

The new bill introduced on April 19, 1938, was known as the Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher bill. Senator Thomas commented about the new measure:

The Senator from Mississippi and I have consulted with the Chairman, and Vice-Chairman, and the secretary of the Advisory Committee, and many other persons conversant with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee, and have had drafted an amendment to Senate bill 419.²

¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, memo to Lauchlin Currie, February 10, 1940, OF 504, FDRL.

²Elbert Thomas, Congressional Record, Vol. 83, p. 7294, April 19, 1938, 75 Congress, Third Session.

On April 21 a companion bill was introduced in the House, H.R. 10340,¹ by Congressman Brooks Fletcher of Ohio. Senator Harrison had agreed to adjust his bill to incorporate the major provisions of the Advisory Committee Report, which he said "should be heartening to every American citizen who believes in Federal assistance to public education."² The major change in the new bill was that of apportioning funds on an equalization basis (as recommended by the Advisory Committee), instead of apportioning funds on the basis of population 5-20 years of age. It retained provisions for civic, general and vocational adult educational services.

Both Senators Harrison and Thomas worked tirelessly for the federal aid bill. Speaking in New York City, Senator Thomas pointed out:

You have had before you for some time now the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill, and the . . . substitute. You have before you the Reeves Report, which is the basis for the substitute . . . It is in keeping with the necessities of the times that we turn to Federal aid for education.³

¹H.R. 10340, introduced April 21, 1938, 75 Congress, Third Session.

²Pat Harrison, "Wider School Aid Rushed at Capital," New York Times, February 26, 1938, p. L-19.

³Elbert Thomas, address at the National Education Association convention, New York City, June 27, 1938.

Senator Harrison made known his plans for federal aid:

We are going to do everything possible to expedite passage of this legislation at this session of congress. [sic] The report of the advisory committee appointed by the President is fine, and I shall advocate such changes in the bill already reported by the committee to carry out the committee's recommendations with reference to needs and the reduced annual appropriations.¹

The Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher bill was reported favorably out of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on April 19. This action was notable in that it marked the first time a standing committee of Congress had endorsed the principle of federal aid to general elementary and secondary education. Although the bill was brought to the Senate floor, it was not voted upon prior to adjournment.

Senator Harrison pleaded in the Senate for action on his bill, as it had been introduced the previous year. He believed that the dilatory action of the Senate was unjust; his bill had not been allowed a fair test. Senator Alben Barkley, majority leader, did not think the time propitious for favorable action on the measure. Working closely with the President on legislative matters, Barkley was cognizant of the Chief Executive's desire to defer action on federal aid to education. David Truman, summarizing the close tie between the majority leader

¹Pat Harrison, "U.S. Education Bill Spurred by Harrison," Jackson News, Mississippi, March 12, 1938.

and the President, holds that this tie is a condition associated with effective leadership:

Elective leaders are, and probably must be, both the President's leaders and the party leaders . . . [In] order to be fully effective as leaders of the Congressional parties, they must above all be effective spokesman for the President; or at least, excepting the most unusual circumstances, they must appear to be his spokesmen.¹

Senator Barkley believed that the House was in no frame of mind to pass the bill and therefore it should not get in the way of bills that contained more promise of enactment. He added:

I am sympathetic toward this measure and probably would vote for it, but we have reached the point of the session where we must drop some desirable bills so as to let others get through.²

Senator Harrison was furious at this turn of events. He wanted assurance from the Senate leadership that his bill would be considered early in the next session. Thomas supported this plea, contending that sufficient hearings had been held on the bill and no more were necessary.

Because of the controversy generated by the bill, however, and the numerous suggestions made for its

¹David Truman, The Congressional Party (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959), p. 298.

²Senator Alben Barkley, "Senate Leaders Make Promise Contingent on Victory in Fall," Baltimore Sun, June 8, 1938.

improvement, it was apparent that revision of the bill was in order before its re-submission to the next Congress. The Senate Committee on Education and Labor concurred on the need for revision. It was agreed that the bill would be re-introduced at the next session of Congress. At the time of adjournment of the 75th Congress, the bill was on the calendar of the Senate and lodged in the House Committee on Education. Even though the House Committee on Education took no action on the bill and the Senate did not vote on it, most supporters of the proposed legislation believed that substantial progress had been made toward its final enactment.

The Executive Committee of the Legislative Commission of the NEA agreed unanimously to leave the matter of making a final draft of federal aid legislation to the chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education (Dr. Reeves). The Executive Committee of the Association itself adopted the following motion in regard to future federal aid legislation:

The Executive Committee of the National Education Association approves the report of the Executive Committee of its Legislative Commission and gives full approval in proceeding as the Legislative Commission sees fit in conference with Dr. Reeves and the President's Advisory Committee on Education.¹

¹National Education Association, Report of the Executive Committee of the Legislative Commission to the Executive Committee of the NEA, October 1, 1938.

The Congressional elections of 1938 proved a stinging defeat for the President. In addition to gaining six seats in the Senate, Republicans had won eighty more seats in the House of Representatives.¹ In effect, the New Deal had run its course even though the President wished to push forward. Paul Conkin states that the "New Deal which began in a burst of energy simply 'petered out' in 1938 and 1939."²

The President relied on Dr. Reeves as a liaison with members of Congress interested in a federal aid program. To Reeves fell the task of coordinating a federal aid to education program. Retaining his optimism that Congress would soon act, Dr. Reeves proceeded to plan for the 1939 legislative session:

I talked with the President today. Everything is OK for next year. He wanted me to help during the winter in putting the program through. He is for the program we recommended.³

Senator Harrison, Chairman Thomas, Congressman Larrabee and other members of Congress continued to press for a suitable bill for education. Chairman Thomas

¹Russell Kirk and James McClellan, The Political Principles of Robert A. Taft (New York: Fleet Press Corporation, 1967), p. 42.

²Paul K. Conkin, FDR and the Origins of the Welfare State (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967), p. 101.

³Floyd Wesley Reeves, letter to his wife, Hazel, August 31, 1938.

requested that Dr. Reeves assist in the drafting of legislation. Dr. Reeves notes:

Today I had a conference with Senators Thomas and Harrison. They say they are willing to follow my lead in legislative matters.¹

During the latter months of 1938 two bills based primarily on the Report of the Advisory Committee were developed. H.R. 3517, a federal aid to education bill, was introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman William Larrabee of Indiana, chairman of the Committee on Education, on January 31, 1939.

On February 13, Senator Thomas introduced companion bill S. 1305 on behalf of Senator Harrison and himself. Both bills represented several years of study and deliberation. In addition to incorporating the major recommendations of the Advisory Committee, these two bills contained features of S. 419, Senator Claude Pepper's bill providing for training of crippled children, and provisions from earlier bills.

The Senate bill was similar but not identical to the House bill. Both bills authorized appropriations to the states for the purposes and in the amounts recommended by the Advisory Committee. Each was in accord with the general intent of the Committee that public

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, letter to his wife, Hazel, December 31, 1938.

agencies administer all funds to elementary and secondary schools. However, both bills omitted the permissive provision whereby any state might have designated private schools to share in federal support, and prohibited states from expending any of their grants through private agencies. Two important changes (from S. 419) were made in S. 1305: first, the wording of the bill was modified to diminish the possibility of inference that the federal government was to control education in the various states, and second, reference to those eligible for funds was deleted and the matter was left entirely to the states.¹

Dr. Reeves commented on the similarity of the Advisory Committee Report and S. 1305:

. . . In its broad outline the bill follows the recommendations of the Advisory Committee. It differs in some details, but the differences appear to be the reasonable result of the study and discussion which have gone on since the report was made public. The bill can probably be improved still further, but it has been perfected to a substantial degree by a large amount of careful and deliberate work.²

The Larrabee and Harrison-Thomas bills differed on two points. The Larrabee bill retained the permissive

¹Congressional Record, Vol. 84: 980, 1345-47, 76th Congress, First Session, 1939.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, Testimony before a Subcommittee of the Committee of Education and Labor, U.S. Senate, 76th Congress, First Session on S. 1305, March 2, 3 and 10, 1939 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 30.

section under which a state might have chosen to channel selected benefits to students in non-public schools:

Provided, that nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit any State legislature, if it so desires and under such conditions as may determine consistently with the constitution of such state, or the local jurisdictions of any state under such conditions as the State legislature may determine, from making available to children legally in attendance at non-public schools any services of health, welfare, books, reading materials, or transportation of pupils that may be made available through expenditure of Federal funds for children in attendance at public schools.¹

The Senate bill sponsored by Harrison and Thomas did not include even that permissive provision.

The "child benefit theory," as it came to be known, was a significant shift in attempts to provide educational services to non-public schools. This theory holds that educational services such as books, transportation, and health services are provided for the benefit of children, not the support of a religious institution. Dr. Reeves, concerned about the welfare of all children, worked closely with Congressman Larrabee to include this concept in H.R. 3517. Although the theory was not implemented at this date, it did play a highly important role in the success of later legislation. Philip Meranto states that

¹H.R. 3517, introduced January 31, 1939, 76 Congress, First Session.

The reasoning behind this principle may be traced to the case of *Everson v. Board of Education* [1947]. In this case a New Jersey law authorized school districts to pay transportation costs of children going to and from all non-profit schools, with the district reimbursing parents of children who use public transit. In a 5-to-4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the primary object of the law was public safety, not assistance to private education, and it therefore did not violate the First Amendment. This has come to be known as the 'child benefit' principle and was used repeatedly by groups in 1965 to justify their position.¹

A second difference appeared in the proposed grants to the United States Office of Education for Cooperative Educational Research and for Administration. The Larrabee bill stipulated the amounts recommended by the Advisory Committee--\$2,000,000 for the fiscal year 1940 and \$3,000,000 for each of the succeeding five years. The Harrison-Thomas bill authorized 3 per cent of the other grants carried in the bill. This amounted to an authorization of slightly more than \$2,000,000 for 1940, and the grant increased to approximately \$6,000,000 for fiscal year 1945.

Neither bill incorporated provisions for major changes in the administration of federal funds for vocational education, as proposed by the Advisory Committee. Some members in both the House and Senate expressed the opinion that amendments of present vocational education

¹Philip Meranto, The Politics of Federal Aid to Education in 1965 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967), p. 72.

acts should have been provided for through separate amendatory legislation.

In introducing the federal aid to education bill, Senator Thomas remarked:

The bill as previously introduced has been the subject of intensive discussion by citizens all over the country and by most of the groups and organizations interested in public education. Many suggestions for revision were the result of this discussion. . . The suggestions for revision have been carefully considered and the bill has been thoroughly redrafted . . .

The purpose of the bill, as set forth in the general statement of policy with which it begins, is to assist in equalizing educational opportunities without Federal control over the educational policies of States and localities. The administrative features of the bill have been given careful attention with this proposal in mind. Every effort has been made to avoid any necessity or even occasion for the intervention of Federal administrative officials. After the States have accepted the act, or the various parts, which are separable, and have complied with a limited number of specific provisions, the United States Commissioner of Education is directed to certify payment of the grants. He is not directed or authorized to approve or disapprove any plans of the States for the expenditure after they are made and to make an annual report setting forth in detail the extent to which each of the States has accomplished the equalization of educational opportunity in comparison with previous years.¹

Both the Harrison-Thomas and Larrabee bills proposed to implement many of the major recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Education. To carry out other

¹Elbert Thomas, Congressional Record, Vol. 84, pp. 1345-47, 76 Congress, First Session, February 13, 1939.

recommendations of the Committee additional legislation and administrative action would have been necessary.

S. 1305 was favorably reported to the Senate by the Committee on Education and Labor, April 3, 1939. In submitting its report, the Committee noted:

The committee finds on the basis of incontrovertible evidence that, without a reasonable amount of Federal assistance to the States for the support of public education, there is not the faintest hope that any fair degree of equality of opportunity will or can exist in these United States.¹

However, there was not unanimity in the Committee's views. Senator Robert Taft dissented from the Committee stand on S. 1305. He objected to the bill on three grounds: (1) the likelihood of federal control, (2) the high expenses involved, and (3) an unfair method of distributing funds.² In his minority report he decried the intervention of the federal government in local prerogatives, especially education: "If there is any activity in which the people are able to stand on their own feet, without being nursed from Washington, education is that activity."³

¹Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Federal Assistance to the States for the Support of Public Education, Report of the Committee, April 3, 1939, Report No. 244, 76 Congress, First Session, p. 2.

²Robert Taft, Individual Views to Accompany S. 1305, from the Committee on Education and Labor, Report No. 244, 76 Congress, Second Session, April 24, 1939, p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 2.

Senate committee members David Walsh and Victor Donahey also objected to the bill, stating that "it is no time, however meritorious the proposal may be, to begin new and far-reaching financial undertakings."¹

Dr. Reeves promulgated the Report of the Advisory Committee and the pending legislation in Congress through professional writing and speaking. Writing in the American Teacher, he stated:

The pending Harrison-Thomas-Larrabee bill does not provide an adequate program of federal aid but it does provide a financially and administratively feasible beginning along the line recommended by the President's Committee. I believe that the need for this legislation is steadily receiving more general recognition. Every practical friend of democracy who wishes to see established the conditions that are necessary if democracy is to continue should press earnestly for the enactment of this legislation.²

Speaking in Richmond, Virginia he contended:

There appears to be but one remedy for the situation of unequal educational opportunity existing in America today. That remedy is federal aid to schools.³

¹David Walsh and Victor Donahey, *Minority Views to Accompany S. 1305*, from the Committee on Education and Labor, Report No. 244, part 3, 76 Congress, Second Session, June 13, 1939.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, "The Problem of Federal Aid," American Teacher, Vol. 24 (April, 1940), p. 6.

³Floyd Wesley Reeves, *Address to American Association for the Advancement of Science*, Richmond, Virginia, December 28, 1938.

Hearings on S. 1305

Hearings on S. 1305 were held before a sub-committee of the Committee on Education and Labor on March 2, 3 and 10, 1939. The Senate sub-committee members included Elbert Thomas, chairman, Lister Hill, William Borah, James Davis, and Josh Lee. The whole committee was invited to take part in the hearings as S. 1305, since having been reported on favorably in the previous session, it was the whole committee's bill.

Dr. Reeves was the first witness before the sub-committee. In an unusual gesture, Chairman Thomas prefaced the appearance of Dr. Reeves as follows:

And may I say this in connection with Dr. Reeves' report? It is merely a humble opinion, but is a sincere one. I believe firmly that in the history of education in our country probably no more significant report, based as it was upon honest research and investigation dealing with the relationship of education and the Government, has come from any group of persons.¹

After identifying himself, it was necessary for Dr. Reeves again to present a letter² from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget relative to S. 1305. The letter appears as follows:

¹Elbert Thomas, U.S. Senate, Hearings before a Sub-committee of the Committee on Education and Labor, 76 Congress, First Session, on S. 1305, March 2, 3, and 10, 1939 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 222.

²David W. Bell, letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, March 1, 1939.

Bureau of the Budget
Washington, March 1, 1939

My Dear Mr. Reeves:

I have your letter of February 16, 1939, in which you state that the Senate Committee on Education and Labor has requested you to appear at a hearing scheduled tentatively for March 2, 1939, for the purpose of discussing S. 1305, a bill to authorize appropriations to assist the States and territories in providing more effective programs of public education and requesting to be advised as to the relation of the proposed legislation to the program of the President.

I have taken this matter up with the President and you are advised that the proposed legislation would not be in accord with his program.

Very truly yours,

D. W. Bell
Acting Director

In his fifty-nine page testimony¹ Dr. Reeves cited the need for improving education and equalizing opportunity. He presented numerous exhibits dramatizing the need for federal subventions.

Thirty-eight witnesses appeared to testify before the sub-committee, most of whom favored federal aid to education. Notable advocates included John Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, Willard Givens, Executive Secretary of the NEA, and Irving Kuenzli, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Teachers. In addition to Dr. Reeves, two other

¹U.S. Senate, Hearings before a Sub-committee of the Committee on Education and Labor, 76 Congress, First Session, on S. 1305, March 2, 3, and 10, 1939 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 22.

members of the Advisory Committee testified: Frank Graham and George Zook. The fact that the United States Commissioner of Education testified on behalf of the bill is evidence that the President favored federal aid to education.

After the hearings on S. 1305 were concluded, popular discussion of federal aid to education waned because of discontent over New Deal measures and the international crisis. Chances for passage of any major proposal at this time were highly improbable. Newly-elected Senator Robert Taft noted in a letter to his "old friend" Herbert Hoover: "The Republicans are still in the minority, but I doubt very much if the President could get anything extreme through the present Senate."¹ A few weeks later, he wrote to Horace Taft:

There is not much interesting about the Senate . . . We move very slowly, but I get the distinct impression that the New Deal is on the defensive, and that their representatives in Congress are not very hopeful about their ability to defend it successfully.²

¹Robert T. Taft, letter to Herbert Hoover, January 23, 1939. Robert A. Taft Papers, Library of Congress.

²Robert A. Taft, letter to Horace Taft, March 9, 1939. Robert A. Taft Papers, Library of Congress.

Federal Legislation in 1938-39 and
Operative Social Forces

In March, 1939 President Roosevelt directed his Democratic leaders in Congress to drop consideration of all but essential legislation and work for adjournment as early as June. As stated in the Washington Post: "His program calls for . . . scuttling of the Harrison public school assistance bill . . ."¹ It was the President's desire to avoid new taxes.

Once again, attempts to gain federal aid for general elementary and secondary education had failed. It would not be until 1958 that broadly significant federal aid would be realized.

Writing in her autobiography, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt reflects on legislation in 1938-1939:

Only bills that were 'must' legislation got full administration support. In the first years these were largely economic and relief measures; later on they were measures for defense . . . Franklin frequently refrained from supporting causes in which he believed, because of political realities.²

However, the Advisory Committee Report was not without significance. It remained an authoritative source of information and legislative proposals during

¹Cecil B. Dickson, "Roosevelt Cuts Slate to Bare Essentials," Washington Post, March 28, 1939, p. 2.

²Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 161.

at least the next twenty-five years. Proponents of federal aid have often cited its findings when attempting to substantiate their arguments.

Failure to enact federal aid to education in 1939 can be attributed to a number of national and international influences, including the international crisis, economic recession, the Supreme Court battle, and a shift in political forces expressed through the 1938 Congressional election. When viewed in total, these influences constituted a serious threat to all major legislation for education. While the worst years of the Great Depression were over, there had been a brief but alarming "recession" in 1937 and the federal government continued to operate on a deficit budget in 1939, as it had for each of the previous eight years.¹ The federal aid program proposed by the Advisory Committee was small; however, it was generally recognized that this beginning would eventually lead to a vast program of federal subventions.

President Roosevelt could not commit the Nation to such a comprehensive program without incurring further deficits. He wired Sidney Hall, Chairman of the

¹United States Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 711.

Legislative Commission of the NEA, indicating that the problem at present was largely one of finance.¹ The jobless and destitute still constituted the major social problem in America, and the President had already established his priorities.

For any President there is the perennial problem of priorities and federal aid. Robert Bendiner, commenting on the ideal pattern that must exist if a federal aid bill is to be enacted, states: "The President would have to be for it in a broad and comprehensive way, and feverishly enough to give it a top priority in his program."²

Dr. Reeves adds:

President Roosevelt never did recommend to Congress that any part of the Advisory Committee Report be adopted, but he did ask me on more than one occasion to see if I could get the Report or parts of it through Congress. He was afraid of the Report politically, especially as it related to Catholics.

The last message I got from him was the day he left for Warm Springs in 1945. Mrs. Roosevelt handed me the message in which the President wanted me to try to put through a program of federal aid in accordance with the Report.³

¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, telegram to Sidney Hall, March 16, 1938, OF 504, FDRL.

