

JANUARY, 1929

EASTERN NUMBER

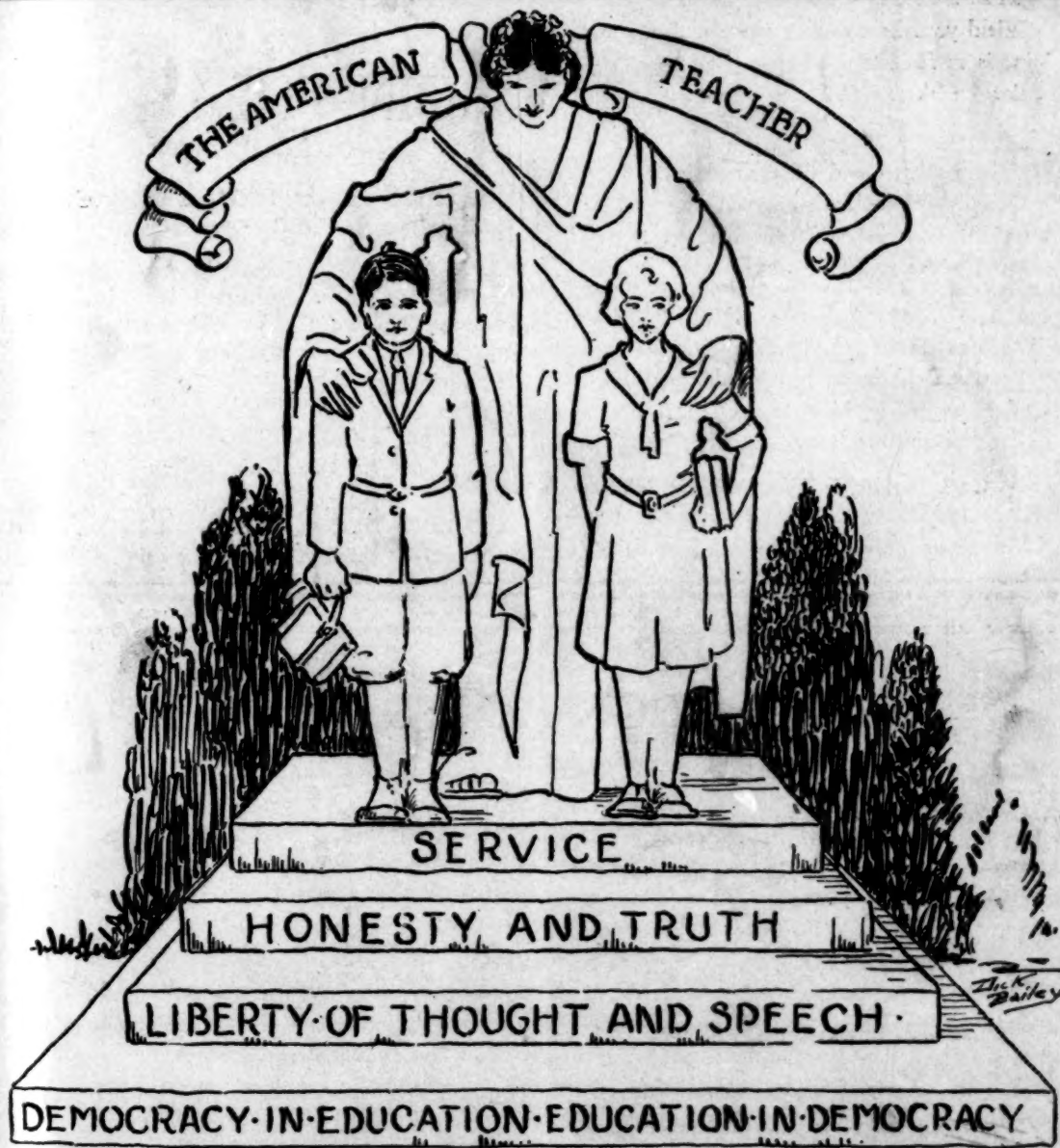
VOL. XIII—No. 5

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

The American Teacher

THE ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS



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THE TEACHER

"Sail your argosies far and near,
Build a highway and harvest a fen,
Raise your derricks and rig your gear—
But I make men.

"Toil at the loom, the bench, the mart,
Wield your hammer, or write with a pen,
Mine is to fashion the human heart—
For I make men.

"Of babies born and of cradled joys,
Of lads that look with a wakening ken,
Of God's own infinite files of boys,
Do I make men.

"When as a scroll the land and sea
Pass, and the books be opened, then
God in mercy be kind to me,
For I made men."

—C. S. Holder, in *The Teachers' World*.

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The American Teacher

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Volume XIII, No. 5

JANUARY, 1929

Two Dollars a Year

Freedom in Workers Education

By JOHN DEWEY

Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University

Fellow Members of the Teachers Union and Friends:

I always have taken great pleasure in meeting with my fellow teachers and unionists, though I have not done it as much as I might or as I should. But none the less, it has been a pleasure to meet with men and women who believe in combination, in union and in organization to support actively the common cause, to unite for work, and not merely to engage in academic discussion. It has always been a pleasure to associate with those men and women in any way who feel that the backbone was made to function and not merely as an anatomical peculiarity. It is a source of gratification to me that the Teachers Union has been associated with the labor movement in general.

Now I have to admit that I do not come here this evening with the sense of pleasure with which I generally come to these meetings. There is some satisfaction, there is some joy in a straight out fight when you feel your cause is right and you are attacking an enemy. But there is no pleasure in and no possibility of attacking those with whom you are associated as friends. There can indeed be no question of attacking here, but rather a feeling of great regret, for we feel that these friends in our common cause, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., have taken action that is very much like betraying the ideals for which we have all been fighting in common.

You have heard the story of the particular incident involving Brookwood. I am not going over that again. I have seen pretty much, I think, copies of all the correspondence that has passed, and I

know that Mr. Muste has not only given a fair and straight-forward, but an impartial account of the episode. Those of you who know him and his work before would not need such assurance; and those who have heard him tonight, need no assurance that he would be absolutely honest and straight-forward in his account of what has taken place. It is not, then, of that particular incident I wish to speak, but of one phase of it, namely, what is known as academic freedom and the relation of this episode to it, and the relation of the Teachers Union and the American Federation of Labor, to this issue of academic freedom.

I don't like the phrase, "academic freedom," because there really is nothing academic about freedom. Freedom of mind, freedom of thought, freedom of inquiry, freedom of discussion is education, and there is no education, no real education, without these elements of freedom. An attack upon what is called academic freedom is an attack upon intellectual integrity, and hence it is an attack upon the very idea of education and upon the possibility of education realizing its purpose.

You can have training without mental freedom, but you can not have education. As the advertisement used to say, you can teach a parrot to say, "A substitute is just as good," but the parrot does not know what he is talking about. That is the difference between training and education. Education is an awakening and movement of the mind. To take hold actively of any matters with which it comes in contact, and to be able to deal with them in a free, honest and straight-forward manner is the condition under which the mind grows, develops.

THE POWER TO THINK

Now it is obvious that that is the spirit in which Brookwood has been conducted. From what you have heard from Mr. Muste tonight; from the letter

(Address Delivered at Meeting Under Auspices of Local 5, American Federation of Teachers to Discuss the Action of the American Federation of Labor on Brookwood. New York, November 9, 1928).

from which he read (and if you read the other letters from graduates) you would get, I am sure, exactly the same idea. Now it seems to me that it shows loyalty to the labor movement, to the cause of the workers, to the cause of the organization of workers, when a school really believes that their interests are going to be furthered, advanced, not set back and retarded by this full and honest discussion. I should be suspicious of my loyalty to any cause if I caught myself thinking that the interests of that cause could best be furthered by suppression, by one sided presentation, by deliberate efforts to indoctrinate pupils with certain views that prevent their own minds from engaging freely in the subject under discussion. What I am saying is a commonplace. Any person who believes really in the labor movement as an organized movement must believe that it has nothing to lose and that it has everything to gain by full and free discussion, and by conducting its whole educational movement in that spirit.

As a person who has taught a great many years, I should feel very happy to receive such a letter. If I had a student here this evening who could testify that he had had this awakening of mind, this power to think, this power to be useful because he had been taught to face facts and to face them regardless of the consequences, I should feel that I had received a genuine testimony, the highest testimony that could be given to an educator.

Those of us who have allied ourselves with the labor movement in the Teachers Union, and who have stood for it, have done so, I think in considerable measure because we know that our schools, public institutions and private, are not as free in their teaching as they should be; that the atmosphere which these schools breathe, the spirit which permeates them, has not that degree and quality of intellectual freedom that they should have. We have thought that by organization, by union, we could do something to discourage, and in the end, if we could get enough teachers to combine, to defeat those forces that have an interest, a political and economic interest, in the suppression of freedom of mind, investigation and discussion in the schools. Now as I have said, personally, I have found it discouraging and depressing that the officials (I do not think for a moment the great body of organized labor, but certain officials of organized labor) should take a stand which seems to ally them with the forces which we teachers know are and have been the enemies of

the cause of freedom, a cause so fundamental in the development of education itself.

LABOR SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

I want to make these remarks a little more concrete by reading from an editorial that appeared last month on workers' education in *The American Federationist*. There is no allusion made to the Brookwood incident; the name of the school or anything connected with it does not appear. Possibly it was a mere coincidence that the editorial comes out at this time. Also it is conceivable that it is not a coincidence.

Speaking of recent experience in workers' education, the editorial contends: "These past six years have shown us that our educational needs are of two distinct kinds: study to make the union and union activity more effective, and a desire for these educational opportunities that will enable wage-earners to participate in cultural life equally with other groups."

In commenting upon the second of these needs "desire for these educational opportunities that will enable wage-earners to participate in cultural life equally with other groups," the editorial says:

"In the United States we have put our faith in the public school system, including the state university for service to the majority of the people. We believe that this system of publicly-controlled education together with public libraries, is capable of expansion to meet the developing needs of adult education for all groups of citizens. We believe that all groups concerned should be represented on boards controlling these institutions. Such democratic school control is the best guarantee possible against propaganda in public school teaching. The trade union movement is irrevocably against propaganda in public schools, for we realize that if the sources of information are perverted, there is no hope of finding truths. On the other hand, organizations for the furtherance of causes and denominational teaching should have the right to teach lawful doctrines in schools which they control. It is in the interest of truth, however, that such schools should be fittingly designated. Experience has demonstrated the wisdom of careful provisions for control of trade union education by trade unionists. When the American Federation of Labor decides an issue in trade union education, it is passing upon a trade union matter which has nothing at all to do with academic freedom."

Now, if I get the meaning of what I have read

to you, especially in connection with the coincidence of its appearance at this particular time, there are two elements. One is that the cultural interest of workers—wage earners, laborers—can be met by our regular school system. On the other hand labor schools are designed to make unions and union activity more effective, and these schools should then be controlled by trade unionists themselves and this control involves no question of academic freedom at all.

WHY NOT EXPOSE POWER TRUST?

Now I have two remarks to make upon the issue as thus presented. That our system of publicly controlled education is capable of expansion to meet the developing needs of adult education for all groups of citizens, I do not doubt; but I should want to put a great deal of emphasis on the word "capable." If anyone tells me that it is now so expanded in our public schools, I take the liberty, after over fifty years of teaching, to doubt it. Since the system has not yet reached this expansion which is desired, there is need then for a certain type of workers' school which shall lead the way, shall be the pioneer, show the other schools what they might do. I am very glad to pay my respects to the work Brookwood School has done precisely in blazing the way as a pioneer so as to show exactly what expansion our other schools are capable of and should undertake, and to indicate something of the road that leads to this very desirable expansion and activity.

We know, Mr. Muste has referred to it, everybody has heard something about the efforts of the big power trusts to control education both in public and private schools. We know that the instructions that went out to the publicity agents were to get hold of two things especially, the press and the schools. We know that they have prepared and colored and censored textbooks which have been used in the schools. Their records have boasted the number of schools, including high schools, in the United States that they have brought under their control. They have hired teachers, professors, and subsidized them to give certain forms of teaching, perhaps not directly in their classes, but at lectures, clubs and other places outside their classes; to give opinions contrary to public ownership of utilities. We know that they are on record as stating that it would be wise to give a retainer to a great many teachers whose salaries are not very adequate and to whom fifty or a hun-

dred dollars would look pretty good. That is on the record as coming from one of these companies.

Now I submit in all fairness and with all the sincerity I am capable of, that the officers of the American Federation of Labor would be doing very much more for education and the workers' cause if they attacked these people that are poisoning the sources of information, than by thus indirectly attacking Brookwood College because they do not think its teachings sufficiently subservient to the wishes and policies, not of the workers' unions, but of the administration officials.

There is one other thing in the editorial referred to. "We believe that all groups concerned should be represented on boards controlling those institutions." I wish to express my hearty agreement. I wish the American Federation of Labor could make Labor in general see that there are representatives of Labor as such both as trustees in private institutions and on boards of the public schools, since practically every other group is represented in predominant numbers. I have nothing to say against that and I wish to express my hearty agreement.

But in order that that ideal may be carried out, there must be men educated in the labor movement in precisely this broad, free and generous way which the Brookwood School stands for. Merely to have a mouthpiece of some particular interest, to take dictation and pursue some narrow interest of that particular group would only be adding to the situation of which we have altogether too much in our school system at the present time. I know of no way in which this very desirable idea of having all groups, including labor groups, better represented on the governing board of the schools of the country, can be carried out except by fostering, instead of retarding, the kind of work the Brookwood School is committed to.

REBUFF TO TEACHERS

Now take another point. I wonder what it means. I wish the writer had been a little more explicit. I feel a little more like using the language about this that I heard Governor Smith use in the recent campaign. I wish that a certain gentleman would clear up his language when he says that "organizations for the furtherance of causes and denominational teaching should have the right to teach lawful doctrines in schools which they control. It is in the interest of truth, however, that such schools should be fittingly designated," and then goes on to say that

the labor unions should control the labor schools. Now what I wonder is, do they really want labor schools which trade unions support to be of this narrow denominational, indoctrinating type? If they do, I for one must take issue with them. I think the labor cause is worthy of something better than that and that it is served in a more dignified and more capable way by taking a broader point of view than is suggested by that phrase.

