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## Bulletin 38 - Arguments for Vocational Guidance

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*THE            NORMAL*  

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*SCHOOL BULLETIN*  

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OCTOBER 1, 1912.



*ARGUMENTS FOR VOCATIONAL  
GUIDANCE*

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*BY*

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*E. E. LEWIS.*





# Normal School Bulletin

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CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS, OCTOBER 1, 1912

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## ARGUMENTS FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

**Pointing out how the gap between school life and vocational  
life may be bridged in part by the  
public school teacher.**

“No two persons are born alike, but each differs from the other in individual endowments, one being suited for one thing, and another for another; and all things will be provided in superior quantity and quality, and with greater ease, when each man works at a single occupation, in accordance with his natural gifts.”

—Plato, Republic, Book II.

## **The Relation of Vocational Guidance to Education.**

The majority of our boys and girls at fourteen, fifteen and sixteen are becoming independent wage-earners;—How can they best be guided and safe-guarded during their earlier years of labor and the perilous years of adolescence? This is the question that is being asked almost universally, and to which education is gradually giving heed. Realizing the helplessness of the child, and his inability, by reason of youth and inexperience, to protect himself as an independent worker in the complex industries of today, an enlightened public opinion is bringing about a change in the aim, methods and materials of education that is gratifying to all those who are interested in raising the standards of citizenship and in increasing the efficiency of workers. Out of the social consciousness have grown agencies, both public and private in character, devoted to the cause of extending the period of childhood, and of protecting by all possible means the period of adolescence and plasticity. In no uncertain language society has set its stamp of disapproval upon the unregulated employment of immature citizens. Legislation the world over has built up barriers in the interest of future populations, driving children out of the homes and streets, out of the shops, stores and trades into the healthier atmosphere of the schoolroom. Civic organizations, social workers, labor unions, political parties, educational authorities and all kindred groups have united in a vigorous campaign for the elimination of un-educative and health-breaking forms of child labor.

Gradually the conception has grown that laws alone are inadequate to combat this evil unless supplemented by a series of educational institutions that more directly meet the varying needs of young workers. The cry is for an education of “all the children of all the people”; “a universal edu-

cation, free and equally open to all and suited to the needs of each." The one adequate remedy for child labor, upon which all people seemingly are beginning to agree, is to be found in a public system of vocational education that provides for and protects young workers in all lines until they are at least 18 years old.

The old apprenticeship system of training the young worker in the home and under the personal direction of the master mechanic, and the guild to which he belonged, has proved incompetent. The introduction of machinery has substituted unskilled for skilled labor in so many industries that a compulsory apprenticeship permits the employer too great an opportunity to exploit the health and labor of the child for his own capitalistic ends. Nor is there longer any security to the public that the apprentice will be thoroughly and efficiently taught. Again, the apprenticeship system has in the past, and must in the future, leave outside of its scope a large proportion of children who are not able to get into skilled lines in which alone apprenticeship is possible. And lastly, the apprenticeship system has always been confined to a few fields of organized labor, and the public, wisely, or unwisely, fear that it will be used as a device to maintain a monopoly.

The enactment of Child Labor and Compulsory Attendance Laws are merely negative checks to the evils of uneducative juvenile employment. By the passage of such laws the state acknowledges both its right and its duty concerning the education and labor of juveniles. Such laws are very beneficial in almost entirely keeping children out of work until they are 12 and 14 years old, and in rigidly prescribing the conditions under which they may labor until they are 16. The factory inspectors and attendance officers have, in the enforcement of their duties, incidentally done a great deal in keeping many children in school, and in

placing others in suitable occupations when schooling was impossible. It was never intended that laws and officers of this character should assume the entire burden of training and supervising juveniles during their earlier vocational experiences. These measures are coercive rather than educative, negative rather than positive. They delay and check but do not solve the evils of child labor. More positive remedies are needed.

It is not enough to keep children out of work and in school. Raising the school-leaving age works a hardship upon many children, if, at the same time, the school does not provide some form of industrial and vocational training for the great percentage of children who later enter industrial occupations. All economists, educational experts and social workers, who have been brought into intimate touch with modern problems, are agreed upon the relation of misemployment to adolescence, and regard an improved and extended educational system as an urgent necessity.

Now, education is definable in a thousand and one ways. We are all familiar with, and tired of most of these definitions. Vocational education should not be confused with liberal or cultural education on the one hand, nor with industrial education on the other. It is neither of these. True, the educational process is a unity in the life of an individual. Yet, there are convenient divisions within that process. One part may be called liberal, another industrial, and a third vocational. Or, the total process may be called liberal, or industrial, or vocational.

Dean Russell, of Teachers College, has pointed out three kinds of knowledge with which the school deals, or with which it should deal. The first he calls humanistic, the second scientific, and the third industrial. He argues that the school has thus far concerned itself almost exclusively with humanistic knowledge, very slightly in the last few years



with scientific knowledge, and as yet scarcely at all with industrial knowledge. The schooling that deals largely with the first two types of knowledge we are in the habit of calling liberal and cultural. The schooling that deals with industrial knowledge we are beginning to call industrial. Of late the importance of this third kind of knowledge has been repeatedly urged and throughout the world there has arisen a movement to promote the introduction of industrial knowledge or subject matter in the school curriculum alongside of, and in intimate connection with, liberal and scientific subject matter. This movement is known as the Industrial Education Movement.

Here, then, we have two distinguishable steps in the educational process. We want our children to learn something about the subjects, which in an old-fashioned way, are styled the sciences and the humanities, and, at the same time, we want our children to learn something about the tremendous and marvelous industries that have grown up in the last few decades. If it is one of the functions of education to easily and quickly pass on knowledge from one generation to the next, we are beginning to wonder if this great mass of industrial knowledge that has been so rapidly acquired does not need to be passed on to the next generation in order to be preserved as well as the older knowledge which the race has accumulated in the past centuries. This is the fundamental idea underneath the movement for the promotion of industrial education. The aim of industrial education is, then, to introduce industrial subject matter into the curricula of the various schools. This means all schools from the kindergarten to the university. The aim of liberal and cultural education, so-called, is to retain the time-honored position of humanistic and scientific knowledge in the curriculum, to withstand the onslaught of this new and somewhat sophomoric knowledge. The exponents of these



older forms of knowledge seem to believe that there is something intrinsically fine, noble and dignified in old knowledge and something cheap and trivial in new knowledge. This is a long drawn-out, and oft-repeated controversy in which we are not primarily interested here.

