

AMERICAN TEACHER

A Life Long Process

It is a mistake to say, "Today education ends, tomorrow life begins." The process is continuous: the idea into the thought, the thought into the action, the action into the character. When the mulberry seed falls into the ground and germinates, it begins to be transformed into silk.

This view of life as a process of education was held by the Greeks and the Hebrews—the two races in whose deep hearts the stream of modern progress takes its rise; the two great races whose energy of spirit and strength of self-restraint have kept the world from sinking into the dream-lit torpor of the mystic East, or whirling into the blind, restless activity of the barbarian West.

—Henry van Dyke.



DECEMBER, 1933

VOLUME XVIII.

No. 2

ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS



We have BUYERS for

1931-'32-'33

CHICAGO and COOK COUNTY

TAX WARRANTS

Board of Education

Enyart, Van Camp & Feil, Inc.

STOCKS AND BONDS

39 S. La Salle St.

Andover 2424

TAX WARRANTS

We have orders to

BUY AND SELL

Large and Small Lots

All Chicago, Cook County, and

Suburban Issues

LATEST MARKET QUOTATIONS

ROGERS & TRACY, Inc.

INVESTMENT SECURITIES

120 So. La Salle St.

State 4151

CHICAGO AND SUBURBAN

TAX WARRANTS

1931 - 1932 - 1933

Bought, Sold and Quoted

F. M. ZEILER & CO.

Members Chicago Stock Exchange

Members Chicago Curb Exchange

Associate Member New York Curb Exchange

Central 5387

Room 929

209 S. La Salle St.

TAX WARRANTS

1931 - 1932 - 1933

Bought and Sold

Paul H. Davis & Co.

Established 1916

MEMBERS

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

CHICAGO STOCK EXCHANGE

37 SOUTH LA SALLE STREET

PHONE FRANKLIN 8622



Table of Contents



	Page		Page
The Status Quo.....	W. B. Satterthwaite 3	State Federations of Labor Resolutions, N. C. and Mass....	23
A Program of Objectives.....	A. F. T. 4	Book Reviews	25
The A. F. of L. and the Schools.....	6	The Propaganda Menace—Mark Starr	
High Spots of the A. F. of L. Convention.....	8	National Ideals and Internationalist Idols—Mark Starr	
Dangers Threatening Education.....	James P. Barron 10	Taxes and Tax Dodgers	
Federal Taxation and the Schools.....	Irving Brant 11	An Introduction to Biology	
Some Quotations	13	Christmas Program	
So This Is America.....	14	That Strange Little Brown Man: Gandhi—	
Vocational Education in the Public		Michael B. Scheler	
Schools.....	Dr. Wm. J. Bogan 16	The Paint Creek Flood and Other Stories	
The President's Page.....	17	Children, Why Do We Have Them—Bertram Enos	
Editorials	18	Vocational Guidance in Engineering Lines—D. E. Carpenter	
Why Teachers Get the Sack		Two-Hundred Years of Education—1733-1933—	
Disorganized Opinion		Savannah, Ga.	
Fear		The Churches and Modern Thought	
A Little Plain Speaking		Book Notes	
Organized Labor		News from the Field.....	29
Too Many Teachers		Chicago	
Education for the Status Quo		Chattanooga, Hamilton County	
Shall the Blue Eagle Fly Over the Little Red School House		Southern Illinois	
Sales Tax Fallacy		Franklin County, Illinois	
Age Limit for Federal Employees		New Locals	
School or Jail.....	Clarence Darrow—Llewellyn Jones 22	Radio Programs	31
		Advertisements.....	2, 9, 13, 25

PUBLISHED bi-monthly, except August, by the American Federation of Teachers, 506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. Entered as second class matter October 18, 1933, at the post office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Sec. 1103, Act of Feb. 28, 1925, authorized Nov. 3, 1926.

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



SUBSCRIPTION \$1.00 for the year—Foreign \$1.10—Single copies, 25c. At the time of expiration, a bill will be found in the copy. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal money-order, express order, draft, stamps or check.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

VOL. XVIII

December, 1933

No. 2

The Status Quo

IT REQUIRES considerable imagination to describe any phase of the present kaleidoscopic economic picture in words so suggestive of permanence as the *status quo*. However, the plight of public education in the rapidly changing economic order must be causing great concern to all the friends of that well-known bulwark of democracy.

In the sincere, if belated, attempts of the governing powers to build up a new system of economy, essential public services including the education of the children of the masses seem to have been somewhat overlooked. In its frantic effort to stay increasing unemployment and lessened income with its attendant elimination of purchasing power, the brain trust apparently has forgotten those persons in public employ including, at one time, almost a million teachers.

Codes have been made to protect thousands of employers from themselves by prohibiting such outworn business practices as competition, long hours, and low wages to their employees. These codes likewise aid millions of laborers by minimum wage restrictions, by shorter hours of labor, and, not least, by the right to organize for their own protection.

N. R. A. banners are found in all establishments except public buildings. Government exacts from all industries an industrial code it is not willing to accept in conducting the greatest of all, the industry of government. Why should there be an N. R. A. banner flying from an automobile factory and none from a public school?

It can hardly be maintained that an unemployed teacher does not suffer from hunger as much as an unemployed mechanic, or that purchasing power is not decreased from cutting the wages of a postal clerk as much as the same cut to a bricklayer. As a matter of fact, intolerable conditions for teachers are reflected in the lives of millions of children. Due to the lack of employment, hundreds of thousands of children are receiving no education at all.

Why have public services been so neglected in the New Deal? In particular, why is public education permitted to lag, yes, even to be pushed ever lower while other industries are being pushed upward? We can dismiss the repeated assertion that the schools are becoming better because of the economies forced upon them and the teachers more efficient through the beneficial effects of starvation and insecurity.

However, a few morons holding high positions in the educational world are still roving up and down the country, telling the teachers and the patrons of the public schools that the schools have been "purified" and made more efficient through difficulties. These high priced "inspirational" speakers are not called to the mining

districts of Southern Illinois where salaries have been dropped to \$400.00 per year and less and are still dropping, or to other sections where there are no salaries and no schools.

It is just possible that those in authority, following the example of a still higher power, are most likely to help those who help themselves. Organized industry demands and receives help. Organized labor, not so well organized, receives help, not as much as the better organized group, but nevertheless it gets attention.

The teachers upon whom rests the prime responsibility of caring for their own industry, education, as well as for themselves, have not seen fit to organize themselves to as great an extent as other citizens and are therefore not in as favorable a position to ask for the assistance they need for themselves and their industry.

It must be said, however, that teachers, driven by necessity, are showing much more interest in the matter than ever before. Lack of experience and ignorance of modern economic trends leaves many of them bewildered. Many are looking for some one to lead them. They must be shown that they must do things for themselves. No one can help them much working for them, but millions of organized people keenly interested in the public schools in which their children are being educated are anxious and willing to work *with* them.

There are two strongly organized economic groups in America. Organized business and organized labor. Organized business, led and controlled by men of great wealth who neither need the public schools for their own children or are willing to pay through taxes for the kind of schools for the masses which they demand for their own children, is one group. Organized labor becoming much stronger through the operating of the industrial codes, always the friend of the public schools, is the other.

Are the teachers of America ready to organize and affiliate with the only group that wants them and the only group with a forward looking educational program; the only group with a national interest in the school and its teachers? Or are they willing to be the only unorganized group satisfied to accept the humble place in the new order after the strongly organized sections of society have chosen and taken theirs?

An affiliation with the American Federation of Teachers, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is open to all teachers in the public schools. If the teachers of America take advantage of this opportunity, education and the teachers will assume the place in the new order to which they are rightfully entitled.

W. B. SATTERTHWAITE.

A Program of Objectives

Adopted by Seventeenth Convention, American Federation of Teachers
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 26-30, 1933

PREAMBLE

THE GREAT cultures of the past have based their greatness on a general acceptance and devotion of their people to what humanity at its best has regarded as individual and social virtues. Honor, fidelity, self-mastery, altruism, cooperation have marked the flowering of these cultures and these cultures have faded and failed only with general loss of such sanctions of individual and national character and conduct.

There are ominous indications throughout the world that society is passing or has passed into an era of such loss of ethical standards as marked the decay of earlier cultures. It is the great function of education to restore and maintain these standards and to take possibly the greatest part in the substitution of true standards of duty and social living for the false and destructive motives of selfishness and greed. Probably no ten commandments nor other *rigid* code of ethics can be framed which will perpetually endure the corrosion of time and change and act as a preservative suited to all the complexities of human experience. Changing and growing social, economic and political systems require, instead of static codes, growing and changing and fluid adaptations of eternal principles so that their appeal may be ever fresh. In this process the schools, in contact with youth, constitute the greatest and most general instrument for establishing and confirming adequate standards and in affording opportunity for their exercise in living.

If society looks to the schools to perform this vital service, surely it is irrational for it to expect the desired result so long as a condition exists in which the schools pour out wave after wave of youth taught to believe in probity and duty into a world organized to reward rascality and greed.

It is irrational to expect teachers who are sincere to abstain from attacking this massed corruption in society which continually stultifies the teachings and ruins the product of the schools.

The teaching profession must attack and destroy the sources of corruption where they exist or yield the battle as hopeless. This imperative duty must be the sufficient excuse, if one is needed, for teachers to invade with ever-increasing energy and numbers the fields of politics, economics, industry and finance as critics and as rebels against prevailing practices in those fields.

Teachers can do this only after establishing for themselves such standards of conduct and character as will justify their revolt and such that to them society in general will repair and conform.

For the American Federation of Teachers to reach this objective, so indispensable to the cleansing of the nation, involves first, the formulation of a specific and practicable program and second, the rallying to that program of all who are worthy and courageous in the teaching profession.

These two aims are too tremendous to be hastily attempted, yet too vitally pressing for long postponement. The first step toward their attainment, we believe, is to draft a concise list of objectives, immediate and more remote.

I.

Accelerated decay of wholesome home surroundings and parental influence is adversely affecting large numbers of children. The schools are called upon more and more to supply a corrective for this situation. This task the schools can accomplish effectively only if the teacher-load is kept within reasonable limits and if space, equipment and a program for social living are supplied in the schools. These facts must be impressed upon the people by every available means.

II.

Degraded literature and vicious drama, as well as poor examples in adult behavior, surround the children at an age when they are most susceptible to such corrupting influences. The means of training taste to avoid these pitfalls must be developed in the schools. Community sentiment should be aroused to prevent the use of two great educational agencies, literature and the drama, for the purpose of perverting the youth of the nation.

III.

The times demand the promotion of social intelligence without the advocacy of isms. This requirement emphasizes the necessity for the development of curricula and of texts, especially in the fields of history, civics and economics, which will permit the dynamic social teaching for which the American Federation of Teachers stands. Such teaching will tend more deeply to interest pupils in social problems so that they will regard their study and solution as matters of profound concern and serious pleasure.

IV.

The pressure of the present crisis reveals the dangerous degree of perplexity or of indifference among the people about government and popular control of public affairs. Democracy is on trial with its whole future at stake. Powerful special interests are using all their resources to mold the development of our social, economic and political structures according to their purposes and desires and to create and perpetuate a stratified America.

The only surety for democracy is more democracy, safeguarded by more intelligence. The special interests which have in the past dominated America are well aware of the peril to their purpose embodied in popular education. They have entered into a general conspiracy to cut educational expenditures at any cost to national destiny. Taking advantage of the prevalent distress of the tax-paying public, they have in part veiled their malice against the schools under a plea for emergency economy. By these so-called "depression economies" they have lessened school opportunity at a time when the school enrollment and the need for schooling is at the maximum. Their economies affect the teaching service, the service of supplies and equipment, and the buildings, and grounds of schools.

They have observed no equity in reducing educational costs. Nearly everywhere an outrageous and disgraceful discrimination has thrown the heaviest burden of economies upon the teachers and pupils in the schools.

Teachers have the profound obligation to the public and to the children to make use of every available means of designating and of exposing to public indignation those individuals and groups who participate in this conspiracy.

The teachers have a sacred obligation to discharge in using all available channels of information to the public about the value of education to society and about the perils which beset the schools. This involves an enlargement of the use of radio and of the friendlier newspapers and journals in keeping the people informed. Most effective use can be made of friends of popular education, men and women of standing in the community who will speak, write, and hold meetings to combat attacks on the support of schools.

V.

The essence of the issue regarding public education is whether the carpenter's son and daughter are to have an equal educational opportunity with the children of the banker, and of the president of the great industrial corporation. The conspiring interests say "No." To the handicap of poverty they would add the vaster handicap of ignorance so that the race in life may be a hopeless one for the poor.

