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# AMERICAN TEACHER

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OCTOBER, 1933

VOLUME XVIII. No. 1

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**Table of Contents**

|                                                                                             | Page |                                                     | Page      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Challenge of the Economic Situation to Organized Teachers..... <i>Dr. Henry R. Linville</i> | 3    | Greetings from President Green.....                 | 20        |
| Code for Public Schools and Public School Teachers..... <i>A. F. T.</i>                     | 6    | 80,000 Idle Teachers Receive Federal Aid.....       | 21        |
| Code of Fair Standards for the Education Industry..... <i>Commonwealth College</i>          | 9    | A. F. L. 53rd Convention.....                       | 21        |
| Reply from N. R. A.....                                                                     | 11   | Workers Eager to Join A. F. L.....                  | 21        |
| Letter to N. R. A.....                                                                      | 11   | Book Reviews .....                                  | 22        |
| A. F. T. Official Family.....                                                               | 11   | We, the People— <i>Mark Starr</i>                   |           |
| Report of Secretary-Treasurer.....                                                          | 12   | Call to Teachers of the Nation— <i>Bertram Enos</i> |           |
| Labor Day, 1933.....                                                                        | 13   | Rainbow's End                                       |           |
| Secretary Perkins                                                                           |      | Pan-Sovietism— <i>Michael B. Scheler</i>            |           |
| William Green                                                                               |      | Piatiletka— <i>Michael B. Scheler</i>               |           |
| Frank Morrison                                                                              |      | Soviets Conquer Wheat                               |           |
| So This is America!.....                                                                    | 14   | Book Week, 1933                                     |           |
| Editorials .....                                                                            | 16   | News from the Field—                                |           |
| Teachers, Wake Up!                                                                          |      | Chicago .....                                       | 25        |
| Right to Organize                                                                           |      | Portland .....                                      | 26        |
| Raising Money for Union Activities                                                          |      | Seattle .....                                       | 27        |
| Child Labor                                                                                 |      | Florida .....                                       | 27        |
| Would Numbers Have Helped?                                                                  |      | Charlotte, N. C.....                                | 28        |
| Children Can Go to School in Adult Style                                                    |      | Toledo, Ohio .....                                  | 28        |
| U. S. Chamber of Commerce—Its Proud Position                                                |      | Index to Volume XVII.....                           | 29        |
|                                                                                             |      | Advertisements.....                                 | 2, 30, 31 |

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# INDEX

## THE AMERICAN TEACHER

VOLUME XVIII—NOS. 1-5

OCTOBER, 1933 — JUNE, 1934

**A**

|                                                                                                                                          | Mo.          | Page |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------|
| Abbott, Celinda B.                                                                                                                       | Dec.         | 29   |
| Academic Freedom, Basic Factors in. Editorial by Joseph Jablonower                                                                       | June         | 20   |
| Adell, James C.                                                                                                                          | Apr. 3, June | 18   |
| Age Limit for Federal Employees. Editorial                                                                                               | Dec.         | 21   |
| All Workers in Unions. Editorial                                                                                                         | Apr.         | 18   |
| A. F. of L. and the Schools                                                                                                              | Dec.         | 6    |
| A. F. of L. Convention High Spots                                                                                                        | Dec.         | 4    |
| A. F. of L. 53rd Convention                                                                                                              | Oct.         | 21   |
| A. F. of L. Workers Eager to Join                                                                                                        | Oct.         | 21   |
| American Federation of Labor. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                                                         | Feb.         | 25   |
| A. F. T. Eighteenth Annual Convention                                                                                                    | June         | 19   |
| American Federation of Teachers, 17th Annual Convention                                                                                  | Oct. 3, Oct. | 12   |
| A. F. T. Official Family                                                                                                                 | Oct.         | 11   |
| American Year Book. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                                                       | Apr.         | 24   |
| Annual Report of the Guidance Department of the Samuel J. Tilden High School, New York. By Elsa G. Becker. Reviewed by Florence E. Clark | Apr.         | 25   |
| Annual Youth Week                                                                                                                        | Apr.         | 23   |
| Anthology of English Prose. By Herbert Read and Bonamy Dobson. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                                            | Feb.         | 27   |
| Appeal to Teachers. Editorial                                                                                                            | June         | 20   |
| Appleton, Wis.                                                                                                                           | Apr.         | 29   |
| Are You Afraid? Walter E. Myer                                                                                                           | Apr.         | 22   |
| Ashland, Pa.                                                                                                                             | Apr.         | 30   |

**B**

|                                                                                                      |                        |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| Background Study of Negro College Students. By Dr. Ambrose Calver. Reviewed by Mandelle B. Bousfield | Apr.                   | 24 |
| Barron, James P.                                                                                     | Dec.                   | 10 |
| Benton, Ill.                                                                                         | Feb.                   | 30 |
| Bloomington, Ill.                                                                                    | Apr. 31, June          | 29 |
| Blue Eagle Over the School. Henry Craig Sea-sholes                                                   | June                   | 4  |
| Bogan, Dr. William J.                                                                                | Dec.                   | 16 |
| Books for Teachers' Winter Reading. Michael B. Scheler                                               | Feb.                   | 24 |
| Book Notes                                                                                           | Dec. 28, Apr. 26, June | 27 |
| Book Week, 1933                                                                                      | Oct.                   | 24 |
| Bousfield, Mandelle B.                                                                               | Apr.                   | 24 |
| Brainstorm. Editorial                                                                                | June                   | 21 |
| Brant, Irving                                                                                        | Dec.                   | 11 |
| Breckenridge, Sophonisba P.                                                                          | Dec.                   | 13 |
| Brewer, John M.                                                                                      | Feb.                   | 16 |
| Brookwood                                                                                            | Apr.                   | 28 |

**C**

|                                                                                                 |                                          |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----|
| California                                                                                      | Feb.                                     | 31 |
| Call to the Teachers of the Nation. Progressive Education Association. Reviewed by Bertram Enos | Oct.                                     | 22 |
| Carpenter, D. E.                                                                                | Dec.                                     | 27 |
| Century of Retrogression? John M. Brewer                                                        | Feb.                                     | 16 |
| Challenge of the Economic Situation to Organized Teachers. Dr. Henry R. Linville                | Oct.                                     | 3  |
| Chamber of Commerce Confessions                                                                 | Oct.                                     | 20 |
| Charlotte, N. C.                                                                                | Oct. 28, Apr.                            | 29 |
| Chattanooga—Hamilton County Local 246                                                           | Dec. 29, Apr. 29, June                   | 29 |
| Chicago                                                                                         | Oct. 25, Feb. 28, Apr. 27, Apr. 28, June | 28 |
| Chicago Federation Women High School Teachers                                                   | Dec.                                     | 29 |
| Chicago Men Teachers' Union                                                                     | Dec.                                     | 29 |
| Chicago on Parade. By Herman O. Duncan. Book Review                                             | Feb.                                     | 27 |
| Child Labor. Editorial                                                                          | Oct.                                     | 19 |
| Child Labor Amendment. Franklin D. Roosevelt                                                    | Apr.                                     | 19 |
| Children Can Go to School in Adult Style. Editorial                                             | Oct.                                     | 19 |
| Children of the Depression. By M. E. Haggerty. Book Review                                      | Apr.                                     | 25 |
| Children Suffer Most                                                                            | Apr.                                     | 15 |
| Children—Why Do We Have Them. By Dora W. B. Russell. Reviewed by Bertram Enos                   | Dec.                                     | 27 |
| Chinese Teachers Strike for Pay                                                                 | June                                     | 24 |
| Christopher, Ill.                                                                               | Feb.                                     | 31 |
| Christmas Program                                                                               | Dec.                                     | 25 |
| Churches and Modern Thought. By Vivian Phelps. Book Review                                      | Dec.                                     | 28 |
| Clark, Florence E.                                                                              | Apr.                                     | 25 |
| Cleveland                                                                                       | Apr. 25, Apr. 31, June                   | 30 |
| Code for Public Schools and Public School Teachers                                              | Oct.                                     | 6  |
| Code of Fair Standards for the Education Industry. Commonwealth College                         | Oct.                                     | 9  |
| Commonwealth College                                                                            | Oct. 9, Apr.                             | 28 |
| Company Unions. Editorial                                                                       | Apr.                                     | 18 |
| Confessions of a Chamber of Commerce                                                            | Oct.                                     | 20 |
| Consumer Pays                                                                                   | Feb.                                     | 17 |
| Convention A. F. T. Secretary-Treasurer's Report                                                | Oct.                                     | 12 |
| Counts, George S.                                                                               | Apr.                                     | 18 |

**D**

|                                                                   |      |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Dangers Threatening Education. James P. Barron                    | Dec. | 10 |
| Darrow, Clarence                                                  | Dec. | 22 |
| Declaration of Faith in Music                                     | Apr. | 19 |
| Discrimination Against Women Workers Condemned by President Green | June | 22 |
| Disorganized Opinion. Editorial by Bertram Enos                   | Dec. | 18 |
| Draper, Elizabeth Kohl                                            | Oct. | 18 |

**E**

|                                                     | Mo.           | Page |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------|------|
| Economy in Education. By Wm. J. Cooper. Book Review | Feb.          | 27   |
| Educational Conference in North Carolina            | Apr.          | 22   |
| Education for the Status Quo. Editorial             | Dec.          | 20   |
| Educational Crisis Southern Illinois                | Dec.          | 29   |
| Educational Frontier. Reviewed by Mark Starr        | Feb.          | 26   |
| Educational Recovery. Editorial by James C. Adell   | Apr.          | 3    |
| End of a Century of Progress. Freeland G. Stecker   | June          | 7    |
| Enos, Bertram                                       | Feb. 26, Oct. | 23   |

**F**

|                                                    |      |    |
|----------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| False Economy. Cartoon                             | Oct. | 17 |
| Fear. Editorial                                    | Dec. | 19 |
| Federal Office of Education Service                | Dec. | 23 |
| Federal Taxation and the Schools. Irving Brant     | Dec. | 11 |
| Fingers in the Pie                                 | Apr. | 21 |
| Florida                                            | Oct. | 27 |
| Florida Organization                               | June | 30 |
| Frances Perkins Hits Forty Year Job Ban. Editorial | Dec. | 21 |
| Franklin County Teachers' Code                     | Dec. | 30 |
| Functions of a School Board. James A. Mullenbach   | Feb. | 10 |

**G**

|                                                                                              |                        |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| Gandhi—That Strange Little Brown Man. By Frederick B. Fisher. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler | Dec.                   | 26 |
| Grand Forks, N. D.                                                                           | June                   | 28 |
| Grand Rapids, Mich.                                                                          | Feb. 30, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| Granite City                                                                                 | Feb. 28, June          | 28 |
| Green, William                                                                               | Oct. 13, Oct.          | 20 |
| Greetings to American Federation of Teachers from William Green                              | Oct.                   | 20 |
| Groves, Harold M.                                                                            | Feb.                   | 8  |

**H**

|                                                                                   |               |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----|
| Hanson, Florence Curtis                                                           | Oct. 12, Feb. | 12 |
| Harap, Dr. Henry                                                                  | Apr.          | 8  |
| Hazleton, Pa.                                                                     | June          | 29 |
| Higley, Myrtle Heard                                                              | June          | 5  |
| Hill, Edward Emory                                                                | Apr.          | 4  |
| History of Socialist Thought. By Harry W. Laidler. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler | Feb.          | 24 |
| Hitler's Antilabor Terrorism                                                      | Feb.          | 22 |
| Holly, William H. Editorial                                                       | Feb.          | 21 |
| Holmes, Dr. Jesse H.                                                              | Apr.          | 20 |
| How to Use English. By Frank H. Vizetelly. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler         | Feb.          | 27 |
| Hutchins, Robert Maynard                                                          | Dec.          | 13 |

**I-J**

|                                                                                        |      |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Illinois                                                                               | Feb. | 31 |
| Illiteracy, Some Figures                                                               | Dec. | 21 |
| Intelligence Improved by Diet                                                          | Apr. | 22 |
| International Book of Names. By C. O. Sylvester Mawson. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler | June | 27 |
| International Year Book. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                                | June | 26 |
| Introduction to Biology. By Elbert C. Cole. Book Review                                | Dec. | 25 |
| Jablonower, Joseph                                                                     | June | 20 |

**K-L**

|                                                                                |                       |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|----|
| Kellogg, Idaho                                                                 | Apr.                  | 31 |
| Kerlin, Robert T.                                                              | Feb.                  | 14 |
| Kiker, Clyde E.                                                                | Apr.                  | 20 |
| Labor and Internationalism. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler | Feb.                  | 24 |
| Labor Day. William Green                                                       | Oct.                  | 13 |
| Labor Day. Frank Morrison                                                      | Oct.                  | 15 |
| Labor Day. Frances Perkins                                                     | Oct.                  | 13 |
| Labor Leader Urges Unions for Teachers                                         | Feb.                  | 17 |
| Labor Problems. By Gordon S. Watson. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler            | Feb.                  | 25 |
| Labor Speaks on Teachers and Unionism                                          | Apr.                  | 13 |
| Labor's Rights Nullified by Delay in Enforcing Section 7-A. N. R. A.           | June                  | 23 |
| Lawrence, Mass.                                                                | Feb.                  | 29 |
| Lefkowitz, Dr. Abraham                                                         | Apr.                  | 6  |
| Linville, Dr. Henry R.                                                         | Oct. 3, Dec. 17, June | 17 |
| Lucas County, Ohio                                                             | Apr.                  | 31 |

## M

|                                                                                                   | Mo.           | Page |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------|
| Madison, Wis. ....                                                                                | Apr. 30, June | 28   |
| Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Resolutions .....                                        | Dec.          | 23   |
| May Day—Child Health Day .....                                                                    | Apr.          | 23   |
| Memphis .....                                                                                     | Apr.          | 27   |
| Methods of Education and Training in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Arnold Levitas..... | June          | 11   |
| Milk Prices Mean What. Editorial from Philadelphia Record .....                                   | June          | 21   |
| Milwaukee County, Wis. ....                                                                       | Apr.          | 30   |
| Minneapolis .....                                                                                 | Feb.          | 29   |
| Misunderstanding. Editorial .....                                                                 | Apr.          | 20   |
| Modern World: A Pageant of Today. By H. C. Knapp-Fisher. Reviewed by Mark Starr.....              | June          | 26   |
| Morrison, Frank.....                                                                              | Oct. 15, Feb. | 17   |
| Mrs. Roosevelt Scores. Editorial.....                                                             | Apr.          | 21   |
| Mullenbach, James A.....                                                                          | Feb.          | 10   |

## N

|                                                                                                                                                                 |                        |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| National Defense. Editorial .....                                                                                                                               | Feb.                   | 21 |
| National Ideals and International Idols. By Wallace B. Donham. Reviewed by Mark Starr.....                                                                      | Dec.                   | 24 |
| Nation Must Rescue Its Schools. Charles B. Stillman .....                                                                                                       | Apr.                   | 7  |
| New Bedford, Mass.....                                                                                                                                          | Feb. 30, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| New Jersey Schools in Desperate Plight.....                                                                                                                     | Dec.                   | 31 |
| New Leisure Challenges the Schools. By Eugene T. Lies. Reviewed by Bertram Enos.....                                                                            | Feb.                   | 25 |
| New Locals.....                                                                                                                                                 | Dec. 31, Apr. 27, June | 28 |
| New Rochelle, N. Y.....                                                                                                                                         | June                   | 29 |
| News from the Field—Chicago; Portland, Ore.; Seattle, Wash.; Florida; Charlotte, N. C.; Toledo, Ohio .....                                                      | Oct. 25, Oct.          | 28 |
| News from the Field—Locals 2, 3, 246.....                                                                                                                       | Dec.                   | 29 |
| News from the Field—Locals 2, 3, 5, 38, 192, 199, 209, 224, 237, 238, 244, 251, 256, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272.....                      | Feb.                   | 28 |
| News from the Field—Locals 2, 3, 5, 8, 27, 35, 52, 111, 189, 193, 199, 202, 215, 240, 246, 249, 250, 255, 256, 257, 263, 265, 270, 274, 276, 278, 279, 282..... | Apr.                   | 27 |
| News from the Field—Locals 3, 27, 35, 38, 111, 192, 205, 246, 250, 255, 256, 263, 265, 270, 276, 277, 279, 280, 283, 296.....                                   | June                   | 28 |
| Newspapers and Child Labor.....                                                                                                                                 | Feb.                   | 23 |
| New York.....                                                                                                                                                   | Feb. 28, Apr.          | 27 |
| North Carolina State Federation of Labor Resolution .....                                                                                                       | Dec.                   | 23 |
| North Dakota Agricultural College.....                                                                                                                          | Feb. 30, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| N. R. A., Letter to.....                                                                                                                                        | Oct.                   | 11 |

## O

|                                                                                                                                      |      |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Objectives of the A. F. T.....                                                                                                       | June | 18 |
| Objectives, Program of A. F. T.....                                                                                                  | Dec. | 4  |
| One Way to Reduce Taxes. Dr. C. E. A. Winslow. Apr. Organization of Teachers' Unions in the State of Massachusetts, Resolution ..... | Dec. | 23 |
| Organization in Florida.....                                                                                                         | June | 30 |
| Organized Labor. Editorial.....                                                                                                      | Dec. | 19 |
| Oshkosh, Wis. ....                                                                                                                   | Feb. | 31 |
| Our Present School Picture. Carl Winters.....                                                                                        | Feb. | 6  |

## P

|                                                                                         |                        |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| Paint Creek Flood and Other Stories. By Alice Paddleford. Book Review.....              | Dec.                   | 27 |
| Pan-Sovietism. By Bruce Hopper. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.....                     | Oct.                   | 23 |
| Per Capita Cost of Public Education.....                                                | Feb.                   | 17 |
| Perkins, Frances, Secretary of Labor.....                                               | Oct. 13, Dec.          | 21 |
| Philadelphia .....                                                                      | Feb. 28, June          | 28 |
| Physical Education Check to Juvenile Crime.....                                         | June                   | 30 |
| Plattletka. By Michael Farberman. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.....                   | Oct.                   | 23 |
| Pictorial History of the American Negro. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.....            | Apr.                   | 26 |
| Plain Speaking, A Little. Editorial.....                                                | Dec.                   | 19 |
| Portland, Ore.....                                                                      | Oct. 26, Apr. 28, June | 28 |
| Poverty and Education. Grover C. Ramsey.....                                            | Feb.                   | 22 |
| President's Page. Dr. Henry R. Linville.....                                            | Dec. 17, June          | 17 |
| Pride of Profession Hinders Unionization of Teachers. Meade C. Monroe.....              | Apr.                   | 22 |
| Program of Objectives—American Federation of Teachers .....                             | Dec.                   | 4  |
| Propaganda Menace. By Frederick E. Lumley. Reviewed by Mark Starr.....                  | Dec.                   | 24 |
| Pulaski County, Ark.....                                                                | Apr.                   | 31 |
| Purposes and Functions of a Teachers' Federation in a University. Harold M. Groves..... | Feb.                   | 8  |

## R

|                                                                 |      |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Rainbow's End. By Ona M. Rounds. Book Review.....               | Oct. | 23 |
| Raising Money for Union Activities. Elizabeth Kohl Draper ..... | Oct. | 18 |
| Ramsey, Grover C.....                                           | Feb. | 22 |
| Rejoicing. Editorial.....                                       | June | 3  |
| Restoration of Salary Levels. Editorial.....                    | June | 20 |
| Right to Organize. Editorial.....                               | Oct. | 17 |
| Royalton, Ill.....                                              | Feb. | 30 |

## S

|                                          |      |    |
|------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Salem, Ore.....                          | June | 29 |
| Sales Tax .....                          | June | 8  |
| Sales Tax Defeated Again. Editorial..... | Apr. | 21 |

## S

|                                                                                               | Mo.                                                                          | Page |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Sales Tax Fallacy. Editorial.....                                                             | Dec.                                                                         | 20   |
| Sales Tax Most Obnoxious.....                                                                 | June                                                                         | 22   |
| Sanders, J. M. ....                                                                           | Dec.                                                                         | 22   |
| San Francisco .....                                                                           | Apr.                                                                         | 28   |
| Satterthwaite, W. B. ....                                                                     | Dec.                                                                         | 3    |
| Savanna, Ill.....                                                                             | Apr. 30, June                                                                | 29   |
| Save City Schools from Wreckage or Build More Jails. Clarence Darrow. By Llewellyn Jones..... | Dec.                                                                         | 22   |
| Save Our Schools. Edward Emory Hill.....                                                      | Apr.                                                                         | 4    |
| Scheler, Michael B.....                                                                       | Oct. 23, Dec. 26, Feb. 24, Feb. 27, Apr. 24, Apr. 26, June 25, June 26, June | 27   |
| School Crisis Facts.....                                                                      | June                                                                         | 24   |
| School Crisis in United States and Foreign Countries.....                                     | Feb.                                                                         | 22   |
| School Economies Going Too Far. Editorial.....                                                | Dec.                                                                         | 21   |
| School or Jail. Letter from J. M. Sanders.....                                                | Dec.                                                                         | 22   |
| School Picture, Our Present. Carl Winters.....                                                | Feb.                                                                         | 6    |
| Schools and the Blue Eagle. Editorial.....                                                    | Feb.                                                                         | 21   |
| Seasholes, Henry Craig.....                                                                   | June                                                                         | 4    |
| Seattle .....                                                                                 | Oct.                                                                         | 27   |
| Secretary-Treasurer's Report to 17th Annual Convention, A. F. T.....                          | Oct.                                                                         | 12   |
| Seven Sticks—McGuffey's Third Reader.....                                                     | Feb.                                                                         | 20   |
| Shall the Blue Eagle Fly Over the Little Red School House? Editorial .....                    | Dec.                                                                         | 20   |
| Shall the People Reclaim Radio? Dr. Henry Harap.....                                          | Apr.                                                                         | 8    |
| Snake That Swallowed Itself. Editorial. Clyde E. Kiker .....                                  | Apr.                                                                         | 20   |
| Something for Teachers to Think About. Editorial.....                                         | Apr.                                                                         | 18   |
| So This Is America.....                                                                       | Oct. 14, Dec. 14, Feb. 18, Apr. 16, June                                     | 14   |
| Soviets Conquer Wheat. By Anna Louise Strong. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.....             | Oct.                                                                         | 23   |
| Springfield, Ill. ....                                                                        | Feb.                                                                         | 30   |
| Springfield, Ohio .....                                                                       | June                                                                         | 30   |
| Starr, Mark.....                                                                              | Oct. 22, Dec. 24, Feb. 26, June                                              | 26   |
| State Aid Is Necessary. Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz.....                                            | Apr.                                                                         | 6    |
| Status Quo. Editorial by W. B. Satterthwaite.....                                             | Dec.                                                                         | 3    |
| Stecker, Freeland G.....                                                                      | June                                                                         | 7    |
| Stern Signs Agreement with Newspaper Guild.....                                               | June                                                                         | 30   |
| Stillman, Charles B.....                                                                      | Apr.                                                                         | 7    |
| Strain on the "Faith and Hope" of Teachers. Gilbert Saldes .....                              | Apr.                                                                         | 21   |
| Superior, Wis. ....                                                                           | Apr.                                                                         | 29   |