Very often industrial education is confused with vocational education, or rather perhaps, vocational education is confused with industrial education. They are not the same thing at all. Vocational education is hardly more concerned with industrial knowledge than with liberal and cultural subject matter. Vocational education is concerned with training the child for some specific vocation. It emphasizes the result as well as the process. If the vocation is that of a lawyer, doctor, preacher, engineer, or teacher the emphasis in the process will be largely upon humanistic and scientific knowledge, though industrial knowledge should by no means be neglected. If, on the other hand, the vocation is that of a barber, salesman, plumber, mechanic, or carpenter the emphasis will be upon what is commonly called industrial knowledge, though again, liberal knowledge and scientific knowledge are both necessary and desirable.

Now, vocational education is not a new movement or a new kind of education. The importance of training for the higher vocations has been definitely recognized by education in schools for law, medicine and theology that have been in existence for centuries. Normal schools are merely vocational schools. The first educational foundations in the new world were established to train lawyers, teachers and preachers for the colonies. Military and naval schools have long prepared the youth for the vocations of soldier and sailor. Writers and editors have received vocational training in so-called cultural colleges. Gradually schooling has been extended to prepare for the vocation of the engineer, the farmer, the business man and the mechanic. The purpose of voca-

tional education as a present day movement is not to build up something new, but rather to extend and enlarge the range of vocations for which the old system prepares. There are thousands of other vocations today which need carefully prepared and thoroughly trained workers. And, as the educational system in the past has gradually included within its range the preparation of workers for higher pursuits, so also today the system is being extended to include preparation for these newer vocations that have arisen in connection with a factory system of production.

We may consider the present day tendency toward vocational education under two headings. First, it is proposed that the curricula of existing schools shall be further vocationalized; second, it is proposed that new educational institutions with vocational curricula shall be generally established at public expense.

The vocationalizing of the curricula of existing schools, it is argued, will induce more children to stay longer in school, and also equip such children with an "industrial intelligence" that will be of great aid to them in bridging the gap that now exists between the school and the work-shop. To this end many industrial courses have been, and are being worked out and tested. The introduction of commercial spelling, English, arithmetic, law and geography on the one hand, and of manual and domestic arts on the other, indicate the trend of the movement, which has for its purpose the modification of the present school curriculum along vocational lines.

In addition to modifying the present system, as indicated in the preceding paragraph, new types of schools have come into existence, institutions with curricula of a mechanical, commercial, agricultural, domestic and trade character, known as polytechnical schools with a variety of new courses providing a wide range of studies in order to prepare for a larger number of vocations.

Of late, however, we are beginning to realize that these two proposed solutions do not answer the whole question of vocational education. We are learning that the industrializing of existing curricula and the establishment of new schools with more strictly vocational courses of study are slow and expensive processes; that vocations change more rapidly than the schools are able to respond, and that continuation schools, even when generally established and with attendance made compulsory, do not succeed in reaching all boys and girls and giving them counsel and supervision during the earlier years of their wage-earning careers. It is conceded that the introduction of vocational education by setting up vocational schools has done, and will continue to do, much toward making education of practical value to many children. But, it is asked, Will it reach them all? Can you train for all the occupations they may enter? Certainly to do so would mean a tremendous system of schools when you consider there are not less than 2000 gainful occupations pursued by adults which require some degree of skill that must be learned in some way. In other words, it is doubtful if institutional schooling alone, even on a broad co-operative basis, will ever become a full substitute for apprenticeship. But vocational education aims at becoming a system of apprenticeship adequate to the changed industrial conditions of the twentieth century. It realizes that a new apprenticeship is imperative. It would, therefore, supplement the providing of vocational training by giving to all juveniles expert vocational guidance and systematic vocational placement. As described by Reginald Bray, "an apprenticeship system to be worthy of the name must satisfy three conditions. First, it must provide for the adequate supervision of boys and girls until they reach at least the age of eighteen. Such supervision must have respect both to their conduct and to their physical development.

Secondly, an apprenticeship system must offer full opportunities for training, both general and special—the training of a citizen and the training of the worker. And, lastly, it must lead forward to some opening in the ranks of adult labor, for which definite preparation has been made, and in which good character may find reasonable prospects of permanent employment. Supervision, training, the provision of a suitable opening—these must be regarded as the three essentials of a modern apprenticeship system.”<sup>1</sup>

The question before us is, How can such an apprenticeship system be instituted? Vocational education attempts to solve the problem. We have already briefly described two methods that are beginning to be commonly used. Schools both general and special in character offer the desired training. Such schools to the extent of their existence may in addition to giving children vocational training, also supervise and place them in suitable openings. But such schools exist in but few places, for comparatively few children and even fewer vocations. Consequently, they offer but a partial solution to the whole question of apprenticeship and vocational education.

It is apparent then, that special agencies are needed to supervise children until they are at least 18 years of age, and to place them in suitable employments. Such agencies would aid in preserving, utilizing, and increasing the education children have already received upon leaving school by watching over and placing them in occupations for which they are, as far as it is possible to determine, both by nature and by acquired abilities, best adapted.

The general establishment of such agencies is then the third way by which the larger problem of vocational education may be solved. Such agencies are primarily informational and supervisory in character. They maintain no

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<sup>1</sup> (Bray. Reginald A. Boy Labor and Apprenticeship, p. 2. Constable & Co., London, 1911.)



schools for the training of children and no shops and factories for their immediate or future employment. They aim, on the other hand, through the giving of expert and scientific counsel and information to make all children conscious of the vocational abilities and opportunities they individually possess; to direct them into suitable places for their progressive vocational training either in schools or in factories and work-shops, and, finally, to supervise them until they attain a sufficient degree of skill to insure permanent success.

The establishment of these agencies is just as important and necessary as a system of Industrial Trade Schools. Indeed, it may be argued, they are more important as they offer immediate and practical aid within the reach of all. The chief function of such agencies must be educational, and, therefore, they are properly considered as instruments directly furthering vocational education. In general these agencies are becoming known as Vocation Bureaus, or Juvenile Information and Employment Bureaus;—agencies for the vocational guidance of youth.

The giving of organized vocational guidance through such agencies is a very recent development. We first hear of it in France and Germany in connection with the work of the trade organizations, municipal labor exchanges and the authorities in charge of industrial education. In England, Scotland, and Wales it was extensively advocated from 1904 to 1908 and Parliament has since passed acts permitting both school and trade authorities to spend public funds for the maintenance of those bureaus. The movement began in America in Boston and New York City about 1908 and has since spread throughout the country. The local newspapers of more than forty towns and cities located in some sixteen states discussed various aspects of vocational guidance during the six months from Dec., 1911 to May, 1912. Chicago, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Grand Rapids,

St. Louis, Jamestown, (N. Y.) and Waltham, (Mass.) are conspicuous examples of cities in the United States that are following the lead of Boston and New York. The movement to establish such Bureaus is so recent that most people know nothing at all about it, and the few who have heard of it are not quite clear as to its character. Indeed, it may be questioned if many of its advocates realize its full social significance. Time and space will not permit a description in detail of the work of such agencies. The reader, who is interested will do well to read Mr. Bloomfield's little book entitled *The Vocational Guidance of Youth*, and to glance through the 25th Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on *Industrial Education*. One section of this volume is devoted to a discussion of vocational guidance in this country.

