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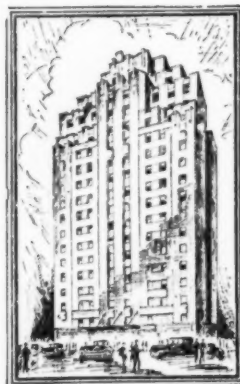
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What type of articles seem to you of greatest value? (Mark order of value 1, 2, 3, etc.)

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER,
506 S. Wabash Ave.,
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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Editor
LUCIE WARING ALLEN

VOL. XVI

DECEMBER, 1931

No. 3

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Office of Publication
312 Southern Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

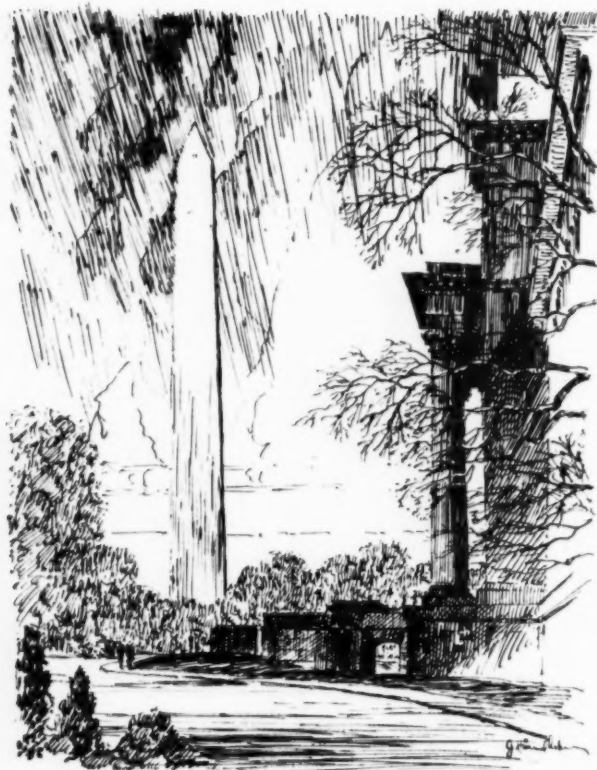
Editorial Office
506 South Wabash Ave.,
Chicago, Illinois.

48

PUBLISHED monthly except August and September by the American Federation of Teachers, 1319 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Entered as second class matter October 27, 1926, at the post office of Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Sec. 1103, Act of Feb. 28, 1925, authorized Nov. 3, 1926.

SUBSCRIPTION \$2.00 for the year—Foreign \$2.20—Single copies, 25c. At the time of expiration, a bill will be found in the copy. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal money-order, express order, draft, stamps or check.

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REPORT OF THE LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE

Fifteenth Annual Convention American Federation of Teachers

Selma M. Borchardt

THE LAST SESSION of Congress was a short session. This means that all legislation which was not pleasing to those who formulate the legislative program was not allowed to come up. It means also, fortunately, that some undesirable legislation failed of passage. A short session is at best, however, a negative session.

During the last session no work was done formally on the bill to create a Federal Department of Education with a secretary in the President's cabinet. The bill will undoubtedly be reintroduced next year. I recommend that we reaffirm our position in favor of a Federal Department of Education *for research*, and that we scrutinize the phraseology of any bill introduced, so that there be no language therein which would directly or indirectly grant to the Federal Government any power to administer the educational affairs of the states; that state autonomy in educational administration be securely safeguarded.

Pending the establishment of a Federal Department of Education to conduct research in all fields and phases of education, we should seek to secure for the United States Office of Education increased appropriations to enable it to carry on its work properly. I recommend that we seek particularly to have the necessary funds appropriated to enable the United States Office of Education to make extensive studies in teacher load, size of classes, extra-curricula activities, and classroom teachers' salaries as distinguished from administrators' salaries.

The ratification of the child labor amendment by the legislature of the state of Colorado last winter revives a hope that this amendment may be ratified. You will recall that when the amendment was first submitted there were those—some through conviction, some through hypocrisy—who said that in a few years the states

would raise their own basic standards without any move on the part of the Federal Government. That was eight



SELMA M. BORCHARDT
*Legislative Representative American
Federation of Teachers*

years ago. And now, during a period of widespread unemployment, when adults can't even find work, we find your children legally at work in many of our states! May we all rekindle our fervor, and double our efforts, so that all states may follow those which have ratified the amendment! For the American Federation of Teachers the Child Labor Amendment must remain on its active program, demanding our continuous active attention until it be ratified.

The death of Congressman William C. Hammer of North Carolina, our friend, and a man big enough to dare to champion any cause, however unpopular, if he deemed it just and right—his death left us without a champion in the House for our illiteracy bill. We had introduced, it will be recalled, a bill which sought to give outright to the states (no dollar-matching scheme) funds to enable them to combat illiteracy. Such a measure is sorely needed, for the states which are the poorest are the ones in which there is the greatest illiteracy. The efforts emanating from Washington have thus far been well intended, presumably, but ridiculously sentimental. A well-planned, scientific, truly social procedure is necessary. The bill we have prepared makes an excellent start in this direction. Senator George, of Georgia, will reintroduce this bill for us in the Senate, and it will be reintroduced into the House also.

I recommend that we reaffirm our support of Federal aid to the states to combat illiteracy, making sure that the administration of this fund be left to the states, on the principle of guaranteeing to all persons an equitable opportunity to share therein, and that we call on the American Federation of Labor to support us in our efforts.

During the last year five states passed statutes (in one, Indiana, the Governor vetoed the bill) outlawing the yellow dog contract. Before our Federal Congress there was, and there will be again, an anti-injunction bill. The exact form and phraseology of this bill is as yet unknown. We will, of course, join with our fellow trade unionists in giving our fullest and best efforts to helping secure the early enactment of such legislation, so basic a guarantee of our fundamental liberties.

We deplore the defeat of the Wagner Unemployment Bill, through the presidential veto. I recommend that

we reaffirm our support of the safe and sound principle embodied in the Wagner Bill—Federal supervision for the organization and maintenance of Federal employment agencies.

We deplore the failure of Congress to re-enact the Baby Bill.

I recommend that we reaffirm our support of federal legislation with adequate appropriations for the promotion of rural health work, and for the promotion of maternity and child hygiene, and that we again ask that the administration of the maternity and infancy welfare work be left in the children's bureau of the Department of Labor.

A highly meritorious bill which has thus far had but scant attention is Congressman LaGuardia's bill which would authorize the calling of a conference of the official representatives of all the states to consider a means whereby the several states may more nearly establish similar minima in social legislation. As Mr. LaGuardia points out, the "better" states which seek to protect and enhance the social welfare of their people are penalized, the more unsocial states "profiting" in comparison, by permitting human exploitation, and thereby attracting the unscrupulous unsocial interests.

I recommend that we endorse the principle of this bill.

Periodically there have sprung up in this country movements based on fear. Our present hangover of postwar hysteria is particularly alarming; for this time the fear has manifested itself in attempts of federal and state legislation. Statute crystallized fears are a grave menace. The disregard for the Bill of Rights, the numerous attempts at censorship, the all too often inhuman treatment of the foreigner in our midst are alarming signals, serious indications of our need to remain on guard to preserve the fundamental principles of the American Constitution.

We must continue our fight, vigorously, against any attack on our civil liberties. And this fight demands our unfaltering attention. Censorship of all kinds, sought through legislation instead of through local police ordinances established through the courts of law, must be fought. Postal, tariff, moving picture, radio, and forms of federal censorship have had and must continue to have our active opposition.

Last year we went on record as opposed to alien registration, a most un-American form of espionage which was sought by some in this country. The alien of today, the citizen of tomorrow, needs our sympathetic inter-

est. We, the teachers, are particularly charged with making him realize that this land which to our forefathers was a haven of peace and opportunity holds to them a promise. Likewise we must seek to afford them a full and rich opportunity to become an integral part of this country. We deplore the attempts to deport men and women because of their participation in industrial disputes. Surely, our country is firmly enough established that it need not fear the expression of opinion of anyone. Danger lies in suppression of opinion and thought; not in expression.

*To Selma M. Borchardt,
Legislative Representative,
American Federation of Teachers:*

I am not unmindful of the wonderful cooperation and the progressive spirit manifested by you and your organization; the splendid assistance you are giving me in behalf of Freedom of Thought and action; I assure you I appreciate your loyalty in this common cause.

SENATOR BRONSON M. CUTTING.

Restricted immigration as a matter of simple justice to our own workers and to those who would come here and could not be properly assimilated is a principle for which we stand, with all other trade unionists. But restricted immigration must be humanely administered. We deplore the separation of families, and other such unsocial policies. A full opportunity for actual Americanization in our schools, our factories, and our community life in general for the foreign born, we recognize as essential to the true interpretation of the spirit and letter of our Constitution.

We deplore the failure of WCFL, "Labor on the Air," to gain a free air channel, and hope that the efforts to secure federal legislation granting labor and agriculture a cleared channel

will soon be successful. I recommend that we reaffirm our support of this measure.

Muscle Shoals, the Baby Bill, the effort to stop smuggling seamen into this country, the anti-injunction bill, unemployment relief, and the Norris Lane Duck Amendment all were defeated—largely because it was a short session. I recommend that we reaffirm our support of the Norris Lane Duck Amendment so essential to the welfare of our country. There are a number of other legislative matters to which reference must be made. As they are, however, so much more intimately a part of our International Relations program, they will be discussed therein.

In closing let me refer to one matter, not strictly legislative, but closely a part of it—the Progressive Conference held last March. Your legislative representative was invited to it. The section on "Return to Representative Government" is the part of the program which should be definitely and intimately a part of any teacher organization's program. I should like to see the statement of Professor Ross of the University of Wisconsin urging the teachers of the nation to organize and join the Federation, made a part of our proceedings.

I do recommend that we authorize the appointment of a large, thoroughly representative committee which should offer to cooperate without in any way establishing a formal or informal connection with this section of the Progressive Conference—to do all we can to help bring about "the return of representative government."

*Professor E. A. Ross
To
Conference of Progressives*

Now the great field is the high school. There are 3,000,000-odd young people in our high schools. I think there are 17,000 public high schools in the country, and the number of teachers of civics and economics is increasing all the time, and they are not organized. There is going to be constant recurrence of serious disturbances of liberal teachers of these subjects until they do organize effectually; * * * joining the Federation of Teachers.

So the teachers are about where 1775 was in our nation. They are getting ready to throw off the yoke, but they have some distance to go yet. They have got the eight years of hard fighting ahead of them.

A Glance At Pension Legislation

Florence Rood

TWENTY years ago an education association secured a pension law for the teachers of a state. Despite the arguments of the few experienced members of the committee in charge, a small group of superintendents drafted the plan in which they attempted to embody the features they liked best in two other systems, both poor. Their work was not completed in time for more than a hurried scrutiny by a lawyer who, however competent he may have been on points of law, was unacquainted with pension principles. The members of the legislature, lukewarm in their attitude on the bill, followed the method usual with unpopular measures. At the last moment the teachers were offered the alternative of having the bill killed or accepting a drastic cut in the tax appropriation. Rather than lose out entirely, which would have been the wiser choice, they agreed to an amendment which reduced the possible contribution by the state to a totally inadequate figure.

The result was no better than the planning. At no time after the system went into effect were retired teachers paid more than 80 per cent of the expected pension and even this was cut in following years. Unsuccessful attempts were made in succeeding legislatures to improve the law but it finally was practically scrapped to begin, it is hoped, on a sounder basis.

Unless other teachers profit by the experiences of those who have attempted pension legislation not many chapters will be added to the story of accomplishment.

The basic plan of a sound retirement system is not difficult to understand. It should provide for contributions from both the teacher and the community, either the city or the state. No annuity should be granted unless there is a principal sum in the treasury to carry it. Assured of this, there is little danger of insolvency. The soundness of the fund is a first and vital question.

If the plan contemplates a living income then the amounts paid by the contributing parties, the teacher and the community, must be carefully fig-

ured. The retirement annuity should depend on the accumulated fund on which it is based. Only the best actuary available, one thoroughly versed in pension and insurance matters,



FLORENCE ROOD
*Executive Secretary, St. Paul Teachers'
Retirement Fund Association*

should be permitted to make the decision on a point which is fundamental to the welfare of the fund. An adequate public contribution is a second very vital question which, because it involves tax money, is indeed a knotty problem. The only suggestion to be offered is that the best income should be provided which is possible—and that expert advice must be called on to determine what annuity can be safely paid with the available support of the fund.

The type of plan should be decided by the group itself after a study of existing systems, but those trained and experienced in the work should draft

the bill. Its intricacies are quite beyond the specialized abilities of teachers. If this statement is questioned, examine the details of a system which is recognized as sound, particularly one where an old association has been reorganized on a proper financial basis. Before teachers risk the future of anything so important as their pension by attempting a job for which they are not prepared—that is, the drafting of a finished bill—let them inquire into the causes of the failure of the early pension systems to give satisfaction. They, for their part, will have all they can do to carry successfully each step in the progress of the campaign to secure the enactment of their bill.

A very substantial majority of the teachers affected must favor the move. Legislators are extremely sensitive to any proposal which means an increase in taxation. A disagreement among the backers of a bill is gladly seized as an excuse to delay action or to kill it at a convenient moment. The expenses of legislation are many and varied: fees for actuarial and legal advice and counsel; a salary for a lobbyist who will watch the progress of the bill on the legislative calendar and summon the committee at critical periods; and a margin for committee expenses for, in fairness, those who give their time and services for the benefit of the group should not be expected to stand the cost of those services which are sometimes heavy. Unless teachers are convinced that there are certain inevitable and proper expenses connected with legislation and are prepared to give it liberal financial support it had better not be undertaken.

Thousands of people who take positions in the schools following graduation from college, even normal school, do not expect to stay in the profession. This is so universal in practice that modern pension plans exempt young teachers from immediate membership. Serious interest in the subject appears when teaching is accepted as a permanent occupation.

(Turn to Page 27)

Essentials of a Sound Tenure Law

Selma M. Borchardt

Abraham Lefkowitz

THESE ARE THE TIMES that try men's souls. The outstanding need of the hour is for fearless, critical, social thinking. Such thinking can be developed only in an educational system manned by teachers enjoying academic freedom, who, therefore, dare face social problems in a fearless, impartial and critical spirit. Academic freedom is possible only when efficient teachers are guaranteed a life position under sound tenure laws. Without tenure protection, educational subservience is inevitable as teachers are at the mercy of any group temporarily in control of the educational machinery. Such subservience tends to develop blind, unthinking obedience instead of the courageous thinking the world so sorely needs.