²Robert Bendiner, Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 192.

³Floyd Wesley Reeves, personal interview with Carl Pacacha, February 20, 1969.

A second explication centers on the ominous world situation in early 1939. Adolph Hitler had assembled the German war machine and was ready to march against the eastern European countries. In the Far East, Japan had been waging war against her long-time enemy China. Both of these developments posed a serious threat to national security.

The President became engrossed in world affairs. The Munich Pact of 1938 had convinced him that the foreign situation was rapidly deteriorating, and that it was far more important than the impasse in which the New Deal legislation had bogged down. Mobilization had to be started immediately and vigorously.

The clouds of war which helped to darken the path for Dr. Reeves and all other social reconstructionists actually portended forces which would, in five years, be turned to the advantage of supporters of equality of opportunity and related social goals. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (the GI Bill) became a major instrument for uplifting the well being of millions of young adults through education.

Finally, there is palpable evidence to indicate that the "purge" conducted by the President on the resurgent conservative forces in Congress in 1938-39 precluded the possibility of a federal aid to education program. The attempt to remove those Congressmen who

opposed the President's legislative program created a deep rift within the Democratic party; the attempt to liberalize the party had failed. Whereas in 1932 President Roosevelt had swept into office with many liberal legislators, the election of 1938 proved a political debacle:

At the election Republicans in the House had increased from 88 to 170, and they had gained eight seats in the Senate. This was a serious setback. As a result, the possibilities of transforming the party had disappeared. . . .¹

Rexford Tugwell concludes:

Franklin's position, when the new Congress should meet, would be no better than during the disastrous two years just past. Very likely it would be worse. No Republican would vote for New Deal measures . . . He would be more handicapped than ever in both his objectives--the increase of well-being and the security of the free world.²

If 1938 had been disappointing in domestic matters, 1939 promised to be downright disastrous.³

Samuel Rosenman summarizes the convergent social forces (operative at this time) which precluded the passage of S. 1305:

The President had come through a long series of setbacks in the domestic field in the last year and a half: the defeat of the Supreme Court bill, two defeats of the wages and hours bill before its final passage, the defeat of the reorganization bill, the 1937-1938 recession, the defeat in the purge, the

¹Rexford Tugwell, The Democratic Roosevelt (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1957), p. 476.

²Ibid., p. 474.

³Ibid., p. 476.

loss of seats in the Congressional elections of 1938 . . . I do not know what course he would have taken in 1939 if events had not forced his major attention into international field. I know of his feeling of frustration in pushing further reforms.¹

In 1939 federal aid to general elementary, secondary, and adult education remained a political improbability.

Dr. Reeves was successful in keeping federal aid to education on the agenda. He prepared a comprehensive plan and sold it to powerful groups. He got it debated in Washington and across the land. It was a constant source of ideas for a quarter-of-a-century. Although the proposals of the Advisory Committee were not enacted in 1939, they were picked up and eventually incorporated in various federal aid to education laws over the next twenty-five years. Dr. Reeves had lost a skirmish, but the battle was far from over!

¹Samuel Rosenman, Working with Roosevelt (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 181.

CHAPTER VI

THE GI BILL OF RIGHTS: INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

As World War II approached its close, there was much discussion of what to do for returning veterans. It was generally agreed that the federal government should provide retraining and rehabilitation to the disabled. There was less clarity of policy and tradition concerning the readjustment of able-bodied servicemen. It was traditional and appropriate that returning heroes should be given something of value--money or land or further education, or some combination of these. Would veterans whose education had been interrupted by military service return to schools, colleges and other educational institutions for the education needed in the peacetime economy? If not, could the economy re-assimilate several more millions of workers and do it while readjusting itself to the new patterns and levels of peacetime production?

Out of this discussion came the educational provisions of the GI Bill. They came out because a small band of policy framers were influenced at this "ripe

moment" by a man who for the past two decades had been formulating a plan for national involvement in the education enterprise. It came out because that man, Floyd Wesley Reeves, was sufficiently perceptive and his plan was sufficiently comprehensive that he could adapt it to the needs of the nation as it turned from all-out war to all-out peacetime progress.

The great social disruptions caused by World War II and Dr. Reeves' position in the federal government afforded him a unique opportunity to shape a national policy in support of adult education. He possessed qualities of leadership which made him most capable of serving a great social need of his time, a national policy for education. The policy evolved by Dr. Reeves and his colleagues not only had a cushioning influence on the economy, but was a major social effort to uplift the education of almost a whole generation of individuals through the device of postwar readjustment.

In 1944 President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill of Rights). Alice Rivlin states,

By far the most extensive venture into government aid for students in our history was the program of educational benefits for veterans which began with the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. . . .¹

¹Alice Rivlin, The Role of the Federal Government in Financing Higher Education (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1961), p. 64.

The returning veteran constituted for adult education the greatest challenge in its history. He created a need for additional facilities and instructors, and the development of new programs.

The GI Bill comprised an entirely new approach to adult education, while at the same time absorbing much of the economic and social shock of readjustment at the end of World War II. It sparked the biggest home construction boom in the nation's history, and its loan program helped thousands start their own businesses.

The National Resources Planning Board¹ (NRPB) had been created by President Roosevelt in 1939 as the planning arm of the Executive Office of the President, alongside the Bureau of the Budget, the Office of Government Reports, and President's Administrative Assistants, and the Office of Emergency Management. For the next four years the NRPB had analyzed great masses of data and formulated plans regarding many important aspects of American life--education, population, technological

¹The NRPB was created within the Executive Office of the President by the President's Reorganization Plan No. I, effective July 1, 1939. It inherited and expanded the operations of the earlier national planning agencies: The National Planning Board (1933-34), which functioned within the Public Works Administration, the National Resources Board (1935-39). It also assumed the responsibility of the former Federal Employment Stabilization Board for advising the President concerning employment and business trends. The National Resources Planning Board was abolished by an act of Congress approved June 26, 1943.

trends, natural resources, urbanism, regionalism, long-term relief policies, industrial trends, and the structure of the American economy. The Board, under which the GI Bill was conceived, had as its chairman Frederic A. Delano, uncle of the President. It had as its task the social reconstruction of America. As a consultant to the NRPB since its inception, Dr. Reeves was concerned primarily with the educational aspects of national planning. George Riley comments about the activities of Dr. Reeves as a member of the Board:

'Upbuilding America' is the plan advanced by Professor Luther Gulick and associates, including Professor Floyd W. Reeves, and others from the University of Chicago and elsewhere. These professors are housed in the National Resources Planning Board where the promise is from 'all-out production for defense to all-out production for normal living.'

Professor Reeves (American Youth Commission) has the assignment of revising the nation's educational system. The Board plans large scale 'upbuilding' of America. One is reminded of Professor Rexford G. Tugwell's dream to make America over.¹

Of greatest significance is the fact that the GI Bill, through its continuing education provisions, became the first major and sustained program of general assistance to students from all segments of society and from all economic levels. It was a great experiment in the equalization of educational opportunities.

¹George D. Riley, "Postwar Jobs Galore but of Different Kind," Washington Times-Herald, November 16, 1941, A-20.

Before the war, admission to higher education institutions had depended heavily upon economic resources of students. The Bill greatly reduced the waste of talent due to inequality of educational opportunity among individuals of diverse socio-economic levels and from different areas of the country. Every veteran was given an opportunity to compete for education and jobs on a new and higher level, without regard to his social or economic background. The view that education was an important "capital good" to the individual and a sound investment for society became the basis for this new and major social policy.

The GI Bill was in major part an adult education act. This chapter focuses on the evolution of this historic law and those Advisory Committee recommendations that were incorporated in the Bill: higher education, adult education (as previously and narrowly concerned), vocational education, and counseling and guidance.

A Review of Veterans' Benefits

World War II began a new era in federal benefits for veterans. Both the scope and volume of benefits increased enormously, and the Veterans Administration became the third highest federal agency for spending in the postwar period. The increase in benefits resulted in part because of the great number of veterans, and in

part because of the nature of benefits provided. With respect to the number of veterans,

Some 16,535,000 persons were in the armed forces during World War II, more than in all other United States wars combined, including Korea. . .¹

In addition to an extensive package of new benefits, Congress extended to World War II veterans basically the same benefits given to veterans of previous wars. The four most important of these traditional benefits included: disability and death compensation, hospital care, pensions, and life insurance.²

The extension of traditional benefits to the huge World War II veteran crop was enough in itself to enlarge greatly the federal veterans' programs. Thus, appropriations for compensation and pensions in 1940, the last prewar year, were 429 million dollars; in 1946, the first postwar year, the figure had risen to over 1.2 billion and by 1964 . . . the amount was in the neighborhood of 4 billion.³

The larger and socially more significant factor in the expansion of Veterans Administration activities and expenditures was the establishment of a new type of subvention--"readjustment benefits." While the principle

¹Congress and the Nation, 1945-1963. A Review of Government and Politics in the Postwar Years. (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1965), p. 1335.

²Ibid., p. 1335.

³Ibid., p. 1335.

of readjustment benefits was not new--veterans of previous wars had received substantial benefits from the federal government in cash and in land--benefits at the end of World War II assumed a new form. Instead of cash or land, education became the "capital stake" for veterans. Rivlin observes: ". . . the educational benefits of the GI Bill were the twentieth century equivalent of forty acres and a mule."¹ These benefits were to aid the veteran, even if not disabled and poor, in making a successful reorientation to civilian life. Compensation was provided for educational, business, and other opportunities presumed to have been interrupted while the veteran was in service.

Readjustment assistance had some precedent in the vocational rehabilitation program in the 1920's for service-disabled World War I veterans. These benefits included veterans' preference relating to federal employment and bonus payments. It was not until the period of World War II, however, that the Congress, with the strong endorsement of veterans' organizations, initiated a substantial system of readjustment benefits. These were later extended to Korean veterans and a small number of peacetime "Cold War" veterans.

¹Rivlin, op. cit., p. 66.

The first of these readjustment benefits was contained in the Selective Service Act of 1940,¹ assuring draftees the right to their old jobs after discharge. In 1943 free vocational rehabilitation for service-disabled World War II veterans was granted by Congress.² In 1944 three significant enactments occurred:

1. Veterans' Preference Act (granted preferred status for veterans in civil service jobs) P. L. 78-359.
2. Mustering-Out Pay Act (granted up to \$300 mustering-out pay for World War II veterans) P. L. 78-225.
3. Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill of Rights) P. L. 78-346.

The Framing of Demobilization Plans

Federal postwar economic planning can be said to have antedated America's entry into World War II. In 1939 President Roosevelt charged the National Resources Planning Board to coordinate defense and post-defense planning. The Board continued its work as the nation entered the war and for two years thereafter.

Many believed that the cessation of hostilities would create serious social and economic disorganization. This "Depression Psychosis,"³ as John Kenneth Galbraith

¹P. L. 76-783.

²P. L. 78-113.

³John Kenneth Galbraith, American Capitalism (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1952), Chapter 6.

had termed it, made it very important that the federal government carefully develop postwar plans. The federal government, it was argued, could alleviate the public's concern about the future by establishing a special committee to plan for the readjustment period. A conference of responsible public officials appointed by the President could accomplish this task. The President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions acknowledges:

The National Resources Planning Board was the first Federal agency to begin aggressive planning for World War II demobilization and attendant problems of reconversion.¹

Frederic Delano, chairman of the National Resources Planning Board, presented a preliminary plan to the President in 1942. It was Delano's desire that the President publicly announce the plan, for:

Announcement of such a program will give assurance to young men interrupting their normal occupations or training that at the end of war service they will have substantial assistance in adjusting to and engaging upon their civil pursuits.²

The President replied that any publicity given at this time to future demobilization of men from the armed forces or industry would divert people's attention

¹President's Commission on Veterans' Pensions, The Historical Development of Veterans' Benefits in the United States, Staff Report No. 1, May 9, 1956, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), p. 52.

²Frederic Delano, letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt, July 1, 1942, OF 1092-D, FDRL.

from the winning of the war and would therefore be a mistake.¹

There were ample reasons for the President not wishing to divert public attention from the war. The heavy sea losses in the Atlantic, the Japanese offensive in the Pacific--these and other military setbacks--painted a gloomy picture of the war in 1942. If the tide of battle did not change, there would be no necessity for postwar planning!

The chief executive's views, however, were consonant with the NRPB relative to the necessity for planning for post-war readjustment. He judged that preliminary planning should proceed quietly and expressed his hope that a small group of people might

. . . work on this in their spare time in order that they may be better prepared for an official study and report and recommendations later on.²

Thus, on July 6, 1942, the same day he formally rejected his uncle's proposal, President Roosevelt established the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel within the NRPB and appointed Dr. Floyd Reeves as its chairman. The President deemed Delano's plan as simply a reconversion plan. He had

¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, letter to Frederic Delano, July 6, 1942, OF 1092-D, FDRL.

²Ibid.

hoped for a more imaginative one. Thus, he rejected the one and commissioned the other, with Dr. Reeves in charge.

Dr. Reeves was a logical choice to direct the Conference. In 1941 and 1942 he had urged publicly that the federal government commence plans for the postwar period. Speaking at the annual summer education colloquy at Stanford University, Dr. Reeves had emphasized the necessity of postwar planning, predicting "an unemployment roll of 20,000,000 people after World War II ends, unless plans are made now to cope with the problem."¹

Rather than working in their spare time, the Conference, consisting of twelve members (see Appendix B), met regularly during 1942-43. Although established under the aegis of the NRPB, the Conference worked as an independent body. Its major purpose was to articulate plans for the rapid and orderly demobilization of personnel from the armed services, consistent with the national security at the time.

The stated assumption of the Conference was that unpreparedness for peace can bring calamity as great as unpreparedness for war. At the initial meeting of the Conference there was unanimity among the conferees as to the need for postwar planning.²

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "NYA Director Says 20,000,000 May Be Jobless After War," Dallas Times-Herald, July 20, 1941.

²National Resources Planning Board, Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel,

Because demobilization and readjustment involve many technical questions and detailed problems of management, the Conference thought it desirable to formulate a set of objectives to guide its work. These included:

1. Military security.
2. Industrial security
3. Rapid and orderly military demobilization
4. Rapid and orderly industrial conversion
5. Full employment
6. Individual initiative and group effort.¹

The size and character of the problem of postwar readjustment would be determined by the length of the war and the degree to which the United States became involved in it. The size of the problem can be indicated by comparing the manner in which individuals were occupied in time of peace as compared to time of war. Table 4 represents data on deployment of the labor force as of December, 1939 and December, 1940 and estimated deployment for December, 1943.

The Table shows dramatically the changes that were anticipated at the end of four years of war and

summary of first meeting, July 17, 1942, File 830.31, Record Group 187, National Archives.

¹National Resources Planning Board, Report of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel, titled Demobilization and Readjustment (Washington: Superintendent of Documents, 1943), p. 23.

Table 4.--Manpower estimates, December 1939, December, 1940, and December, 1943 (Millions).¹

	Dec. 1939	Dec. 1940	Dec. 1943
Munitions industries	4.1	4.9	10.5
Essential nonagricultural industries	5.6	5.8	8.0
Agriculture	8.6	8.7	8.9
Other industries	26.5	26.9	23.4
Unemployed	8.7	7.1	1.0
Armed forces	.4	.8	10.7
Total labor force plus armed forces	53.9	54.2	62.5

preparation for war. The munitions industry would have added over 6 million workers, well over a 100 per cent increase. Nonagricultural industries would have added approximately 2.4 million. Yet employment in other industries would have diminished by approximately 3.1 million. The armed forces would have jumped to over 10 million and total labor force would have increased by 8.6 million persons.

These changes and predicted changes demonstrated the extent to which Americans would be involved in the war. The conflict would involve a major integration and utilization of natural, economic and human resources.

Americans were deeply concerned about demobilization and readjustment. Their trepidation was centered on

¹Ibid., p. 11 (appears as Table 1).

inflation, stagnation, and especially unemployment. It may well have been sharpened by their memories of the previous decade.

Even though the Conference participants realized that employment opportunities would be reduced for a short time after the war, they believed that a high rate of employment would be possible because of withdrawal from the work force of such non-regular workers as the aged and women workers. To achieve this high employment rate, however, would require careful planning before the conclusion of the war. The optimism within the Conference was generated by the further assumption that the federal government would foster a dynamic expansionary economy in the readjustment period. This economy would strive to utilize all of the nation's resources and productive capacity. It would seek the rapid conversion of war plants to peacetime use and the development of private industry. In addition, further public works and services would, it was assumed, be necessary.

A difficult question arose early in the deliberations: whether to recommend rapid discharge of servicemen at the conclusion of the war or to favor a "holding action" on their release until such time as they could be assimilated into the labor force. General Hines favored the latter action, stating,

In the long run it was both better socially and cheaper economically, to keep the men in service than to create a period of unemployment which would necessitate large expenditures for relief and welfare.¹

Colonel Spaulding suggested that veterans receive a three-month furlough prior to being mustered out. This would give the veteran time to assess the employment market.² A third alternative, and the one finally adopted, was advanced by Dr. Reeves and Leonard Outhwaite: discharge the men rapidly and make education available to ease their readjustment.

Deadlocked on this important question, the Conference consulted with the President in the hope of resolving its dilemma. President Roosevelt, however, was non-committal; he remained detached from the Conference and preserved his freedom to select among the options. He would receive the report of the Conference and determine his own course at the point of action.

¹Frank Hines, summary of first meeting, Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel, July 17, 1942, File 830.31, Record Group 187, National Archives. (The "holding action" view was inserted into the presidential campaign of 1944. Presidential candidate Thomas Dewey, attributing the view to the Conference and not one of its members, misrepresented the final report of the Conference. While the opinion expressed by Hines was one option considered by the Conference, it was not the course finally adopted.)

²Francis Spaulding, Conference on Postwar Readjudgment . . . , Summary of fifth meeting, September 10, 1942, RG 187, National Archives.

The Conference viewed the continued education of service personnel as essential. The members believed that demobilization afforded an opportune and politically palatable instrument for getting it adopted and funded. Also, the President assumed responsibility to equalize educational opportunity by making benefits of the program available to men who had thought their education was completed. In a large sense, the war served as an excuse for giving a generation of young men and women a level of education which most of them would not have had if there had been no war. The Conference proposed to take a whole generation of people and uplift them through education.

The Conference realized that the program of re-adjustment would be costly. However, it did not view cost as a paramount concern. A more important issue was the effectiveness with which personnel would be readjusted to civilian life. The central issue was the social significance of elevating the level of education for maximum numbers of men and women involved. The cost would be amply returned:

Employment results in national income. Social security provisions stabilize purchasing power. Education is of major importance because it will take a nation of educated citizens to know how to maintain the peace once military victory has been achieved.¹

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, address delivered at the annual guidance conference, Purdue University, November 19, 1943.

Dr. Reeves and his colleagues were not concerned with reconversion alone, or with vocational education alone, but with seizing upon the rich opportunities to push a nation forward to a new height and breadth of education. The work of the Conference was a major social effort to give higher education to almost a whole generation through the device of postwar readjustment.

The group meetings of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment ended in November, 1942. Dr. Reeves directed the Conference secretary, Leonard Outhwaite, to draft a report. In its completed form the report presented a comprehensive readjustment plan for civilian and military personnel. Frank Sinclair notes:

The national resources planning board . . . , presented a postwar manpower plan to President Roosevelt. It was devised by a committee headed by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves . . . It proposed methods of orderly demobilization of the armed forces.¹

In 1942 the NRPB had published a report which was to lead eventually to the Board's demise. Titled Security, Work, and Relief Policies,² the report advocated a "cradle-to-the-grave" type of social welfare program. Some

¹Frank Sinclair, "Orderly Demobilization of U.S. Veterans, Plan" in GI Joe--What of His Future? (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Journal, 1944), p. 51.