#### WHY CHILDREN LEAVE SCHOOL TO GO TO WORK

Enough has been said to show that the employment of children is an educational as well as a labor problem. The ranks of labor are filled by the on-coming generation of children going out from the public schools. Nearly every child sooner or later in life must work and earn in order to live. The census of 1900 showed nearly thirty million workers, ten years of age and over, engaged in gainful occupations. It is roughly estimated that these thirty million workers were engaged in some thirteen thousand gainful pursuits. About two thousand of these pursuits were high grade or skilled, ten thousand were low grade or unskilled, while approximately one thousand were unhealthy, immoral, or unusually dangerous. There are a few persons who do not seriously begin to work and earn until they are twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years old, and until they have completed a high school, a college and a university course. On the other hand, the vast majority of boys and girls begin

to earn money before they have completed the eight grades of an elementary school.

It is very difficult to determine exactly the reasons why a child leaves school to go to work. Some argue that children quit school because they have to work and earn, while others argue that they are tired of, and dissatisfied with the kind of schooling that is offered them. The following very carefully constructed table covers the most important reasons that appear practically everywhere. This table was made after a very intensive study of 620 children in seven different localities, taken from two northern and two southern states.

According to this table there are about twenty-five different reasons given by children for leaving school. These twenty-five reasons are, however, reducible to about four fundamental causes. Either their earnings are necessary, or their help is desired, or they are dissatisfied with school, or they prefer work. In general, we may conclude from a study of this table that the child's own dissatisfaction with school accounts for about one-third of the cases, and that the other leading cause is a financial one, which accounts for over one-half of the eliminations. When we go behind these figures we find that the chief reason for dropping out of school can be traced directly to a lack of parental control and interest. The parents seem to be in an indifferent frame of mind about their children's schooling after they have reached the legal age. They seem to think that the child should be allowed to do about as he desires, and that it is injurious to force him to go to school against his will. No general theory fits every case, and probably few children leave school for any one reason. The child's reason for leaving is usually a complex of causes no one of which by itself would be sufficient. And the percentage who leave for any given reason or group of reasons will, of course,

# N O R M A L      S C H O O L      B U L L E T I N

TABLE 1.—SUMMARY OF CAUSES FOR CHILDREN LEAVING SCHOOL<sup>1</sup>

Causes for children leaving school to go to work	Number	Per Cent
<b>NECESSITY</b>		
Earnings necessary to family support.....	169	
Help needed at home .....	6	
Self support necessary .....	11	
Total .....	186	30.0
<b>CHILD'S HELP DESIRED, THOUGH NOT NECESSARY</b>		
In family support.....	140	
To buy property.....	12	
In house work .....	14	
To earn money for education of self, relative	7	
Total .....	173	27.9
<b>CHILD'S DISSATISFACTION WITH SCHOOL</b>		
Tired of school.....	35	
Disliked school (general manner of life there)	54	
Disliked teachers.....	31	
Disliked study.....	16	
Could not learn .....	10	
Not promoted .....	5	
Too big for class.....	14	
Total .....	165	26.6
<b>CHILD'S PREFERENCE FOR WORK</b>		
Work preferred to school.....	44	
Spending money wanted .....	8	
Association desired with friends who work	9	
Total .....	61	9.8
<b>OTHER CAUSES</b>		
Ill health.....	16	
To be kept off the street .....	1	
To learn a trade or business.....	6	
To avoid vaccination.....	2	
Removal of residence.....	1	
Mother's disapproval of coeducation .....	1	
"Too much play" .....	1	
Company pressure.....	7	
Total .....	35	5.7
<b>Grand Total .....</b>	<b>620</b>	<b>100.</b>

<sup>1</sup> Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States, Vol. 7.  
 Conditions Under Which Children Leave School to go to Work.  
 Senate Document, No. 645, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1910.



vary somewhat with the economic status of the community in which the children live. In large cities such as Chicago, and St. Louis, and no doubt, in many of the sixteen or eighteen chief industrial centers of the State of Illinois, the percentage leaving from necessity will be larger than in smaller communities where the struggle for existence is less acute. The important point to be noted, however, is that there are cases of this kind in every community, which require the very careful attention of teachers, principals and superintendents of schools if the future well-being of the child is not ruthlessly sacrificed to the immediate need of the family.

The report cited above points with emphasis to the fact that there are not a few families in which there is a feeling that the child should be put to work at the earliest moment and his earnings turned into the family income. But the most apparent feature "was an indifference to education on the part of the parents and children alike, and a disposition on the part of the former to cut short the child's school days for entirely insufficient causes".

#### THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO LEAVE SCHOOL

Regardless of the cause it is now a well established fact that a great number of children leave school before they have had an opportunity to master even the elementary tools of learning, and while they are yet very young. Mr. Thorndike<sup>2</sup> finds that very few children stop school before they are twelve years old, but that of 100 in school at nine years of age, 9 will leave when they are twelve years old, 18 when they are thirteen, 23 when they are fourteen, 17 when they are fifteen, 14 when they are sixteen, and 8 when they are seventeen. Most drop out when they are from thirteen to fifteen years of age, feeling that further school

<sup>2</sup>Thorndike, Edward Lee, *The Elimination of Pupils from School*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1908.

attendance is not vital to their success, G. Stanley Hall<sup>3</sup> points out that there are over eighteen million school children in the United States, and that of this number seventeen million drop out of school as soon as or before the law permits. D. E. Hawkins<sup>3</sup> estimates that in the public schools of this country each pupil attends on the average  $5\frac{1}{3}$  years of 200 days each, while the average compulsory attendance found for all states having compulsory laws is 7.2 years of 8 to 40 weeks each. The educational department of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association<sup>3</sup> concludes that only about 5 per cent of the thirteen million young men of the country from twenty-one to thirty-five years of age have received in school any preparation for their occupations, and that only about 8 per cent of those who graduate from the elementary school enter the higher professions and business pursuits while most of the remaining 92 per cent take up some industrial occupation.