Finally, however, if we are again to insist on the control of trade union schools by trade unions, I would like to suggest that the Teachers Union is a part of the labor movement, that its members are trade unionists, and that I can not think of anything more appropriate than that the teachers' unions

should be consulted when it is a question of the fitness, the competency, the consequences of the kind of education which is given by a labor school. I do not wish to use strong language or anything that would in any way add to the difficulties of this situation, but I must say that I feel as if we teachers who have joined the teachers' unions have received a very distinct rebuff when action of this kind is taken without any consultation with any committee, without any conference, without asking us to look into the matter or asking us in any way what our opinion is about it all. Do they want us in the movement? Are we, as I had hoped we were and might come to be more and more, a really organic part of the labor movement?

The Responsibility of Union Teachers in The Labor Movement

By HARRY F. WARD

Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary

(Address Delivered at Meeting Under Auspices of Local 5, American Federation of Teachers, to Discuss the Action of the American Federation of Labor on Brookwood, New York, November 9, 1928).

Mr. Chairman and Friends:

We are officially told that this is not a case of academic freedom, but an issue of trade union policy, and I wish for a very few minutes to discuss it then as an exhibit of trade union policy and to suggest, therefore, some obligations which this situation places upon us as trade unionists.

First, concerning the way in which the thing has been done, the procedure which has been described to you. In the reply that I got from Mr. Green to my first letter of protest, he said to me, as he said to everybody else, that the action that was taken had been taken on the basis of a partial report by one man, and then later in the same letter he referred to that as a comprehensive investigation, most thorough. I wrote to him that this seemed to me an amazing procedure in dealing with a matter which involved an institution like Brookwood and which involved the prestige of the American Federation of Labor. He wrote back to me that my language was a little extravagant. I replied that on reflection I thought that my language was most fitting. Since that time I have seen and read this statement which

was read to you—the official statement that was sent out to the separate unions. Having read that having also seen some of the publicity, official, and “inspired,” and unofficial, which has been given out on this subject, I am prepared to say the next time I write to Mr. Green that the procedure was not only amazing but disgraceful.

You take up this statement of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and you find that it reads like a papal bull. There is not a scintilla of evidence. All national and international bodies are asked to take action on the mere *ipse dixit* of this Executive Council. More than that, there are six charges in the count and three of them, including those that Mr. Muste himself considered the most important, are not made squarely and honestly but are put in indirectly as innuendo to poison the minds of the constituent bodies.

I say that this procedure is a thoroughly disgraceful proceeding for our officials to undertake and I am not satisfied merely with the statement that we are sending out. I hope we shall not let it rest there. What has been done here? This action is intended if possible, to accomplish the death of an institution. Let us face the facts squarely and all that this means. It means also destroying a local trade union. That means throwing its members out of a job with-

out a word of hearing or a syllable of consideration. Now I say that we can't rest, in a situation like that, with a mere verbal protest. I think we have a duty, to take this matter up continuously with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor until we get a reckoning on that kind of treatment of a union, of a local trade union. It is our duty to exert all our powers to endeavor to get it established in the American Federation of Labor that this sort of thing can't be done.

Now, the next point about this procedure is that, when you boil this thing right down, it means simply that Brookwood is too independent and they want a controlled institution. That is a very important issue. Very much more is at stake than the life and death of Brookwood, significant as that is. The whole question of whether there shall be any real workers' education in this country, what kind there shall be now that workers' education is just beginning, is the issue we face.

RESPONSIBILITY OF TEACHERS

As the matter stands and has been described to you in official language and the opinions of those we have heard, it means that the American Federation of Labor will only stand for workers' education institutions which are less free than many of the sectarian religious institutions in this country, because there are plenty of religious sectarian training schools in this country which will take the risk that their students may be turned away by free inquiry, and through investigation, from anything connected with religion; that their students may be turned not only against official policies but even against religion itself. And yet the labor movement can not afford to take any such risk!

Another attempt to set up an orthodoxy and establish it! When we have got to the point that both capitalism and religion in their more enlightened sections have quit trying to do that sort of thing, is labor to start in and try to do it over again?

The people to answer that question must be the teachers' unions of this country. Our obligation now it seems to me, is to take this matter up in continuous discussion before the whole labor world of this country until we get it established that there can be a real workers' education movement here. Otherwise, we shall have nothing but Communist institutions on the one hand and orthodox A. F. of L. institutions on the other. So it seems to me that we are in for a pretty thorough-going and continuous educational

campaign in the labor world on the question of what kind of workers' education shall develop in this country.

Now, the third and last question I wish to ask is this: Is this after all a mere exhibit of labor policy? Obviously, it is, in very large part. Those of you who are familiar with the history of the American Federation of Labor know that from the beginning it has been imbued with an animus against co-operating with intellectuals or allowing intellectuals to co-operate with it, that from the beginning it has been controlled and indoctrinated against any examination of the social order, been confined to a mere bread and butter philosophy. Those of you who know that fact would expect that something of this sort was bound to happen as soon as you try to get a real workers' education movement on a square basis of freedom of the mind.

EASLEY'S ACTIVITIES WELL KNOWN

Who is the man who made the partial report on which this action was taken? Matthew Woll. And who is Matthew Woll? You know who he is in the labor movement, but he is also acting president of the National Civic Federation. And therefore, I wrote in the course of my correspondence with Mr. Green and said this whole procedure raises the question of whether the American Federation of Labor is to be used to carry out the plans and purposes of the National Civic Federation. And Mr. Green wrote back to me manifesting considerable resentment. He said I was questioning the motive of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor itself. He wanted to know what facts I had that would justify my questioning their motives.

I told him in the first place I was not questioning their motives, I was questioning their actions and especially the results and consequences of their actions. I said as to facts, well, I happen to have plenty of facts about the National Civic Federation. It seems to have been part of my fate in life to have been continuously brought in contact with that organization. I was just out of college in charge of a settlement in Chicago when I came in contact with a woman who had just quit the office of Ralph Easley, who was then in charge of the Chicago office of the Civic Federation, because she could no longer stand his ways. I had not been in New York very long before we came in contact with the Lusk Committee, and found that Archibald Stevenson and

Ralph Easley were working hand in hand together in that enterprise.

This union remembers how you discovered and dealt with the attempt of the Civic Federation to control the machinery set up to enforce the infamous Lusk laws.

I looked at the kind of investigations the Civic Federation conducts and I find that it is about the same sort of investigation described in this correspondence that I got from the American Federation of Labor. I discovered that the National Civic Federation had a so-called investigator going around getting interviews under false pretenses with professors, then turning in reports that were being used by their committee on schools and colleges under their subcommittee on revolutionary movements, whose purpose it was to try to get discharged from the colleges and other institutions the professors upon whom they put a certain label.

I am informed at this present time, when the Brookwood matter has broken, that the National Civic Federation is engaged in another campaign on educational institutions. I do personally know that campaign is now on to endeavor again to get certain professors discharged from certain educational institutions.

CIVIC FEDERATION ENEMY OF LABOR

There is something less than frankness in the description of these documents concerning how this matter started. We are told first that it started on the basis of a partial report by Matthew Woll to the Executive Council in August. In the official communication that goes out now in October, it is said that the Executive Council found it advisable to make an investigation. What I should like to know is whether that Council's investigation was made before or after the initiative taken by Mr. Woll himself in any report to the Executive Council. It is not an unimportant question of procedure. It seems very vital in relation to certain things in the past. You may remember, some of you, that certain unions have taken action concerning the relation of their officers with the National Civic Federation. You may know that the miners put a clause in their constitution some years ago which forbids members of the Civic Federation from being eligible to membership in the organization, and they are mentioned right after persons engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors. It was the United Mine Workers who brought the question up, I think, in the 1911 con-

vention of the A. F. of L., when the convention voted against on the question of whether Mr. Gompers should be permitted to continue membership in the National Civic Federation and the resolution was 2,944 for and 11,851 against permitting him. The I. L. G. W. U. has a similar prohibition. The Machinists did have such a clause but recently they have rescinded it. Certain other things have happened which we don't need to go into now, because there are some politics involved here as well as some questions of policy, but it is a very major question of policy.

There is no question about the activities of the National Civic Federation. There is no question that it is in the final analysis the enemy of labor, the enemy of education, the enemy of social progress in this country. It seems to me, therefore, utterly scandalous that high officials of the American Federation of Labor should be connected with the National Civic Federation. It seems to me worse than a disgrace that this matter should have been started and carried through by the man who is the acting president of the National Civic Federation, the man whose name is appended to the statements that go out from that organization against anything that looks toward economic progress in this country.

I think it is proper for us and indeed our duty to raise this question that has been up in the labor movement before, to raise it again with the American Federation of Labor. I raised it in my last letter to President Green, asking him if it was not time for the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to face the question of whether their members were to be allowed to continue to act in such dual capacity. More than one kind of dual unionism needs to be considered in the labor movement at the present time.

So that is what I want to leave with you, the question of our duty here in these situations. Shall we simply protest or demand a reckoning—a revision of the proceeding—so that it shall be impossible hereafter for union members to get the treatment that the Brookwood union has been accorded? Shall we enter upon an educational campaign to endeavor to enlighten the trade unions of this country concerning the nature of real workers' education? And shall we start a movement among the trade unionists of this country to again face the question of whether the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall be permitted to act as officers of an organization which is engaged in destroying it?

Brickbats and Bouquets for Brookwood

"In religion I am a Catholic. In politics, I am non-partisan. In economic institutions, I am a loyal member of the A. F. of L. In all, I am a loyal graduate of the finest institution in America—Brookwood Labor College."

So says Charles L. Reed, vice president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, in a letter quoted in a pamphlet just issued, "Brickbats and Bouquets on Brookwood Labor College."

Mr. Reed continues: "Whatever I have been able to contribute to the labor movement has been greatly increased and enhanced by the education I received at Brookwood. Brookwood taught me how to read, how to write, and how to talk. It taught me the history of the labor movement of this and other countries; it made me realize the tremendous problems confronting the labor movement; it made me realize the duty a union member has to the labor movement as well as the duty a citizen has to a state . . . To me Brookwood represented an opportunity to render more efficient service to the labor movement. It still represents that opportunity."

SAYS MANY BROOKWOODS NEEDED

Educators, ministers, editors, labor leaders and students are quoted in the pamphlet. Professor Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College, says:

"Brookwood College is the only reputable institution of higher learning maintained by American labor, and it would appear to me that the A. F. of L. would be furthering its interests by establishing a score of similar institutions instead of withdrawing support from the one existing institution. It has been my privilege to visit Brookwood and lecture there several times. I am glad to testify to my high opinion of the work carried on there. It is hard for me to see how anyone interested in the cause of labor could do other than encourage and support its activities. Certainly it is a strange thing to find the A. F. of L. condemning it for failing to inculcate the views of Ivy Lee and Bruce Barton."

The Rev. F. Ernest Johnson of the Federal Council of Churches, visited the school last year and afterward wrote the chairman of the faculty, Mr. A. J. Muste, a letter in which he said in part:

AN ENVIABLE REPUTATION BUILT UP

"I must say that I was not prepared to be so agreeably impressed with Brookwood. I found what

seemed to me a genuinely educational spirit and atmosphere. I found a mood of inquiry, a tolerance of opposing viewpoints and an inclusive fellowship which one would hardly expect to find in a center of labor education."

The Railway Clerk in its September issue had an editorial on Brookwood, quoted here in part: "In the eight years of its existence Brookwood has built up an enviable reputation for itself by its strict adherence to a program of education that steered clear of all dogma and narrow propaganda. Both here and abroad it is considered as a center of fundamental experimentation in method as well as in scope of the educational process."

"Brookwood has turned out many students who are not only a credit to the College but to the labor movement as well. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks has already had three of its members attending there, and in no instance is there cause for regret. It is but fair to say that in Israel Mufson, Charles V. Maute and Stanley Guest, the Brotherhood has three of the most devoted, capable and intelligent members of the organization. We are very happy over the fact that at the last convention two annual scholarships to Brookwood were voted by the delegates." (Those are now held by Clerks from Boston and Canada.)

DENOUNCED BY COMMUNISTS

Under "Brickbats" the pamphlet prints the A. F. of L. accusations side by side with comments from *The Daily Worker*, the Communist Organ. *The Daily Worker* presents its compliments thus:

"Brookwood College is no more Communist in spirit than the General Executive Board of the A. F. of L. itself . . . In our experience with Brookwood and its officialdom . . . we have always found that this institution has consistently functioned as a cloak for the destructive policy of the reactionary labor fakers . . . As regards its teaching, everybody who has eyes can see that its whole content is the preaching of class-collaboration in a 'refined' form. Nothing can be further from Communism than the teachings of Brookwood."

In such work as ours there is no room for suspicion or discord, for cliques or factions, for unfair criticism or recrimination.—William J. O'Shea.

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THE EASTERN NUMBER

This number of THE AMERICAN TEACHER is issued as the Eastern Number. The material has been collected largely by an Editorial Committee of Local 5, New York, in accordance with a general arrangement whereby the locals in various sections

of the country occasionally issue the journal of the national organization. The following locals participate in issuing the present number. Local 92, Paterson, N. J., Local 189, Brookwood and Local 197, Providence, Rhode Island.

LABOR LEADERSHIP AND EDUCATION

The New York editors of this number of THE AMERICAN TEACHER have felt keenly the responsibility involved in presenting a considerable amount of material relating to the action of officers and the New Orleans Convention delegates of the American Federation of Labor in the Brookwood case. The American Federation of Teachers has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for a period exceeding twelve years. Thus, we are not novices in the trade union movement. Having grown with the movement and having made our own contributions to its success, we feel a natural right to participate in the discussion of its policies, and to sit in judgment on the work and the attitudes of its leaders.