The American Federation of Teachers, committed to the philosophy of change as essential to progress and to a saner social order, stands for aca-

demic freedom and for sound tenure laws embodying the following principles:

1. Careful selection of candidates on the basis of desirable personality, adequate professional equipment and cultural background.
2. Careful, constructive supervision and testing of teachers during a probationary period not to exceed two years.
3. The elimination of the unfit at the termination of the probationary period and the permanent appointment of the fit.
4. Continuous employment during satisfactory performance of duties.
5. Removal only for causes definitely embodied in the law such as inefficiency or immorality.
6. Charges to be filed with adequate opportunity for the teacher to answer such charges publicly, if he so desires. In such cases the teacher shall have the

right to be accompanied by friend or counsel.

7. A full and impartial trial to be granted the teacher, who shall have the right of counsel, the right to summon and cross-examine witnesses.

8. If found not guilty, immediate reinstatement with pay lost during the trial; immediate dismissal if found guilty of the charges.

9. The teacher shall have the right of appeal to the Commissioner of Education or to the courts, with a right of review on questions of law as well as of fact.

The American Federation of Teachers urges all teachers, in cooperation with socially minded citizens, to work for tenure laws embodying the above principles so that teachers may strive to develop thinking citizens animated by a social outlook and an international point of view.

From the Convention

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the State of Washington has affirmed the judgment of the Superior Court for King County in dismissing the suit of the Seattle High School Local 200 of the American Federation of Teachers to enjoin the directors of Seattle School District No. 1 from enforcing a resolution adopted by the board of directors whereby no election of a teacher shall be considered binding unless the teacher shall sign the declaration, "I hereby declare that I am not a member of the American Federation of Teachers, or any local thereof, and will not become a member during the term of this contract"; and

WHEREAS, In this decision as well as in similar decisions in the states of Ohio and Illinois the courts have held that the question involved is not one of regulating the conduct of

teachers, but of the power of the board to say whom it will employ as teachers, which right it has under the State's statutes; and that since under the laws of these states contracts with teachers were for terms of one year only, the enactment by the board of such regulations with regard to the employment of teachers for the ensuing year was within its rights; and

WHEREAS, In any state where similar laws with regard to the term of teachers' contracts exists, rules depriving teachers of their constitutional rights and imposing indignities destructive of the welfare, happiness and public respect of teachers may be adopted at the close of any school term;

Therefore, be it resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers bring this danger to the attention of

its locals, and, as far as it may be possible, to the attention of all persons and groups interested in the well-being of the schools in America;

And be it further resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers and its several locals actively engage to the full extent of their powers in a movement to further the enactment of tenure laws for teachers in all states where such laws do not exist;

And be it further resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled express to the teachers of Seattle its unbounded admiration, respect and gratitude for the brave fight they have made to uphold the dignity of our profession and to protect the schools of America.

Citizenship and The Schools

Professor Charles E. Merriam

IT IS MY conclusion after a long and careful study of various systems of civic education in modern nations¹ that the school has already become the chief factor in social and political cohesion, and that in the future the position of the educational system will be increasingly important.

The school becomes the great civic educator taking the place once held by the army and the church. Citizens in the most impressionable years of their lives enter the schools and remain there for long periods of time, increasing as the educational process develops in range and scope. General principles of behavior are taught in the schools, even where church and state are separated, and civic principles will be inculcated incidentally. Higher institutions than the elementary schools hold the pupils for still longer periods of time, and will train the leaders of the future state. In all the systems appraised in this study, the school emerges as the heart of the civic education of the political community, and in all probability will continue to function increasingly in this rôle.

The school emerges as the dominant figure in the new process of civic education, and in all probability will continue to hold this position for some time to come, and to strengthen its influence with the adoption of more scientific methods of analysis and instruction. Here will center the struggles, scientific and political, for the control of social and political behavior, at one time or another centering around the family, the army, the church.

The state-builder of the future will address himself to this strategic point in the organization of political interest, allegiance, and ideals. To be sure, the school cannot be effective unless it is integrated with the life of the community, and supported by social morale and a sense of political and social values outside the educational institution. But assuming that the school and society are not too far apart in their codes of behavior, the educational organization under such circumstances will wield enormous power over the oncoming generation in the formation of inter-

ests, drives, attitudes, and skills. It is here, consequently, that those interested in the formation and continuance of state attitudes will address themselves for assistance in the prosecution of their plans.

The school is by all odds the most important of the techniques employed in the process of civic education in the states here considered, and there is every reason to conclude that it will continue to be so. In this connection, the school should be taken to mean not merely the teaching function but also that of research and inquiry into the basic social and political patterns and their application in a given society—a development even now on the horizon.

The formal training system is confronted with many grave problems in the technical field of civic education. Among these basic questions are the closer analysis of the objectives of civic instruction, the most appropriate levels of education, the training and equipment of teachers, the content of courses, and, above all, the closer study of the nature of the political process in the juvenile and youth periods, itself closely related to the larger problem of political interest, drives, and controls, in the larger sense. There has been little systematic attention given to these problems, and it cannot be said that very notable progress has been made in this direction. It is all the more important, therefore, to consider some of the outstanding developments and questions in this field.

Among the fundamental problems in civic education are the constitutional (physical-mental) bases of citizenship, the reconciliation and integration of pluralistic social allegiances and codes as well as of international, political allegiances and codes; the adjustment and balance between the rôle of tradition and that of invention and adaptation; the application of social symbolism; the technical analysis of the nature of political behavior on the one hand, and perfection of the teaching and transmitting process on the other.

If this is true, it is clear that the

position of the teacher in the community is one of very great importance, and that the responsibility of the teacher is very large. It is easy for us to magnify our office, but it also is possible to underestimate the meaning of the teacher's function in modern society; and from my point of view this has happened in many parts of the modern world.

My suggestion to my fellow instructors and students is that it is highly important for the future to emphasize several points strongly and persistently:

1. The liberty of the teacher as a citizen in the community in which he lives.
2. Protection of the teacher in the school against arbitrary and unfair treatment on account of social or political views.
3. Economic and social recognition corresponding to the actual function of the teacher in the society.
4. The development of the study and science of human behavior and the organization of the most effective social studies to the highest possible point, so that the influence and power of the teacher may be most wisely and usefully exercised.²
5. Organization for the purpose of carrying through the purposes indicated above, for it is plain that the above objectives have not yet been attained in American life, and will not be without coordinated intelligence and sustained and well-directed effort.

¹ The results of this are embodied in my volume on "The Making of Citizens," and separate volumes on eight different national systems.

² The American Historical Society's Commission on the Social Studies is working hard on a comprehensive report on the social studies under Professor Counts as research Director and Professor Krey of the University of Minnesota as Chairman, and will publish important material on this subject in the near future. With this are associated in a joint committee representatives of the American Council of Education and the American Political Science Association.

The Return to Representative Government

Address Before Conference of Progressives March 11, 1931, Washington, D. C.

Senator Bronson M. Cutting

FUNDAMENTALLY, in the subject before us, we have just two basic facts to consider. One is the governmental machinery which exists in this country and the other is the individual voter who expresses his opinion through the only channel open to him, the casting of a ballot at the polls on election day. How can we combine those two fundamental factors in order to improve economic and political conditions? I conceive that that is the problem which is set before us tonight in the general subject, "Return to Representative Government."

For a good many years, there has been discussion as to the value of representative government at all. I remember that several years ago, Senator Thomas of Oklahoma, then a member of the House, called attention to the strong propaganda in favor of dictatorships and against democracy. I do not think it is more than two years since that another very prominent member of the Senate announced that it would not be long now before America adopted the system inaugurated by Mussolini in Italy. According to him, instead of the voters taking any part in the questions of governmental policy, these matters were to be handled for them by a self-appointed and self-perpetuating board of directors. Now, that kind of propaganda was a little too crude for the American people. It has been modified, but the effort is made to teach the American public doctrines of the same kind in perhaps a subtle and more insidious form. That form is the exaltation of the executive branch of the government as against the legislative branch. Only recently we have heard from a well nigh unanimous press that the safety of the country depended on the

immediate adjournment of Congress. According to that doctrine, it is a menace to the people of the United States to have their own elected representatives functioning in their behalf. It



SENATOR BRONSON M. CUTTING

would follow logically that our country would be even more prosperous if Congress were never to meet at all except perhaps at rare intervals in order to comply with the Constitution and in order to ratify decisions which had already been made by the Executive. It is quite clear that with all its faults Congress does constitute the popular branch of our government. It is the only branch elected directly by the voters. The people have comparatively little to say about the nomina-

tion of the President. Less than half of the states have presidential primaries. That is four less than enough to take the question of nomination out of the hands of a political convention.

Moreover, when you come to the general election, the fiction of the electoral college tends to disfranchise many millions of our citizens. The minority vote is not merely unrecorded and disregarded, it is actually registered in favor of the majority candidate, that is in favor of the man against whom these millions of voters cast their ballots. In my personal opinion the electoral college should be abolished by constitutional amendment. The states should be encouraged to pass presidential primary laws which will give their citizens a chance to express themselves directly and preferably by what is called the preferential system as to nominations for President.

It must be obvious to all of us that for a long time the legislative branch of the government has suffered encroachments from both the other branches. The courts, by an arbitrary interpretation of the due process clause in the Constitution, have succeeded in nullifying the actions of the state and national legislatures. This in many cases amounts to practical usurpation of the legislative function. By abuses of the injunction process in labor cases, the Federal courts have not only gone contrary to the policy laid down by Congress, but contrary to the elementary rights of the individual. These same courts, which have been a stone wall against legislative enactments, have repeatedly shown themselves passive against infringement of elementary civil rights at the hands of executive and bureaucratic departments. Often, indeed, the courts have been the first sinners against civil liberties.

I wish we had the time tonight to go into this general question of civil liberties. It is an enormously important one. It is one which if this Conference were going to last the length which it probably ought to have lasted, we should all be glad to go into. It is a question which seems to me entirely vital in a representative system of government. We have not that time tonight. I am only going to call attention to this one fact, that so far as civil liberties are concerned, the history of the world shows that they have always been promoted by the popular or legislative branch of any government and that they have been menaced by the executive and judicial branches.

So far as the executive branch of our government is concerned, the history of this country since the Civil War has shown continuously increasing usurpation of the policy making function of Congress. That is, of the basic function for which Congress was created.

It is not my purpose to idealize the legislative branch of the government at the expense of the other two. Congress has many faults. It is made up today of one House with rules so fashioned that they express the desires of its leaders rather than the wishes of the people of the United States, and of another House whose rules are admirably adapted to block vicious legislation but far less effective toward carrying out a positive policy.

Moreover, it seems to me that both Houses of Congress waste an enormous amount not only of time but of actual brain power of the members who compose it. We have here the men whom the states send to the National Congress to decide major political problems and it has surprised me in my short experience in Congressional work how much of our time is taken up by questions which ought not to come before a body of this kind at all. I have seen a committee of twenty of presumably the ablest men in the country, many of whom are household names in every family in the United States, spending hours deciding the question of whether Corporal Tom Smith actually did or did not steal 60 cents worth of lard immediately after the battle of Gettysburg from the company cook. Those questions, and they are repeated over and over again, are not questions, to my way of thinking, which ought to confront the branch of the government whose duty it is to formulate the policy of the United States

on the major problems which confront it.

Furthermore, the weakness in Congress is intensified by the ridiculous system of lame duck sessions which are required to end on a certain date and which frequently are made up largely of men who have been repudiated by the people at the polls. Yet I do insist that when all is said and done Congress remains closer to the public than does the Executive branch.

Under our Constitution, there is permanent conflict, and so far as the Congress is concerned, intentional conflict between the legislative and executive branches. This has been one unchanging feature of American history. Under these conditions, if popular government is not to be pronounced a failure, the legislative branch must be strengthened against the encroachments of the other two, and the people themselves must exert more direct and more intelligent control over the activities of both legislative and executive.

The handicaps of the voters are obvious. The average man is politically apathetic. He is busy with his private affairs. He is easily swayed by sectional pressure or religious prejudice and apt to be confused by the vast power of organized propaganda. Those of us who believe in the American system of government are convinced that in spite of these disadvantages, the average voter is sound and will usually vote soundly on an issue which is adequately brought home to him. We believe also that the average man has an inherent right to share in holding his own destiny, and that self-government in the long run is more important than perfect government.

A despotism may for a time be more beneficent and certainly more efficient than a popular system, but the history of the world has shown that despotisms do not long remain either beneficent or efficient. On the other hand, as has so frequently been said, the cure for democracy is more democracy, that is the strengthening of the position of the average man and of his duly elected representatives.

Now, I want you to think about this particular thing; that the only public act performed by the citizen is performed at primary and general elections. That is the only chance that he has to perform his function as one item in this general system of ours. It is preposterous that that solemn act on which our whole system is based should be financed not by public but by private funds. If the people are interested in

maintaining their own control of their representatives, they should themselves pay for that privilege. The scandals which have been brought to light during the past few years, both in primary and general elections, have no necessary connection with the actual amount of money expended. The most outrageous of them all, in the case in Nebraska, involved comparatively small sums of money. On the other hand, the huge sums spent in Illinois and Pennsylvania may conceivably have been spent for perfectly legitimate purposes such as postage and publicity. Mr. Grundy, in testifying before the Nye Committee, explained that it had been necessary for him to expend some \$400,000 in the Pennsylvania primary, and when asked why, he explained it was in order to educate the voters.

Now, obviously, it was not for Mr. Grundy's personal interest to educate the voters. If the voters needed education, isn't it plain that they should have paid for it themselves, and not be under obligation to Mr. Grundy or to any other individual to provide this kindergarten education for them?

Now, as a matter of fact, everyone of us knows that the sums of money spent in campaigns are not spent in order to educate the voters. On the contrary, they are spent in order to confuse the voters. Unimportant and trivial issues are invented and broadcast to every corner of this country in order to divert the voters from the real problems which confront them.

On the other hand, I am certain that the voters would be far better off and far better educated if these huge campaign funds were eliminated, and if, instead, they were given a brief and definite statement of the attitude of the various candidates such as might be provided under a publicly financed system of elections.