According to these figures our public schools give great attention to the two million children who enter professional callings, and scarcely any worthy the name to the twenty-eight million who engage in industrial occupations. It is thought that at least four million young people in this country leave elementary schools each year to enter the industries with no preparation for their work. In the United States over \$30 is spent annually on the education of each child in regular school attendance. The average child receives about six years of instruction which cost \$180. Each year these four million children representing the enormous expenditure of \$720,000,000., are eliminated from the authority, discipline, and training of the schools and are thrown practically upon their own resources and responsibility. Annually this army of children pour out of schools to remain idle, or to enlist in almost every form of

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<sup>3</sup>Hall, G. Stanley, Educational Problems, Vol. 1, pp. 544-6.

industrial activity. They run errands, carry messages, deliver parcels, address and copy letters, dig coal, work on farms, in shops and in the factories, and in hundreds of other ways enter upon their wage-earning careers. These four million children represent the most helpless and unfriended portion of the new recruits for the labor market. No systematic and positive effort is made, except here and there in a very few large cities, to guide or direct these school-leaving children into stimulating and educative employments and away from enervating and uneducative forms of labor. The deplorable fact is apparent "that the state largely abandons all interest in the child who leaves school after he is fourteen years old, and leaves him to waste the very expensive education it has given him as the most casual circumstances shall direct."<sup>4</sup> When the cost of their education is taken into account, "they represent an appalling waste of resources which no nation can or ought to afford."<sup>4</sup> The State moulds the training and education of children until they are fourteen, but permits chance circumstances to make or mar their careers thereafter.

Each year thousands of these well-equipped intelligent children are thrown on the labor market to engage in a blind, chaotic struggle for employment; and, as they depend for guidance either on the limited knowledge of their parents, or upon their own capricious inclinations, "it is not surprising that they so often fall easy prey to greedy exploiters, or to their efforts to earn wages in poor pursuits in support of their own immediate necessities."<sup>4</sup> The ignorance of parents, and sometimes their need and greed; the unscrupulousness of many employers, and the natural regardlessness of the children themselves succeed each year in wrecking promising lives by the thousands. In this struggle the State has offered these children neither guidance nor train-

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<sup>4</sup> Knowles, Junior Labor Exchanges, p. 9.

ing, though it has vaguely and negatively recognized the problem and its duty respecting it in child labor legislation; yet, after undertaking the enormous trouble and expense of their education it has been content, until very recently at least, to stand by and see much of its effort wasted for the want of continuous vocational guidance, vocational training and after-care. The period of life when education is most needed, education is most lacking. "This most educable period of life is now most neglected."<sup>8</sup>

The right and duty of the State to safeguard its young citizens is commonly acknowledged. The right of youths to engage in gainful occupations has been in the past, and is now, fully recognized. Children are the wards of the State, and the State is in duty bound to exercise the parental authority vested in it. There is an old axiom that says: "If a community neglects its citizens when they are young, that community cannot complain if it is neglected by those children when they are older." The community must insure these children, both for individual and for social safety and progress, proper physical and mental development, and also suitable and promising employment.

Now, a proper amount and a proper kind of work under proper conditions is an undoubted good to be striven for in the education of youth. As Mr. Lindsley has written: "In the social economy of primitive peoples children began to share the labor of the family or of the clan at a very early age. It is instinctive on the part of even very immature boys and girls to participate in the activities about them, to imitate occupational pursuits, to yield to authority and direction, and through these associations and activities to obtain a certain degree of education on a natural scale. It is also customary, if not instinctive, for their elders to assign them tasks, and to encourage their occupational efforts, and to contribute in other ways to their education.



There is no evidence that such industrial participation has often been harmful. In fact, it is quite generally recognized that the sharing of economic activities is quite essential to the complete development of children from even five and six years of age onward. The labor of children under humane conditions has been traditionally established, and has not been in general an evil."<sup>5</sup>

Again, the individual discipline offered by suitable work is indispensable in every respect. The child must become self-sustaining, and the association through labor with men and women who are self-reliant and self-respecting members of society is of great educational value. The child needs a certain amount of work, both for his physical and mental well-being, and also in order that he may learn in advance how to earn a living. But unreasonable amounts of work, and unwholesome kinds of work, under bad conditions are evils to be socially combatted. The energy and youth of children should not be wasted in highly monotonous and uneducative employments. Thousands of children born in the United States, and children who have come here in early childhood, are unable to get along well in school, drop out and enter the lowest forms of unskilled work. You cannot keep some children in school any more than you can keep some children out of school. Many children have no real intellectual interests. Very few have tastes or abilities for learning in itself. Most children are in school to get something out of it and not merely for its own sake. "The drill to which they are subjected, and the foreign nature of the studies which they are forced to pursue, become irksome with the growth of adolescent consciousness." With the limited instruction which he is able to acquire in six years the average boy goes out into the world to engage in the business of making a living.

<sup>5</sup> Cyclopedia of Education, Child Labor

He is at best but poorly equipped with the fundamental intellectual tools. He possesses little or no knowledge at all of the vast, complex, intricate industrial and commercial life which has grown up in America during the last century. These children at the ages of twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, and older, retarded in their school work, are finally eliminated, and forced to remain idle or get a job and earn their own living.

At present when they leave school we say good-bye to them, and often, I fear, breathe a sigh of relief. We are not always sorry to see them go. We make no attempt to follow them up. We do not know, in most cases, what becomes of them industrially. We hope, with that serene faith so necessary in so many problems of life, that the world will not deal too harshly with them, and that they will ultimately become good and successful citizens.

We have studied elimination and retardation, and now we are beginning to study the causes of elimination, but as yet, we have not seriously studied the vocations as possible educational agencies. Yet, it is almost trite to say that a person's vocation is the greatest means of education that exists in his life if that vocation is carefully chosen and perfectly appreciated. We think of the home, and of the church, and the school as educational agencies. Why not also think of the job, the occupation, the vocation, the career as possibly on a par with, or superior to, these recognized agencies when fully appreciated and used for educational ends? At present we neglect it. We do not take a post-graduate interest in our public school children. We let them go and trust to providence or fate, and in the end marvel that society possesses so many unemployed and unfit workers. Society, and the schools as a social institution and instrument, until quite recently have not been, and indeed, generally speaking are not yet conscious of the waste

produced by this failure to use the job and the career as a means of educating children.

This is one of the largest problems before the educator today. We have become a great factory nation. Industries are no longer simple but very complex. Machinery has replaced handicraft, and institutional training is beginning to replace apprenticeship. The child that goes to work today at the age of fourteen must almost invariably go into unskilled occupations. Such unskilled occupations offer little training of value, and for the most part, no opportunity for much advancement. The child while in school gives only 6 to 8 hours, five days a week to his or her school work, but on leaving and beginning to work, he or she is forced to spend 8 to 10 hours, and often as many as 12 hours daily, six days in the week, on the job. The child spends more time in work than in any other single activity and nearly as much as in all other forms of activity combined. The character of the occupation that a boy or a girl enters upon leaving school is, therefore, of the greatest importance. It should be a moral rather than an immoral pursuit; it should be a high grade rather than a low grade line of work; it should be promising rather than an unpromising employment; it should be a skilled rather than an unskilled job; a suitable rather than an unsuitable position; in a word, it should be a highly educative rather than a highly uneducative occupation.