In proportion as the trade union movement has become significant as a social force, the policies of its responsible governing bodies become more and more subject to social criticism. This is a matter of social procedure to which some of our responsible officers apparently have not given much consideration. It is not to the point to maintain, as has been done by some labor leaders directly and by inference, that they and their associates have made great sacrifices in building up the labor movement, and hence it is theirs to deal with as they please. Indulging in the same kind of thinking, the leading spokesmen of the labor movement at the New Orleans Convention took the position that they could do as they pleased about supporting or not supporting an institution the reported teaching of which they do not like. For those who do their thinking in this immature fashion, there is no serious obstacle involved in accepting any tale as evidence, or in openly condemning men and an institution in an unrestrained drive merely to destroy. Nor is there any reason why there should be hesitation in employing any means within the range of human ingenuity to stop a tendency in workers' education, for example, which in the opinion of these leaders may seem to run counter to the interests of the labor movement.

So long as labor leaders are acting emotionally under the conviction that the labor movement is a private possession, it may appear to be futile to pro-

test against a Brookwood "lynching" or against any other action that develops out of that background of thought. But wherever there is agreement to the principle that the labor movement is a social force, the face of the situation is bound to change.

In the light of the conception of the labor movement as a social force, the unusual occurrences of the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor lay bare a state of things which may fairly be said to menace the influence of its leadership. It is an open question whether the leaders themselves will be able to view a charge of this kind in any way other than in the futile way so frankly exhibited at the Convention, the way of anger. Nevertheless, we feel obliged to say that the need of uncensored workers' education in this country has never been shown to be greater than these incidents show it.

Let us state certain points specifically. It may be that Mr. Matthew Woll thought that by attempting to brand our most distinguished member, Professor John Dewey, as a "Communist propagandist" he could discredit him. It must be that Mr. Woll and other labor leaders inside and outside of the Executive Council were sure that a blast against Brookwood in the Convention would bring about the general condemnation of that labor school and its friends as communistic and make of workers' education an institution amenable to official discipline.

Instead, no one seems to have thought it worth while to defend Professor Dewey against an attack which probably impressed few as being sincere anyway. The attack on Brookwood shows more clearly than years of study and research could possibly have done just what labor leadership needs. Obviously, labor leadership needs intelligence, it needs vision, it needs education, and in view of its hysteria about the menace of political Communism in America, it needs something to quiet its nerves.

If the Brookwood issue had not arisen at this time, the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor probably would have developed on the lines of its predecessors. But because Brookwood broke through at New Orleans we realize that two essential facts face us: first, that workers' education has become a social issue of commanding importance; and second, that although the A. F. of L. will now be involved in an open conflict which must be fought out on social lines, the official leadership of organized labor is not yet prepared

to meet the issue with sanity and intelligence. Whether the present official leadership of the A. F. of L. can regain a measure of authority, and overcome the effect of its mistakes, we can only guess. But whatever happens to a particular Brookwood, the spirit of its method and its devotion to the cause of a better social order through the labor movement is destined to live, and to live in the present, thanks to the challenge so recently laid down.

Thus, in a very practical way the labor movement may be expected to disclose the attributes of a social force, acting meanwhile as an educational force for labor leadership in places where education is sadly needed.

HENRY R. LINVILLE,
President, Local 5, New York.

PINNING THE BOLSHEVIK LABEL

It would be with great reluctance that we would pin the Bolshevik or Communist label upon any one, for we are mindful of what was said on the subject by one of the distinguished speakers at the last convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

He said:

"We ought to get to a point after a while when the communistic or bolshevist label would be a joke. I have a new system of mental testing. Try it on your friends and see if it doesn't work. If a man calls me a Socialist because I believe in municipal ownership of waterworks, or social insurance, old age pensions, and things of that sort, I classify him in the mental age of eleven years. If he calls me a communist for that reason, I classify him in the mental age of nine. If he calls me a bolshevist for that reason, I classify him in the mental age of seven. You will be surprised at the exact measurements I get of a whole lot of people by this method."

We are also very mindful of the boomerang effect of hurling epithets and know that the result may not be that calculated upon, but quite otherwise. That is, the label pinner may be himself spreading Communist propaganda, intentionally or inadvertently.

For example, the man who called President Green of the American Federation of Labor "the leading Communist in America" belongs either in the class whose mental age is nine years or he is trying to lead those millions who honor the president of the American Federation of Labor to think upon the

subject of Communism, and perhaps in some cases to regard this particular political system sympathetically because it is associated in their minds with one in whom they have such complete confidence.

And when Professor John Dewey is labeled as a Communist propagandist, the effect can not but be regarded with much apprehension by those who are opposed to the dissemination of Communist propaganda. Nothing has been done in a long time which will be more effective in spreading this doctrine. The label pinner in this case could not have better played the game of the Communists. For John Dewey is honored and revered as the greatest thinker and philosopher of the age by thousands upon thousands of educators and students in America and throughout the world. These people who hold in such high regard the opinions of Professor Dewey will naturally regard Communism with more than tolerance, indeed with sympathetic interest, unless they consider the label pinner not as an intelligent student of social and political problems but as either an employed Communist propagandist himself or one whose I. Q. rates below normal.

Unhappily there are so many who do not think things through and who will consider only that if Professor Dewey is a Communist, it must be a sound social philosophy. And thus the doctrine is spread, as was or was not intended by the label pinner according to his I. Q.

BROOKWOOD AND VICTORY

After half a century of leadership in the field of public education, after having stood out as the foremost champion of academic freedom for all educational institutions, after having refused to condemn the Ely Institute, even though subsidized by the Power Trust, for fear that such condemnation might be interpreted as interfering with academic freedom, the American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of President Green and Matthew Woll—acting president of the National Civic Federation—have brought about the condemnation of Brookwood Labor College. This was done without having brought charges against it, and without having given the directors, teachers, graduates, students or friends of Brookwood an opportunity to be heard in its defense! To cap the climax of this betrayal of labor's traditions the A. F. of L. expunged from the report of the Committee on Education its praise of Prof. John

Dewey, former vice president of Local 5 and America's foremost educator—calling him a "Communist propagandist!"

These acts of the American Federation of Labor, based upon misinformation and hysteria, mark the lowest depths into which the A. F. of L. has ever fallen. By these acts A. F. of L. officials have made the labor movement appear ridiculous in the eyes of the thinking people of America and Europe.

Brookwood stands condemned and unheard, upon trumped-up charges and false testimony largely. Brookwood and the ideals which it typifies—service to mankind through impartial teaching and loyalty to the highest traditions and ideals of the labor movement must go on. The friends of Brookwood, the lovers of educational freedom and fair play, will not permit this finest flower of American labor education to suffer. Brookwood and its ideals will yet lead the labor movement to victory!

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ,
Labór Director of Brookwood.

TEACHER INITIATIVE

When Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers was organized in March, 1916, teacher opinion and teacher initiative can hardly be said to have existed because educational autocracy was firmly in the saddle. Slowly the ideals of educational democracy, for which the Teachers Union stood, began to take shape. So effective did our campaign for teacher participation become that it is no longer regarded as an educational heresy to preach educational democracy.

The doctrine of teacher participation in educational affairs has had its fullest development in New York city in the field of pension legislation and administration. As a result of the efforts of Local 5 and allied teacher organizations, the teachers were given equal representation with the city in the control of the retirement system. The fundamental provision of the law is that no important action can be taken by the Retirement Board unless the majority vote needed for any action contains the vote of at least one teacher representative. When the city representatives tried to elect a secretary without the approval of one teacher member, the teachers not only protested, but also raised an \$8,000 fund and successfully fought the city in the courts. Such vigorous and aggressive action would have been unthinkable prior to 1916.

Another reason for the development of teacher self-assertion was the constant efforts that were being made by the leaders of the Federation of Teachers' Associations (a company union) to secure control of the Retirement Board by the selection of teachers whom they could dominate. Their efforts have been frustrated by the rank and file on every occasion. At present, the three teacher members of the Retirement Board are chosen in the following manner: On the first Thursday in May the teachers meet in their respective schools and select, by secret ballot, a chairman, a secretary and one delegate for each ten contributors to the fund. On the second Thursday in May the delegates meet at a school designated by the district superintendent and by a similar democratic procedure select a district representative and an alternate. These district representatives meet the third Thursday in May at the hall of the Board of Education and select their teacher representative to the Retirement Board for three years, one going out every year.

Despite the overwhelming victories won by the teachers in previous conflicts, the struggle for the control of teacher members must be fought annually. At the present time the teachers control their three members in whom they have the fullest confidence. As long as the teacher members prove faithful to those who elect them, so long will the teachers have control of their retirement system.

The struggles of the teachers to control their pension system and to prevent its domination by the city representatives has not only developed the fighting qualities of the teachers and their representatives, but has also developed a feeling that if anything is to be won by the teachers it can be only through their united efforts. As this article goes to press the teachers of New York City are launching a suit against the city to force the Retirement Board to recognize the fact that prior service certificates, having once been agreed upon and issued, are no longer subject to change. The teachers, fighting as a unit to defeat this newest attempt to weaken their law, are confident of victory.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

THE CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

Modern industrial conditions with their improved technological production, compulsory education laws and the growth of humanitarian ideals have forced thousands of children to continue their education

instead of plunging into industry. Unfortunately for these children, our secondary schools are based upon the needs of students who intend to go to college to study for some profession. Hence these students, who would have gone into industry find themselves confronted with a curriculum they are unable to understand or to appreciate. The result is discouragement, the development of a hatred for all that goes by the name of education, and a blind rushing to seize any job as a way out.

Educators who have faced this problem squarely have seen that our secondary schools were not meeting and could not meet, the crying need of these motor-minded children. To meet this need they devised the vocational and continuation schools. In a word, the educational wreckage that followed in the wake of our unchanging secondary education, was to be salvaged by the continuation schools—general and central. In these new schools the curriculum was to be fitted to the special needs of each individual child by expert vocational advisers.

What stand have some of our educational administrators taken toward these necessary educational institutions? Have they taken advantage of the absence of tradition in continuation schools, of the absence of hard and fast courses, to attempt a bold experiment in creative education? Have they approached this experiment sympathetically with a view to meeting the physical and mental needs of this army of children forced into industry? Alas, they have not.

A study of these schools in the City of New York shows that they have too often been housed in old and unsuitable buildings which are not only unsightly but, at times, a menace to life and a real stumbling block to worthwhile educational achievement. Only within the past year has the New York City Board of Education really faced the situation and voted the building of an up-to-date continuation school suitable to the pupils' needs. Throughout the ten years of their existence these schools have lacked constructive, sympathetic and creative leadership. Hence they have been unable to show their possibilities and have met with strong but unjustified opposition.

The animus to the continuation school can be found in the over-strenuous opposition of a few powerful but unenlightened employers who do not grasp the educational possibilities of this new type of school. All these few employers seem to be able to understand is that they lose the services of the

boys and girls in their employ for four hours weekly. Hence their unreasoning opposition! Hence their inability to see the civic loss, their own loss in an unprecedented labor turnover, and their inability to appreciate the great social loss in the failure to develop to the fullest extent the possibilities of every child who often is unable to cope mentally with the economic forces without adequate guidance.

For the past three years in New York serious attempts have been made to enact legislation to undermine the continuation schools. This legislation has taken the form of proposing the substitution of evening school attendance for the continuation schools, or else by reducing the educational age from 17 years to 15 or 14 years. These efforts to destroy the continuation schools will be continued until educational authorities undertake to house, equip and man them so that they can function as their sponsors intended. If the public will get behind these institutions and give the educational wrecks of our relatively unchanging school system a part of that equality of opportunity about which we prate so much, the results expected from these schools will quickly materialize.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

SCHOOL EXPENDITURES

The amount of money spent upon public education in this country is again receiving special attention at the hands of those who think the amount excessive. It is well for those who know it to be inadequate to say something on the subject.

Sanctified Squander, a pamphlet put out by Mr. James F. Walsh, president of the Association for Retrenchment in Public Expenditures, originally published in the *Journal of the National Education Association*, is again in circulation and attracting considerable attention and comment. R. G. Jones, Superintendent of Schools of Cleveland, has replied very conclusively to the statements of this pamphlet. Superintendent Jones declares that no sound investigation by the schools' accusers is shown, and he refutes completely, their two criticisms, that school expenditures have risen out of all proportion to the increase in population, and that despite higher costs the quality of public education has deteriorated.

Mr. Jones says: "Underlying all the controversy over school expenditures are two conflicting social philosophies. One is aristocratic in character. It holds that only the few of exceptional ability are

worth educating. The other is democratic. It holds that education is for all the people and that the safety of the state depends upon the greatest possible general enlightenment. I adhere to the latter view." He also says that "Our troubles come from those who denounce us without the slightest effort to inform themselves."

The research work of Dr. John W. Withers, of New York University, gives us the following reliable information. "Reducing the school expenditures of the United States in 1920 to their equivalent in dollars of 1890 and making due allowance for increased attendance we find that in those 30 years our school costs increased from \$1,005,000,000 to \$1,040,000,000. This gross increase of \$35,000,000 is less than one cent per day per pupil. When we take into account that the increase in attendance has been largely in the upper grades and high schools, where the cost per pupil is greatest, we find that the cost of elementary education per pupil was actually less in 1920 than in 1890."

In striking contrast to the position of the distributors of *Sanctified Squander* is that of the American Federation of Labor which has adopted as part of its educational program, "increased revenues to maintain and develop the public schools." All other groups seem to be interested in economy only, while Organized Labor has its eye on efficiency and service. The American Federation of Labor is conspicuous among organized groups as one asking nothing of the schools but an education for its children, seeking in no way to exploit the schools or to use them for propaganda or advertising purposes, regarding them as indeed educational sanctuaries for the teachers and children.

UNIONISM AND BEHAVIOR

One of the most valuable by-products of the union movement among teachers is to be observed in our behavior. In proportion as we put forth our efforts to obtain our professional and economic objectives, we tend to lose our apologetic attitude of humility towards those in authority above us. Once we arrive at the necessity of thinking for ourselves, we are obliged to develop a technic of striving to some purpose. Psychologically, it is hard to be humble while organizing our forces to bring social pressure to bear on a reluctant board of education.

Of the two attitudes, we do not choose the humble one.