America has hitherto said "Yes, let the poor man's child have an equal educational start and let intelligence and ambition determine the result." We do not believe that the majority of Americans are willing to sit still and see that decision reversed by the conspiracy of a small and selfish minority.

VI.

We recognize that while adversity rests upon the resources of our country it is vain to expect the public to be much distressed about the economic condition of teachers. Yet for the sake of the public as much as for their own interest, teachers must not cease to emphasize certain economic aspects of their condition. Indeed the times call for increased emphasis upon the need of salary and tenure protection for teachers for the sake of retaining in the schools and keeping fit for their work that type of men and women which is the prerequisite of effective teaching, and for the sake of securing new recruits of the upper levels of intelligence and character.

There must be also a more vigorous resistance to the tendency to increase teacher-hours and teacher-load—a persistent and growing tendency, curiously in contrast to that in all other lines of employment, most pernicious to efficient teaching and wholly out of harmony with the existing national policy with regard to labor and employment.

VII.

Restriction of educational facilities is violently opposed by the logic of facts. In view of the certainty that machinery is unceasingly to decrease hours of labor for all, that adolescents are to be excluded from employment and that the age at which youth can find employment will continue to rise, the public schools offer the only profitable haven to which society can consign its youth.

VIII.

Teachers, then, must by every means convey to the public what it will mean to a society of increasing leisure if on the one hand untrained minds are left in idleness and boredom or if, on the other hand, increased educational opportunity makes possible equally increased

profitable use of leisure for recreation and sport, for self-culture or for productive ends in the creation of beauty in music, art and literature.

It is a literal matter of exact calculation that the cost of legal and corrective treatment of one idle and bored youngster who falls into antisocial living and crime costs the public enough to maintain three or more in the public schools.

IX.

We must not leave out of consideration (nor permit the people to do so) the high social values of increased opportunity in vocational education aimed at the equipment of youth with a broad enough training to permit economic adaptations to the present rapid technical readjustment, so that vertical displacements in employment shall not result from the loss of position in one field since those so trained may find positions in another.

X.

Has American education been too individualistic? Do not history and experience prove the necessity for group action to carry social concepts over into the realm of actuality?

The social ideals we have inculcated have too frequently been an unthinking conformity to her impulses which are a thin veneer for individual selfishness. Must not the American teacher begin to teach the child that *alone* the individual is weak and helpless to change the massive factors which condition his existence; that, only as he persuades others to accept his sound ideas or is persuaded by others to accept theirs, can he join with them in attack and defense; that he must think and work with others to attain desired social ends; that these ends, to be worth attainment, must first be defined by true thinking illuminated by clear and worthy social ideals? Along with this must we not teach the child to test evidence, to distrust dogma and propaganda and to be wary of those who attempt to confuse thinking and to hamper progress?

XI.

"Democracy and ever more democracy!"

We reiterate our challenge to the betrayers of the people's control of their own. The child must be taught to think of the Country, the State, the City, the School as *his own*, of life, not as a condition imposed upon him by forces vague, indefinite yet irresistible to which he must submit but as an adventurous march, the direction of which by wisdom and goodwill he can himself co-operating with others determine and alter.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion let us pose the question squarely as it is set for citizens by the enemies of public education. That question really is: How poor a school system will you endure? We propose to limit it—not too suddenly, but as soon as you will permit—to an elementary school which shall deal with reading, writing and arithmetic and with as little else as you will endure. If you consent, we will wipe off kindergarten, continuation schools, the high schools, the colleges, from the educational map. There shall be no public schools beyond the elementary grade. In this way you will save 40 cents on your tax bill and we will save a billion dollars for our stockholders." How poor a school system will the American people endure? The people must answer.

The A. F. of L. and the Schools

Adopted by the 1933 A. F. of L. Convention, Washington, D. C.

Preservation of Our Public School System

WHEREAS, The destructive tendency incidental to the retrenchment movement against public education has resulted in the closing of schools, the dismissal of teachers, the housing of children in dilapidated and overcrowded school buildings, the shortening of the school year, the curtailment and elimination of important subjects, and of the much needed social services; and

WHEREAS, The slogan of "Balance the Budget" has been used as the excuse for the reckless slashing of vitally necessary expenditures, many of which are the only social guarantees we have for the maintenance of standards in education and in health and safety; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the destruction of the very social fibre of this nation must come from the continuance of this policy; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position of unswerving support of public education, the necessary elements of which entail:

- (1) Truly professional standards in and for the classroom.
- (2) Small classes taught by trained teachers.
- (3) An enriched curriculum.
- (4) Opportunities for growth and cultural advantages for adult workers.
- (5) An equitable wage for all teachers.
- (6) Security of tenure for all educational workers.
- (7) Decent working conditions for teachers.
- (8) Right to establish teachers' unions, affiliated with organized labor.
- (9) Opportunity for culture and professional study for teachers.
- (10) Maintenance of educational standards.
- (11) Provision for old age pensions for teachers.
- (12) Opportunity for teachers to participate in formulating educational policy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it renew its pledge of utmost endeavor for the protection of education from kindergarten through university, and that it call upon all affiliated state and local central bodies to fight to the utmost to maintain intact our free public school system in this country.

Federal Aid to the States for Education

WHEREAS, In every section of the country public schools have suffered materially through the lack of funds made available for educational work, in some localities amounting to the actual collapse of the American Free Public School system; and

WHEREAS, Local communities and the several states are for the most part utterly unable to maintain their public schools; and

WHEREAS, While it is undoubtedly the responsibility of the state to seek to preserve its public schools for the state, it is just as certainly the responsibility of the nation to assure opportunities for education to all the children of the nation; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of the several states are, in the form of income taxes and other taxes giving to the federal government many millions of dollars; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor seek to secure legislation making available to the several states funds sufficient to enable these states to maintain a free public school system worthy of the best traditions of our land, and schools which would afford equal educational opportunity for all the children of America.

Federal Relief Programs for Teachers

WHEREAS, The education of our working people, employed and unemployed, on a part-time continuing program, is an essential feature of our industrial recovery, not as a temporary makeshift nor on a "made-work" plan for idle persons to teach, but as a permanent part of our placement and after-service to all of our working people who need courses to im-

prove their technical skill and broaden their economic plan of living; and

WHEREAS, Such educational program is dependent for its success on properly qualified teachers with an industrial, technical and practical background improved and made available by professional teacher training courses for such teachers; and

WHEREAS, Such teacher training program may and should continue to be an integral part of our whole program for adult education, in order that our working people, idle and employed, have the best trade, technical, industrial, and general teachers that can be procured; and

WHEREAS, Such a program of teacher training was for years recognized by the Federal Board for Vocational Education and made by such Board an essential part of its whole plan for federal aid to states in promoting adequate and worthwhile educational courses for our working people, rural and urban, juvenile and adult, idle and employed; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has authorized and is promoting a "made-work" program whereby needy unemployed persons may be employed on "work relief wages" only to teach the unemployed working people of the country, the "teachers" to be selected and certified for this important work by state and local "relief agencies"; and

WHEREAS, Those responsible for the promotion of this program undoubtedly have the best interests of our people at heart but fail to appreciate the reaction of such a program on the whole problem of adult education as well as on the teaching profession; and

WHEREAS, The NRA has definitely set up various codes of fair competition in industry in order that the country may slowly but surely return to an era of prosperity, and inasmuch as this "made-work" program for teachers is inconsistent with and contrary to the principles set forth under the NRA codes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deplores the government's program of employing teachers or others in public service on a basis of pauper wages on a "made-work" theory and under the guise of "relief" programs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That an adequate teacher training program be maintained for those who would teach our working people, employed and unemployed, and that wherever extra teachers are employed they be employed at the pre-depression wage schedule for teachers of the locality where they are employed, and that their competence as teachers be passed upon by boards of education or boards of vocational education as the case may be; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to continue this important work with professionally trained teachers, the Federal government make available to the states directly the funds necessary therefor.

Protection of Public School System

WHEREAS, The nation is threatened with grave disaster incident to the tragic breakdown of the free public school systems of our states; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled petition the President of the United States to use his good offices during this emergency to help save our schools; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor with the available members of the Executive Council present this appeal to the President of the United States during this convention, if possible.

Educational Program for Civilian Camps

WHEREAS, There is at present no educational program planned for the thousands of young men who are in our civilian camps; and

WHEREAS, The vital need for a truly social program in these camps is glaringly apparent; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be in-

structed to present to the director of the Citizens' Conservation Camps the request to plan an educational program for these camps and to administer it in cooperation with the properly constituted authorities.

Other statements by the convention of interest to teachers are:

Teachers like other workers must be assured the right to establish teachers unions and to affiliate with Organized Labor.

* * *

We believe in the essential value of kindergartens and recommend that every possible effort be made to preserve this service necessary to "starting our future generations on the road toward a high type of citizenship".

* * *

We maintain 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, race, the religion, or the social status, including marriage, of the teachers concerned.

We hold 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 propose that the lowest salary paid in any locality to a professionally qualified teacher shall not be less than will provide him or her with proper living conditions, economic security, and opportunity for professional improvement. We propose also that proper basic salaries shall be protected by minimum wage laws.

* * *

The American Federation of Labor has always stood for the adoption by the states of adequate tenure laws for public school teachers. It 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.

* * *

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.

The delegates of A. F. T. presented these resolutions:

Child Labor Amendment

WHEREAS, The highly gratifying child labor legislation of the National Recovery Administration is but emergency legislation and will cease to function after two years' time, and

WHEREAS, Even under the present emergency child labor legislation, violations of this legislation are constantly being reported as being practiced by unscrupulous employers; and

WHEREAS, Child labor at any time is detrimental to the progress, advancement, and security of our civilization; and

WHEREAS, Child labor is particularly unwise and indefensible at the present time when millions of men are without employment; and

WHEREAS, The legislatures of several States, recognizing these facts, have ratified the child labor amendment to the Constitution; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor call upon its Locals and individual members to carry on unceasing activ-

ity for the ratification of the child labor amendment by their respective State Legislatures.

Nationalization of Banking

WHEREAS, The power of banks has been increased and abused to an extent that makes their control by irresponsible individuals a public menace; and

WHEREAS, Bankers have so far departed from their traditional occupation of safeguarding and loaning money as to include;

(1) A control of the business and industry of the country through their power to withhold credit,

(2) The manipulation of the sale of stocks and bonds, many of them worthless,

(3) The flotation of highly speculative real estate securities,

(4) A conspiracy to control governments through their power to withhold credit, and

(5) Bribery of public officials by the issuance to them of stock in corporations under their control at less than the actual value; and

WHEREAS, The departure from sound banking practices due to the improper interests of the bankers in various business ventures has caused the failure of many banks and the resultant loss to millions of depositors; and

WHEREAS, The collapse of the banking system and the failure of many banker-controlled business enterprises have brought about a great loss of confidence in banks, as well as suffering to the general public; and

WHEREAS, The bankers have used their power to curtail constructive activity of government and especially of appropriations for public education and for salaries—often too low; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge the national government to establish a system of national banks under federal ownership and control, and that as immediate steps, remove the limit placed upon the amount that may be deposited by any one depositor in the Postal Savings Bank, arrange for checking accounts in this bank and permit the use of money deposited in the Postal Savings Bank to be used for financing government costs.

To Combat Attacks on Representative Government

WHEREAS, There has been in Europe an alarming attack on representative government with the consequential destruction of personal liberties of the people of these countries, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its full moral and economic support to combating these destructive movements, in whatever form they may take, be they from the extreme right or from the extreme left.

Protest Against the Hitler Regime

WHEREAS, The overthrow of the German Republic by the Hitler regime has resulted in the complete loss of personal liberty in Germany and consequently in the destruction of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, Under the present German government there has been a campaign of revolting sadist orgies, of direct cruelty inflicted on men, women, and even children; and

WHEREAS, The very peace of the world is again seriously menaced by the military and quasi-military activities of the present German government, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor express its profound sympathy for the splendid German citizens now being so mercilessly persecuted; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge our moral and economic assistance in the fight against present German terrorism, and call upon the international unions, the state federations and the city central bodies, and liberty-loving citizens everywhere to refrain from purchasing goods produced or manufactured in Germany until this outrageous program of racial and political persecution ceases, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the United States Tariff Commission, and to the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives.

Every stroke of a sword somehow dishonors and hurts the whole of humanity. Every cut of a spade enriches it.—Gerhart Hauptmann.