If the reader is not already convinced that vocational guidance is needed in connection with public school systems in order to bridge the gap that now exists between life in the schoolroom and life in the vocations, an examination of the following data collected in St. Louis may serve as additional information and argument upon this question.

## THE FIRST OCCUPATION OF SCHOOL-LEAVING CHILDREN

The following study shows very clearly what occupations city children, fourteen to sixteen years of age, enter upon leaving school. The city of St. Louis was chosen because the facts were easily obtainable. No systematic effort was made to guide or direct these children into or away from these occupations. Therefore, the list fairly represents the child's choice or chance in a city where the vocational guidance of school children is not yet attempted.

First, is shown the actual occupations boys and girls go into on leaving school after complying with the Compulsory Attendance and Child Labor Laws. Then a study of the popular occupations is made, demonstrating to what degree the school grade attained by the child indicates a superior occupation for that child under the present archaic methods of marketing his or her labor. The data used was secured by the writer in person from the office of the Compulsory Attendance Department of St. Louis.

In the city of St. Louis no child under the age of fourteen can be legally employed, permitted or suffered to work in any gainful occupation, except in agricultural pursuits, and in domestic service.

Children between fourteen and sixteen years of age must secure an employment certificate and work regularly in order to be released from school attendance. Employment certificates are issued by the attendance officer under the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The issuing officer must certify, among other requirements, that the child has personally appeared before him, and has been examined and found able to read and write legibly simple sentences in the English language. He must further certify that in his opinion the child is fourteen years of age or over, has reached the normal development of a child of that age, is in sufficiently sound health and physi-

cally able to perform the work which he or she intends to do, which, according to the statement of the child is—(here is inserted the kind of work the child intends to perform). The law governing the issuance of employment certificates to minors in most states does not require the child to state the kind of work he is entering. This is a wiser law. It believes it is necessary to know what a child is going to do in order to be able to know whether that child is sufficiently healthy and physically able to perform the work he is leaving school to take.

A certificate of employment is not granted to a child unless that child has complied with this last requirement. It is not the duty of anybody to follow up these children in order to determine whether or not they get or take the kind of work they say they are going to take. It is probable that some of them do not. The officers in charge, who from their larger experience, would naturally be the most suspicious of the statements of the parents and the children are quite sure that not more than one in fifty of these children misrepresent the truth. The field work that these officers perform during the day and night looking after delinquency and truancy gives them an accurate basis for their judgment. It seems reasonable to assume that in nine cases out of ten the child takes the position stated. In many cases, as will be seen later on, the child has no definite agreement with the employer and no knowledge of the particular kind of work he or she will be required to do in that employment. He has only the vague promise of employment provided he can secure a certificate.

The usual method of securing a certificate may be briefly described as follows: The child, either from choice, necessity, or other causes, feels he must go to work. He is fourteen years old. Most of his companions are going to work, or are already at work, as we have already seen. No

one knows very accurately why children leave school. The probabilities are that a large percent of those leaving are dissatisfied with school and feel that they must get into something more worth while. Work is their only escape, as idleness is illegal between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. These children leave every grade of the public school as will be seen later in this discussion. They talk to their teacher about their intentions, and he in turn, may interview the visiting parent. The teacher may encourage or discourage the child in his endeavor to leave school. Usually, however, the child is discouraged. If he persists he is sent to the principal or clerk of the school and a certificate of his age and attendance is given him. Armed with this document he looks up a job (provided he has not already secured one) and then applies for an employment certificate. If this certificate is granted him, as it is in nine cases out of ten, he goes to work without further hindrance.

It is the business of no one to accurately inform such children concerning the occupations open to them. No literature is handed them concerning desirable vocations: no advice is offered them regarding unskilled and skilled or highly skilled employments. They are not told about the "blind alley" jobs. No one looks after them systematically, following them from the door of the Employment Certificate Office into the jobs which necessity or choice cause them to accept. They have not read about the industrial and commercial life of the city in which they live. The school has not made it a *part of its business* to give guidance, provide training and secure positions for these children. They find their own jobs and take the jobs they can find quickly. They are, therefore, fair examples of what happens in the absence of vocational guidance and training

GRADES LEFT—From June 1, 1911 to March 1, 1912, 4386 children left the various schools of St. Louis, took em-

ployment certificates and went to work. Of this number 2703 or about 62% were boys, and 1683 or a little more than 38% were girls. Some idea of the number leaving each of the grades may be gained by a glance at the following table of distribution by grade and sex.

TABLE 2.—GRADE OF BOYS AND GIRLS RECEIVING EMPLOYMENT  
CERTIFICATES, ST. LOUIS.  
1911-1912

Grade	Boys, No. of,	Girls, No. of,	Total	Per cent
1	6	7	13	.29
2	14	14	28	.64
3	85	47	132	3.02
4	293	153	446	9.79
5	511	332	843	19.29
6	641	373	1014	23.21
7	582	398	980	22.43
8	463	325	788	18.04
9	72	22	94	2.15
10	15	22	17	.38
11	7	0	7	.16
Unknown	14	10	24	
Total	2703	1683	4386	
Per Cent	62%	38%	100%	
Median	6.67 grade	6.72 grade	6.71 grade	

Almost fourteen per cent of these children had not reached the fifth grade, 38% had not reached the sixth grade, 56% had not reached the seventh grade, and 78% had not finished the seventh grade. Yet all of these children were from 14 to 16 years of age, and, according to average figures, should have been in the eighth grade. The 15% who had not reached the fifth grade were from four to seven years over age for their grades; the 33% who had not reached the sixth grade were from three to seven years over age, and the 78% who had not finished the seventh grade were



from one to seven years over age for their grades. The average child of this group is approximately two years over age for the grade attained. The median child in this group leaves school after the 6.71 grade, or after getting a little over half through the sixth grade; the median boy the 6.67 grade, or about six and a half grades, while the median girl is scarcely better off, having reached only the 6.72 grade. These facts are in essential agreement with those reported by the Attendance Department in its annual report for 1911. According to that report, the median 14 to 16 years old child leaving school to go to work has attained the 6.43 grade. This means that 50% of these children had attained less than the 6.43 grade, and 50% more than the 6.43 grade.