## T

|                                                                                                                    |                        |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| Taxation Propaganda. Florence Curtis Hanson.....                                                                   | Feb.                   | 12 |
| Taxes and Tax Dodgers. By Daniel W. Hoan. Book Review .....                                                        | Dec.                   | 25 |
| Taxes and Tax Dodgers. By Daniel W. Hoan. Editorial .....                                                          | June                   | 21 |
| Teachers and Union Labor. Editorial by C. L. Vestal.....                                                           | Feb.                   | 3  |
| Teachers' Code .....                                                                                               | Oct.                   | 10 |
| Teachers' Code, Franklin County.....                                                                               | Dec.                   | 30 |
| Teachers Receive Federal Aid.....                                                                                  | Oct.                   | 21 |
| Teachers, Wake Up! Editorial by Bertram Enos.....                                                                  | Oct.                   | 16 |
| Ten Point Program of Social Justice, A. F. of L.....                                                               | Apr.                   | 12 |
| They Say .....                                                                                                     | Apr.                   | 14 |
| Thomas, Norman .....                                                                                               | Feb.                   | 4  |
| Toledo, Ohio .....                                                                                                 | Oct. 28, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| Tooele, Utah .....                                                                                                 | Feb. 30, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| Too Many Teachers. Editorial.....                                                                                  | Dec.                   | 20 |
| Trained Woman and Her Position. Myrtle Heard Higley .....                                                          | June                   | 5  |
| Twenty Down—Sixteen to Go. Editorial.....                                                                          | Apr.                   | 21 |
| Two Hundred Years of Education—1733-1933—Savannah, Chatham County, Georgia. By Haygood S. Bowden. Book Review..... | Dec.                   | 28 |

## U - V

|                                                                                                                   |      |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Unemployed Teachers. How Many? Editorial.....                                                                     | Feb. | 20 |
| Union Better than Laws. Editorial.....                                                                            | Apr. | 18 |
| Unionization of Teachers. Robert T. Kerlin.....                                                                   | Feb. | 14 |
| U. S. Chamber of Commerce—Its Proud Position. Cartoon .....                                                       | Oct. | 20 |
| Vocational Education in the Public Schools. Dr. William J. Bogan.....                                             | Dec. | 16 |
| Vocational Guidance in Engineering Lines. By American Association of Engineers. Reviewed by D. E. Carpenter ..... | Dec. | 27 |
| Voice of Youth. An Anthology of Poetry. Book review.....                                                          | Apr. | 25 |
| Vox Magistri .....                                                                                                | Oct. | 19 |

## W - Z

|                                                                                |                        |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| Washington, D. C.....                                                          | Apr. 27, Apr. 28, June | 28 |
| West Allis, Wis.....                                                           | Feb.                   | 30 |
| We, the People. By Leo Huberman. Reviewed by Mark Starr .....                  | Oct.                   | 22 |
| What Are Teachers? Editorial.....                                              | Feb.                   | 20 |
| What Is the Good Society? Norman Thomas.....                                   | Feb.                   | 4  |
| Why Join the American Federation of Teachers? Editorial by James C. Adell..... | June                   | 18 |
| Why Not the Teachers? Editorial.....                                           | June                   | 19 |
| Why Teachers Get the Sack. Editorial from St. Louis Star-Times .....           | Dec.                   | 21 |
| Winslow, Dr. C. E. A.....                                                      | Apr.                   | 15 |
| Winters, Carl .....                                                            | Feb.                   | 6  |
| Wisconsin .....                                                                | Feb.                   | 31 |
| Women Who Work. By Grace Hutchins. Book review.....                            | Apr.                   | 25 |
| World Book Encyclopedia. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler .....                  | June                   | 25 |
| Would Numbers Have Helped? Editorial.....                                      | Oct.                   | 19 |
| Ziegler, Ill. ....                                                             | Feb.                   | 30 |





## THE AMERICAN TEACHER

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# The Challenge of the Economic Situation to Organized Teachers

HENRY R. LINVILLE

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of the American Federation of Teachers, Milwaukee,  
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THE present economic and social situation is stimulating the minds of our people to analyze the factors involved in this tragic emergency. Education itself is being analyzed while it passes through the throes of disorganization in the general movement for retrenchment. In this process teachers have an unusual opportunity to experience a wide range of social education and to view their function as teachers in relation to society itself. If the reconstruction of the social order is possible of attainment through the medium of general social education, then the public schools have an obligation that is all-important. Whether or not there is general acceptance of the idea that the schools may be of assistance in reconstruction will probably depend on the degree in which there is confidence in the leadership of education or in the program of education, or in the capacity of that or other leadership to formulate an educational program that contains the elements of applicability to the problems to be solved.

We are also faced with the problem of whether we shall give our effort to developing a specific educational program to be coordinated with a specific plan for a new social order. In meeting this question, we are faced with the issue of whether education is ready at this time to take over a share in the responsibility. There are two phases of this problem which we shall have to meet. One is concerned with the question of our existing leadership and personnel; the other with the educational program itself. The personnel equipment of education is, of course, governed to some extent by the Law of Gravity; it has never risen higher than the general source level. But under this law there is nothing to prevent a better selection of the physical constituents of this personnel through some ideal application of the laws of electro-dynamics. In other words, there must be an effort made to draw into the teaching service more completely endowed personalities than are now coming into the profession, or to reconstitute those now available. We must realize, first of all, that teaching in the schools anywhere in the country is regarded by most

persons as a job to which claim may be laid much as one would seek a place in the mills of New England, the mines of Pennsylvania, the refineries of New Jersey or California, or the garment shops of New York. Teaching is often a genteel occupation for the daughters of farmers, or of small tradesmen, or of policemen or firemen.

The preparation of the potential candidates for teaching jobs is carried on along lines that permit a large number to qualify, thus maintaining the principle that the post of teacher is to be considered as an economic opportunity rather than as a social responsibility. At the present time we are said to have approximately 100,000 surplus teachers in this country, due in large part to the tendency of teacher training institutions to turn out a large supply of teachers, which in turn keeps their own establishments going with a full quota of employees.

We note also the fact that for the most part the training of teachers is largely within the range of the chief occupation of the schools; that is, teaching the traditional skills with enough of effort for improvement in method and technic to enable the major purpose to continue, and incidentally to discourage radical changes in program, altogether simplifying the problem of continuing the schools as the chief stabilizing and conserving agency of the established order.

The careful, job-protecting program of training teachers chiefly in the tricks of the trade seems to produce at least three clearly constituted results. One of these is the direct production of a teacher who is mechanically equipped to do a job within specified limits, and with his mind on specific, approved objectives. Such a person has a good chance to become efficient within the generally accepted boundaries of teaching routine. I think there are two by-products of the current process of teacher-training which are also discernible. The first is the development of a job-trust especially in socially cohesive communities, where the teaching job draws persons from economic levels that also have other pro-

tective affiliations, such as political, racial, or religious alliances or origins. We note the fact that in certain urban communities the teaching positions come automatically to be divided between these racial, religious, or political groups in some relation to the number of these elements in the community, and perhaps without the actual interposition of the forces which these elements represent. In rural communities where a particular element of our population predominates, we find the teaching jobs held by that element alone, with the obvious exclusion of representatives of other elements. These factors set up anti-social forces which operate to misdirect and defeat the working of a social program in education.

Another by-product of our system of teacher-training is the development of a leadership that is without a conspicuous equipment of intelligence. It may be said that this is the natural development of what is expressed in Bernard Shaw's dictum, "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach." But the situation is not completely analyzed by this frequently quoted characterization. Besides, it is too pessimistic and fatalistic a view of a profession which may have unsuspected capacity for growth and change. However, there are other phases of the results of current attitudes toward the teaching position as a job that require consideration.

Many of us must have noted in our training school graduates and also among our teachers in service a considerable lack of cultural equipment. We are accustomed to observe this shortcoming in teachers who are the members of foreign racial groups that in the second as well as in the first generation in this country find difficulty with the idioms of our speech. But we overlook the disconcerting fact that large numbers of teachers from the indigenous population, dating back many generations, are culpable in demonstrating many indications of uncultured background, and the persistence of habits and attitudes that undoubtedly have serious mal-educative effects on the minds and personalities of children. It may be granted that the lack of conspicuous culture is not restricted to the lowly school teacher, but is prevalent among those who serve on college teaching staffs.

In summing up the situation in which it may be admitted that teaching as a social arrangement exists, we say that teaching is chiefly an economic opportunity—a job, to be sought and protected much as is any other job. By being a job, the training for it has been narrow and delimiting, tending toward the creation of a job-trust protected by intra-community affiliations which may inferentially develop an anti-social attitude in relation to the very function of the profession. It is further noted that comparatively low intellectual capacity and indifferent cultural attributes come to be considered as good enough for teachers.

If the foregoing is in any degree a picture of the actual situation in our profession, it may be agreed that

we are almost wholly unprepared for the conceived task of directing education in the formulation, or even in the support, of a new and better social order. This is all the more obvious if we accept the proposition that the schools are to undertake in reality the task of training the minds of children in the ability to think. Intelligence is fundamental in any program of reconstruction, and it is only less essential in the support of a social order that is conceived and prepared by political forces that have gained control through a *coup d'etat* than it is when a new order is coming into being through the operation of democratically controlled forces.

Those who have not followed the thinking developed in the recent phenomenal book "The Educational Frontier" by John Dewey, William H. Kilpatrick, V. T. Thayer and others, may not have realized the necessity of facing two important propositions in the matter of the relation of education to the social order: First, that Education does bear a fundamental relation to the social order, whether the social order is of the *laissez faire* type, as is ours in America, or of the *planned* type as in Russia or in Italy. Second, that in view of the vast complexity of the educational and social factors involved, a coordinated, intelligently directed, and continuously *planning*, not a statically *planned*, program of educational and social change through the democratic procedure, carries the best chance for growth and ultimate success. In the wake of such a coordinated program, these authors conceive the development of a new dynamic in conduct and the cooperative use of intelligence on a social scale in behalf of social values.

It is obvious that if we take our responsibility seriously we face an appalling problem. In a sense the problem is as baffling as is the solution of the operation and the origins of the galaxies in the heavens. We could content ourselves with formulating the problem, and retiring from the scene without discredit. But the responsibility for further analysis and further activity lies clearly with us—the proletariat of the profession. I say this because the leadership of the profession in the public schools has too much vested interest in the educational *status quo* to desire a change. The educator groups in our college teacher staffs also have vested interests, and are subject to repressive influences. Moreover, they lack the experience with the great mass education movement to give them the ideas that are needed to take further steps in this great enterprise. May I say also that I think the American Federation of Teachers itself, although a part of the proletariat, has been looking too much for inspiration and leadership from those who have made a profession of it. Should we not readjust our minds to working on the problem which most immediately faces us.

It seems to me that through our affiliation with organized labor we occupy a position which gives us a direct approach to one of the fundamental factors in our problem. Practically and philosophically we are

united in a movement to bring about better working conditions in teaching which will benefit ourselves and the children in our care and increase our educational effectiveness. We have already developed our program of change in the physical and other teaching conditions in the schools by publicly and repeatedly demanding the abolition of mass-production methods characteristic of large schools, large classes, and stereotyped, regimented, and routinized methods of class management. We have proposed the development of experimentation in teaching based on the researches in the learning process, and have especially urged public school systems to create special schools in which experiments in creative education may be carried on. We have proposed the extension of academic freedom to all schools as a condition favorable to effective and interesting teaching. We have proposed the extension to teachers of the right to participate in the administration of the schools.

As evidence of our understanding of the relationship of education to society, we have expressed ourselves on the economic and social crises that have developed in the period of our existence. We have stood consistently against the war motive as a means of settling international disputes. We have favored the recognition of Russia as a means to promoting peace in spite of our objection to its political dogmatism. We have opposed child labor and through this have opposed all exploitation of men on economic or racial lines. We have opposed the exploitation of the people by the economically privileged class. Perhaps more than any other body of teachers we have recognized and pointed out the origin of the national movement for retrenchment, and its relationship to the organized and exploiting money power of this country. Whatever may have been the feeling within our organization with regard to the isolation of the teaching profession from the social and economic problems of our times, there can no longer be any doubt about the actuality of a close relationship.

We need, however, to grapple more directly with our problem of building up a profession that shall have not only the will to take a leading part in the world-wide movement for better conditions for the human race, but also the intelligence with which to do it. If we really mean to try to develop the ability to think on the part of pupils, we shall have to prove the possession of such ability on our own part. In this connection, it is not an extravagant statement to make to point out the practical value in thinking about our own work in its relation to the social situation. Our own organization activity is among the best of our stimuli to social thinking. But we must also develop a technic for teaching children how to think. This we could well do by demanding a thorough-going reorganization of the curriculum, and the inclusion of as many organizable and socially significant experiences as possible.

However, whatever changes in the curriculum may be possible or essential, it is still more important for us

to develop some means of attacking through general education the problem that is fundamental in all our social experiences. I am thinking of the widespread and well-nigh universal political and economic immorality of our time. From the House of Morgan in the economic field to the Communist movement in the political field, and to the immersion of the race in crime in our great cities, we have a degradation of the mind of man that is the most appalling of all the possible problems in social education. Warden Lawes of Sing Sing Prison has said that formal education is no deterrent of crime. We can easily believe that a great banker may develop a supreme contempt for education, while with one hand he compels the Legislature of the Empire State to reduce the salaries of teachers, and with the other accepts bonuses for the sale of worthless South American bonds, and avoids the charges of the federal income tax laws by juggling his funds with those of his wife. The jury has found him guiltless, apparently because the defendant's shrewd, highly paid superattorney was able to persuade the jury that "everybody is doing it." The jury might have been benefited by an honest and intelligently organized education, but the banker, himself, and certainly his attorney, would not be touched by it.

Similarly, in the political field, the scarcity of social morality in politics, government, and our economic life gives the opening for a political philosophy of hate, which is promoted by organized misrepresentation and the political theory that the end conceived justifies the use of destructive and dishonest means. No wonder crime itself pushes its contempt for society to the current extreme. There is no honor anywhere, and why spare anyone, man, woman, or child, in the high attainment of material success.

Perhaps the problem now seems to grow impossible of solution. But let us come back to the faith which education has in progress through the growth of human character, in the development of sound personality, and in the understanding and fulfillment of the social needs of young children.

The solving of the problem of effective individual and social education of the people, like any other great problem, is likely to be attained through the application of the collective mind to its difficulties. The main thing needed is a collective determination that the American Federation of Teachers will consecrate itself to this effort.

### Champions of the Child

"The dull train of follies set in motion goes grinding on, . . . partly because the dislike always latent in powerful quarters for public education, as calculated to imbue common children with ridiculous notions of their own importance, finds in the catchword *economy* an opportunity for clothing itself with a decent drapery of public expediency. The proper people to administer the *coup de grace* to the monster are the teachers, who know the ruin it has worked and is still working. They have done so politely but with commendable trenchancy. Their organizations have always insisted that they exist not merely in order to protect their members but to champion the educational interests of the children and of the nation. Both have reason to be grateful to them for wise words boldly uttered."

—Editorial, "Manchester Guardian"

# A Code for Public Schools and Public School Teachers

## Application to the National Recovery Administration

**W**E ARE presenting herewith a Code for Public Schools and Public School Teachers in behalf of the American Federation of Teachers. The American Federation of Teachers is a constituent part of the American Federation of Labor, and as such has a direct and vital interest in the success of your program for national industrial recovery.

It is well known to the American people that no agency of public service has suffered greater loss and demoralization in the economic depression than have the public schools. Thousands of schools have been closed, with the result that large numbers of young children and adolescents have been deprived of their natural protective right, to become the potential prey of destructive influences. Tens of thousands of teachers have been dismissed to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Even at the present time, when every effort is being made by loyal citizens to cooperate with the federal government administration under the National Recovery Act, boards of education and municipal authorities even in certain of our largest cities are continuing to close the schools. No greater menace to industrial recovery could develop than the manifestation of such indifference to public education which as a social agency is the very foundation of our civilization. In the perpetuation of our democratic institutions there can be no question of the fundamental and continuous need of the schools, operating with increasing efficiency, and led by teachers of intelligence and social understanding. To concern ourselves in the present emergency with industry alone is to disregard those basic forces of intelligence and general education which have made possible our material welfare. Of more than a million teachers all of whom are required in the general movement for recovery, it has been estimated that 25 per cent are unemployed. Can the country recover with this situation untouched?

The executive council of the American Federation of Teachers believes that the time has come for the nation, to call a halt on the destructive activity of undermining the essential security of our basic social industry—public education—due to the effort which selfish interests have been making to perpetuate their economic control and to continue piling up profits, indifferent to the fate of the social services. Before it is too late we call upon the administration of the National Recovery Act to give ample consideration to the emergency which faces the public schools of the country, and to appeal to all industries and institutions subject to the direct control of the National Recovery Administration to bend every effort to protect and to promote the welfare of the schools. Organized labor has already manifested its concern about the schools, and will, we have no fear, respond valiantly to such an appeal from the administration, for nothing less is to be expected from that body of workers which was the first social group to give its whole-hearted support to public schools in their infancy one hundred years ago.

We are well aware of the possibility of the public

schools deriving direct benefit under the Recovery Act in the repair of school buildings and in the erection of much needed new ones. The building industry and the trade unions in the construction field will presumably participate in the development of an arrangement one result of which may be of benefit in housing the school children. But there will still remain the unsolved problem of providing the schools with competent teachers. In order that such competent teachers may be provided for the schools, and, indeed, in order that America may not be irreparably injured because the profession of teaching itself is being undermined and destroyed, the American Federation of Teachers proposes certain essential and basic conditions.

The Federation herewith sets forth an exposition of the basic elements which are essential to the continuance of teaching as a public service in the schools of this country. Those elements are:

- (1) A living wage
- (2) Security of tenure
- (3) Decent working conditions
- (4) Right to establish teachers' unions, and to affiliate with organized labor
- (5) Opportunity for culture and professional study
- (6) Maintenance of standards
- (7) Provision for old age

The basis of the N R A is the restoration of purchasing power by the establishment of a living wage. As an introduction to the question of what constitutes a living wage for public school teachers we beg leave to cite the arguments presented by a distinguished group of educational specialists, headed by Prof. George D. Strayer, of Columbia University, which carried out a survey of the public schools of Chicago in 1932. We quote from Vol. I, pp 298-9 of the Report.

### A Professional Wage

Adequate remuneration for teaching service has two important results. The primary one is basic economic security. In the trend of social thinking it is becoming increasingly recognized that the social structure exists for the security of the group, not only as a group, but also as individuals. In professional service this solid basis of economic support is of special significance since the teacher, like the physician, for example, is dealing with the welfare of human beings. It is of the utmost importance that her judgment, her attitude, and her procedures be not undermined by the nagging worry of the threat of insecurity. Moreover, there must be a substantial base of actual material welfare, so that the professional activity may command a measureable social respect . . . . .

A beginning of the consideration of teachers' salaries may best be made at the general level for the competent teacher who has passed her probationary period. Two types of consideration are pertinent at this point. The first is the provision of proper living conditions for teachers. Items generally accepted in educational thought as being necessary to such a provision are:

- (1) Basic subsistence
- (2) Provision for emergencies
- (3) Reasonable comfort and decency in living standards
- (4) Professional culture and study

These items taken together indicate the need among teachers of a level of earnings comparable to those of the average professional worker. It is generally known that teachers have never acquired any such income status. In 1840 they were paid about

equally with common labor . . . That teachers had not in 1926 reached the level of clerical and other salaried workers is shown in the following average income figures given by the Research Division of the National Education Association.

TABLE 51

|                                                                                                                     |         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Comparison of Teachers' Salaries with Earnings and Incomes of various Groups of Gainfully Occupied Persons in 1926: |         |
| Average Income of all gainfully occupied persons.....                                                               | \$2,010 |
| Average Earnings of workers in 25 manufacturing industries .....                                                    | 1,309   |
| Average Earnings of trade union members.....                                                                        | 2,502   |
| Average Salary of high-grade clerical workers.....                                                                  | 1,908   |
| Average Salary of U. S. Government employees.....                                                                   | 1,809   |
| Average Salary of teachers, principals, and superintendents in public schools.....                                  | 1,275-  |

### Elements Relating to a Basic Salary for Teachers

The American Federation of Teachers has always maintained that there should be no discrimination in the amount of salary paid to men and women teachers, and that payment of salary should be made, and promotion granted, on the basis of the service rendered, without regard to the sex, the race, the religion, or the social status, including marriage, of the teachers concerned. The Federation holds also that for equal and required qualifications and preparation for professional work the salary should be the same in whatever grade a person may be teaching.

We quote Table 52, page 306, Vol. I of the Chicago School Survey Report to indicate the range of salaries for teachers in certain large cities. Since the report was published the salaries of teachers in these cities have been seriously reduced.