THE EDUCATOR POLITICIANS

Economics plays a dominant part in the political life of the nation. Why do leaders of big business like Samuel Insull contribute so liberally to the treasuries of the dominant political parties? Why do leading business men of the type of Raskob of General Motors or Ex-Senator Butler of the New England Textile industry, accept positions of financial guides or angels to the Democratic and the Republican parties? Not solely because of the political principles for which these parties stand—that is almost nil—but largely because they desire to use them to advance their economic interests. Generally great economic leaders do not take the helm of political parties but prefer to rely upon faithful political henchmen.

The growing development of the democratic spirit among the teachers has been giving the educational autocrats something to worry about. To prevent organizations of teachers from getting out of hand, the heads of educational systems have, through the use of patronage and control of advancement, subsidized the leadership of the various teacher-organizations. This situation brings the teacher politician upon the educational scene. A striking illustration of this new type of animal is Associate Superintendent Edward Mandel of New York City.

Just how does this type of educator-politician function? How does he serve his employers and still hold his position of leadership? How can the power of the teacher-politician be undermined and the educational welfare of the children and of the schools be safeguarded?

The educator-politicians serve their political masters by advocating minor legislation favored by the teachers and by weakening the so-called excessive demands of the teachers. They are the "reasonable" leaders against the radicals. Having won the favor of teachers, they usually secretly introduce "ripper" legislation demanded by the politicians in control of the schools or those who are seeking to fix their control more firmly so that they may crush or intimidate the bolder and more fearless leaders among the teachers who might otherwise "spill the beans." A typical illustration of how this is done under the guise of serving the teachers is the following:

Years ago the members of the Board of Examiners were not over-popular with the teachers. Any legislation aimed at this board would no doubt be popular. Acting upon this attitude Associate Superintendent Edward Mandel had legislation introduced which, if

passed would have placed the democratically managed Board of Examiners under the control of a chairman appointed by a politically controlled Board of Education. If this bill had been enacted into law the merit system would have been completely destroyed. The Teachers Union, with the help of labor, brought this fact to the attention of both the public and the teachers and helped to defeat this measure.

When the teacher-politicians found it hard to find enough positions for their subservient followers who were getting restive, what did they do? Under the able leadership of the chief spoilsman, they introduced a bill providing that principals be paid on the basis of the size and type of school taught. The Union called attention to the dangers of political control embodied in the measure, but the principals were lulled to sleep by promises of an eligible list based upon merit and service. Alas for these gullible souls; they were tricked. After three years of experience with the operation of the law the principals are now demanding its repeal because it has hindered the development of the merit system, brought more politics into the schools and tends to make educational experimentation impossible. Once more the policy of Local 5 has been vindicated!

The growth of the independence of teachers and of initiative has resulted in vigorous criticism of official policies. This did not harmonize with the plans of the educator-politicians, so Mr. Mandel's fertile legal brain was again called into play. He tried to sneak through the Legislature a bill which gave the Superintendent of Schools the power to dismiss critics of the administration under the laudable guise of ridding the system of persons mentally unfitted for teaching. Once more their clever scheme was nullified by the courage and vigilance of the representative of organized labor and Local 5.

How do these educator-politicians retain their hold over the teachers? First, by the patronage they can give. Second, by the control of the machinery of their teacher organizations. This is simple because these organizations are decidedly undemocratic. Thirdly, by fooling the gullible teachers. Just now Mr. Mandel is in eclipse. How can he come back into favor? Simple! The teachers want certain pension changes. Thereupon the politicians force the Superintendent of Schools to appoint a committee to work out such legislation for the benefit of the teachers and Mr. Mandel is made chairman of this

committee. The legislation secured may contain a few jokers and once more the teachers will awaken with a shock.

How can the insidious efforts of these politicians be frustrated? By publicity. The Union, using its labor affiliation, makes public the real purpose of the legislation being fathered by these politicians. It centralizes its attack upon the anti-social aspects of the legislation and the disastrous consequences that must follow enactment. It ignores the introducer whom it pities because he happens to be a tool of a vicious "system." Often the Union has found the teacher-politician a friendly and pleasant personality but whether friendly or dangerously antagonistic, we have levelled our darts upon the pernicious effects of their legislation and not upon them. Impersonal analysis, publicity and emphasis upon the social questions involved in the proposed legislation are the weapons that spell success.

So keen has the struggle for advancement become in the New York school system that it is no longer a struggle between the qualified and the politician but between the politicians themselves. Hence political, religious and social pressure are the determining factors in deciding who shall be advanced to the highest educational positions. Is it any wonder that such pressure should have forced the nomination of persons notoriously lacking in every conceivable qualification for the position except influence? Is it any wonder that teacher morale is dead? Is it any wonder that able educators refuse even to permit the use of their names for higher positions, since they know it is futile because some ignorant teacher-politician is bound to get the place no matter how ludicrous his nomination may appear to the rank and file?

The morale of the teaching system in New York City is at its lowest ebb in years. The Board of Superintendents, by its nominations for important exempt positions, has served notice upon the teachers and the public that the politicians dominate the school system completely. No educator worthy of the name dare even think of advancement unless he is willing to become the servile tool of these politicians. This intolerable situation will continue until Local 5 becomes strong enough with the help of intelligently led organizations to put a stop to it and thus make the merit system a reality.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

SCHOOL TEACHERS ARE NOT FREE WHEN OTHERS THINK FOR THEM

ATLANTA—"The real opposition to Teachers' Unions is none of those usually given," said Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, in an address to local organized teachers in this city.

Mrs. Hanson declared that self-help and independent thinking follows organization and therein is the reason why unionism is opposed. The American Federation of Teachers, she said, is better able to develop in the teaching group as a whole the qualities needed for resistance to repression in the freedom of teaching than is any other organization now in the field.

Mrs. Hanson declared that our educational system lacks intellectual honesty and spiritual value.

"We need truth and an insight into evil," she said. "We do not need disillusion, contradiction, pretence. The spiritual bankruptcy of our school system is appalling. The education situation is in dire need of drastic revaluation. In *The Education of Henry Adams*, Mr. Adams says: 'The chief wonder of education is that it does not ruin everybody concerned in it—teachers and taught.'

Boards of education are incompetent to meet social and educational changes that are needed in these times, said Mrs. Hanson. Neither can hope be expected from business men, who "are not deeply concerned with the process of good; they care for the end—result."

"Teachers are frequently encouraged to organize into local groups, but discouraged from forming into unions. The reason is so clear that I hesitate to mention it. One is futile and dominated by extraneous authority; the other is strong and free. Unionization will give the teacher a power and recognition in school policies which he never had before.

"We achieve freedom only through mighty effort, constant and continuous. No teacher is really self-respecting, no matter how he protests his pride, who is afraid of any man, woman or thing. Respectable citizens are free from fear when united with an organization. Only when demonstrating their own capacity for freedom can teachers be entrusted with the greater task of defending the freedom of the children.

"The union movement is born of hope in a new world and therefore can not be stopped. The teacher is joining with the one force that is making for that new world. It is to this fellowship of optimism that the teachers are invited."—*From the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.*

The school master in the modern world is seldom allowed a point of view of his own. He is appointed by an education authority and is sacked if he is found to be educating.—*Bertrand Russell.*

What Will Brookwood Do Now?

By A. J. MUSTE

Chairman of Brookwood Faculty and Vice President of the American Federation of Teachers

Before answering the question, what will Brookwood do now that the A. F. of L. convention has endorsed the action of the Executive Council in advising its affiliated unions to withhold or withdraw support from Brookwood, it may be best first to state briefly what nefarious business we have been engaged in until now.

Brookwood has sought to give active workers in the trade unions a training to equip them for more efficient and intelligent service to their organizations. It gives regular one and two-year courses in special subjects such as Trade Union Administration, Organizing Methods, Labor Journalism, Economics, Psychology, History of Civilization, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Law, and Labor History. It has not presented without analysis and discussion the theories and activities of any particular wing of the labor movement. Rather it has sought to explain the activities and theories of the American Federation of Labor and of other parts of the labor movement in the United States and in other countries, to encourage free discussion of all problems, to present all the facts bearing on these problems, to teach primarily how to think rather than what to think, believing that this was the best way to prepare them for service in the labor movement which it has regarded not only as a business proposition, a practical instrument to get higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions of work, and improved status in industry for the workers, but as a great social force in our modern life, aiming at the achievement of a social order free from exploitation and under the control of the producers.

SPLendid RECORD OF GRADUATES

Though Brookwood is as yet only in its eighth year, and graduating classes average from fifteen to twenty members, there are already a considerable number of graduates rendering important service in responsible positions in the American labor movement, as well as dozens working faithfully as rank and file members. The report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the recent New Orleans convention cited as the outstanding piece of organization work accomplished under A. F. of L. auspices during the past year, that of the

Piedmont Organizing Council in North Carolina. The chief founder and the Executive Secretary of that Organizing Council is Alfred Hoffmann, an organizer of the Hosiery Workers' Union, and a Brookwood graduate. Another graduate, Len De Caux, is doing editorial work on the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Journal*. I. Mufson, a member of the Railway Clerks, is Executive Secretary of the Philadelphia Labor College. Charles L. Reed, member of the Machinists, is vice president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, member of the executive board of the Workers' Educational Bureau, and business agent for building trades unions in Salem, Mass. Margaret Wall, member of the United Garment Workers, is Secretary of her local union in Danville, Va., Executive Secretary of an Organizing Council of southern and western Virginia towns, and Treasurer of the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. Mary Goff, member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is the organizer of the large White Goods Workers Union of that organization in New York City. Julius Hochman is international Vice President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. William Ross, member of the Boiler Makers' Union, is Secretary of the Baltimore Labor College, and an active member of the Shop Crafts Federation on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. E. J. Lever, member of the Machinists, though now working at his trade in an air craft plant, has been business agent of Philadelphia District No. 1 of the International Association of Machinists, and head of the Philadelphia Labor College since graduating from Brookwood. Leonard Craig, member of the Molders' Union, is head of the Educational Department of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Charles V. Maute, member of the Railway Clerks, is the President of his local union on the New York Central Railroad.

In addition to its regular training courses, Brookwood has conducted one and two-weeks' summer courses and special institutes under the auspices of such organizations as the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, some of the railroad unions, the United Textile Workers, and the Women's Aux-

iliaries. In many of these institutes and conferences Brookwood led the way.

At the invitation of local unions, city central bodies, state federations, co-operative organizations, Y. W. C. A. industrial clubs and other groups, members of the Brookwood staff have done a large amount of extension work in the past, and this year Brookwood is conducting extension work reaching hundreds of members in Philadelphia, Baltimore and other cities, under the direction of Tom Tippet.

TO FOLLOW SAME PROGRAM

The answer to the question, What Brookwood is going to do in the future, is that in the main it expects to go on doing these same things.

The Brookwood Board of Directors, trade unionists, faculty members, students and graduates who have had charge of the school will continue in charge. They are not planning to ask the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for example, or the Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party to step in and take over their job.

Brookwood will continue to seek students from all unions interested in the type of educational work it is trying to do and will accept qualified and properly endorsed students regardless of their religious, social, political, or economic views and affiliations.

Its educational policy will continue to be that of presenting, explaining, analyzing, and discussing the activities and theories of all the various factors in the labor movement, emphasizing as it has always done, the importance for its students of the factual approach—"respect for facts, willingness to face facts, ability to dig out relevant facts, to solve problems, and to make generalizations on the basis of facts."

But will the unions continue to permit their members to come to Brookwood as students, make it possible for its graduates to be active, give the school their moral and financial support? In many instances, we hope and believe, they will. In educational, as in civic and political matters, the American Federation of Labor has power to advise affiliated unions and their members, but it does not undertake to dictate to them. A man may fail to vote for a candidate for office endorsed by the A. F. of L. and still be a loyal trade unionist. By the same token, loyal trade unionists may continue to support such educational institutions as they believe worthy and useful. We rejoice in the fact that our own international, the American Federation of Teachers, continues to

give us its confidence. A number of other organizations have already signified their intention of following the same course.

NOT BLIND TO DIFFICULTIES

We are not blind, however, to dangers and difficulties. Reactionary elements in the American labor movement which have no compunctions about allying themselves with big business, corrupt political machines, militarism, and imperialism will doubtless do all in their power to cut the nerve that connects Brookwood with the labor movement, and thus kill it. There are certain ultra-radical elements which equally oppose us. Brookwood was founded by progressive men and women in a time when progressivism was a respected, reputable force in the American labor movement. A militant and enlightened minority was influential and in some instances dominant in some of the city central bodies, some of the state federations and certain international unions such as the garment trades, machinists, some of the railroad organizations, and the miners. These progressives were intent on aggressive activity to organize the masses of workers in the basic industries, aggressive campaigns against the company union, open shop and the yellow dog contract, and exploring the possibilities of establishing a labor party. They carried resolutions for the nationalization of the railroads for example in A. F. of L. conventions. They saw the labor movement not only as an agency to get immediate material gains for the workers, but as a social force leading to the establishment of a nobler order. These progressives wanted American workers trained for the transition to a better social order though not indoctrinated with cut and dried theories as to how the transition is to be achieved, and as to precisely what kind of goal it was to reach. They founded therefore the workers' education movement. They wanted the minds of the workers open, and their program being what it was, they could afford to take the risks which that involved.

PROGRESSIVE MINORITY WEAKENED

No organized, influential and respected minority standing for these things exists in the American labor movement today, although there are a large number of individuals and scattered groups holding to these views. Therefore the A. F. of L. convention without challenge can substitute the vague term "special interests" for the specific phrase "power trust" in a resolution about propaganda in the pub-

lic schools, lest certain powerful interests and individuals be offended, despite the fact that the Federal Trade Commission itself has proved them guilty of what amounts to an attempt to poison the entire public school system of the country. Therefore, on the other hand, the A. F. of L. can expunge all reference to the name of Professor John Dewey of Columbia University from its records on the ground that he is a "communist propagandist." Therefore, the A. F. of L. can perpetrate such an attack on Brookwood as was witnessed at the recent convention, while refusing to say even a mild word in condemnation of the Ely Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities which has received

\$75,000 from the utilities interests in the last three years and which has been condemned as operating as a propagandist agency behind the mask of research.