Roughly speaking, these 14 to 16 year old children, who are leaving school to go to work, have received that amount of school instruction contained in  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to  $6\frac{3}{4}$  grades of the elementary school. They have about a six and a half grade education and are from one and a half to two and a half years over age. The amount of education that a boy has acquired is about one-eighth of a grade less than which a girl received. In other words, there is practically no difference in the education of a boy and a girl belonging to this group. This is of interest in view of the fact that it is often argued that the girls of the employment certificate class are better equipped than the boys in respect to the amount of school work accomplished. This is not true if these figures are correct. The boys and girls of this group begin their vocational life with practically the same amount of education, are about the same age, and have made about equal progress through the grades.

OCCUPATIONS ENTERED.—A brief glance at the list of occupations that these unguided children go into upon leaving school is next in order. These 4368 children, whose school history we have briefly described, and in whose oc-

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cupational history we are interested, immediately entered nearly one hundred different pursuits

TABLE 3.—THE NINETEEN MOST POPULAR OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	No. Boys	No. Girls	Total
Helpers .....	1136	739	1875
Errand boys and girls.....	424	12	436
Messengers .....	236		236
Office work.....	321	64	385
Clerks, (Shipping, stock, sales, etc.)..	90	37	127
Cash boys and girls.....	14	261	275
Wrappers and packers (bundle)...	81	78	159
Wagon and delivery.....	122	1	123
Sewing .....	6	100	106
Factory workers, operators, shop work.....	49	52	101
Apprentices .....	13	41	54
Labeling (pasting and cutting labels)	14	40	54
Box makers (paper boxes, nailing) .	27	13	40
Millinery.....	2	86	88
Laundry work (shakers, folders, manglers, sprinklers) .....	8	17	25
Confectioners (nut pickers), (candy)	3	40	43
Bottling (including bottle washing)	21	1	22
Bell and hall boys .....	12		12
Counting and sorting .....	4	10	14
Total.....	2583	1592	4175

These nineteen occupations include 95% of the whole group. The remaining are scattered through some sixty-six lines of work. The occupations which they intended to enter are as follows:

Nine waiters and waitresses; eight each, stenography and folding circulars; seven each, cutting (thread, paper, samples), and house work; six each, wire frame work, checking, flower work, and printing; five each, selling papers, tailoring, dyeing and cleaning, and stacking (wheels, boxes, barrels); four each, floor boys, stamping, peddling, and painting and varnishing; three each, tagging, trucking,

marking, making buttons, making baskets, dressmaking, bookbinding, carpentering, coopering, hostler, and janitorial; two each, sawyer, hat, cap, and bonnet maker, buyer, bootblack, usher, collector, horse-shoeing, nursing, hair work and sample room. The remaining thirty pursuits are each represented by one child, baker, making trunks, bag tyer, work in cooler, electrician, police department, brusher, surveyor, pail maker, stencil maker, brush maker, wash-board maker, telegraph operator, soda fountain, nigger stand, guager, pad-maker, glass-worker, brass dryer, upholsterer, machinist, window dresser, iron worker, umbrella tipper, awning maker, feather work, telephone operator, inspector, making calenders, and sign carrier.

The boys go into a greater variety of occupations than the girls, as is shown by both of these lists. There are two among the first nineteen pursuits, that of messenger and bell boy, that girls do not enter. On the other hand six boys are doing factory sewing, and two boys do millinery work, occupations in which one might expect to find only girls. Of the remaining sixty-six pursuits, forty-three are represented only by boys and twelve by girls. Those in which boys alone are found are news-boys, trucking, stacking (wheels, boxes, barrels), carpentering, baker, sawyer, making trunks, hat maker, cooper, bag tyer, painters (varnishing), horse-shoeing, work in cooler, electrician, buyer, hostler, book-binding, floor boy, police department, bootblack, brusher, surveyor, pail maker, telegraph operator, soda fountain, nigger stand, guager, collector, pad maker, glass worker, brass dryer, upholsterer, window dresser, sign carrier, iron worker, and umbrella tipper.

Those in which girls alone are found are: house work, nursing, making awnings, making calenders, feather work, hairwork, flower work, dress-making, tailoring, telephone operator, and inspector.

From such figures it may be seen that the boys have almost two chances to the girls' one in respect to the number of different pursuits they may enter. The boys of this grade enter some seventy-three different occupations, while the girls enter but forty. Apparently the girls are more restricted than the boys in their choice of occupations. Undoubtedly both need to be directed away from many of the pursuits listed above.

It is very difficult to say which of these occupations are skilled and which are unskilled. No one seems to have a definition that is easily and accurately applied. The general definition of the unskilled vocation, according to the Report of the Commissioner on Industrial and Technical Education, 1906, (Mass.), is any one in which the work consists in a repetition of a single or a few simple operations easily and quickly learned, and in which one operation is not definitely co-ordinated with all those that precede and follow. The grade of ability and the responsibility required is low and the wages are correspondingly low. The distinction made by this report between a low-grade skilled industry and a high grade industry, is that the former does not require a first class workman to have a knowledge of all the operations, nor do the processes require a great amount of skill, and one is usually able to learn such operations in a few months at the most. A vocation of a high grade is one in which the skill must be acquired by some years of experience, or school training, or both.

According to the Massachusetts report, 33% of the children of the state who begin work between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are employed in unskilled industries, and sixty-five per cent in low grade skilled industries. The nature of our data precludes the possibility of a rigid classification on the basis of the degree of skill required. We are not always sure just where each case belongs. For

instance, is the occupation of a waiter an unskilled or a low grade occupation? We have called it a low grade skilled occupation. Unfortunately the Massachusetts report does not give a key to its classification, and I have not been able to find one elsewhere. However, accepting the above definition, and, in a more or less arbitrary manner, classifying the occupations of these St. Louis children accordingly, we find that we have thirty-eight unskilled, thirty-six low grade skilled, and thirteen high grade skilled occupations, as will be seen in Table IV.

We have already seen that 95% of these children entered nineteen different employments. Of these 90% are in unskilled pursuits. The remaining 10% are in low-grade or high-grade skilled occupations; a little more than 3% in the latter.

TABLE IV.

NINETEEN MOST POPULAR OCCUPATIONS CLASSIFIED

Unskilled	Low-grade skilled	High-grade skilled
Helpers..... 1875	Clerks (shipping, sales, stock) .... 127	Millinery..... 88
Errand boys and girls..... 436	Sewing (factory). 106	Apprentices... .. 54
Office work..... 385	Box makers..... 40	
Cash boys, girls.. 275		
Messengers..... 236		
Wrappers ..... 159		
Wagon boys..... 123		
Factory workers. 101		
Labelling..... 54		
Bottling ..... 26		
Confectioners... 43		
Laundry..... 25		
Counting, sorting 14		
Hall, bell boys... 12		
Total.. ..... 3764	..... 273	..... 142

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TABLE V.  
SIXTY-SIX REMAINING OCCUPATIONS CLASSIFIED.