Now I freely concede that legislation which will do away with private campaign funds is exceedingly difficult to obtain. I do not concede it is impossible. Until such legislation can be perfected, it is most important that our present corrupt practices act be amplified and extended to primary as well as general elections.

If the Newbury decision of the Supreme Court means that a Constitutional amendment is necessary in order to accomplish this, then such an amendment should be passed forthwith.

I want to leave this thought with you. It is for those who believe in popular government to see to it that

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The Teacher as a Citizen

Elizabeth Eastman

THE OTHER DAY a ten-year-old girl came home from school in great distress. She had been told by her parents that her teacher was "such a nice teacher" and that she was sure to like her and enjoy being in her room that year. "Mother," said she, "Miss Brown *isn't* a nice teacher, after all." "Why, how is that? Why isn't she nice?" asked her mother. "Because she called a colored girl a 'nigger,'" replied her daughter indignantly.

A few days later I was talking with a young man about his teaching job, and he remarked casually, "You know, I'm teaching a lot of little wops."

These instances of a peculiarly dangerous racial attitude for a teacher to manifest are exceptional, probably. In the first case, the attitude of the child had fortunately been acquired from association with fair-minded and tolerant parents, but many children belong to the "underprivileged" class in that respect, and if they are to contribute to the creation of a harmonious national life they must be helped by the teachers who build so much of the structure of that same national community in which we live.

I once had a teacher of history who was so aware of her own citizenship against the background of which she was telling us that we could hardly be in her classes without realizing something of what it means to be a citizen. Her patriotism was not of the sentimental kind. On national holidays she often reminded us that the man who hung out a flag and failed to vote or avoided jury duty was a rather poor specimen. I recall that we had to pass through some streets in the process of being

repaired on our way to school. She asked us whether we knew how that question had been decided, and where the money was coming from to make these improvements. We learned a

must have been rare, but should have been the rule and not the exception.

To go back to the question of racial prejudice. The teachers of this country are the creators of our future.

What is in their minds passes into the consciousness of those they teach. If they are aware that the culture of our own national life is rooted in the culture of other nations and peoples, this sense of inter-relationship will become part of the thinking of the children whom they teach. Any touch of arrogance or superiority on the part of a teacher who believes that only Anglo-Saxons are worthy to live in the United States will be increased tenfold in the mind of the pupil. In the last analysis, it is the attitude and idealism of the classroom teacher that influence boys and girls. One great fact of our national history should be kept constantly before their minds—that the various racial and national groups that make up our diversified population have all brought enrichment to our life as a nation. When immigrants or children of immigrants are in the same class with native-born Americans this task is vitally necessary. Instead of calling them "little wops" the teacher can show his American pupils what they owe to Italian citizens, how much of beauty and poetry and charm have entered our life through their characteristic culture.

How many of the barriers that divide one group of Americans from another and tend to destroy the unity of our life could be broken down by classroom teachers who have freed themselves from outworn and baseless prejudices! Waldo Frank speaks of the "symphonic

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ELIZABETH EASTMAN

good deal about what taxation is just because that daily walk to school had furnished us with an excellent example of one way in which a taxpayer's money is spent. And that teacher's eminently practical views about the duties of every member of a community in relation to his own government, city, county, state, and federal, were woven into our historical studies in a way that

An Experiment in Accelerating Assimilation

The Americanization School Association of the District of Columbia

Maude E. Aiton

IN 1922 the people of the United States because of the experiences of the World War had become conscious of the large bodies of aliens who were unassimilated in our midst. Great efforts were made by practically every patriotic organization to set up conditions that would bring about rapid assimilation of the group. Many schools for immigrants were opened. Much that was tragic occurred, a little that was definitely good.

This short report will be made to show what a group of newcomers have done during the past nine years, and the fundamental sociological principles upon which they have more or less consciously based their activities. It must be noted that throughout the period a faculty group of the Americanization School of Washington, D. C., and a small but deeply interested group of native-born friends have entered into the many ventures with understanding and intelligent sympathy. However, both the initiation of activities and final decisions on policies have rested absolutely within the alien group, this being the basis of organization.

The point of view taken by the Carnegie Corporation of New York City in 1918 in a "Study of the Methods of Americanization or Fusion of Native and Foreign Born," as shown by its director, Allen T. Burns, follows:

"Americanization is the uniting of the new with native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all. Such Americanization should produce no unchangeable political, domestic, and economic regime delivered once for all to the fathers, but a growing and broadening national life, inclusive of the best wherever found. With all our rich heritages America will develop through a mutual giving and taking of contributions from both the newer and older Americans in the interest of the common weal."

This point of view was fundamen-

tally that of the new organization. Some twelve students of the Americanization School representing eight nationalities gathered together, first motivated by the need of having a representative "speak" to the faculty of the school, and explain some of the "feelings" of the students. Needless to say "feelings" had been hurt; all teachers did not understand; teacher attitudes fitting mature and widely experienced adult students had not been developed. So for the *protection* of the students the first step was taken; just as so many first steps have been taken in progressive movements.

Out of a six-week deliberation and meetings with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, who had been appealed to to advise on legal aspects, a constitution was evolved. The preamble is interesting: "*We the students of the Americanization School of the District of Columbia, in order to establish closer personal relations, to become better acquainted with the people and customs of the United States and give mutual assistance in the promotion of patriotic, intellectual and recreational pursuits, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Americanization School Association of the District of Columbia.*"

A group of people at first numbering twelve, now numbering over 1500, without so naming it, deliberately set out to accelerate assimilation. Park says, ". . . patriotism, loyalty and common sense are neither created nor transmitted by purely intellectual processes. Men must live and work and fight together in order to create that community of interest and sentiment which will enable them to meet the crises of their common life with a common will."

Knowledge of some of the early *feelings*, and *establishment* of policies, are necessary to a real understanding of this effort and of similar ones. Quoting from a discussion in 1922

these remarks are *pertinent*: "Because we are foreign-born and don't know English *they* (American-born at large, some definite persons at close range) think we don't know anything—therefore whatever we do must be done *well*." ". . . we (a group of eight students including Armenian, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Pole, Russian, Swiss) are getting much from this school given by the government; we must give much to make it a success." ". . . may we take down the flags of many nations and have only the American flag? The flags separate us." (Much psychology is embodied in these words.)

Here was seen definitely a reaction from the deep inner feeling of conflict between different cultures.

But this group of men and women gave, and gave, and of their best—and are still revivifying the idea of offering only the effectual and worth while. Only *self-expression* that is worthy is accepted.

The activities of the Americanization School Association have grown as membership has grown, but policies and principles have remained. The activities at present are:

1. A service library open all day and every school evening, five evenings a week, until 10 o'clock. A cozy, comfortable room granted to the Association by the Board of Education. A committee of members of the association have learned library procedure, have catalogued and accessioned the several thousand volumes and are always on hand to welcome and advise newcomers. The library has become an Extension Service Station of the Public Library. A teacher assistant is assigned to aid students who have gone from the Americanization School to High School or University and return to the Americanization School Association Library to study, and our own students who are carrying out research projects.

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Teachers and Civil Liberties

A. J. Muste

THE FIRST ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States set forth a bill of rights. According to that bill of rights the citizen has certain definite and unalienable rights as over against his government. Particularly, he must be left free to think, to write, to speak, to assemble, to associate with his fellow-citizens for any lawful purpose, to petition government for redress of his grievances. In one form or another every state constitution sets forth a similar bill of rights.

When we speak of the United States of America as a spiritual and historical rather than a merely geographical entity, we have foremost in our minds this conception of freedom for the common man, the absence of tyranny.

Many, at least, of "the founding fathers" of the nation regarded civil and religious liberty, freedom of thought, expression and association, as the very foundation stone of the Republic. Furthermore, such men as Thomas Jefferson did not think that the Revolutionary War (Jefferson personally thought a little revolution about every nineteen years was a healthy thing!) had been fought for a sham liberty. Freedom to them meant the right to utter any opinion whatever, including mistaken, wrong and dangerous ones. They realized that an opinion that seemed wrong might be proved right, that if it were really wrong then that could most readily be proved by bringing it into the light of day, and as for safety, there was much more of it in permitting protest than in bottling it up.

Certainly democracy becomes a sham if the channels of education, agitation and communication are not free and open. Orderly change and progress become impossible when discussion is suppressed or limited.

It is an ominous fact that in the United States today civil liberties are often denied. It is not merely that extreme radicals are often brutally treated, have their meetings and papers suppressed, are subject to cruel methods of deportation, etc., though that is bad enough. Liberty is endangered for all as soon as in the case of some we depart from Voltaire's position: "I do not believe what you say, but I will fight to the death for your right to say it." It is a general condition in our American industrial communities where there is not a strong union (and that is unfortunately the case in 80 per cent

of our industries) that a worker can protest against evil conditions, ask for redress, try to organize a union, vote for any but a Republican or Democratic candidate, only at the risk of losing his job, being blacklisted in his trade, and often being assaulted by so-called authorities of the law, imprisoned, even killed. Hardly a strike occurs that violence is not used against workers engaged in peaceful picketing and an injunction issued abridging well-defined rights. Individual, or yellow-dog, contracts abrogating the workers' right of association, are "legal" in most states of the union. Teachers are in many instances subject to laws or rules which undertake to define what they may teach or not teach, or even how they are to dress and what they are to eat. Many a social worker can speak out the truth about industrial conditions in her community only at the risk of losing her job.

I venture to assert that never before in our American history has conformity been so rigidly enforced, never before has intellectual integrity and courage of utterance been so expensive a luxury. And this is at a time when confessedly we live in a new, rapidly changing world and can avoid catastrophe only by willingness to experiment boldly and to adapt our economic and political and educational instrumentalities to the new conditions.

Teachers should lead in the defence and the reassertion of our liberties, but as a class they do not.

They should lead for certain obvious reasons. In the first place, the educational process simply cannot go on under any condition other than that of freedom. If the scientist is told in advance what conclusion he must reach, if he may not go where the facts lead him, no truth can be discovered. If the child is to be merely a receptacle into which someone else's ideas are poured, ready made, not to be questioned, then we may be making gramophones or parrots, but certainly not educated citizens.

Now this does not merely mean that there must be freedom in the classroom. In the vast majority of instances there will be no freedom in the classroom if repression is the dominant note in the community. An unusual teacher may maintain such a condition for a short time, and then will find himself kicked downstairs. The classroom in the main and in the long

run will reflect the social life around it. Of course such a teacher by making his children intelligent may make them rebels against conformity and repression. That is so far to the good, but certainly our permanent aim must be a social system in which the finest self-expression may be attained, because the frictions due to needless repressions have been removed.

Thus the teacher has an essential professional interest in the maintenance of all liberties, apart from the interest which he or she shares with all citizens.

Teachers as a class are conformists, do not lead in the battle for civil and other liberties, in the last analysis because they are afraid of their own jobs. That is a condition which strikes at the very root of our national life. For we need citizens who can think, who have courage, independence, the critical and also the creative spirit, who are socially minded. But how can we expect such citizens to be developed when in the schools the children are in the charge of teachers who are afraid to think and to speak, in whom the critical and creative spirit is repressed, who live narrow and cowardly lives and therefore are the very opposite of socially minded?

Because, then, freedom is of the very essence of the educational process and because our educational system must largely determine what the nation of the future is to be, teachers should lead in the defence of our constitutional liberties. They do not, with a few shining exceptions, because they are themselves deprived of many of their rights, and that has taken place because they are not organized into professional organizations affiliated with the unions of other groups of workers. In an organized world, such as the world of today, the isolated individual is helpless. Thus the individualism of the teachers, their feeling that they must guard this freedom as persons and professional people, not permit it to be swallowed up in an organization, has had the precisely opposite effect to what was intended. The teachers have ceased to be individuals, are mere cogs, often, in an educational machine, nonentities or mere conformists in the life of the community and the nation.

Teachers who have learned how to protect their own rights by means of organization are natural leaders in the

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The President's Page

Dr. Henry R. Linville

Providentially, independent spirits writing for the press tell us what they think of us. Mrs.

Walter Ferguson, writer of the column, "A Woman's Viewpoint," in the Scripps - Howard newspapers, tells us that "The Birmingham (Ala.) Post" has been conducting a prohibition poll.

"Do not print my name," says a teacher who favors repeal. I quote from Mrs. Ferguson's article:—



"This is a splendid commentary upon our slavish suppression of honest thought in the public schools. And Birmingham is by no means the only place where such things occur. Go into any city or town of any State in the Union and you will find that the most fearful of all individuals, and the one who forces his mind to a set pattern, is the teacher of children. He dares do nothing, say nothing, be nothing save what the school board approves."

From Two Angles

There are at least two ways of looking at the situation described by Mrs. Ferguson. We can admit the truth of the statement and try to work toward the solution of the problem by the means that may be at our disposal. Or, we may admit the truth, and lay the blame where in part it belongs; that is, distribute it among the school officials, the political or economic rulers of the community and the attitudes of Mrs. Grundy and others. In this case, the idea of doing something about it might never enter our heads.

By far the larger number even of those teachers who really want to be members of a self-respecting profession, after admitting the truth, would maintain that any activity directed toward clearing up the situation might itself be unprofessional. So, nothing at all would be done by them.

Doing something about it would thus be left to the small minority in our profession which always must bear the responsibility for forging ahead with whatever constructive program is believed by it to be necessary.

But Think of the Job

It would amount first of all to making a catalog of the factors involved in "our slavish suppression of honest thought in the public schools." Such a catalog would resemble the following:

1. A long history dating back to the time when teachers were slaves in fact.
2. The age-old custom of employing or designating persons to transmit to the young something that has been written in a remote past and accepted as true and unchangeable.
3. The belief continuing to the present time that a teacher's main task is to transmit formulated knowledge to the young.
4. The implication involved in the early employment of typically submissive and conformist spirits that teaching can be done by those who are not vital or active at anything else.
5. The persistence of the belief expressed by Count Metternich of Austria in the repressive Carlsbad Decrees of a century ago that the state has the right to repress freedom in any or all of its activities or interests.
6. The belief held in the present time by such reactionary groups as the Allied Patriotic Societies, the Better America Federation and the Daughters of the American Revolution that teachers should be compelled to support the *status quo* by signing "oaths of loyalty."