TABLE 52

Salary Schedule Data in the Five Largest Cities—Teachers

|                             | Minimum | Median  | Maximum |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| <b>ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS—</b>  |         |         |         |
| New York .....              | \$1,608 | \$3,026 | \$3,390 |
| Chicago .....               | 1,500   | 2,125   | 2,500   |
| Philadelphia .....          | 1,200   | 2,213   | 2,400   |
| Detroit .....               | 1,400   | 2,062   | 2,800   |
| Cleveland .....             | ....    | 2,416   | ....    |
| <b>JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS—</b> |         |         |         |
| New York .....              | \$2,040 | \$2,879 | \$3,830 |
| Chicago .....               | 1,800   | 2,725   | 3,300   |
| Philadelphia .....          | 1,800   | 2,603   | 2,800   |
| Detroit .....               | 1,700   | 2,749   | 3,200   |
| Cleveland .....             | ....    | 2,491   | ....    |
| <b>SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS—</b> |         |         |         |
| New York .....              | \$2,148 | \$3,886 | \$4,500 |
| Chicago .....               | 2,000   | 3,467   | 3,800   |
| Philadelphia .....          | 1,800   | 3,243   | 3,600   |
| Detroit .....               | 1,700   | 2,833   | 3,200   |
| Cleveland .....             | ....    | 3,135   | ....    |

For a formula for providing a basic salary for teachers throughout the country in cities, towns, villages and rural sections we propose that certain elements be taken into account, as follows:

1. The salary of U. S. Government employees
2. The average earnings of trade union members
3. The average earnings of all gainfully occupied persons
4. The average income of doctors and lawyers

We propose that the lowest salary paid in any locality to a professionally qualified teacher holding at least a normal school diploma shall not be less than will provide him or her with the proper living conditions specified or implied in this statement. We propose also that when proper basic salaries are agreed upon, they shall be protected by minimum wage laws.

In practically every city, and in many rural sections throughout the country, high professional qualifications are being required of teachers varying from two years of normal school training to four or more years in professional institutions of the highest standing. Thus, the salaries which are commensurate with the income of professional men and women must eventually be paid to teachers. It is socially unjust and educationally unprofitable to maintain a class of teachers in this country who are paid an average wage many hundred dollars a year lower than is paid to other workers whose educational qualifications are much less.

We propose that in sections of the country where the school funds available from real estate taxation, and from state income laws are not sufficient to pay the salaries of teachers and to maintain the schools on a scale commensurate with the needs of the community, federal grants of funds be made to bring the school personnel up to the standards herein set forth. We believe that such federal participation in the support of the schools is necessary in view of the fact that the taxable wealth of the nation is not equally distributed through the states, and can only be reached by the federal government itself. Unless this is done, equal educational opportunity for all the children of America is impossible. We concede the right of the federal government to protect itself against the efforts of tax-dodging elements in every community, who might see in such federal aid an opportunity to escape their shares of the support of public education by using it as a replacement fund instead of one supplementary to the community appropriation, and to establish such conditions as will compel those able to pay who now force the closing of the schools by refusing to pay their taxes.

### Security of Tenure

The American Federation of Teachers has always stood for the adoption of adequate tenure laws for public school teachers by the states. The Federation believes that the principle of permanent tenure of position after a probationary period of two or three years should be embodied in the law of every state. Unfortunately, in certain states that have adopted such a law, school authorities often attempt to defeat the purpose of the law by dismissing teachers who are about to complete their years of probationary service, sometimes offering to re-employ them at the minimum wage.

In every tenure law there should exist a provision for terminating the service of incompetent or unworthy persons who have gained positions as teachers. But we insist that no teacher shall be deprived of his position without "due process of law", and that an open trial with the right to have counsel and witnesses shall be guaranteed.

We call attention to the widespread disregard of contracts where the interests of public school teachers are concerned. Not alone in the present crisis, but even as a frequently exercised prerogative, boards of education and school committees, especially in rural sections, make no pretense of entering into a legal agreement with teachers, or even refuse to notify them positively of their employment until a few days before the opening of school.

We insist, also, on the right of teachers to participate in social or political movements, and in other self-respecting ways to conduct their lives as citizens without fear of reprisal from boards of education or school committees.

### Decent Working Conditions

The factors involved in proper working conditions for teachers, and the standards as approved, are:

- (1) The normal number of hours of work prevailing in the best schools, with a maximum of five (5) working hours for five days, it being understood that many more hours are required in preparation for work in school.
- (2) The maximum number of pupils in a class which, in the general judgment of experts, can be taught efficiently at one time. The number will vary in accordance with the work, the subject taught, and local conditions.
- (3) The physical conditions of school buildings should be such as will protect the health and safety of teachers and pupils against:
  - (a) Overcrowding
  - (b) Bad sanitation
  - (c) Inadequate toilet arrangements
  - (d) Inadequate ventilation
  - (e) Fire hazards
- (4) Efficient health inspection is necessary to protect the personnel of the school as a whole in the interest of the community itself.

### Right to Establish Teachers' Unions, and to Affiliate with Organized Labor

The American Federation of Teachers was organized in 1916 and immediately affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Within the period of seventeen years many attacks have been made on the organization in various parts of the country. School officials, both local and state, have attempted to prevent the formation of local unions, and have tried to destroy locals already formed. In some cases the courts have assisted the school authorities in this destructive work.

With the support of organized labor, many of these attempts at hindering the work of teachers' unions in improving the conditions existing in the schools have been defeated. But the spirit of opposition to teachers' unions is still strong in certain parts of the country. Under the National Recovery Act we shall hope for public recognition of our professional and economic right to continue our existence and to perform our services in behalf of the public schools of the nation and the teachers who work in them.

### Opportunity for Culture and Professional Work

The degree in which the salaries of teachers provide opportunities for improving their capacity for better educational service will determine the extent of the community's satisfaction with its entire investment in the public schools. It will not be denied that many school systems have not yielded in educational results the satisfaction to which the communities were entitled. But the correction for this outcome is not in retrenchment to the point of crippling the service, incidentally saving some expense, but rather in a wiser investment in more highly qualified teachers and in better organized school service.

### Maintenance of Standards

We call attention to a destructive tendency incidental to the retrenchment movement against public education where schools have not been closed nor teachers dismissed: Needed repairs in school buildings have been postponed, the school year has been shortened, im-

portant subjects have been curtailed or eliminated, and even health education and health inspection have been curtailed. The slogan of "Balance the Budget" has been used as the excuse for the reckless slashing of necessary expenditures, many of which are the only social guarantees we have for the maintenance of standards in education and in health and safety. We believe that only misfortune can come from the continuance of this policy.

### Provision for Old Age

The provision which the civilized states of the world are establishing for the protection of old age are among the best proofs of our advancing civilization. Not only are old-age pensions proof of our developing altruism; they are also evidence of our growing understanding of ways to improve the public service through retirement of over-age employees. Many of the large cities of the country have adopted retirement systems for their employees on various plans of participation in creating an adequate pension fund, built upon an actuarially sound basis. Some of the states have also adopted retirement systems. But the rank and file of teachers throughout the country serve at low wages without prospect of a pension allowance, for they are not permitted to hold positions long enough to establish claim to a pension, even if one existed.

In a country where even the profit-making corporations provide retiring allowances for long-service employees, the local and state governments should not long delay the acceptance of their social obligation to provide adequately for the retirement of faithful employees.

We trust, Sir, that the principles herein set forth will meet with your endorsement, and that official action will be taken by the National Recovery Administration to call the public school situation and urgent needs to the attention of the country.

*Respectfully submitted,*

The Executive Council of the  
American Federation of Teachers.  
HENRY R. LINVILLE, President.  
FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

### George F. Zook, U. S. Commissioner of Education in commenting on the Code for Teachers, said:

"We are making a study of all the implications growing out of the application of a code, or codes, to the public schools, and to higher institutions, both public and private.

"After we have completed this study we shall, doubtless, make some recommendation to the Recovery Administration relative to a number of points which may be raised in connection with this matter."

### Ray P. Snyder, director of rural education in the state of New York:

"Due to a scientific system of state aid, instruction has been maintained in New York in all schools of all types for the school year of thirty-eight weeks.

"Few states have the resources of indirect taxation that New York has. Therefore, for the benefit of America, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT must find a scientific way to distribute school aid to the less wealthy states, and particularly to those that are largely agricultural."

# Code of Fair Standards for the Education Industry

As Proposed By Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas  
(Under the National Industrial Recovery Act)

## ARTICLE I.—PURPOSE

It is the declared purpose of the adherents of this Code to raise the rates of wages paid within the Education Industry up to such levels as are necessary for the creation and maintenance of the highest practicable standard of living; to establish the best possible conditions for instruction and learning in the class room; and to make such revisions in educational practice as will keep our social thinking in step with technological advancement.

## ARTICLE II.—PARTICIPATION

Participation in the formulation of or any subsequent revision of or addition to this Code shall be extended to all persons in the Education Industry: (1) teachers; (2) maintenance and office workers; (3) principals and superintendents and their assistants; and (4) members of boards of administrative control.

All costs involved in the operation of this Code shall be defrayed by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior of the United States Government.

## ARTICLE III.—DIVISIONS OF INDUSTRY

For the purposes of the administration of this Code, the national Education Industry shall be divided into 48 state divisions. Each of these state divisions shall in turn be subdivided into the following five categories: (1) kindergarten and elementary schools; (2) high schools; (3) colleges, professional schools, and universities; (4) vocational and trade schools; and (5) extension, night, and special schools not included in the other four classes.

If any state division or any category within that state fails to concur in the submitting of this Code, or to perform its obligations as provided hereunder, the National Education Committee, hereinafter described or its Board of Directors or National Executive Committee, as hereinafter described, is hereby empowered to adopt a Code for the state division or subdivision or category, and may provide for the administration of that Code as if the said National Education Committee, its Board of Directors, or National Executive Committee represented the division concerned.

## ARTICLE IV.—DIVISION REGULATIONS

### A.—Labor Code

The labor code herein established shall be binding upon all school boards, boards of administrative control, superintendents, principals, their assistants, and all others empowered to engage or dismiss any person or persons employed in the Industry.

1. All teachers, maintenance and office workers in the Education Industry shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively thru representatives of their own choosing.

2. No employee in the Education Industry, and no one seeking employment therein, shall be required as a condition of employment to join any union or to refrain from joining a labor organization of his or her own choosing.

3. No employee in the Education Industry, and no one seeking employment therein, shall be discriminated against in terms of wages, hours, working conditions or in any other manner, because of sex, race, or marital state.

4. Minimum rates of wages, maximum hours of labor, and other working conditions in the Education Industry shall be as follows:

#### (a) Minimum wages for

- (1) Teachers in kindergartens and elementary schools, \$1,600 per year;
- (2) Teachers in high schools, \$2,200 per year;
- (3) Teachers in colleges, professional schools, and universities, \$3,000 per year;
- (4) Teachers in vocational and trade schools, \$2,350 per year;
- (5) Teachers in night schools, \$1,000 per year;
- (6) Office workers, \$1,600 per year;
- (7) Maintenance workers:
  - a. Custodians and janitors, \$2,150 per year;
  - b. Mechanics and repairmen, \$1,800 per year;
  - c. Assistants to janitors, \$1,400 per year;
- (8) Principals and assistants, \$2,800 per year;

(b) Until the maximum wage for each category or classification in (a) is reached teachers, office and maintenance workers, and principals and their assistants shall receive an annual increase of five (5) percent of their wage.

(c) Maximum hours for all teachers and office and maintenance workers shall not exceed thirty (30) per week, during which time teachers shall not be called upon to do more than twenty-five (25) class sessions of instruction.

#### (d) Working conditions:

- (1) All employees shall be assured of not less than forty (40) weeks' employment in one year.
- (2) They shall be removable only for cause and after a fair hearing.
- (3) They shall receive full wages when absent because of bona fide illness.
- (4) They shall be entitled to a full year's leave one year in four at half the wages received in the last preceding year before such leave.
- (5) They shall be assured of adequate pensions, with retirement to begin at the age

of sixty-five (65), under a solvent plan in the management of which they shall have adequate representation.

- (6) All licensed and unemployed teachers shall be paid not less than two-thirds the wage of the classification to which they belong; if not previously employed, then two-thirds the minimum entrance wage rate for their classification. Such wages shall be paid by the official relief committees of city, county, state, or nation. These unemployed teachers shall be assigned educational work among the unemployed.
- (7) The number of students in all classes shall be limited to twenty-five (25).
- (8) Special classes shall be set up for atypical children.

#### A.—Attendance

No tax-supported school of any character shall require the payment of an admission fee by any student.

All persons under eighteen (18), unless prevented by physical, mental, or other ailment or by detention in state institutions, shall be required to attend school.

### ARTICLE V.—NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE

#### A.—Representation

There shall be a National Education Committee for the Education Industry, to consist of six (6) members from each state, to be elected as follows:

1. Three members to be elected by the teachers in all classifications;
2. One member to be elected by the maintenance and office workers; and
3. Two members to be elected by the principals and superintendents and members of the boards of administrative control.

The National Education Committee shall in turn elect a Board of Directors, consisting of forty-eight (48) persons, one from each state. The Board of Directors will select a National Executive Committee consisting of eleven (11) members, no two of whom shall be from one state.

#### B.—Powers

The National Education Committee shall be the general planning and coordinating agency for the Industry. Its members shall be empowered to act conclusively for the divisions they represent in respect to all matters before the Committee for consideration and within its jurisdiction. The Committee shall have powers and duties as provided herein and in addition thereto it shall

1. From time to time require such reports from School Boards, Superintendents, etc. as in its judgment may be necessary to advise it adequately of the administration and enforcement of the provisions of this Code;
2. Upon complaint of interested parties, or upon its own initiative, make such inquiry and investigation into the operation of the Code as may be necessary; and
3. Make rules and regulations necessary for the administration and enforcement of this Code. The Committee may delegate any of its authority to the Board of Directors, or the National Executive Committee, herein-after provided, and may designate such agents as it shall determine.

### ARTICLE VI.—STATISTICS

In order to provide the data necessary for the administration of the National Industrial Recovery Law, the members of the Education Industry shall furnish, and the National Education Committee shall gather, statistical information from all the members of the Industry.

### ARTICLE VII.—GENERAL

Amendment to this Code may be made by the National Education Committee, subject to the approval of the membership in the state divisions, and when approved by the President shall be effective.

Penalties for violation by any School Board, member of such board, superintendent, principal, teacher, maintenance or office worker, of any provision or provisions of this Code, or of any approved rule issued thereunder, shall be provided by the National Executive Committee, subject to approval by the Board of Directors.

In order to avoid undue delay in making effective thruout the Education Industry this Code the following provisions are adopted:

- A. Each established division, state, or subdivision, shall, thru its representatives to the National Education Committee, approve the general provisions of this Code. If conditions, peculiar to a specific division or category within a division, are such as to require adjustment or coordination with the provisions of this National Code, the National Education Committee shall proceed as rapidly as practicable to make such adjustments of and coordination between the provisions of specific divisions or subdivisions as may be necessary to bring them into conformity with the provisions of the National Code by:
  - (1) consultation and negotiation between the National Education Committee representatives and the divisions or subdivisions affected;
  - (2) its own findings after full consideration of all factors involved.

- B. If any division or subdivision, thru its accredited representative to the National Education Committee, fails to conform within reasonable time with the Code provisions as provided in subsection A of this Article, and if, in the judgment of the National Education Committee, such failure is unduly delaying the effective operation of this Code, the said Committee is authorized to act as a divisional agency for said division or subdivision, and to submit on its behalf the necessary Code provisions which, upon approval by the President, shall be effective until the said divisions or subdivisions shall have conformed with satisfactory Code provisions.

This Code shall be in effect beginning ten (10) days after its approval by the President.

### Teachers' Code

A code for colleges and universities is planned by Prof. Floyd B. O'Rear of Teachers' College, Columbia University. "Society possesses the wealth to provide education of such completeness as has not yet been planned, for numbers far beyond present realization," he declared in proposing the code. "Equality of educational opportunity need not remain a mere phrase."

**Reply from N. R. A.**

NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION  
Washington, D. C.

August 25, 1933.  
In reply refer 1717/05

Mr. Henry R. Linville, President,  
American Federation of Teachers,  
506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Linville:

This acknowledges receipt of your letter of Aug. 22 enclosing 11 copies of your Code of Fair Competition.

While the provisions of the National Recovery Act do not permit the Government to approve codes of fair competition submitted by labor organizations—the Act requiring that such codes are contracts between President and employers—the fact remains that labor organizations may follow a number of courses in order to protect their interests.

It is possible under Sec. 7 (b) of the N. I. R. A. Act for the employers and employees of any industry to establish by mutual agreement conditions relating to hours, rates of pay and other conditions of employment, and, when approved by the President, such agreements have the same effect as approved employer's codes. It is also possible under Sec. 7 (c) of the Act for you to request the President to inaugurate an investigation on his own motion for a code of fair competition for an industry.

In all future communications, please refer to your code by name and index number stated above.

Your assistance in the work of the National Recovery Administration is heartily appreciated.

Very truly yours,

A. Heath Onthank,  
Chief Control Division.

*The American Federation of Teachers is continuing its efforts for the adoption of its Code on the above advice under Sec. 7(c) and is hopeful that the President will inaugurate an investigation on his own motion for a code of fair competition for the education industry.*

**A Letter to N. R. A.**

Kellogg, Idaho, August 26th, 1933.

General Hugh S. Johnson,  
National Recovery Administration,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:—

1. Are the public schools of the United States planning to fly the Blue Eagle?
2. If so, who will be the spokesman for the teachers?
3. What assurance will teachers have if they form a union or become members of the American Federation of Teachers which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, that they will not lose their positions because of so doing?
4. What about a code for teachers based upon their general education, training, and experience? A code upon any other basis would be unfair.
5. Under the present school set-up, organization in many communities is impossible without a statement from the NRA that teachers have the right to organize if they so desire. Can you not give the press of the country such a statement?
6. You have given out statements that labor can if it chooses, organize for the purpose of collective bargaining, etc. Would not such a statement relative to the teachers be equally fair?

Kindly let me hear from you on these matters.

Sincerely,

THOMAS B. KELLY  
Kellogg Public Schools.

**Major Lynn G. Adams, Superintendent of the Pennsylvania State Police:**

After twenty-five years of experience in police work, I find the public schools are of more value than either the church or the home in reducing criminal potentialities. In the long run, success in or fight against criminal gangs which are preying on our country today rests with the schools.

## A. F. T. Official Family

The executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers has been increased by constitutional amendment from thirteen to seventeen. The new members are the following vice-presidents:

**May Darling, Portland Local 111.**

Vice-President Oregon State Federation of Labor; past president Portland Teachers Union; teacher of social sciences, Washington High School, Portland, Oregon; active in civic and political life.

**Harold M. Groves, University of Wisconsin Local 223.**

Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin; member Wisconsin Legislature; introducer and promoter of teacher tenure, old age retirement, and unemployment insurance laws; tax specialist; lecturer and author.

**Raymond F. Lowry, Toledo Local 250.**

President, Toledo Federation of Teachers, Local 250; A.M., Ohio Wesleyan University; instructor, Nankai University, Tientsin, China, 1920-1926; head, Department of English, Woodward High School, Toledo; instructor (part time), University of Toledo.

**Barbara A. McGlynn, Wilkes-Barre Local 211.**

President Wilkes-Barre Township Teachers Union; AFT regional representative for the Middle Atlantic states; secretary of committee on Education and Schools, Penn-

sylvania Federation of Labor; chairman Committee on Education, Wilkes-Barre Central Labor Union; legislative representative at Harrisburg; promoted tenure law and legislation for schools and workers in industry; active in community affairs.

**Carlotta Pittman, Memphis Local 52.**

Vice-president AFT 1927-1932; past president, Memphis Teachers Association; delegate, Memphis Central Labor Union; member AFT Academic Freedom committee; teacher Roselle school.

**John Harold Swan, Sacramento Local 31.**

President Sacramento Chapter Local 31; teacher of Economics, Sacramento Junior College; active in school legislation and community affairs.

**Dorothy Weil, Chicago Women Local 3.**

President Federation of Women High School Teachers, Local 3, 1931-1933; chairman Publicity Committee, Chicago Save Our Schools Committee; delegate Chicago Federation of Labor and Illinois State Federation of Labor; teacher Crane Junior College, Chicago; active in legislative and civic affairs.

**Colin G. Welles, Ph.D., Milwaukee Local 212.**

Chairman Milwaukee County Federation of Teachers; head Department of Visual Education, Milwaukee Vocational School; active in civic and political life.

# Report of Secretary-Treasurer

ABRIDGED

To the Seventeenth Convention, American Federation of Teachers

**T**HE financial report submitted by the Secretary-Treasurer shows that the organization has kept solvent in spite of the depression.

## Membership

The membership condition is good and the future outlook encouraging. There has been a gratifying increase in membership in some locals, and despite the difficulties of the times all locals have held their own. Sixteen new locals representing ten states have been chartered, ranging in membership from 25 to 600. Many more inquiries and requests for literature, indicating an increasing interest in our movement, have been received than in any past ten years.

It would seem that at this time of attack upon the institution of public education an increasing number of teachers could be led to see that their protection lies in their union with each other and with the staunch, devoted, and all-time friends of education, Organized Labor. The national office offers every possible assistance to the member locals in their efforts to educate their fellow teachers in sound organization and insurance.

## The American Teacher.

Five magazines in place of nine were published this year. The circulation was increased by 2,000 because of the demand. The subscription price was lowered from \$2 to \$1 because of the fewer numbers per volume.

The magazine has been used very largely for material to meet the crisis in education. An unusual number of comments and reprints in other periodicals indicates that it is widely read.

A return to our previous practice of 9 issues per year is a hope for the future. As a temporary alternative a small bulletin or tabloid containing local news and the most important information will be distributed in the months in which the AMERICAN TEACHER is not published. It is my considered opinion that in this present crisis the membership should have put before it frequently the more important happenings in the organization and the educational world, and the point of view of the Executive Council.

## Defense of Teachers in Their Positions.

The primary function of an organization is to protect the interests of its members. The primary interest of any teacher or other worker is a job. At this time of crisis, curtailment, and retrenchment, many teachers are being dismissed and many more are in danger of dismissal. Especially will those teachers most courageous in pointing out the evils of retrenchment and in resisting the attack upon the schools be penalized by loss of position. This organization should be in a position to defend such teachers. Such defense should not be just a local matter but should be handled by the national and the local in cooperation.

I recommend that steps be taken to establish a special fund for the legal defense of member teachers unjustly dismissed from their positions.