If this sort of thing is to become impossible, if such institutions as Brookwood are to flourish, if the labor movement is to be a force for progress and not for conservatism and reaction in our American life, then the honest, militant and intelligent progressive elements must rally themselves, and must make their power felt. All those who have the honor of the A. F. of L. at heart will fervently desire such a consummation. For our part, we at Brookwood believe that we shall live because we believe that among the workers of America, organized and unorganized, a genuine labor progressivism will survive.

Studying the New Training Schools for Teachers

By RUTH GILLETTE HARDY,

Girls Commercial High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The announcement by the education authorities last spring that beginning in September, 1929, the course in the three city training schools for teachers would be extended to four years awakened the interest of every teachers' organization in the City of New York that is concerned with this fundamental problem. To the Teachers Union it seemed a matter of primary concern which required the formation of a special committee that would parallel from the point of view of progressive education, the work of the official committee that is designing the new curriculum. In New York we have become convinced that much of the timidity among teachers and a good share of the imperviousness of many to new ideas may be traced to the conservatism in the management of our training schools and to the curious dual arrangement whereby theory is divorced from practice, and what students of modern education may teach in their class-rooms is nullified in the practice rooms by "critic-teachers" who know so much about good old-fashioned teaching that they don't find it necessary to study.

The Union has a plan of an integrated survey to be carried on continuously by means of sub-committees selected to fit each issue which may be uppermost at any time. A sub-committee was organized on the subject of the training schools with two members who are First Assistants in Training Schools,

three High School teachers and an Elementary School Principal, besides some of the officers of the Union. During the spring we worked, after outlining the problem, on a questionnaire that was submitted to the graduating classes of the training schools. This was well worked out by one of the training school members so as to secure, in easily tabulated form, the student's reaction to the number of hours of work, the hours of study, the variety of courses and the relationship between the theory teaching and the practices they found in the model schools and practicing schools. The questionnaire was filled in by a large proportion of the students and a report prepared from it, and presented to both the Association of Theory Teachers in Training Schools and to the Union's committee, showed clearly the over-burdening of the students in the present course, both in hours and in numbers of courses carried simultaneously; it showed still more clearly the divorce between good theory at the present day and the practice in the public elementary schools of New York City. A further study of the catalogues of other teacher training institutions in thirty-nine States, showed conclusively that the New York schools required more hours, scattered over a greater variety of "subjects" than did schools elsewhere. The report has been accepted by the Superintendent in charge of the Training Schools and will shortly be published.

This fall two plans are being pushed forward which

we hope will yield something for publication in the early spring and will then have some influence with the official committee which is working on the problem. One is for a further questionnaire to young teachers in service on the relationship between their experiences as teachers and the training which they

received. The other aims to present an integrated curriculum, which shall not pretend to fit candidates for an Arts degree but for teaching pre-adolescent children and which shall give that attention to the development of the teacher's personality which the new education demands.

Paterson Teachers Union, Local 92

About twelve years ago a group of Paterson Teachers met one week end to discuss means of securing a living wage. The news leaked out and great was the storm in the school where most of these teachers worked. "They had dared to hold a meeting without authority." Great was the crime. The storm raged for half a week. Intimidation was tried. It failed because the group stood firm. Then, a meeting of all the teachers was held in the presence of authority and great freedom of discussion was indulged in. This instance marks the beginning of the fight for freedom in Paterson Schools. From that time the progress has been steady until today no self-respecting teacher can complain of conditions in Paterson schools. The fight for a living wage moved slowly, but the "Great War" helped to solve our wage problem.

In June, 1919, an organizer from the A. F. of T. visited our city and discussed before several hundred teachers the value of joining the American Federation of Teachers. His talk resulted in the formation of local 92 with twenty charter members. Soon local 92 had one hundred and twenty-five members. The Union joined the local Federation Trades Council. That body listened attentively to the teachers' pleas for support on the wage question and gave their aid gladly. The result was a flat increase of \$500.00 per year to all teachers in the system and besides that an increase of \$200.00 annually on the wage schedule. But the work was only begun. A committee from the Union drew up a new salary schedule, which added \$800.00 a year to the maximum and minimum of the existing schedule. This was adopted by the Board of Education and Paterson's teacher force became happy and grateful. All this, however, was but the beginning, since each year saw a wage improvement until the present salary schedule places Paterson teachers among the favored of the profession.

But the Union worked on. A Board of Education favorable to Union ideas and freedom in the schools came into power. Local 92 co-operated with that Board and many reforms were introduced. Chief among these was the right of each teacher to obtain a copy of the principals' rating at the time the rating was given. Much opposition showed itself on this question, but the teachers won their point. Later still, when the High School was overcrowded, the Paterson local helped to organize another high school. Furthermore, the choices for principal and vice-prin-

cipal and two heads of departments were made from members of local 92. Then, through the local Central Trades and Labor Body, the teachers organized several classes for members of labor unions. Many grievances were brought before the Union and means found for their satisfactory adjustment. As time went on and many of the most important questions relating to our profession had been adjusted, our membership began to fall, discontent began to show itself and strife to raise its head. Much objection was made to the so-called "Old Guard." This faction dropped out of control about four years ago and sought to start a new local since its ideas failed to fit in with those of the controlling element. At the Convention held in New York City application was made for a new charter. This was denied, but a representative of the National visited Paterson and sought to bring the factions together.

At the next election harmony again visited local 92, former members returned to the Union, the membership began to grow, a paper was issued by the Union which is the only paper printed in New Jersey devoted entirely to the interests of classroom teachers. Perhaps, the greatest good our local has done in this section of New Jersey, is the fact that its very presence tends to check petty tyranny in the schools of this whole section since it is a well-known fact that our paper will fearlessly discuss and distribute the facts in all such cases. Only recently a petty tyrant in charge of a school in a district not far from Paterson was brow-beating the teachers under him. He got somewhat of a jolt when quietly informed that *The School News* would give him much publicity if he persisted in his actions.

Years ago local 92 found out that one of the best methods to get results is through having a Union lawyer employed by the year. We had one for over five years and he proved a very fine investment since he not only got results, but kept us from making blunders on many occasions. Indeed, we employed him at the suggestion of a former member of the Board of Education.

Possibly the biggest thing local 92 ever put over was the placing of a member of this local on the Board of Education. How our school system progressed during her term of office may be best shown by the fact that Paterson was pointed out in all the leading educational magazines as a city that was among the leading cities of the country in building modern schools.

A. K. HARRIS, President.

Courage and Co-operation

PROVIDENCE, R. I., LOCAL 197

In conservative New England, the introduction of any new idea, however valuable, meets with high resistance. Shortly after the organization of a local branch of the American Federation of Teachers in another New England city, the Superintendent of Schools in Providence wrote an article for the press in which he stated that he "could not conceive of any teacher being so unwise and so unprofessional as to become a member of a teachers' union."

The Secretary of the Rhode Island State Branch of the A. F. of L. branded the Superintendent as being "either uninformed, misinformed, or deliberately misrepresenting the facts."

Providence has manufacturers who belong to the Chamber of Commerce, and who desire cheap education for two reasons; they are large property holders, and they have use for cheap laborers.

Under these peculiar Rhode Island conditions, Providence Teachers Council No. 197, A. F. of L. was organized. The administration, by a discriminating salary schedule, an increase in the teaching load, a vicious rating system and unqualified supervisors became our best organizers. The Providence local's objects were formulated as—

- (1) To secure adequate support for the public schools.
- (2) To establish a more intimate contact and effective co-operation between the schools and the community, and
- (3) To promote policies of professional progress and pupil welfare.

The members were the best informed and most professionally minded of the high school teachers.

At first our activities consisted in saving what we could from the wreck. The salary increases were supposedly automatic, but under the new schedule they were to be at the discretion of the Superintendent. This was revised so as to be upon the vote of the school committee. Work was started toward improving working conditions, sanitation, and ventilation. Publicity was needed but the time was not ripe.

The administration wrote many articles for *The Providence Journal*, the research and guidance magazines, and also for a so-called *Public School Bulletin* in which they advertised themselves. The administration built up a fine castle of false information concerning their accomplishments, and the general public believed. But the teachers knew that the Providence pictured on paper was not the Providence of reality.

Teachers were told that to give adverse publicity regarding conditions would be dangerous, and the workers in the field were advised to wait for the Utopia just beyond the horizon.

Last year teachers were urged that to receive an increase in pay, which a survey had shown was necessary, could only be brought about by the teachers taking on more work, thus lessening the number on the teaching force, and increasing the pay of those who remained. This fall, the administrators all got an increase in pay; the teachers did not. But there was a 40 per cent increase in the number of pupils per class, a 25 per cent increase in the number of classes assigned to English teachers, and an increase of each period from 40 minutes to 55 minutes. The teaching load became almost double and many teachers showed the strain. Thousands of dollars were spent for phonographs, but not one cent for teachers. To consult teachers on matters of policy was unheard of. To suggest that the teacher was the most important part of a school was considered radical.

An increase in work without a corresponding increase in wages is an economic decrease in pay. Many teachers would not have wished the extra work even for extra pay.

At the present time, without any organization of courses as yet, an attempt is being made by the administration to install the Morrison Plan, a plan requiring small classes and special equipment, and hence especially unsuited to our schools. The administration is attempting to adapt the tutorial method to mass education by the magic of saying to the teachers, "Do this!"

As the college fraternity urges its members into various campus activities, so No. 197 urges its members to go out and instill our ideas of progress, and to make effective all channels leading to this end. At present all our members are also members of the other teacher organizations to which they are eligible.

We have the co-operation of the Providence Central Federated Union, and the Rhode Island State Branch, A. F. of L., with both of which we are affiliated. Through our duplicate membership we are able to get the teachers' associations to work along constructive lines. We aim at more contacts and more effective co-operation. No. 197 meets in a downtown office building in a businesslike atmosphere. We aim to keep ourselves well-informed, and highly professional. We are conducting a number of surveys regarding teacher and pupil working conditions.

In the School Board election this fall, No. 197, though working quietly, was very active. We succeeded in removing the Chairman of the old board, who is also the President of the Chamber of Commerce. A doctor was elected as member-at-large in his place. We also elected another member of the board. Since we had one friend on the board previously, there are now three members out of the

seven on the School Board on whom we can count. We are hoping to impress a fourth, the new chairman.

The Providence Men High School Teachers Association held a banquet on December 5, 1928, and invited representatives of the other teacher organizations to attend and to tell of the work of their respective organizations.

The President of Providence Teachers Council No. 197 made a speech which announced us to the

public for the first time, and explained our policies, and urged those of like minds to investigate.

Just before Christmas our President called informally at the home of the Chairman of the present School Board.

One man by himself is nothing, yet a few with courage and a will to co-operate can accomplish much.

WALTER H. HIBBARD, *Secretary.*

Mexico—Labor and Schools

By MORRIS SAVAGE, *Paterson, Local 92*

A voyage on a steamer bound for the Mexican shores affords a very nice vacation to a tired teacher. Following closely the coast of Florida, and stopping off in Cuba and Yucatan, add interest to this beautiful trip. But you can hardly share your impressions with anyone on the boat, as the great majority of the Americans traveling to Latin America consists of men whose aim is not to disseminate knowledge or ideas, but to place their products on the markets of those countries. The boats are filled with these Babbitts. It does not take, however, very long to ascertain that their minds are closed to any intelligent discussion, and that their souls are not touched by emotion or beauty. Only when they were given an opportunity to explain their successful methods used in selling their articles in those countries despite the keen competition with the English, Germans, and Spaniards, would their faces radiate with enthusiasm. They pictured to me the Mexicans as a semi-barbarous people unwilling to learn from the Americans who are so eager to teach them the ways of civilization. It would be difficult for most people not to fall under the false impression that Mexico is a country of reaction.

But to call Mexico a reactionary country is to ignore entirely the events of the last twenty years, a revolutionary period which has resulted in achievements of a highly progressive nature.

STRIKERS AIDED

A true barometer of the progress of a nation is the labor situation, and that is more than hopeful in Mexico. When I came to Mexico City, I observed groups of workingmen watching many business houses which were completely closed. They guarded them day and night. After some inquiry, I learned to my amazement that this was in connection with a strike against the proprietors of the printing estab-

lishments, about forty in the city. The employers either refused to go to the official boards of arbitration or to stand by their decision. In that case the C. R. O. M. (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana), the Mexican Federation of Labor, an organization corresponding to the American Federation of Labor in the United States, had a legal right to close those places of business. Neither the employers nor the employees then had a right to enter the shops until this matter was settled. The police saw to it that no one molested these watchers.

Previous to this strike, there was also a bread strike in Mexico City; and an attempt was made to smuggle in bread from the outlying districts. The police guarded all highways entering the city to hinder this method of breaking the strike. No wonder the American capitalist feels so much indignation toward Mexico, as he can not forgive a government offering a helping hand to strikers instead of to employers!

LABOR SITUATION HEALTHY

There is a Federal three months' law, according to which an employer is compelled to pay his employee wages for three months in advance, in case the latter is discharged without just cause. The employer is also liable for accidents and occupational diseases, and working conditions must meet requirements of safety and hygiene. The eight hour day, Sunday rest, double pay for overtime, dismissal wages, the receiving of wages while on a justified strike, legal boards of conciliation and arbitration—these are only some of the laws protecting the Mexican workingman. They are a manifestation of a healthy labor situation.

During the recent disturbances in connection with the assassination of Obregon, the then newly elected President, Luis Morones, Minister of Labor, was

compelled to resign temporarily from his office and even flee to hiding. Besides, the labor group connected with his administration lost power. I expressed pessimistic feeling about this loss of labor influence before an eminent Mexican labor union leader. He laughed. "Labor," he emphasized, "was never so strong as at this time and never so hopeful. Victory of labor never was the consequence of the effort and deeds of politicians. It always resulted from within the ranks of the workingmen. In order, therefore, to ascertain the strength of labor at a given time, one must not search among political circles, but rather among the unions where the real strength of labor lies."