High Spots of the A. F. of L. Convention

Samuel Gompers' Memorial—The dedication ceremonies were beautiful and impressive, worthy of this superb monument to Labor's great leader. It stands as a permanent testimonial to that peerless leader in the cause of social justice and human betterment, Samuel Gompers.

* * *

Secretary of Labor Perkins

This is a very great day in my life, one of the most important and solemn days and a day to which I shall look back for many years with a deep sense of responsibility to you and to the millions of people who are not here, but who, although without organization, find their voice and find their opportunity for expression of their desires and their needs in this great industrial commonwealth of ours through you and through your organization. It is with a sense of solemn responsibility of the functions which I have been called upon to assume in the Government of the United States that I address you today, a sense of very solemn duty to you and to all of the people in this country who work for wages, for it is to me that the President and his other advisors are bound to look for information which shall be the guide as to what are the conditions and needs of the working people of America in these days of trial and trouble.

I want to say at the outset that although I may not always know the truth, I shall strive to find the truth, and to find that truth through cooperation with you and with others who are in position to know what are the desires and the needs of the working people of these United States.

* * *

I want you to make many demands on us, for this Division will not grow to its full stature unless you make demands full of common sense and reasonableness and immediate usefulness, which will put our government servants who want to be helpful to the test of being immediately practical in the work they do for the wage earners of this country.

* * *

What we want in this movement today, what the Department of Labor needs and asks from you is a positive, whole-hearted, constructive co-operation, and on that I feel we can most surely count.

* * *

President Green, Opening Address

I am going to voice my personal opinion, and it is an opinion arrived at after careful and mature deliberation. I will express it enthusiastically here. It is my opinion that unemployment will not be overcome, that the eleven millions of workers who are begging and pleading for an opportunity to work cannot get back to work until we face this issue boldly and uncompromisingly and establish in these industrial codes of fair practice the 6-hour day and the 5-day week.

* * *

Now for a moment may I refer to the rising tide of interest manifested by the workers of the nation in organization. I am glad I have been permitted to live in this day. We are witnessing a sight that even the old, tried veterans of our movement never saw before. From every city and every town and every hamlet, from the Canadian border line to the Gulf of Mexico and from historic Boston to the Golden Gate, the workers are marching, organizing, keeping step, coming with us into the great American Federation of Labor.

The door of opportunity has been thrown open to them. They have been held back by persecution, by the threat of discharge, by the company union and the yellow dog contract, and now they reason that somehow or other that is all gone and they are coming in, and nothing is going to stop them from coming in. It is the duty of this convention, and I know it will discharge that duty manfully and magnificently, to sound the clarion call sincerely and enthusiastically, so that the workers of the nation may hear the invitation to come on and stand with us, and the full force and power and economic strength of the American Federation of Labor will be thrown around every worker who dares to step out and join our ranks.

I am of the opinion that the time has arrived when the success of the Industrial Recovery Act requires unionization, the com-

plete unionization of all the workers in every trade and in every calling in every city and town of the nation.

* * *

The Union establishing decent standards, decent wages, decent hours through the exercise of its economic strength, and on the other hand are those who are kept from coming in and joining with us because the employer insists on carrying out some foolish philosophy or because he threatens them with discharge if they come in, or because he forces them either directly or indirectly to join a company union. I hold that is unfair practice to the working men of the nation, and the only way it can be eliminated is through the complete unionization of the workers of the nation standing together, protecting themselves against the unfair trade practices engaged in by a minority.

* * *

When dollars are cheapened commodity prices rise, but wages stand still, and until they can assure labor that we will get more of these cheap dollars for the day's work we perform so that it will conform with the increase in commodity prices, it is my judgment that labor will stand unflinchingly against inflation.

* * *

But the men of labor have supported the whole program patiently, and it is my opinion that the President himself will rely upon the hosts of labor to see this thing satisfactorily through, and I believe in the end that righteousness and justice will prevail.

* * *

We have refused to be swayed from our path and our policy by any strange philosophy. We have refused to listen to the appeals of those who have asked us to accept a substitution for our great trade union philosophy, and I know that we will still refuse and we will stand here fairly and squarely upon the principles that have made our movement great. We will carry on in that same militant, earnest spirit until men and women are made free, homes are made prosperous, and every idle man and woman given an opportunity to earn a decent living.

* * *

Education Committee's Report and Adoption of 12-point Program of Education.

Child Labor and Child Labor Amendment—Delegate William R. Trotter, Typographical Union.

In considering this particular resolution it needs to be pointed out that there is a difference between abolition of child labor by industrial codes adopted under measures which might prove temporary and the abolition for all time of child labor by making such abolition a part of the Constitution. There is a danger of allowing the present notable achievements to appear to render unnecessary immediate further efforts to add to the present total of fifteen States.

Those charged with the duty of extending the number of ratifications to the child labor amendment should, however, understand that until a reversal of policy is openly expressed and the daily press of this country quits its official opposition to abolition of profit-making from the labor of children, that the proud "Fourth Estate" is committed to the use of every method in their peculiar means of warfare to stifle every attempt to free the children from industry, even to the extent of seeking for themselves the inglorious position of being the only industry in the country which shall collect tribute from infants. If this be one of the glories of the daily press, then surely we are entitled to say that their glory is their shame.

Amendment to Constitution to increase the size of the Executive Council.—Defeated after dramatic debate led by proponent John L. Lewis, president U. M. W. A. and opponent Daniel J. Tobin, president, Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

Hitlerism and the German Boycott.—Selma M. Borchardt, delegate A. F. T. and President Green.

President Green:

No information has come to me that has hurt me and distressed me more than this information, indicating and showing

the destruction, the absolute annihilation of one of the finest organized trade union movements ever established by the workers in any country under the sun. A situation of that kind is most extraordinary, and because it is extraordinary it requires extraordinary treatment.

We love the German people, we love the German trade unionists, and it is because we love them and admire them that I feel, as I think most of you feel, that it is the duty of this convention, the stern duty of this convention to make such a strong declaration as will hearten and strengthen and encourage our German trade unionists and their splendid officers who have led them so well and who have administered their trade union affairs so ably.

An organization as powerful as ours, as well officered as ours, led by men that measure up to the men here, trained from childhood as trade union leaders, thrown into prison, their organization wiped out, and not only the leaders but their relatives persecuted.

Then on the other hand, why should any person be persecuted in any land because he may belong to some particular race? The test of citizenship ought to be, do you obey the law, and are you a good citizen? It must not be whether you are a Gentile or a Jew, it ought to be what you are as a man. And do we sit still when the Jewish race in Germany is being persecuted merely because they are Jews? That to me is indefensible. Some of the most brilliant men the world has ever produced or that America, Germany, England or any other country has ever produced, men of genius, men of brilliant minds have been persecuted and driven out of Germany merely because they belong to a particular race. If there is one organization in the world or in America that stands for the protection of men, regardless of race, creed or nationality, it is the American Federation of Labor.

I could not, as a responsible leader here, allow this case to come up without registering not only my judgment, but attempting to convey to you my feelings. I hope, my friends, that the report of this committee will be adopted and that in ringing and clear tones will carry across the sea, so that those in charge of the persecution of our German friends, your brothers, your sisters and families who are suffering, will know and understand what we say. Let the word go there that there is one great movement in America that will protest against the persecution of our trade union representatives in any land, wherever it may be. I believe such a declaration will encourage and hearten and strengthen the morale and the purpose and the determination of our German trade unionists abroad to fight for the re-establishment of the trade union movement in Germany.

Miss Borchardt:

The schools of Germany are in an iron cast. They are trained for the Spartan state to conquer the world. I have here the statement of the German Kultur Minister, Rust, who said: "Let no one doubt but that we train for the Spartan state. We aim to mould an iron cast for everyone." The Spartan state to conquer the world! A devotion to peace has been mentioned here. I yield to no one in my devotion to peace and international good will; I yield to no one in my devotion to friendliness among men and nations; I yield to no one in a devotion to a lofty idealism which says that we, in consecration to the ideals of this country, must remain loyal to those principles which have guided us in seeking to serve humanity and promote justice. But I, as a trade unionist, have been brought up to believe in the boycott; a weapon free from physical force.

The boycott is an economic weapon which is characteristically a trade union weapon. When the question came up of boycotting the lumber camps of Russia that were being manned by slave labor, I was one of the people who was a party to the request for their boycott. At least, I have been consistent. The boycott is the only message that can get across to those Germans. Censorship prevents their getting any other message.

You read in our papers today that the protest of the American Government was not published in the German papers. How can the thousands of fine Germans know how we feel. We have got to help our fellow trade unionists. Because censorship prevents their knowing the attitude of the world in any other way, we ask for the boycott. Furthermore, it isn't only we that are doing the boycotting; they are doing a little of it themselves. Here is an order, under the seal of Hitler, ordering German seamen never to buy anything in America. The order tells them it is a crime against their government.

In this plea for peace, in this plea for the trade unionists

with whom we serve, I feel that I am loyal to the real Germans, to those Germans who were ancestors of mine; I feel that I am loyal to the ideals of this country, for which my father and brothers, as officers in the United States Army have fought, and I feel I am loyal to the finest ideals of the American Federation of Labor and of the trade union movement, which stands for the loftiest spirit of American idealism.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Sidney Hillman, President—A charter was granted to the Amalgamated by the executive council of the A. F. of L. on October 12 during the convention of the Federation. The convention unanimously approved the action of the council.

Edward F. McGrady, Asst. Secretary of Labor.—Testimonial banquet attended by 700 friends and admirers.

Age Limit Is Rapped.—A strong protest against age limits was voiced by the convention.

There is no more tragic picture than that of a competent, able, and well man or woman barred from employment for no other reason than that they have reached the age of 45 years, and in many case only 35 years.

The practice must now be stopped. It is cruel, it is unreasonable, uneconomic, and brutal.

Old Forge Schools Remain Unopened

The teachers of Old Forge, Penn., have had no salary for six months. Relying on the principle "No Pay, No Work," they have for four weeks refused to conduct classes. They are holding out for payment of their justly earned salaries with determination and unity. No settlement is in sight.

The H. G. ADAIR PRINTING CO.

**CONSTRUCTIVE
PRINTERS**

Telephones:
FRANKlin 8124-5-6

107 No. Wacker Drive, Chicago

Dangers Threatening Education

James P. Barron

THE American public school has become the symbol of our national life; it is the manifestation of the desire of the citizens of the republic to perpetuate those ideals and traditions which have created our nation. It is an expression of the hope for a better day through the creation of greater opportunities for development of those who will build our civilization of tomorrow.

The free public school has come to America only through bitter struggle against the forces of greed and predatory interests which have always grown rich at the expense of helpless childhood and an ignorant citizenry. Our citizens have come to take for granted our free public school system and have been wholly unprepared for the undisguised attempts that are now being made to throttle educational opportunities and to destroy the effectiveness of modern educational opportunities to children of all our citizens except those of the upper classes.

An industrial system based on the profit motive will inevitably clash with an educational system which trains the worker to think for himself. Greed will challenge any educational philosophy which produces a higher level of living for the worker out of whose labor excess profits are made, because such an educational process creates a demand for higher wages to secure the advantages of a higher standard of living. It has not been surprising, therefore, that the American public school should have been opposed always by short-sighted capitalists. It was entirely reasonable that such interests should oppose and seek to modify an educational system which was translating culture to the masses.

That an organized attempt on a nation-wide scale is being made to destroy free public schools, no one can deny. That the greatest economic depression in history furnishes a timely opportunity for success is self-evident. A citizenry faced with difficulty in providing the necessities of life for its children is not apt to awake to the dangers until it is too late to save the opportunities which they desire for their children. Particularly when we have passed through an era of graft and inefficiency in our local and national governments which have saddled higher tax burdens on our citizens, it has been easy for destructive onslaughts to be made on education under the guise of economy in government. The situation has been made doubly dangerous because political interests are willing to sacrifice the schools in order to protect themselves. Proof of this may be seen nearly everywhere, as teachers remain unpaid for months while other municipal and state employees receive their pay. Big business has always been able to corrupt our political life and I charge that today corrupt politicians are busy in selling the birthright of our children to save themselves from destruction.

I have been asked to give the impression that prevails in the South, and in accord with this request I shall discuss the school situation in Chicago and Atlanta, Ga. Although comparisons are odious, I shall be frank.

The general impression is that the campaign to destroy

the American public school has made the greatest progress in this, our second largest city of the nation.