Tradition Bound

Thus, historically and actually teachers have come to constitute a class that is bound securely to those requirements that are conceived to be right and necessary to that section of society that rules the schools. We may scoff as we like at the ridiculous character of the pronouncement of Senator Clayton R. Lusk, of New York, author of the infamous Lusk School Laws (repealed in 1923), nevertheless his ideas still persist in many respectable and powerful sections of our citizenry. In 1921 Senator Lusk said:

"In entering the public school system the teacher assumes certain obligations, and must of necessity surrender some of his intellectual freedom. If he does not approve of the present social system, or the structure of our government, he is at liberty to entertain those ideas, but must surrender his public office."

Agents of Tradition and the Status Quo

Thus, it is not as simple a situation as our newspaper critics may surmise. Even if our boards of education may definitely lay down a policy of denying to teachers the right to express opinions and of punishing when teachers do express opinions on controversial issues, they are acting primarily as agents of influences that have come down through the ages, and only secondarily as representatives of the *status quo* of the year 1931.

If we as advanced members of the profession of teaching should attempt

to roll back the scrolls of the past and proclaim ourselves henceforth to be independent and liberated spirits and the defenders of the new order, we would be courting disaster. Neither liberty nor progress comes that way. On the other hand, we would be condemning ourselves to ignominy if we should say with the spineless and hopeless members of our calling, "What's the use of butting our heads against the stone wall of tradition?"

The Joy of Living It

As a matter of fact, the most interesting and emotionally and intellectually profitable experiences in the professional lives of teachers and educators generally are derived from activities in the direction of doing things for teaching and for education that may not immediately involve one's right to say what one pleases on controversial issues. To some it may appear that civil liberty must be won before any progress may be made in productive thinking in the lives of teachers. But to win that battle a frontal attack against an entrenched position must be made.

Freedom by Strategy and Work

We may have to make these attacks, but it appears to me to be by far the better strategy, if we would win freedom, and at the same time win satisfaction in our career, that teachers as a beginning should create by collective efforts through other avenues of approach the ideas and conditions that make for greater social power for the entire profession.

In every school system there are conditions affecting the welfare of the children in the schools which school officials are often unable to improve upon, sometimes, no doubt, because their minds fail to act in the face of official, financial, social, or natural inhibitions. Among these conditions may be mentioned the relation of schools as they are to truancy, the size of classes in relation to good teaching, the basic factors relating to growth and improvement in education. A body of teachers giving their thought through years of time to problems of this kind may build up a commanding influence in our greatest social enterprise that will give them freedom as well as distinction and professional satisfaction.

After all, the socially powerful have no lack of freedom.

Democracy in Education

American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

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372 St. Peter Street, St. Paul, Minn.

W. B. SATTERTHWAITTE, Chicago Local 2;
5463 Kimbark Ave., Chicago.

E. E. SCHWARZTRAUER,
Wisconsin University Local 223;
130 Breese Terrace, Madison, Wis.

W. J. SCOTT, Atlanta Local 89;
212 Kings Highway, Decatur, Ga.

Congress Convenes

Whether legislation be bread and butter or ideals is possibly an open question. Or, possibly, it is where the two meet. Certain it is that at the 1931 Convention the leading spokesman for a program of social idealism was also the very able chairman of the Legislative Committee and, incidentally, one of the most experienced and effective legislative workers in the organization.

However that may be, as long as education is a function of the state, all must agree that before our idealism (be it professional or more broadly social) can be translated into reality, it must pass through our legislative mills and emerge (perhaps) as "acts" to do this and this.

Probably most locals know the emerging seldom may be effected except by the most skillful, persistent and arduous work on the part of the erstwhile idealists.

As the legislative session approaches in the National Capital and in a number of the states, the attention of our locals and our members may well be directed to the opportunities and responsibilities of the intelligent citizenship of the country. "Government of the people, by the people" should be more to us than a skillfully turned phrase. Representative government is scarcely synonymous with democracy unless the means is found to translate the will of the people into the laws of the land.

The duty of citizens to inform themselves of the matters under consideration by these legislative bodies has been too often stressed to bear repeating, and "write to your Congressman about it" has become a columnist's joke. But to teachers whose salaries and conditions of work are obviously directly in the hands of these legislators it is emphatically no joke.

An attempt has been made in this issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER to put before its readers some of the more important social and educational legislation to which the American Federation of Teachers stands committed. Genuine service can be rendered if all members individually, and all locals as organizations, put their full strength into support of our program of national legislation, and to such state programs as are demanded. The status of the child labor laws, provisions for revenues for support of schools, teacher

tenure laws and retirement provisions, the rights of workers to organize and to bargain collectively, should be investigated by each local for its own state. The standards set up in our Legislative Program and our Convention resolutions should be used as a measuring stick to estimate the need for legislation in the several states.

For school legislation the teachers have a double duty. From one standpoint their responsibility for this is no greater and no less than that of other citizens. But their first hand knowledge and their specialized training give them a comprehension of this most important function of the state and of the needs of our schools which no other group can possess. Hence they have here an added responsibility.

In some cases we shall find our work is to initiate legislation for needed reforms; in some, to block vicious legislation; in all, to enlighten the people on school conditions and needs and to develop a public opinion which shall compel the legislation demanded.

Labor and Education

Were argument still needed on the value of the affiliation of organized teachers with organized labor recent education programs of a goodly number of State Federations of Labor could be cited. To those who do not see eye to eye with us on this question we are apt to emphasize the value of the political strength of organized labor as protection to teachers. We do not undervalue this, but to see nothing else is to take a limited and belittling view of both labor and teachers.

The greatest service any powerful group of citizens can render to the nation is to throw their power back of efforts to raise the educational standards of the country. No other such groups have responded so zealously to the needs of the public schools as have labor organizations. Before the public school was, labor championed it. Efficient and intelligent service has never ceased.

The presence of representatives of organized class-room teachers in the councils of labor bodies has given these bodies a grasp of educational principles and school problems which too few lay groups have. Unflinching devotion combined with intelligent understanding makes a powerful ally.

Since education is a function of the several states and school legislation is

Education for Democracy

state legislation, no more important work can be accomplished by our locals than their active participation in the state labor bodies.

Recent reports to the National Office from Georgia, Oregon and Illinois show very effective work being done by our locals in these states. Well-advised education programs heartily endorsed by the state federation conventions give evidence that first hand knowledge and sympathetic support united in these conventions to plan for the welfare of the schools of the state. In each of these cases a member of the American Federation of Teachers was chairman of the Education Committee.

Copies of the reports of these Education Committees to the state conventions can be secured from the Information Bureau in the National Office. Other locals are urged to send in similar reports that our records may be complete and up to date.

Responsibility Assumed

Last winter when New York was striving to crowd Chicago off the front page of the nation's annals of corruption, setting up their judges against Chicago's gangsters, Dr. Linville facetiously (or was it) remarked, "No one has yet charged our schools with being at fault in having missed fire in the teaching of the principles of citizenship to its embryo judges."

Maybe no one had then, but in these days one who reads most certainly will find the schools charged with responsibility for the crime wave, the depression, the prevalence of low type citizenship, and for all our mental inadequacy in the face of the economic crisis.

It is not pleasant reading for the educational world, but we may hope our discomfort may prove to be growing pains. The general response of educators to the charges has been: our responsibility is indeed great, our product falls short of standard, where-in have our methods been wrong?

Professor Merriam's view of the responsibility of the schools for our civic life, based as it is on extensive study of civic education in many countries, is a noteworthy example of the reaction of our highest type of educators to the challenge of the present conditions. A scientific estimate of the function of the school and investigation of methods used are combined,

not with bitter criticism for the considerable degree of failure which may be charged, but with thoughtful acceptance of the responsibility which its enormous power places on the school, and a call to teachers to address themselves to the solution of the educational problems involved and to the establishment of a social status for teachers which will enable them to attain their objectives.

A New Service

WHEREAS, Several locals of the American Federation of Teachers have made extensive surveys regarding such matters as salary scale, Sabbatical leave, teaching load, exploitation of schools for advertising purposes, and the status of married women teachers, and

WHEREAS, These same surveys, if available, might prove of value to other groups making similar investigations; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention direct the Executive Council to charge the Associate Secretary with the definite task of collecting such research material for the National Office, keeping it on file, and furnishing it to locals and interested citizens upon request; and be it further

Resolved, That this special activity of the National Office be developed as rapidly as funds permit into a Bureau of Research and Information Service with the necessary clerical help under the direction of the Associate Secretary.

In compliance with this resolution passed by the convention of 1931 the Executive Council arranged that an Information Bureau should be established in connection with the National Office under the supervision of the Editor of THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

This service must be a truly co-operative enterprise, as the director will be powerless to collect and file for reference that which the locals do not supply.

The enthusiastic response which this resolution called out in committee and on the floor would indicate a general feeling that shared experiences of locals could be mutually helpful. We believe this to be true, but each local must remember it must do as it would be done by. If it would profit by the experiences of other locals it must help in the building up of the general files.

The director is very desirous of

knowing of topics other than those enumerated in the resolution on which the locals want material collected. All desire that this shall be a genuine working collection, not just quantities of documents to gather dust and steal office room. If it is to be the highly valuable collection of data that it may be, our limited time and space must be spent only on such subjects as will be practically useful. We therefore urge each local through a committee or specially designated officer to communicate with the National Office as to the topics considered of general value, and to arrange the local's contribution to the library.

The Questionnaire

Your attention is directed to the Questionnaire on page 2. The responses which have been received are extremely helpful, and are deeply appreciated. We earnestly solicit the cooperation of our readers in our attempt to make our magazine valuable.

A Request

The Editorial Office receives frequent requests from libraries for complete files of THE AMERICAN TEACHER. These inquiries show a growing interest in our organization and it is with regret that we reply that no complete files are available. If members can furnish any of the numbers listed below it will be a genuine service.

January, 1931.

March, 1931.

April, 1931.

October, 1929.

November, 1928.

Any numbers back of April, 1928.

Errata

The November issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER recorded H. S. Bechtolt as chairman of a special committee of the American Federation of Labor. This was an error for the American Federation of Teachers.

Miss Taggart was misquoted as referring to the "simple and unlimited education of a generation ago." We apologize to Miss Taggart. We would be glad to think there was ever a time or place when education was unlimited; but Miss Taggart would hardly locate such an idyllic conception in Chicago within a generation.

To Dr. Lefkowitz we offer humble apologies for our printer's new version of his name.

The Teacher Orients Himself

E. E. Schwarztrauber

THE HISTORY of teacher status in America is not an enviable one.

It is a story of declining position and influence in the community on the part of the individual teacher. In colonial days, and even well into the last century, the teacher was the intellectual center of the community, and, in so far as he performed the pastoral duties of the church, he was also the spiritual center. During an agricultural era with its comparatively sparse population and its meager social surplus, few went to school and fewer were capable of teaching even the most rudimentary subjects then thought necessary for good citizenship. It was natural then that the teacher should stand foremost in the community, and, even if his material rewards were pitifully small, his remuneration in community esteem was real and sincere. It expressed itself in many ways, sometimes by elevation of the teacher to place of political power in town and state. It was perhaps no accident that it was the teacher often who led the common folk of a community in revolt at abuses of common rights or denial of privileges. It was Thomas Dorr, a Rhode Island school teacher, who led an armed uprising of artisans and mechanics against the undemocratic freehold qualifications for suffrage in the state.

The Industrial Revolution, in its gradual transformation of America from a group of pioneer, self-contained, agricultural communities to a highly organized, interdependent, industrialized society, also transformed the status of the teacher. The labor movement of the early nineteenth century, a product of the Industrial Revolution, demanded and finally secured the right to compulsory education. The little red school house became, for the worker, a symbol of equality in a land of unlimited opportunity. The teacher, however, did not continue to hold his place in community esteem. As his numbers increased his functions

and necessarily his influence decreased. His competitors in the field increased with the increase in access to educational advantages. Moreover, his



E. E. SCHWARZTRAUBER

task as teacher became secondary in the minds of average Americans to that more thrilling and, incidentally, more lucrative task of exploiting a nation's unbounded resources. The era of the successful business man as an ideal for every boy to emulate had come. Henceforth, with lip service rendered by Fourth-of-July, Chautauqua, and similar orators, the schools were lauded as "the bulwark of the nation" and a bouquet thrown in for the teacher as good measure. But the function of the latter, though of course a mainstay in providing a "bulwark," was no longer looked upon as actually so vital. Today teachers of long experience in our public schools are quite aware of the poorly concealed wonderment, to use a mild term, on the part of average Mr. American that any red-blooded young man should choose the teaching profession as a life work. Such persons

must ordinarily lack ambition. Only women teach. The "bulwark of the nation" is manned chiefly by female soldiers. This attitude of the general public is a measure of the level to which teachers have fallen in function as well as in esteem. But not quite so the schools. And here we approach the fundamental basis for an answer to our question.

In so brief an article as this, one can scarcely touch on more than the obvious. The Industrial Revolution, as is quite evident, has wholly changed the face of American life, economic, social, political. Mechanization in industry and agriculture has gone forward at a terrific speed, particularly in the last few decades. The individualism and self-sufficiency of an agricultural era are gone. There are no geographic frontiers across which a land-hungry population can press to new conquests; no "Young man, go West" advice can now relieve the pressure of poverty or the limitations of blind-alley jobs. One place in America is as good or as bad as another. And every place feels the stamp of the machine upon it. America is becoming standardized for mass production whether in the factory or on the farm. But the machine has brought about this mass production only through a vast co-ordination of economic forces.

The very poorest observer can note the evidences of the truth of the above statements. Individual enterprise has given way to corporate management of industry. Chain groceries, chain banks, chain department stores, holding companies, mergers are all manifestations of what the machine is doing to modern economic life. This growing integration of the instruments of production, exchange, and distribution is accompanied by an ominous concentration of ownership and control which should be a matter of profound concern to every thinking American. And it is in the problems inherent in the above-stated situation

that the teachers of America are deeply involved whether they realize it or not. The tragedy of it is that probably the average teacher in our public schools, to say nothing of the college teacher, scarcely realizes that a critical issue faces him. Teachers ordinarily have been poorly trained, if at all, in economics and other social sciences. Furthermore, they have been burdened with a multiplicity of class room detail and routine work which, together with poor pay and other adverse circumstances, have tied them slavishly to the immediate surroundings. The result is that they go about the teaching of "fundamentals" scarcely aware that they are in the center of a bitter struggle for economic power. The real fundamentals are in the process of happening, and the teachers are, with their pupils or students, the docile actors with the stage directors in the background.