Unskilled	Low-grade skilled	High-grade skilled
Folding circulars... 8	Wire frame workers 6	Stenography..... 8
Checking..... 6	Flower makers..... 6	Printer (typist)... 6
Cutting..... 7	Waiters and	Carpenter (cabinet
News boys (dealers) 5	waitresses..... 9	making..... 3
Tagging..... 3	Baker ..... 1	Surveyor..... 1
Trucking..... 3	Trunk makers..... 1	Telegraph operator 1
Stacking..... 6	Hat, cap, bonnet.... 2	Machinist ..... 1
Marker..... 3	Coopers ..... 2	Dress-making..... 2
Bagtyer ..... 1	Painter (carriage	Tailoring..... 5
Work in cooler.... 1	varnish)..... 4	Sawyer..... 2
Hostler..... 3	Basket maker..... 3	Electrician..... 1
Floor boy..... 4	Horse-shoeing..... 2	Bookbinding..... 2
Police Dept..... 1	Buyer ..... 2	
Boot-black..... 1	Pail maker ..... 1	
Brusher..... 1	Button maker ..... 3	
Usher ..... 2	Dyeing and cleaning 6	
Peddler..... 4	Stencil cutter..... 1	
Stamping..... 4	Brush maker... 1	
Sample room..... 2	Wash-board maker. 1	
Soda fountain..... 1	Guager..... 1	
Nigger stand..... 1	Collector ..... 2	
House work..... 7	Pad maker.... 1	
Janitorial..... 3	Glass worker..... 1	
Sign carrier..... 1	Dyeing brass..... 1	
	Upholsterer..... 1	
	Window dresser... 1	
	Iron worker..... 1	
	Umbrella tipper.... 1	
	Nurse..... 2	
	Feather worker.... 1	
	Hair work..... 2	
Total..... 78	..... 66	..... 32

A still more startling fact is that nearly 70% of the children, who are leaving the St. Louis public schools and going to work, are entering occupations that demand merely fetching and carrying; such, for instance, as delivery boy, messengers, cash boy or girl, or errand boy or girl, wagon

boy, hall boy, and bell boy. These are all unskilled occupations. The chief duties of the person pursuing them is to wait upon the casual needs of the employer. At least seven out of ten of these St. Louis children begin their vocational career in work of this kind. It may be well to ask if the schools exist to train errand boys, messengers, cash boys and girls—in other words, unskilled labor. For what vocations then does the school exist?

GRADE LEFT IN RELATION TO OCCUPATION ENTERED—The next part of this study deals with the grades attained by the children pursuing the nineteen more popular occupations. Each of these occupations is represented by at least ten children. The grade that a child has attained is one of the facts required by the officer issuing the Employment Certificate. A certain percentage of the children have graduated from the grammar school, and a few are leaving the first, second, and third years of high school. For the purpose of this study, a child who has graduated from the grammar school is considered as having attained the ninth grade, or first year of high school. A child who is in the first year of high school is also in the ninth grade, a child in the second year of high school is in the tenth, etc. The following table shows the nineteen leading occupations that these children pursue, and the number leaving each of the grades and entering a given vocation.

Each of sixteen of these occupations are represented by forty or more workers. I have considered forty or more children in a given occupation a sufficient number to make my conclusions comparable. Clerks, office workers, milliners, apprentices, and labelers attain on the average 7.8 grades. Ranked by median grades attained, we have the series as follows: office work, 7.83; clerks, 7.77; apprentices, 7.66; milliners, 7.5; and labeler, 7.07. On the other hand, wrappers, factory workers, errand boys, messengers, wagon



TABLE VI.—RELATION OF OCCUPATION CHOSEN TO GRADE LEFT

Occupation	Total B and G	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Gr.	9	10	11	Med.	Un.
Helpers .....	1875	10	18	80	216	404	480	382	127	124	20	3		6.42	9
Clerks .....	127			1	1	8	24	35	36	9	10	3		7.77	
Wrappers .....	159		1	6	16	33	29	36	22	13	4	1		6.79	
Factory work .....	101			2	9	21	30	21	10	7	1			6.93	
Errand boys and girls..	436		1	13	40	94	125	109	54	27	9	1	1	6.55	2
Office work.....	385		1	1	11	34	67	92	71	57	39	7	3	7.83	2
Cash girls and boys .....	275			3	23	61	64	68	34	18	3			6.78	
Messengers.....	236		1	4	33	48	64	48	15	16	4	2	1	6.50	
Wagon.....	123			1	17	33	29	26	12	3		1		6.34	1
Sewing.....	106	1	5	4	13	18	26	8	28	8				6.65	3
Millinery.....	88		1	1	1	12	13	32	15	13				7.50	
Apprentices .....	54		1	1	2	6	5	18	12	5				7.66	
Labeling.....	54				1	9	16	14	11	1			1	7.07	
Bottling.....	26		1	1	5	4	6	3					1	6.16	1
Confectioner.....	43	1		1	10	12	7	10	1	1				5.75	
Box maker.....	40		2	2	5	10	6	6	6	2	1			6.16	
Sorting and counting....	14				3	2	6			1	1			7.16	
Bell and hall boys .....	12					1	3	2	3	2	1			7.00	
Laundry work.....	25			2	4	4	7	5	3					6.28	

boys, cash girls and boys, factory workers, and bottlers average between 6 and 6.93 grades. Confectioners average 5.75 grade. However, 37 of those listed as confectioners were nut pickers, which requires practically no skill.

SUMMARY—The significant facts about this study may be summarized briefly:

1. That, about 62% of the St. Louis children between 14 and 16 years of age receiving employment certificates are boys and 38% are girls.

2. That, 33% of these children had not reached the sixth grade, 56% had not reached the seventh grade, and 78% had not finished the seventh grade.

3. That, the median (average) child had received on leaving school that amount of education contained in from six and one-half to six and three-fourths grades of the elementary school.

4. That, there is practically no difference in the amount of education received by boys and girls of this group.

5. That, these unguided children immediately entered 85 different occupations; 95% in nineteen different pursuits and 5% in sixty-six additional lines.

6. That, the boys entered 73 out of the 85 occupations represented, while the girls entered but 40. The girls are, therefore, about twice as restricted as the boys in their choice of pursuits.

7. That, by rough classification, about 90% of these children entered unskilled occupations; about 7% low grade skilled and less than 3% high-grade skilled work.

8. That, over 70% of these children entered occupations that demand merely fetching and carrying—such as delivery, cash, messenger, errand, wagon, hall and bell boy and girls service.

9. That, those children who are most successful in attaining a higher grade, tend to be more successful in selecting preferred occupations.

10. That, fetching and carrying occupations tend to be filled from the sixth grade, while clerks, office workers, milliners, and apprentices tend to be drawn from the seventh grade.