Educators and the friends of education believe that in all that has been done to the Chicago schools the interest of the children has either been ignored or entirely forgotten. The abolition of kindergartens, junior high schools, and night schools for the sake of economy sacrifices the welfare and educational opportunity of large groups of children. Overcrowding of classes and the placing of unbearable burdens upon teachers is destroying the opportunity of those teachers to teach effectively. The limited courses of study provided by these so-called economies is depriving the children of adequate training. In addition teachers who are distracted by their personal economic situation and are desperately fighting to secure the necessities of life cannot under any conceivable possibility do their best work. As I interpret the sentiment which I have found about the Chicago school situation, the general impression prevails that the citizens of Chicago, perhaps unknowingly, have called upon the children and the teachers to bear the entire burden created by governmental inefficiency and incompetence. That such procedure should be permanent seems inhuman and inconceivable.

As to the situation in Atlanta, Ga., I must admit that the same organized effort, under the guise of economy in government, has been made. It is extremely gratifying to be able to report that little success has rewarded these efforts. In voting voluntarily to take additional cuts above other city employees the teachers have kept the school system intact, in spite of the effort to eliminate kindergartens and other departments. In co-operation with organized labor the teachers finally secured a bill from the legislature making mandatory a larger percentage of the city's income for school purposes, thus protecting the system from being dismembered.

Fortunately the city government of Atlanta has set up a revised tax-collecting system, whereby the wealthy tax-dodgers no longer escape. In spite of drastic reductions in tax assessments, increased efficiency in tax collections has resulted in considerably larger revenue than was anticipated by the city budget. The result has been the restoration of the 5% cut in August with the provision that the restoration was to be retroactive to the time when the cut was made operative. A continued rise in tax receipts made possible an additional restoration in cuts ranging from ten to sixteen per cent, effective as of September 15, leaving the teachers and all other city employees with only one flat ten per cent cut on the basic salary of 1930-31. No department of the Atlanta schools has been abolished, although teachers are carrying a very greatly increased pupil teaching load, and all other possible economies have been effected. A resolution has already been introduced into the city council to provide next year for the restoration of all salary cuts to all school and city employees and at the same time for a modified program of tax-reductions for the small home-owner and the owners of vacant business property, rather than a wholesale tax-reduction on downtown real estate property, as demanded by certain organized groups in the city.

It is the firm belief of the Atlanta school teachers that the reason our lot has been so much happier than those of school teachers almost everywhere else is the fact that practically every Atlanta teacher is a member of the Teachers' Union which is affiliated through the American Federation of Teachers with the American Federation of Labor, the Georgia Federation of Labor, and the Atlanta Federation of Trades. Without the support of organized labor the teachers would never have been placed on the same basis with other city employees as to cuts and the payment of salaries. Nor would it have been possible through the legislature to have secured a law making mandatory an increase in the percentage of the cities' revenue which must be given to our schools. In addition our Board of Education has been able to maintain the principle that child welfare shall be the deciding factor in its decisions. The fight is not yet over, but the fact that we are on the upward grade lends encouragement and gives hope that organized greed will not sacrifice Atlanta childhood under whatever guise it might try to hide itself.

Chicago in celebrating its greatest Century of Progress has unfolded to the eyes of the nation our marvelous progress in science, invention, commercial and industrial development. At the same time she has denied her own children the type of education necessary to understand and interpret this new mode of life. Every civilization

of the past whose material progress exceeded her education and social development has perished. It is to be hoped that the nation will refuse to follow this calamitous example, but will adhere to a modern program of education which will keep our civilization progressive and democratic.

In his inaugural address, President Roosevelt, in proclaiming a New Deal for the nation, stated that the "money changers have been driven from the temple of our civilization" when they had been driven from control of the national government. Sad to say, it seems that the money changers with sword in hand have entered the temple of education and are in the process of sacrificing on an improvised altar of greed, American childhood. The only solution for Chicago, and the nation, as I see it, is for the teachers to join their unions and align themselves with organized labor, which has already an adequate "Save Our Schools Committee" and has demonstrated from its inception its genuine interest in education by fighting for the establishment and maintenance of public schools. Together they may arouse the citizens of Chicago and the United States and, in co-operation with the Parent-Teachers' Association, drive out of high places those who are sacrificing and destroying the future of America's greatest asset—her childhood.

Federal Taxation and the Schools

Irving Brant

Q. Mr. Brant, in your book of questions and answers in finance, do you deal with the financial crisis confronting the schools of America?

A. Not as a separate problem. The school crisis is a part of the general breakdown in municipal and state finance, growing out of the inability of citizens to pay taxes.

Q. Is it entirely inability to pay taxes? Isn't it partly unwillingness?

A. People are always more or less unwilling to pay taxes. Inability to pay, and unwillingness to pay, increase together. You have had a taxpayers' strike in Chicago, with many property owners, large and small, defying the government. That does not mean that Chicago citizens are different from other people. It is the result of special conditions. The breakdown in assessment machinery five years ago prevented tax collection for two years. During those two years the depression came on. Incomes were going down. Property owners did not, generally they could not, establish a tax reserve. That is, they did not set aside the money they would need to pay their back taxes after the assessments were straightened out. Later, this piling up of back taxes made the burden so great that people were unwilling to start paying. It made conditions especially bad in Chicago. But all over the country the complaint is heard that taxes stay up while income goes down.

Q. That is used as an argument to cut the school budget. Taxes are hard to collect, so part of the schools are closed, the courses are cut down and teachers laid off. Is that a sound policy?

A. No. It is a ruinous policy. But it grows naturally out of the defects of our taxation system. It

affects every city in the United States, and all branches of city government.

Q. Why is it directed mainly at the schools?

A. Because few people realize that next to the maintenance of order, the education of our boys and girls is the main concern of government. Nearly every American wants public schools, and good ones. The hunger for education is universal. But those who control our policies often fail to see that in this modern world democratic government can only survive in a nation of educated people. I would go farther and say that the preservation of modern civilization under any form of government, whether a democracy, a monarchy, or a dictatorship, depends upon the public school system. There are individuals in America, a few individuals, who want to break down the school system, believing that ignorance will make the masses of the people content with poverty. That policy, throwing the burden of leadership upon the children of the well-to-do, might have worked in an earlier and simpler human society. It will not work today. Our high-g geared, complex modern civilization demands a technical and scientific leadership which can only come from the masses of the people. It can be produced only through universal education, through a school system designed, not merely to teach everybody to read and write, but to develop every individual to the limit of his mental ability. Make the people realize that, and they will come to the aid of the schools. You can postpone the paving of a street, and it will merely mean rough driving for one year or five years. But you can't postpone the education of American youth. Education postponed is education lost, and education lost is America lost.

Q. How is the problem to be met?

A. First, by doing the best that can be done under existing handicaps. Insist that public officials collect taxes from all who are able to pay, and let no political influence or shortsighted financial interest stand in the way of using those taxes for the proper maintenance of the public schools. Second, overhaul the taxation system.

Q. How?

A. Municipal government in Chicago, and state government nearly everywhere, is sustained on too narrow a base of taxation. Too much reliance is placed on the general property tax. In a period of prosperity, ownership of property usually indicates ability to pay taxes, but in a depression a man's entire income may be wiped out without his taxes being reduced a dollar. For non-payment of taxes, thousands of families lose their homes. Public revenue collapses. At the same time, men with large incomes may be paying no direct taxes whatever to support the schools or the city or state government, because they own no real estate. Why shouldn't these men help support the schools and the local government as they do the federal government, through an income tax?

Q. An income tax levied by the state?

A. No. Levied and collected by the federal government for the benefit of the states. About half of the states now levy income taxes. The trouble is that they are not uniform. Wisconsin has so high an income tax that in combination with the federal tax it tends to drive wealth out of the state. Missouri has a graduated income tax which is a wonderful benefit to the schools and does not impose an unfair burden upon anybody. Illinois has no income tax at all. The tendency with the state income tax is to go to extremes. In one state, every attempt to levy an income tax will be blocked through the political power of men who object to paying it. In another state, after the income tax is established it will be raised so high that, when added to the federal tax, it is confiscatory. Then, as the state income tax spreads, some states are certain to write a clause into their constitutions promising perpetual freedom from this tax.

Q. Why would that be done?

A. To induce wealthy men to establish their residence in the state. That is what Florida did with the inheritance tax, put a clause in the constitution forbidding it. Millionaires at once began to flock there from all over the country. Instead of saying, "Live in Florida," the booster shouted, "Die in Florida." It was a great piece of propaganda, while it lasted.

Q. What stopped it?

A. Congress. Congress levied a federal inheritance tax with a provision that part of it, up to a certain amount, should be given back to any state that levied a state inheritance tax. After that, estates located in Florida paid the same inheritance tax that was paid in other states, the difference being that in the case of a Florida estate Uncle Sam got all the money, while in other parts of the country the state got part of it. The result was that Florida amended the constitution and levied an inheritance tax. That is exactly what should be done with the income tax. Let Congress levy an income tax high enough for both state and nation, and rebate part of it to the states in which the income was

earned. Illinois would reach for its share in a hurry, and you people here in Chicago wouldn't be worrying about where to get money for your school system.

Q. Why couldn't the sales tax be used to broaden the base of taxation?

A. It could be, and is being used by many states. But the sales tax is not based on ability to pay. It is a tax on the entire income of the poor man who spends all his money, but it reaches only a fraction of the income of the rich man—the part that he spends. Taxes should fall most heavily on surplus income—the money a man does not need to live on. The test of a fair tax is what a man has left after paying it. Which is fairer, to take \$500 in taxes from a farmer with an income of \$1,000 a year, leaving him \$500 to live on, or to take \$1,000,000 from a man with an income of \$2,000,000, leaving him \$1,000,000 to live on? The income tax, the inheritance tax, and the excess profits tax are the fairest of all taxes now in general use. They are the only taxes which cannot be shifted from the rich to the poor. They are the only taxes which can be employed for that redistribution of wealth which must come in the United States if we are to avoid the utter breakdown of the established order.

Q. Doesn't the income tax fall off in a depression?

A. Certainly. But the states which have state income taxes and a system of state aid for schools are the bright spots in the picture today. Furthermore, the violence of this depression is forcing the government into policies that will stabilize business and thereby stabilize the income tax. The income tax itself must be perfected. It is full of loopholes, many of them left there intentionally. The greatest loophole of all is the failure of tax income from tax-exempt securities. A man may invest \$100,000,000 in tax-exempt securities, state and municipal bonds, drawing an income of \$4,000,000 a year, yet on that income he will pay not one cent of taxes, while his neighbor, having the same fortune invested in taxable securities, pays more than \$2,000,000 a year to the government.

Q. Why is that allowed?

A. Because the people do not demand that Congress put an end to it. For years the people have been misled by false arguments. They have been told that such a tax would be unconstitutional. They have been told it would mean a great increase in the interest rate on state and municipal bonds. That would be true only if the principal of the bonds were taxed. Nobody proposes to tax the principal.

Q. Wouldn't it be unconstitutional to tax income derived from state and municipal bonds?

A. The Constitution says, in the Sixteenth Amendment, that Congress shall have power to levy taxes on "incomes from whatever sources derived." Congress has never attempted, in the twenty years since that amendment was adopted, to levy taxes on incomes derived from state and municipal bonds. The Supreme Court has never had a chance to pass on it. Those who want to preserve this great loophole in the income tax argue that when the Sixteenth Amendment says, Congress shall have power to levy taxes on "incomes from whatever sources derived," it really means, "from whatever sources derived except state and municipal bonds."

Q. *Is that honest reasoning?*

A. Perfectly. The world is full of such reasoning. A physician will say to his patient, "Eat nothing for twenty-four hours." After he has been gone for some time, the patient will interpret this to mean, "Eat nothing for twenty-four hours except three eggs and a ham sandwich." It is a perfectly honest interpretation. The patient is interpreting through his stomach. And Congress for twenty years has been interpreting the Sixteenth Amendment through the stomachs of tax-evaders.

Q. *But some argument must be offered to support that view. Why is it claimed that Congress cannot tax the income from state and municipal bonds?*

A. Because the Supreme Court, years before the Sixteenth Amendment was adopted, held that it could not be done. It threatened, a majority of the Court said, to destroy state sovereignty by reducing the borrowing power of the state. That decision, made in 1895, does not apply at all today, because the Sixteenth Amendment gave Congress authority to tax all income, and a tax levied equally on all income would no more destroy state sovereignty than it would destroy federal sovereignty. The argument about destruction of sovereignty is nonsense, and there are indications that it will be stamped as nonsense in the next session of Congress.