It may seem, at first thought, a far-fetched assertion that the schools are a center of struggle for power. What basis in human experience is there for the belief that our American social order exhibits the tendencies customarily found where political or economic power, or both, become highly concentrated? The answer is this: History has no record of which the writer is aware of a similar situation in the life of a people where those who have gathered to themselves wealth and power, and particularly power, have willingly laid it down. Quite to the contrary, they have fought bitterly to retain power. By the very nature of the methods whereby they attain power, they become incapable of giving. Getting is all they as a class understand. Concentrated power fears change, and why not? It has what it wants or it is in the process of getting what it wants under the existing order. Hence it has sought to maintain the status quo, or "things as they are," the methods varying to fit the age. Today in America concentrated power wills to retain power. But it must fit its methods to meet modern situations. One of these methods is the "right" training of youth.

In other words, the schools have become in actual fact "the bulwark of the nation." But the "bulwark" for what? That is the issue. All else pales into insignificance. Should the schools be an instrument to maintain the status quo, or should they be the advance guard of civilization? The former end requires one kind of "right" training; the latter, another

kind. In either case it is probably foolish to ascribe any evil, devilish intent in the demand for the one or the other. Vested power in America has a natural desire to survive and follows the path that seems best to it. So do other groups. In this struggle between the few and the many, with the many still represented by a medley of voices, the future of America is being written. If wealth and power win in the struggle, the product of the schools will become more and more a set pattern, rigid in its "safe-and-sane-ness." The leadership which will arise from the youth of the schools will increasingly come to supply the one great demand, viz., the buttressing of vested power. Witness even now the best talent of our law schools enlisted for the protection of corporation holdings. But the mass production of our schools will be regimented as they already are, largely, into the ranks of docile, uncritical employees in counting house and factory. Upton Sinclair's picture of the "Goosestep" and "Goslings" may be only too real a possibility if not already an actuality.

But if such a picture is not to be consummated, then the schools have a quite different task. Then the schools must express the yearnings of the millions who toil and must help translate those yearnings into the better life. That will involve the encouragement and nurture of a "divine discontent" in the hearts of the youth. Leadership must then be a creative leadership with a vision of a better social order growing out of the old. It must possess a reverence for all that is good in the old, but an active impatience for the outworn. Such a leadership will then be able to cope intelligently with America's present growing ills. Our American social order will not have had opportunity to crystallize, as did the old Russian regime before the Revolution, into a rigid, unbending mass which only a volcanic eruption can break. The schools will thus serve as a ferment, a life-giving force making possible an evolutionary process of change.

What hope, if any, is there that we may escape the first of these possible ends pictured above? Here one could be quite pessimistic. Everywhere about us is evidence of the control of our schools by vested interests. Patriotic societies, consciously or unconsciously the tools of these interests, are increasingly dictating what shall be taught, who shall teach, and the textbooks that shall be used. Regimenta-

tion of mind and militarization of thought for the bolstering of an outworn nationalism which can be of service chiefly to selfish economic interests, is being rapidly promoted by the military arm of the government aided by semi-private military organizations. The powerful public utilities are reaching into the public schools, colleges and universities to control the thinking of youth through propaganda literature and through the buying or bullying of teachers into a "proper alignment." In such an atmosphere creative thinking and creative leadership have little chance for survival.

Where, then, rests the hope for an America growing into a new life through a living school system? One answer is in an emancipated body of teachers. Somewhere, some way, teachers must be made free. Freedom cannot come to them individually. It is a collective process. This is an age of group action, and teachers, as all other groups in American society, must learn to work as a unit. But mere organizations will not make teachers free for their great task. If the teachers are to make the schools the fountainhead of creative leadership and critically-minded, intelligent "followership," they must evolve an organization which has its springs of action dug deep in the yearnings of America's millions, not of its few. Ideas and ideals, the reaching out and up for a better order of things rarely, if ever, comes from the top stratum of society. That stratum has what it wants and is satisfied. It is dried up spiritually. Teachers must therefore turn their eyes to the common, everyday, struggling people whom we know as the "workers," out of whose sufferings and failings and strivings even a Galilean carpenter once obtained his inspiration. Teachers can do no less and probably no more than He.

It is true that teachers have had and do have their organizations, some of them quite powerful in numbers. The National Education Association and the League of Class Room Teachers in our public school system, and the American Association of University Professors in our colleges and universities are teachers' organizations which function in many valuable ways for the present order of things. But they can never, as at present constituted, meet the fundamental needs of teachers and the schools nor ultimately the needs of America. Their fatal weakness is their isolation from the

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Report of Committee on Education

American Federation of Labor Convention

Vancouver, B. C., October 5-15, 1931

The AMERICAN TEACHER takes pleasure in placing before its readers portions of the report of the Committee on Education to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor which it believes will be of especial interest.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR is and always has been in the forefront in the promotion and fostering of education. The American Federation of Labor has an unequalled reputation as a leader in progressive education. The pronouncements of our President in his opening address to the fifty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor setting forth the constructive economic philosophy of organized labor have greatly enhanced this reputation.

Your Committee on Education believes that in this time of world-wide economic, educational and social crisis, when everyone is looking for constructive planning and leadership out of this morass of distress and threatened disaster, the sound philosophy and economic principle of our chief officer should have the widest possible distribution. The educative value of this address is very great. Non-trade unionists, who are most in need of economic and social education, are looking to Labor and this Convention for direction.

Your Committee on Education therefore suggests that this opening address of President Green at this fifty-first Annual Convention be given the widest possible distribution, that it be sent to schools and colleges for reprinting in their journals wherever possible; to school, college and public libraries, to educators, to Chambers of Commerce and to State and Federal Government officials, and further urges that all members of Organized Labor aid fully in the distribution of this address to non-members.

Your Committee also urges the same procedure as far as possible with other addresses and literature of the American Federation of Labor.

Contributions to Education

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Contributions to Education," are shown some facts of organized labor's great work in the field of public education.

Organized labor was the major instrumentality in establishing the public school system. One hundred years ago the courageous and far-seeing advocacy of free education by Labor was responsible in a large part for the establishment of our system of public education. To the growing class of wage-earners in sound organization we are indebted for our free tax-supported schools. Since that day Labor has been the consistent protector and defender of the public schools.

Compulsory education laws, legislation providing for vocational, continuation and evening schools, for free text books and for increases in school revenues, material increases in teachers' salaries, administrative reforms, such as the reduction in the size of classes and the more democratic participation of classroom teachers in the conduct of the schools, the election of progressive boards of education with labor and occasionally teacher representation, are among Labor's accomplishments in public school education.

No labor convention has been held in recent times which did not devote an appreciable part of its time to a consideration of the school problem. It has adopted an educational platform in which everyone of its demands aims at the improvement of the schools—among these are:

Better enforcement of the educational laws, wider use of the school plant, reduction in the size of the school unit and in the size of classes, revision of salary schedules upward, increase of school revenues to maintain and develop public schools, co-operation between Boards of Education and superintendents and committees representing the teaching body in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers.

Tenure of position for teachers during efficiency.

Text books for social subjects to reflect a comprehensive presentation of the social sciences; a curriculum for sound training in citizenship; promotion of adult education; elimination of

adult illiteracy; workers' education and vocational retraining for the unemployed. This is an educational program second to none and organized labor does well to be proud of it.

Workers' Education Bureau 10 Years' Service

The Workers Education Bureau of America completed in April of the year 1931 ten years of education service to the American wage earners. In that decade its educational objectives have been made clear, its methods have been tested by a wide variety of experience; and a most valuable body of material has been developed. The Bureau has acquired a status and a reputation both at home and abroad which are the result of a decade of effective leadership in the general field of adult education. Upon its successful completion of this first decade of constructive educational service to American wage earners your committee recommends to this Fifty-first Annual Convention that it record its appreciation and admiration for the high-minded and unselfish devotion of the officers and directors of the Bureau in carrying forward this pioneering but essential service to our labor movement.

The Year's Work

Your committee commends the Workers Education Bureau on the range and variety of its activities during the past year. The work of the Bureau has been carried forward in a most constructive manner. The accomplishments are the more significant in view of the added burdens that have been placed upon the staff of the Bureau.

The Labor Institute at Rutgers University

The most notable work of the Bureau during the year and the outstanding project in the entire workers' education movement was the Labor Institute held upon the campus of Rutgers University in the State of New Jersey. The manner with which the Bureau succeeded in drawing into a co-operative agreement and working arrangement the State University and State Federation of Labor, is not only a notable achievement, but an example for

other state federations to follow. For a good many years the Federation of Labor has declared its belief in closer co-operation between our tax supported universities and the labor forces in the several states. Convention resolutions have added to the weight of this conviction. It has remained for the Workers' Education Bureau to work out the method and practical details, first in the California Plan for non-resident study groups, and second the Rutgers Plan for a resident institute. On previous occasions the convention has discussed with entire approval the California Plan. On this occasion your committee desires to record its enthusiastic approval of the Rutgers plan.

To bring together mature members and leaders of the labor movement on the campus of a state university for a week's institute and enable them to consider with the faculty of the university matters of great economic importance, which concern both Labor and the community, is not only a highly significant, but a highly practical thing to do. The complete approval with which this plan was received by Labor has been set forth in the vigorous resolution adopted by the New Jersey State Federation of Labor at their annual convention in September

The added endorsement of President Green and other leaders of the movement to this commendable project is full and final proof of its value.

Your committee commends the Workers' Education Bureau for its initiative and leadership in this work and the New Jersey State Federation of Labor for its whole-hearted co-operation and subsequent determination to make this institute a part of its annual educational work. It recommends to the officers of the other State Federations of Labor this plan as successfully developed in New Jersey and urge these officers to call upon the Workers' Education Bureau for its good offices in making contacts with their state universities, and setting up similar institutes.

Week-End Conferences

Your committee has in previous conventions endorsed the plan of week-end conferences as developed by the Workers Education Bureau some seven years ago. It is glad to know that they are continuing to prove a serviceable medium in the Workers Education movement. The week-end conference held at Fort Collins, Colorado, this spring, was a splendid example of the value of such a conference when the entire labor movement has given it a full measure of support. It commends the

Colorado State Federation of Labor and the the Workers Education movement of that state on their successful conference. It commends also the Wisconsin Federation of Labor on its successful conference over the Labor Day week-end as well as other similar projects throughout the country.

For the Co-ordination and Consolidation of All the Educational Activities of the American Federation of Labor

One of the most notable contributions of the American Federation of Labor to the public welfare during the fifty years of its existence has been its unwavering support of the extension of education for all the people. Indeed Labor's contribution to the widening of educational opportunities for the entire citizenship would alone justify its existence and merit a generous measure of public approbation. Such service in behalf of wider educational facilities which began with the needs of the children of the Nation has been extended until today Labor recognizes that the education of the adult population is an inseparable aspect of democratic citizenship and should be universal and lifelong.

Many of the organizations affiliated with the Federation have furthermore come to place increasing reliance not only on education and educational methods during the past half century, but also have developed certain notable educational activities under their immediate direction which are an indivisible part of their function as trade unions. The plans for apprentice training in some of the more highly skilled trades, the program of re-training journeymen for new technical processes in certain branches of the printing trade, the provisions for correspondence instruction for the membership in still other crafts, and the conference method of education in the development of union-management co-operation programs are but a few examples of the manner in which education has become both the measure of union progress, and the essential method of its accomplishment.

In still other cases the Federation through its affiliated organizations has in the past half century made functional contacts with various departments and branches of our educational system from the elementary schools to the universities. It has set up co-operating relationships with various educational societies for the advancement of its educational work. In more recent years the Federation has de-

veloped an organic and functional relationship with the Workers' Education Bureau of America in the development of adult education opportunities for the entire membership which has been of unique and lasting value.

Your Committee on Education is firmly of the opinion that there is no clearer trend of labor development for the past fifty years than the utilization and extension of both educational methods and objectives for the labor movement. Educational methods have been stamped upon hundreds of Labor's proclaimed policies. It is the rule of a wide variety of Labor practices. It is the prophecy of Labor's future development and service to the public welfare. Your Committee is accordingly of one mind in feeling that the Federation at this historic milestone in its development can no more fittingly signalize its past trend and its future direction than to make education one of its foremost working policies.

Your Committee further realizes that the most effective manner of giving education its proper place among the working policies of the Federation would be to co-ordinate these various educational activities now carried on by the Federation through the Permanent Committee on Education and the Workers' Education Bureau into a unified whole. It would add weight to what is now being done and concentrate and focus more sharply the direction of Labor's educational advance.

Your Committee on Education therefore unanimously recommends to the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the President and the Executive Council be authorized to undertake an appraisal of all of the existing educational activities now carried on by the American Federation of Labor either directly or indirectly as heretofore described and be empowered to co-ordinate and consolidate all such activities as may serve the most effective growth and development of the labor movement in the future.

Child Welfare

Under this caption on page 134 of its report the Executive Council has on one page provided food for volumes of thought upon this very important subject.

Pages 124-125, Executive Council's Report. The Executive Council calls attention to the fact that this amendment to the Constitution of the United States has been before the legislatures of the various states for several years, and that but six have so far ratified it.

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Some Tendencies in Educational Magazines

Nell Peterson

IS AN OVERPRODUCTION of college graduates in America possible? The Dean of the College at Princeton, Christian Gauss, believes it may be. Analyzing the difficulty that college graduates of 1931 have had in finding employment, Mr. Gauss states that fifty years ago the great majority of seniors went into the professions. During the last decade, however, business has been absorbing from sixty to eighty per cent. Now it can no longer provide employment for anything like this percentage. Many young men and women who were graduated from college in June, finding themselves unable to secure a job, have decided, in spite of all hardships, to avoid idleness by continuing professional or graduate studies. Their solution of the problem confronting them has some dangers for society.

"Quite evidently if business cannot now absorb its normal percentage of college graduates, in a few years the professions may be called upon to make a place for them. This may be hard on the professions, for some of them, particularly the law, are already overcrowded, and we may be running serious danger of creating what already exists in many European countries—an unemployable intellectual proletariat."

"The Last Generation," by Christian Gauss; *Forum*; September, 1931.

One wonders, after reading Mr. Gauss' analysis of the new spirit evident among the young people today, whether their economic plight has not had its compensations.

Of course, he is speaking of the more intelligent college students when he summarizes their beliefs as follows: "Sins are serious, this new crowd holds, in proportion to their social effects, and an act which affects the doer alone is not as seriously or far-reachingly immoral as one that tends to beget injustice and ill-will or corruption in the city or state. It is worse to poison a community well than to take a swig out

of your own gin-filled flask. Good Citizenship, the kind that insists actively and effectively upon living in decent communities and under a social and economic system that is fair and just to all, is far more central to morality than is total abstinence."