SCHOOLS ALSO BAROMETER

Another true barometer of the progress of a country may be found in the school system. I have visited many schools, and have had a good chance to observe them at close range. The reception and courtesy afforded me was beyond expectation.

I chanced one morning to pass by a school in Coyoacan, a suburb of Mexico City. Coyoacan is older than Mexico City and is probably the most historic city in the New World, as Cortez established here (after the conquest August 17, 1521) the seat of government and from here directed the laying out of the present city of Mexico. The houses in which he lived and the church which he built can be entered by any visitor.

I asked the principal of the school for some information. Due, however, to the difficulty of understanding each other's language, I was on the point of leaving. The principal insisted that I remain. He hurriedly ran upstairs and came down with a pretty young Spanish teacher, who had a slight familiarity with the English language. He seemed to have been happy to have the opportunity to supply me with any information at his command. Of course, I took advantage of it. While we were discussing, he noticed that I was viewing the clay floor of the building. "Well," he said in an apologetic tone of voice, "you Americans have better schools in the United States." I tried to tell him that, in my opinion, the character of a school is marked by its teachers and students, and not by the building and equipment.

SHABBY SCHOOLS DEPLORED

"That is true," he replied, "only to a certain extent. Esthetics and the implanting of principles of beauty in the minds of the children are just as im-

portant as the teaching of numbers. A shabby and unsightly school building is offensive to the esthetic sense of the children, whereas a nice "edificio" produces psychologically a beautiful atmosphere for them."

I then informed him of our American schools of enormous size, where congestion has reached the point of saturation, and asked him if he could see beauty in that. He still maintained, however, the belief that the American schools excel those of Mexico at least from the point of view of equipment and building and expressed the hope that some day the Mexican schools will be housed in more artistic quarters. He then invited me to observe the music classes which were scheduled to take place one hour later. Due to a prearranged appointment, I could not accept his kind offer. The proverb, "Where there is a will, there is a way," seemed to be true here. He ordered all teachers to dispense with the regular program of the day, and at once arranged a concert of the children for my special benefit. The cordial reception, the dark-eyed, pretty Mexican interpreter, and the sweet music of the children left a pleasant impression which lingered in my mind for a long time.

WEAVING AND POTTERY ALSO TAUGHT

An equally hearty reception was given to me in the School of the Pyramids of San Juan Teotihuacan, situated in a huge valley, the abode of a rich ancient civilization. The Pyramid of the Sun may verily be called one of the seven wonders of the world. It is a huge structure, 40,000 square meters at its base. That is why it was taken for a mountain before it was unearthed. There is also here a large temple (160,000 square meters in area) rich in beautiful architecture built by the ancient Indians. From the top of the Sun of the Pyramid, the eye views in all directions numbers of "mounds" still unearthed, but which contain the history of an ancient, marvelous civilization. The Mexican government is still too poor to complete the gigantic task of excavating all of them.

Nevertheless, a great deal of excellent work was accomplished by Dr. Manuel Gamio, who explored some of the ruins of this valley. He applied his anthropological knowledge to practical ideas in the field of education. He established a school for the Indian children of this district. They are not only given lessons in the three R's, but also in weaving, basket and pottery making and other things useful

to the Indians. This school also contains a section for the Federal teachers, who must come here for twenty-one days to learn the crafts and arts of the Mexican Indian. The building faces the Pyramids and the mountains. The ideal conditions surrounding this school surpass those of any other school I have ever seen or heard of.

FREEDOM DEVELOPS CREATIVE ABILITY

I also made a visit to the "Escuela Nacional de Maestros" (National School of Teachers) in Mexico City which contains all sections from Kindergarten age to teachers' graduating classes. As a teacher of mathematics I was interested in the teaching of this subject in the high school system. I was led into the class room of the head of department who was instructing a class in Mathematics. He was discussing with the students the application of graphs to practical life. When the period was at an end, I asked him to let me observe a class in Geometry. He smiled, and said, "You mean Formal Geometry as is being taught in the United States? That old fashioned and inadequate method of teaching is disappearing here quite rapidly. The courses given are called Mathematics and include Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, etc., in one course. Only in this way, can the student grasp the proper correlation between one subject and another, particularly Algebra and Geometry."

He also showed me hundreds of beautiful geometric drawings made by the students. To my surprise they were all different. He smiled again, and said, "In an art course, it would not be sensible to have every student draw the same picture. The same applies to mathematics. Freedom on the part of the student to work out the problems in his own way stimulates much interest in the subject and brings out creative ability, no matter how little of this precious gift he may be blessed with." When I walked into this school I had a spirit of pride about me. As an American teacher, I thought I could be helpful to the Mexicans with suggestions, and really had a speech prepared. I was quickly disillusioned, and discovered instead that the American teachers have a great deal to learn yet.

GENERAL EAGERNESS FOR EDUCATION

"The Federal government has also established many model activity schools (Escuela de la accion) which are based on the theory that the function of the primary school is to train for intelligent and active participation in the life of the community

through socialized projects, combined with individual responsibility, which develops a love of usefulness, truth, kindness, and beauty. A socialized activity curriculum with an educational rather than vocational aim is organized about the four centers of nutrition, protection, community life, and interchange of ideas and services. Teachers are given liberty in planning the work, only language and arithmetic having fixed schedules." *

The progressive tendency of the educational system may also be reflected in the type of its leaders. Suffice it here to mention the name of Dr. Jose Vasconcelos, a really modern educator, who is largely responsible for the birth of popular education in Mexico. He laid special emphasis on the teaching of the crafts and physical culture. Due to his efforts, many vocational schools have been established for adults, as there is evidence of a desire and eagerness for education all through the Republic.

One should not be under the illusion that the introduction of modern educational methods in Mexico is as simple as it is in the United States. The contrary is true. The educational problems of Mexico involve many difficulties of varied kinds. "The fundamental problem of Mexico lies in bringing to an understanding the several ethnic groups forming the Mexican region," writes V. L. Toledano. The Revolutionary period caused havoc and devastation in many parts of the Republic. The Federal government has established rural schools on an average of 1000 per year during the last five years. This rapidity of building new schools naturally causes the problem of insufficiency of teachers to conform to the new system.

HIGHLY PROGRESSIVE SYSTEM

In spite of all difficulties, Mexico may justly boast of an educational system of highly progressive type. No bigoted Fundamentalists rule the school system in any part of the Republic, and no anti-evolution law could be possible there. A teacher of history or any other subject has a full right to express his opinion in and outside his classroom, even though it does not correspond with those of the powers that be. It was claimed by several teachers that the more progressive a person is in his ideas, the more he is welcomed by the Department of Education and the easier it is for him to obtain a position, as the government is seeking men to enlighten the people. Surely a teacher spreading propaganda

*—Heloise Brainerd in *Progressive Schools in Latin America*.

for Public Utility Corporations would not be tolerated!

It is not the purpose here, however, to convey the impression that Mexico is a model ideal country. It is far from being one. In many respects, Mexico is still backward. Woman has not emancipated herself yet from the tyrannical yoke of man, and that is surely not a sign of progress. Bull fights and cock fights also do not show a high state of culture. The country lags behind in modern comforts of life, and the standard of living of the common people is much lower than that in the United States. Nevertheless, modern thought and ideas have penetrated the minds of the Mexican people with a surprising rapidity and firmness. The country is heading towards the highest ideals of progress and democracy.

JUST OBSERVATIONS

By SELMA M. BORCHARDT,

A. F. of T. Legislative Representative

A Save-Our-Schools committee has been formed to help rid the schools of propaganda. "Propaganda," it understands as "one side of a controversial question; material seeking to direct conduct or influence thought in the interest of a special group, activity or institution."

The evidence produced by the United State Federal Trade Commission of the use of the schools by the power interests led to the formation of this committee.

While it will seek to prevent any action which would tend to cover up the efforts of the power interests, it will, of course, not confine itself to fighting power propaganda alone.

On this committee are many of the outstanding professors from our colleges and universities from all parts of the country, men and women prominent in public life, and a number of representative teachers. Included on the committee list are a number of officers and members of the American Federation of Teachers which, so far, is the only educational organization represented on this anti-propaganda committee.

This is indeed a S. O. S. May many answer it.

* * * *

What more can be done for Arkansas? The referendum vote was on the right "to teach that man ascended or descended from a lower form of animal." The question has been settled for Arkansas.

A new Baby Bill, the Newton Bill, will command our interest this year. The Sheppard-Towner Bill, creating the baby health centers throughout the country expires on July 1, 1929. The Newton Bill seeks to establish those health centers on a permanent basis.

During the period in which the Sheppard-Towner Bill was operative infant mortality was cut over twelve per cent. This fact alone bespeaks the importance of the measure. And here we must stop and rejoice over the defeat of Senator Bayard in the last election.

Senator Bayard was a bitter enemy of the Sheppard-Towner Bill, of any bill, in fact, with a social purpose. It was Senator Bayard who coined the phrase "the unholy Trinity" in referring to the Child Labor Amendment, the Federal Department of Education Bill, and the Sheppard-Towner Act.

It was he who spent thousands of dollars, or rather caused our government to spend this money, by having put into the Congressional Record the "proof" that those who support these three measures are financed by Moscow. It is he who used such tactics and other equally unfair tactics in fighting all social legislation.

Labor vigorously opposed Senator Bayard. Labor rejoices in this victory of the cause of social legislation.

* * * *

We must ratify the Kellogg Treaty without reservations. We asked the world to accept it in good faith. Many nations have done so. Dare we hesitate to accept that which we offer others?

The Kellogg Treaty first; then the big Navy Bill may be called. Perhaps after we have ratified a peace treaty, in good faith, we won't feel that a bigger navy is vitally necessary now.

Wire and write your Senators urging early action on the Kellogg Treaty. We want the Kellogg Treaty before the Navy Bill is called.

MEDICAL CZAR LOSES FIGHT WITH TEACHERS

NEW YORK.—A medical czar of the Board of Education has lost his fight to retire Mary B. C. Byrne, a teacher, because of "mental incapacity."

The Teachers Union took up the case, and on an appeal to the Board of Retirement one member said, after hearing the teacher present her case: "If that woman is suffering from psychosis, so am I."

BOOKS

"There is no frigate like a book
To bear us lands away."

—Emily Dickinson.

DEWEY IN ONE VOLUME

In as much as it is in the works of such a master mind as John Dewey that are to be found those principles of life and living which inspire progressive educational movements, a book containing comprehensive selections of Dewey's writings is well worth study by teachers. Mr. Joseph Ratner, in bringing together in one volume, entitled "*The Philosophy of John Dewey*," significant excerpts from many of Dewey's works, is enabled to present in connected fashion, the premises, developments and conclusions of this truly great thinker. Herein are found the original conceptions, the clear expositions and the practical suggestions of a man who is widely known not only as an educational reformer but also as a leader in philosophy in general. His basic theme of "Creative intelligence" is made applicable first to institutions of learning, then to political and social activities, with experience rather than traditional precepts as the chief directive influence. Experimental schools owe their impulse largely to Dewey who believes that fundamentally society depends for regeneration upon a condition of intellectual freedom for the young.

Life is abundant, Dewey asserts, to the extent that it is rich in meaning. To him, the fact that this is a universe in which *thinking* occurs is of the greatest significance. This fact alone makes changes and progress possible. The Teachers Union derives much of its zeal from the fact that it has the honor to number John Dewey among its officers and that it has ever found him ready to come to its moral support in hours of stress and strain. Union members could not do better than to become acquainted first hand with Professor Dewey's works.—*The Union Teacher*.

CHICAGO PRACTICE TESTS for the Mechanics of Written English, By Sophia C. Camenisch, Chicago. The English Journal Company, 1928. Pp. 52. \$0.50.

"Pupils must master the mechanics of written

English. Weakness in these matters is a shining target."

On this proposition has been built, through many years of experiment, this excellent series of tests for just such mastery. The most excellent thing about it is, perhaps, that it challenges the pupil to battle with his own faults of speech, and so lifts him from the plane of a more or less passive receptacle for the deposit of knowledge to that of a farmer of a homestead to be "improved" and kept under cultivation. He realizes that the implements are in his own hands, and an adviser is near. It is now "up to him" to have the speech of a gentleman or of a clout.

That the challenge is welcomed by teachers and pupils alike is proved by the growing demand for these tests, which, by the way, were tried out pretty thoroughly in summer schools this year. As long ago as October, 1926, when the experiment was still in its infancy, Miss Camenisch wrote in the *Chicago Schools Journal*, "Pupils really enjoy working when they see the need. The incentive to beat the former record in the next test and bring themselves up to the standard produces genuine effort."

Meanwhile, the teacher's time is released for individual instruction and for those more important things which can not be self-measured: the cultivation of thought processes involving organization of material and manner of presentation.

The National Council of Teachers, with a membership drawn from every level of the educational "hill," has done much to stimulate the growing sense of the futility of old methods. This futility is thought to be largely due to the lack of a clearly defined course from kindergarten up, which should assign to each grade certain minimum essentials, and thus provide for a well-defined progression from year to year. A survey conducted last year by the *English Journal*, the thought-provoking magazine published by the Council, has furnished the basis for this revision of the tests by determining anew the "norms of skill" for grades nine through twelve, and the amount of possible improvement in mechanics attainable through a daily drill of only fifteen minutes. This survey is still in progress and teachers are invited to participate. The Practice Tests are the survey material. Prizes of considerable value are offered to classes, grades, or schools which show the greatest decrease in errors during a certain period. They say it is astonishing how soon a pupil may reach a hundred per cent.

The mode of procedure is simple. His compositions have shown the pupil his weak points. He attacks one. He turns to the test dealing with that fault—whether in punctuation, spelling, or syntax—and makes his corrections on the printed sheet. Then he turns to the corresponding page in the "Key," and marks the mistakes he has made in his "corrections." If he is in doubt how to rectify these, he can learn from the "Instruction Sheets" what to study. Study brings new confidence. Then the "Table of Contents" tells him where to find the practice tests that will give him the drill he needs on these points.