## Placement Bureau.

The Placement Bureau Committee of last year recommended that at the earliest possible time arrangements be made to establish a placement bureau in the national office. I urge that this matter be not lost sight of and that in the present crisis when so many teachers find themselves in a tragic condition of unemployment, plans be made for the earliest establishment of a PLACEMENT BUREAU.

## New Literature.

The propaganda literature this year has been mainly reprints from the AMERICAN TEACHER. This includes Crisis in Education, Professor John Dewey; President Green's Appeal to the Teachers of America; Two Programs—Choose; The Making of a Profession, Selma M. Borchardt. A new supply of Objections Answered, Questions and Answers, Why I am a Member of the Union, Historical Setting of the American Federation of Teachers by Ruth Gillette Hardy was provided.

Worth while propaganda literature is very important. We are eager for ideas for such literature. Please let us have yours.

## Publicity.

I recommend that immediate arrangements be made for the preparation of articles on the school crisis and their publication in weekly and monthly magazines, especially women's magazines.

## Teachers Union Auxiliary.

I have long been convinced of the value of teachers union auxiliaries. Since visiting the New York Teachers Union Auxiliary in January I am more than ever convinced of their value both in fostering professional standards and in promoting progressive education. Also at this time of crisis when all friends of education need to be mobilized in support of the public schools, it is imperative, as I see it, that the locals of the A. F. T. organize such cooperative units in their communities now. I recommend that steps to this end be immediately taken.

## Conclusion.

While we take satisfaction in the optimistic report of this year, we wish to emphasize that only by continued, even greater, courage and militancy may we maintain and improve our position and justify our optimism.

The destiny of public education has been placed in the hands of the teachers. The deplorable conditions in the world, including the school world, have been brought about by selfishness and lack of cooperation. The American Federation of Teachers was organized originally as a protest against the abuses of power which had grown up in school administration, as a means of combatting the influence of autocratic domination of the schools by special interests, and as an expression of the social vision of a few teachers who were thinking in terms of community interest and social progress, and today it is taking a new energy and enthusiasm on these same basic motives. By working and pulling together, by tolerance and understanding can we achieve success.

Had the teachers of America been united in a national organization, together with the other workers of the country, the retrogressions in education would not have made the progress that they have. If the schools are to be saved from further devastating curtailments and retrenchments, it can be done only by sound organization, by the unity and solidarity of teachers, parents, workers, of all those who cherish the public schools and believe in them. A strong militant organization is needed; it is at hand.

It is not enough that teachers should concern themselves with school problems only. It is imperative that they concern themselves with the broad social and economic questions troubling the world today.

As a term of reproach the American Federation of Teachers has been called an economic organization; as

a matter of pride it claims to be a social and economic as well as educational organization. We have pointed out for years the dangers that threatened the schools. We are urging now that teachers look clear-eyed at the realities of the present and to the stern responsibilities of the future. We are teachers not in the classroom only but of the public. Let us renew our slogan, "Come Out of the Classroom, Teacher"!

Let me quote: "And in this new dispensation now upon us there will be no rights recognized unless there are strong organizations to demand them and to get them."

Unity, solidarity, courage, hope, knowledge, determination. Let these be our watchwords for better schools and for a better world.

## Labor Day, 1933

By **FRANCES PERKINS**  
Secretary of Labor

We are called upon today to observe Labor Day in a more thoughtful and serious spirit perhaps than in any of the forty-six years in which it has been a holiday. Never in all that time have we been faced by a condition calling for such united efforts by wage earners, employers, and consumers to help in solving the problems which have been so pressing in the last few years. Only by concerted action can we rout the forces which have brought want, despair, and misery to so many homes.

If we will all, on this day, make up our minds to do everything individually possible to build up the purchasing power of the Nation to balance our great producing power then Labor Day of 1933 should mark a turn toward better times and usher in a new era for the country's wage earners, salaried workers, and employers. In other words, let us give the National Recovery Administration our whole-hearted support, for its objective is to increase buying power so as to furnish more jobs at better wages.

If and when it accomplishes this purpose, we should all reap benefits with hours of labor shortened and wages and remuneration in harmony with the higher standards of living which underlies our new consumption economy. Living under such conditions we shall be able to get more education. We shall be healthier for there will be greater opportunity for proper recreation. We can do the things which build up people and which make us all better citizens and members of society.

But we cannot achieve this goal unless our people have purchasing power sufficient to buy the products of the mass production system for their comfort and well-being. We want for all our people an ordinary comfortable living—enough to eat, enough to wear, a home with average comforts at least—all of which should be commonplace in American life. All, however, cannot have them when unemployment is widespread and continued.

So let us dedicate this Labor Day to pledging ourselves, without reservation, to unite in the drive which is now under way so that by this time next year, through increased employment and pay rolls, we shall again have job and economic security with the doors of opportunity open to those willing and able to work.

President Roosevelt has forged the weapons with which to make the attack. The National Recovery Act furnishes them and if we take full advantage of what

they promise and work whole-heartedly and unselfishly together, we should come out of this struggle in the good old-fashioned American way of victory.

By **WILLIAM GREEN**  
President, American Federation of Labor

Labor Day, 1933, finds our nation utilizing its resources to carry out recovery plans.

Business men had declared themselves unable to deal with the situation and banks were unable to perform their functions.

Then the Administration proposed a partnership under governmental supervision so that organized business and organized labor might join in developing rules to facilitate balanced recovery. The principle of partnership—joint interests—is the groundwork for our recovery agencies.

The practical effectiveness of all these plans depends upon the good-will and wisdom of those concerned and upon the degree of cooperation that develops.

We have in the traditions and practices of our nation the characteristics that come from the discipline of self-government.

The difficulties of combating and living in an undeveloped continent have made individual responsibility and cooperative habits of daily practice.

These are qualities which we should apply to the present undertaking and incorporate in industrial relationships.

As a nation we have declared it is the patriotic duty of every American citizen, as employer or employe, to assume responsibility for making recovery plans successful and for identifying himself with his group and for carrying out the same principles as a consumer.

The new elements in our present undertaking are partnership with government and machinery to control business so that we may carry out our purposes.

The business world has become so complicated and independent that unless we plan our policies and organize machinery to carry them out, we are so checked and diverted by outside forces that we make little headway.

Under the Recovery Act, organization is the order of the day—organization of employers in trade associations, workers in trade unions, and channels to reflect the interests and needs of consumers.

(Turn to page 15)

# So This Is America!

**Bitter Teacher War Starts in Erie (Pa.) Area.**—Non-resident instructor ruling of city board precipitates trouble. A bitter teacher employment war has broken out between Erie city and county schools. Harbor Creek district, seven miles east of here, took the lead in the fight by voting not to hire any resident of Erie and to discharge the five teachers who live here as soon as contracts expire.

It was definitely stated that this policy would be in effect "as long as the non-resident ruling of Erie School Board is enforced."

Recently the Erie Board of Education told a half dozen teachers either to move into the city or give up their jobs. One of these teachers is Merrill Hughes, a member of the Harbor Creek Board of Education.

**Washington, D. C.**—Congress passed by a large majority President Roosevelt's economy bill under which the Federal Government will reduce its cost of operation around \$525,000,000.

The measure authorizes the President to cut the wages and salaries of Government employes 15 per cent. By this cut it is estimated the Government will "save" \$125,000,000.

The bill also authorizes the President to make drastic reductions in the compensation, pension, and disability allowances of veterans. It is estimated that this "economy" will reduce Government expenses about \$400,000,000.

In addition the measure contains the provision that the pay of Government employes shall be determined by the cost of living as ascertained by the United States Department of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor, through President William Green, opposed both the pay cut and the cost-of-living wage scheme.

**Glassboro, N. J.**—Decides that teachers must be reserved, and act "strictly as chaperons", at school functions, and female teachers that smoke may expect dismissal. Members of the Board of Education that establish this rule will continue smoking and chewing as usual.

**Spokane, Wash.**—Home economics and manual arts are discontinued in the fifth grade. All double-period subjects in high schools are scheduled on seven periods per week basis instead of ten. Part time schools discontinued. Appropriation for library books reduced. Attendance office force cut. Two schools closed.

**Schenectady, N. Y.**—Eliminated three special classes, one for non-English speaking children, one for crippled children, and one for anemic children.

**Denver, Colo.**—Vacancies unfilled. Some curtailment of curriculum revision. Discontinuation of open air schoolrooms. Shortening of term in evening schools.

**Indianapolis, Ind.**—Night schools eliminated. No summer schools. No teachers' colleges. Appropriations for kindergartens greatly reduced.

**Detroit, Mich.**—Free summer schools eliminated. No summer schools. No teachers' colleges. Appropriations for kindergartens greatly reduced.

**The Dalles, Ore.**—New contracts for school teachers contain a clause prohibiting use of alcohol, narcotics, or tobacco in any form. The action was protested by directors of the chamber of commerce.

**Cleveland, Ohio.**—Cutting the kindergartens, night schools, summer schools and the teachers' colleges.

**Minneapolis Teachers' Pay Is Reduced 30 Per Cent.**—

The city board of education voted to cut the salaries of teachers and other school employes 30 per cent for the remainder of the year. Already under a 15 per cent cut in salary they also will have to take vacations of two weeks without pay. The deficit was estimated at \$681,000.

The total pay reduction to date for Minneapolis teachers is 53%.

**Socialists Raise School Age.**—Word comes from Copenhagen that the Socialist ministry is about to introduce a bill raising the age of compulsory school attendance from fourteen years to fifteen. This will be urged on educational grounds and also because it will take a good many thousand youth out of the overcrowded labor market and will give employment to a considerable number of teachers.

**Bogan Urges U. S. Hire 500 Idle Teachers.**—Supt.

William J. Bogan has sent an appeal to Secretary of the Interior Ickes in Washington for federal funds to finance the employment of teachers out of work in Chicago. The money would go toward the teaching of classes in Americanization and English and is similar to a plan already in operation in New York. It was estimated that approximately 500 teachers could be employed to instruct more than 5,000 persons. Some of the teachers would be those now on the relief rolls and others those who will be temporarily out of work because of the operation of the school board's economy program. A salary of \$15 a week would be paid to each teacher for a minimum of twenty-two hours of service, fifteen of which will be used for instruction and the rest for conferences, according to the plan. Classes would not exceed ten in number.

**Closing of Schools of Nursing.**—In "very nearly all hospitals having less than 50 patients, many hospitals with less than 100 patients, and at least a good many with more than 100 patients," is advised by Committee on Grading of Nursing Schools. The committee reports too many schools of nursing in the country.

**Miss Perkins Revokes Finger-Print Order.**—Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins revoked shortly after coming into office the order for finger-printing incoming aliens issued by former Secretary Doak but never put into effect. She also abolished the secret service section of the Immigration Bureau. It is understood that the ruling prohibiting gainful employment by alien students is to be modified so needy ones may work for board and tuition.

**The Good Old Days.**—Boys Do Own Cooking. Ada, Okla. To remain in school at minimum of expense, many students bring eggs, butter, smoked hams, canned fruits and vegetables from family larder "down on the farm." They prepare own meals. East Central Teachers College has cooperative boarding house where students share expenses—money or produce.

**Business Schools Closing.**—Depression is said to be forcing closing of private business colleges and schools at rate of about 50 per month. One reliable estimate: 1,200 closed within past year.

**Dictator Over Educational Institutions.**—According to *The Christian Science Monitor*, a bill making the governor of the state virtual dictator over educational institutions has been passed by the Colorado Legislature. Sponsors of the measure say it will save taxpayers more than \$1,000,000 yearly. It authorizes and directs the Governor to eliminate duplication of courses offered at the various state institutions of higher learning, and to regroup, reorganize, and consolidate courses and departments in the institutions. The Governor also receives power to close, for financial reasons, any of the educational institutions belonging to the State for a period not exceeding two years. The drastic measure was adopted following legislative hearings concerning alleged extravagant expenditures of some of the colleges and universities in the state. Some testimony of almost humorous character brought out during the considerations, was to the effect that courses in manicuring, rouge and cold cream application, scarf dancing for boys, millinery and folk dancing were given in the colleges. It was charged that bulletins issued at considerable cost were frequently written by persons of little practical experience.—*School and Society*.

**Handicapped Children.**—The White House Conference, appointed by Herbert Hoover, furnishes the following alarming information about children with physical and mental handicaps: 14,400 blind, 50,000 partially seeing, 3,000,000 hearing impaired, 1,000,000 speech defectives, 300,000 crippled, 382,000 tubercular, 1,000,000 weak or damaged hearts, 6,000,000 malnourished, 675,000 behavior problems, 450,000 mentally retarded—a total of 12,871,000 subnormal children.

**Teachers' Loyalty Oath Bills Die in Eight States.**—In the 1933 state legislatures, most of which have adjourned, the chief civil liberties issue outside of labor injunctions, revolved around bills backed by the D.A.R. requiring special loyalty oaths from school teachers. Already thirteen states have such legislation. The movement apparently has been stopped, for the bills were defeated in eight states in which they were introduced, due to aggressive action by the A. C. L. U., organized teachers, and peace societies.

**Star City, W. Va.**—Because of his socialist activities, Dr. Robert T. Kerlin, for five years a member of the faculty of Potomac State College, Keyser, W. Va., has been summarily dismissed. The secretary of the board of education did not notify Kerlin until it was too late for him to secure a position for the next term.

**Georgia.**—Blanket Cut of 25 per cent in all State departments for remainder of present year ordered by Governor Talmadge.

**Washington.**—A new system of financing education whereby the State will meet approximately 50 per cent of total cost adopted.

**New Jersey.**—Governor Moore announces a tentative plan to allow counties to divert to school support and shore-line protection \$6,835,000 from motor vehicle receipts hitherto dedicated to local highway maintenance.

**Tennessee.**—Reduces salary of University president from \$7,500 to \$3,000. Voted to reduce sharply salaries of heads of other educational institutions.

**Headline:**—Allegany Teachers Vote to Accept Salary Cut. Cumberland, Md. Teachers in Allegany County public schools voluntarily decide to take salary cut of 10 per cent for two years.

**Arkansas.**—University of Arkansas appropriation reduced from \$571,400 to \$340,000.

## LABOR DAY, 1933

(Continued from page 13)

Without the cooperation of labor, the National Recovery Administration would be fatally handicapped.

The work experience and the needs of those who carry on production processes are essential in order to formulate the rules of the industry wisely.

In order to organize this information for use, workers must be organized so as to collect and collate facts and judgments.

The Recovery Act provides that every code must contain specific provisions assuring employes the right to organize in unions with representatives of their own choosing and to conduct their affairs without interference from employers.

When such codes have been signed and approved then the law stipulates that employers must deal with representatives of their employes—chosen without coercion or interference of any kind on the part of the employer.

Never did the union have a more vital or more constructive function than it does in our national emergency. It is essential to the formulation of codes and to their administration so as to carry out the purposes of the recovery program.

Workers organized in unions will have a part in formulating a program to provide jobs for the unemployed and to increase consumer buying power.

Workers outside of unions will be unable to participate and by their failure to participate will lessen the influence of the organized group. Wage earners need organization to help in the administration of the code for the industry, in working out problems and in suggesting improvements.

It is to the workers the Government must look to know whether employers are living up to their contracts.

Labor Day, 1933, finds the labor movement with new opportunities, busily trying to meet new obligations.

The line of organizing activities reaches from coast to coast, and from Northern to Southern boundaries.

After four years of depression and steady retrogression, wage earners now know that only through organization can they provide the kind of economic security that will prevent a recurrence of the present breakdown.

We cannot return to the business practices of 1929, and if we would have better balance in our institutions, we must be able to direct their development.

Our greatest responsibility in the immediate future is to carry the message of unionism to all who work and to do our part to prevent exploitation by helping to organize business in the service of all.

By FRANK MORRISON

Secretary, American Federation of Labor

The National Recovery Act recognizing the right of workers to join a union of their own choosing, has aroused widespread interest among unorganized workers to establish membership in the American Federation of Labor.

In no other type of labor organization has the worker greater freedom to deal with questions relating to conditions of labor of immediate concern to himself, than is afforded in the trade union.

The practices and policies of the trade union movement are based on the principle of trade autonomy; in other words, the recognition of the right of workers in the same trade to decide for themselves questions affecting conditions of labor in their own particular line of work.

# Education for Democracy

## American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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## Teachers, Wake Up!

The position of the school teacher in America today is desperate. Five thousand schools completely closed, twenty-five percent of all teachers unemployed, the remaining seventy-five percent receiving reduced salaries, classrooms overcrowded, the teaching load ever increasing, many teachers not able to count on a definite pay day, less opportunity all the time for further study, and the profession itself growing almost daily more overcrowded.

These are the immediate effects of the past four years which have been felt by all teachers. There are others. Prices steadily rising, every day necessities having gone up 8.15 percent, potatoes 57 percent, butter 10 percent, and eggs 22 percent during the four week period ending August twenty-third. There are many thousands of teachers dollars still tied up, or totally lost, in the bank closings of the not so distant past. There are other thousands of teachers using their decreased salaries to support non-earning, because unemployed, husbands, brothers, fathers, and other relatives.

In yet another way teachers see the advances made in the past decade in their chosen profession, advances made at great cost of effort and initiative, slowly crumbling away until in many communities today instruction is on a par with that of seven and eight years ago, while in others ever increasing groups of powerful people cry for a dropping of fads and frills and a return to the three R's of our grandfather's time.

If in 1926 the salaries of teachers, principals, and superintendents of public schools were below those of all gainfully occupied persons, below those of U. S. Government employees, high-grade clerical workers, and trade-union members, what must they be today with the constant and ever increasing cuts imposed on teachers by school boards in their frantic efforts to meet mounting costs with decreased revenues? What do these lowered salaries mean to teachers in terms of health, professional improvement, ability to do a good job, the growth of the profession, and freedom from worry?

And in the midst of this chaos, where is the American teacher? With the exception of the few who belong to the American Federation of Teach-

ers, the great and vast majority of teachers are groping, confused, disillusioned, or else stand in splendid isolation and individualism on the tottering framework of their profession.

**Teachers—wake up!** You are not divinely appointed individuals pledged to the glorious task of educating America's youth. You received your appointments after years of education at a personal sacrifice, payment of fees to agencies, and long waiting and wondering about the position you hoped you would find.

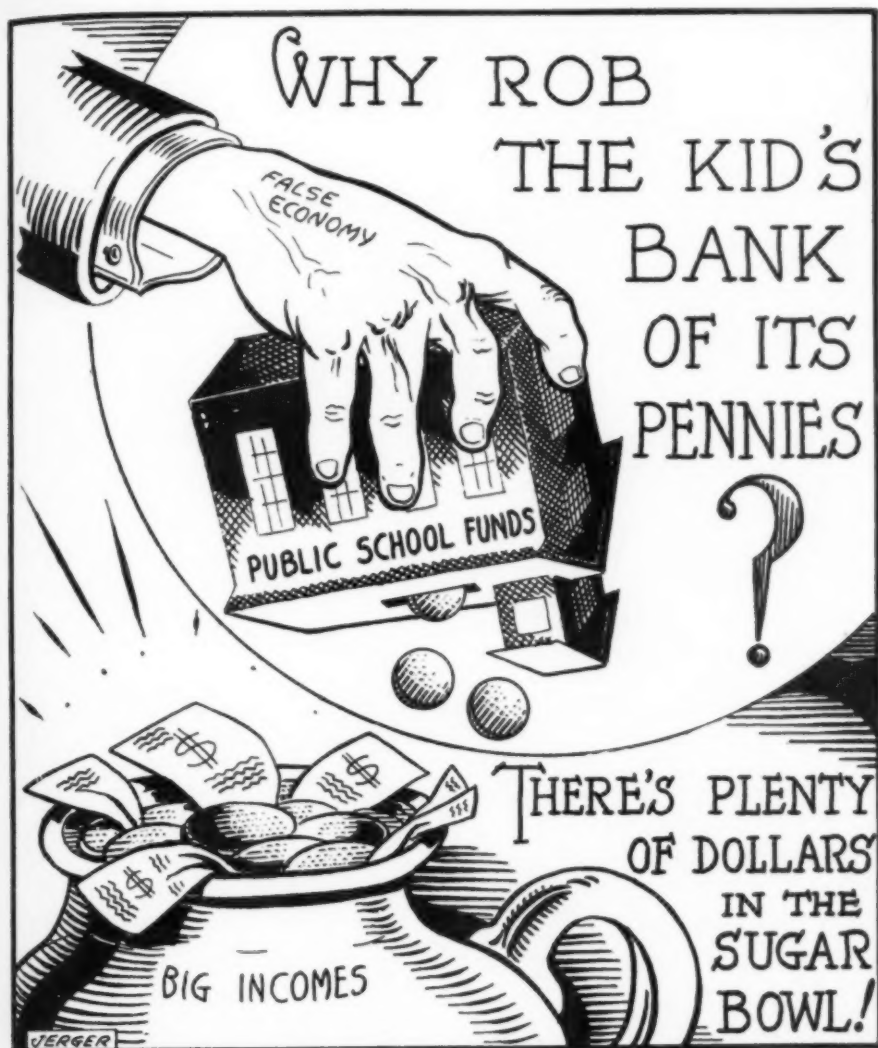
**Teachers—wake up!** Neither are you a small and dignified group in your community with a kind of professional dignity which cloaks you in garments of respect. You are called on to go out and sell tax-warrants that you might receive your rightfully earned pay. You are forced to haggle with the grocer over the price of eggs, to meet with shameful apologies the creditor whom you cannot pay, to cover up as well as you can the loans you have been forced to make from various loan organizations.

**Teachers—wake up!** For, while your profession is a noble one, while you have entered upon it with pride, while you realize the inherent dignity of your calling, you are subjected to the same forces that play upon the vast majority of our population, the fathers and mothers of the very children you educate.

The school teacher is a worker. Call him a brain-worker, a professional, or what you will, but basically he is a worker. Furthermore he intends to be a worker all his days. He has given up the chance to make profit, the opportunity of controlling in any way an industrial or commercial enterprise, and deliberately chosen a profession notorious for its low pay, and with the full knowledge that no matter how long he stays in that profession his lot will never be greatly bettered in any material way.

The teacher is a worker, and his job is that of educating the children of the country, while his interest is as wide as all education is wide. And it is only through a full realization and consciousness of himself as a worker that his job will be saved, that the job of educating the children of America will go forward as it must, or even that he will be allowed in his own classroom to do what to

# Democracy in Education



*Locomotive Engineers' Journal.*

him constitutes doing his job well.