²National Resources Planning Board, Security, Work, and Relief Policies, Report for 1943, Part 3, submitted to President Roosevelt, December 16, 1942. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943).

members of Congress took a dim view of the "grandiose" planning of the NRPB and other federal agencies.¹ Senator Robert Taft and Congressman Everett Dirksen, leading the Congressional dissenters, viewed the NRPB report as a typical New Deal Plan evolved by Brain Trusters, based on their spending and failing to realize that the best way to solve the demobilization problem was to help American industry.

Taft had been particularly critical of the New Deal. He believed that Americans had surrendered many individual rights and submitted temporarily to Fascist-like regulations. He believed that the President meant to embark upon a second New Deal, once hostilities had ceased. In 1943 Taft severely criticized the report:

The New Deal platform . . . has been written in the reports of the National Resources Planning Board, the board of which Mr. Delano, the President's uncle, was chairman until it was abolished this spring by an indignant Congress. That report provides for the restoration of all the New Deal agencies--the WPA, the PWA, the CCC, the NYA, and all the others--except that all of them are to be federalized on a bigger and more elaborate scale. It provides Federal aid to education and the socialization of medicine. It provides for an increased Government regulation of everyone. . . Underlying the entire plan is the theory of unlimited Government spending . . . In all these vast reports of the National Resources Planning

¹These individuals were successful in abolishing a number of federal agencies in 1942-43, including the NYA, CCC, WPA, FSA, and the NRPB. The NRPB was killed by the Independent Offices Appropriations Act, P.L. 90, June 26, 1943. The Act also stipulated that the Board's functions could not be transferred to any other agency.

Board there is not a word said as to how the programs are to be paid for. And these programs will cost more than 30,000,000,000.¹ . . . It is the pattern for the totalitarian state.¹

Realizing that the NRPB had fallen into disfavor with a significant number of Congressmen, President Roosevelt formed another study group to investigate the vast problem of demobilization. When the President approved the bill extending the Selective Service Act to young men 18 and 19 years of age on November 13, 1942, he stated:

I am causing a study to be made by a committee of educators, under the auspices of the War and Navy Departments, for the taking of steps to enable the young men whose education has been interrupted to resume their schooling and afford equal opportunity for the training and education of young men of ability after their service in the armed forces has come to an end.²

The committee³ of the War and Navy Departments was established only four months after the Reeves' committee had begun its work. It was designated as the Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel, and was headed by Brigadier General Frederick W. Osborn. The President directed the

¹Robert A. Taft, "A 1944 Program for the Republicans," Saturday Evening Post, Vol. 216 (December 11, 1943), p. 50.

²Franklin D. Roosevelt, Press Release, November 13, 1942, OF 5182, FDRL.

³The Osborn Committee was originally titled the Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel.

Armed Forces Committee to correlate its activities with the related studies of the NRPB, which included the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel,¹ which was already far advanced in its planning. The two committees correlated their activities as the President had directed; two members of the Conference, Colonel Francis Spaulding and Lieutenant Commander Ralph Sentman, served as alternate chairman and alternate co-chairman of the Osborn committee. In addition to his position as alternate chairman, Spaulding served as director of studies.

The President expected the Reeves and Osborn committees to work in harmony. The two men--Reeves and Osborn--had worked together effectively as members of the President's Advisory Committee on Selective Service, established in 1940 to plan the procurement of manpower for national defense. Now they were to work on education.

Thus, Dr. Reeves worked with and through three major groups, the NRPB, the Conference on Postwar Readjustment, and the Osborn committee to develop a national education policy. His role had been to pilot the President's plan for providing equality of educational opportunity.

¹Franklin D. Roosevelt, letter to General Osborn, February 19, 1943, OF 5182, FDRL.

The appointment of the Osborn committee was an important development in the enactment of a national policy toward education. Whereas the NRPB was a general policy recommending board, the Osborn committee was solely an educational policy group. The result was that the President's educational plan was extracted from the general social reconstructionist plan. The President had secretly hoped education, which he had to abandon in 1938-39, could win "on its own" under the new social conditions. The President's political skill had saved a vast educational plan. This critical plan, developed by Reeves and others, was to affect the well-being of millions of young men and women.

By mid 1943 the Allies had gained the offensive in the War. The President concluded that the time was propitious for directing public attention to the readjustment problem.

Dr. Charles Merriam, vice-chairman of the NRPB, and several other members of the Board met with President Roosevelt at the White House on June 30, 1943, to discuss the Conference report. Leonard Outhwaite, secretary of the Conference, related in a letter to Dr. Reeves what transpired at that meeting:

I have just had a talk with Dr. Merriam and he reports as follows:

They saw the President this afternoon.

At first the President seemed disinclined to approve the publication of a report at this time. Dr. Merriam then pointed out that the subjects dealt with were receiving attention in various quarters and were often discussed in the newspapers; they were also receiving attention in various states; the states were wondering what the plans of the Federal Government might be; the report of the Osborn Committee was more or less dependent upon this report and it would be advisable if this more general report appeared first. Dr. Merriam also said that he had, without revealing the source of the suggestions, discussed the main provisions for veterans with a number of men who were in the services or who had been the services. He was able to report that these men had been very pleased by the recommendations.

He then showed the President the galley of the introduction which summarized the provisions for veterans and some of the other provisions.

At this point the President seemed very favorably impressed. It was Dr. Merriam's impression that the report might be published sometime within the month, but no final decision was taken. The President asked, however, that page proof be made ready as soon as possible. A copy of the galley was left with the President.

Dr. Merriam said in closing that if the President desired further information or discussion on the report you could come on from Chicago for this purpose.¹

The President then directed that the report be published immediately (a night job).

In a letter to Dr. Reeves several weeks later, Outhwaite stated:

. . . I am informed by Mrs. McNickle that we will have printed copies of the Report by Friday of this week.

¹Leonard Outhwaite, letter to Dr. Reeves, June 30, 1943.

General Hines has had a talk with Steve Early [Presidential aide] about the Report. The White House has asked that the Report should still be regarded as secret and not discussed and I have notified all our members--in fact all who hold copies of the Report.¹

Two days prior to the public release of the report of the Conference, on July 30, 1943, the President, in a radio address to the nation, first made public the plans for demobilization:

Among many other things, we are today, laying plans for the return to civilian life of our gallant men and women in the armed services. They must not be demobilized into an environment of inflation and unemployment, to a place on a bread line, or on a corner selling apples. We must, this time, have plans ready, instead of waiting to do a hasty, inefficient, and ill-considered job at the last moment.²

The President's radio message immediately generated a storm of protest by Republicans. Harrison Spangler, Republican National Committee Chairman, contended that the President was making a bold bid for the soldier vote in 1944. Mary Hornaday reports in the Christian Science Monitor:

In the face of Republican charges that he was bidding for the soldier vote, President Roosevelt declared

¹Leonard Outhwaite, letter to Dr. Reeves, July 19, 1943.

²Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Fireside Chat on the Progress of the War and Plans for Peace," in Samuel I. Rosenman's Victory and the Threshold of Peace, Published Papers and Addresses of Franklin Roosevelt (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), pp. 326-36, Library of Congress.

today that recommendations for soldier demobilization in his Wednesday night speech came from an independent committee, headed by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, of the National Resources Planning Board.

. . . Mr. Roosevelt released the report of the . . . Board's committee on demobilization and readjustment, appointed in July, 1942. He took particular pains to point out that the committee was an independent body. He received the report three weeks ago and incorporated its recommendations into his Wednesday night radio address.

The President said he approved of the general objectives of the recommendations but would rely on Congress to work out the details as he has instructed it to do on other social security legislation.

Asked point blank by a reporter if he would comment on Republican charges that he had launched a fourth-term campaign with his radio speech, the President recalled a comment from a member of his family who suggested that such charges would be made at this juncture even if he talked about the moon, since there would undoubtedly be some young folks who would like to hear about the moon.¹

The President made several important recommendations relating to the demobilization and readjustment of military personnel. These proposals were based on the report of the Conference; one of them was addressed to the provision of educational opportunities for demobilized personnel. Newsweek speculated that the Conference proposals would be highly acceptable to Congress: "For if ever a Presidential proposal stood a chance of getting a warm welcome in Congress, this was it."²

¹Mary Hornaday, "Resources Group Drafted Roosevelt Soldier Plan," Christian Science Monitor, July 31, 1943, p. C-3.

²Newsweek, "FDR's Demobilization Plans Catch His Opponents Off Guard," August 9, 1943, p. 40.

The President requested that Dr. Reeves prepare to tour the country during the next year speaking on behalf of the Conference. Speaking on the National Broadcasting Company roundtable program on September 5, 1943, Dr. Reeves emphasized:

When Johnny comes marching home, he is not going to want to come home to unemployment or relief or selling apples on the street. He is going to want to come home to a job.¹

Dr. Reeves warned against the encouragement of a "back to the land" movement for veterans after the war in an effort to facilitate the readjustment of veterans. Pointing out that in the past most nations encouraged demobilized men to return to the farms, Dr. Reeves stressed:

Agriculture for many years has been an overmanned industry. It would be disastrous if agriculture should be treated as a dumping ground for the industrial unemployed.²

On November 26, 1943, he urged:

Free education should be made available to all veterans and some civilian workers at the close of the war . . .

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "When Johnny Comes Marching Home," a radio discussion by S. H. Nerlove, Floyd Reeves, and Ralph Tyler, National Broadcasting Company, September 5, 1943.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Don't Send Vets to Farms, Educators Tell Conference," Chicago Daily News, April 11, 1944.

The present time is the time to plan post-war readjustment. It is a national problem that will tax all the resources of the people. It is so vast that the federal government must determine the policy and provide the directive machinery . . .

Three major purposes of such a program: equality of opportunity for youths who could not afford to go to school; a needed increase in the number of educated persons; removal of thousands of youths from the labor market in time of stress.¹

In a speech to the Illinois Adult Education Association on December 29, 1943, titled "Adult Education and Postwar America," Dr. Reeves predicted:

The answer to the problem lies in reversing the trend in education. There must be more so-called liberal education and a different type of vocational education which will train people for service occupations in government, industry and distribution of goods. There is where adult education will have to operate--to re-educate millions of adults now skilled in one kind of vocation for service in an entirely different vocation.²

Demobilization and Readjustment: The Conference's
Proposals for Veterans' Education

Conference members decided that one of the best means of alleviating postwar problems would be the provision of educational opportunities to demobilized veterans and war workers. Large numbers of youth had

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Free Schooling for Vets Urged by Professor Reeves," Chicago Daily News, November 26, 1943.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, Address to Illinois Adult Education Association, Morrison Hotel, December 29, 1943.

dropped out of school or college to enter the armed forces or to work in war industries and other occupations. Many of these individuals would desire to return to school when hostilities ceased.

The Conference recognized the necessity of providing for general, technical, and professional education.

Proposal twelve is addressed to these services:

For service men desiring to resume industrial or other employment, a program of vocational and job training designed to prepare them to reenter their old jobs or occupations or to find appropriate employment in new ones.

A program which will permit young ex-service men whose education on this account has been interrupted to resume their education and will afford equal opportunity for the education of other young ex-servicemen of ability following demobilization.

The provision of training and educational opportunities for men in foreign service and particularly for those who may for any reason be waiting for repatriation or demobilization.

Proposal thirteen would encourage and enhance the voluntary education and training programs that were being offered by the United States Armed Forces Institute:

The programs of the United States Armed Forces Institute and other voluntary educational services of the armed forces should be continued and expanded as a necessary adjunct to the process of demobilization. It is recognized that these existing educational services will then be directed more toward preparing men for the resumption of civilian occupations than they are at present and that this will necessarily involve a redirection of their efforts and reorganization of their programs.

The coordination of educational activities of the various government agencies, such as Veterans Administration,

United States Office of Education, Civil Service Commission, and United States Employment Service were suggested in proposals fourteen to seventeen:

14. Full use should be made of the records in service for the direction of educational programs and for the purpose of educational and vocational guidance.

15. As a policy, all training and educational programs for men in the armed forces prior to their release from active military duty should be carried out under the direction of the services, and the men during this period should be subject to such regulations, disciplines, and controls as may seem necessary to the officers of these services.

16. Training and educational programs for those who have been demobilized should be subject to the direction of civilian authority and carried out by the regularly constituted educational institutions, and during this period the men themselves should be free from the discipline and control of the armed services.

17. The training resources and particularly the opportunities for observation and study that may be provided in the country or region in which men find themselves at the cessation of hostilities should be fully utilized. Foreign training is advocated not only because it will prove useful to the men but also because men so trained will be an asset to the Nation.

Cooperative programs for the utilization of these advantages and opportunities should be arrived at by agreement between the services and the authorities of the localities.

Two of the most significant aspects of readjustment concerned education of veterans at the collegiate and professional level and of the non-collegiate level. The provision of such educational services to veterans would entail considerable advance planning by Federal and state governments and educational institutions. Standards of eligibility and the type of financial aid to students and institutions would need careful consideration. In

addition, administrative organization would be required to expedite the program. Proposals eighteen to twenty were directed toward higher education:

18. Each institution of higher education participating in the program should determine how many and what kind of demobilized personnel it can accommodate, the program which it can best offer, and the internal adjustments necessary.

19. The Federal Government should encourage national associations of educational institutions to develop a coordinated program for the education of demobilized service personnel.

20. The Federal Government should also undertake to provide such supplementary funds for the support of education as may be needed to make possible the provision of a comprehensive educational program for demobilized service personnel.

Proposals twenty-one through twenty-three deal with education at the non-collegiate level:

21. The Office of Education should make an inventory of the facilities for specialized secondary and vocational education which may be available for postwar training.

22. The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the United States Employment Service should provide information regarding the prospective employment requirements of postwar industries and the types of training best calculated to equip demobilized service men to avail themselves of these employment opportunities.

23. Industrial establishments which are to be restaffed for peacetime purposes should be encouraged to develop in-service training programs and to cooperate with educational institutions in developing apprenticeship programs. In admitting trainees, definite provision should be made for the inclusion of an appropriate quota of ex-service men.

Proposals fifty to fifty-eight present the qualifications and restrictions of education and training programs:

50. Training under the general plan should be open to all ex-service men who are qualified for or who have received a discharge other than dishonorable from the armed services.

51. At any time during the 3-month period of "leave" or "furlough," or the ensuing 12 months during which men are eligible for unemployment compensation, they may elect to enter upon a program of training or education under this general plan.

52. When men enter upon such a course of training or education, their rights to unemployment benefits would naturally cease. If, however, they enter upon courses of training or education or secure employment during the 3-month period when they are on leave or furlough, this should in no way prejudice their right to receive the payments under the plan for separation pay.

53. Under this plan, both general and vocational or professional education and training should be provided, but, vocational or professional training and education should not be provided in those fields or for those occupations in which the supply of trained personnel is already large enough to meet anticipated unemployment demands.

54. Training and education under the general plan should begin at whatever level is appropriate for the individual concerned. The duration of the training period should not exceed one year.

55. A consulting service should be provided to advise, guide, and direct men to the courses of study appropriate to their individual needs.

56. The forms and methods of study and training under this plan should be suited to the needs of those being demobilized from the services--that is to say, they are to be conducted as mature and adult undertakings even in cases where the subject matter is not of an advanced character, as judged by our usual academic standards.

57. Wherever necessary, special courses and methods of study should be developed in schools, colleges, and other institutions and agencies, including apprenticeship and other types of training in business and industry.

58. Those eligible for training under this plan should receive free tuition and reasonable but modest allowances for maintenance of such character as will not serve to restrain them from accepting employment or induce them to continue in the education and training program unless they have the serious intention to benefit from it.

The general education plan recommended by the Conference provided education and training benefits for one year. The one year would be a period to demonstrate to all of the veterans that they could and should continue their education. This general plan, however, would not suffice for veterans who wished to pursue advanced education, or extended vocational education. With this in mind proposals fifty-nine to sixty-six were drafted:

59. The general educational plan should be supplemented by provisions for more extended opportunities in the fields of higher education and of technical or professional education.

60. Any persons who are judged eligible for a discharge from the armed services other than dishonorable, and have served in the armed forces for at least 90 days, should be eligible to apply for such supplementary education. Selection from among those applying for supplementary education should be on a competitive basis.

61. The supplementary education should be made available under a system of scholarships carrying with them reasonable maintenance allowances.

62. Scholarships should be administered in such a way as to encourage the education of men for technical and professional occupations in which there are likely to be shortages of adequately trained personnel.

63. No scholarships should be offered in fields in which there is already an over-supply of trained persons or in which there is little likelihood of satisfactory and useful employment.

64. In order to provide equal opportunities among those who are being discharged from the armed services at various times during the demobilization process, a number of scholarships in each field should be made available within determined time intervals, and the number of scholarships made available should be made proportional to the number of men being discharged from the services within these time intervals.

65. Any course of supplementary education provided to an individual should not exceed a 4-year period, including any education provided under the general educational plan. All courses of education should be accomplished within a period of 6 years following the termination of the present war, as declared.

66. Continuation of the student in his program even after selection has been made should depend upon his academic and general progress.

Millions of workers who had been drawn into war-time employment had benefited by government education and training programs. Also millions of others had developed special technical and vocational skills while in the armed forces. Because much of this education and training was limited in scope, its application was judged to be not highly useful in peacetime. With advancing technology and new occupational demands, old skills and narrow war-time skills would not be adequate. Proposal seventy-seven was an attempt to alleviate this situation:

77. The Federal Government should assist in providing an extension of educational services for workers displaced from employment because of demobilization and the termination of war contracts, to equip them for employment in peacetime industry. Training should be confined to occupations in which there is an unsupplied demand for specially trained workers and to new trades and occupations developing in civilian industry.

The Conference stressed that its plan was a national minimum program of provision for the reestablishment of servicemen and war workers in civilian life. States should be encouraged to supplement the federal benefits. Proposals ninety and ninety-one are addressed to this minimum:

90. The program herein outlined is to be considered as the national minimum. Such benefits as may be extended by the States should be considered in the light of provision by the Federal Government of this national minimum.

91. The Federal Government should assist the States to the end that all activities be coordinated and that such actions as the States desire to take may be true additions to the Federal program rather than duplicate activities.

Recognizing that many in the armed services would face serious problems of personal adjustment and to insure that maximum numbers of veterans become involved in education at the conclusion of the War, the Conference stressed the need for readjustment centers:

93. At the ports of debarkation that are also demobilization centers and at other demobilization centers, there should be created readjustment centers to provide vocational and educational information and guidance for those being demobilized from the services.

94. Under such general conditions as the Army and the Navy may deem necessary, the personnel records and the records in the service should be made available for education, guidance, and placement purposes.

95. In the chief centers of war industry, readjustment centers should be established to assist civilian war workers. Such centers should have available the types of service which could be offered by government agencies.

The final recommendation of the Conference calling for the establishment of an agency in the federal government to direct the program of retraining and readjustment of civilian and military personnel was implemented quickly. This agency, the Retraining and Re-employment Administration, was established by executive order¹ with Brigadier General Frank T. Hines placed in charge.

¹Retraining and Re-employment Administration established by Executive Order No. 9427, February 24, 1944.