So simple, and with all the fascination of a Chinese puzzle! The pupil chooses his own pace. His teacher is transformed from task-master to colleague. It would seem to be well worth while to give these tests a trial.

JOHN DEWEY ON SOVIET RUSSIA

The first report from the group of teachers and educators who visited Soviet Russia last summer is about to appear in a series of articles in *The New Republic* by Dr. John Dewey, entitled *Impressions of Soviet Russia*.

Besides Dr. Dewey (of Teachers College, Columbia University, author of *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, *Human Nature and Conduct*, and other books on philosophy and education), the delegation included Professor Thomas Woody of the University of Pennsylvania, Dr. McKeen Cattrell, editor of *School and Society*; Professor Robert H. Gault of Northwestern University, President Kenneth G. Mathewson of Drexel Institute, and fifteen other distinguished educators.

In his first article Dr. Dewey points out the psychological revolution whose results he observed in Russia, overshadowing the economic. Later articles will describe his observations in the more technical aspects of education, especially where he found his own theories being worked out in Russian schools.

The New Republic, 421 W. 21st St., New York, offers a special subscription for 13 weeks, including the entire series, cost \$1.00.

FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY NUMBER OF CHILD STUDY ISSUED

The current issue of *Child Study*, which commemorates the fortieth anniversary of the Child Study Association of America, contains articles of widespread interest to parents and others engaged in parental education. It reviews changing viewpoints

of parents, past and present. There is an introduction by Mrs. Howard S. Gans, President of the Child Study Association.

Mrs. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, Director of the Association, writes an interesting article on the evolution of parental attitudes, quoting from records of forty years ago. She sums up with the following:

"We need a great deal more knowledge than our grandparents had, in order to make as good a job of it as they did. We are living in more complex surroundings, our relations are much more intricate, many more influences are operating upon our children than has ever been the case before. The technical information alone is not sufficient. The excellent rules that have grown out of the experience and wisdom of others are not sufficient. With all these things we must provide for the child a sense of security in his home, though this does not necessarily imply that he must be made to feel that the parent is omniscient.

RELATIONSHIPS CHANGING

"Perhaps here, as in so many other matters, the movement that we call 'evolution' is but part of a spiral. Progress upward does not follow a straight line, but retraces, though each time on a somewhat higher level, the curves it has made before.

"With the increasing complexity of our coming and going, the relationship between children and parents is also changing. Our dealings are coming to be more on the affective level, since there is declining opportunity to work together, and even to play together in any thorough-going fashion. With the all-day school for the child and the lengthening work-day entailed in the many social and civic demands upon adults, with the smaller dwelling and the increasing distractions, we shall probably not have as many opportunities to commit blunders in dealing with our children. We shall therefore have to make more effective the few and brief contacts with our children, in relation to the attitudes they are to acquire and the ideals that will guide them.

"We shall probably not convert our study groups into prayer meetings, but we are more and more coming back to a renewed realization that, beyond the specialized knowledge, the scientific tabulations, the weighing and measuring, it is the spirit that giveth life."

INTERESTING PROPHECIES

Mrs. Cecile Pilpel, Director of Study Groups, contributes an article on the distinctive responsibilities

of present-day parenthood, concluding with the following:

"Parents are ordained, not by tradition or theology, but by virtue of being parents, by virtue of their sincere concern, by virtue of their unlimited love, as the leaders of their children. But they must cultivate wisdom, so that they may acquire for themselves life values which will meet the tests of a changing society. Our hard-won insight into child psychology, our advance in the field of better health will bear increasingly finer fruit in proportion to our ability to offer our children worthwhile thinking and living while we and they are on the way."

Mr. Eduard C. Lindeman makes some interesting prophesies concerning "The Future of Parental Education." He says:

"Like most American movements this one originates its first impetus from private individuals and agencies. This is, of course, a healthy source in a democracy. One might, indeed, assert that the measure of a healthy democracy is the number of things it can get done through non-official groups.
* * * *

"But this 'prophet' cannot leave off without expressing his earnest conviction regarding the promise of parental education. Parents are rapidly becoming motivated for a new kind of continuing education. All the ingredients for a lively and exciting social venture are here. Honor is due to those who have so valiantly prepared the way, and a wish for joy in labor to those who now go forward."

SAVE-OUR-SCHOOLS COMMITTEE ORGANIZED

Mercer G. Johnston, Secretary of the Save-Our-Schools Committee, authorizes the following statement:

A national committee to be known as the Save-Our-Schools Committee has been organized to help awaken the nation to the grave danger that threatens our schools and colleges by reason of the attempt now being made to use them for propaganda that would destroy their integrity.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, formerly of Pittsburgh, now of New York City, is national chairman. Dr. John Dewey of Columbia University is first vice-chairman.

The character and purpose of the Committee is stated in the letter which brought together its present membership. It "is a voluntary, non-partisan, non-sectarian organization committed to no eco-

nomic theory. Its sole purpose is to defeat the present dangerous attack on our schools and colleges, and by so doing, to establish upon yet firmer foundations the essential American principle that American schools and colleges are not to be considered as subjects for propaganda by special interests, groups, or causes." An adaptation, as it were, of the Monroe Doctrine to the American educational world.

The national committee contains the names of upwards of 70 well-known men and women who take a deep and responsible interest in the youth of the land. Many of them hold important positions in the teaching world. Among them are faculty members of Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Mount Holyoke, Chicago, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Indiana, Vanderbilt, University of the South, South Carolina, Washington, and American. The plan is to have representatives from all the States, as the propaganda against which protest is to be made is nationwide. Already 25 states are represented.

The Save-Our-Schools Committee was decided upon at a meeting held in Washington last June. The meeting was called by the People's Legislative Service following on the startling revelations made in the course of the investigation of the so-called Power Trust by the Federal Trade Commission, acting under the amended Walsh Resolution passed at its last session by the United States Senate.

At a meeting of the organizing committee just held it was reported that the following interesting developments had taken place since the June meeting. The subject of the propaganda in schools and colleges revealed by the Federal Trade Commission was brought before the national conventions, first of the American Federation of Teachers, and next of the National Education Association, and resolutions strongly condemning the propaganda were passed. The N. E. A. authorized the appointment of a special committee to take up the matter and report to its next annual convention. This committee has recently been named. Various State Federations of Labor have gone on record against the use of schools and colleges for propaganda, and others are preparing to do so. In the State of Washington Mrs. Josephine Corliss Preston, so press reports say, was defeated for the State School Superintendency on the ground of her alleged connection with power trust propaganda. Teachers are said to have aided materially in her defeat. During the recent campaign great stress was laid on the evils of the propaganda as revealed by the Federal Trade Commission in the

speeches of Senator Norris of Nebraska and of one of the candidates for the presidency.

The committee is collecting and making a detailed study of all material throwing light on propaganda in schools and colleges. While it is primarily concerned with the revelations made by the Federal Trade Commission, it will not limit itself to that special kind of objectionable propaganda. By working out from headquarters, and by working through interested groups within the various States, it expects to aid materially in clearing up what the Secretary of the National Education Association calls "a crime against youth," and the President of the American Federation of Teachers calls "the greatest crime against civilization."

The American Federation of Teachers is represented on this committee with eighteen members.

THE PEACE PACT

The present status of the *General Pact for the Renunciation of War*, which is the official title of the Peace Pact, appears to be very favorable. Whereas several weeks ago it was generally believed in Washington that the treaty would be held at the White House in order to give the cruiser bill the first chance, it has now been submitted to the Senate by the President along with his annual message. In submitting it, he said:

"The observance of this covenant, so simple and so straightforward, promises more for the peace of the world than any other agreement ever negotiated among the nations."

The President submitted the treaty to the Senate in a special message in which he asked for ratification before the expiration of his term of office, in order that it may come into force with the least possible delay. This message was read immediately after the annual message by request of Senator Borah, who asked unanimous consent that it should be handed down and read as in open executive session. By this move Senator Borah indicated his policy of conducting an open debate on the treaty, though it is properly a part of the executive business of the Senate. President Coolidge has also indicated his desire to have the treaty debated in open session.

Senator Borah brought the treaty up for consideration at the first session of the Foreign Relations Committee and asked Secretary Kellogg to appear before the committee for questions. It is already clear that the three irreconcilables on the Committee,

Senators Moses, Johnson, and Reed of Missouri, will use obstructive tactics to prevent a report. Senator Reed took the lead in questioning Secretary Kellogg when he was before the committee. However, except for these members the opposition in the committee seems negligible. Senator Swanson, ranking Democratic member, has come out for the Pact as it stands implying that he will not sponsor reservations. Senator Borah is going to use his best efforts to secure an early report and hopes for one before the Christmas holidays.

President Coolidge in his press conference on Friday went out of his way to support Secretary Kellogg in his views on the treaty and showed that he intended to lead the fight for it. He particularly spoke of the apparently overwhelming demand of the American people for ratification and mentioned the "hundreds of approving letters received daily," so many in fact that the State Department has been forced to create a special stenographic division to acknowledge receipt of these communications.

The opposition that we have to fear is underground, whisperings of secret information given by the State Department, etc., but that can be overcome if the popular interest continues and is recognized.

A BILL—S.4707

Relating to second-class postage rates.

Mr. Walsh of Montana introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no publication entitled to or claiming second-class postage rates shall print any reading matter for pay or furnished in substance by any person, association, or corporation paying for display advertising in such publication, knowing it was so furnished, unless the fact that it was so provided or paid for shall be plainly indicated in a statement published in connection with such reading matter: *Provided, however,* That the prohibition hereof shall not extend to matter that is obviously ordinary advertising. Upon finding by the Postmaster General that any publication has violated the provisions of this Act all privileges it enjoys to second-class rates shall cease, but after the lapse of six months from and after such finding they may, in the discretion of the Postmaster General, be restored.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION ANNOUNCES 1929 MEETINGS

The Progressive Education Association will hold a regional conference in Richmond, Virginia, January 17, 18, 19, 1929. A program of practical talks has been prepared on the principles of Progressive Education, and various leaders in the South will report on the work done there. January 19 will be devoted to an excursion to Jamestown, Yorktown, and Williamsburg, under the auspices of the College of William and Mary.

The Ninth Annual Convention of the Progressive Education Association will be held at St. Louis, Missouri, February 21, 22, 23, 1929. The occasion is of international importance, and there will be many notable speakers from this country and abroad. Special railroad rates with stop-over privilege for the convention of the National Education Association at Cleveland, Ohio, February 23-28, 1929, will be offered.

The Progressive Education Association will conduct next summer at State College, Pennsylvania, the first Institute of instruction under its auspices. A three-weeks' course will be offered, three courses in the principles and practices of Progressive Education, one week each, from July 1-19, 1929. College credits for those taking the courses will be granted by State College. A faculty of teachers has been organized who are experienced in their respective fields. This Summer School offers a rare opportunity for teachers who wish to learn about and to become proficient in the methods of procedure of the newer education. Write for particulars to the Progressive Education Association, 10 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

ARKANSAS TEACHERS TO TEST EVOLUTION LAW

Adoption of the anti-evolution bill in Arkansas at the polls on November 7 has started a flood of protest as evidenced by appeals to the American Civil Liberties Union headquarters at New York asking that the constitutionality of the new law be put to test.

The Union sent out a call for teachers in Arkansas, Mississippi and Tennessee willing to go into court in a test. It is proposed to seek an injunction in the federal courts in order to get the case before the United States Supreme Court as rapidly as possible.

CHILD LABOR DAY

Child Labor Day, 1929, finds the American people still permitting much of the world's work to be carried on the shoulders of immature children—children deprived of opportunity for education and insufficiently protected as to health, hazardous employment, and hours of work. All this in spite of the fact that the United States is the richest country in the world, in spite of the millions of unemployed adults clamoring for jobs.

Such a situation does not indicate that the American people are avaricious, inhumane or cruel. It is because, as a whole, they are ignorant of the difference between children's work and child labor; ignorant of the fact that children should be employed only for development and never for profit.

Child Labor Day will be observed January 26th, 27th, and 28th in Sunday schools, churches, schools, and clubs. The National Child Labor Committee looks to those groups to serve as interpreters of its findings to an ever-increasing circle of the nation's citizens. When public opinion demands the abolition of child labor, then and only then will the United States slough off this crime against her children.

This year the legislatures of 43 states meet and opportunity knocks loud and long, giving to the people in these states another chance to bring their child labor up to standard.

The National Child Labor Committee, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York City, will send free of charge to any interested individual or group an analysis of the law of his state with program, leaflets, posters, and other material to be used in the observance of Child Labor day.

THE ANIMAL WAY—Cleanliness customs of animals. By Jean Broadhurst. The Cleanliness Institute, 45 East Seventeenth Street, New York City. 64 pages. \$20.00 per 100; 25 cents per single copy.

The Cleanliness Institute has found a new and delightful way to teach the cleanliness that is next to godliness. The latest publication of the School Department of the Institute is **THE ANIMAL WAY** for kindergarten, first and second grades, by Jean Broadhurst, illustrated by Dorothy Double. It tells through story and gay pictures how animals keep clean all day long. The child himself cuts out the pictures and pastes them in. Thus the book becomes his very own. Any child will love it.

PENSION POLITICS

The only semblance of democracy in our educational system is the selection of district pension delegates who select the three teacher members of the Board of Retirement. For the past few years the pension delegates have organized on a volunteer basis to safeguard the rights of the teachers. They have selected officers, collected funds and waged successful legal battle to protect our pension privileges.

Recently Dr. William J. O'Shea, superintendent of schools, in a commendable effort to end the gamble with death involved in Option No. 1 of the pension law, but without any mandate from the teachers or their representatives, assumed power which has already been successfully exercised by the pension delegates. He used this power to select a committee that has no legal justification, and placed over it as chairman a man who in our judgment, does not have the respect and confidence of the teaching staff as a whole. This man is Associate Superintendent Mandel. The record of Mr. Mandel in pension legislation is unsavory. He was responsible for the introduction of the first pension bill in 1916 that favored a special class to the detriment of the rank and file. Later he tried to have enacted an amendment to the pension law which would have destroyed the tenure law itself. It was only by the alert action of the union's legislative representative that the menace of the amendment was exposed, and the measure defeated. For many years Mr. Mandel has been the moving spirit of the old Federation of Teachers Associations, long after he ceased to be a teacher. Although this organization continues its shady career without substantial authority from the great body of teachers, it has dabbled in pension affairs extensively. And now by the act of the superintendent of school Mr. Mandel has been made chairman of a committee to safeguard the pension rights of teachers!