Q. *What indications?*

A. Last June, Senator Bennett Champ Clark offered a surprise resolution in the senate, to abolish this tax exemption loophole. It carried. The resolution was finally beaten in a conference committee of the two houses, but that vote on the Clark Resolution means it will come up again in January, and this time it will have the force of public opinion behind it. The American people are tired of seeing the income from \$40,000,000,000, much of it concentrated in the hands of the wealthiest people of the country, totally escaping taxation while thousands upon thousands of citizens, in the cities and on the farms, are having their homes sold for taxes. That contrast has got to stop, and it will stop if the people insist upon it. All that is asked, on the score of constitutionality, is that the question be referred to the United States Supreme Court. Let me repeat, in a concluding sentence, that in the twenty years since the Sixteenth Amendment was adopted, Congress has never once tried to tax this mountain of concentrated wealth. Eliminate this and other glaring loopholes in the income tax, turn back part of the income tax to the states, and you will have money to support a school system adequate to the needs of Chicago and the nation.

Some Quotations

Robert Maynard Hutchins, President, University of Chicago:

I have come reluctantly, even painfully, to the conclusion that the federal government must enter actively into the business of public education. No one can watch the progress of education in this country without being at length convinced that the federal government must equalize educational opportunity among the states.

I never have heard any argument advanced which can justify condemning one child to illiteracy because he was born in one part of the country, whereas another born in another part may at public expense proceed from the nursery school to the highest scholarly degrees.

Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, The University of Chicago:

The second set of problems, however, are those with reference to which the social worker can speak not only with the assurance of an interested citizen but with the knowledge as a professional social worker of the waste and misery resulting from the action of the board of education. These are the reduction in the number of kindergartens, the change in the character of the lunchroom service, substituting a business for an educational experience for the child, the abolition or reduction of physical education, the abolition of the continuation schools and the Crane college, of the bureau of vocational guidance and of the services of the visiting teachers. The educational importance of all of these services is known to social workers from their immediate contact with the lives of the poor and disadvantaged. It is partly out of the evidence submitted by social workers that the undertakings along these various lines have developed and the validity of their claim on the school system has been established.

The group of professional social workers see their own load, whether they are relief workers, child welfare visitors, juvenile court officers, members of the staff of institutions for delinquent boys or girls, or connected with the institutions in which the failures in community life are kept in custodial care, enormously increased; but they deplore especially the volume of incompetence and the misery which must result from the lessened educational opportunity in the face of the increasing complexity and difficulty of community life. They are, in fact, aghast that the board of education having assumed such responsibilities as inhere in their public office could take action so reckless and ruthless in its effect on the lives of untold thousands of the young and helpless members of the great metropolitan center of the middle west.

Remember that to change thy mind and follow him that sets thee right, is to be none the less the free agent that thou wast before.—*Marcus Aurelius*.

Let me see the beauty of truth, and immediately I am persuaded. . . . Truth always overcomes, though for a time it is found among the few.—*Athanasius*.

Biographical Directories under the editorship
of J. McKen Cattell, editor of
"School and Society" and of "Science"

LEADERS IN EDUCATION

1,037 pages Over 11,000 biographies \$10

AMERICAN MEN OF SCIENCE

Fifth edition
1,278 pages Over 22,000 biographies \$12

THE SCIENCE PRESS

Grand Central Terminal New York, N. Y.

So This Is America

Teachers Spend for Education.—The teachers of Bridgeport, Conn., spent a total of \$101,731.81 for professional education during the two year period beginning September, 1930, and ending in June, 1932, according to a survey undertaken by the Publicity Committee of the Bridgeport Teachers' Association.

A total of 546 teachers representing more than 60 per cent of the teaching corps devoted an average of \$186.32 each in order to equip themselves with the latest and most advanced methods of educational procedure.

And for this they received salary reductions, increase in the size of classes, and dismissals.

Relief Funds Pay Two New Teachers for Avera, Ga., School.—Two new teachers have been added to the Avera, Ga., school. The teachers, it is understood, will be financed by the federal government as a part of its program of unemployment relief.

Chicago Teachers Get Pay.—On November 2 Chicago teachers were paid for the last half of February. It was their first cash payday in two months.

Teachers' Board Reduced.—At the request of the local school teachers, on account of state salary cuts New Bern, N. C., school authorities have reduced the price of board at the city teacherage and placed the charges on a calendar month basis instead of the previous 28-day school month basis.

Guernsey County, Ohio, Teachers Unpaid After Dec. 1.—"Our teachers in many districts face the possibility of not being paid before next summer, but in spite of this they have almost unanimously announced that they will carry on," was the announcement made by W. G. Wolfe, County School Superintendent.

Teacher of Closed School Sues Town.—Miss Emma P. Hall, for 22 years teacher at the Whiteville School, Mansfield, Mass., until it was closed by order of the School Committee two days after it opened for the fall term, has sued the municipality for \$5,000 in an action of contract which will be called for trial in the Superior Court on December 4.

\$360,000 is Slashed from Denver School Employes' Salaries.—The Denver school board has asked its teachers and other employes to accept a pay cut totaling \$360,000, or 8 per cent of the salary item in the tentative budget for the year beginning Dec. 1.

In choosing the salary cut method of reducing expenses the board rejected the alternative of trimming costs by eliminating part of the tremendous overhead of the school system, which includes thousands of dollars for direction, supervision, and administration.

The salary cut has been worked out on a graduated scale varying from no reduction at all for employes in the lower brackets to 13 per cent for the highest salaried officials.

Michigan Has 15,000 Jobless Teachers.—There are upwards of 15,000 jobless teachers in Michigan at present, and the number is growing at the rate of some 3,000 a year, it was revealed at a conference on the problem of teacher unemployment at Lansing, Michigan.

Minimum Salaries for Teachers in Alabama.—Under the law eight ranks for teachers have been created. In other words, they are graded according to their educational qualifications and are paid accordingly.

In rank No. 1, which is made up of teachers holding masters' degrees, the minimum for the first year is \$85. It steps up to \$95 in two years, to \$110 in four years, and to \$135 in six years.

In rank No. 2, which is made up of college graduates, the minimum for the first year is \$75. It steps up to \$80 in two years, to \$95 in four years, and to \$110 in six years.

In rank No. 3, which is composed of those who have had three years' college experience, the minimum is \$65. It steps up to \$70 in two years, to \$80 in four years, and to \$110 in six years.

In rank No. 4, which is composed of those who are two-year normal school graduates, the minimum is \$50. It steps up to \$63 in two years, to \$70 in four years, and to \$80 in six years.

In rank No. 5, which is composed of one-year normal graduates after high school, the minimum is \$45. It steps up to \$53 in two years, to \$60 in four years, and to \$70 in six years.

In rank No. 6, which is composed of those having life and first grade certificates from examination, the minimum is \$45. It steps up to \$48 in two years, to \$55 in four years, and to \$65 in six years.

In rank No. 7, which is composed of those having second grade certificates by examination, the minimum is \$40. It steps up to \$43 in two years, to \$50 in four years, and to \$60 in six years.

In rank No. 8, which is composed of those holding third grade certificates by examination, the minimum is \$40. It steps up to \$42 in two years, to \$45 in four years, and to \$50 in six years.

New Jersey Referendums to Authorize Twelve Million for Emergencies.—\$7,000,000 originally intended for water rights is for relief of destitute school districts, while \$5,000,000 from the highway allotment goes for unemployment relief.

Teachers Urged to Take United Action.—Dr. Francis G. Blair, superintendent of Illinois public instruction, told the teachers' meeting at Jackson, Ohio, that "it's time teachers quit being human rabbits," and Dr. Donald H. Tippet, pastor of the Bexley M. E. Church, said, "Instead of 'crabbing,' teachers should blame themselves in the failure of the state legislature to provide sufficient funds for the operations of schools. 'Had the teachers been as strong and as active as the lobbies representing the moneyed interests, Gov. George White would have listened to them instead of the way he did,' Dr. Tippet declared.

New Style in Reducing School Costs.—Portland, Oregon, has slashed its school budget another \$44,165. This reduction includes \$29,700 cut in salaries for janitors and their assistants, \$4,200 off the fuel estimate. \$720 for a consulting engineer dropped, \$500 cut from traveling expenses for administrative officials to conventions, \$1,500 salary for a combustion engineer dropped, and \$17,500 taken from the loaned text book account, \$15,000 of this last amount transferred to pay interest on short-term loans.

Teachers May Join the Union.—E. C. Valentine, secretary of the Jacksonville, Florida, Central Labor Union, appeared before the school board and presented the advantages of organization among teachers. A resolution asking the school board's approval of teachers' joining the American Federation of Teachers was presented.

The board said it had no objection to the membership of the teachers in the Federation, but did not wish it understood that it urged all teachers to join.

Preston County, W. Va., Without School Funds.—

There is no money in the school funds for payment of second month's salaries of teachers and only enough to pay janitors and school bus drivers. The first month's payment to teachers was only their basic salaries, and the highest amount of money received last month was \$90.

Wilkes-Barre, Penn.—Teachers and other employees of Wilkes-Barre School District must become residents of the city and help support the school system. Members of the School Board voted that non-owners of real estate who live outside of the city and who are employed by the district must establish residence by July 1, 1934, and that employees of the district who own and live in real estate in other municipalities must be city residents by July 1, 1935.

Philadelphia, Penn., Reduce School Costs.—Philadelphia teachers are assured that they have nothing to worry about. They are told, "Not a single teacher dismissal is contemplated."

Only salaries are to be affected. Cuts in salaries from 5% to 10% will be made.

Lowell, Mass.—Is this a Roman Holiday or some other kind?

City schools closed all of Friday. Teachers attend annual convention of the Middlesex County Teachers' Association in Boston. Each year the lectures become more interesting and of more *practical* value.

Lowell Thomas, famous world-traveler and author, spoke to the high and junior high group on the subject, "Tales from Far Countries."

The elementary groups were addressed by Cameron Beck, director of the New York Stock Exchange Institute, whose subject was, "The Necessity of Closer Relations Between Business and the Schools," and by Dr. Ernest T. Butterfield, of Hartford, on "Satisfaction in School Discipline."

Pittston, Penn., Teachers Strike.—Forty teachers unpaid for twelve months walk out at Pittston Township. The teachers are owed for the entire term of 1932-33, ten months, one-half month of the 1931-32 term, and one and one-half months of the present term; twelve months in all.

Teachers Unable to Pay Institute Expense.—A resolution was presented to the state superintendent of schools of Washington, requesting that teachers of Longview be excused from attendance at the Southwest Teachers' Institute at Vancouver on the ground that they cannot afford the trip because of their present low salaries.

Hudson, Mass., to Bar Married Teachers.—The school committee voted that all married women teachers must conclude their services at the end of the school year next June and that after that time no married teacher will be employed. There are six married women teachers here at present, two at the high school and four in the grammar schools.

Ask School Teachers to Donate Services.—The school board of New Bedford, Mass., at a meeting on October 27 adopted the following resolution:

"That the superintendent be instructed to keep the schools functioning until the school funds are expended, and that the teachers be asked to donate their services for such time as is necessary to keep the schools open as in the past."

Married Teachers Asked to Resign.—The town of Wildwood, N. J., has asked its married school teachers to resign, thereby rousing a storm that is likely to have repercussions throughout the State. The Board of Education also demands that its teachers reside in the community and spend their earnings there.

Teachers of Syracuse, New York, Set Up New Credit Union.—The newly organized Syracuse Teachers' Credit Union has been issued a charter by the New York State Banking Department.

Teacher Salary Plan Advocated.—E. M. McConihay, of Chesapeake, a member of the county school board of Kanawha County, West Virginia, says guaranty of year's pay for teachers should become law.

Teachers in the schools of Kanawha County and West Virginia should be protected against financial stringency by the establishment of a 12 months basic salary under civil service requirements.

Such a guaranty of payment could be assured through legislative enactment, and legislation should be enacted prohibiting the employment of other than West Virginia teachers in the schools of this county and state, Mr. McConihay said.

The only exception would be in those instances where it appeared there were not teachers qualified in this state for the positions.

Four Months' School Term.—William D. Foster, County Superintendent of Schools, Upshur County, W. Va., says that at least four months of school, and possibly five, is assured the county schools.

Bars Lifted for Married Teachers.—Couples who recently resigned from the San Diego, Calif., schools in compliance with an order from the board of education because they were drawing "double salaries" were reinstated after the board of education had decided to give up its plan. Lack of co-operation, less than half of the 15 couples complying with the request, resulted in an abandonment of the order, it was stated.