The teacher cannot stand aloof. He has already seen too clearly how the effects of the past four years have affected him.

The teacher cannot consider his professional dignity a higher matter than his position as a worker. His real dignity lies in being a worker, while his so-called professional dignity has gained him only wage cuts, contract violations, and unemployment.

The teacher can no longer feel that his profession makes him a person with different interests from other workers. He can no longer isolate himself from the millions of other wage earners in the country. His need for economic security is the same. The parents of those with whom he is most directly concerned, the children he educates, suffer from the same forces. The interests that avoid tax-payments, cry for curtail-

ment, shout get rid of fads and frills, are identical with those who have forced unemployment and miserable working conditions on millions of other wage earners in the country today.

No, the teacher is basically a worker. He is a man who has a job, a job of his own choosing, a job he has devoted his life to, and he must protect that job. And it is only by protecting that job that public education will prosper, that the task he has set for himself will be forwarded. For the past four years those upon whom he has relied for that protection of his job have proven their worth. The rising of commodity and consumption prices, with low teacher contracts in force for another year, and with the success of the latest device of the government for recovery still, in the words of General Johnson himself, in the doubtful stage, show that the teacher must more than ever

look out for himself in the interest of the schools.

There is but one resource left for the far-seeing, realistic teacher. That is to organize. To organize to protect his job. To organize to protect the school system built up with so much effort by the older ones among us. To organize that public education shall not become an idle dream in this country.

The individual teacher can do nothing. His protest can be no more than a feeble voice easily stilled by the breaking of his contract. And every teacher knows this and is consequently quiet among the accumulated difficulties of his chosen life work. But the voices of many are strong. In our profession, and more today than ever, my interest is your interest. We must all speak together.

Teachers, organize and save yourselves and the schools you have pledged yourselves to serve!

BERTRAM ENOS.

## Right to Organize

We still hear occasional whimpers from individuals who say it is the fear of losing their jobs that keeps many teachers from joining the American Federation of Teachers.

It is not fear of losing their jobs that keeps these individuals out—for it is only through organization that teachers can be sure of keeping their jobs under the present so-called economy programs which are being so ruthlessly put into practice. No—it is not fear of losing jobs—it is fear of taking the initiative. It is a short-sighted and excessive sense of caution that keeps many teachers yet on the sidelines.

Under the NRA such timidity and caution should vanish. The law of the land now specifically guarantees to all workers the right to organize in unions of their own choosing. If there ever was a time in the history of American education for teachers to band themselves loyally with their brothers and sisters in the ranks of labor—if there was ever a time for teachers to band themselves into a strong organization to protect themselves and the schools—it is now.

Teachers, act. The law is on your side. You have nothing to fear. Banish timidity by joining the American Federation of Teachers—the one organization that can and will best fight for your interest and that of the American public schools.

## Raising Money for Union Activities

As the fall season approaches, each local is faced with the problem of raising funds with which to carry on the activities of the organization during the coming year. Because the matter is a serious one for all, and Local Number Eight has had seventeen years of experience in dealing with it, the question is here discussed in the hope of helping some of the new locals or those who have had great difficulty in collecting money recently.

Many ways of obtaining money exist, but now, with the new school year beginning, the collection of dues from the regular members and the persuasion of non-union members to join are of primary importance. In Local Number Eight this matter is in the hands of the membership committee consisting of a chairman and a representative from each school building in the city. Such a committee is too large to call together before the opening of school, so a small number including representatives familiar with Union activities meet late in the summer. The president and certain members of the Executive Board offer valuable assistance on this problem also. A luncheon committee meeting sometimes serves to awaken enthusiasm in the task. The procedure for collecting dues and obtaining new members should be carefully and definitely planned. In general any successful procedure is based on reaching every teacher in the system with a message which both attracts and convinces. One excellent idea depends on a small bulletin telling in terse sentences the worth while accomplishments of the previous year and also outlining the plan of activities for the coming year. These statements are expressed clearly, definitely, forcefully, and yet tactfully. The bulletin may include an appropriate quotation from some educational leader on the frontispiece; it always lists the amount of dues, together with the name and address of the treasurer, and ends with reminders similar to the following:

Remember—

1. To add your name to our list this year if you are not now a member.
2. To get at least one new member.
3. To economize in some other way, if you must economize, but pay your dues to help to

support the organization which has always safeguarded your interests.

4. To take your dues to your building representative.
5. To pay as promptly as possible.
6. To attend Union meetings in order to know what the organization is doing.

Enough bulletins for all teachers in a school are sent to the Union representative in each building together with a letter asking him to distribute the pamphlets, urge non-members to join, and collect dues which he is to forward to the treasurer. This material should be mailed so that it reaches the respective buildings after the first rush of school opening has passed but before the teachers receive their first pay checks. Often a followup letter is sent out to the representatives just after the teachers are paid for the first time.

Undoubtedly the building representative is a key person, for upon his enthusiasm for the organization, his knowledge of Union activities, his persistence and his tact in dealing with the personalities in his building, depends his success in gaining and retaining members. The representative deserves great credit for his efforts whether successful or not. To make him successful, however, is the aim of the membership chairman who keeps in close personal touch with him. One way of doing this is to call "get together" luncheons for the representatives. The state of the treasury decides whether the organization or the representative pays for his lunch; perhaps each pays part. At this luncheon, outstandingly successful representatives relate their experiences; the membership chairman may speak or other suitable programs may be arranged. Members of the Executive Board should be present to greet everyone cordially. A tea also proves helpful; there, ideas are exchanged; a few give short talks; questions are answered; representatives become better acquainted. A strong local depends upon the Executive Board or the Membership Committee being in constant touch with the teachers in the schools.

Each month, if possible, some effort should be made to reach the teachers. A fall luncheon is one means of publicity; a winter dinner may be another; a local magazine issued four or more times a year aids greatly. In the middle of the year or about February fifteenth is an excellent

time to issue a letter to each teacher. That may start: Do you know what the Union has been doing this year? Then follow eight or ten single sentences, numbered, each prominently spaced, on a single sheet of paper, and each telling a worthwhile accomplishment of the preceding five months.

The treasurer of the organization can do much to hold and to build up the membership. She can congratulate the representatives who prove successful in collecting dues and gaining new members. She can praise the efforts of those who work hard even if they are not so successful and urge them to greater endeavors. The treasurer can send bills to the representative to distribute to delinquent members; she can mail a bill or note directly to the non-paying member expressing concern over losing him. *Thank you* or other messages written on the receipt of dues is a personal touch which may help.

If the program for the year's work is a heavy one demanding more money than the dues can produce, the Executive Board is faced with the necessity of raising funds. In an emergency or crisis affecting a large group, definite contributions for a specific need may be requested from the group affected whether they are union or non-union teachers.

As a general policy, asking for contributions is not successful. A teacher will buy a ticket if it is for some event in which he is interested. What appeals to teachers? No single amusement will appeal to all. What appeals to many teachers? That question must be settled by the individual local. Number Eight has found the easiest method of earning money was to arrange a card party. If some prominent person with a beautiful home can be persuaded to open her house to teachers and their friends, a charming event can be given with small cost to the committee having the scheme in charge. Perhaps some lady with attractive lawns surrounding the house will allow the teachers to use the grounds for a card party if the house is not available. Small card parties of two or three tables may be given in a number of private homes, each paying a small fee for the privilege of playing. Card parties may be planned for in clubs or hotels, but these cost more to arrange and do not net such a profit.

Bus trips to historic scenes thirty or more miles away may prove profitable; each brings his own lunch, pays a nominal fee, and then rides in a

private car contributed by a generous friend of the Union or in a bus hired for the occasion.

Opening carefully kept private gardens for inspection and charging a small fee will bring in the funds, especially if adequate publicity concerning the event can be gotten. Such gardens must be protected from careless breaking of the foliage, but usually people who pay to see gardens enjoy rather than destroy them.

Theatre benefits on a percentage basis rather than buying out the house prove successful, but they require an enormous amount of effort on the part of those selling tickets because only a portion of the price of the ticket goes to the Union. A movie benefit is apt to prove more popular because the price is smaller and so many attend the movies. Movie booklets of tickets may be secured and sold.

A dinner or a luncheon serves as excellent publicity for the organization, but Local Number Eight has never been able to make much money by this means. The occasion is self supporting, but it does not produce profits.

Doubtless many additional methods by which money can be raised exist. If you have tried any scheme which has proved successful, will you kindly help the other locals by describing your experience in a letter to Mrs. Hanson? During the coming year, the Secretary-Treasurer is anxious to be if vital assistance to those locals who are struggling to maintain their efficiency and to remain solvent on greatly reduced funds.

ELIZABETH KOHL DRAPER.

### Child Labor

Teachers and locals of the American Federation of Teachers must not be lulled to sleep by the press stories that child labor has been forever abolished in the United States through the action of NRA. While it is true that some progress has been made in this direction by the inclusion of an anti-child labor clause in the codes under NRA, it is also true that violations of the code by unscrupulous employers continue to take place. Employers unscrupulous enough to take advantage of child labor in the first place will not, in many cases, be unwilling to violate their codes for the same reason—if they find it profitable. And even were this not enough, teachers and locals must not forget that the NRA is emergency legislation to exist for a period of two years. After that period children will be as much at the mercy of such unscrupu-

lous employers as ever.

The only safeguard for that group of our population most close to teachers is a constitutional amendment making it possible to bar child labor irrevocably for once and for all. Fifteen states have already ratified that amendment. Nine states ratified it during 1933. Twenty-one more must ratify the amendment to make it constitutional.

Teachers and locals must join the march to emancipate the children. We must double our efforts in this direction. We must continue to fight, and to fight harder than ever, for the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution.

### Would Numbers Have Helped?

It has been suggested by the *N. Y. Times* that the code submitted to NRA by the American Federation of Teachers was rejected because the American Federation of Teachers is not truly representative of American teachers in general. It is important that all teachers fully understand the significance of this inference and ask themselves some pertinent questions concerning the whole matter.

The *N. Y. Times*, in common with the *Chicago Tribune* and other papers, misrepresents the truth when it informs its readers that the code was rejected. The code was NOT rejected. Under the present law, teachers as a group cannot present a code. But the presented code was acknowledged by the NRA and the NRA also suggested two means by which a code for schools and teachers could be obtained. Work has already been undertaken in this direction—a direction advised and counselled by NRA. This is not rejection.

Of course, numbers would have helped. The *Times* knows that, too, and that may account for the inference it makes. All of the teachers of the country, organized in the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, speaking with one strong voice would have been assured of recognition of their code by the strength of their organized numbers alone. It is fear of such action that inspires the press, dominated by the groups anxious to wreck the schools, to misrepresentation and understatement wherever teachers are concerned.

The charge that the provisions of the submitted code are not representative of what all teachers want is, of course, preposterous. Read the code, and you will find that every article in it is one for which teachers, both organized and unorganized, as individ-

uals and groups, have been agitating for years.

Would numbers have helped? Do teachers want tenure? Do teachers want a decent public school system in this country? Is the code not to the interest of a single teacher? Will the banker-controlled press help the teachers gain their ends? Teachers must ask themselves these questions, and with the answers firmly in mind, join and act with their own organization—the American Federation of Teachers.

### Children Can Go to School in Adult Style

#### Plaids and Puffed Sleeves Please Youngsters

The above headline appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* of Sept. 15.

We rise to ask what children and where. Certainly not in Chicago.

"Plaids and puffed sleeves, to say nothing of wide shoulder seams, are trotting to school these days."

This is probably true of the children in whom the *Chicago Tribune* is interested, the children in private schools, but of the great majority of Chicago children going to the public schools on opening day, Sept. 18, it presents a picture of striking contrast to the facts. Many children are not going to school at all and very many are going inadequately fed and clothed. The public school has been the one place where these underprivileged children could get a square deal and some start in life's race, and of these the Board of Education's "economy" program, endorsed by the *Chicago Tribune*, proposes to deprive them, while the privileged children of the Gold Coast "trot to school with plaids and puffed sleeves". What is the stake?

### Vox Magestri

Plymouth, Ind., Aug. 25, 1933

Dear Mrs. Hanson:

And while I am on the subject, has it ever occurred to you that the *AMERICAN TEACHER* would be much more effective as a weekly—or at least a bi-weekly. I should think that could be done by cutting down on the appearance of the magazine. Gosh, it would be worth while to sacrifice appearance, and quantity, for a live paper that would get into schools every week or every two weeks. As it is now the *AMERICAN TEACHER* isn't the kind of magazine that gets passed around—it is more likely to repose on the table until it is thrown out—and it means that teachers receive this call from the Union, and this paper which is to their interest, but nine times at most in the course of a year.

Without a press labor is handcuffed. And I think that particularly applies to teachers and to our magazine.

BERTRAM ENOS.

## U. S. Chamber of Commerce—Its Proud Position



In the *AMERICAN TEACHER* of April last there appeared the school retrenchment program of the United States Chamber of Commerce. The question has been raised by some teachers and others as to the authenticity of this program. Certainly the twenty points there given have all been put into effect. They had to originate some place and to be supported by some one.

The United States Chamber of Commerce has had every opportunity to deny this program. It has not done so. In fact it seems to the *AMERICAN TEACHER* that it is proud and satisfied with its work. And when we read the following news story from Pennsylvania we are convinced that no denial of the school "economy" program is to be expected or will be forthcoming.

### Confessions of a Chamber of Commerce

Pennsylvania Organization "Gleefully" Boasts It Defeated Humane Legislation Through Discreditable Machine Methods

The bulletin of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce on the legislative session recently ended in that state is one of the most shameful and most shocking statements ever printed.

It boasts that the chamber "feels particularly gleeful" over the fact that it was able to kill all progressive legislation, except a bill outlawing the "yellow dog" contract. It shows equal pride that this result was gained by violating every rule and principle of free government, and muzzling the

legislature by machine control.

The statement praises Edward Martin, chairman of the republican state organization, "who at all times gave his whole-hearted support to protect business from the dangerous and crazy proposals advanced."

It praises Speaker Talbot, of the lower house, for appointing "air-tight committees," in which progressive legislation could be smothered and adds that "our biggest job was to keep this class of bills safely tied up in committee."

And what were these "dangerous and crazy proposals" against which the state chamber of commerce fought so valiantly?

One was a bill for old age pensions. One was a bill reducing hours of labor for women in factories from 54 to 44 hours per week. One compelled employers to pay wages in cash and at regular intervals. One was a resolution to ratify the national child labor amendment.

Others were bills reducing interest on small loans, placing occupational diseases under the workmen's compensation act, "requiring a method of proper measurements in bituminous coal mining," providing an income tax for state and local governments.

Every one of these measures has been passed by other legislatures, not only without harm but usually with decided benefit to the state. Yet the chamber not only gloats over defeating these bills, but seems to gloat even more that it defeated them by packed committees, gag rules, and machine politics.

It would seem in order next for someone to discover a bulletin from the Chamber of Gangsters in Chicago, boasting of the defeat of laws against racketeers and regretting its inability to release Al Capone.

### Greetings to the American Federation of Teachers from William Green

Please be assured that the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor including myself are deeply interested in the proceedings as well as the success of the convention of the American Federation of Teachers now meeting in Milwaukee. I sincerely hope the deliberations of your convention may be influenced by sound judgment and wise counsel so that your organization may continue to grow both in numerical strength and in expanding influence. In my opinion organized Labor is standing at the threshold of a great forward organizing opportunity which I hope will encompass the unorganized workers of the nation and bring them into affiliation with the organized workers associated with the American Federation of Labor. We are confident that benefits from such an organization campaign will apply to the American Federation of Teachers. I extend to the officers and delegates attending the convention my personal felicitations and greetings and an expression of pride and satisfaction over the affiliations of your International Union with the American Federation of Labor.

## 80,000 Idle Teachers Receive Federal Aid

Washington.—Relief for some of the 80,000 unemployed teachers and education for a portion of the million children of school age who have been thrown upon the streets through the closing of schools, especially in rural sections, was promised by Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, after a visit to the White House.

Mr. Hopkins said he had wired Governors and State relief administrators authorizing the use of Federal relief funds to pay wages to teachers who may be assigned by school officials to rural schools which have been closed or where the terms have been shortened because of lack of regular public funds.

The expenditures from the Federal fund will be confined to the minimum needs of the teachers, and no relief money will be allowed for fuel, textbooks or other school expenses.

### Hopkins Explains Plan

"I consider this kind of work relief one of the most constructive applications of the principle of exchanging service to the community for public aid," Mr. Hopkins said. "The need for relief to teachers is clearly apparent. Thirty-three States have reported through their education officials that approximately 80,000 teachers are unemployed. Some 15 States have definitely reported shortened school terms, and in some districts this has meant curtailing them to the vanishing point.

### No Subsidy

"While it is most emphatically not the intention of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to subsidize the school system in any community or to relieve school officials of their responsibility, I believe that the expenditure of work-relief funds in the interests of destitute teachers will result indirectly in great community good.

### Closed Schools Injure Children

"In many rural communities the complete closing of schools virtually means the disintegration of community life for children. No one will ever be able to make up the loss to the children who are deprived of education, for the plastic state of childhood mind comes but once.

"Where schools are closed or terms are reduced to a month or two a year, despite increased enrollment, we have a great paradox. It is the expectation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration that this para-

dox can be righted, in some part, by permitting the teachers to give their services on the basis of their relief needs."

## AFL Executive Council Calls 53rd Convention

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued the call for the fifty-third annual convention of the Federation to convene in Washington on October 2.

The council regards the National Recovery Act, with its provision guaranteeing the right of the workers to organize in bona fide unions without interference from employers, and the establishment and administration of the fair competition codes set up under the act as matters of paramount importance for the consideration of the convention.

On this subject the Council says:

"Through the enactment and application of the National Industrial Recovery Act the Government of the United States is engaged in a most interesting economic experimentation.

"The adoption and application of industrial codes fixing minimum rates of pay and maximum hours, affect very vitally the economic and social welfare of the masses of the people.

"No one can clearly foresee the outcome of this great adventure on the part of the Government into the field of industry.

"All classes of workers are inspired to hope and trust that the primary purpose of the Industrial Recovery Act to reduce unemployment and increase purchasing power through increases in wage rates, will be fully realized.

### Right to Organize Guaranteed

"Section 7 of the Industrial Recovery Act provides that wage earners may organize and engage in collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing.

"Employers are forbidden to make membership in a company union a condition of employment.

"The Industrial Recovery Act with its labor sections which must be incorporated in every industrial code, is of transcendent importance to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

"It is fair to assume that no other subject coming before the convention will more thoroughly occupy the attention and consideration of the officers and delegates.

"A full report upon the operation of the Industrial Recovery Act, the development of industrial codes affecting thousands of workers, and the

result of this great economic experiment, will be submitted to the convention."

The convention will be held in the Willard Hotel.

The delegates of the A. F. of L. at this meeting will be Legislative Representative Borchardt and Secretary-Treasurer Hanson.

## Workers Are Eager to Join A. F. of L.

**Freed from Employers' Intimidation by Right to Organize Guarantee of Recovery Act, the Toilers Have Established 3,000 Trade Unions, Morrison Says.**

Working men and women throughout the country are joining the American Federation of Labor in unprecedented numbers to get the benefits of unionization under the NRA program, Frank Morrison, secretary of the organization has announced. A million new members were added to union rolls in July and August.

Mr. Morrison says:

"Since the National Industrial Recovery Administration started operations, the American Federation of Labor has issued charters to 3,000 new unions. Men and women are affiliating with the A. F. of L. by the thousands and all Government employees should enroll under the banner of organized labor at this time."

Most of these new unions are in the hitherto "untouchable" mass production industries—automobile, rubber, etc. With anti-union strongholds toppling every week, with new unions being organized and existing ones greatly strengthened, "company unionism" and "open shopper" appear to be definitely on the run.

A fair idea of the progress being made is given by the fact that for the four-year period ending 1932 the total number of new charters issued by the A. F. of L. was 236. In other words, many more unions have been chartered by the federation during the last two months than in the whole 48 months comprising 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931 and 1932.

During the entire "boom" year of 1929 the A. F. of L. issued a total of 75 charters. That was considered good progress. But that year's record has been beaten by many times by the number of unions chartered in July and August, 1933.

Practically all of the international unions report large increases in membership. Most of the new members are being enrolled in existing local unions. New locals are being formed where needed.

## BOOKS

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

### The Saga of "We, the People"

When an allegedly highly educated people like the Germans allow maniacs to occupy the seats of the mighty, our first impulse is to despair of winning in the race between education and catastrophe for the human race. But to those who had examined the nationalist bias of miseducation in Germany and elsewhere, the present short-lived triumph of brutal reaction did not come as so great a surprise. Those who want to estimate the future should examine with care the lesson books and the atmosphere of our schools. Liebknecht truly said "He who has the youth has the future." We may prate of disarmament and international co-operation but if our schools and their textbooks remain the perverters of history to the end of nationalist egoism, we shall be swept aside in a crisis by the hurricane of hate toward the foreigner; the mass of the workers will continue to be cannon fodder.

"*We, the People*" by Leo Huberman (Harper \$3.50) is a history text which stands in a new and distinct class. For one who has endured the examination of so many dull, pompous, and biased texts, "*We, the People*" comes as sparkling refreshing water to the parched traveller in the Sahara desert. As a piece of vivid writing it gripped the reviewer despite an attack of influenza. Even the chapter titles hold the attention: "Land Lords Fight Money Lords" heads the chapter dealing with the Civil War. And the modern American Labor movement is described in Chapter XIV under the title "The Have-nots vs. The Haves." The preliminary skirmishes with England over molasses and tea is thus summed up:

"The lower classes, whose real quarrel was with the wealthy, were . . . being wheedled into fighting the battle for the rich!"

Instead of making the Constitution into a fetich, Mr. Huberman makes the following analysis:

"For the men of property, all would be well under the Constitution, the new plan of government. No more could states print paper money; no more could states pass laws giving people more time to pay their debts, or allowing debts to be paid in goods or cattle—contracts were to be kept without change (cheering news to the money-lenders!) Under the Constitution,

Congress, the central government of all the states, was to have real power, no more need to beg. Congress was given control over both foreign trade and trade between states; with foreign countries, it could make treaties which would apply to all of the thirteen states as one. Now at last taxes could be laid on foreign goods and trade agreements could be made with foreign countries (cheering news for manufacturers and merchants!). Congress would need money to pay government debts—it was given the right to collect taxes (cheering news for the speculators!). No more could hot-headed revolutionists like Shays stop the courts from sitting and attack property—Congress would have an army and a navy ready to put a stop to any future rebellions (cheering news for all property holders!)."