We are informed that Dr. O'Shea sent for the teacher members of the Retirement Board, and asked them to submit a list of persons for the committee he had determined to appoint. The teacher members of the board demurred, suggesting that the organization of pension delegates was the proper body to appoint a committee for the purpose stated. This advice was not accepted, and the superintendent said that he himself intended to control the situation. In conformity with our system of discipline, the elected representatives of 35,000 teachers submitted a list of about twelve names of teachers all of whom had contributed to the general discussion of pension matters, from which the superintendent cautiously selected three. The rest were cast aside apparently as not suitable for the purpose in hand. The committee which was finally selected contains several persons whose names are unknown.

It appears to *The Union Teacher* that it is about time that our school officials realized that the pension law gives them no authority whatever to inter-

fere with the rights and duties of teachers who are serving as officials under that law. If the teacher members of the Retirement Board had not been trained as teachers first and as members of the Retirement Board secondarily, perhaps it might have seemed to them that they were justified in refusing to submit a list of persons to constitute a committee to interfere with a function of the pension delegates themselves.

There are many possibilities of action being taken that is unfavorable to the teaching staff by a committee such as the one Dr. O'Shea has improperly and arbitrarily appointed. We have no desire to increase the state of hysteria which may easily develop when teachers come to realize how they have been duped. We do, however, feel a very great responsibility in the matter of informing the teachers concerning their own privileges, and of the fact that sworn officials of the Department of Education have put these privileges in jeopardy.

We all realize the need of securing an amendment to the pension law by which the gamble involved in Option No. 1 will be eliminated. If the pension delegates or the teacher members of the Board of Retirement had been indifferent to this situation or had endeavored to prevent the amendment of the law, there would have been justification in the formation of an outside committee. But neither the pension delegates nor the members of the Board of Retirement have been remiss in their obligation to keep the teachers informed concerning the working of the law. Because of their faithfulness we now know that Option No. 1 does not work satisfactorily, and, therefore, that it should be amended. In fact, the association of delegates in 1927 endeavored to secure the passage of the Hastings bill which would have eliminated the gambling features of Option No. 1.

Through the activity of this new and unauthorized committee we may expect other things than action on Option No. 1. It will be our obligation to see that a partisan body such as the discredited Federation does not attempt through the committee to propose the old amendment to the pension law sanctioned by Mr. Mandel by which it would have been possible to declare certain "troublesome" teachers as "mentally incompetent" and then retired. The city members of the Board of Retirement tried two years ago to gain control of the board by making their choice of a secretary the legal one. But the Court of Appeals has sustained the teachers' side of that controversy. We have not forgotten where the Federation stood in that matter. Nor have we forgotten the "ripper" bills of a few years ago which were sponsored by Mr. Mandel and his precious group of educational highbinders. A long record in promoting legislation favorable to special interests shows where he and his followers stand, and that they are not on the side of the rank and file of teachers.—From *The Union Teacher of New York* for December, 1928.

Local News

A MESSAGE TO THE LOCALS

To Presidents and Secretaries:

The action of the American Federation of Labor relative to Brookwood College is a matter of deep concern to the American Federation of Teachers.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting in August on the basis of a report of a partial investigation of Brookwood by Vice President Woll issued a statement that Brookwood College was teaching doctrines contrary to the interests of the trade union movement and communistic and irreligious theories. Many labor and educational leaders by letter and telegram urged that Brookwood be given a fair and impartial hearing before being condemned. In October the A. F. of L. Executive Council met again and sent out a letter to affiliated unions asking that financial and moral support be withdrawn from Brookwood on the basis of the report submitted by Vice President Woll.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers asked that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the only body that acted in this case, grant Brookwood a hearing. No notice was taken of this request.

It seemed to your Executive Council that the proper place to discuss this matter and determine the merits of the case was around the conference table. For that reason and because the American Federation of Labor had included no statement about Brookwood in its Executive Council report, no resolution was presented by us at the A. F. of L. convention. However, on the next to the last day the matter was injected irregularly during the report of the Education Committee. There was no formal presentation by any group. When the discussion was brought in in connection with a resolution regarding the establishment of a national labor college no point of order was taken. The subject was discussed at length by President Green and Vice President Woll. The latter gave his interpretations of what his investigation had disclosed with much personal animus and bias. President Green presented as evidence letters from a few disgruntled Brookwood graduates. There was in no sense a hearing and later, on motion that the Executive Council's report be upheld, a hearing was denied.

Your delegate sought to clarify our position before

the Convention. She succeeded in making a statement on a point of personal privilege but when she sought to make a motion that A. J. Muste be given a chance to defend himself, she was ruled out of order once, shut out by a previous question motion, and not recognized a third time.

To our mind no open-minded observer at the A. F. of L. convention received anything at all convincing that Brookwood teaches subversive or communistic doctrines. As teachers we know the value of statements by disgruntled pupils.

The American Federation of Labor is founded on the principle of justice and fair play and the American Federation of Teachers is wholeheartedly devoted to this principle. No one is more anxious than the American Federation of Teachers to eliminate from its ranks any disloyal members. We are, however, deeply concerned because Brookwood Local 189 has been a devoted member of the American Federation of Teachers; the Local's life depends upon this issue; the livelihood of its members is jeopardized; and an educational issue over which the teachers have jurisdiction is involved.

Since no evidence has yet been adduced to show that Brookwood is promoting Communism or any other subversive doctrine we believe that your sister local under fire is entitled to your confidence until by a thorough investigation the contrary is proven.

Fraternally yours,

MARY C. BARKER,

President.

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,

Secretary-Treasurer.

CHICAGO, LOCALS 2, 3, AND 199

The banquet and reception in honor of Mr. William J. Bogan, Superintendent of Schools, on December 7th, surpassed even the hopes of those in Locals 2, 3, and 199 who worked for its success. Labor friends, teachers outside the three locals, civic leaders, representatives of business, administrative officers including all the assistant superintendents and six members of the Board of Education crowded into the large banquet hall at the Palmer House and overflowed into adjoining rooms. They came to pay their respect to the new superintendent, who, liberal in outlook, has been sympathetic to many of the aims of organized teachers. It was an occasion also for stating again certain of these aims. Mr. Charles B. Stillman, vice president, American Federation of Teachers, spoke of organization for co-operation as well as organization for protection. Mr. H. Wallace Caldwell, President of the Board of Education, ex-

pressed himself in sympathy with organized groups within the school system. Miss Jane Addams, representing the civic interests, rejoiced that there existed in a school system groups such as Locals 2, 3, and 199 which tended to make that system democratic. Other speakers were Mr. Elmer Stevens, vice president, Association of Commerce, and Mr. Victor Olander, Secretary of the Illinois Federation of Labor. Mr. Bogan, among other things, spoke again of events which point to the re-establishment of Teachers' Councils. The music program was arranged by Dr. J. Lewis Browne, Director of Music in the Public Schools.

The regular monthly business meeting of Local No. 3 was held November 16th at the Women's City Club. Mrs. Schacht, President, reported on the meeting of the State Federation of Labor, held at Herrin, Illinois, November 8th to 14th. Mr. Meade of Local No. 2 was made chairman of the Schools Committee; Mrs. Hanson and Mrs. Schacht were members of that committee and Mrs. Schacht was also a member of the Union Label Committee. All resolutions presented were passed with the exception of one regarding the censorship of textbooks and this was referred to the Executive Board. In connection with the resolution regarding the personal rights of teachers, Mrs. Hanson was given an opportunity to tell about the Seattle situation and was heard with interest and sympathy. The committee report provides for a permanent school committee to study educational problems in the state.

Miss Berolzheimer reported on the meeting of the Sabbatical Rule Committee with Mr. Bogan on November 14th. Three provisions were discussed: the granting of leave for study, for travel, and for observation of educational systems. Without taking official action the Federation expressed itself as satisfied with the provision to have the study consist of work at an accredited institution and the presentation of four major credits or twelve hours work; travel to be accepted when preceded by the itinerary and in case of foreign travel, when followed by the presentation of the passport upon return, and in the United States and Canada of evidence that not more than thirty days had been spent in one place. Outside speakers were Mrs. Walter Seymour, of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs and Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, State Representative from the 41st District, who introduced the Women's eight-hour Bill in the last session of the legislature.

FLORENCE E. CLARK.

WASHINGTON, D. C. LOCAL 8

The Washington Teachers Union issued in September the following invitation and yearly program:

Are you a member of the Teachers Union?

John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University, says:

I am a member of the New York Teachers Union for the following reasons, among others:

(1) I think it essential, in order to develop a genuine professional spirit, that every teacher have the sense of solidarity with other members of his profession.

(2) Because in the present state of affairs, organized co-operation is the most effective means for securing the public attention and respect, without which the cause of education cannot progress.

Why not join the Washington Teachers Union for the same reasons?

If you are already a member, pay your dues early to help with the activities.

The Union program for the coming year includes:

(1) A scientific study of the use of the probability curve in teacher rating.

(2) An analysis of the problem of extra-curricular activities.

(3) The circulation among teachers of the knowledge of benefits obtainable by teachers through the proper use of the provisions of the U. S. Employees' Compensation Act.

(4) A better understanding by teachers of the provisions of the pension law.

(5) A strenuous effort to secure a Sabbatical Year.

(6) A detailed study of the Single Salary Schedule—equal pay for equal qualifications—as used in other cities.

(7) The betterment of the status of the school matrons.

In November a special bulletin on Number 3 above was sent out by the union. The office of Local 8 is Room 413, International Building, 1319 F. Street, N. W.

ELIZABETH DRAPER.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, LOCAL 35

For years sick leave of ten days each year has been allowed Madison teachers. Last June the school board at the suggestion of the then superintendent, Mr. Thomas W. Gosling, passed a rule by which teachers who have not used their sick leave are credited each year with the ten days or with any part of the period not used. This accumulation may be drawn upon if a teacher is absent on account of illness for a longer period than the regular sick leave for one year. The cumulative sick leave rule was made retroactive as far back as 1922.

JOSEPHINE BRABANT.

JERSEY CITY, LOCAL 87

The Jersey City Teachers No. 87 maintains continued interest and successful progress. There is strong and complete co-operation with Hudson County Central Labor Union, State and City Associations, and New Jersey State Federation of Labor. With this co-operation and spirit of solidarity local problems are being well handled.

C. FELVER.

PORTLAND, LOCAL 111

The Portland Teachers Union published in December the first of four bulletins to be issued this year. This takes the form of a four-page leaflet called *The Union Teacher*. The form is attractive and the material very good indeed. The purpose of publication is to stimulate interest in the union movement among teachers, to inform them of the principles and program of the organization, and through this education in the aims and purpose, create an interest and desire for membership.

Its announcement states:

"With the first issue of *The Union Teacher* the Portland Teachers Union enters into a new phase of its educational program. For the past five years the practice has been to issue a monthly mimeographed news letter to union members and friends. Though this has been valuable, the number of teachers reached has been somewhat limited and the news letter of necessity has confined itself to local problems and, therefore, has been written in a more or less personal and intimate style. In contrast to the former method, in this, the first issue of *The Union Teacher*, the policy will be to choose news and educational material of more general interest.

"This change of policy is in keeping with a deep conviction that the ideals and aims of the union teacher are fundamental to the future of the American educational system and should therefore be given a wide local publicity. In pursuance of this conviction the general policy will be to present from time to time certain types of news material. There will be included a series of articles on the philosophy of the trade union movement; brief items of interest regarding the activities and accomplishments of teachers unions throughout the United States; and articles dealing with the oft raised question as to the justification for the unionization of professional workers and teachers, in particular. Problems in progressive education as well as news gleaned from the struggle of workers in general for a fuller life will from time to time be given attention as space permits.

"It is hoped that the program outlined will meet with general interest. *The Union Teacher* is committed to the principle of Democracy in Education—Education for Democracy and looks for good results from this venture. It welcomes letters of suggestion and criticism."

Beginning with the new year a series of meetings on phases of progressive education will be held.

The legislative committee is preparing a bill for repeal of the present tax limitation law.

HILMA ANDERSON.

FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA, LOCAL 183

The Fulton County Teachers Association is making splendid progress this year. All but six teachers in the system are now members of the Association. A splendid spirit of co-operation and solidarity has developed. A substantial sum was voted from the

treasury for the national organization fund at the December directors' meeting at which Secretary Hanson was present. A plan for group insurance is being worked out.

GRAND FORKS, LOCAL 205

Organization is being completed, new members are being received, and a careful program of action being worked out. A worth while general meeting at which Miss Florence Rood, St. Paul Women, Local 28, past president and now vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, will be present to discuss program and policies, will be held this month.

FLORENCE FJELDSTAD.

A BILL—S.4706

Relating to the employment of teachers or members of school boards by persons engaged in interstate commerce.

Mr. Walsh of Montana introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be unlawful for any person, firm, or corporation engaged in interstate commerce, or for any officer, agent, or representative thereof, or of any group, association, or other organization maintained by one or more such persons, firms, or corporations, to offer or give anything of value to any teacher or member of any school board or board of education to induce him to write or revise, or in consideration of his having written or revised any textbook or other printed or written matter for use in any school or schools, or to induce the use in any school of any particular textbook or printed matter, or to teach or expound any doctrine, dogma, or theory with intent to influence opinion in favor of any particular governmental action or public policy advocated by or beneficial to such person, firm, or corporation or the business in which he or it may be engaged.

Any person violating the provisions of this Act shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

PROPAGANDA IN THE SCHOOLS

The American Farm Bureau Federation, at its tenth convention held at the Hotel Sherman, Chicago, on December 12, passed a resolution to the effect that no propaganda by private interests should be permitted in our tax supported schools, from the kindergarten to the university, inclusive.