With thanks for their co-operation the board reinstated the seven married women who had resigned or taken leaves of absence. Nothing is reported regarding thanks by their fellow teachers or the school authorities to those teachers who did not retire for their courage, intelligence, and adherence to professional standard.

School Pension Cut Studied by Trustees.—Revocation of the teachers' compulsory and voluntary retirement law, under which members of the educational force may be retired on a pension when they reach 65 years of age, is being considered by Chicago school trustees as one of the new drastic slashes planned for 1934.

In addition to the proposals that all salaries be slashed to make the reductions total 40 per cent, and that commercial courses be dropped from the public schools, the trustees are discussing the advisability of seeking a change in the state laws that would eliminate or greatly reduce the present pensions.

Vocational Education in the Public Schools

Dr. William J. Bogan

IF THE schools do not educate the youth of the land what will become of them? With the disappearance of juvenile labor, to say nothing of the disappearance of skilled occupations, society is faced with the problem of training and re-training for vocation and avocation and leisure. True, the educational agencies of life outside the schools are many but they are extremely inefficient. Problems of unemployment, poverty, and juvenile crime show the need for the utilization of all agencies that may aid society. Americans profess belief in free public education but quite generally this belief applies only to a select type of education—the education that has been popular with the intellectuals for several centuries. This type of education is beautiful indeed, and, for clergymen, teachers, and other professionals it is highly practical, but for the crowd it is unattainable because of financial, mental, or physical lack. Therefore, all education for the crowd has been neglected through the centuries. Until it is provided we shall have the spectacle of a so-called democracy guided by political or financial bosses for their own benefit.

For the education of the people society must set up a type of education to meet the needs of every day life. In other words, it must provide education for livelihood. This may seem to be a low ideal to those with their heads in the clouds, but it is not necessarily low. It does not preclude the acquisition of the highest type of culture by those of ability. In Chicago, vocational education is dear to the hearts of pupils and parents, for it provides through its happy combination of shop work, drawing, science, and citizenship, gateways to the trades, the professions, and supervisory positions in commerce and industry.

In a changing world, however, vocational education cannot remain static. Fundamental principles are excellent guides, but modern discoveries and inventions demand adaptation to the new day. Vocational education in Chicago looks upon itself as a clearing house receiving and passing on to its students all the educative forces of the community that may aid them in adjustment to a society and an economic system in constant flux. As a matter of economy and efficiency it restricts its energies to such activities as the educative forces of life outside the school system cannot be induced to provide.

In the Middle Ages the public insisted upon its right to provide for the trade education of youth above and beyond the selfish needs of employer or apprentice. This public interest has continued down to the present in greater or less degree, varying with economic conditions. It took America under a slower civilization many years to accept the idea of compulsory school attendance in the interest of the community and the state, but in a faster moving civilization under the whip of a depression such as the world has never known, society may be forced to consider state supervision of training for industry. In fact, the suggestion is often made that the state may again be forced to take on the wartime supervision of industry itself.

The group most interested in the economic return, the

employer, should take a keen interest in every program for the development of vocational education. Whether industrial processes are old or new, workmen of high caliber will always be needed in great number, and even though machines supplant workers those workers with a basic knowledge of industry will prove most adaptable to new conditions. The education and training of workers is of more importance to the employer than to any other group of society. In the coming era the interest of employer and employee will merge—they must merge for the salvation of each.

In our day over-production, by new and improved machinery, is so serious as to make it necessary to shorten days and weeks, equalize wages and extend the period of school life to eliminate the competition of minors with adults. With the lengthening of school life, schools will be forced to provide an education for modern needs. Machinery, science, and technology will be emphasized in the new system. Will the schools rise to the occasion and give an education that will enable pupils to adapt themselves to the needs of the coming years? Or will they continue to follow the prescription of the dead hand of antiquity? Will they ignore the teachings of science and machinery?

Man in the near future will perhaps be offered a choice of three courses: (1) A narrow education for leisure based upon the traditional teachings of the classics; or (2) a narrow training for work; or (3) a judicious mixture of science, technology, machinery, and culture—an education for adaptability.

Let us hope that in this democracy the choice will be made not on the basis of social rating but on the needs and abilities of the choosers.

Unemployed Teachers Appeal to Mrs. Roosevelt.—

The following letter has appeared in hundreds of newspapers in all sections of the country. It was not sent to the AMERICAN TEACHER, but we feel sure it will interest our readers.

Codes for Teachers

On September 8 the national recovery administration ruled that since schools, colleges and universities are non-profit-making institutions they do not need to comply with the NRA provisions. Thus the more than 80,000 unemployed teachers, instructors and professors whose numbers are daily increasing, now know that they cannot look to NRA for consideration of any kind, and that they are discriminated against without parallel, although urged like all other citizens to sacrifice with increased purchasing at increased prices.

An attempt has been made to enlist in the cause of the group the support of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who has already proved in many ways her unselfish devotion to the welfare of the oppressed. A reply from the White House stated that the matter is being referred to Mr. Hopkins, administrator of the federal emergency relief bureau. Deeply appreciative of this interest in us, we realize that it is a purely temporary measure and therefore we are now trying to show Mrs. Roosevelt by the strength of our numbers that she is justified in asking for NRA codes for teachers.

MARTHA PILGER,
New York City.

The President's Page

Dr. Henry R. Linville

Have We Tried It?

I wonder how many of our members have had the satisfaction of adding to the membership of the American Federation of Teachers! There are some obstacles to conspicuous success in this field of endeavor, but they can be overcome.

Experience a Good Persuader

All of us have heard of the "exceptionally difficult" locality for union organization and the "very conservative" school group or individuals in situations where a teachers' union already exists. And we hear how "impossible" it would be to organize here and there. By experience we come to realize the fact that fears and prejudices are the most serious obstacles to the acceptance of the union ideal. Economic distress or menace are perhaps the most effective removers of prejudice. Sometimes it requires a great deal of distress to stir a non-union group of teachers to action, in part because long-continued submission to injustice dulls the capacity to react normally. Within this area of experiences the union movement among teachers makes a significant appeal.

Reason Number One

Street noises, either continual or periodic, come to be endured while the voice of the teacher adjusts itself to the situation without consciousness of the effect on the nervous system and the general physical reserves. The addition of "just a few more" children to a class of forty leads automatically to a "stepping-up" adjustment of the nervous system of the teacher to a point where destructive strain is operating, but is unnoticed in consciousness. Likewise, teachers have long endured the distraction of numerous petty interruptions, especially from the school office, directly and indirectly. The radio age is now placing at the disposal of the school principal the "loud speaker" through which he may address all the teachers and all the pupils. What this may lead to, no one can say.

Going further into the area of the daily experiences of teachers, we find that bad schoolroom lighting, unclean floors and desks, narrow hallways, and chilly basement playgrounds and lunch rooms which teachers are required to police—all

tend to break down what there may be left of the physical reserves of the teachers.

The Union as Protector

Experience has shown that for the most part teachers have failed to act in defense of their well-being and their capacity for service against these forces of professional and personal disintegration. Nay, teachers seem scarcely to be fully aware of the facts and their significance. In a situation in which individuals can no longer react effectively, the teachers' union becomes the protective agency with its sensitized capacity to receive, record, and react to stimuli originating in the experiences of all the teachers. It is well for us to realize that we are in a position to do exactly the same thing that has been done in the development of the labor movement. We can set up our social standards of how much a classroom teacher can and should endure while performing the educational job well. Do we not realize that no other agency than the teachers' union would do this? I have had occasion to lay these facts before teachers as a demonstration of the way our union movement naturally works in behalf of teachers. The explanation constitutes one of the best arguments for joining the union. In order to keep the union in a properly sensitive state, we must urge upon it the obligation to do just that kind of work.

Reason Number Two

Another kind of work which needs to be done is protecting the economic rights of the public schools. We know first of all that the reason the economic rights of the schools must have protection now is because the general economic order itself has demanded protection at the expense of the schools and other social agencies. Teachers are getting worried about the future, with or without the N. R. A. Attempts have been made by the usual company union type of teachers' organization to react to these worries and to do something for their members. The reason these attempts have not resulted in success seems to be because there is lacking in the leadership that courage which is born of social understanding and that practical intelligence which derives its inspira-

tion from the trade union movement itself. Babes in the woods have little chance while economically hungry wolves are at large. The proceedings of the Conventions of the American Federation of Teachers are full of the records of our discussions concerning the economic and social factors that relate to the welfare of education. If some have doubted the importance of these discussions in former years, their significance now cannot be questioned. Without that early thinking, we would now be regarded as negligible tyros by our opponents in the economic field. As it is, we have a chance to hold our own, and at the same time offer skilled leadership to defenseless teachers.

Reason Number Three

One of the purposes of the union movement among teachers is to improve education. This we do in proportion as we succeed in improving the conditions under which teachers and children work. But we undertake to improve education directly, too. We know that public education tends to reproduce itself and to avoid substantial change. School officials, under pressure of exacting critics in the general public, avoid experiments which would cost more money than mass education does. The members of the teachers' union have learned that their efforts in behalf of their objectives tend to carry them out of the range of early fears into the realm of constructive effort where fears tend to fall away. As we gain prestige with striving for our basic objectives, we shall be able to do more and more for education.

Reason Number Four

Have our members realized that the very fact that we are in the union movement automatically places our members in an educational situation? The union educates its members in proportion as it gives them something to do. We then have *education by doing*.

I am presenting these four reasons for belonging to a teachers' union in the hope that they may be found useful in bringing teachers into the movement:

1. The union strives to protect teachers from the tendency of school conditions to exhaust their physical resources.

(Turn to page 31)

Education for Democracy

American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

President

HENRY R. LINVILLE, New York Local 5;
70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Secretary-Treasurer

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON, Chicago Local 3;
506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ

ADVISORY EDITORIAL BOARD

LUCIE W. ALLEN Chicago Local 8	RUTH GILLETTE HARDY New York Local 5
MARY C. BARKER Atlanta Local 89	HENRY R. LINVILLE New York Local 5
SELMA M. BORCHARDT Washington Local 8	A. D. SHEFFIELD Wellesley College
JOHN M. GRAYBIEL San Francisco Local 61	CHARLES B. STILLMAN Chicago Local 2

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON
Executive Editor

Publisher

H. G. ADAIR PRINTING CO.
107 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.

Disorganized Opinion

There is much comment today on the education situation in America. The liberal press, particularly the magazines that appeal to the intelligentsia, devote pages to a discussion of what is happening to the American schools, and to an analysis of the forces behind these happenings. A glance over the contents of such magazines appearing in October and November of this year shows that there is a certain amount of advanced public opinion on this whole question. There is not, however, an aroused public opinion, and the reasons are obvious.

In general these magazine articles, as well as the radio talks, addresses by public spirited men and women, and other evidences of advanced public opinion, are individual statements and summaries, with no common directive force behind them.

There is, for instance, an article in *PLAIN TALK*, Nov., 1933, called *Soak the Teachers*. The preface to this article tells the story of Earnest M. Lunt, a solicitor of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, alias the National Economy League, who has declared, "The next mob we operate on will be the school teachers." And *PLAIN TALK* herewith dedicates itself "to debunking the false anti-school teacher propaganda which has already been started by our organized wealthy tax evaders." The article does debunk, and its figures and charts are authentic and illuminating. *PLAIN TALK* has a new axe to grind, and its pages may well be a source of useful information, and a means of making more people realize the gravity of the education situation.

In *POLITY*, Oct. 15, 1933, there is another article. This is called *Grinding the Seed Corn*, and is a very neat exposé of the Kelly regime in Chicago and its consequent effect in smashing the Chicago school system.

According to the heading of an article in *HEARST'S INTERNATIONAL-COSMOPOLITAN*, Nov., 1933, *The Little Red Schoolhouse Is in the Red*. The writer of this article was commissioned by her magazine to get the facts on the school situation and to find out how people felt about it. She has gathered many facts and many statements and these, while known to most teachers, may be a source of

surprise to many readers of that magazine.

HARPER'S, Nov., 1933, carries an article called *Deflating the Schools*. This article is informative, analytical, and marked by strong common sense. The author makes no bones of the fact that the economy measures in effect in most schools today are striking directly at those elements in education where the schools are performing their plain social duty. He has, in general, effectively answered all the arguments advanced by those most anxious to pare American education to the bone.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, Nov., 1933, runs a different kind of article. It is the *Spasmodic Diary of a Chicago School Teacher*, and is human and revealing. The writer of the article shows her gradual disillusionment with the dignified methods of getting paid, and finally ends up in a demonstration with the observation that she will probably be the next one to be clubbed! She clearly shows that what she calls the nuisance tactics of the Chicago teachers are the only ones that have been effective, and at the same time gives an excellent historical picture of the situation in Chicago from March 28 to September 11 of this year.