"The New Morality in the Colleges," by Christian Gauss, *Scribner's*, November, 1931.

If, as Mr. Gauss believes, the young are seriously drawing up acts of accusation against the generations which produced the world in which they find themselves, it is well that the older men and women are doing some self-appraisal. For instance, there is the *Annual Report for 1931*, in which the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has published certain preliminary results of an investigation called the *Pennsylvania Study*. This *Study* is "an inquiry into the relations of secondary and higher education." It purposes to follow the record of about 12,500 pupils who entered the seventh grades of Pennsylvania schools in September, 1928, through the junior and senior high schools until they are graduated from high school in June, 1934. Also it involves following the growth of thousands of high school graduates of 1928 through the cooperating Pennsylvania colleges until they receive degrees in June, 1932. Max McConn, of Lehigh University, after making an exhaustive study of this report, concludes that up to date the evidence against the quality of work done in Pennsylvania colleges is "valid and pretty damning." Taken at their face value the facts "seem to show that college students learn practically nothing, that seniors within a month of their graduation are nearly as ignorant as freshmen and, in some important fields, even more so."

Naturally all who accept the evidence of this study are concerned to find causes and remedies for such expensive futility. Two causes stand out clearly: the organization of studies in American colleges on the basis of isolated semes-

ter courses with accompanying credits; and the indiscriminate admission to college of students who have not the necessary mental ability or the intellectual interest to profit by any plan of college education. Many boys and girls who can get along very well so long as they need only memorize small bodies of material, which may be forgotten after sixteen weeks, are really without any genuine intellectual interest and incapable of constantly recalling and using the raw data of knowledge until it can be carried forward as permanent and growing wisdom. If colleges were not compelled to accept second-rate minds, probably educators could devise a plan of study that would make learning cumulative and vital.

"How Much Do College Students Learn?" by Max McConn, *North American Review*; November, 1931.

Another suggestion for a complete change in our way of organizing education should arouse more than one group of teachers to honest thinking and to well-controlled experimentation. Mr. E. E. Keener notes that, "Attempts to teach large classes in high school have shown that in some subjects classes of one hundred pupils can be taught effectively." He admits that both teachers and administrators are slow to accept the validity of evidence which has tended to the conclusion that work done by pupils in large classes is as good as work done by pupils in small classes; and he urges further and better guarded experiments. His revolutionary suggestion is this: "If the teaching is well done in the early grades, the problems of study habits and behavior will become fewer and fewer as the pupils progress through school. As the pupils learn how to study, the teacher can teach larger and larger classes. If this argument is valid, our school system needs turning upside down as far as class size is concerned."

"What Size Class?" by E. E. Keener, in *The Elementary School Journal*, October, 1931.

BOOKS

"There is no frigate like a book to bear us lands away."—EMILY DICKINSON

FIFTY-FIVE "BAD" BOYS

By Samuel W. Hartwell

Knopf, 1931, New York. \$3.50.

THE STUDY of human relations (as distinguished from mere observations on them) is one of the real intellectual adventures of our time. For teachers such studies offer peculiar hope for the solution of the age-old problems of the class-room and every contribution is worthy of their careful attention. Most teachers know that it is not so much what we know as what personalities we have to offer and how these personalities interact with those of our students, that counts in a good education. But very few teachers know much about how to cultivate just the personalities they want, and less of achieving just the relations they intend with their students. A study which may cast some light on our thinking on these matters is this book by a skillful psychiatrist in a Child Guidance Clinic, who analyzes for us as well as for himself, first, what are fruitful relations between physician and patient and how they are established; second, the nature of his successes and his failures in specific cases; and third, what are the underlying causes of "good adjustment," whether attained by his efforts or without them.

The technique is far more elaborate than the teacher needs to use, but for that very reason shows clearly the pitfalls of our more sketchy methods. First, thinking *about* a boy or forming a theory of his conduct, thinking *for* him or making a plan to meet his difficulties and thinking *with* the boy are kept separate in consciousness. Dr. Hartley distinguishes four stages of rapport; that of friendly belief where "the child thoroughly believes in me and thinks I have a knowledge that may help him"; that of personal trust, where "in addition to believing in me, the child now trusts me in regard to personal matters"; that of personality contact, where he "now believes in me,

trusts me, and in addition to that he likes me and wants me to understand and to like him"; that of dependent attachment, where in addition to all this, "he is *dependent* on me and wishes *very much* to have me like and appreciate him.—He is suggestible to the greatest possible degree." A good teacher recognizes that the relations most suitable to the classroom are the first two; there are dangers in the third degree and very grave dangers in the last, but his establishment of a good rapport while avoiding too deep a one in certain cases is usually the result of good "instinctive" attitudes: the psychiatrist shows how it may become a conscious process and therefore, more readily controllable. And, by implication, his case histories show us the ills which arise from lack of a good rapport; a situation which is only too frequent with us all in relation to some of our students, and gives us a little insight into how this unfortunate situation may be avoided.

Dr. Hartley is not afraid to admit and study his failures. When human relations are our job we are shirking if we merely say: "That child is a failure" and do not seek to single out those factors in the total situation which most probably contributed to the failure; some of these case histories are good examples of how to go about it. Most illuminating of all the studies is No. 14, where a boy who had had nearly everything that could be had in his environment about as bad as it could be, was, nevertheless, so well adjusted that he "was frankly told he might help other boys and girls by trying to help me understand how he had always been a well-behaved and happy boy and how he had learned to make so many friends." Here neither the physician nor the social worker claims a success, but hopes in understanding to find the way to successes with others.

In successes and failures alike, Dr. Hartley sees repeatedly that *loyalties* to something or somebody is the clear-

est need. The five cases discussed in chapter seven take this as a central theme, but the thinking out of the treatment suited to many of the other cases comes back again and again to this fundamental. It is in such practical thinking out of individual cases that a scientific approach to character-building lies, and the unexpected stress on loyalties which grows out of these studies may well give us pause in following any wholesale methods or aiming at standardized ideals and behavior.

—Ruth Gillette Hardy.

THE COUNCIL OF THE GODS

By Ruth Harshaw

Thomas S. Rockwell Company, Chicago, 1931. Pp. 198. \$2.00.

To most of us, the mythology we crammed in our school days was just a collection of more or less disconnected tales, more or less interesting, but wholly lacking in significance. It was only as we met them again and again in the reading of after years that these airy nothings took on a local habitation and names whose significance widens with the years.

What Mrs. Harshaw has done is re-create for children the community of Greek deities on Mount Olympus and build out of a familiar myth a community project, through which not incidents but personalities shall be correlated. The loss of Persephone and its effect upon Demeter and, through her, upon mankind furnishes the occasion for a council of the gods.

As Hermes, messenger of Zeus, flies hither and yon, summoning gods and goddesses to Olympus, we see their abodes and their occupations. The banquet hall of Zeus' palace furnishes a gorgeous setting for the council and its happy outcome.

The narrative maintains a classic dignity becoming to the theme. But throughout the story has been written with a view to the children's dramatizing it, if they so desire. Nothing could be more inspiring to the child than the

blend of classic repose and poetic feeling in the illustrations by Nicholas Kaissaroff. This newcomer to America is a distinct addition to our artists. A pupil of the famous Russian Bilibin, he has also the rich heritage of a well-born Russian underlying a thorough understanding of art.

The Foreword is by Carleton Washburne, superintendent of the Winnetka (Ill.) schools, under whom Mrs. Harshaw has served as teacher, principal and supervisor.

Lydia J. Trowbridge

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY, by H. R. Huse; University of North Carolina Press; \$3.00.

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION, social maladjustment, political corruption and an unending prophecy of conditions yet more dire so cloud the picture of this gloomy world in which we find ourselves that it is with a sense of surprised recollection that we catch mental sight of certain more optimistic and abiding facts. Honest human relationships and human emotions still hold. Parents still love their children and the reverse is equally true. Friendship thrives. Generosity at times breaks through the hard shell of public impersonality. There is still that subtle thing which we call spiritual aspiration.

So in the consideration of Mr. Huse's book, the Psychology of Foreign Language Study, the reader is glad to recollect that despite the weight of his considerations in negative, foreign languages are still taught with some degree of profit. In the case of many students they continue to be a pleasurable scholastic experience amid the arid stretches of a curriculum overcrowded at present with pseudo-sciences. The experience of more than a decade of teaching might cause one timidly to express the opinion that a considerable residue of language knowledge and language skill remains and continues to function after the prescribed study is completed.

Mr. Huse's book is incorrectly named. One reaches for it with pleasure, the Psychology of Foreign Language Study, in the hope that here will be something new or original or stimulating but instead one finds a compendium of notes garnered from those who have espoused or opposed the cause of methodology. The arrangement is orderly and systematic. Part I, Comparisons Between Methods, Experiments Related to Methods, and Experiments in Learning and Recall. Mr. Huse does not avail himself of the privilege of expression of those who would draw conclusions. He collects

and arranges material. He who runs may read and draw his own conclusions if tabulated negations are provocative of them. In this respect the author shows himself a collector, a compiler, rather than an original thinker or writer. Part II again is a compilation which concerns current pedagogical doctrines. It is only in Part III that we find anything that might be called original and then it is so entirely negative as to be negligible. The world of linguistic investigation is not waiting to hear that,

- 1) "There is no present agreement universalized in practice as to what to teach.
- 2) "There is no agreement and little scientific information as to how best to teach. . . .
- 3) "A determination of these points has been infinitely complicated by dozens of different aims. . . .
- 4) "A scientific foundation for language pedagogy has been impossible. . . ."

These summarized conclusions with which Mr. Huse ends his sixth chapter of Part III have long since been apparent to those who are interested in the study of foreign language. The rest of the world will be, as it has been, completely indifferent to them. The only positive results of the author's study appear in the last two chapters of his book, a plea for the establishment of a minimum aim that would be acceptable to all and some suggestions for the technique of presentation.

Those who seek in brief and accessible form a glimpse of the investigations in foreign language study of the past twenty-five years may find some help in Mr. Huse's work. As a real contribution to the field of foreign language study it adds extremely little.

Blanche H. Dowe.

The Office of Education Announces—

More than 100 specialists in the Federal Office of Education are constantly on the lookout for progressive innovations and vital trends in education in the United States and foreign countries. What they find is given at once to the school world through *School Life*, monthly journal of the Federal bureau.

For teachers and school administrators who wish to keep informed about the studies, surveys, and bulletins of the Office of Education, *School Life* is a necessary guide. Its articles canvass every phase and field of education.

In addition, *School Life* tells each month what new free or low cost publications the Government has issued which teachers of geography, home economics, history and many other subjects can use to give life to their classroom projects. It also reports activities of other Federal departments and commissions significant to educators.

School Life can be obtained for one year by sending 50 cents to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

For High School Journalists

A free twice-a-month high school newspaper service—combining editorial and typographical suggestions for advisers, editors and journalism classes, with a nation-wide feature service—has just been announced by the *American Boy Magazine*, 550 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, Mich. Clipsheets will be mailed without charge, every two weeks, to high school newspapers that request them.

In charge of this new service department will be William L. Mapel, assistant editor, who comes to the magazine from the directorship of the Lee School of Journalism, Washington and Lee University. He will be assisted by Miss Marjorie Nordstrom, former secretary of the Department of Journalism, Iowa State College.

High school newspapers may obtain the clipsheets through application to Mr. Mapel in care of the *American Boy Magazine*. High school editors and journalism teachers are invited to call on him for assistance in publication problems. High school and preparatory schools are asked to place Mr. Mapel on their exchange lists, so that he may study their newspapers and quote from them.

Mother: "Well, Jimmy, do you think your teacher likes you?"

Jimmy: "I think so, mummy, because she marks a big kiss on all my 'rithmetic."—*Scarboro Post*.

If a man is right, all the bombardment of the world for five, ten, twenty, forty years will only strengthen him in his position. So that all you have to do is to keep yourself right. Never mind the world.—*Talmage*.

WE ASK YOU

Help increase the value of your magazine by spending a few minutes and two cents on the Questionnaire on page 2.

NEWS OF THE LOCALS

Portland Local 111

An event which our union will remember through the year is the visit to us of our national secretary, Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson. The pleasure of her friendship and the stimulus of her enthusiastic and effectual work for the Teachers' Federation will remain a happy memory and a more than transient inspiration.

This year the board of education again allowed the Teachers' Union to send a delegate to the convention of the State Federation of Labor. Our representative, Miss May Darling, was chairman of the committee on education. The report of that committee was violently attacked because of the clause recommending that ability to teach rather than need of work be considered in the employment of teachers, but it carried with a gratifying majority. With the adoption of that report the convention went on record as approving: (1) educational qualities as first requisite for teachers; (2) no increase in teacher load; (3) adequate tenure; (4) salaries consistent with services rendered the state; (5) furtherance of the study of the social sciences; (6) promulgation of information dealing with the "dangers threatening our industrial and social life"; (7) the incorporation into the Federation of the committee on education, directed by the executive secretary and reinforcing his work.

Because the board of education still felt it wise, as an economic relief measure, to ask the married teachers with other means of support than their salaries to withdraw temporarily, Local 111 sent to the board the following communication:

"Members of the School Board:

"In the discussion of unemployment relief, the suggestion has been made that married women teachers be asked to surrender their positions, temporarily, at least.

"The advocates of discrimination against married women apparently lose sight of the fact that the schools are conducted for the benefit of the children; that the welfare of the children should not be subordinated to employment needs of individuals, and that, therefore, educational qualifications and teaching ability should be the first consideration in the employment of teachers. Assuming, however, that the married women could be replaced by other teachers of equal ability, we still

believe that such discrimination would be objectionable in that it would be made on sex lines. The adoption of such a policy by the board would penalize women for marrying, thus striking a blow at the institution which is the foundation of our social system. The continuation of such a policy would have a tendency to discourage women of ability from preparing for the teaching profession.

"We do not believe that the situation is such as to warrant discrimination in the matter of employment against any class. But if, in the opinion of the board, conditions of unemployment are serious enough to demand such drastic action, then we ask that the basis for such discrimination be entirely the economic needs of the individuals and that the question of sex, or marital status, be eliminated. If employment needs are to be truly the test for employment, then those who are asked to retire will be teachers, or other employees of the district, who have sources of income other than the salaries they receive from the district, or who own sufficient property to permit them to retire.