Mr. Huberman discusses the various differences between the early Fathers of the Republic and frankly concludes:

"But on one thing practically all of them were agreed—the common people, the people with little or no property, must not have too much power."

He then shows how the system of checks and balances was put across because the rich had a better organization.

There is nothing so interesting as the truth and Mr. Huberman is a born story teller who has taken all the learned findings of Turner on the influence of the frontier and all the economic interpretation of the Beards and other writers and with the aid of maps and pictures he has made a fascinating account of the growth and present position of the United States which should be in use in every school in the United States. Little of importance is missed. The way in which the Colt six shooter overcame the Plains Indian, the democracy of the frontier, and how the invention and cheap production of barbed wire turned the cowboy into a tame hired hand and divided the grass lands into homesteads—all these stand out clearly.

Instead of the usual falsities about Americanism, Mr. Huberman shows how the "ever-widening gap between Labor and Capital" arose after the industrial revolution; he shows the horrors of child labor which are now being revived by the depression; he quotes the sermons preached to the chattel slaves of the agricultural South one of which ended thus:

" . . . Your masters and mistresses are God's overseers and . . . if you are faulty towards them, God will punish you severely for it in the next world. . . ."

A historian who quotes Oscar Ameringer in his text is an innovation and this Mr. Huberman does in addition to that famous Kansas exhortation

often attributed to Mary Elizabeth Lease: "What you farmers need to do is to raise less corn and more hell." The defeat of the farmers, the triumph of the trusts, the rise of American imperialism, the denial of the right to organize, the efforts of the A. F. of L. and of the I. W. W. to defend the workers, the glaring inequality of incomes and the necessity of "*We the people of the United States*" becoming citizens of the world—all these and much more valuable insight into how we got this way and how we are going to get out are to be found in this splendid text. The publishers should quickly issue a cheap edition for the use of classes in workers' education. And until the schools adopt such admirable histories, parents should make it available to their children to provide an antidote to the dangerous nonsense which so often masquerades as history.

MARK STARR.

A CALL TO THE TEACHERS OF THE NATION—The Committee of the Progressive Education Association on Social and Economic Problems—John Day Co. New York, 1933. \$0.25.

This meaty little pamphlet offers a summary of the present economic situation of the United States, a tracing of backgrounds of American History, and a statement of the position of the teacher in contemporary life.

The pamphlet concludes (almost the entire second half) with a call to the teachers as cultural leaders and those necessary in the building of a better social order to emerge from the classroom, to emancipate themselves and the schools from the grasping hand of selfish interests, to participate actively in a world which is even now in the process of giving birth to a different order.

In a few brief well-chosen words the pamphlet points out that teachers must redefine their position in society, accept our present industrial society, recognize that the death-knell of individualism has sounded, and prepare themselves and the children they educate for participation in a more collectivistic order. In its statement of material needs of teachers—needs absolutely and vitally necessary to the attainment of a truly democratic school system—needs embracing tenure, teaching loads, salaries, independence and freedom of thought, teacher control of class-room and curriculum, the pamphlet is in itself a strong call to organization. In its

insistence that teachers and schools rest ultimately on the labor of the vast masses of the country, the pamphlet is even more a call for organization in the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The pamphlet contains a valuable bibliography, and should be of great value to all forward-looking teachers. If not clearly defined in some respects, it is highly stimulating in every respect. Every teacher should have a copy, and the pamphlet should be made to play an important part in the work of organizing teachers into a strong Teachers Union.

BERTRAM ENOS.

**RAINBOW'S END.** By *Ona M. Rounds*, author of "Buck Privates on Parnassus." 256 pages, \$2.50 per copy. Beautifully printed and illustrated, attractive jacket. Overland—Out West Publications. H. W. Hellman Building, Los Angeles, California.

The author of this volume has chosen the Great War as the theme for her book. The recent conflict produced few women writers. Miss Rounds, as an exception to this rule, has accomplished a most noteworthy piece of work in a masterly fashion.

**RAINBOW'S END** is not a traditional war story. It treats of the life at home and of typical young college men and their sentiments at the outbreak of the war, and follows them into the training camps and on the trip overseas. Later, it takes them to the front, traces events through the conflict and on the return to this country.

The author saw service in France and her library experiences there furnish a marvelous background for her pen. *Rainbow's End* does not "preach" or "moralize" nor is it an argument for the pacifist. It is, however, the strongest indictment against war that has appeared. Those who saw service on either side, as well as all readers in general, will find the book of intense interest and value.

Miss Rounds is a member of the San Francisco Unit, Women's Overseas Service League. Much of the background of the book is centered in the Rainbow Division. While the book is based on facts, names of persons and places and the time element are, as the author says, somewhat shadowy. The incidents and experiences given reflect the real spirit of the war.

*Note.*—Miss Rounds is a member of the American Federation of Teachers.

**PAN-SOVIETISM.** By *Bruce Hopper*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 280 pp. \$2.50.

**PIATILETKA.** By *Michael Farbman*. New Republic, Inc., New York. 220 pp. \$1.00.

**THE SOVIETS CONQUER WHEAT.** By *Anna Louise Strong*. Henry Holt and Company, New York. 290 pp. \$2.50.

The three authors, though slightly differing in their conclusions as to the future implications of the Soviet system to world capitalism, influenced no doubt by personal predilections, agree that the Soviet experiment works and that it is impregnable within Russia, barring outside attack.

Mr. Farbman maintains that the capitalists of the world had one grand opportunity in Russia prior to 1924 and lost out. They gambled with the proposition that the Soviet regime is doomed, that it is due to fall any day, and have proven false prophets. . . . Up to 1924 the Bolshevik regime failed in consolidating the country's resources, in coordinating the intellectual forces, in reconstructing industry. Russia was in a state of chaos. The mass of peasantry was antagonistic. The Bolshevik government was in dire need of foreign capital and was ready to offer most favorable conditions and lucrative concessions to foreign capitalists and governments. But the world financiers, industrialists, and bankers refused to do business with the underdog government, hoping and conspiring for the downfall of Bolshevism, and lost out. Had foreign capitalists come forward with the necessary capital, Russia would have undoubtedly presented today an entirely different picture and there would not have been a Five-Year Plan. But fate had it the other way. And Russia had no other alternative but to begin relying on its own resources, on the development of its own industry and agriculture, and the result was, the Five-Year Plan. Toward the end of 1923 the drive started. Private trade was ruined. The bourgeoisie was dispossessed and exiled. Industry and agriculture were subjected to the process of socialization. Young Russia became enthused. Russia is to be rebuilt, and rebuilt on the most gigantic scale. This drive is to be "the gateway to a new epoch!" And today Russia has not only recovered from the effects of the World War, famine and civil war, but is fast becoming a serious threat to the industrial econo-

my of the capitalist world.

And Mr. Farbman is of the opinion that, though the figures for the first two years of the Five-Year Plan were not fully realized, Russia made stupendous progress in all fields and its industrial output, under the propulsion of the Plan, reached a percentage "higher than that recorded within recent times in the history of any nation."

Miss Strong has traveled extensively through Russia and studied Soviet collectivization and state farming on the spot. She presents the situation as she found it on several large collective farms and two or more gigantic State farms. Her narrative is full of dramatic episodes showing the reactions of illiterate peasant men and women to the momentous changes in their modes of life caused by the drive for collectivization. It is Miss Strong's opinion that the peasants as a mass accepted indifferently, if not cheerfully, the change, and that opposition was invariably manifested in regions where the Kulaks—the rich peasants—held sway over the minds of the moujiks. So Ustina Alexandrovna, the "chicken woman" of "The Fortress of Communism," one of the most successful collective communes in Russia, in relating the events when her village joined the commune said: "When the tractor came, a kulak covered his head with his coat and said: 'Think I'll look at the evil thing! No, I won't . . .'" And the priest said: "The Bolsheviks tempt you with machines to sell your souls to Anti-Christ. Resist the devil, or he will get you. Keep your old holy life." And Ustina Alexandrovna fired at the priest: "What was my old holy life that I should wish to keep it?" And she chose the new life. . . .

Of all the works the reviewer consulted, Mr. Hopper's is one of the most methodical and lucid presentations of the historic forces that led to the downfall of czarism in Russia and the triumph of Bolshevism. Mr. Hopper digs far into Russian history and finds that even its early rulers had some relationship to the present regime. He also convincingly reveals the effects that Russian geography, class system, serfdom, czarism had in the Russian soul, and on the Russian worker and peasant in particular.

According to the pre-war census of 1897, 62.3 percent of the Russian males and 87.5 percent of the females were illiterate. The Russian worker was the most exploited worker in the world. His workday lasted from fif-

teen to sixteen hours, a law of 1897 only nominally limiting it to 11½ hours. His wages ranged from \$70 to \$170 a year. He was as hungry as the peasant. He enjoyed no political rights. The Duma that was wrested from the Tzar by the revolution of 1905 turned out a fiasco. The first two Dumas were liberal enough but that was too much for the Tzar. A new electoral law was enacted, based on the three-class system of Prussia, which gave the gentry one elector to every 230 members of their class, one elector to every 60,000 of the peasants, and one elector to every 125,000 members of the workers. This law emasculated the Duma and drowned the voiced of the people.

In 1913 the technical level of Russian industry was 26 percent lower than the average for advanced countries. The country was indebted to foreigners to the amount of 7,142,000,000 rubles. In interest alone it paid 720,000,000 gold rubles a year—or \$360,000,000. In a word, it was actually mortgaged to foreign banks.

Russia's industry, too, was largely in control of foreigners. The French alone owned three-fourths of Russia's coal and pig iron resources. In 1914 foreign investments reached the stupendous figure of 2,243,000,000 rubles. And thus, barring the intervention of a war and a bolshevist revolution, the tzarist empire was heading toward imminent collapse.

First came military communism with its brutality and excesses. It failed, due to the inertia and resistance of the peasants. They refused to give up the products of their land. Then came the year of the Nep—1921. Private trade was revived. Out of 584,000 trade enterprises at the end of 1922, 548,000 were in private hands. In 1924 the country again reverted to the left. Private trade was being suppressed. By 1927-28, 90 percent of trade is already socialized. But agriculture still lagged behind, only 2 percent being socialized.

In December, 1927, a historic decision was reached at the 15th Congress of the Russian Communist Party. The launching of a socialist offensive in the village was decided upon. Agriculture must be raised to the level of industry. In 1928, due to poor harvest, the offensive was halted. In 1929 it is carried out at full blast. In March, 1930, the collective area rose from 2 percent to 40 percent of the total, an increase of 40 million hectares within less than two years.

The Five-Year Plan, "the consum-

mating nightmare of the Bolshevik regime" works. The worker becomes the new aristocrat of Russia. He is well fed and clothed. He gets ample medical service. At his disposal are hundreds of health resorts, sanatoria, camps. Illiteracy is practically wiped out. Schools of all descriptions dot the country. Ninety-two percent of eligible children attend school. Newspaper circulation rises from two million copies in 1913 to twenty-two million in 1931. Old industry is fully reconstructed and a crop of new ones expand on an unprecedented scale. Women workers enjoy equal rights in all fields of endeavor. "Their emancipation", says Mr. Hopper, "stands out as the achievement of the Russian Revolution."

The government is in full economic control. It plans output, regulates production and distribution of commodities, fixes prices, drafts the budget, controls export and import. "State planning," in the words of Mr. Hopper, "is the most original contribution of the Soviets to the science of modern government."

Socialism now emerges in full force to compete with capitalism. "From a century in the nebulous region of doctrine," says Mr. Hopper, "Socialism has finally entered the realities of big business." And it is particularly threatening to American capitalism.

And the East will decide the issue. "The system," writes Mr. Hopper, "that wins the Asiatic market and builds up the purchasing power of the world's largest block of consumers will probably dictate the new political and economic institutions of the East."

How will the American capitalists meet communist competition? Barring Soviet trade will not do. Nor will the jailing or deportation of communist agitators. We must take a leaf from the Soviet book and evolve a counter-plan of state planning that will prove effective against communist competition, and yet retain the essential elements of private profit and initiative. This is the crux of the problem of Pan-Sovietism.

And Mr. Hopper thinks we are well prepared to meet the challenge of Pan-Sovietism. We have three essentials to national greatness: large geographical area for internal expansion, access to abundance of raw materials and food supply, creative, energetic, fresh people, and by pooling our ingenuity and genius, victory will be ours.

MICHAEL B. SCHELER.

## Book Week, 1933

November 12th to 18th are the dates of Book Week, nationally observed each year in schools, parent-teacher associations, libraries, and bookshops. The special theme chosen for the 1933 Week is "Growing Up With Books," a theme which suggests a wide variety of interesting and stimulating book exhibits and classroom projects. The National Association of Book Publishers, 347 Fifth Ave., New York, which annually acts as headquarters for the Week, has issued a leaflet of suggestions for school observances and a striking new photographic poster. To cover shipping and mailing costs, the Association asks that teachers send twenty cents with their requests for publicity material for the Week.

In announcing the theme the Book Week committee pointed out that the children of today are growing up into a new world and will probably have more leisure hours than any former generations of Americans have known, leisure that can be immeasurably enriched by the reading habit. If they have easy access to books at home, in school and classroom libraries and in public libraries, children will literally "grow up with books," taking them for granted as an indispensable part of life. Book Week offers a new opportunity to stress the invaluable work of the schools in building up the democracy of the future, and to protest against false economy in slashing school library appropriations. Books should be familiar comrades of the mind and heart of every child.

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"The Macmillan Company has issued a small booklet of school program suggestions for Book Week. This pamphlet and special booklists are available free on request. Write the Juvenile Department, The Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York."

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## Choosing A Career

School and college administrators who are interested in helping students to choose their careers more wisely, and who wish information to assist them in planning programs of vocational guidance, may get such information without charge from the National Occupational Conference, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

## News from the Field

### Chicago

The Chicago public school situation has attracted nation-wide attention, although the same sort of thing, with only minor variations of detail, is going on all over the country. But the destructive acts of the current Chicago Board of Education have perhaps met with more determined opposition than in similar cases in most cities. A brief news sketch of what has happened here should therefore be of interest to all teachers.

It is now approximately three years since the Chicago Board of Education began to show signs of acute financial distress. For more than ten years previous to that time it had been operating more and more on borrowed money, secured to the lenders by bonds and by those pretty little documents known as tax anticipation warrants. The reasons for this increasing use of credit, with its proportionately increasing load of interest and amortization charges, are too lengthy for detailed statement here. While some of the growing school cost was no doubt due to incompetence and shady practices on the part of the Board and its business management, by far the larger part was due to circumstances beyond the Board's control—increased enrolments, particularly in the high school; increased costs of labor and materials; expansion of the course of study.

Up to the year 1930 the credit of the Board of Education was good. Its bonds and warrants were floated by the millions of dollars. When the breakdown began it took the form of refusal by the banks and investment houses to purchase these securities. There were several contributing causes for this, but by and large we may say that it was primarily the non-payment of taxes. Chicago is peculiarly unfortunate in that respect because it not only has a total tax delinquency of perhaps \$175,000,000, approximately half of which belongs to its Board of Education, but a very untimely reassessment which required more than two years to complete set tax collections that length of time behind their regular schedules, so that Chicago is just now by way of collecting its 1931 taxes. Those for 1933 will probably not go into collection before sometime in 1935.

Naturally that relatively small group of men who control the money and credit structure of Chicago—and probably also of the nation—and who, probably with entire sincerity, do not believe in tax-supported education beyond the eighth grade, saw in this situation their opportunity. They set up what they called the Citizens' Committee on Public Expenditures, a volunteer, extra-legal body composed chiefly of, and completely controlled by, men of great wealth, representing primarily great aggregates of private capital whose annual tax liability to Chicago totalled millions of dollars. Because it controlled the purse strings, this Committee was in a position to permit the local governments of Chicago, including the Board of Education, to function only upon terms set by the Committee. It proceeded to set those terms and the local governments, again including the Board of Education, proceeded, perforce, to agree to them. It was obviously a case of "he who pays the fiddler calls the tune."

Upon the demands of this Committee the Board of Education repeatedly made cuts in its budget and levies. A few months ago, but some months after the passing of its 1933 budget and after the Board had almost completely changed its personnel, it discovered a further deficit in that budget, a deficit which it alleged to be about \$10,000,000. It absorbed about \$4,000,000 of this by taking four weeks off the school year during 1933. To absorb the remaining \$6,000,000, the Board, on July 12 last, ordered the elimination or severe curtailment of approximately thirty separate activities in the Education Department. These included the elimination of kindergarten for children under five years, the elimination of household arts and manual training from the elementary schools, the severe curtailment of physical education, the elimination of Crane Junior College, and the elimination of Junior High Schools. All this involved the separation from their jobs of more than 1300 teachers. In describing their condition the Board uses the legal euphemism, "leave of absence." However, the significant fact is that their sources of livelihood have been cut off.

The teacher organizations, aided by an increasing group of citizens under the leadership of Mrs. Holland Flagler, President of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, combined to oppose this action of the Board, not only on the ground that it was destructive, but that the same objective could have been attained by other and far less destructive means. The teacher organizations formed a Central Steering Committee to direct their efforts in the name of all of the teachers and to cooperate with the citizens. The organized opponents of the Board's plans showed that the alleged deficit could have been absorbed by continued shortening of the school year. Supt. Bogan showed that it could be absorbed by the teachers. The Board gave no heed to either of these suggestions. The Citizens' Save Our Schools Committee held protest mass-meetings throughout the city and organized by wards to distribute hand-bills showing the people that the real situation was not as it was being represented by the Board of Education. Certain citizens brought suits in the courts to enjoin the Board from proceeding with the changes which it had ordered. Brought in the Circuit Court, these suits all failed. The Board proceeded with its plans, transacting its business behind a sinister secrecy. It gave the teacher organizations no consideration or hearings of any kind whatever.

From time to time throughout the late spring and summer of this year large numbers of teachers, the unorganized and many of the organized as well, held large parades through the downtown streets. One of these parades totalled about 25,000 persons. Banners of various pithy and pointed kinds were carried. These parades, however, were not against the general attack on education, but against the long non-payment of their salaries. Those salaries, I should have said, were formerly cut 15%. Due to curtailments of the term they have been diminished another 10%. At that they have not been paid. During the last three years such cash payments as there have been have come but seldom and then for two weeks at a time. The teachers have had to take tax anticipation warrants for nearly half of what is owing them. These warrants, if sold on the open market, meant a loss to the seller of from 10% to 20%. The Board employees are now paid up to the middle of last February, cash for the first two weeks in January and 1933 tax warrants—which will

probably not be redeemed before September or October of 1935—for the next four weeks.

While a considerable number of the citizens supported the opposition to the Board's destructive program, it must be said that the public as a whole showed no interest in it. The ugly fact is that the people are not sold on tax-supported education beyond the eighth grade. This is particularly true in the large cities where the average level of education is relatively low and where a large proportion of the population sends its children to the parochial schools. The depression is not the only reason for public apathy toward the schools. If a high school is easily available it will be filled, but it is in my mind an open question whether, if we put to a vote in Chicago the proposition: "Shall we have tax-supported high schools?" and then printed on the ballot the probable cost of those schools, it would carry or not. The same is no doubt true in other large cities and perhaps even in the country at large. So the real job before the teaching body of the nation is to sell advanced education to the people—at least to the point where they will, if need be, sacrifice for it to the equivalent of half of their tobacco and beer and cosmetic money.

In Chicago, although the war itself has only well begun, the first battle of that war is over and the Board of Education has taken a few salients in its attack on the public schools. It is, in my opinion, useless for the teachers to continue that particular battle. It is now up to those who retain their jobs to make the somewhat mutilated system work as well as they can and to take care of their unfortunate fellows whom the Board has deprived of their means of livelihood. We have not yet determined how this latter may be accomplished, but accomplished it should be if we wish to retain our self-respect.

I hope my readers can read between the lines in this brief sketch. Limitations of time and energy on my part and of space on the part of the editor prevent going into detail. The mere history of this struggle has already provided material for a volume. It is yet too early to appraise values and make social interpretations, so I will mention only one of the latter: Whether justifiably or not, it is my opinion that an overwhelming majority of the teachers of Chicago, and probably also of the nation, believe that there is a nationwide and concerted attack on tax-supported education by the relatively small masters of the economically exploiting agencies of the country, money and credit.

I am now going to say something which will probably bring down on me some severe criticism from my fellow teachers over the country, because I think that most of them do not yet see education as a whole in social setting. I make no claims to superior insight in this matter, but only to more intensive and serious consideration.

It is surely obvious that public education should fit and be a part of its social setting, performing efficiently its function in the social organism. For a long time it has been falling behind social change and therefore behind social need—call it progress or not as you happen to feel. The public schools, and especially the secondary schools and colleges, contain a vast amount of both content and method which is little more than dead weight if we appraise education in terms of the society around it. It is therefore not entirely the fault of the public that it was apathetic toward the Chicago Board of Education's attack on the schools and teachers of that city. It is in my opinion high time, therefore, that

educators got together and, after sweeping their minds clean of traditional pedagogy, reconstruct and reorganize the content and technique of education on an experimental basis and try to make it serve the people in more obvious and direct ways. Only thus can the public evaluation of it and attachment to it be raised.

In saying this I am not saying anything new. For many years back educators who have had a little time to think instead of being so closely occupied with the operation of the education machine have seen that formal schooling was not in tune with social progress. I could wish no greater thing for the American Federation of Teachers than that it might carry on a work of this kind and finally formulate and publicize a socio-educational program which should command the respect of informed and forward-looking people everywhere.

C. L. VESTAL.

## Portland, Oregon

### The Fruits of Organization

The fact that Portland teachers have, on the whole, successfully survived the threats to their standing during the past year, and now have a fairly hopeful prospect for the future, has been entirely due to their effective organization.