Here then are five articles—there are dozens more—quite different in tone and character, and all dealing with the same thing—the breakdown of public education in America. That the situation is a serious one is agreed to by all. That the articles are informative and do represent an advanced public opinion is undoubtedly true. But the fundamental and all important question is not considered by any one of them. That question is, of course, what are we going to do about it? The reason the question is ignored is, as I said before, obvious. These writers are widely separated individuals. They have no common directive. They do not represent a single concrete group in any one case.

It is most important that teachers be not misled by these articles. Not that such publicity isn't good. It is. But it is ineffective. Direction is needed, and organization, if we are to save the American schools. And that directive and organization can be supplied by only one group; the rank and file of the American teach-

"Thanks for Health"



Exuberant youth scorns caution in the joy of living. Health frequently is the price of that gesture. The chief foe of youth is tuberculosis. It can be prevented and cured, yet it still is the greatest cause of death among children between 5 and 20. Thousands of adults, remembering timely aid from their local tuberculosis association, can look with gratitude at Christmas Seals and say, "Thanks for Health."



The National, State and Local Tuberculosis Associations of the United States

Buy CHRISTMAS SEALS

Democracy in Education

ers. They are the ones most vitally concerned. It is *their* life-work that is being threatened, *their* jobs that are being wiped out, *their* past excellent work in building the American public school system that is being undermined.

Teachers themselves, however, while most vitally interested, can do nothing as individuals. They must organize, they must build themselves into a strong labor union, they must unite on a common basis and supply a common directive to the opinion that is showing itself all over the country.

For teachers to be encouraged by magazine articles, by the various sporadic movements in their behalf, and to be lulled into confidence by such encouragement is and will be a grievous mistake. There is a rank and file organization of class-room teachers, the only teacher organization capable of providing the directives and the force necessary if our schools are to be more than schools in name only. That organization is the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Every wide-awake teacher, every teacher interested in his life-work and in his job must join this organization. Every teacher already a member must bring other teachers in. I repeat, to have faith in public opinion being aroused through individual magazine articles, radio talks, etc., is to believe in Santa Claus. Such opinion is disorganized opinion, lacking in force and direction. The rank and file of the class-room teachers, organized in the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, can supply the directive that is needed, can effect an aroused and organized opinion that will force the money-changers out of the temple, that will drive the financiers out of education.

BERTRAM ENOS.

Fear

The worst indictment of the present economic system controlled by a few powerful financial overlords is the fear engendered by it. Probably never in American history was there less courage manifest among the people in dealing with their problems than at present. Thousands in all stations of life will speak confiden-

tially in private of the misdemeanors of those in financial control but few will openly criticize or join with others to seek a remedy.

Teachers, alas, educational leaders as they are supposed to be, are not immune from this universal fear even in the face of the almost certain destruction of public education and of their livelihood unless drastic opposition is organized against the enemies of education and democratic institutions. Many refuse to join with the friends of education because they fear its enemies.

The attitude of such teachers was expressed recently by a member of a teachers' association which is affiliated with the local chamber of commerce in these words, "We pay \$25.00 a year to the Chamber to fight us. We send a letter of thanks to the Central Labor Union for fighting for us."

How long can the teachers expect their friends to fight for them if they affiliate and support the common enemy?

A Little Plain Speaking

October has been the month of state and county teachers meetings. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to the Gulf, thousands of teachers have gathered in hundreds of these state and county meetings to receive inspirational leadership in their great work.

In the main speakers have stressed the need of high morale and the teacher's responsibility to keep on the job, to keep up standards, and patiently wait till the clouds roll by.

An occasional exception is found, and it is indeed occasional.

In St. Paul William Trufant Foster of Newton, Mass., described public education as the forgotten cause of the N. R. A. "Schools are N. R. A. orphans," said Dr. Foster. "The Federal public works program provided money for sewers, bridges, highways, harbors, tunnels—nearly everything except schools."

At the southern Ohio meeting at Jackson, Dr. Francis G. Blair, superintendent of public instruction in Illinois, told the teachers "it's time teachers quit being human rabbits," and Dr. Donald H. Tippet urged them to take united political action and reminded them that the teachers themselves are to blame for the fail-

ure of their legislative program.

At the Sangamon County (Ill.) Teachers Institute, Florence Curtis Hanson urged upon the teachers a realization of their opportunity in the present crisis and the need of militant organization. She reminded them of the tried support of organized labor and advised them to join with their friends to fight their enemies. She said that teachers had been foolish a long time but that was no reason they should be foolish forever.

At the Williamson County (Ill.) Teachers Institute, President Frank E. Baker of the Milwaukee Teachers College told the teachers that they were wage earners. He did not, however, tell them they were not as intelligent as the other wage earners in this county, practically all of whom are organized for their protection.

A little plain speaking may be very helpful at this time.

Organized Labor

"The American Federation of Labor with its affiliated state and local unions has taken a consistently positive stand in favor of the ideal of free education. Local labor groups can be depended upon to support schools at all times."

The above statement is taken from the national publication of a large "company union" of teachers. This eulogy of the American Federation of Labor as a great source of strength to teachers from a body that has refused to affiliate with it, indicates a sharp awakening to a realization of where teachers belong. Organized Labor invites the teachers to join with it in its program for human betterment of which its support of free public education is a part. This support is admittedly great and assured.

It is not possible that those who realize the value and high purpose of the American Federation of Labor will refuse its invitation to share with it the struggle for a better world, or will accept the benefits of labor support without participating in the sacrifices and efforts.

The present time is one in which it requires unusual courage to be courageous. A weary acceptance of apparent defeat is easier.

Too Many Teachers

We hear from a good many sources that we have in this country too many teachers.

In his radio broadcast of October 13, President Roosevelt said, "We have today a large surplus of so-called qualified teachers—men and women who even if we had full prosperity would and probably should be unable to find work in the field of education. Even today we are turning out too many new teachers each year. That is just as much an economic waste as building steel rail plants far beyond the capacity of railroads to use steel rails."

From this we may conclude that the surplus of teachers is due to overproduction and not maldistribution. Thousands of schools closed and classes of 50 to 60 pupils per teacher in others (an average in the state of New York of 52 pupils for each teacher) because we have too many teachers!

And we conclude further that in America there is no illiteracy, there is no crime, no vice, no delinquency, no civic indifference, no poverty, no ignorance, no disease, no waste, no inhumanity. All that ails us is too many teachers.

God's in His Heaven,
All's right with the world.

Education for the Status Quo

There are yet many teachers outside the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS. There are many who feel that their professional dignity, their self-respect, demands that they do not affiliate with Labor Unions. They feel that as teachers their problems are different, that they are more concerned with ideals than just a job, that their profession is a noble one carrying within itself a certain immunity and freedom from the cares of a more sordid world.

Such teachers are mistaken. Their profession, while it may be noble in intent, has become ignoble in practice. Their dignity and self-respect are brushed aside daily by groups interested in promulgating their own particular doctrines through the schools. For stating a minority opinion teachers are often discharged, they are always in danger. Such teachers may continue to hold to their so-called dignity and respect, but at the same time the educational system is crumbling around their feet.

Roger N. Baldwin, in an article in *PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION*, April, 1933, entitled *Education for the Status Quo*, gives example after example of convincing evidence of the futility of teachers holding such ideas. And he sounds a call for teacher organization and control that cannot be ignored. This pressure on the schools, says Mr. Baldwin, "cannot be offset except by a determined program in the hands of a militant teaching profession solicitous for its own self-respect and independence." And further on he says, "The present pattern of control from on top down must be replaced by control from the bottom up."

Here is a call for organization from a man in a position to know. Here is a program of action which must enlist the sympathy of all teachers who care at all for the ideals of their profession. The AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS is a rank and file class-room teachers organization. It stands ready to welcome, organize, and direct those teachers who insist that our educational system must not go by the board. Is there one of us who cannot heed this call?

Shall the Blue Eagle Fly Over the Little Red Schoolhouse?

The American Federation of Teachers is not entirely alone in its belief that the education industry should have the support and protection of the N. R. A. At least one school board has taken seriously the provision of the N. I. R. A. and the requests of President Roosevelt.

The Board of Education, City of West Allis, Wisconsin, adopted the resolution here included, at its meeting on September 18, 1933.

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has requested the co-operation of all employers in the fight he is leading against unemployment and low wages, and

WHEREAS, the Board of Education of the City of West Allis is an employer, and

WHEREAS, The president and his aides have made it clear that they desire to be guided by the advice of workers as well as by the advice of employers in making necessary re-adjustments of wages and hours of employment, and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor has, by many years of faithful service in the cause of education, proved that it is in fact a most potent supporter of public education;

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, by the Board of Education of the City of West Allis, that as employers, they are in full accord with President Roosevelt's aims and methods in his efforts to do away permanently with unemployment and low wages, and that all employees of the

Board of Education be hereby informed that efforts on the part of teachers and other school employees to organize themselves into the American Federation of Teachers or the American Federation of Labor, respectively, have the hearty support of the Board and should receive the support of public opinion, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to each executive in our school system with instructions that it be prominently and permanently displayed in such manner that every employee shall have frequent opportunity to study its contents, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be sent to President Roosevelt, President Green of the American Federation of Labor and President Henry Ohl, Jr., of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Teachers is continuing its search for another progressive board of education to assist in securing recognition of the education industry by the N. R. A. and public hearings in Washington on the school crisis.

Sales Tax Fallacy

William Randolph Hearst is a deep-seated enemy of the Federal income tax and insists on substituting the sales tax for it.

The income tax is levied, as its name implies, on the amount of net income received by the individual or corporation.

The sales tax is levied on the price of the articles purchased—food, clothing, drugs, and all the things which go to make up a living.

The inequity of Mr. Hearst's position is clearly shown by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee's investigation of the financial affairs of Albert H. Wiggin and his three family corporations for the five-year period 1928-1933.

Mr. Wiggin frankly admitted that he had resorted to practically every device possible to evade the income tax. Nevertheless for the five years he surrendered to Uncle Sam \$2,288,049.15 in income taxes. His wife and daughters during the same period contributed \$1,203,978.55 to the Federal exchequer.

If Mr. Hearst had his way, the Wiggin family would not have paid a dollar of this tax on their incomes into the Federal Treasury, but would have limited their contribution to a very modest amount from a tax on the things they ate, drank, wore, and otherwise used in their daily lives.

Opposition to the sales tax is fundamental with the American Federation of Labor.

It opposes the sales tax "because it represents an attempt to transfer the burden of taxation from wealth and those who are able to bear it"—the Wigginses, for example—"to the masses of the people and to those who are least able to bear the burden of taxation."

But with the striking illustration of the justice of the income tax and the injustice of the sales tax exhibited by the revelations regarding the Wigginses, Mr. Hearst continues to harp about the desirability of letting the rich go practically free of taxation and piling it all on the backs of the already oppressed masses.

Propagandists against the interests of the people have frequently referred to the income tax as an attempt to "soak the rich." That cannot be said regarding the sales tax. It is openly and avowedly a movement to "soak the poor."

It is regrettable that Mr. Hearst should ally himself with those who are opposed to the welfare of the masses.

Age Limit for Federal Employees

The decision of the United States Civil Service Commission to reverse its decision barring stenographers and typists over 40 years of age from Government employment by refusing them permission to be examined for those occupations and raising the limit to 53 years was inevitable.

The justifiable wave of protest that went up against such a reactionary position was overwhelming.

The American Federation of Labor has persistently opposed the victimization of older workers by either private employers or the Government. The 1933 convention of the Federation did not mince words on this question. It said:

"There is no more tragic picture than that of a competent, able and well man or woman barred from employment for no other reason than that they have reached the age of 45 years, and in many cases only 35 years.

Older workers must live. Unless they are given an opportunity to earn a living, they must become a charge upon society. Places must be provided for them in both Government employment and private industry.

The order of the Civil Service Commission placing a ban on stenographers and typists over 40 years old was distinctly anti-social and reactionary. The reversal of the order was absolutely necessary not only in the

interest of justice to the older workers but also to restore in part the confidence which the people lost in the commission by reason of its proposed victimization.

Frances Perkins Hits Forty-Year Job Ban

Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, went on record against the establishment of a forty or even a fifty year age limit in the employment of men and women in or out of the government service.

The Civil Service Commission indicated that 40 years of age would be the limit for applicants in most government jobs.