The Conference Report, the first comprehensive one of its kind, served as a guideline for state and local governments in developing readjustment programs. It not only launched a massive federal involvement, but a state one as well. Newsweek, referring to the comprehensiveness of the report, stated:

The most complete plan so far devised for cushioning the unavoidable shocks of demobilization and transition to peace is a 96-point program submitted to the President by the National Resources Planning Board Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel.¹

In 1943 Donald Davenport, Chief, Employment and Occupational Outlook Branch of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, commented about Dr. Reeves' contribution to the Conference:

Everyone seems highly pleased with the Report of the Committee. I am proud to have been permitted to play even a small role in it, and I want you to know that everyone who had anything to do with it acknowledges your leadership in carrying through a difficult task to a successful end.²

The Osborn Committee Report

The report of the Armed Forces Committee,³ which was limited entirely to the provision of educational

¹Newsweek, "Tremendous Skilled Labor Pool Faces Demobilization Planners," August 23, 1943, p. 57.

²Donald Davenport, Letter to Floyd Wesley Reeves, August 29, 1943.

³Armed Forces Committee on Post-War Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel, preliminary report of, July 30, 1943.

opportunities for service personnel, was transmitted by the President to the Congress on October 27, 1943, accompanied by a message from the President endorsing the major recommendations of the Committee.

The educational provisions recommended by the Armed Services were almost identical to those of the Conference which Dr. Reeves had chaired. The Conference, of course, had also dealt with all aspects of demobilization and readjustment while the Armed Forces Committee dealt only with the educational provisions for service personnel. Both recommended the provisions of guidance services, educational benefits, and subsistence grants, and neither was restrictive as to the "interruption" concept.

The Armed Forces Committee, however, exceeded the Conference in some of its recommendations. It, for example, specified the length of educational benefits and the amounts of financial aid that were to be provided:

Specifically the Committee has concluded that the Federal Government should make it financially feasible for every man and woman who has served 6 months or more in the armed forces since September 16, 1940 (the date the Selective Service Act became effective) to have a maximum of 1 calendar year of education or training, beginning not later than 6 months after he leaves the service, if he wants it and is admitted to an approved educational institution. In addition, the Committee believes it should be made financially possible for a limited number of exceptionally able ex-service personnel (the number to be apportioned among the States according to the numbers of service personnel coming from these States) to carry on their

education for a period of 1, 2, and in some instances as much as 3 additional years, provided--

1. That completion of the courses they are taking will serve to meet recognized educational needs;
2. That by superior performance on a competitive basis they have demonstrated the likelihood that they will profit from these courses; and
3. That they continue to make satisfactory progress in the courses and to give promise of future usefulness.

During the first year after discharge the financial arrangements we have in mind would provide every ex-service person taking advantage of them as a full-time student, first, with his tuition and fees at an approved institution of his choice to which he has secured admission; and second, a sum of \$50 a month in the case of single persons, and \$75 a month in the case of married men, with an allowance of \$10 for each child, to meet living expenses while he or she is attending school. Ex-service personnel enrolling as part-time students under this plan should be allowed tuition and other school fees.

For the limited number chosen, as a result of their special qualifications and accomplishments, to go ahead with additional years of education needed to bring the country back to a pre-war educational par, the financial arrangements would be the same, with the added provision of Federal loans to a maximum of \$50 a month for those finding it impossible to meet their expenses with the grant provided.

Both for students enrolled during their first year after discharge and for the smaller number selected for advanced study, the Committee suggests that grants for maintenance should be paid directly to each student and that tuition fees should be paid to¹ the institution in which the individual is enrolled.

In addition, the Armed Forces Committee included in its Report an estimate of the number of service personnel that may wish to resume their education. The Report states that a

¹Ibid., p. 9.

minimum of 1,000,000 may be expected to be interested in resuming interrupted courses of education or in applying to new educational courses abilities uncovered and developed by their experience in the armed forces.¹

The President Coordinates His Plan

President Roosevelt began to plan his demobilization program for presentation to Congress. In order to assure optimum correlation between the Reeves and Osborn Committees, the President wrote to Osborn:

I hope to have a meeting with you and the chairman of the Conference which was set up the National Resources Planning Board and which has reported.²

In a memorandum on the same day he informed Samuel I. Rosenman, special assistant: "We can tie this [Armed Forces Committee Report] in with the other report [Conference Report] and send them both to Congress when they return."³

On October 27, 1943, the President launched his program for veterans with a request to Congress for education benefits. His plea was based on the Conference report and the more recent report of the Armed Forces Committee. However, the President chose not to submit

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²Franklin D. Roosevelt, letter to General Osborn, August 4, 1943, OF 5182, FDRL.

³Franklin D. Roosevelt, memorandum to Samuel I. Rosenman, August 4, 1943, OF 5182, FDRL.

the Conference Report to Congress. He was cognizant that a demobilization plan proposed by a general (Osborn) would be far more acceptable to Congress than one submitted by a civilian.

The appointment of the Osborn Committee appears to have been a stroke of administrative genius on the part of the President. Davis Ross states that

Although the report of the PMC [Postwar Manpower Conference] contained educational recommendations that . . . paralleled those of the special committee [Osborn], the President could cite the latter without incurring the certain resistance that would have ensued if he had used the tarnished PMC's efforts.¹

The aim of the proposals remained on target with the stigma cleverly removed.

Congressional Action on the GI Bill

S. 1767 was introduced on March 13, 1944, and sponsored by eighty-one senators. Senator Champ Clark of Missouri piloted the bill through the Senate. After a minimum discussion of the bill, it was passed by a vote of 50-0, with 46 senators not voting because of absenteeism.

In the House, Congressman John Rankin moved that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole

¹Davis Bruce Ross, Preparing for Ulysses: The Federal Government and Nondisabled World War II Veterans, 1940-1946, Unpublished Dissertation, Columbia University, 1967, p. 125.

House on the State of the Union for a consideration of S. 1767. Congressman Rankin and Congresswoman Edith Rogers engineered the bill in the House.

Concern over the bill centered on its cost, federal control of education, and participating schools. Congressman Graham Barden, concerned over loss of state control of veterans' education, dissented with the Senate version of the bill and instead introduced his own bill, H.R. 3846,¹ which did not generate enough support for passage. Barden believed that S. 1767 would have invested the Veterans Administration with too much control of veterans' education. He proposed that the states and local communities administer the veterans' program.

Congressman William Miller cited the efficacy of placing all veterans affairs under one head. He recalled that World War I veterans had been required to deal with four agencies to gain benefits. He believed the Barden bill unwisely gave to states the top leadership of veterans' education, thus establishing forty-eight different educational programs.

On May 18, 1944, the House passed the veterans' education bill. The vote was 388 in favor and none opposing.

¹H. R. 3846, introduced May 4, 1944, Seventy-eighth Congress, Second Session.

On June 12, 1944, a conference committee was established to adjust differences in the bill. A conference report was agreed upon the same day. After the conference report was approved by both houses, the bill was sent to President Roosevelt, who signed it on June 22, 1944, to become Public Law 346 of the Seventy-eighth Congress.

The "GI Bill of Rights"

Public Law 346, Seventy-eighth Congress, entitled the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, was more commonly known as the "GI Bill of Rights." The educational program of the Bill was administered by the Veterans Administration.

One receiving benefits under the Bill must have had at least 90 days of active military or naval service exclusive of the time spent in the Army Specialized Training Program or the Navy College Training Program, or he must have been released from active duty because of service-connected disability. To qualify, the applicant must also have been discharged under conditions other than dishonorable. He must have initiated a course of study not later than two years after discharge, or termination of the war, whichever was later. Training must have been completed within seven years after the end of the war.

Under the provisions of the Bill the veteran could secure regular education or training in a program of his choice in any approved institution which would admit him, if it could be shown that his education was impeded, delayed, interrupted, or interfered with because of his entrance into the service. Any individual under 25 years of age at the time he entered the service was assumed to have had his education interfered with and thus was eligible for benefits under the Act.

While the GI Bill was viewed as an instrument for encouraging veterans to resume an interrupted education, the provisions and interpretation of the bill, in fact, attempted to move every GI, even those who never planned on college, to go to college.

A veteran who had been in active service 90 days was entitled to one year of education or training. One who had served more than 90 days and had completed the first year of education satisfactorily (as determined by the institution) was entitled to continue for a period equal to the total period of his service up to a total of four calendar years. A veteran who had served 36 months would be entitled to one year plus 36 months, or a total of 48 months, the maximum permitted under the Act.

The GI Bill also permitted veterans over 25 years of age whose education was not interrupted by military

service to enroll in a retraining program not to exceed one year. The program could be located in an educational institution or in industry. The benefits under the Act included tuition payments, cost of books, supplies, and equipment, not to exceed \$500 for a school year. In addition to the above costs which were paid directly to the institution, the veteran was paid a subsistence allowance of \$50 a month if without dependents, or \$75 a month if with one or more dependents.

Rexford Tugwell, aide to President Roosevelt at the time of passage of the GI Bill, reflects:

The so-called GI Bill of Rights apparently originated with the National Resources Planning Board; but as long ago as 1942 Franklin had set up an educational commission to study and report. The final result, anyway, was a credit to all concerned.¹

For almost a year before and for several months after passage of the GI Bill, Dr. Reeves traveled extensively throughout the country to speak on behalf of the purposes to be served by the plan. He also was given a formal assignment to represent the President in developing the detailed provisions of the bill itself. He reflects:

The President asked me to be prepared to cover the country on a speaking tour during the next year and until the end of the war, whenever that might be.

¹Rexford Tugwell, The Democratic Roosevelt (Garden City, 1957), p. 648.

The White House made most of the arrangements for my speeches and conferences.

In addition to my speeches and conferences, I was detailed by the Bureau of the Budget to the Office of the President to work with Senator Robert LaFollette, Chairman of a Sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, in drafting proposed legislation to include all of the major recommendations of our Conference that would require Congressional action. Also, Mr. Roosevelt asked me to accept invitations from state legislative committees and governors to discuss those of our recommendations that would require state action, and from heads of administrative agencies in the Federal Government, as requested.

My records show that during the 18 months period from September, 1943, to February, 1945, I gave 177 addresses or held workshops or conferences with groups in 46 of the 48 states. Senator Robert [LaFollette] and I jointly prepared the Senate drafts of the GI Bill of Rights and of other bills in which the recommendations of our Conference appeared. As Roosevelt had requested, I worked with LaFollette until legislation was enacted, and also worked from time to time with committee members of the House.¹

Dr. Reeves reminisces about the early speaking engagements:

My first addresses were delivered at Michigan State College [now Michigan State University] in the music auditorium. I was invited to speak by Dean of Men Mitchell. The President [Roosevelt] told me to expect invitations from groups--always regional groups--such as chambers of commerce, universities, and state legislatures.²

At a major press seminar in Chicago, Dr. Reeves stated:

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, letter to Albert Lepawsky, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, California, September 15, 1965.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, interview with Carl Pacacha, March 12, 1970.

In the past 18 months it has been my privilege to hold consultations with those in charge of the vocational rehabilitation or veterans' educational programs in about 100 institutions. I made visits to about 50 of these institutions and had an opportunity to see the programs in operation. This group of institutions constitutes a cross-section of the colleges and universities of the nation. Geographically, the institutions extend from the University of Utah in the West to institutions on the east coast, south to the Gulf of Mexico and north to Michigan. I have examined a fair cross-section of veterans programs as they now exist, because the 100 institutions care for something like 8 or 10 per cent of the total number of students in college and universities in this country.¹

The Influence of the GI Bill
on Adult Education

The GI Bill is truly an adult education bill. Through the Bill, millions of service men and women enrolled in higher education or specialty training. The Bill also provided for counseling, job placement, and retraining programs, enabling many to set a new course in their lives.

Dr. Nathan M. Pusey, president of Harvard University, says,

In the crash period that followed World War II, our university enrollment of veterans ran as high as 9,000 in one year. . . an able, mature, energetic, determined student body.²

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Educational Programs and the Veteran," Proceedings, Press Seminar on Demobilization and Veterans, Sponsored by the Public Administration Clearing House, December 6-9, 1944, p. 65.

²Nathan M. Pusey, in "GI Bill Shows Profit for U.S." Detroit News, June 22, 1969, p. 10-G.

Dr. Edward B. Bunn, S. J., president of Georgetown University, adds,

I know of no direction in which government money has been spent more fruitfully for the training of future American citizens.¹

The GI Bill was by far the most important of re-adjustment benefit laws. Not only did it provide the World War II veteran the basic traditional benefits granted to previous veterans, but added important social ones that helped to stimulate the economy against a possible postwar slump. The GI Bill contained four major benefits for veterans:

1. Title II--provided up to four years of college education (or similar training) at government expense, with the government paying for living allowances as well as costs of tuition, books, and fees.
2. Title III--provided Veterans Administration guaranteed loans for the purpose of buying a home, farm, or business.
3. Title IV--provided special job placement services from the United States Employment Service.
4. Title V --provided up to fifty-two weeks of unemployment insurance at a maximum of twenty dollars a week.²

The education of returning veterans was viewed as a dual problem--enrolling as many veterans as possible into educational programs and "gearing-up" of American

¹Edward B. Bunn, in "GI Bill Shows Profit for U.S.," Detroit News, June 22, 1969, p. 10-G.

²P. L. 78-346.

schools to meet the anticipated demands for services.

Hudson, commenting on the dual problems states:

Therein lies the challenge to educators--humanists and vocationists alike--to break the shackles of habit and precedent and to assume the full responsibility for offering education to the citizen wherever you may find him, and for creating an intellectual climate in which he may function.¹

A study of Figure I reveals the impact of the GI Bill on veterans' education and training for the first five years after its enactment. College enrollments reached the highest peak in December, 1947, almost 1,200,000. Enrollment in schools below college level had a rather steady increase, reaching almost 9 million in 1949. The number of on-farm trainees had gradually increased to about 300,000 in 1949. Job trainees reached a peak in January, 1947 but steadily declined for the next several years.

Figure II shows the proportion of veterans of World War II in each state who entered training under the Bill. There was a variance of a low of from 28 per cent in the lowest state, New Jersey, to a high of 63 per cent in the highest state, Arkansas.

A higher proportion of World War II veterans in the Southeastern states (see dotted area on map) were

¹Robert Hudson, "The Extension of the Campus," Adult Education Journal, Vol. 4 (April, 1945), p. 55.

Source: Figure I, taken from report on education and training under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, as amended from Administrator of VA., Feb. 8, 1950, Wash: U.S. Govt Pring Off.

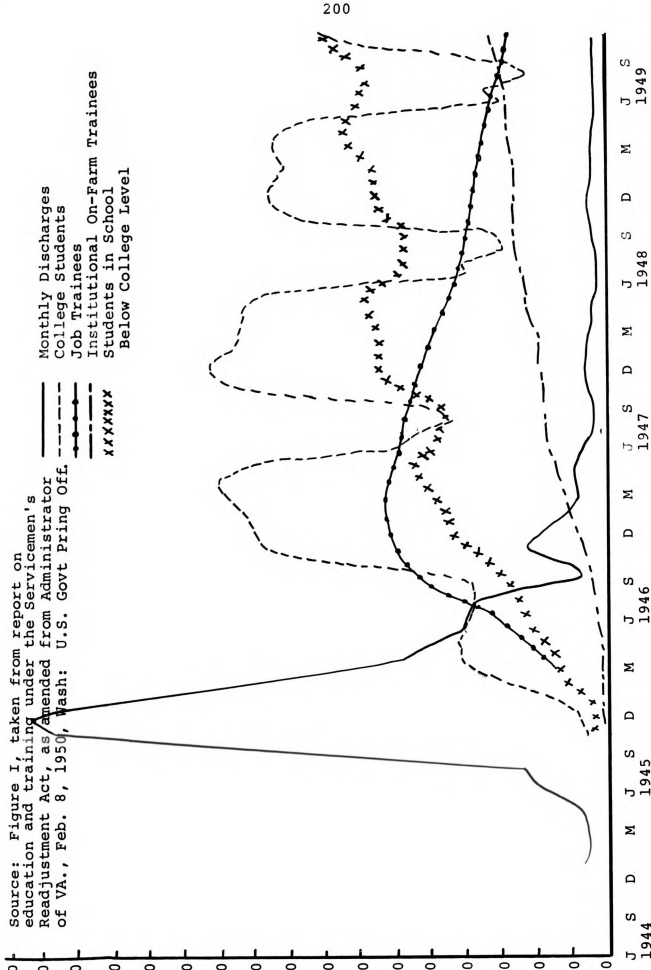
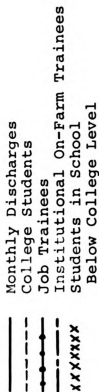


Fig. 4. Demobilization of World War II Veterans and Number in Training under Servicemen's Readjustment Act.

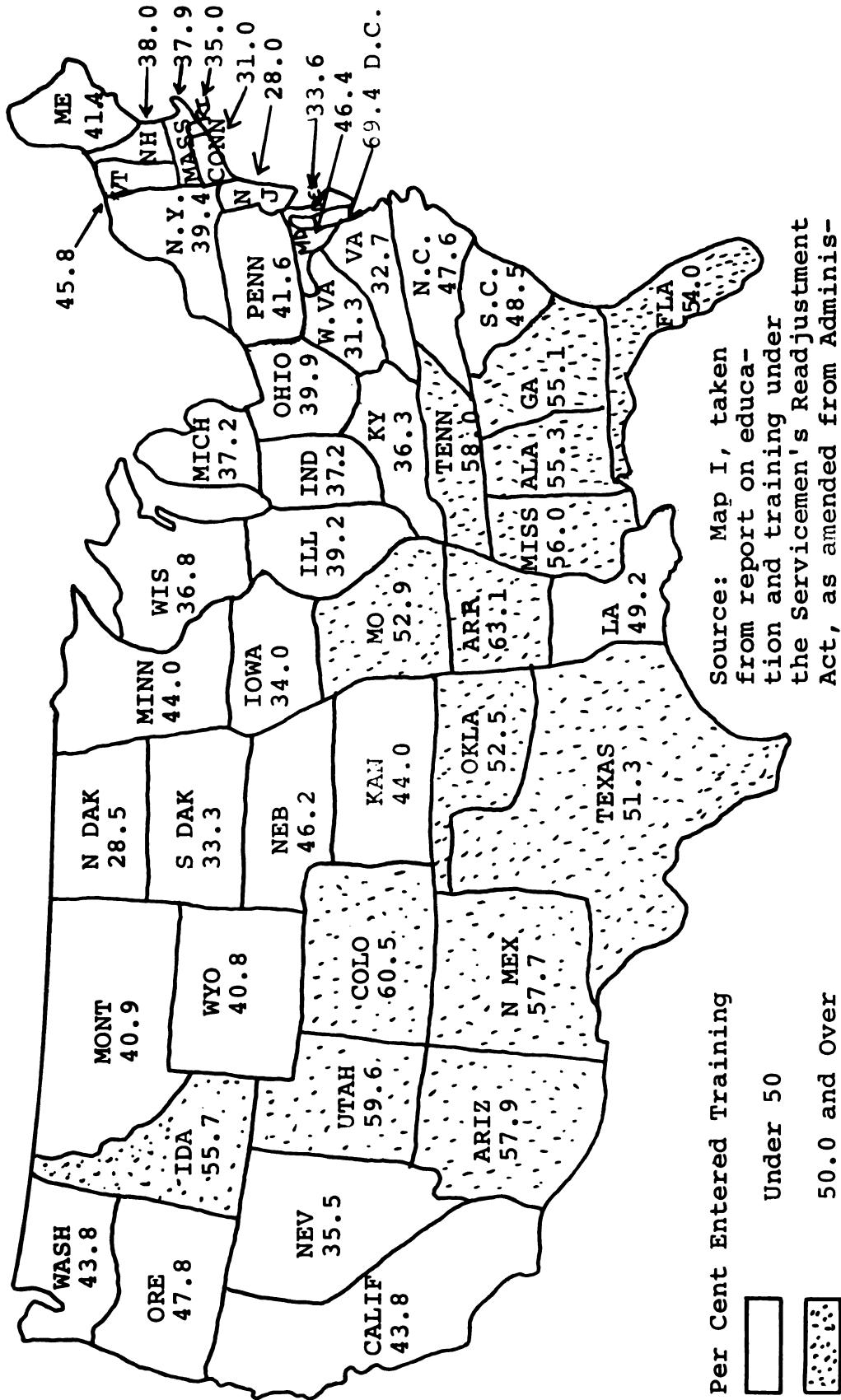


Figure 5. Per Cent of World War II Veterans in Each State Who Had Entered Training Under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act by November 30, 1949.

in training than in any other major geographical area. Most of the veterans in this area were enrolled in schools below the collegiate level and in institutional on-farm training.