For the sake of clarity, I shall begin my account of our year's activities by mentioning four of our Oregon state laws bearing on education: The first is a Teachers' Tenure Law similar to that used in several other states and applicable to cities of over 20,000 population (which includes only Portland and Salem in Oregon). It provides a certain degree of security to teachers who have successfully survived the two year probation period, and states that a teacher can be dismissed from service only after she has reached the age of 65 or upon proof of "gross dereliction or misconduct" on the one hand, or "incompetency" on the other, the facts to be brought forth at a public hearing before the board, where the teacher may be represented by counsel and where the witnesses may be summoned by legal subpoena. If the decision of the board is not satisfactory to the teacher, he or she may appeal to still another tribunal and the judgment there will be final. We have also a law prohibiting discrimination in salaries as between men and women teachers.

We are not proud of two other state laws bearing on education. One requires that a citizen must own real property in order to vote on a school tax or bond measure, and the other requires that school tax levies be limited only to a small per cent beyond the 1919 base. Because of the latter provision, it has been necessary to authorize additional school funds at each annual school election.

When the usual additional levy was submitted to the qualified voters a year ago, strong opposition was voiced by newly formed Tax Economy Leagues. These leagues, sponsored mainly by well-to-do citizens, many of whom are childless or who patronize private schools, enlisted the aid of the newspapers, the Chamber of Commerce, and other powerful groups. They capitalized on the distress of the small home owner and the unemployed generally, so that, with the help of the law requiring ownership of real property as a necessary voting qualification, they managed to defeat our proposed tax levy by a 2 to 1 vote.

After their victory, the guiding geniuses of the Tax Reduction Leagues made speeches at every school board meeting demanding that the voice of the taxpayers be heeded—that there must be deep cuts all round. They demanded no less than 40% reduction in teachers' pay—regardless of the fact that teachers had been gradually assuming heavier teacher-loads for several months past. They said they saw no need for shortening the school term, either—that if any of the teachers wished to vacate their positions, they might do so, as there were hundreds of Normal and College graduates willing to step into their places for the lowest of wages—all of which is an argument which sounds all too familiar just now to educators throughout the country.

In this crisis the only civic leader who made a point of attending the board meetings and effectively answering these shortsighted arguments and ably supporting the cause of education generally was Mr. Ben T. Osborne, the secretary of our State Federation of Labor. He exerted a great deal of influence, sufficient that the newspapers began to weaken a bit in their support of Tax Leagues; several business clubs passed resolutions urging a halt to further proposed school restrictions. In spite of Mr. Osborne's brave defense, however, our salaries were cut 20%—this including the elimination of one month of the usual school year. Nevertheless it could have been so much worse that even this was a virtual victory for the schools.

In this struggle the Teachers Union worked hand in hand with Mr. Osborne, and furnished him the authoritative data which aided him in bringing about a gradual change in majority opinion. For example, the union furnished funds for collecting a striking array of statistics from the tax records to show that some of our largest and presumably most civic-minded business houses had failed to pay their yearly taxes—not because they were unable to do so, but because, apparently, they were availing themselves of the chance to profit by the leniency allowed everyone during the depression. Mr. Osborne pointed out these facts in an open letter to our leading daily paper with the happy result that some of the guilty delinquents paid their taxes with surprising alacrity.

This was not a permanent source of gratification, however, as the prospect for our Portland schools last summer and fall was anything but promising. The Tax Leagues were boasting that they had only begun to work—that they were laying plans to open a campaign for further retrenchment through the legislature.

All of the teaching groups, realizing the emergency, then combined for intelligent, united action. They organized an Affiliated Council, and you may be sure that the Teachers Union was a very integral part of it, due to its affiliation with organized labor and with Mr. Osborne, who had so earnestly championed our cause. In this council the advice of our union representative is heard with the closest attention.

The Affiliated Council soon selected a man outside the profession to act as its executive secretary. This man was formerly connected with the Portland Labor Press and understands thoroughly the economic problems of our state. Events have proved that he is extremely well qualified for the position.

Meanwhile, the Tax Leagues had become active at Salem, where the legislature was about to convene. Their purpose was to destroy our Teachers' Tenure Law, and in this plan they had the backing of two

of our own school board members. The Affiliated Council girded itself for battle, and through its executive secretary, Mr. Loe, did such effective work that the Tenure Law was saved early in the legislative session.

But the danger was not yet passed. There came up next a bill to repeal the equal pay law for men and women teachers. This being in direct violation of a fundamental principle of the American Federation of Labor, the state secretary of labor again came to our rescue, and, with the aid of friendly organizations and individuals, soon quashed this bill.

During this winter's session of the legislature, no less than five different bills were introduced, from time to time, each proposing to make the reduction of the salaries of public employees mandatory. One of these bills was sponsored by a Portland school board member and provided that the pay of all public employees be reduced 20%—the reduction to begin April first of this year. Even the state governor was back of this bill. Considering the universal cry for economy, it is surprising this bill did not pass. Its failure was due mainly to the brilliant work of our executive secretary, Mr. Loe.

Thus the Legislature adjourned without having succeeded in repealing laws favorable to the public school or in enacting new laws unfavorable to the schools—at least insofar as Portland and Salem are concerned, although the other scattered and unorganized teachers of the state were not so fortunate.

The spring school election was our next concern. The Portland school board, having in mind the defeat of the special levy a year ago, asked for no additional tax levy this spring, but determined to manage somehow with the few funds available.

The Tax Leagues again put forth their candidates for school directors, all three pledged to drastic retrenchment. Public spirited citizens, however, were by this time becoming aroused to the menace of such activities and presently a new civic group was organized known as "The Friends of the Public Schools", whose avowed purpose was to combat the obstructionist tactics of the economy leagues. Its roster of members soon included the names of men and women well-known in the business and social life of our city. They are leaders whose judgment is respected.

"The Friends of the Public Schools" held mass meetings, sponsored radio talks, wrote for the newspapers, and left nothing undone to arouse public interest in this spring's school election. The outcome of their work was a well-earned victory. Their slate of three candidates for school directors was swept in to triumph by a 2 to 1 victory!

These are but the high-lights of our Teachers Union activities this past year, but I believe they are sufficient to furnish convincing testimony to the efficacy of organization. Our Portland Union, as you might guess, is now very generally respected in teaching circles here. One evidence of this is the fact that, this spring, union teachers were asked to contribute articles to the regular High School Teachers' Association magazine.

Our membership has doubled during the past year. We would undoubtedly have many more members if our dues were not so high. We do not favor reducing them, however; first, because we realize that our money is being used in a worthy cause; and, second, because we believe the dues act as somewhat of an index to the earn-

estness of a prospective member. If he is willing to sacrifice a bit, then he will be another loyal, active member who will cooperate whole-heartedly with the rest of us.

We strive to have intelligent members, also—that is, intelligent socially and economically. This past winter we carried on a Study Club which met twice a month from November to June. Our bibliography, centering about "A Planned Society" by George Soule, had been prepared for us by a professor of Reed College. We found the reading and discussion so profitable that we expect to continue the study plan during this coming winter.

BEATRICE T. STEVENS.  
Portland Local 111.

## Seattle

The teachers of Chicago as well as the visiting teachers were gratified to learn from the Chicago Tribune of June 30 that Chicago banks had just been paid between 4 and 5 hundred thousand dollars in interest. To those public servants who have been unpaid for months, or who have been paid in tax warrants or scrip which must be discounted, it is a great satisfaction to learn that the banks continue to gather their pound of flesh.

Nor is this situation by any means limited to Chicago. Practically every city in this country tells the same tale. In the city of Seattle, in the far west, this story is closely paralleled.

For at least thirty years, there has always been a banker on the Seattle Board of Education. Throughout that term, it has always been feasible to the Board to float a bond issue, so the citizens have merrily mortgaged their future by floating these bond issues, at high rates of interest, and non-recallable! This has been carried on to such an extent that during the past fiscal year more than 10% of the total school budget went directly for interest on bonds and bond redemption. The most famous issue, sold ten or twelve years ago, is to run for 40 years at 6 per cent.

This situation continued to go on without challenge until a few years ago, when a sturdy Scotch lawyer, a former judge, was elected a member of the School Board. In a fashion most dismaying to the banker, broker, and corporation lawyer on the Board, he has opposed consistently the ridiculously large cuts in the salaries of teachers and other employees of the school district and has referred to the unreasonably high interest of the school bond.

Matters came to a climax on the ninth of June when in the regular public meeting of the Board of Directors, the Judge in a carefully drawn resolution set forth the exact amount of money outstanding in bonds, the date of issuance, the amount of each issue, the interest it bore, and the length of time it had to run, with an estimate of the total amount of interest to be paid. Having set forth these items carefully, he concluded by a resolution that these bond holders be called upon to do their patriotic duty and lower voluntarily this interest; if they refused to do so, that their names be published.

Instantly the bond investment man on the Board characterized the resolution, in an aside, as the silliest thing he ever heard, and promptly moved to table the resolution. This after a little hesitation, was seconded by the banker member. The fifth member remonstrated that the people of Seattle might misconstrue the Board's attitude if

the motion were tabled. The president, a corporation lawyer, stated that he "could see no objections to publishing the names of the bond holders." The bond investment man stated with considerable heat that he was "emphatically against publishing the names of the bond holders!" The president then remarked that he should be very much embarrassed to go before the bond holders and ask them to reduce their interest, but the Judge's response was, "Gentlemen, you were not embarrassed to go to the teachers and janitors and ask them to be cut to a starvation wage". The outcome of the matter was that the bond man withdrew his motion to table the resolution with the understanding that he would kill it in an executive session, as he has undoubtedly done since nothing further has been heard of the matter.

As a usual thing, the Seattle morning paper carries the news of the Board meeting on the first-page of the second section on Saturday morning. A careful examination failed to reveal an account of this resolution the following day, but a small item regarding it appeared on the financial page the following Sunday.

The close correspondence of the Seattle situation with that of Chicago is significant. While in the 12 years from 1920-32 the cost per high school child has gone down 11% and the cost per grade child 7%, the interest on bonds has soared 80%. So cunningly have these bonds been written that it was impossible at any time during the more prosperous years for any additional millage to be put to the voters to help lift this bond debt. Instead the city must go on, year after year, paying this enormous interest, with no chance of lightening the burden. The result is that a building which was reported to cost \$750,000 is actually in hard cash costing closer to two million by the time the final bonds are paid.

Nor is this the only strangle hold the banks have on the public schools of Seattle. In May, 1932, the teachers received a contract with an elastic clause, which permitted the Board to reduce salaries further whenever it was deemed necessary to maintain the credit of the district. This has added a real touch of uncertainty to the past-year's work. At three distinct times ominous rumblings of additional salary cuts have been heard. Hints and threats that the district's credit would not be maintained, that is to say, that the banks would not cash teachers' warrants unless they consented to waive their salary in part. So they entered into one of those delightful plans whereby they gave the Board three weeks service for nothing. This worked so satisfactorily from their angle that two teachers who were ill throughout one month wherein one of these donated weeks occurred, actually owed the Board money which was solemnly deducted from their next pay check.

However, these two cuts did not satisfy the tax reductionists behind the Board and so in March, curiously enough directly after spring election, when the tax reductionists had put in their entire slate, for some quite unexplainable reason, inasmuch as March, April, and May are the months of heaviest tax payments, teachers' warrants could not be cashed.

At the same time, the teachers were lauded for their loyalty, devotion and service, but told that after every other item of the budget had been pared to the limit, they must still take a cut, totalling 33-1/3%. It is needless to say that bond interest was left intact.

This is the situation in Seattle. It furnishes but one more example of the throttling and crushing of America's public schools by those interests who are motivated by one impulse only, selfish greed. It is only as progressive, thoughtful citizens the country over realize how widespread and far-reaching this insidious movement is, that there can be any hope of saving the public schools and restoring them to the people.

## Florida

We are fighting the noblest battle of the centuries, when we espouse the cause of Education, and volunteer to take up the fight for the School Child, who cannot fight his own battle for education but is helpless in the face of indifference, selfishness, and oftentimes misinformation on the part of the officials whose duty it is to provide proper education for the youth of the country.

The new School Control law undertakes to regulate courses of study approving about 95% for which they will allow State funds and disapproving about 5% for which they will not allow use of State funds. It leaves, however, the School Boards with one-half the available funds derived from counties and districts with which to provide the 5% subjects if they see fit to do so. Thus it is seen at a glance that this feature is ineffective and inoperative even if desirable, and so it is with practically the whole law.

*The State authorities undertook to cure a disease of the school system caused by undernourishment with a diet which calls for still less nourishment and this simply cannot be done.*

In the olden days we are told that all barbers were surgeons, or all surgeons were barbers, and that in addition to trimming hair and shaving a customer they bled him when requested. It is recorded also that it was the common belief that bleeding was the best remedy for all diseases from ground itch to pneumonia. Now the administration at Tallahassee headed by Governor Sholtz, convinced that we must get back to the fundamentals in education which may be limited to the three R's, must also get back to the fundamentals in medicine and surgery, and when the sick school patient came to be laid on the operating table at Tallahassee at the last session of the Legislature, suffering from malnutrition, after a hasty consultation with leaders in the senate, Chief Surgeon, Dr. Sholtz advised bleeding the patient, and so he was bled to the tune of one to one and one-half million dollars. The patient is still weak and pale and in a fainting condition.

Since our taxing units are breaking down for many reasons and since we constantly receive less funds each year for our schools from this source and since the State has also fallen down on its appropriation of seven and one-half millions in increasing shortage each year, there seems no other course open to prevent almost complete collapse of our school system except to appeal to the Federal Government for a share of the industrial recovery fund and to this end I have prepared some figures which I submit. The Federal Government has already assisted a number of worthy causes including Banks, Railroads, Mortgage Loan Companies, Life Insurance

Companies, and Public Highways, and no doubt would assist the schools in the present emergency if the matter were properly presented. The Federal Government has provided three billions three hundred millions to spend on worthy subjects for industrial recovery and certainly schools should come in this class. Four hundred million dollars has been set aside for highway work in the U. S., and five million of this amount has been allotted to Florida. Four hundred million dollars to the nations' schools at this time would rehabilitate them and would mean a stable system, full terms, normal pay, and increased business activity in each community as the money paid to teachers would flow back into the channels of trade at once. In Florida, as is no doubt the case in other states, it will require our share of four hundred million, namely, five million, to offset the shrinkage in school revenue since 1930. Much of the funds to be derived from county and districts in many counties of Florida and no doubt in other states for the coming term must be used to pay past due salaries and other unpaid bills. As I see it much shortened terms and distressing salaries will result in the coming term unless Federal aid is secured.

As every child in the nation is entitled to benefit alike let the Federal Government Administrators provide a fund of four hundred million dollars for the schools for use the coming term, this being the same amount provided for the highways. This would be approximately ten cents per day for each child in the U. S. as per census of 1930, the latest available census.

This census shows 21,264,886 pupils, the cost of schooling for whom at ten cents per day for nine months would amount to \$373,765,948.00. Allowing for reasonable increase in school population 1930-33 let us make the allowance \$400,000,000. Florida's share in this four hundred million dollars would be, on the same census 1930, for 264,931 pupils allowed ten cents per day for a term of 180 days, \$4,768,758.00. Allowing for reasonable increase in school population 1930-33 we allow for Florida \$5,000,000.00, being the same amount allotted for highways of Florida this year from Federal funds. These funds when provided could be disbursed through state agencies to the various counties on average daily attendance records of the previous year the same as state funds are now disbursed.

Florida schools have not been run extravagantly when it is shown that the cost per pupil average daily attendance in the U. S. in 1930 was \$86.52. In the same year, 1930, in Florida the cost per pupil average daily attendance was \$49.74.

Certainly of the two our public schools are more important than our highways, but as there is money enough to provide for both, neither should be neglected and it is incumbent on us to make every proper effort to secure necessary aid and to save our schools from disaster. Other interests are being provided for by the Federal Government, but the school child seems to be forgotten. The destiny of our nation must rest in a few years on the shoulders of the school child of today, 80% of whom never receive school advantages other than our public free schools.

Are we as school officials and friends

of education going to sit idly by and permit our future citizens to be unprepared for the serious task and responsibility of self government in a country which we all love and respect?

W. J. WALKER.

## Charlotte, N. C.

Report on the Charlotte Public School situation as it exists due to the defeating of a special supplementary tax election on August 15.

1. The revenue for operating the schools will be cut in half and the state will therefore send \$232,000.00 to the city of Charlotte for the operation of her schools for 1933-1934. From this amount all school expenses must be paid including operation and salaries.

2. There will be approximately 18,000 pupils in the public schools and 400 teachers will be employed to teach this number. There will be a total of 50 teachers let out of the city system. We will therefore have an average of 45 pupils to a class or to a teacher. This does away with a great deal of necessary individual instruction.

3. The school term will be reduced to 8 months. This means that the children will have more time for recreation and running the streets, patronizing picture shows and otherwise doing the thing that they should not do. Charlotte does not have an adequate system of parks and playgrounds to take care of the recreation of the children.

4. There will be a complete re-adjustment and re-organization of the city school system to meet the state requirement or standard. It necessitates the going back to the obsolete 7-4 plan, therefore doing away with the 8-3-3 plan as has been in the system for a number of years.

5. Naturally the 12th grade will be discontinued and pupils who were in the 11th grade this past year will be dropped from the school with no opportunity of going farther. There are something like 430 of these boys and girls who will suffer thus. There are many worthwhile courses that will be dropped from the curriculum, such as: Music (glee clubs, chorus, band, orchestra, individual music instruction), Business practice (bookkeeping, typing, short hand, accounting), Art (design, character drawing, advertising art, free hand drawing), Health (hygiene, physical education, athletics), journalism and dramatics.

6. Teachers salaries are to be greatly reduced by accepting the state standard. The lowest salary will be \$504.00 and the highest will be \$746.00. This is on an 8 month basis. Salaries will range within these two limits. Figuring salaries per month on the 12 month plan the lowest will be \$42.00 per month and the highest will be \$62.16 per month. There is not a teacher in the city of Charlotte who can live upon any such wage unless it be those teachers who have their homes in Charlotte and have their parents to fall back upon and do not have to pay living expenses.

7. The result of this situation is going to be that many if not all of the best teachers will leave the profession and their places will be taken by the fourth rate teacher. Thus the final and greatest result, the one that cannot be replaced, is the loss to the children.

C. S. ROGER,

President, Charlotte Local 249.

## Toledo, Ohio

The Toledo Morning Times of June 20, 1933, carried the following story reproduced because it furnishes a unique case the like of which we have not heard, and a striking example of what teachers soundly organized and Organized Labor can do to save the public schools.

### BOARD RESCINDS TEACHERS' SALARY CUT

### DRASTIC ECONOMY PLAN MODIFIED; TAX MONIES TO BE SHARED BY STAFF

### Dismissals Shall Be Made on Basis of Inefficiency Only; 400 Cheer Decision at Meeting

The 400 public school teachers who crowded into the small, hot conference room of the Board of Education last night received a welcome answer to their two weeks of stormy protest, when the board voted, four to one, to modify the drastic economy program adopted at its meeting two weeks ago. Briefly, the modification provides that dismissals shall be made on the basis of inefficiency only; that all the teachers shall share proportionately in whatever tax collection is available to the board next year, and that retirements shall be voluntary. Thus married women will not be dismissed on the grounds of marriage, even if their husbands have sufficient income to maintain them.

The original plan provided that 132 positions were to be abolished and salaries reduced on a 50 per cent scale.

That the teachers themselves would much rather share whatever funds are available than witness the arbitrary dismissal of many of their number, was apparent from the enthusiastic applause they gave the board when the motion carried.

### Haskell Objects

The only opposition to its passage was voiced by Harry Haskell, who called upon many authorities, including "Robert's Rules of Order," to try to prevent a change in the drastic plan.

The motion says in part: "We hereby direct that vacancies occurring by reason of prescribing curtailments, voluntary retirements or other causes shall not be filled during the ensuing school year, except by such substitutes as already form a part of the organization;" and "that the school year shall commence on the first Monday in October and continue as long as sufficient funds are available, until 36 weeks of instruction have been completed, compensation to commence with the beginning of the school term."

The modified policy also provides for continuance of free graduate work in the high schools; for continuance of the manual training, home economics, and kindergarten classes as they now are; for maintenance of the supervisory staff at its present number; for maintenance of the present system of school districting. It provides that there shall be no drastic reduction in staffs, and for dismissals only on the basis of inefficiency.

Raymond Lowry, president of the Toledo Federation of Teachers, inquired whether teachers might recover their salary deficits when delinquent taxes are paid up, in years to come. Members of the board said they would be glad to consider his plan for accomplishing this end.