"We therefore request that if an economic survey is to be made, it be applied alike to married and unmarried women teachers and to married and unmarried men teachers. We also ask that it extend from the highest to the lowest and that it include every employee of the district, whether he be a member of the teaching staff or employed in some other capacity.

"We are convinced that the board, in whatever action it takes, will desire to promote the best interests of the schools, and we wish to assure the board that we, as members of the teaching staff, are willing to put aside personal considerations and view these problems in the light of their effect on the schools and on society as a whole. We believe that in the hiring of teachers the need for employment should not be allowed to take precedence over much more important considerations. We feel that, in the end, any discriminatory practice, regardless of the class which is to be benefited or injured by such practice, will react against the best interests of the schools.

"Assuring you of our sincere desire to cooperate with the school authorities in all matters which look toward the betterment of the schools, we are

"Respectfully yours,
"PORTLAND TEACHERS UNION."

Washington Local 27

The Washington Teachers' Union, Local 27, during the past summer was one of the cooperating organizations in the entertainment of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. This large body representing the educational leaders in negro education of America was the guest of the Columbian Education Association of Washington, D. C. Local 27 distributed literature designed to acquaint the visitors with the American Federation of Teachers and presented souvenir fans at the closing reception. These fans pictured Harriet Tubman, an apostle of freedom, as "A Great Teacher of Vital Lessons" and told of the aims of the American Federation of Teachers.

In September Washington Teachers' Union mourned the passing of its one member-at-large, Miss Ella M. Boston, for more than thirty-seven years principal of Kemper School and leader of educational thought in Arlington, Virginia. When she retired in 1928 Supt. Fletcher Kemper wrote to her: "I can assure you that your contribution to public education will be felt for many generations to come. I do know that you have devoted your entire life, energy and efforts to the noble profession that you saw fit to choose."

Our Local 27 congratulates at this time the First Assistant Superintendent of Colored Schools, Mr. Garnet C. Wilkinson, who received his master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania this summer. His wide experience and progressive achievement in the field of education place him in the foremost rank of educational benefactors of the country.

Two of our members who have been promoted to the rank of administrative principals are Miss Edythe Lyons of the Morgan Elementary School and Mr. Walker L. Savoy (who was the delegate to the 1928 convention of the American Federation of Teachers), principal of the Garnet-Patterson Junior High School.

LINNIE R. SMITH,
National Representative.

Buffalo Local 39

With its first executive meeting October 15, the Buffalo Industrial Teachers Association got under way, and made plans for the coming year.

It was decided to tender a compli-

mentary dinner to the members of the Central Labor Council in appreciation of their assistance in securing for the teachers of Buffalo this year's salary increase. The local labor support was probably the most important factor in getting this increase.

The first regular meeting of the Association will take place October 27 at 4 o'clock. The holding of an afternoon meeting with dinner afterwards is in the nature of an experiment, to see if the afternoon meeting will be more popular with our members.

LYMAN B. FISHER,
Correspondent.

Local 5, New York

The teachers of New York have the highest salary schedule of any city in the country, and they are paid promptly on the first day of each school month. The checks are good at any bank for the full face value. But there are drawbacks.

The Mayor of our city, "the playboy of Manhattan," himself receives an annual salary of \$40,000 or double the salary of the Prime Minister of England. There has been no announcement of the amount Mayor Walker contributes to our local unemployment relief fund, but there has been considerable said of the amount he would like to have the city employees contribute. The police were told to give up three per cent, which they did. The suggestion offered to the teachers was likewise three per cent, but some superintendents made an "ante" of ten per cent as an example. Whether it was more than an ante as applied to the first month's salary no one knows. But here and there principals have passed the word to teachers that the contribution might well be five per cent.

The Teachers' Union has called the attention of the officials and the teachers to the fact that last year's contributions were wastefully used, and that teachers must not be subjected to pressure to give to the officially collected fund if they prefer to give elsewhere. The Superintendent of Schools stated publicly that the teachers were under no compulsion to give. However, the district superintendents and the principals have a way of applying the pressure with one hand while receiving soft-pedal messages with the other.

The moral (if that word can be applied to the ways of political high-binders) of this tale is that if you are a subordinate, your superior can throw you and your purse to the wolves and escape with his own purse and personality. Meantime, suggestions from the Teachers' Union and from others that charity, even compulsory charity, is not the remedy, are disregarded.

Social planning requires too much thinking to be attractive. And, besides, there may be no graft in it.

It is astonishing the amount of sloppy sentimentality that can be exuded from the mouths of the ignorant and the hypocritical to take the place of sound devotion to the cause of the people at a time when human misery is at its flood tide. Politicians, profiteers and the holders of vast economic resources urge the unthinking and unresisting employed classes to the sacrifice, while thousands of the very beneficiaries of misery escape unassessed. In the midst of all this and the most aggressive official investigation of civic rottenness of a generation in New York, the leaders of both majority political parties meet to divide the spoils of twelve new judgeships and to make money payments for the places in direct violation of the law and the decent traditions of our courts of law.

Does anyone of us still believe that this is none of the business of teachers?

San Francisco Local 61

Our Local has settled down to its regular routine with practically the same officers in charge as last year. Miss Marcella Glazier, for eight years Financial Secretary of our Local, retired from the school department in June. Our members showed their appreciation of her long service by presenting her with several gifts of considerable value. Her place has been filled by the election of Byron G. Nason of Portola Junior High School.

One of our members was illegally demoted from the senior to the junior high school in June last. His case will be taken to the courts for adjudication. Several other cases of irregularities are being looked after by the chairman of our Law and Legislative Committee, Mr. E. J. Dupuy.

In answer to an inquiry in the June issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* relative to the graph showing our expenditures for the past year, our Treasurer, Mr. C. A. Davis, states that his calculations were based on the total income of the Local for the year, which amount included several contributions from outside sources for our membership drive.

We are expecting a visit from our Executive Secretary, Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, and Locals 61 and 215 have united in tendering a banquet in her honor.

H. P. DOLE,
President.

Chicago Elementary Local 199

The Elementary Teachers' Union, despite the fact that Chicago teachers

have received no pay since last April, is conducting a membership campaign. Building representatives have been selected and a series of free bridge parties for non-members has been started. For the October meeting a dinner followed by a trip to the new studios of Radio Station WCFL has been planned.

Sumptuous quarters on the twentieth floor of the Furniture Mart on the lake front have recently been opened by Station WCFL. The six Chicago locals broadcast school programs every afternoon from four to four-thirty. The Fair Department Store is cooperating on these programs.

Governor Louis L. Emmerson has appointed Miss Agnes Clohesy, president of the local, as a member of the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief. Superintendent William J. Bogan, also, has accepted appointment on this commission.

Miss Clohesy and Mrs. Helen R. Orrell represented the local at the Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held in Galesburg from September 14 to September 18.

On September 22, 1931, Miss Clohesy appeared before Governor Emmerson's Commission on Revenue and spoke for the Men Teachers' Union, the Elementary Teachers' Union, the Board of Education Playground Teachers' Union, the Educational Secretaries' Union and the Truant Officers' Union. Miss Weil spoke for the Federation of Women High School Teachers. During the conference several members of the Commission stated that not only should Chicago teachers not receive a cut in salary but that in their opinion they are entitled to a raise.

"The Chicago Union Teacher," a monthly magazine published by the six Chicago locals, is on the presses. It will be sent to the homes of fourteen thousand teachers and should be of material assistance in promoting membership in the locals.

Attractive pins bearing the insignia of Local No. 199 are being proudly worn by members of the Union. A pin and guard set in pearls was presented to the President by the elementary teachers.

Six Chicago locals have organized the Joint Board of Teacher Unions. The following permanent officers have been elected: Chairman, Agnes B. Clohesy, Local No. 199; Vice-Chairman, Dorothy Weil, Local No. 3; Treasurer, Freeland G. Stecker, Local No. 2; Secretary, Winnifred K. McCormick, Local No. 224.

Teacher Leadership in Defense of Civil Liberty

(Continued from Page 14)

struggle to preserve the liberties of all citizens. Opportunities to take part in that necessary and noble warfare constantly present themselves. There is the tendency in every group to repress the unusual individual, sometimes by direct force, oftener by other forms of social pressure. Thus the community, to save itself annoyance, often robs itself of the fruits of genius. The teacher should lead in opposing such wastage of human material. There are the tendencies toward racial discrimination, the failure to enforce the rights of individuals and groups of certain races. There are the many discriminations against women, including women teachers, which are clear infringements upon "the natural rights of the citizen." There are the numerous instances where workers are deprived of their right to associate together, to withhold their labor if terms are unsatisfactory, to picket peacefully. Sometimes this leads to the provocation of civil warfare as in Harlan County, Kentucky, among the miners today. Even when the results are not so obviously disastrous as this, it remains a fact that in practically every organizing campaign, every strike of any proportions a mockery is made of the workers' constitutional rights. A virtual terrorism prevails in many industrial communities even in times of industrial peace. Thus just recently the present writer was asked to address a meeting of the United Mine Workers of America in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania in commemoration of John Mitchell, a founder of that union and one of the outstanding conservative trade unionists of the past. The personnel manager of a big coal company sought to compel the abandonment of that meeting by having the Chief Burgess of the town issue a notice which read, "All propaganda . . . tending to breach of the peace, disorder, of defiance of government is prohibited within this borough and will be promptly punished . . . We invoke the aid of all citizens in this cause." Here is direct incitement to riot on behalf of a coal company, whose real concern is to prevent propaganda against wage-cutting. Miners who sponsored and went through with the meeting faced the risk of losing their jobs on some flimsy pretext.

What a hopeful omen it would be if in the battle against legislation abridging "the rights of man and of the citizen," in the maintenance of civil liberties and the spirit of tolerance in each city or town, in the defence of the vic-

times of judicial tyranny, police brutality, insidious racial or social discriminations, teachers whose professional activity is killed in an atmosphere of intolerance and repression were everywhere to take the lead. The defence of civil liberty is the defence of the school, the teacher, the child.

The Teacher as a Citizen

(Continued from Page 12)

nation" in which every group contributes its own tonality. "In a symphony, each note rises and speaks and disappears forever. Many notes are grouped to make melodies and themes; are interwoven to fill chords; and these, too, tide and fall. All the innumerable notes left their instant voices, and pass, and only the symphony remains. Such would be our nation; save that its creator would not be 'outside' the music. He would be the individual note itself—the group of notes, building the structure of the whole by knowing the whole, and by living it, personally, in its several parts."

When the child, as a future citizen, has been trained to appreciate his obligations towards family, comrades, village, city or state, he must further learn that this solidarity cannot end at the frontiers of his nation. Civilization has been and still is the common work of all peoples, and in spite of inevitable differences, this common bond must be maintained and strengthened.

You who teach will not cease from your creative labor of beauty. You will yourselves become more aware of truth and "bring truth to bear upon the unborn world; not for any issue in time or person, but for the joy of the eternity of the moment lived in the image of God."

A Glance at Pension Legislation

(Continued from Page 7)

Even so, there are still those who protest on the ground that the compulsory features are a reflection on their ability to handle their own finances properly or, in rare instances, that they will be considered objects of charity.

Pensions for teachers have lagged far less because of opposition on the part of the public than because teachers have been indifferent or antagonistic toward them. The members of the group who look on pensions as a form of insurance have allowed themselves to be shouldered aside while a noisy majority held the center of the stage. Once the teachers become pension-minded as a whole, retirement allowances, if the term is more agreeable, will be a matter of course for them as they are for thousands of federal employees.

A QUARTER CENTURY OF LEARNING 1904-1929

Edited by Dixon Ryan Fox
\$3.50

Eighteen professors of Columbia University survey the progress of the world in the fields of history, economics, sociology, government, jurisprudence, psychology, education, college administration, letters, classical studies, architecture, medicine, chemistry, physics, engineering and geology. Summing up much of the intellectual history of our time these essays are themselves contributions to intellectual history.

WORLD WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS

THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

By Marius Hansome
\$5.00

Here is an evaluation of the subject, marked by an enormous range of materials covered. It is based upon workers' education associations' reports, on attendance at such institutions and conferences, and on ten years experience in teaching adult classes. "The author's capacity for critical analysis, sociological interpretation, philosophic grasp of issues, and careful scholarship make this comprehensive study a very valuable addition to critical educational literature," writes Henry J. Jeddell in the "Journal of Higher Education."

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Descriptive announcements of any books will be sent on request

We Stand Corrected

Editor, The American Teacher.

I have read with great interest the article entitled "The Chicago Situation" which appears in the October issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER. However, I wish to take exception to one point made by the author.

In the paragraph commencing, "The next economy proposal was an increase in size of classes," Miss Weil states as a fact that Chicago is worse than most other cities with its *average of 46 pupils in the elementary school, 35 in the junior high and 30 in the senior high.*

It is well known that these figures, official or otherwise, are misleading, and for that reason they should have been qualified or at least explained.

As I understand it, these figures are obtained by dividing the total enrollment of any given school by the total number of teachers on the payroll of that school. It is a recognized fact that all schools have a certain number of executives and administrative aids who do little or no actual teaching. Thus the quotient obtained by this method of figuring is decidedly smaller than the actual number of pupils in the classroom.

Most of the junior high school teachers with whom I have talked tell me that 45 per class is the minimum. The only junior high with which I am personally acquainted is equipped with 48 seats in each and every room. The senior high school teachers at present average about 40 in each class. I believe that 35 seats is the minimum for any senior high classroom. I am not so familiar with conditions in the elementary schools but I do know that a first grade teacher who sat beside me at a recent meeting of the Chicago division of the Illinois State Teachers Association told me she had 54 in her room and she seemed to take that huge enrollment as a matter of course.

I wonder if the authors of these "official figures" feel that the classroom teacher's load will be less heavy if she sees in print that her average enrollment is not 45-50 as she has thought, but 35; not 40, but 30; not 54, but 46. (It will be noted that in the elementary schools where there are no deans or executive heads of departments, the discrepancy is not so great.)

I for one deeply resent this glossing over of facts and I feel that if civic leaders are disturbed over the figures as given by Miss Weil, they should know just how much worse actual conditions are.

Very truly yours,
CORDELIA B. OLMSTED,
Hyde Park High School.