The full impact of the GI Bill may never be known.

Hines comments about the Bill:

The law covering the rights and privileges of veterans is by all measures an outstanding piece of social legislation. It provides the most extensive educational opportunity₁ on an adult level ever sponsored by any government.

Rosenman, commenting upon the implications of the GI Bill for federal aid to education in other forms, adds:

As a result of the widespread and successful use of Federal money for education by GI's, it is no longer considered unnatural for the Federal Government to give aid for education. I feel sure that without the break in long tradition which came with the GI Bill of Rights, the idea of Federal aid to education would never have progressed this far.²

Although the original GI Bill did not extend into the 1960's, the "Korean GI Bill" and "Cold War GI Bill" did that.

A more current evaluation of the GI Bill shows that more than 10 million veterans have already taken

¹Frank T. Hines, Press Seminar on Demobilization and Veterans, sponsored by the Public Administration Clearing House, Proceedings, Chicago, Illinois, December 6-9, 1944, p. 9.

²Samuel I. Rosenman, The Tide Turns (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 454.

advantage of the education and training provisions of the Bill (see Figure 3).

The GI Bill was so popular that millions of veterans took advantage of its benefits. It provided for these adult education services: counseling and job placement, vocational education, higher education and correspondence study. The extent of the Bill can be seen in the following:

As of November 30, 1963, a total of 7.8 million World War II veterans had completed training under the educational benefits granted by the 1944 GI Bill [out of 18 million possible enrollees.] Eight million veterans were still in training.¹ The total cost from 1944-1963 was 14.5 billions.

Reporting on the impact of the GI Bill, Hugh McDonald states in the Detroit News:

Among ex-servicemen who were educated under the GI Bill since 1944 are 441,000 engineers, 174,000 doctors and dentists, 156,000 scientists and 334,000 teachers.²

Senator Alan Cranston also states about the Bill's effect:

The government has quadrupled returns on its investment in GI education benefits from 11.3 million veterans who have participated since World War II. For example, a veteran with a college education today will earn \$201,000 more in a lifetime than he would

¹ Congressional Quarterly Service, Congress and the Nation, 1945-1964. A Review of Government and Politics in the Postwar Years (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1965), p. 1371.

² Hugh McDonald, "Student, Senator Share GI Bill Concern," Detroit News, February 22, 1970, p. 10-D.

Type	Vocational Rehabilitation		Education and Training		Total ^a
	World War II	Korean War	World War II	Korean War	
Institutions of higher Education	152	22	2,200	1,166	3,435
Schools below college level	149	26	3,500	824	4,364
Apprentice, on-the-job and on-the-farm	312	14	2,100	312	2,656
Total	614	62	7,800	2,302	10,455

Figure 6.--Veterans Utilizing Various Types of Educational Benefits.¹
(In thousands)

SOURCE: Bradford Morse, "The Veteran and His Education," Higher Education, March 1960.

^aLess than the sum of the columns because some veterans (about 3 per cent) pursued courses under more than one program.

¹Rivlin, op. cit., p. 67.

if he had only a high school diploma. At the current rate of taxation, he will pay \$37,975 on that additional income, so that the government recovers its \$4,680 investment many times over.¹

Of greatest importance was the fact that the GI Bill pioneered the way for the later and current federal aid to education. Rosenman comments on the significance attached by President Roosevelt to the GI Bill:

. . . he was . . . sure that even the most rabid opponent of federal aid to education would not dare raise his voice against federal financial aid for educating GI's. He saw this proposal as a kind of entering wedge, feeling that if he could once get this piece of legislation on the books, it would be much easier thereafter to get more and more federal aid for all children in all states that could not provide decent educational facilities out of their own resources.

Subsequent events have proven him right. The successful administration of the GI educational program has broken down much of the resistance to federal aid.²

The Bill's immediate effect was to equalize educational opportunity through a massive adult education effort. Just as the earlier Morrill Act and the more current community college movement tended to encourage a more heterogeneous collegiate population, the GI Bill is another attempt in the long struggle to provide education for all citizens, providing at the young adult

¹Alan Cranston, in Hugh McDonald, Ibid., p. 10-D.

²Samuel I. Rosenman, Working with Roosevelt (New York: Harper and Row, 1952), p. 395.

level a redress of inequalities in elementary, secondary, and higher education.

The GI Bill included, for young adults, four of the programs recommended by the Advisory Committee on Education, with provisions for higher education, adult education (initially defined much more narrowly in the Advisory Committee Report), vocational education, and guidance and counseling.

Convinced that federally assisted education was imperative to the nation's welfare, Dr. Reeves used the social crisis of war and its aftermath to promote his vision. The GI Bill was a significant development for education in particular. Through its liberal provisions, millions of Americans have gained an education that they normally would not have received.

Although the Advisory Committee on Education had viewed adult education as a minor component, rather narrowly defined, the Conference on Postwar Readjustment considered adult education as a major enterprise, comprehensively defined. The Conference viewed the continued education of adults as a major instrument for pushing the nation forward to a new level of equality of educational opportunity.

Through the GI Bill, adult education became the precursor of the federal government entering the general field of education. The Bill opened the way for later proponents of federal aid to enact legislation.

CHAPTER VII

THREE DECADES ON THE AGENDA OF CONGRESS

Attempts to secure federal aid to education have always required a long term effort. A proposal is first conceived, then widely debated and then placed on the agenda for legislative consideration. Once a proposal achieves the status of a bill, it may be enacted promptly; it may be buried in any one of several committees; or it may stay on the agenda for decades. There was no federal aid program for general education before 1965 because proponents differed over the terms of the program. Eventual enactment of a program was not due to increased support for federal subventions, but a coalescing of proponents' views as to the terms of the aid. The influence of Dr. Reeves and his colleagues can be seen in the vast array of educational bills and laws from 1938-1968. The Advisory Committee Report was a catalogue of proposals that received intermittent consideration over the next three decades. All of its recommendations were eventually enacted into one or more federal laws. The Report was a "blueprint"

for the future. A major purpose of this chapter is to observe how this blueprint was translated into public policy.

In the GI Bill a massive package of legislation in support of adult education was enacted in 1944 while World War II was still being fought; in the 1950's and 1960's much of it was re-enacted and updated.

Educational needs dramatized during the Depression of the 1930's were seen and catalogued by the Advisory Committee. The proposals of the Advisory Committee dealt with 15 categories of concern:

1. General elementary and secondary education
2. Adult education
3. Higher education
4. Textbooks and other instructional materials
5. Vocational education
6. Transportation of pupils
7. Scholarships
8. Teacher preparation
9. School construction
10. State departments of education
11. Research
12. Library services
13. Work camps and experience
14. Non-public schools
15. Federally impacted areas.

Dr. David comments on the significance of the Advisory Committee Report in the early 1940's:

During the War, I served in the Bureau of the Budget and for a time was somewhat involved in planning a postwar program of federal aid to education. The Committee Report was certainly a point of departure in that activity. Eventually, I suppose, it . . . had . . . much influence on the provisions written into the federal programs for education that were finally enacted. Presumably the influence arose mainly from the effect on professional thinking that resulted from the Committee Report and the various monographs as they were read and studied across the country and over the years by those most interested.¹

The attempts to secure federal aid may be viewed as a continuum, beginning with Advisory Committee Report of 1938 and culminating with the Education Professions Development Act of 1967. Irving Kuenzli, president of the American Federation of Teachers, comments on these developments:

Since this report [Advisory Committee Report] was presented to the President, bills have been introduced in Congress each year in an attempt to carry out the basic recommendations of the committee [Advisory Committee] . . . Since the Committee reported, the American Federation of Labor has consistently supported in Congress the adoption of a general program of federal aid. Dr. Floyd Reeves, Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee, has stated that the AFL has done more than any other group in the Nation to implement federal aid.²

¹Paul T. David, personal letter to Carl Pacacha, July 7, 1969.

²Irving Kuenzli, "Labor and Federal Aid to Education," a mimeographed resume of statements adopted at the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor from 1938 to 1942 inclusive, 1942.

The primary purpose of the later federal aid was the reduction of inequalities of educational opportunity. This concern, stressed by the Advisory Committee, remained constant in the later bills.

The Period 1940-1945

In 1940 the Congress established an Occupational Outlook Service in the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The service had been strongly recommended by the Advisory Committee in 1938.

An occupational outlook service is needed that will provide a clear description of each of the major occupations or groups of minor occupations, the kind of life each occupation offers, the character of the preparation essential to enter it, the numbers employed and the trend of employment, the number of new employees taken each year, and the numbers of youth in each year of college or secondary school preparation who have the intention of entering the occupation if possible. Such information presented in its historical, geographical, and technological setting would go far toward providing individuals with a broad, objective and factual basis for making the choice of an occupation and deciding upon the kind of training to pursue . . . The Committee therefore recommends that the Bureau of Labor Statistics be assigned responsibility for carrying on an occupational outlook service.¹

The establishment of the service had great significance for adult education as it has provided job forecasts for older youth and adults. With adequate information

¹Advisory Committee on Education, Report of, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

about job prospects, individuals could plan wisely for the future. In his letter of transmittal in the first Occupational Outlook Handbook, Ewan Clague, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, credits this bill to the Advisory Committee:

Young people, veterans, older workers who are choosing a career or course of training need current information on employment trends and outlook in the various occupations. Recognizing this need, the Congress, on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Education, provided for the establishment of an Occupational Outlook Service in the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1940.¹

Dr. Edmund deS. Brunner, former member of the Advisory Committee, reflects on this contribution:

The creation of the Occupational Outlook Service which the late Dr. H. C. Taylor had strongly urged was a permanent contribution [of the Committee]. I believe it is now in the Department of Labor . . .²

Dr. Reeves continued to write and speak publicly on the need for federal aid. Addressing the National Council of Education in Atlantic City in 1941, he reiterated the importance of adult education:

. . . it falls upon adult education to do the job which for the most part, is not being done by secondary schools and other youth-serving agencies.

¹Ewan Clague, letter to Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor in Occupational Outlook Handbook, Bulletin No. 940, U.S. Department of Labor, in cooperation with The Veteran's Administration, September 1, 1948, p. II.

²Edmund deS. Brunner, personal letter to Carl Pacacha, June 14, 1969.

. . . adult education should make vocational orientation a first order of business. No society can be regarded as healthy, and certainly no economy can be accepted as effective, which fails to induct its workers into the kind of work they are most clearly qualified to perform. This has always been true, but at no time in the nation's history has it been truer than it is today.¹

In 1941 Senators Harrison and Thomas introduced a very broad support bill (S. 1313)² drawn in keeping with the Advisory Committee recommendations. The bill, designed to assist states "in reducing inequalities of educational opportunity," would have provided 300 million dollars yearly for public schools, grades K-14. One important provision of the bill would have given funds to assist states in providing school facilities in defense areas. Communities with populations swollen by increased military and defense workers were faced with severe problems in the education of youth and adults.

S. 1313 would have provided federal support in eleven of the fifteen categories recommended by the Advisory Committee: general elementary and secondary education, adult education, vocational education, federally impacted areas, library services, school construction,

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, address to National Council of Education, Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 24, 1941.

²S. 1313, introduced April 7, 1941, 77th Congress, 1st Session.

textbooks, student aid, state departments of education, research, and counseling and guidance.

In his twenty-eight page testimony on S. 1313 before the Senate Sub-committee on Education and Labor, Dr. Reeves stated:

At the points that this bill diverts from the earlier bills I am convinced that this bill represents an improvement and will come nearer to carrying out the recommendations of the Advisory Committee than the earlier bills . . . this bill carries out many of the basic recommendations of the Committee.¹

He added:

The two reasons why federal aid is needed are, first to provide better school facilities for children and youth, and second, to provide related training in those vocational schools for the men who are working on the job in defense industries. The latter is one of the most important parts of the present defense training program.²

Although no additional data have been collected and no additional studies made by the Advisory Committee since 1938, there is no reason to believe that the conditions and needs portrayed by the Committee have changed for the better to any appreciable degree. For this reason, the findings and recommendations of the Advisory Committee are as applicable to the situation today as they were three years ago.³

S. 1313 was favorably reported by the Committee on Education and Labor. However, no further action was taken on the bill as a whole.

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, Educational Finance Act of 1941, Hearings before a Sub-committee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, 77th Congress, 1st Session. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, April 28-30), pp. 96-124.

²Ibid., p. 103

³Ibid., p. 106.

The proposal to provide funds for school construction was taken out of the Harrison-Thomas bill, introduced as a separate bill, and enacted as the Lanham Act,¹ popularly known as the "Federally Impacted Areas Act." The Lanham Act was an outgrowth of the Advisory Committee Report. Two years later Senator Thomas stated: ". . . a part of the recommendations of the [Advisory] Committee in regard to the defense areas has already become national policy."²

The concept of federally impacted areas has often been utilized by proponents of federal aid to keep a bill aloft. There is scarcely a Congressional district in America without such an area; almost every district benefits. Few Congressmen have risked the political consequences of voting against a bill containing this provision. The Lanham Act served as forerunner of the impacted area concept found in P.L. 815 and P.L. 874 passed in the early 1950's and in numerous other acts since then.

Because of an acute teacher shortage due to the war effort, educational disparities were accentuated in 1942-43. The unfavorable trend of the war cast a pall over America in 1942. Many Americans were skeptical about the future. Contributing to these "dark days"

¹P.L. 77-137, June 20, 1941.

²Senator Elbert Thomas, Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 78th Congress, First Session, Vol. 89, No. 152 for October 13, 1943, p. 8398.

was the plight of American education, already weakened by a lengthy depression. Dr. Reeves, commenting on the need for change in education, stated to a Harvard University audience:

Concern for the future has led to a very wide-spread demand for changes in our secondary schools. It is not a patching and a pruning of defects that is being called for, but a root and branch reorientation of both curriculum and methods.¹

He and Paul Hanna had written at almost the same time:

One of our chief needs in the United States is to perfect an integrated system of free public education beginning with the nursery school and extending without break through junior college and to the various phases of adult education. Good programs at all levels are now in existence, but viewed as a whole our educational achievements have been markedly uneven.²

S. 637,³ introduced in 1943, proposed federal funds to assist the states "in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities." It contained provisions in eight of the fifteen categories proposed by the Advisory Committee: general elementary and secondary education, adult education, higher education, vocational

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, "Education for Today and Tomorrow," Inglis Lecture, Harvard University, February 11, 1942.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves and Paul R. Hanna, "Post-War Planning for Children and Youth," National Resources Development Report for 1942, National Resources Planning Board (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 126.

³S. 637, introduced February 4, 1943, 78th Congress, 1st Session.

education, teacher preparation and recruitment, guidance and counseling, textbooks, and library services. After extensive hearings, S. 637, also known as the Educational Finance Act of 1943, was the first general federal aid bill in fifty years to be debated and acted upon in the United States Senate.

In his report on S. 637, Senator Lister Hill, co-sponsor of the measure, cited the Advisory Committee Report of 1938 as "the strongest possible case for federal aid to education."¹ Senator Robert Taft added:

In the National Resources Planning Board report for 1943 there is a long discussion recommending a very large extension of Federal aid to education. Incidentally, that report was written by Mr. Floyd W. Reeves, who is also chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education, closely associated with the National Education Association, which I think prepared this bill. The Advisory Committee on Education certainly made the original recommendations for the extension of federal aid to education.²

Dr. Reeves, although in favor of S. 637, cited these deficiencies:

My major objections to the Bill in its present form are that it provides no stimulation in the direction of securing a better organization of school districts, and it provides no guarantee that the funds will be

¹ Senator Lister Hill, "Federal Assistance to the States in More Adequately Financing Public Education," Report to Accompany S. 637, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, 78th Congress, 1st Session, Report No. 323, June 18, 1943, p. 12.

² Senator Robert Taft in Congressional Record, October 18, 1943, p. 8522.

distributed within the states in a manner that will reduce inequalities within states.¹

Senator Hill commented on the linkage between the earlier bills (S. 419 and S. 1305) based on the Advisory Committee Report and S. 637:

The bill now reported by the committee has been perfected by careful study and deliberation not only in the present session of Congress but in previous sessions. Legislation somewhat similar in character has been considered by this committee in the Seventy-fifth Congress through S. 419, in the Seventy-sixth Congress through S. 1305, and in the Seventy-seventh Congress through S. 1313. The need for such legislation has been widely discussed since 1937.²

Dr. Reeves maintained close ties with key members of Congress interested in federal subventions to education. As a member of the Committee on Rural Education, he alerted Congressmen to the need for resolving educational problems as evidenced in this letter from Congressman W. R. Poage of Texas:

Your letter of the 20th relative to rural education during the present emergency of our country has just reached my office. I can fully appreciate the problems we are now facing relative to teacher shortage, farm labor shortage, transportation and other matters which affect rural education during war times, and I shall be happy to study your conference report, "The Rural Child in the War Emergency."³

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, memorandum to Charles W. Eliot, Director, National Resources Planning Board, March 6, 1943.

²Senator Lister Hill, op. cit., p. 13.

³Congressman W. R. Poage, letter to Dr. Reeves, November 23, 1942.

Dr. Reeves pressed especially for federal aid to adult education. In the National Resources Planning Board report for 1943, he wrote:

Both general and vocational education should be available to all adults and out-of school youth who wish to participate and who are qualified to benefit from additional education. Adult education should be provided at all levels, from literacy education through education at college and university levels. Public schools, colleges, universities, and other public agencies should provide this program to the extent that the services offered by private agencies and institutions fail to meet the need. It is particularly important that out-of-school youth on public work programs, such as those which have been administered during the past few years by the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, receive training on the job and related education. No qualified out-of-school youth or adult should be barred by economic circumstances from participation in a needed program of adult education. This means that a large part of adult education must be free or available at low cost.

Public libraries deserve support that will enable them adequately to fulfill their functions as major instruments of adult education. Thirty-five million Americans, most of whom reside in rural areas, have no library service.

Correspondence study, forums, and educational broadcasting, both as part of the extension services of schools and colleges and under other auspices, should be expanded, along with other forms of adult education.¹

Referring to the need for major overhaul in education in the 1940's, the New Republic cites the National Resources Planning Board Report:

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, assisted by D. L. Harley, "Equal Access to Education," Ch. IX, National Resources Planning Board Report for 1943, National Resources Development, Part I. Post-War Plan and Program (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 70.

Such a view is taken by the NRPB report, in a section for which Dr. Floyd W. Reeves seems to be largely responsible. It sees learning as a continuing process, that starts in the pre-school period and continues through adulthood.¹

Senator Hill, in his report accompanying S. 637, stated:

The National Resources Planning Board, in its National Resources Planning Report for 1943 (Post-war Plan and Program) presented to the President a series of recommendations for post-war planning. The President has presented the report to Congress. Among the recommendations is one that calls for Federal assistance to the States in financing adequate public-school programs.²

S. 637 was debated for four days, but, after the addition of an amendment requiring an equitable distribution of state funds among segregated schools, it was re-committed as its Southern supporters deserted it. A House companion bill was never acted upon.