INDEX  
THE AMERICAN TEACHER

VOLUME XVIII—NOS. 1-5

OCTOBER, 1933 — JUNE, 1934

| A                                                                                                                                        |                                             | D                                                                                            |                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Abbott, Celinda B.                                                                                                                       | Dec. 29                                     | Dangers Threatening Education. James P. Barron.                                              | Dec. 10                   |
| Academic Freedom, Basic Factors in. Editorial by Joseph Jablonower                                                                       | June 20                                     | Darrow, Clarence                                                                             | Dec. 22                   |
| Adell, James C.                                                                                                                          | Apr. 3, June 18                             | Declaration of Faith in Music                                                                | Apr. 19                   |
| Age Limit for Federal Employees, Editorial                                                                                               | Dec. 21                                     | Discrimination Against Women Workers Condemned by President Green                            | June 22                   |
| All Workers in Unions, Editorial                                                                                                         | Apr. 18                                     | Disorganized Opinion. Editorial by Bertram Enos                                              | Dec. 18                   |
| A. F. of L. and the Schools                                                                                                              | Dec. 6                                      | Draper, Elizabeth Kohl                                                                       | Oct. 18                   |
| A. F. of L. Convention High Spots                                                                                                        | Dec. 8                                      |                                                                                              |                           |
| A. F. of L. 53rd Convention                                                                                                              | Oct. 21                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| A. F. of L. Workers Eager to Join                                                                                                        | Oct. 21                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| American Federation of Labor. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                                                         | Feb. 25                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| A. F. T. Eighteenth Annual Convention                                                                                                    | June 19                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| American Federation of Teachers, 17th Annual Convention                                                                                  | Oct. 3, Oct. 12                             |                                                                                              |                           |
| A. F. T. Official Family                                                                                                                 | Oct. 11                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| American Year Book. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                                                       | Apr. 24                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Annual Report of the Guidance Department of the Samuel J. Tilden High School, New York. By Elsa G. Becker. Reviewed by Florence E. Clark | Apr. 25                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Annual Youth Week                                                                                                                        | Apr. 23                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Anthology of English Prose. By Herbert Read and Bonamy Dobson. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                                            | Feb. 27                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Appeal to Teachers. Editorial                                                                                                            | June 20                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Appleton, Wis.                                                                                                                           | Apr. 29                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Are You Afraid? Walter E. Myer                                                                                                           | Apr. 22                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Ashland, Pa.                                                                                                                             | Apr. 30                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             |                                                                                              |                           |
| B                                                                                                                                        |                                             | E                                                                                            |                           |
| Background Study of Negro College Students. By Dr. Ambrose Caliver. Reviewed by Mandelle B. Bousfield                                    | Apr. 24                                     | Economy in Education. By Wm. J. Cooper. Book Review                                          | Feb. 27                   |
| Barron, James P.                                                                                                                         | Dec. 10                                     | Educational Conference in North Carolina                                                     | Apr. 22                   |
| Benton, Ill.                                                                                                                             | Feb. 30                                     | Education for the Status Quo. Editorial                                                      | Dec. 20                   |
| Bloomington, Ill.                                                                                                                        | Apr. 31, June 29                            | Educational Crisis Southern Illinois                                                         | Dec. 23                   |
| Blue Eagle Over the School. Henry Craig Seasholes                                                                                        | June 4                                      | Educational Frontier. Reviewed by Mark Starr                                                 | Feb. 26                   |
| Bogan, Dr. William J.                                                                                                                    | Dec. 16                                     | Educational Recovery. Editorial by James C. Adell                                            | Apr. 3                    |
| Books for Teachers' Winter Reading. Michael B. Scheler                                                                                   | Feb. 24                                     | End of a Century of Progress. Freeland G. Stecker                                            | June 7                    |
| Book Notes                                                                                                                               | Dec. 28, Apr. 26, June 27                   | Enos, Bertram                                                                                | Feb. 26, Oct. 23          |
| Book Week, 1933                                                                                                                          | Oct. 24                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Bousfield, Mandelle B.                                                                                                                   | Apr. 24                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Brainstorm. Editorial                                                                                                                    | June 21                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Brant, Irving                                                                                                                            | Dec. 11                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Breckenridge, Sophonisba P.                                                                                                              | Dec. 13                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Brewer, John M.                                                                                                                          | Feb. 16                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Brookwood                                                                                                                                | Apr. 28                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             |                                                                                              |                           |
| C                                                                                                                                        |                                             | F                                                                                            |                           |
| California                                                                                                                               | Feb. 31                                     | False Economy. Cartoon                                                                       | Oct. 17                   |
| Call to the Teachers of the Nation. Progressive Education Association. Reviewed by Bertram Enos                                          | Oct. 22                                     | Fear. Editorial                                                                              | Dec. 19                   |
| Carpenter, D. E.                                                                                                                         | Dec. 27                                     | Federal Office of Education Service                                                          | Dec. 23                   |
| Century of Retrogression? John M. Brewer                                                                                                 | Feb. 16                                     | Federal Taxation and the Schools. Irving Brant                                               | Dec. 11                   |
| Challenge of the Economic Situation to Organized Teachers. Dr. Henry R. Linville                                                         | Oct. 3                                      | Fingers in the Pie                                                                           | Apr. 21                   |
| Chamber of Commerce Confessions                                                                                                          | Oct. 20                                     | Florida                                                                                      | Oct. 27                   |
| Charlotte, N. C.                                                                                                                         | Oct. 28, Apr. 29                            | Florida Organization                                                                         | June 30                   |
| Chattanooga—Hamilton County Local 246                                                                                                    | Dec. 29, Apr. 29, June 29                   | Frances Perkins Hits Forty Year Job Ban. Editorial                                           | Dec. 21                   |
| Chicago                                                                                                                                  | Oct. 25, Feb. 28, Apr. 27, Apr. 28, June 28 | Franklin County Teachers' Code                                                               | Dec. 30                   |
| Chicago Federation Women High School Teachers                                                                                            | Dec. 29                                     | Functions of a School Board. James A. Mullenbach                                             | Feb. 10                   |
| Chicago Men Teachers' Union                                                                                                              | Dec. 29                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Chicago on Parade. By Herman O. Duncan. Book Review                                                                                      | Feb. 27                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Child Labor. Editorial                                                                                                                   | Oct. 19                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Child Labor Amendment. Franklin D. Roosevelt                                                                                             | Apr. 19                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Children Can Go to School in Adult Style. Editorial                                                                                      | Oct. 19                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Children of the Depression. By M. E. Haggerty. Book Review                                                                               | Apr. 25                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Children Suffer Most                                                                                                                     | Apr. 15                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Children—Why Do We Have Them. By Dora W. B. Russell. Reviewed by Bertram Enos                                                            | Dec. 27                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Chinese Teachers Strike for Pay                                                                                                          | June 24                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Christopher, Ill.                                                                                                                        | Feb. 31                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Christmas Program                                                                                                                        | Dec. 25                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Churches and Modern Thought. By Vivian Phelps. Book Review                                                                               | Dec. 28                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Clark, Florence E.                                                                                                                       | Apr. 25                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Cleveland                                                                                                                                | Apr. 25, Apr. 31, June 30                   |                                                                                              |                           |
| Code for Public Schools and Public School Teachers                                                                                       | Oct. 6                                      |                                                                                              |                           |
| Code of Fair Standards for the Education Industry. Commonwealth College                                                                  | Oct. 9                                      |                                                                                              |                           |
| Commonwealth College                                                                                                                     | Oct. 9, Apr. 28                             |                                                                                              |                           |
| Company Unions. Editorial                                                                                                                | Apr. 18                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Confessions of a Chamber of Commerce                                                                                                     | Oct. 20                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Consumer Pays                                                                                                                            | Feb. 17                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Convention A. F. T. Secretary-Treasurer's Report                                                                                         | Oct. 12                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
| Counts, George S.                                                                                                                        | Apr. 18                                     |                                                                                              |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             |                                                                                              |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | G                                                                                            |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Gandhi—That Strange Little Brown Man. By Frederick B. Fisher. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler | Dec. 26                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Grand Forks, N. D.                                                                           | June 28                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Grand Rapids, Mich.                                                                          | Feb. 30, Apr. 30, June 29 |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Granite City                                                                                 | Feb. 28, June 28          |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Green, William                                                                               | Oct. 13, Oct. 20          |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Greetings to American Federation of Teachers from William Green                              | Oct. 20                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Groves, Harold M.                                                                            | Feb. 8                    |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             |                                                                                              |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | H                                                                                            |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Hanson, Florence Curtis                                                                      | Oct. 12, Feb. 12          |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Harap, Dr. Henry                                                                             | Apr. 8                    |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Hazleton, Pa.                                                                                | June 29                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Higley, Myrtle Heard                                                                         | June 5                    |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Hill, Edward Emory                                                                           | Apr. 4                    |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | History of Socialist Thought. By Harry W. Laidler. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler            | Feb. 24                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Hitler's Antilabor Terrorism                                                                 | Feb. 22                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Holly, William H. Editorial                                                                  | Feb. 21                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Holmes, Dr. Jesse H.                                                                         | Apr. 20                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | How to Use English. By Frank H. Visetelly. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                    | Feb. 27                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Hutchins, Robert Maynard                                                                     | Dec. 13                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             |                                                                                              |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | I-J                                                                                          |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Illinois                                                                                     | Feb. 31                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Illiteracy, Some Figures                                                                     | Dec. 21                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Intelligence Improved by Diet                                                                | Apr. 22                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | International Book of Names. By C. O. Sylvester Mawson. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler       | June 27                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | International Year Book. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                                      | June 26                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Introduction to Biology. By Elbert C. Cole. Book Review                                      | Dec. 25                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Jablonower, Joseph                                                                           | June 20                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             |                                                                                              |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | K-L                                                                                          |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Kellogg, Idaho                                                                               | Apr. 31                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Kerlin, Robert T.                                                                            | Feb. 14                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Kiker, Clyde E.                                                                              | Apr. 20                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             |                                                                                              |                           |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Labor and Internationalism. By Lewis L. Lorwin. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler               | Feb. 24                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Labor Day. William Green                                                                     | Oct. 13                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Labor Day. Frank Morrison                                                                    | Oct. 15                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Labor Day. Frances Perkins                                                                   | Oct. 12                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Labor Leader Urges Unions for Teachers                                                       | Feb. 17                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Labor Problems. By Gordon S. Watson. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                          | Feb. 25                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Labor Speaks on Teachers and Unionism                                                        | Apr. 13                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Labor's Rights Nullified by Delay in Enforcing Section 7-A. N. R. A.                         | June 23                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Lawrence, Mass.                                                                              | Feb. 29                   |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Lefkowitz, Dr. Abraham                                                                       | Apr. 6                    |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Linville, Dr. Henry R.                                                                       | Oct. 3, Dec. 17, June 17  |
|                                                                                                                                          |                                             | Lucas County, Ohio                                                                           | Apr. 31                   |

## M

|                                                                                              |               |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|----|
| Madison, Wis. ....                                                                           | Apr. 30, June | 28 |
| Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Resolutions                                         | Dec.          | 23 |
| May Day—Child Health Day                                                                     | Apr.          | 23 |
| Memphis                                                                                      | Apr.          | 27 |
| Methods of Education and Training in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Arnold Levitas | June          | 11 |
| Milk Prices Mean What. Editorial from Philadelphia Record                                    | June          | 21 |
| Milwaukee County, Wis.                                                                       | Apr.          | 30 |
| Minneapolis                                                                                  | Feb.          | 29 |
| Misunderstanding. Editorial                                                                  | Apr.          | 20 |
| Modern World: A Pageant of Today. By H. C. Knapp-Fisher. Reviewed by Mark Starr              | June          | 26 |
| Morrison, Frank                                                                              | Oct. 15, Feb. | 17 |
| Mrs. Roosevelt Scores. Editorial                                                             | Apr.          | 21 |
| Mullenbach, James A.                                                                         | Feb.          | 10 |

## N

|                                                                                                                                                            |                        |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| National Defense. Editorial                                                                                                                                | Feb.                   | 21 |
| National Ideals and International Idols. By Wallace B. Donham. Reviewed by Mark Starr                                                                      | Dec.                   | 24 |
| Nation Must Rescue Its Schools. Charles B. Stillman                                                                                                        | Apr.                   | 7  |
| New Bedford, Mass.                                                                                                                                         | Feb. 30, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| New Jersey Schools in Desperate Plight                                                                                                                     | Dec.                   | 31 |
| New Leisure Challenges the Schools. By Eugene T. Lies. Reviewed by Bertram Enos                                                                            | Feb.                   | 25 |
| New Locals                                                                                                                                                 | Dec. 31, Apr. 27, June | 28 |
| New Rochelle, N. Y.                                                                                                                                        | June                   | 29 |
| News from the Field—Chicago; Portland, Ore.; Seattle, Wash.; Florida; Charlotte, N. C.; Toledo, Ohio                                                       | Oct. 25, Oct.          | 28 |
| News from the Field—Locals 2, 3, 246                                                                                                                       | Dec.                   | 29 |
| News from the Field—Locals 2, 3, 5, 38, 192, 199, 209, 224, 237, 238, 244, 251, 256, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272                      | Feb.                   | 28 |
| News from the Field—Locals 2, 3, 5, 8, 27, 35, 52, 111, 189, 193, 199, 202, 215, 240, 246, 249, 250, 255, 256, 257, 263, 265, 270, 274, 276, 278, 279, 282 | Apr.                   | 27 |
| News from the Field—Locals 3, 27, 35, 38, 111, 192, 205, 246, 250, 255, 256, 263, 265, 270, 276, 277, 279, 280, 283, 296                                   | June                   | 28 |
| Newspapers and Child Labor                                                                                                                                 | Feb.                   | 23 |
| New York                                                                                                                                                   | Feb. 28, Apr.          | 27 |
| North Carolina State Federation of Labor Resolution                                                                                                        | Dec.                   | 23 |
| North Dakota Agricultural College                                                                                                                          | Feb. 30, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| N. R. A., Letter to                                                                                                                                        | Oct.                   | 11 |

## O

|                                                                            |      |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Objectives of the A. F. T.                                                 | June | 18 |
| Objectives, Program of A. F. T.                                            | Dec. | 4  |
| One Way to Reduce Taxes. Dr. C. E. A. Winslow                              | Apr. | 15 |
| Organization of Teachers' Unions in the State of Massachusetts. Resolution | Dec. | 23 |
| Organization in Florida                                                    | June | 30 |
| Organized Labor. Editorial                                                 | Dec. | 19 |
| Oshkosh, Wis.                                                              | Feb. | 31 |
| Our Present School Picture. Carl Winters                                   | Feb. | 6  |

## P

|                                                                                    |                        |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| Paint Creek Flood and Other Stories. By Alice Paddleford. Book Review              | Dec.                   | 27 |
| Pan-Sovietism. By Bruce Hopper. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                     | Oct.                   | 23 |
| Per Capita Cost of Public Education                                                | Feb.                   | 17 |
| Perkins, Frances, Secretary of Labor                                               | Oct. 13, Dec.          | 21 |
| Philadelphia                                                                       | Feb. 28, June          | 28 |
| Physical Education Check to Juvenile Crime                                         | June                   | 30 |
| Platletka. By Michael Farberman. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                    | Oct.                   | 23 |
| Pictorial History of the American Negro. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler            | Apr.                   | 26 |
| Plain Speaking. A Little. Editorial                                                | Dec.                   | 19 |
| Portland, Ore.                                                                     | Oct. 26, Apr. 28, June | 28 |
| Poverty and Education. Grover C. Ramsey                                            | Feb.                   | 22 |
| President's Page. Dr. Henry R. Linville                                            | Dec. 17, June          | 17 |
| Pride of Profession Hinders Unionization of Teachers. Meade C. Monroe              | Apr.                   | 22 |
| Program of Objectives—American Federation of Teachers                              | Dec.                   | 4  |
| Propaganda Menace. By Frederick E. Lumley. Reviewed by Mark Starr                  | Dec.                   | 24 |
| Pulaski County, Ark.                                                               | Apr.                   | 31 |
| Purposes and Functions of a Teachers' Federation in a University. Harold M. Groves | Feb.                   | 8  |

## R

|                                                           |      |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Rainbow's End. By Ona M. Rounds. Book Review              | Oct. | 23 |
| Raising Money for Union Activities. Elizabeth Kohl Draper | Oct. | 18 |
| Ramsey, Grover C.                                         | Feb. | 22 |
| Rejoicing. Editorial                                      | June | 3  |
| Restoration of Salary Levels. Editorial                   | June | 20 |
| Right to Organize. Editorial                              | Oct. | 17 |
| Royalton, Ill.                                            | Feb. | 30 |

## S

|                                     |      |    |
|-------------------------------------|------|----|
| Salem, Ore.                         | June | 29 |
| Sales Tax                           | June | 8  |
| Sales Tax Defeated Again. Editorial | Apr. | 21 |

## S

|                                                                                                  | Mo.                                                                             | Page |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Sales Tax Fallacy. Editorial.....                                                                | Dec.                                                                            | 20   |
| Sales Tax Most Obnoxious.....                                                                    | June                                                                            | 22   |
| Sauers, J. M. ....                                                                               | Dec.                                                                            | 22   |
| San Francisco .....                                                                              | Apr.                                                                            | 28   |
| Satterthwaite, W. B. ....                                                                        | Dec.                                                                            | 3    |
| Savanna, Ill.....                                                                                | Apr. 30, June                                                                   | 29   |
| Save City Schools from Wreckage or Build More<br>Jails. Clarence Darrow. By Llewellyn Jones..... | Dec.                                                                            | 22   |
| Save Our Schools. Edward Emory Hill.....                                                         | Apr.                                                                            | 4    |
| Scheler, Michael B.....                                                                          | Oct. 23, Dec. 26, Feb. 24,<br>Feb. 27, Apr. 24, Apr. 26, June 25, June 26, June | 27   |
| School Crisis Facts.....                                                                         | June                                                                            | 24   |
| School Crisis in United States and Foreign Countries.....                                        | Feb.                                                                            | 22   |
| School Economies Going Too Far. Editorial.....                                                   | Dec.                                                                            | 21   |
| School or Jail. Letter from J. M. Sanders.....                                                   | Dec.                                                                            | 22   |
| School Picture, Our Present. Carl Winters.....                                                   | Feb.                                                                            | 6    |
| Schools and the Blue Eagle. Editorial.....                                                       | Feb.                                                                            | 21   |
| Seasholes, Henry Craig.....                                                                      | June                                                                            | 4    |
| Seattle .....                                                                                    | Oct.                                                                            | 27   |
| Secretary-Treasurer's Report to 17th Annual Con-<br>vention, A. F. T.....                        | Oct.                                                                            | 12   |
| Seven Sticks—McGuffey's Third Reader.....                                                        | Feb.                                                                            | 20   |
| Shall the Blue Eagle Fly Over the Little Red School<br>House? Editorial .....                    | Dec.                                                                            | 20   |
| Shall the People Reclaim Radio? Dr. Henry Harap.....                                             | Apr.                                                                            | 8    |
| Snake That Swallowed Itself. Editorial. Clyde E.<br>Kiker .....                                  | Apr.                                                                            | 20   |
| Something for Teachers to Think About. Editorial.....                                            | Apr.                                                                            | 18   |
| So This Is America.....                                                                          | Oct. 14, Dec. 14, Feb. 18, Apr. 16, June                                        | 14   |
| Soviets Conquer Wheat. By Anna Louise Strong.<br>Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.....             | Oct.                                                                            | 23   |
| Springfield, Ill.....                                                                            | Feb.                                                                            | 30   |
| Springfield, Ohio .....                                                                          | June                                                                            | 30   |
| Starr, Mark.....                                                                                 | Oct. 22, Dec. 24, Feb. 26, June                                                 | 26   |
| State Aid Is Necessary. Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz.....                                               | Apr.                                                                            | 6    |
| Status Quo. Editorial by W. B. Satterthwaite.....                                                | Dec.                                                                            | 3    |
| Stecker, Freeland G.....                                                                         | June                                                                            | 30   |
| Stern Signs Agreement with Newspaper Guild.....                                                  | June                                                                            | 30   |
| Stillman, Charles B.....                                                                         | Apr.                                                                            | 7    |
| Strain on the "Faith and Hope" of Teachers. Gil-<br>bert Saldes .....                            | Apr.                                                                            | 21   |
| Superior, Wis.....                                                                               | Apr.                                                                            | 29   |

## T

|                                                                                                               |                        |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| Taxation Propaganda. Florence Curtis Hanson                                                                   | Feb.                   | 12 |
| Taxes and Tax Dodgers. By Daniel W. Hoan. Book Review                                                         | Dec.                   | 25 |
| Taxes and Tax Dodgers. By Daniel W. Hoan. Editorial                                                           | June                   | 21 |
| Teachers and Union Labor. Editorial by C. L. Vestal                                                           | Feb.                   | 3  |
| Teachers' Code                                                                                                | Oct.                   | 10 |
| Teachers' Code, Franklin County                                                                               | Dec.                   | 30 |
| Teachers Receive Federal Aid                                                                                  | Oct.                   | 21 |
| Teachers, Wake Up! Editorial by Bertram Enos                                                                  | Oct.                   | 16 |
| Ten Point Program of Social Justice, A. F. of L.                                                              | Apr.                   | 12 |
| They Say                                                                                                      | Apr.                   | 14 |
| Thomas, Norman                                                                                                | Feb.                   | 4  |
| Toledo, Ohio                                                                                                  | Oct. 28, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| Tooele, Utah                                                                                                  | Feb. 30, Apr. 30, June | 29 |
| Too Many Teachers. Editorial                                                                                  | Dec.                   | 20 |
| Trained Woman and Her Position. Myrtle Heard Higley                                                           | June                   | 5  |
| Twenty Down—Sixteen to Go. Editorial                                                                          | Apr.                   | 21 |
| Two Hundred Years of Education—1733-1933—Savannah, Chatham County, Georgia. By Haygood S. Bowden. Book Review | Dec.                   | 28 |

## U - V

|                                                                                                             |      |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|----|
| Unemployed Teachers. How Many? Editorial                                                                    | Feb. | 20 |
| Union Better than Laws. Editorial                                                                           | Apr. | 18 |
| Unionization of Teachers. Robert T. Kerlin                                                                  | Feb. | 14 |
| U. S. Chamber of Commerce—Its Proud Position. Cartoon                                                       | Oct. | 20 |
| Vocational Education in the Public Schools. Dr. William J. Bogan                                            | Dec. | 16 |
| Vocational Guidance in Engineering Lines. By American Association of Engineers. Reviewed by D. E. Carpenter | Dec. | 27 |
| Voice of Youth. An Anthology of Poetry. Book review                                                         | Apr. | 25 |
| Vox Magistri                                                                                                | Oct. | 19 |

## W - Z

|                                                                           |                        |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|----|
| Washington, D. C.                                                         | Apr. 27, Apr. 28, June | 28 |
| West Allis, Wis.                                                          | Feb.                   | 30 |
| We, the People. By Leo Huberman. Reviewed by Mark Starr                   | Oct.                   | 22 |
| What Are Teachers? Editorial                                              | Feb.                   | 20 |
| What Is the Good Society? Norman Thomas                                   | Feb.                   | 4  |
| Why Join the American Federation of Teachers? Editorial by James C. Adell | June                   | 18 |
| Why Not the Teachers? Editorial                                           | June                   | 19 |
| Why Teachers Get the Sack. Editorial from St. Louis Star-Times            | Dec.                   | 21 |
| Winslow, Dr. C. E. A.                                                     | Apr.                   | 15 |
| Winters, Carl                                                             | Feb.                   | 6  |
| Wisconsin                                                                 | Feb.                   | 31 |
| Women Who Work. By Grace Hutchins. Book review                            | Apr.                   | 25 |
| World Book Encyclopedia. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler                   | June                   | 25 |
| Would Numbers Have Helped? Editorial                                      | Oct.                   | 19 |
| Ziegler, Ill.                                                             | Feb.                   | 30 |

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