Editor, The American Teacher

Miss Olmsted's letter is really its own answer. Those of us who are teaching in the Chicago school system know that in the high schools, the official average of students per teacher is reached by totaling the number of students in attendance and dividing that by the number of teachers assigned to the school. Among the teachers, certain special duties are recognized. The assistant to the principal, the deans of boys and girls, and a limited number of administrative aids are classified as part time teachers, since the rest of their duties comprise the administrative functions necessary for the efficient management of a large high school. In many schools, these four groups of executives do not teach classes in accordance with the regulations of the Board of Education; and in most of the schools they simply cannot do so without seriously crippling the actual mechanism of the school. When we get schools of 3000 to 8000 students and 120 to 300 teachers, it takes a lot of lubricating to keep all the wheels going. Nevertheless, this very oiling of the machinery intended to make things easier for the teacher, results instead in throwing the students that the Board fondly expects the administrators to teach into the classes of those who are already allotted a full program of classes and a full quota of students. As a result, although the official average enrollment may be thirty, the six daily classes of many teachers may easily range from 40 to 53. An additional cause of overlarge classes at this time is an increased enrollment of approximately 20,000 pupils—all in the high schools—for whom no increased budgetary provision for teachers has been provided.

High school teachers in English, mathematics, stenography and foreign languages are reporting, this semester, teaching loads of 250 to 280 pupils per day. That is the reason the Federation of Women High School Teachers protested so vigorously against an additional two pupils per class to the official quota. Classes with standardized equipment such as shops, laboratories, and typewriting groups cannot add more pupils, the entire stock has to be taken up by the academic classes which are already perilously overcrowded.

The real problems are to have administrative duties so recognized by the Board of Education that provision is made for them, and to have the entire teaching load equalized so that each teacher does his honest share of teaching and yet does not have to face the appalling prospect of a daily teach-

ing load beyond the possibility of human contacts between pupil and teacher.

The Federation of Women High School Teachers started to work on these problems in 1926 and formulated some definite recommendations in December, 1927. These "Suggestions to Improve the Efficiency of our Schools by Equalizing the Teaching Load" were presented to the high school principals at the invitation of Mr. Bogan, then First Assistant Superintendent of Schools. The result of the conference was a request from Mr. Bogan that as many of these suggestions as possible be embodied in the school programs for the next semester. Conditions improved noticeably at first, but Miss Olmsted's letter indicates that the problem is squarely before us again. She and the other Chicago high school teachers carrying the overloads must prepare to organize their forces.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,
DOROTHY WEIL.

Report of the Education Committee

(Continued from Page 21)

The report calls special attention to the last of these, Colorado, where consideration of the amendment had been postponed indefinitely by the legislature of that state, but due to persistent efforts of the labor movement of that state the legislature has changed its mind upon this important subject, and has ratified it.

The Executive Council urges the state federations of labor, city central bodies and local unions, in the states that have not yet ratified this amendment, to follow the lead of the Colorado trade unionists and to elect legislators who will vote for ratification.

Your committee recommends that the initiative in securing the ratification of the child labor amendment be taken by local labor groups in the various states and that they in cooperation with national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor assume largely the responsibility for securing this action, and that in each of the states every candidate for the legislature who will not pledge himself to vote for ratification be opposed and it also recommends that state federations of labor and city central bodies be so advised by the President of the American Federation of Labor. It also recommends that state federations and city central bodies be called upon for a report of their activities on this subject.

FLORENCE C. HANSON,
Secretary.

The Return to Representative Government

(Continued from Page 11)

it overcomes the handicaps which are inherent in its own nature.

People who govern themselves have a right to govern themselves badly, and in most cases they will prefer to do so rather than to be governed well by somebody else. Nevertheless, in the present conflict with governmental systems, a system which works badly will find it extremely hard to hold its own, because there is the pressure of rival systems.

The people of this country devoted a vast amount of energy to the study of industrial, scientific and economic problems. They can afford to direct far more intelligent thought toward the problems of political life.

There is no real conflict between administrative efficiency and the popular sovereignty. It is for such conferences as the present one to think out ways and means of reconciling the two, and of approaching more nearly to the idea which was formulated more than two thousand years ago by the man who said that the details of government were a matter for experts, but that only the whole community could determine the aims to be attained.

Let us face our problems without fear and without prejudice. If we are attacked, and we are bound to be attacked if we are doing anything constructive, let us welcome opposition from the sources from which that opposition is bound to come.

Let them call us obstructionists if they like, provided that we have a constructive program which they will be bound to fight and obstruct in their territory.

Let them call us radicals as long as we remember we are one group which is trying to preserve at least the spirit which animated the founders of this republic. No one would call the makers of our Constitution radicals, but those men had the courage to meet the immediate situation which confronted them and to trust to posterity to meet the entirely different situation with which they would be confronted. It is in that spirit and with that courage that I hope members of this Conference will meet the great problems which confront us today.

The real science of political economy is that which teaches nations to desire and labor for the things that lead to life, and which teaches them to scorn and destroy the things that lead to destruction.—Ruskin.

Some Questions for
You on Page 2

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The Teacher Orients Himself

(Continued from Page 19)

worker. Their psychological, if not actual, affiliation, is with the upper stratum of society. In their claim of being "objective," "unbiased," "servants of all" they lose sight of the fact that they stand on a battleground where one cannot function in a no-man's land. Consciously or unconsciously, they have to help maintain in America the status quo. Though individually some may want to see the schools in the vanguard for a new and better world, yet collectively they must act to the contrary. The National Education Association is dominated in its policies by principals and superintendents whose psychology is that of the employing class. The League of Class Room Teachers, though it claims otherwise, is an endured foster-child of the National Education Association, and in any case it stands proudly aloof from direct contact with labor. The American As-

sociation of University Professors, containing in its membership a large body of thinking men and women, is nevertheless timid in the face of critical issues and makes largely futile gestures. It is dominated by the elders in the organization who have in long years of secluded teaching lost touch with the mind of the worker. And its steady refusal to brush elbows with the worker has unfitted it for the tasks ahead.

There is only one thing left for the teachers to do if they want to be free for a living, creative service. They must definitely, boldly unite in a common cause with the only group in America which looks forward. In other words, they must unionize and stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellow workmen of factory and field. Despite all serious arguments or "stalls" regarding the mistakes and failures of organized labor, the fact remains that through unity with it, teachers are brought into close understanding with the yearnings of those

who toil with their hands. And through that touch of brotherhood a new impetus is given to the teacher. It was the workers of America who emancipated the schools from a mere class service for the well-to-do; it will be again the workers of America who this time will emancipate the teachers from a position of inferiority and subserviency to selfish interests. And the organization with which the hope for a new day of service for teachers rests is the American Federation of Teachers and its affiliated locals, all of which, nationally and locally, are affiliated with organized labor.

If America is to evolve to a better day for the common man, if it is to escape from the path which history indicates is so truly possible, then it must develop a constant flow of creative leadership and an intelligent followership. This it can do only if the schools are unfettered and free as a testing ground for ideas and ideals, and only a free, courageous body of teachers can help make the schools function in that manner. But coupled with freedom and courage must be an awareness as to the needs of America and the forces which menace the future peace and happiness of the common man. Freedom and courage are partly the product of collective action, but vision and insight, whatever their degree, grow out of one's sources of inspiration, one's environment and contact. Teachers' organizations of various kinds as already listed may make possible a certain amount of freedom and courage for action, but only an organization such as the American Federation of Teachers, with its roots deep in the aspirations and hopes of America's working masses, can furnish the way to fundamental service to America and through America to civilization. Many other important functions for the benefit of the schools and teachers are a part of the program of such an organization. Security of tenure, better pay, better conditions, are all important for the immediate happiness and effectiveness of the teacher. But when it is asked, "Should teachers unionize?" the answer takes us far beyond these important but temporary reasons for unionization to one upon which hinges the life and happiness of the generations to come.

—From *The Wisconsin Labor Annual*.

"An idealism of action that is devoted to creation of the future, instead of staking itself upon propositions of the past, is invincible."—John Dewey.

Americans have no National Church, but they have a national religion, and it is education.—America.

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MATTHEW WOLL, President

WASHINGTON, D. C.

An Experiment on Accelerating Assimilation

(Continued from Page 13)

2. Series of lectures are given each year by eminent men from various Federal Departments. Definite requests are made by the Association to each lecturer; these are to speak slowly as many of the listeners are new to the language; to keep to their subjects and not discuss the problem of the immigrant in America, because the audience is well acquainted with these problems, but they are, through these lectures, seeking definite information; and to be brief in order that there may be a long period for questions and discussion.

3. Publication of a bulletin the purposes of which are: "To bring about a better understanding between native-born and newcomer, to give authoritative information to the newcomer relative to their problems; to afford an opportunity for self-expression in the student group." Much that is vital in the growth of the association has been brought about through the medium of the A. S. A. Bulletin.

4. The A. S. A. Orchestra and Chorus gives a series of musicals each year. A high musical standard has been constantly maintained—only the best is allowed. Recognition of the superior quality of productions has just been evidenced by the winning of the cup in a competitive musical festival. The director is a former student of the school and an active member of the Association.

5. Many recreational affairs are given—dances, parties, dinners, excursions, pilgrimages in which American-born and newcomers from more than fifty countries participate. By creating situations of enjoyment we break down many of the inhibitions and barriers which separate people under conventional situations.

6. A. S. A. special aid and employment, work developed slowly for a number of years but rapidly since the depression. Here perhaps the association has shown its finest achievements. It has assisted its members by small loans until they could finance themselves, it has sought positions both within and outside of its membership, it has aided the native-born as well as the foreign-born. Better than simply getting "the job," it has assisted in keeping up morale and is doing so constantly. Throughout the city the work is known and calls come to it not infrequently.

In closing I believe I can best show how this effort has brought real assimilation by quoting from several articles recently written by members and officers of the A. S. A. who have through

these nine years given active, constructive service. These three are racially Armenian, Russian Jew and Swiss, through their idealism and assimilation, American. From the present vice-president who initiated the idea of the organization in 1922 and whose progressive plans and cooperation with others are carrying it successfully forward: "Were it not for the Americanization School Association, many of us would feel that there is nothing more to do except complete our school course and go out into the wide world without any binding ties. But the association binds us together in spirit and real activity, whether we are in the school or out of it."

From the present secretary: "For the best of native- and foreign-born Americans to find each other—therein lies the real purpose and true value of Americanization work."

"From an active member, nine years ago an immigrant, today a successful professional man: "There is something infinitely touching and marvelously romantic about this all-embracing ideal, 'Americansim,' which lures one to delve into its deepest recesses.

"The word embodies so much that its meaning must be felt and not merely known. It conveys the idea of a dynamic process, an idea which is always in the making, ever becoming, yet never completed. It is an idea that carries in it the greatness of a world principle, the symbol of the heights. It is symbolized by two parallel streams running side by side: one for the purity of the individual, and the other for the nation's destiny.

"Those who consider Americanism as something fully completed and limited in its scope, must necessarily underestimate its value. It is a spiritual constitution which guides. It cannot be confined to the narrow bounds of tradition and inheritance alone. A mere inheritance cannot exist long, because whatever does not grow must necessarily fade. Citizens with this limited view of Americanism need to come into closer contact with newcomers so that intuition may help where mind denies understanding.

"Ideals, these are the living springs of great acts. Happy is the one who bears with him a God, an ideal of a country which he obeys. It matters not that Americanism is a far ideal. It is that far lighthouse, which may never be within our reach, but to which we will always strive; working for the welfare of our country and thereby working out our own perfection. The high ideal of Americanism may be a vision, but he who so desires will behold it and gain courage and inspiration."

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News of Our Members

Dr. John Dewey was the second speaker of the "Men of America" series presented under the auspices of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. Dr. Dewey was heard over a nation-wide hook-up on October 25.

William T. McCoy, who has been principal of the Curtis Junior High School (Chicago), has been appointed to the principalship of the Bowen Senior High School.

Mr. Walker L. Savoy has been promoted to the principalship of the Garnet-Patterson Junior High School at Washington, D. C.

Bertha J. Ferguson has contributed an article entitled *Mental Health and the Schools* to a recent issue of the Minnesota Journal of Education. Miss Ferguson's monograph *Labor and the Public Schools* appeared in the Survey and her story *Square Baby* in the N. E. A. Journal.

Miss May Darling was chairman of the Education Committee of the annual convention of the Oregon Federation of Labor. The report of the committee was a notable expression of advanced educational principles.

Dr. Harry A. Overstreet's latest book, *The Enduring Quest*, is very highly regarded among the new books.

Miss Edythe Lyons has been appointed administrative principal of the Morgan Elementary School (Washington, D. C.).

Reinhold Niebuhr, associate Professor of Philosophy of Religion in Union Theological Seminary, delivered an address before the World Young Men's Christian Association Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, which has been much quoted for its searching analysis of the present economic crisis and the responsibility it throws on religious leaders for developing a more sound social philosophy.

Who's Who in This Issue

Selma M. Borchardt—Legislative Representative and Vice-President American Federation of Teachers, Past-President Teachers' Union of Washington, Director World Federation of Education Associations.

Florence Rood—Vice-President and Past-President American Federation of Teachers, Trustee Teachers Pension Fund, St. Paul, Minn.

Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz—Vice-President American Federation of Teachers, Legislative Representative New York Teachers Union.

Dr. Charles E. Merriam—Chairman Department Political Science, University of Chicago, author of numerous works on Political Science.

A. J. Muste, Chairman of Faculty of Brookwood Labor College; Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers; Lecturer and writer on social and economic problems; Pioneer leader in Workers' Education Movement.

Maude E. Aiton—Principal Americanization School, Washington, D. C., Past-President Teachers' Union of Washington.

Elizabeth Eastman—Chairman Women's Joint Congressional Committee, Past-President D. C. League of Women Voters, Past-President D. C. A. A. W. W., Chairman Legislative Committee National Board of Y. W. C. A., Executive Committee, Foreign Language Information Service.

Bronson Cutting—United States Senator from New Mexico; Harvard, Phi Beta Kappa; Led Victorious fight in the Senate against press censorship; Holds perfect record on votes affecting labor.

Dr. Henry R. Linville—President American Federation of Teachers, President New York Teachers' Union, author of scientific works.

E. E. Schwarztrauber—Vice-President American Federation of Teachers, President University of Wisconsin Teachers' Union, Fellow, University of Wisconsin.

Nell Peterson—Local 3, Department of English, Nicholas Senn High School, Chicago.

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