Dr. Reeves continued to fight for federal aid to education. He was busily engaged in speaking engagements and writing on behalf of education. In October, 1943, he had sixteen speaking engagements.³

Because of the concern over demobilization of veterans and civilians at the close of World War II,

¹New Republic, "Education Belongs to the People," (April 19, 1943), p. 530.

²Senator Lister Hill, op. cit., p. 12.

³Floyd Wesley Reeves, personal file.

S. 1946¹ was introduced in 1944 by Senator Walter George and others

To provide vocational training and retraining programs for the occupational adjustment and readjustment of veterans returning from military service, workers demobilized from war production plants, and for other youth and for adults, that individuals and the Nation may attain economic stability and security, and to further extend the program of vocational education.²

This important adult education bill would have appropriated 97.5 million dollars annually and would have incorporated provisions in five of the fifteen categories recommended by the Advisory Committee: vocational education, adult education, teacher training, library services, and work experiences. In a letter to Paul T. David, formerly secretary to the Advisory Committee and then chief fiscal analyst in the Bureau of the Budget, Dr. Reeves commented about S. 1946:

What we need most is aid to the states for both general and vocational education as recommended by the Advisory Committee on Education. If it is not in the cards to secure aid on that basis the next best plan would be to provide aid for both general and vocational education for grades seven through fourteen inclusive leaving it to the states to determine the extent to which the funds provided are used for vocational education. If legislation of that type cannot be obtained then I favor as many amendments

¹S. 1946, introduced on May 23, 1944, 78th Cong., Sec. Session.

²Ibid.

of the type you suggest as can be secured that are in the general direction of the desirable goal.¹

In early 1944 legislators' attention was focused on the readjustment of veterans from the armed forces. The debate over the G. I. Bill pre-empted major consideration of other education bills.

Although S. 1046 was not acted upon in either house of Congress, it was the precursor to the successful George-Barden Act of 1946, a similar vocational education bill.

The defeat of S. 637 in 1944 was only temporary, and new federal aid legislation was introduced early in the next session of Congress. In 1945 several major bills were introduced. They included S. 181, known as the Education Finance Act of 1945² (and almost identical to S. 637) and S. 717,³ a broader, more expensive bill which also provided subventions for non-public schools.

S. 181 authorized a permanent program (grades K-14) of grants to needy states, beginning at 150 million dollars and going to 250 million in the third and succeeding years. The purpose of the bill was to establish

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, letter to Paul T. David, August 10, 1944.

²S. 181, introduced January 10, 1945, 79th Congress, 1st Session.

³S. 717, introduced March 8, 1945, 79th Congress, 1st Session.

a minimum foundation program of education in all states.

Senator Hill states about S. 181:

When the new Congress convenes, it seems to me its first days should be distinguished by enactment of legislation as embodied in Senate bill 181. There is no reason for delay with further meetings. We have the facts. We know the need. We must have action.¹

The bill would have provided funds for financing state systems of general elementary and secondary education, adult education, higher education, non-public schools, the hiring of additional teachers, and funds for teachers' salaries, library services, textbooks, guidance and counseling, and state departments of education (nine of the fifteen Advisory Committee categories). However, S. 181 was never acted upon.

S. 717 authorized funds "to equalize educational opportunities" in public and non-public schools. It would have provided 300 million dollars yearly for general elementary, secondary, and adult education, non-public schools, and teacher training; 100 million yearly for transportation, library facilities, textbooks, and instructional media; and 150 million yearly for assistance to needy students, ages 16-31 (the Bill embodied provisions in eight of the fifteen Advisory Committee categories). S. 717 also was not acted upon.

¹Senator Lister Hill, as quoted in Robert Bendiner, Obstacle Course on Capitol Hill (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), p. 81.

In testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Dr. Reeves, acting as chairman of the Commission on Education Reconstruction of the AFT, stated:

I have mentioned the reports of the Advisory Committee on Education and the American Youth Commission because I served as chairman of the Advisory Committee and as Director of the Youth Commission, and I believe that S. 717, if enacted, would provide a program of aid to education of children and youth that would be in general accord with the unanimous recommendations of both those groups . . .¹

He added:

We believe that the bill is sound in principle. We believe, however, that as a result of this hearing the bill can be improved in some of its details . . . we are happy to have an opportunity to endorse this bill in principle.²

In a New York Times article dated August 20, 1946, Dr. Reeves reiterated:

We should permit nothing to stand in the way of obtaining legislation that would make possible the achievement in the field of education of America's dream, equality of opportunity for all children, youth and adults, without regard to race, color, or creed.³

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, Hearings Before the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, 79th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1945), April 11-12, p. 461.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, ibid., p. 462.

³Floyd Wesley Reeves, "U. S. Education Aid Is Called Urgent," New York Times, August 20, 1946.

A significant development occurred in the sub-committee appointed to reconcile S. 181 and S. 717. Senator Robert Taft, a vigorous opponent of the 1943 federal aid bill, switched positions and added his name as co-sponsor of S. 181. Taft changed his position because of testimony (some of which was presented by Dr. Reeves) given to the Senate committee indicating that in many states children and adults were not receiving basic education even though some poor states were spending a higher proportion of their tax resources on education than some of the wealthier states. He stated:

Four years ago I opposed the bill on this subject; but in the course of that debate it became so apparent that many children in the United States were left without education, and then it became apparent upon further study, that this was not the fault, necessarily, of the states where they lived, but rather the financial abilities of the states, that I could see no way of meeting the condition which now exists regarding illiteracy in the United States and lack of education in the United States without some federal assistance, particularly for those states which are considered below the average wealth of the United States . . . I quite agree that the primary obligation to educating children is in the states and local communities. Under our constitutional form of government, they have the primary obligation. I think the federal obligation is a secondary one. It is one to back up the states, if I may use that expression, where it is necessary to back up the states.

. . . I have not been able to find that the Congress of the United States, when appealed to on a major question, is prepared to refuse to act.¹

¹Senator Robert Taft, Federal Role in Education (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967), p. 21.

Two other unsuccessful federal aid bills were introduced in 1945. S. 619,¹ containing titles in four of the fifteen Advisory Committee categories and almost identical to S. 1946, would have provided vocational education and retraining for older youth and adults, including persons demobilized from essential war work or from the armed forces. In addition, the bill would have provided funds for teacher training and work experience programs. H. R. 3002² came very close to covering all of the major categories of the Advisory Committee (twelve of fifteen): general elementary and secondary education, adult education, non-public schools, teachers' salaries, libraries, student aid for needy persons 14-20 years of age, guidance and counseling, textbooks, vocational education, teacher training, state departments, research, and school construction. Neither S. 619 nor H.R. 3002 was acted upon.

The proposals of the Advisory Committee were obscured during the war and its aftermath. Only remnants (some very important ones) could be attended to during the 1940's.

¹S. 619, introduced February 26, 1945, 79th Congress, 1st Session.

²H. R. 3002, introduced April 23, 1945, 79th Congress, 1st Session.

Postwar Struggle for Federal Aid, 1946-1961

The postwar years in America were marked by a series of social forces which had a great impact on education. Any one of the forces would have produced anxiety and concern. Combined they constituted an explosive admixture. These included the unanticipated increase in the birth rate, the knowledge explosion, segregation, poverty, and parochial schools.¹

The attempt to secure federal aid for vocational education was successful in 1946. S. 619 was reintroduced and enacted as the George-Barden Act.² It significantly expanded the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, providing grants to states for vocational education in agriculture, home economics, trades and industry, the distributive occupations, fishery trades, health occupations and highly skilled technicians. Provisions were also made for teacher training and salaries, and guidance and counseling. All of its provisions would have been applicable to older youth or adults.

The Advisory Committee, originally charged with studying vocational education and determining the need for federal aid, included all of these programs of vocational education, except fishery trades and health occupations.

¹Stephen Bailey and Edith Mosher. ESEA, The Office of Education Administers a Law (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968), pp. 4-10.

²P.L. 79-586, August 1, 1946.

Because millions of veterans and civilians were demobilized at the conclusion of World War II, adult education gained added significance in America. Dr. Reeves underscored the need for educational services for adults in a speech to the Governors' Conference on Rural Education:

There is no aspect of education more important today than the education of adults. Our present generation of adults has not been prepared for living in an atomic age . . . Adult Americans of this generation must prepare themselves through education to carry the grave responsibilities that unsought have been placed upon them.¹

Speaking in St. Paul, Minnesota, Dr. Reeves emphasized:

Never has there been a time when Federal aid for education was so badly needed as it is today. We must not let the children down through our failure to agree upon a wise program of action. We should permit nothing to stand in the way of securing legislation that would make possible the achievement in the field of education of America's dream--equality of opportunity for all children, youth and adults, without regard to race, color and creed.²

S. 2207,³ also introduced in 1946, proposed federal funds beginning at 150 million dollars the first

¹Floyd Wesley Reeves, Address to Governors' Conference on Rural Education, January 19, 1946, Springfield, Illinois.

²Floyd Wesley Reeves, Address delivered before annual convention of AFT at St. Paul, Minnesota, on August 19, 1946.

³S. 2207, introduced May 16, 1946, 79th Congress, Second Session.

year and 300 million dollars thereafter. Sponsors of S. 2207 believed that the small initial expenditure, if enacted, could serve as a base from which later increments could be made. This reasoning was consonant with that of the Advisory Committee, which also had recommended a small initial outlay of funds. S. 2207 would have provided for general elementary and secondary education, adult education, teachers' salaries, library services, textbooks, counseling and guidance, non-public schools, and state departments (eight of the fifteen Advisory Committee programs). The bill was not acted upon.

In 1946 Senator James Murray introduced one of the most ambitious federal aid bills ever in Congress. S. 2499,¹ known as the Education Development Act of 1947, would have provided for a ten-year program of federal aid to education, beginning with 500 million dollars the first year and increasing to one billion dollars in the tenth year. It specified programs of general elementary and secondary education, adult education, higher education, non-public schools, vocational education, library services, student aid, school construction, research, counseling and guidance, textbooks, and state departments (twelve of fifteen Advisory Committee programs). Funds

¹S. 2499, introduced July 31, 1946, 79th Congress, 2nd Session.

would have been allocated on the basis of financial need of each state.

Senator Murray commented on his bill:

In the past we have studied the problem of Federal aid to education on a piecemeal basis. The Education Development Bill, on the other hand, approaches the problem as a whole.¹

Both S. 2499 and S. 2207 failed because of political overtones--the Republican 80th Congress was reluctant to present President Truman with an attractive school package, and a bitter religious controversy was beginning.

In 1947 education reached a crisis--teachers were leaving the profession in record numbers because of low salaries--yet school enrollments were steadily rising. Many were concerned with not only the current deterioration of education, but future prospects as well. The NEA, generally recognized as the "teachers' lobby," estimated that the average teacher's salary in 1957-58 would be about \$2,250, and that there would be about 450,000 more students but only about 7,000 more teachers.²

S. 472,³ referred to as the Education Finance Act of 1948, would have authorized 300 million dollars yearly

¹James E. Murray, Statement released to the press at noon, Wednesday, July 31, 1946.

²Congressional Quarterly Service, The Federal Role in Education (Washington: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1968), p. 18.

³S. 472, introduced January 31, 1947, 80th Congress, 1st Session.

to assist states "in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities." Its purpose was to establish a minimum foundation program of education and required states to spend at least one per cent of their income on education. The bill would have provided for aid in five of the fifteen recommended categories of the Advisory Committee: general elementary and secondary education, non-public schools, guidance and counseling, textbooks, and library services. The bill was reported out of committee and approved by the Senate on March 23, 1948. This bill achieved another milestone in the progress of educational legislation. It was the first general education bill ever passed by the United States Senate. However, the bill was "pigeon-holed" in the House Committee on Education and Labor. Robert Bendiner states that the bill died "because a lackadaisical committee just didn't feel up to either working out a compromise or passing a bill along."¹

In 1949 Democrats were optimistic about federal aid; the precedent setting S. 472 had achieved the distinction of clearing the Senate vote. This, plus the recently-won majority in Congress was cause for optimism. In addition, the war had dramatized the need for federal aid. The great number of rejections from military

¹Robert Bendiner, op. cit., p. 90.

service because of illiteracy and the post-war teacher and classroom shortages were ample proof that the federal government should act. The emergent technological age also contributed to this optimism.

S. 246, known as the Education Finance Act of 1949, proposed funds to assist states "in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities." The bill would have authorized 300 million yearly for programs of general elementary and secondary education, non-public schools, textbooks, guidance and counseling, and library services (five of the fifteen recommended programs of the Advisory Committee).

However, the House proved an obstacle. After Senate approval of the bill, Congressman Graham Barden, chairman of a sub-committee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, opposed the bill and instead introduced his own, H. R. 4643,¹ referred to as the Public School Assistance Act of 1949. The Barden bill proposed 300 million dollars yearly for public elementary and secondary education, including provisions for guidance and counseling, textbooks, and library services (four of the fifteen Advisory Committee programs).

Congressman John Lesinski, chairman of the full Committee on Education and Labor in the House, was

¹H. R. 4643, introduced May 11, 1949, 81st Congress, 1st Session.

enraged when he received the Barden bill from sub-committee. He, a devout Roman Catholic, believed it was an "anti-Catholic" bill and refused to report it from committee. Because Catholic groups violently attacked the Barden bill, it remained lodged in the full House committee.

Barden and Lesinski had been brought into open conflict over religion, one of three obstacles (religion, race and federal control) that had persistently plagued educational legislation. The religion question would require resolution before a broad program of federal subventions was realized.

The 1940's involved valiant efforts to secure general support for education. However, these attempts were beaten down by two critical issues, race and religion. Both issues had received attention of the Advisory Committee on Education.

The thrust of federal aid proposals in the decade 1950-60 turned from general support for elementary, secondary, higher, and adult education to support for school construction. There were several reasons for this shift in emphasis. Metropolitanism, or exodus of city dwellers to suburbs, created a greater need for school buildings in the outlying areas. Also there had been a twenty-year construction lag between 1930-1950 due to depression and war. The post-war tide of children could

not be accommodated unless action were taken. This legislation, generally supported by the same groups that supported general federal aid, was given top priority consideration. It was strongly believed by most of them, however, that construction funds should not be a substitute for general aid. Earl McGrath, then the United States Commissioner of Education, stated:

I do not regard financial aid for school construction as in any sense a substitute for Federal financial aid for current expenses, particularly since such aid will be essential in attracting additional teachers to man the additional classrooms. Both types of Federal financial assistance to the states are desperately needed.¹

The House Education and Labor Committee in 1950 resurrected the bill passed by the Senate in 1949 (S. 246). However, it was rejected by a single vote in committee, ostensibly because of the heated church-state question, and an equalization principle (opposed by wealthier states) which would have given poorer states more funds.

Bendiner comments on the unsuccessful attempts to gain federal aid in the post-war period:

So it was that in the six years that followed the war, when the need was the most acute, at least thirty bills to provide general Federal aid to the schools were futilely introduced in six sessions of

¹Earl J. McGrath, Federal Aid to School Construction, House Committee on Education and Labor, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, 1950, p. 146.

three Congresses. Committees of both Houses held five separate hearings, at which an estimated 400 witnesses testified over periods totaling at least two solid months, their testimony running to something like 4,000 printed pages. Two of those bills were overwhelmingly passed by the United States Senate. Yet at no time did the House Committee in charge of such measures see fit to allow the House of Representatives itself to vote on a single one of them.¹

The 1950's was a time of conflict among the proponents of various kinds of school bills. During the early and mid-fifties, the proposals of the Advisory Committee were temporarily shelved in favor of attempts to secure aid for school construction. It would not be until the spectacular Russian space achievement in 1957--Sputnik--that educators and legislators would return to a consideration of the "defense oriented" Advisory Committee proposals.

The new stress on aid to construction was endorsed by the newly-elected Eisenhower administration as they took office in 1953, partly out of a desire to avoid the religious issue, but largely out of concern for the "baby boom" and suburban sprawl of the 1950's. President Eisenhower proposed a school construction program in 1955 that many education groups called unsubstantial and restrictive.

¹Bendiner, op. cit., pp. 95-96.

The legislative prospects for federal aid were more bleak after the historic ruling of the Supreme Court (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas).¹ A determined minority had still another reason to oppose federal aid; the high court's ruling would facilitate the integration of schools, which they opposed.

The arena for the conflict shifted to the House of Representatives. The Senate, until this time the leader in seeking federal aid for education, abandoned the stage to the House because of the effect the Supreme Court decision had on Southern senators, many of whom believed that federal aid would force integration of the races. For the first time since 1934 the House Committee on Education and Labor approved a federal aid bill focused principally on elementary and secondary education.

¹Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas 347 U.S. 483. During the turbulent reconstruction period following the Civil War, the Southern states generally established separate schools for Negroes and for whites. Negroes challenged this principle in the courts claiming that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution extended equal protection to the laws to all its people. In 1896 the Supreme Court decided the issue for the time being. In the case of Plessy v. Ferguson it maintained that segregated schools were permissible providing that the separate schools for Negroes were equally as good as the public schools provided for white children.

In 1954 the Supreme Court overturned the Plessy v. Ferguson decision (in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas) by stating that segregation in public schools denies one equal protection under the laws. Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprives children of the minority group of equality of educational opportunity.

Reported from the committee and debated in 1956, the Kelly bill (H. R. 7535)¹ generated the first formal House floor debate on a federal aid bill for general elementary and secondary education in this century. H. R. 7535 would have required matching funds for public school construction.

Support for the Kelly bill disintegrated on the House floor. A contributing factor to the demise of this bill was an accepted amendment offered by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, which would have denied federal aid to states which failed to comply with desegregation. A secondary factor was opposition by Republicans who took advantage of the Powell amendment. Substantial debate over the Powell amendment occurred before the bill came to a vote. The NAACP supported the amendment while the NEA and AFL-CIO and the President opposed it. The opposition contended that the issues of segregation and school aid should be kept separate.

Current Educational Legislation

The Eisenhower position toward federal aid was revised in 1958. Although the administration recognized the need for school construction grants, it believed that local and state construction programs were remedying

¹H. R. 7535, introduced July 21, 1955, 84th Congress, 1st Session.

the situation. The launching of Sputnik by the Soviets in October 1957 dramatized to many the need to focus on other educational needs and deficiencies. The "American Dream," earlier threatened internally by depression, was threatened externally by Sputnik. Sputnik generated a new interest, a revival, of the Advisory Committee proposals of 1938. The immediate effect of this spectacular Soviet space achievement was the passage of the historic National Defense Education Act.¹ Passage of NDEA followed in the wake of warnings that America was falling behind the Soviets in the scientific field. The Joint Atomic Energy Committee had stated that its program was in jeopardy unless something drastic was done immediately to expand educational programs for engineers and scientists. The committee contended that much of its potential scientific and engineering manpower was wasted through the failure of qualified high school graduates to pursue higher education and of college students to finish their education.

NDEA provided federal subventions for multifarious programs in general elementary and secondary education, including science education, mathematics, and foreign languages. In essence the NDEA proposals were a restatement of many of the Advisory Committee proposals under the

¹P. L. 85-864.

banner of defense: student loans, non-public schools, teacher training, counseling and guidance, vocational education, adult education, higher education, state departments and research (ten of the fifteen Advisory Committee programs). An important aspect of the fellowship program is the upgrading of present teachers, not teachers-to-be. NDEA was also significant as Congress stated for the first time that it was a goal of national policy that no student of ability will be denied an opportunity for higher education because of financial need. It also demonstrated that federal aid to education is more likely to occur when the legislation has as its purpose the alleviation of a social crisis.