This study demonstrates very clearly what happens to children who leave school and enter vocational careers without direction or counsel. What might have happened to them had guidance been provided, can only be inferred. But it is safe to venture that the percentage of those entering unskilled and low-grade skilled industries would have been greatly decreased, and also that the fetching and carrying occupations, which are in every respect "blind alleys," would have been avoided in a large degree. Someone with the time might study an equal number of children leaving the schools of a city where guidance is provided, and contrast the two groups. Such a contrast would measure the kind and value of the guidance given. It would then be possible to know, to some degree, at least, how much a state or city could afford to spend instituting such guidance. At present we have a feeling that guidance is valuable but we are unable to say to what degree.

#### CONCLUSION

One English writer on the subject of juvenile labor says, "Just as the first few years of childhood are the most critical years for the physical well-being of the individual, the first few years after leaving school are the most critical for the moral and mental well-being of our working population." The same author argues that the existence of a well organized bureau in a community would help systemize the efforts made on behalf of young workers by parents, teachers, clergymen and philanthropic organizations. Such bureaus in the cities and larger towns would have several functions to perform. Such, for instance, as giving infor-

mation about vocational schools located in various parts of the state and country: they would be able to advise with children before they left school and for a few years after they had entered industries, supplying to such children accurate information with regard to the qualifications required in various occupations, the wages paid, the prospects in various employments and the opportunity for promotion or advancement in those employments. They would be very helpful in getting children into better grades of work thus avoiding the pitfalls of blind alley occupations, or occupations that have no future. The director of such a bureau would keep a record of the children leaving the different schools, and also a record of that child's scholastic attainment so that from his expert knowledge of the local industries he would be in a position to advise children concerning suitable work and future schooling.

In England an act known as the "Choice of Employment Act" passed Parliament November 28, 1910 which accorded local boards of education control over a system of vocational bureaus which proposed "to give the boys and girls under 17 years of age information, advice and assistance with regard to the choice of a suitable employment."

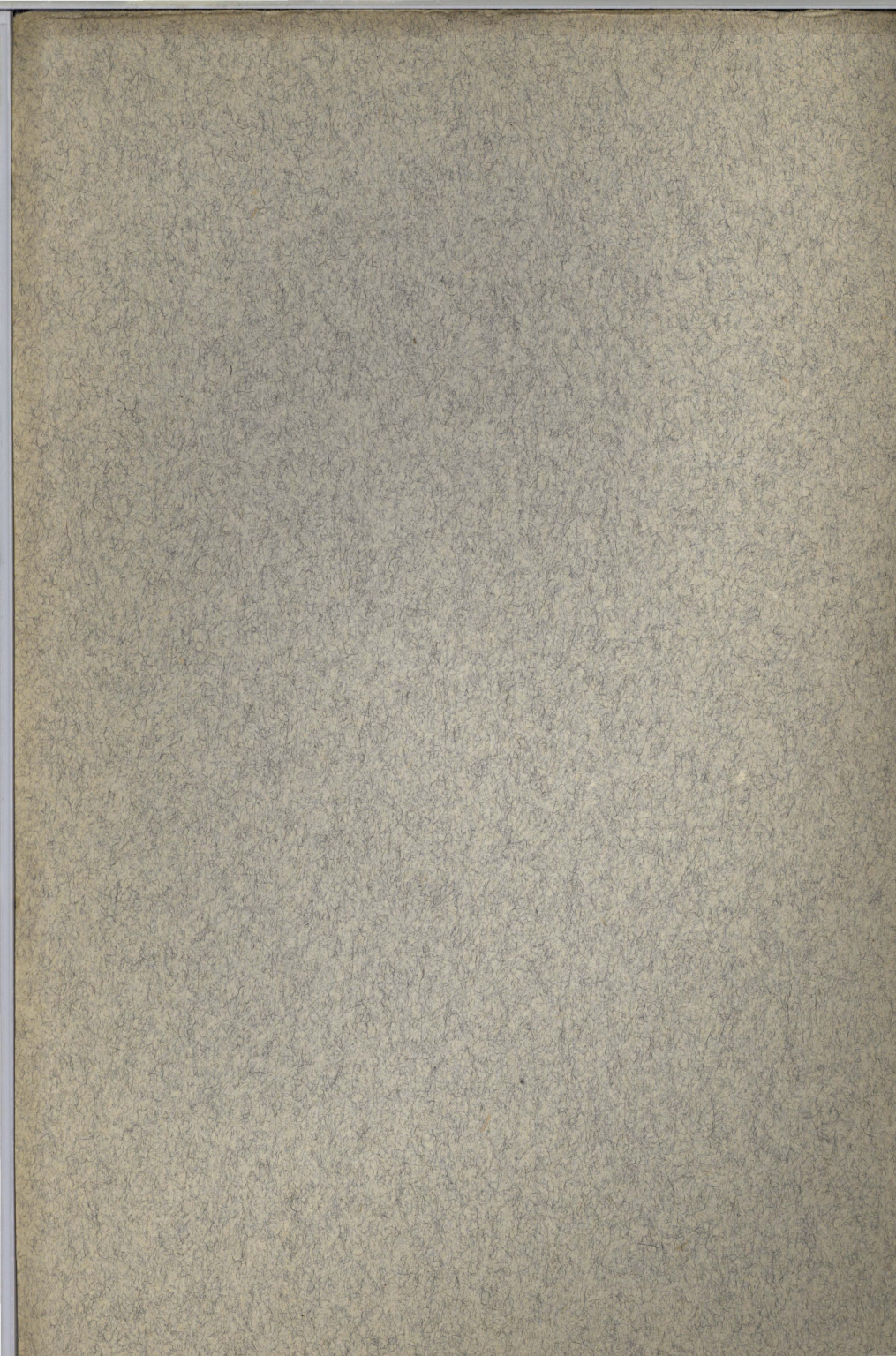
The establishment of such bureaus was first suggested by Mrs. Gordon in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1904. Mrs. Gordon suggested that local boards of education should establish bureaus for the purpose of guiding boys and girls into suitable occupations on leaving school, or keeping them in sight until they were of an age to begin work for which each seemed best adapted. Since that time these bureaus have been established in nearly two hundred cities and towns of England. The general purpose of these bureaus is, as has already been stated, to lead all boys and girls, before and after they leave school, toward employments that will be profitable and congenial to them in their later life.

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# N O R M A L      S C H O O L      B U L L E T I N

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In view of the interest that is developed throughout Europe and America in this subject it is almost safe to predict that the time is not long distant when every large public school system in America will have a Vocational Bureau in intimate connection with its regular scholastic work. Through these bureaus the teachers will be able to extend their wholesome influence far into the after-life of the children who come under their supervision.





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