In 1960 the House in a full floor vote passed H. R. 10128,¹ a school aid bill for construction only. It marked the first time that a federal aid bill for elementary and secondary education had passed the House since the Blair bill of 1885. After approval of the bill by the Senate, the House Rules Committee refused to permit the appointment of conferees to a conference committee, ostensibly because of some members' opposition to the Powell anti-segregation amendment. Proponents of federal aid were unable to generate enough pressure to

¹H. R. 10128, introduced February 2, 1960, 86th Congress, 2nd Session.

force final action on the bill. Bendiner comments about the failure of H. R. 10128:

And on September 1 Congress adjourned, a week before a record-breaking 37,600,000 children returned to school short of classrooms, classrooms short of teachers, and teachers short of money.¹

After 1960 the emphasis in Congress shifted from aid proposals for teacher's salaries and school construction to funds for the broad spectrum of education, including elementary, secondary, higher and adult education. This shift of emphasis was in the direction of the Advisory Committee proposals. Strongly supported by President Kennedy, S. 1021² passed in the Senate on May 25, 1961. The bill, an omnibus school and college aid proposal, would have authorized grants for the operation, maintenance, and construction of public schools and college classrooms, and for teachers' salaries. After passing the Senate, the bill was killed by the House Rules Committee. The bill was a victim of several factors: determined and well-organized opposition of Republicans and Southern Democrats, the religious and racial controversies that had historically impeded school bills, and the absence of consistent, coordinated leadership. Senator

¹Bendiner, op. cit., p. 171.

²S. 1021, introduced February 20, 1961, 87th Congress, 1st Session.

Barry Goldwater, a strong opponent of federal aid, expressed his views:

It is my strong belief that most of these proposals [education bills], including the bill, S. 1021, sponsored by the administration, are both unnecessary and unsound. I am convinced that they represent another long step in the direction of reducing our state and local governments to mere subordinate, administrative divisions of the central government in Washington.

I wish to make clear that I do not believe that we have an educational problem which requires any form of Federal grant-in-aid program to the States.¹

So bitter was the fight over this bill that it appeared that federal aid to education was dead for many years to come. After reviewing the recent attempts to secure federal aid for general elementary and secondary education, Bendiner writing in 1964 commented that only a miraculous set of circumstances could produce such an occurrence:

From all that has gone before it can be said that the spontaneous arrangement of circumstances is possible--but only in the same way that it is possible for pigments thrown at a canvas to shape themselves into the 'Last Supper.' That is, it may happen, but it is not a good bet and to have to count on it for the success of legislation approaches the preposterous.²

¹Senator Barry Goldwater, United States Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Public School Assistance Act of 1961, 87th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 538-39.

²Bendiner, op. cit., p. 192.

While the previous successful legislation of the 1960's had been welcomed by proponents of federal aid, there remained gloom as to the probable passage of aid for general education. Frank Munger and Richard Fenno had concluded in 1961:

For close to a century the federal aid story has run on without a break, rather in the manner of a daytime television serial. There is no particular reason to assume the end is now in sight, and some good reasons to suspect that federal aid will not be approved within the immediate future.¹

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962² represented a significant adult education development. The Act evolved from the critical need for trained personnel in vital occupational categories, including professional, scientific, technical, and apprenticeship. It also provides for adult education, testing, counseling and guidance, work experiences, training allowances, research, and programs of retraining and skill development for workers displaced by technology. MDTA included six of the fifteen Advisory Committee programs.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963³ also contains important provisions for adult education, such as:

¹Frank J. Munger and Richard F. Fenno, Jr., National Politics and Federal Aid to Education (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1961), p. 170.

²P. L. 87-415, March 15, 1962.

³P. L. 88-210, December 18, 1963.

. . . to maintain, extend and improve existing programs of vocational education, to develop new programs of vocational education . . . so that persons of all ages . . . those in high school, those who have completed or discontinued their formal education, and are preparing to enter the labor market, those who have already entered the labor market but need to upgrade their skills or learn new ones . . . will have ready access to vocational training or retraining which is of high quality.¹

Funds are also provided for construction of area vocational school facilities, and corollary services such as teacher training, program evaluation and experimental programs, work-study, and school construction (seven of the fifteen Advisory Committee programs).

The Library ~~Services~~ and Construction Act of 1963² provides annual grants to improve library services in areas lacking these services, including construction, salaries, books, and instructional materials. The Advisory Committee had recommended federal funds for the improvement of library services.

Stephan Bailey and Edith Mosher state that the Library Services and Construction Act (and other legislation of the 1960's) helped to break

. . . the logjam of educational measures that had piled up for nearly two decades. Educational reformers, both in and out of government, tasted success; and success begets success. If elementary and secondary education was still caught in an eddy, other big timber had successfully been pried loose

¹Ibid.

²P. L. 88-269, February 11, 1964.

and was coursing down the mainstream of legislative enactment and administrative implementation.¹

The major purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964² is to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in America. The major titles of the Act are heavily oriented toward adult education, providing programs for older youth 16-21, a work-study program for needy students, and urban and community action programs. Title III provides for special programs to combat poverty in rural areas, a major concern of the Advisory Committee in 1938. Of the fifteen programs recommended by the Advisory Committee in 1938, five are contained in EOA.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964³ enforces the constitutional right to vote and provides relief against discrimination in public facilities and public education. The Advisory Committee had voiced concern over discrimination in education in 1938, stating that ". . . Negro schools are only about half as well supported as white

¹Stephan K. Bailey and Edith K. Mosher, op. cit., p. 27.

²P. L. 88-452, August 20, 1964.

³P. L. 88-352, July 2, 1964.

schools,"¹ and added, ". . . several millions of the children in the United States will continue to be largely denied the educational opportunities that should be regarded as their birthright."²

In 1965 Congress passed the most extensive educational bill ever. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965³ includes provisions for programs of general elementary and secondary education, adult basic education (Title III, as amended), the education of children of low-income families, school library resources, textbooks, supplemental educational centers, teacher training, research, and state departments of education. Three titles of the bill include provision for non-public schools, a prerequisite in its passage. In ESEA are nine of the fifteen Advisory Committee programs.

Proponents of ESEA relied heavily on the child benefit theory in guiding the bill toward passage. They stated the bill aided the child, not the school or religion. In 1939 Dr. Reeves and Congressman Larrabee had cited this concept in their bill in an attempt to gain its passage. ESEA was passed amid a swirl of social forces and cognate developments. Bailey and Mosher comment on these influences:

¹Advisory Committee on Education, Report of, op. cit., p. 7.

²Ibid., p. 31.

³P. L. 89-10, April 11, 1965.

Explosive postwar demands; inadequate institutional, human, and financial resources at all levels of government; a series of expediential, if sometimes heroic, responses and political inventions born of frustration--all of these had combined to set the stage for a new legislative breakthrough.¹

President Johnson was enthusiastic about signing ESEA, and emphasized his satisfaction with the new legislation and its supporters by commenting:

As President, I believe deeply that no law I have signed or will ever sign means more to the future of our Nation . . . I predict that all of those of both parties of Congress who supported the enactment of legislation will be remembered in history as men and women who began a new day of greatness in American society.²

The Higher Education Act of 1965³ also stresses adult education programs. Under Title I of this act colleges and universities are encouraged to strengthen and expand their community service and continuing education programs. Other provisions in the Act include non-public institutions, library services, student assistance, research, teacher preparation, guidance and counseling, and a National Teacher Corps. This Act incorporates seven of fifteen Advisory Committee programs.

¹Stephan Bailey and Edith Mosher, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

²President Lyndon Johnson, The New York Times, April 10, 1965, pp. 1, 22.

³P. L. 89-329.

The Education Professions Development Act,¹ passed in 1967, has as its purpose the improvement of the quality of teaching and to help alleviate critical shortages of adequately trained educational personnel. The essential function of this Act is to bring together and coordinate in-service and other training programs for educators--from the many other acts previously enacted. The Act provides for five distinct programs:

1. Teacher Corps
2. Attracting and qualifying teachers to meet critical shortages.
3. Fellowships for teachers.
4. In-service training for personnel not in higher education.
5. In-service training for personnel in higher education.

The Advisory Committee had emphasized the need for improved preparation of teachers and envisioned a type of teacher preparation programs as embodied in EPDA.

There are many linkages between current federal legislation for education and the Advisory Committee on Education Report of 1938. All of the major educational programs of the Committee have been enacted. The Occupation Outlook Service and school construction programs were enacted within several years of the Advisory Committee

¹P. L. 90-35.

Report; its other recommendations were gradually included in legislation over the next thirty years. While many of the educational services recommended by the Committee evolved slowly, the need for them remained constant.

Current Legislation and Social Imperatives

Beginning with the National Defense Education Act in 1958 and continuing through the 60's much legislation has passed. Why such a flurry of educational laws in a relatively short period of time? How was the ESEA able to succeed after so many years of failure? What circumstances facilitated the passage of this legislation?

A number of social and political changes in America were contributing factors toward passage of these bills:

1. The rediscovery of poverty.
2. Metropolitanization and its effects on education.
3. The civil rights movement.¹

These social imperatives amply justified the proposals advanced by proponents of federal aid to education. Public and legislative attention was centered on the disadvantaged student, the poverty-stricken family and the urban school crisis.

¹Philip Meranto, op. cit.

Although poverty had always been a social problem in America, it changed form in the twentieth century. While earlier poverty was due largely to immigration, time and the next generation tended to resolve the problems of immigrants. Poverty in mid-century America, however, was characterized by displaced workers, the aged, and unskilled workers. These "internal aliens,"¹ as Philip Meranto had coined them, harbored disillusionment toward the future. The low self-esteem of these individuals was passed on from generation to generation. The relationship between poverty and lack of education substantiated the need for massive federal aid programs.

Metropolitanization has had a serious impact on education. The ingress of rural folk into the large cities, with the attendant problems of segregation and white egress, contributed to the "social dynamite"² building in our cities.

The civil rights movement also contributed to the passage of federal aid to education laws. The 1954 Supreme Court decision banning segregation gave impetus to Negro demands for quality education.

A number of changes in the political arena enhanced the prospects for passage of federal aid to

¹Ibid., Chapter II.

²James B. Conant, Slums and Suburbs (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961), p. 2.

education. Chief among these was the ascendancy of Lyndon B. Johnson to the presidency. Considering education as the cornerstone of his "Great Society" program, the new president displayed a missionary zeal for aid to education. His vast experience in working with Congress sped the passage of educational bills.

Alteration in the makeup of Congress aided chances for the passage of federal aid to education. In the 1964 election the Democratic party gained two seats in the Senate and 38 in the House,¹ assuring a plurality in each chamber.

Three cognate developments in Congress before 1965 paved the way for passage of ESEA and other legislation:

1. Revision of the party ratio in the House Committee on Education and Labor gave the Democrats controlling voice in the committee in 1958.
2. Shift from Graham Barden to Adam Clayton Powell as chairman of this committee in 1961.
3. Temporary expansion of the House Rules Committee in 1961 and its permanent expansion in 1963.²

Historically, the House Rules Committee has been the graveyard for education bills. It has often refused to permit important bills to be considered in the House. Bendiner states:

¹Stephan Bailey and Edith K. Mosher, ESEA, The Office of Education Administers a Law (Syracuse University Press, 1965), pp. 37-8.

²Meranto, op. cit., Ch. 5.

. . . the fact remains that the Rules Committee is a first-class hazard to any measure. The annals of Congress are filled with instances of historic legislation smothered in Rules for years before finally being blasted out by extraordinary pressure.¹

Unlike the Senate, the House has found it difficult to reach a consensus on the efficacy of federal aid. Conflicts are prolonged as most fundamental philosophical battles and divisions occur.

The Advisory Committee on Education pioneered many of the ideas contained in the current federal legislation for education. The proposals in 1938 would have achieved many of the same purposes that are inherent in present laws. Several decades before these educational services were being provided the Advisory Committee substantiated their need.

¹Bendiner, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has sought to identify the contributions of one man toward the enactment of federal policy in support of adult education. Dr. Reeves was able to identify important emerging educational issues and to provide leadership to a group of respected and competent representatives of major segments of the education profession and other concerned groups in developing educational plans. The most significant contribution of Dr. Reeves was that he sketched in broad strokes plans which have contributed greatly to a vast new chapter in the federal government's relationship to education. He made major contributions to the development of federal support for education generally. Through the confluence of his own professional convictions and the impingement of major social forces of the period, it was on adult education where the first and major legislative fruits of his efforts were born.

Dr. Reeves was a major figure in a long-term effort to establish national policy in support of education. He was able to identify and surmount the perennial

problems of Presidential advisory committees cited by Babbidge and Rosenweig and noted in Chapter IV.¹ He had the capacity to enlist individuals with diverse points of view and achieve consensus among them in developing master plans for education.

National policy is becoming increasingly important in the provision of educational services for children and adults in America. The need for these services has been brought about by vast social changes and an increased awareness of education's social significance. Education is being viewed as an important means of resolving national social problems.

National policy of federal support for education began early and slowly in America. Early support was almost exclusively categorical in nature, designed to meet specific needs, e.g., agricultural, vocational, and literacy education. In recent years, however, federal support has shifted from its original categorical nature to that of general aid. The federal interest in education promises to become even more intense.

The establishment of federal educational policy in America often requires a long-term effort. This policy evolves out of basic societal forces, such as depression, war, industrialization, and technological

¹See pp. 70, 71.

change. To resolve the problems created by these social forces, local communities and special interest groups attempt to influence educational policy. Their efforts are often bolstered by task forces (such as the White House Conference on Education or the Rockefeller Study) which develop proposals that stir political conflict among special interest groups. As the conflict is enlarged, it moves from local centers to the national capital, where decisions determining the outcome of the conflict are made. Proposed legislation is advanced, the various interest groups clash over its merit, compromises are reached, and national policy is enacted. Such a process often requires many years to complete.

Dr. Reeves served as chairman of the Advisory Committee on Education, 1936-39, and the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel, 1942-43. Although the report of the Advisory Committee was not immediately and fully implemented by Congress, it remained an important source of information, serving as a basis from which later legislative proposals evolved. Many of the ninety-six proposals of the Conference on Postwar Readjustment were incorporated into the GI Bill, which provided educational benefits for millions of men and women who would not have otherwise continued their education. The extension through federal action of adult and higher education to the World War II generation of

Americans has made a profound contribution to the growth of college and university education and the extension of continuing education in the quarter century which has followed.

Dr. Reeves, born and raised in South Dakota, attended school sporadically throughout his youth. Because of his responsibilities on the family farm, he was denied many formal educational experiences. Having a strong thirst for knowledge, however, he pursued much of his education in independent study.

After excelling as a student at both Huron College and the University of Chicago, Dr. Reeves gained valuable experience as teacher and administrator at Transylvania College. Later, at the University of Kentucky, he made extensive studies in public and private education. This early research experience prepared him for important work he was to undertake with colleges and universities, with policy innovators in higher education and with state and national governments in this and other nations.

Dr. Reeves held many important positions with the United States government, including adviser, administrator, and researcher. His contributions helped transform the Tennessee River Valley into a viable demonstration of social and economic restoration with federal support and encouragement. Later, in collaboration with Paul T. David,

he devised a plan for restructuring the massive executive branch of government. As director of labor supply, Dr. Reeves contributed to the war effort through his recruiting and training programs. As a consultant to many New Deal programs, he influenced both the purpose and organization of these programs.

In 1936 President Roosevelt appointed Dr. Reeves chairman of the National Committee on Vocational Education. The Committee's purpose was to study the experience under the existing program of federal aid for vocational education and the extent of need for an expanded program. Because he believed that vocational education should not be dealt with apart from general education, Dr. Reeves suggested that the Committee should give more extended consideration to the whole subject of federal relationship to state and local conduct of education. The President accepted his suggestion and revised the responsibility of the Committee and extended its timetable of operation.

The enlarged Committee became known as the Advisory Committee on Education. After nearly two years of intensive study, the Committee submitted its Report to the President who promptly published it and transmitted it to the Congress. The Report, containing many proposals for federal aid to education, became the leading document in its field, and served as a basis for the rethinking of education which occurred during the next three decades.

While they were not enacted into law immediately and in their original forms, all of the major proposals of the Advisory Committee have, in essence, been enacted.

Dr. Reeves' contributions to the work of the Advisory Committee on Education were both significant and instructive:

1. He was able to work effectively with National leaders to develop imaginative plans for education. The Committee was comprised of thoughtful and influential persons with highly diverse backgrounds and even more diverse opinions. His particular genius was the capturing of the major contributions of these disparate minds and molding them into a "master plan" for federal engagement in the educational enterprise, which represented well-nigh unanimous consensus.

2. Since he had served as director of numerous studies of education prior to 1936, Dr. Reeves was able to contribute directly to the Advisory Committee through his experience, his work and ideas, and indirectly through access of others to his published findings and recommendations. In many of these studies he had urged the restructuring of the organization and financing of education in America.

3. Dr. Reeves was able, in his numerous positions with government and higher education policy groups, to discover the largest possible area of consensus.

Colleagues of widely diverse opinions came to respect Dr. Reeves. Dr. Cyril Houle, staff member of the Advisory Committee, expresses well this special competence of his mentor:

At that time I perceived of Mr. Reeves as being the guide and balance wheel of the Committee. . . He seemed to be able to draw together the ideas of diverse people and to work out a program for action which would move national policy forward but would not be too visionary to stalemate all hope of further development.¹

4. As chairman of the Advisory Committee, he had final responsibility for selection of the seventeen original Committee members, and after the expansion of the Committee, sole responsibility for the selection of the four new members and numerous staff personnel. His selection of individuals eminent in their field was of crucial importance to the Advisory Committee.

5. Dr. Reeves was responsible for enlarging the purview of the study from vocational education only to that of all of the federal government's involvement in education. This was a significant turn of events for the Committee, as all of education needed reform, not only vocational education. Dr. Reeves viewed education as a whole, with the education of older youth and adults on a parity with that provided children.

¹Cyril Houle, letter to Carl Pacacha, June 20, 1969.

6. Dr. Reeves had access to the executive office of the federal government. By working closely with the President on matters pertaining to the Committee, he was able to influence the views of the President as to how education might be integrated within the larger framework of government planning. The President viewed education as an instrument of social change. With Dr. Reeves, an educator-innovator, as his "social engineer" the President hoped to provide equality of educational opportunity for all individuals, and thus to employ it in achieving his larger plans for social change.

7. Dr. Reeves organized and maintained general supervision over the work of approximately eighty investigative teams serving the Advisory Committee. He assisted the teams in determining assignments, making cooperative arrangements with governmental and non-governmental agencies and officials, and in analyzing research data.

8. He engaged with leaders of the Congress in a collaborative effort to translate the proposals of the Committee into bills for Congressional action. In performing this function he served as liaison between the executive office and Congress, and among members of Congress.

9. In the process of his work with Congressmen, he promoted a very new and important concept--the child

benefit theory--a concept that was later given legal sanction. The concept was later to prove decisive in successful enactment of more general federal aid to education.

10. Dr. Reeves was interested in securing education for all children, older youth, and adults. He promoted equality of educational opportunity through the Advisory Committee Report, its monographs, public speaking engagements and professional writing.

11. Dr. Reeves, in collaboration with the National Education Association and other organizations, engendered popular and institutional support for legislative proposals designed to translate the Advisory Committee recommendations into law. Chairman Reeves coordinated the work of the Committee with that of other organizations to broaden the base of political support for the legislation.

12. He advanced federal legislation for education through professional writing and speaking engagements. He attempted to appeal to particular publics, such as the American Federation of Teachers and newspaper editors in enlisting support for the Advisory Committee recommendations. He had stressed the need for federal subventions by citing inequalities, deficiencies, and discriminations in existing educational programs.

As the United States approached the end of World War II, plans were made for the successful return of veterans into society at the conclusion of hostilities. Under the direction of Dr. Reeves, the Conference on Postwar Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel utilized a time of national crisis to develop a daring plan of adult education to facilitate and ease the re-entry of servicemen into a non-military society. Dr. Reeves was convinced of the efficacy of education as a major vehicle for reconversion of the economy and rehabilitation of millions of men and women who had served in the armed forces. The Conference developed ninety-six proposals, many of which dealt with continuing education.

Shortly after the Conference concluded its work, the GI Bill was drafted. It translated many of the ninety-six proposals of the Conference into law and gave access to education to many older youth and adults. It inducted into the vocations and professions, including education, a generally more mature group of men and women from more heterogeneous social and economic strata than had previously come from higher educational institutions. The GI Bill encouraged the development and expansion of educational programs in colleges and universities, public evening schools, and proprietary schools.

With respect to the Conference, Dr. Reeves' contributions were not unlike those made with and through the Advisory Committee in its attempt to develop a national policy for education:

1. He seized upon a politically expedient vehicle, repatriation of veterans and readjustment of the economy, to introduce a major social innovation--federal support for continuing education for a whole generation of young adult Americans. Whereas he and his social reformer colleagues on the Advisory Committee had originally seen adult education not as the principal component of a federally supported educational program, but only a small part of it, the social forces involved in the war and its aftermath produced a situation in which adult education became the foundation on which a more general structure of federal support for education was later to be erected. He was a man who had a plan ready when social and political forces became ready to receive it; and he had the unique ability to adapt his plan to the social realities of the day.

2. Dr. Reeves drew upon his vast experience in previous educational and governmental studies, thus providing creative leadership to the Conference.

3. Dr. Reeves was able to work effectively with a group of Conference members, national leaders who viewed demobilization problems from very different points of view,

and to focus their attention on education as a vehicle for the successful readjustment of military personnel.

4. He worked closely with the President in drafting a postwar readjustment plan. The President was faced with a galaxy of problems including war, education, political reverses and economic readjustment. Dr. Reeves was able to demonstrate the significant role of continuing education in alleviating these complex problems.

5. He worked closely with Senator Robert LaFollette in developing the GI Bill in Congress; he interpreted the intent of the many Conference proposals and assisted in the drafting of the GI Bill.

6. Dr. Reeves promoted the work of the Conference through public addresses, conferences, and professional writing. He emphasized the need for extensive planning prior to the termination of the war. After passage of the GI Bill, Dr. Reeves represented the President in assisting the various states and educational institutions in establishing and implementing programs for veterans in accord with provisions of the new law.

Dr. Reeves was not always successful in advancing the concept of federal aid to education. The failure of Congress to enact general aid to education in 1939 was a temporary "hold" on such legislation. There were repeated deferments of passage of federal legislation to support the general program during the 1940's and 1950's. Dr.

Reeves was not dissuaded, however. He continued to press for federal aid and was successful with the enactment of the occupational outlook service (1940), the Lanham Act (1941), and the GI Bill of Rights (1944). Gradually the federal aid "logjam" was broken; the National Defense Education Act in 1958 was a significant development. This near-omnibus bill incorporated many of the proposals of the Advisory Committee and other groups. In the 1960's there was a proliferation of federal aid legislation, which incorporated, in their essence, all of the major proposals of the Advisory Committee on Education.

Dr. Reeves maintained, before policy makers and public, a master plan for education during periods of national stress. He had the capacity to work with individuals and agencies to effect consensus and coordination of effort. He demonstrated courage and perseverance through the long, tedious process of enacting legislation. Possessing creativity, flexibility and imagination, Dr. Reeves was able to convert apparent obstacles to a platform from which to advance his proposals for national policy. He had the capacity to merge his "blueprint" for education with the strongly held plans of others to advance his interests while serving the interests of potential antagonists. In addition to his broad plans, he promoted critical and innovative ideas of a very specific kind that were incorporated into later

legislation: impacted areas, child benefit theory, and equality for Negro-Americans. Dr. Reeves emphasized problems in rural America, where many educational and social problems of the urban community have their basic origins.

Dr. Reeves was a pioneer in federal legislation in support of adult education. He was a creative man who knew how to transform a group of individuals into a policy-shaping body. He utilized his unique qualities of leadership during times of national stress, depression and war (and its aftermath). His contributions are lasting evidence of one who believed in and dedicated himself to the concept of a federally supported program of education for all children, older youth and adults.

As an exemplar of educators who have helped shape national policy for education, Dr. Reeves' life and work are richly instructive. Not only were his contributions significant in their own right, they also offer unique opportunity for educators to understand more fully:

1. The process by which national educational policy evolves, and
2. The role of educators themselves in influencing that policy.

On the basis of the evidence discovered, this study demonstrates that a man who possessed a burning commitment to federal aid to education, and who performed

with excellence in strategic governmental positions during times of national crises, has had a significant influence on the character and availability of education at all levels in America over the past thirty years. Through his zeal and ability in enlisting others in resolving major educational problems, he was able to promote the American ideal of equality of educational opportunity for children, older youth, and adults.

Educational problems brought about by social change require the intervention of a perceptive leader who can facilitate the solution of these problems. He can bring about desirable change through his mental and moral qualities, his talent and knowledge, his resoluteness and courage. The professional educator (as demonstrated by Dr. Reeves) who possesses these unique qualities of leadership useful precisely at a given time can significantly influence the course of education and of national policy with respect to it.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Floyd Reeves, Chairman.

Edmund deS. Brunner, Professor of Rural Sociology, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina.

Luther Gulick, Director of the Institute of Public Administration and Eaton Professor of Municipal Science and Administration at Columbia University.

George Johnson, Director of the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Charles H. Judd, Chairman of the Department of Education of the University of Chicago.

Arthur B. Moehlman, Professor Educational Administration and Supervision, University of Michigan.

George F. Zook, President of the American Council on Education.

The five laymen in the government service are:

Oscar L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

Gordon R. Clapp, Director of Personnel, Tennessee Valley Authority.

Ernest G. Draper, Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

Mordecai Ezekiel, Economic Adviser to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Katherine F. Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

The other nine laymen are:

W. Rowland Allen, Personnel Director of Ayres Department Store, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Elisabeth Christman, Secretary-Treasurer of the National Women's Trade Union League.

Alice L. Edwards, home economist, consultant to the Re-settlement Administration and to the Regents' Inquiry into Education in New York State.

Henry Esberg of New York City, a businessman who has maintained an active interest in the field of vocational rehabilitation for many years.
(Deceased September 22, 1937).

George L. Googe, Chairman of the Southern Organizing Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, and Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania.

Henry C. Taylor, a nationally known agricultural economist, formerly Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and now Director of the Farm Foundation of Chicago.

T. J. Thomas of Chicago, President of the Valier Coal Company.

John H. Zink, a Baltimore contractor who is President of the Heating, Piping, and Air Conditioning Contractors National Association.

Staff Studies of the Advisory Committee

- a. Education in the Forty-eight States. Payson Smith, Frank W. Wright, and associates.
- b. Organization and Administration of Public Education. Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore.
- c. State Personnel Administration: With Special Reference to Departments of Education. Katherine Frederic.

- d. Federal Aid and the Tax Problem. Clarence Heer.
- e. Principles and Methods of Distributing Federal Aid for Education. Paul R. Mort, Eugene S. Lawler, and Associates.
- f. The Extent of Equalization Secured through State School Funds. Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey.
- g. Selected Legal Problems in Providing Federal Aid for Education. Robert R. Hamilton.
- h. Vocational Education. John Dale Russell and associates.
- i. Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Disabled. Lloyd E. Blauch.
- j. The Land-Grant Colleges. George A. Works and Barton Morgan.
- k. Library Service. Carleton B. Joeckel.
- l. Special Problems of Negro Education. Doxey A. Wilkerson.
- m. The National Youth Administration. Palmer O. Johnson and Oswald L. Harvey.
- n. Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration. Doak S. Campbell, Frederick H. Bair and Oswald L. Harvey.
- o. Research in the United States Office of Education. Charles H. Judd.

APPENDIX B

MEMBERS OF CONFERENCE ON POSTWAR READJUSTMENT OF CIVILIAN AND MILITARY PERSONNEL

On July 6, 1942, President Roosevelt authorized the appointment of an informal conference on post-war readjustment of civilian and military personnel. This conference was made up of the following groups, in which there are found widely ranging types of experience and interest.

Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, National Resources Planning Board,
Chairman.

Dr. Francis J. Brown, Education Adviser, Joint Army-Navy
Committee on Welfare and Recreation.

Dr. Edward C. Elliott, Chief, Professional and Technical
Employment and Training Division, War Manpower
Commission.

Dr. William Haber, Director, Bureau of Program Require-
ments, War Manpower Commission.

Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, Administrator, Veterans
Administration.

Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director, Bureau of
Selective Service, War Manpower Commission.

Dr. A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statis-
tics, Department of Labor.

Lieutenant Commander Ralph A. Sentman, U.S.N. (Ret.),
Officer in Charge of Educational Services Section,
Training Division, Bureau of Naval Personnel,
Navy Department.

Colonel Francis T. Spaulding, Chief, Education Branch,
Special Service Division, War Department.

Mr. Howard R. Tolley, Chief, Bureau of Agricultural
Economics, Department of Agriculture.

Dr. Thomas J. Woofter, Jr., Director of Research,
Federal Security Agency.

Mr. Leonard Outhwaite, National Resources Planning
Board, Secretary.

APPENDIX C

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1936


My dear Dr. Reeves:

At the time I approved H. R. 12120, which authorizes additional appropriations for Federal aid for vocational education in the several States and Territories, I indicated my belief that before the act goes into effect on July 1, 1937, the whole subject should be reviewed by a disinterested group. It is my thought that such a group should study the experience under the existing program of Federal aid for vocational education, the relation of such training to general education and to prevailing economic and social conditions, and the extent of the need for an expanded program.

I take pleasure in inviting you to accept membership on a committee to make such studies and to develop recommendations which will be available to the Congress and to the Executive. The services of the several Federal departments will be available to this committee. Traveling expenses incurred by members in attending committee meetings will be met by the Government.

I hope that it will be possible for you to serve in this capacity and to assist in the development of a sound basis for a program of vocational education which will be of maximum benefit to those affected.

Very sincerely yours,



Dr. Floyd Reeves,
Professor of Education,
University of Chicago,
Chicago,
Illinois.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

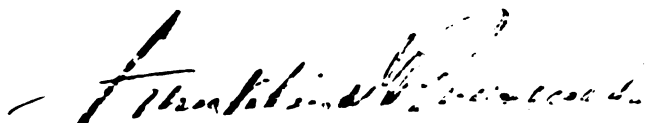
Hyde Park, New York,
September 26, 1936.

My dear Dr. Reeves:

Supplementing the letter I sent to you asking you to serve as a member of the Committee on Vocational Education, I shall be very glad indeed if you will find it possible to serve as the Chairman of this Committee.

The success of the work of the Committee will be greatly enhanced by your chairmanship.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Franklin D. Roosevelt". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Dr. Floyd Reeves,
Commercial National Bank Building,
Washington, D. C.

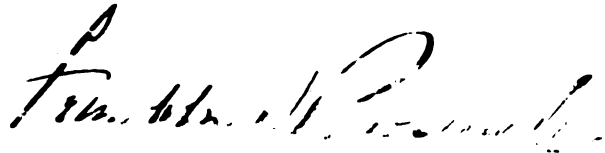
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 16, 1936

My dear Mr. Reeves:

Attached is a copy of a letter I have sent to Mr. Chester C. Davis in answer to his suggestion that the Committee on Vocational Education be enlarged to include representatives of southern agriculture, agricultural colleges, and vocational home economics. I wish you would get in touch with Cully A. Cobb at your earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Franklin D. Roosevelt".

Honorable Floyd Reeves,
Chairman, President's Committee
on Vocational Education,
730 Jackson Place, Northwest,
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SENT FOR THE INFORMATION OF

F. D. Roosevelt

May 25, 1937.

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington

My dear Mr. President:

In accordance with a resolution, copy of which is enclosed herewith, the undersigned, representing the Executive Committee of your Advisory Committee on Education, wishes to request approval of the committee's action that in addition to his service as chairman of the committee, Dr. Floyd B. Reeves be designated as Director of Studies for the committee, with compensation at the rate of \$9500 per annum for the time actually devoted to such service.

Yours very sincerely,

COPY

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Room 7129, North Interior Building
Washington, D. C.

Telephone: District 1820, Extension 4178

May 22, 1937

Dr. George F. Zook, President
American Council on Education
744 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

My dear Dr. Zook:

This is to certify that the following appears
in the minutes of the Executive Committee of the Advisory
Committee on Education for the meeting held May 18, 1937:

Moved, seconded, and carried, that Dr. Zook be
chairman of a special committee of the Executive
Committee, appointed by him, to take up with the
President by memorandum or conference the matter
of Mr. Reeves' service as Director of Studies and
his compensation at the rate of \$9,500 per annum
for time actually devoted to such service.

Very truly yours,

PAUL T. DAVID

Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 19, 1937

My dear Dr. Reeves:

I have been giving thought to the general system of the relationship of the Federal Government to education. Many bills are now pending in Congress all of which seek to a greater or less degree to aid the Federal Government in future extensive programs costing very large sums of money.

Inasmuch as the Committee of which you are Chairman, appointed last Fall to study vocational training, is also charged with considering the relation of such training to general education, it occurs to me that you already have considerable information at hand.

I am, therefore, asking your Committee to give more extended consideration to the whole subject of Federal relationship to state and local conduct of education and to let me have a report. I appreciate that this will take more time than that allotted to your Committee.

May I suggest to you that in the conduct of this study, your Committee should consider among other things the definite danger that an entering wedge of Federal expenditure in any system of taxing to states or localities might easily expand in a very short time to the point where the treasury would be gravely embarrassed and financial burdens now resting on the states and localities would tend to be cast on the Federal Government.

Very sincerely yours,



Dr. Floyd W. Reeves,
Chairman, President's Committee on Vocational Education,
Washington Auditorium,
Washington, D. C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 13, 1938

My dear Mr. Reeves:

Your letter of May twelfth has been received. The President has asked me to express his appreciation of your friendly thought in sending him the copy of the report of the Committee in cloth binding.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "M. A. LeHand". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

M. A. LeHand
PRIVATE SECRETARY

Floyd W. Reeves, Esq.,
Chairman, The Advisory Committee
on Education,
North Interior Building,
Washington, D. C.

May 12, 1938

My dear Mr. President:

We have obtained a small supply of copies of the report of the Committee in cloth binding. It occurs to me that you might like to have such a copy, and I am sending it herewith.

Sincerely yours,

Floyd W. Reeves
Chairman

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

June 2, 1938

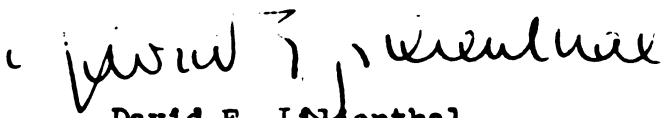
Mr. Floyd W. Reeves, Chairman
The Advisory Committee on Education
North Interior Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Reeves:

I greatly appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending me the report of your Committee which was transmitted to the President in February. This was received a few days ago in my absence.

Kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,


David E. Lilienthal
Director

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1940

My dear Dr. Reeves:

Please accept my thanks for your letter of December twenty-ninth and for the nineteen staff studies prepared for The Advisory Committee on Education, and comprising an examination into the status and problems of education in the United States. This is truly a monumental work. The titles of the studies alone reflect the breadth and scope of the many-sidedness of the work now brought to completion.

In expressing my appreciation of the services of the members of The Advisory Committee may I ask you also to extend my thanks to the able corps of experts -- both men and women -- who cooperated in the preparation of the studies now available in convenient form to all who are interested in the vital problem of American education.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Franklin D. Roosevelt". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal line extending from the end.

Dr. Floyd W. Reeves,
Chairman,
The Advisory Committee on Education,
744 Jackson Place,
Washington, D. C.

September 26, 1936

My dear Mr. President:

Your letter of September 19, requesting me to accept membership on a committee to make studies of vocational education, was forwarded from my Chicago office and reached me after a few days delay. I shall of course be delighted to accept membership on the committee.

I am leaving Washington tomorrow for Saranac Inn, New York, to attend an educational conference, but will be at the Washington office of the President's Committee on Administrative Management after next Thursday, October 1.

With appreciation of the honor conferred by this appointment, I am

Yours respectfully,

Floyd W. Reeves
University of Chicago

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

October 2, 1936.

My dear Mr. President:

Upon my return to Washington, I find your supplemental letter of September 26, requesting me to serve as chairman of your committee on vocational education. I am happy to accept the responsibility, and welcome this opportunity to assist in connection with a problem that seems to me to be of vital importance to American education.

Yours respectfully,

Floyd W. Reeves
University of Chicago

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 2, 1943.

Dr. Floyd W. Peeves,
Graduate Education Building,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.

My dear Doctor Reeves:

As the active planning work of the National Resources Planning Board came to an end with the closing of the fiscal year on June 30, under the orders of the Congress that hereafter we shall devote ourselves to winding up our affairs, I want to express the personal appreciation of my colleagues and myself for your personal contribution, services and leadership as Chairman of the Conference on Post-War Adjustment of Personnel. A copy of the formal vote of the Board is enclosed herewith.

While the termination of the work of the Board is a great disappointment to all of us, we can be happy in looking back at the record of accomplishment during the ten years of the Board's activity. We can truly say that the record will speak for itself.

Sincerely yours,




Frederic A. Delano
Chairman.

encl.


EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD

AT ITS 69TH MEETING, HELD IN WASHINGTON ON JUNE 29-30, 1943, THE BOARD VOTED:

To transmit the thanks and appreciation of the Board to the members of the staff in Washington and in the Field, and to the specialists and agencies - both inside and outside the Federal Government - who have cooperated with the staff and served on the Board's technical committees, Regional Planning commissions, and drainage basin or other committees, for the effective and faithful performance of difficult assignments in planning research, program coordination, and leadership in planning efforts of localities, States, regions, and the Nation.


Frederic A. Delano, *Chairman*

 
Charles S. Merriam George F. Yantis


Charles W. Eliot, *Director*


Harold Merrill, *Executive Officer*

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The President

The White House.

My dear Mr. President:

We have the honor to transmit herewith a Report on Demobilization and Readjustment of Personnel, prepared by the informal Conference which was set up by the Board last summer in accordance with your authorization. The members of the Conference, including authorities from the armed forces, Veterans' Administration, Manpower Commission, and other related agencies, have agreed unanimously on these proposals for the orderly handling of the demobilisation and readjustment of men coming out of the armed forces and from war industry.

In the introduction to the report we have selected the items of primary significance and indicated our concurrence with the recommendations of the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Frederic A. Delano
Chairman

Charles E. Merriam

George F. Yantis

Encl.

APARTMENT 6-A
29 WASHINGTON SQUARE WEST
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

October 24, 1946

Dear Dr. Reeves:

Many thanks for your letter. I could not be at the board meeting because of the United Nations Assembly.

You are so near Hyde Park I do hope you will come down for lunch over a weekend. I'm usually there Saturday and Sunday, but while the United Nations meetings are on, I can never be sure of Saturday.

If you come by train to Poughkeepsie, I can have you met at the station.

Very sincerely yours,