"I think it is not good economic policy, but on the contrary, very short sighted to bar people from employment at forty, or even at fifty years of age," she said. "There are many positions in which the maturity of judgment of older people is essential, their experience invaluable, and their willingness to modify their own personalities in order to meet the needs of a situation an asset. In my own experience, I have found older groups of employes extremely satisfactory."

Miss Perkins said she had not been consulted by the Civil Service Commission.

Why Teachers Get the Sack

J. Clark Waldron, teacher of economics in the Beaumont High School, distributed leaflets for the striking clothing workers and was dropped from the faculty because he "brought notoriety to the public school system." There was no effort, the superintendent of schools says, to interfere with his freedom of opinion.

That being the case, it follows that Mr. Waldron would have been dismissed from the faculty if he had circulated leaflets upholding the employers. Would he? Nonsense.

Discreet teachers, and others, take things as they find them, and exercise their rights as citizens with due regard to the pressures which may be exerted upon those who control their bread and butter. There would be no "notoriety" attaching to the distribution of strikers' handbills if those who favor the distribution had as much influence in public affairs as those who don't. If Mr. Waldron wants redress, the place to obtain it is in the next school board election. Fundamentally, all citizenship rights are determined in the ballot box, not in the Constitution.—*St. Louis (Mo.) Star-Times.*

School Economies Going Too Far, Ickes Declares

Economies in schools are going too far, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes warned in a radio address broadcast from Washington. "Our schools ought to be the last to feel the pinch of economy," he said, adding that some persons are taking advantage of the "economic strain" to strike at the future of education.

"I do not deny that of necessity some economies must be made in our schools," the Secretary said, "but we are going too far in that direction."

Organized labor has repeatedly protested against economies that curtail educational facilities and has demanded that every effort be made to maintain schools at their full efficiency during the depression.

Some Figures on Illiteracy

The National Committee on Illiteracy, which has just dissolved for lack of funds, reports that the proportion of illiterates in the United States has declined in the last ten years; but that even now, nearly 4,500,000 persons ten years or more of age, cannot read and write. This is well over 4 per cent of that part of our population.

By contrast, Denmark, with 3,518,000 inhabitants, had 672 illiterate persons of school age or over at the last census. These persons had not been neglected—except by nature. They were imbeciles, who couldn't learn. Finland has not been quite so successful as Denmark in her school system—but considering the century of Russian despotism which ended only with the World War, it seems almost a miracle that the census of 1920 found only 1 per cent of the population over 15 years unable to read and write.

Norway, Sweden, and Germany likewise have practically banished illiteracy. America can only "report progress," and that rather vaguely.

The next step in abolishing illiteracy is to abolish child labor.

We have committed the Golden Rule to memory; let us now commit it to life.

We have preached Brotherhood for centuries; we now need to find a material basis for brotherhood. Government must be made the organ of fraternity—a working-form for comrade-love.

Think on this—work for this.
Edwin Markham

Save City Schools from Wreckers or Build More Jails, Says Darrow

Lawyer Traces Crime to Under-education; Gangs Lure Youth

Need 'Special' Work to Make Child Social-Minded Citizen

By Llewellyn Jones

Clarence Darrow, who has dealt with criminal problems for nearly fifty years, declared yesterday the present school-wrecking program would mean a prison building program later.

I asked him to tell Herald and Examiner readers just what the present school cuts mean to the child and the child's future chance of going wrong.

"The criminals you have known were for the most part uneducated," I began.

"There are some educated criminals," was the answer. "A banker may be a criminal. But men who get into jail are uneducated. The textbooks say that ninety-nine out of a hundred have had practically no education. My own experience tallies with this.

Child Needs Herd

"The child is helpless and dependent. He may have certain native instincts, but the channels into which they compel him depend on society.

"He has to learn. If he cannot learn in the schoolroom he will learn in the gutter. He never goes alone—he is a herd animal. If we deny him the herd led by a competent teacher we drive him into the herd known as the gang.

Jail Expense Grows

"The present board members, given in some cases a few days, at most a few weeks, to learn their job"—and Mr. Darrow added parenthetically: "Only educated people can direct education"—"plead economy. It's the only argument they have advanced.

"But they cannot prove it. We simply cannot tell how much we will have to spend on the children they are allowed to cripple and deform mentally. If we have to guess we should guess in the child's favor.

Social Feature Needed

"Meanwhile, we know we are building penitentiaries all the time. Let the board members look into the prisons. Wardens know lack of education leads to crime; and they have prison schools. Why not begin now

and short-circuit the prison out of it?"

"The board would admit the necessity of the three R's," I remarked, "but how about the rest of the school functions?"

"If they were bound to put over a program of cutting, and if they knew the elements of education, they would cut out the three R's and leave in the rest. Any child can learn, in some way, to read, to write and to add figures. That's not what he goes to school for, really. He goes to school to be made a social animal.

"Through art, through class singing, through all the co-operative enterprises of the school, through leadership of his teachers, he is turned from a natural anarchist—which the untrained child is—into a social creature. With every year of this social life a criminal career is made more and more impossible for him.

Thievery Lures Him

"On the practical side he learns jobs and techniques which enable him to make a living; a child prematurely thrown out of school with nothing but the three R's can do nothing but perhaps displace a cheap sweatshop laborer. Today that is discouraged. What's left? The gang, petty thievery, moral degeneracy."

Mr. Darrow sees no sign that the school board is aware of the real problem or touched by the public protest. He thinks the fight may be a long one; it is a campaign, not a sortie. The public must not let its interest flag.

Cites Newspaper's Aid

"You may quote me," he added, "as saying The Herald and Examiner has done a lot of good by its fight.

"New York and other large cities have not only junior, but free senior colleges. We should have them, too. The poor child should be given all the education he can take advantage of; his subsequent contribution to society pays back the bill with interest."

Chicago Herald and Examiner,
August 9, 1933.

The present expense of public school education has come about through definite need and to curtail any of these activities will actually harm the welfare of children and ultimately, the future generations of men and women.

Dr. Melvin E. Haggerty,
University of Minnesota.

School or Jail

State of Missouri
DEPARTMENT OF
PENAL INSTITUTIONS
Office of J. M. Sanders, Warden
Jefferson City, Mo.

September 4, 1933

Mr. Grover C. Ramsey, Chairman,
Committee on Publicity,
American Federation of Teachers,
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of September 1st, beg to say that I am not in favor of reducing the public school curriculums one iota, and what I have to say on the subject comes from thirty years personal experience as an officer of the law and finally as Warden of the third largest prison in these United States.

Crime costs the tax payers thirty millions of dollars daily. This amount is fifty percent greater than the combined net earnings of all our corporations. The average age of those convicted is nineteen, and this means that ten years ago the average prisoner was in the grade school. But what is more significant is the fact that the men who will be in the prisons in 1943 are the boys that are in the public schools today. Today, in this country, we have an army of boy hobos numbering over 300,000 and most of them mere youths. There are nine and one half million school children in the United States that are faced with bad schools or none at all. This is serious; it must be remembered that Ignorance is the Siamese-Twin of crime.

One fifth of all the arrests last year were mere boys and over 42% were repeaters. It is an ugly picture when we know that 75% of all the habitual criminals were convicted before the age of eighteen. You cannot start at the penal institution. You can only expect returns if you start with the child, the parents, the home, and our public schools with their parent and teachers organizations.

Our average population last year in the Missouri State Penitentiary was 4613 inmates, with ages ranging from 14 to 87 years. Of this number 7% had no schooling; 18% up to the 4th grade; 25% graduated the 8th grade; 4% went to High School and 1% went to College.

With the above in mind, how can a man with an honest conscience reduce our public school systems and give more idle time to our children and young men and women in their teens. Surely there must be other means of saving money than taking knowledge from the coming generation.

It is best that all of us remember, we are not dealing with dollars and cents—we are dealing with lives and young thoughts that are human. When we leave, let us be sure that our children and our children's children have the educational advantages that we knew; in that, we can be assured of a future race well educated and with less crime and criminals.

Trusting this may be of interest to you and be of some benefit in your work, I am,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) J. M. SANDERS, Warden.

"Truth for authority—not authority for truth."—*Lucretia Mott.*

A nationally-owned radio system for Canada is practically assured.

Resolution, North Carolina State Federation of Labor

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED by the North Carolina State Federation of Labor in convention at Charlotte, North Carolina, August 14, 15, that the following resolution of objectives be adopted by the North Carolina State Federation of Labor.

1. A state board of education shall be appointed by the Governor with overlapping terms of office for its members and vested with the duty of appointing a state superintendent of public instruction who shall be a trained educator. This state board of education is to exercise control only over the state budget for public instruction, and the allocation of funds shall be in accordance with the pupil enrollment of the school district.

2. Adequate support of the legislative minimum school term of eight months. Recognition that the present state financing of schools is very inadequate. Funds for the support of public instruction by the state shall be derived from a sufficient proportion of the gasoline tax, motor vehicle tax, income tax, sales tax, and a minimum property tax.

3. We fully realize that one central body such as the state board of education cannot be aware of the educational needs of the many and various communities, such as industrial, farming, and urban, each of which presents very different problems of public instruction. The blanket or state wide program can never fit the needs of the many diversified programs in the school districts of the state.

Full local self-government in the local districts providing for increased educational opportunities over and above the state provided minimum, with local control of local funds and state supervision of state provided funds by the state board of education and the state superintendent is endorsed.

The North Carolina State Federation of Labor recognizes the inadequacy of the present state financial support, and insists that each local district be permitted to supplement the state support at the discretion of the local school officials and the will of the people and that this local unit shall determine the use to which these local funds shall be placed.

That educators in each school district are the logical persons to determine the content and the methods of educational procedure that is best suited for application in a particular school district. A school run according to standard set by the state should represent the minimum in education, not the maximum.

4. Teachers salaries shall be such as will attract to and retain in the profession the type of teacher the childhood and youth of North Carolina deserves—and shall be such as to permit growth in the profession and standard of living comparable with those of members of other professions with equal training, ability, and responsibility.

We believe that the minimum salary for a white school teacher should be fixed at \$1500.00 per annum (Colored teachers at \$1200.00) with increase of salary based on professional training, years of experience, and ability in extra-curricular activities, and that the present rating by certification should be dissolved, with a maximum salary not to exceed for white school teachers \$3800.00 (colored school teachers \$2400.00) per annum.

5. We believe in a strict character de-

velopment program, all-pervasive but as definite and purposeful as possible, throughout the entire curricular and extra-curricular activities of the schools.

6. We recognize public education to be the most important function of government, whether it be city, county or state. We also recognize the process of education to be a matter that requires a special technical and professional training that is not possessed by laymen. We therefore recommend, that in determining all matters of educational policies, experts in the field of education be consulted and followed. We will therefore recognize only those candidates for public office who in the administration of the educational problems will consult and be guided by those educators who know the needs, rather than by the moneyed interests who are chiefly concerned with the saving of money regardless of the welfare of the childhood and youth of North Carolina.

7. We affirm our loyalty to the objectives of the American Federation of Teachers and its affiliated teachers locals.

8. We endorse the organization of teachers into the American Federation of Teachers as the only teachers body capable of maintaining a bitter fight against the enemies of public school education. We therefore urge teachers over all the state of North Carolina to affiliate with the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the North Carolina State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor.

New Federal Office of Education Service

How the Federal Government is moving swiftly and vigorously through 10 new agencies and established departments to pull the United States out of depression will be reported this year in SCHOOL LIFE, official monthly journal of the Federal Office of Education. The articles are especially planned to help teachers of history, civics and current events who wish to keep their pupils informed about the swift changes in national affairs.

September SCHOOL LIFE carries articles on "Ten Thumbnail Sketches of the Ten New Agencies of Government," "The Children's Code", describing the effect of the child-labor ban, and "Public Works Funds for Schools." SCHOOL LIFE will also tell how to obtain free, or at small cost, the laws, important documents, and mimeograph material describing the new work of the Government.

If paying more taxes gets for those who pay them either directly or indirectly more, much more, than the individuals who pay the taxes could get for themselves through individual expenditures, may it not be an economy to pay more taxes?

—J. M. GWINN,
Supt. of Schools, San Francisco.

Resolution on the Organization of Teachers' Unions in the State of Massachusetts

Adopted by Massachusetts State Federation of Labor
1933 Convention

WHEREAS, organized labor in America a century ago was the first and only social group to encourage and promote the young institution of public education, and

WHEREAS, since the year 1916 the American Federation of Labor has advocated the organization of teachers in its affiliated international, the American Federation of Teachers, and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Teachers has stood loyally by the organized labor movement in this country, aiding it and cooperating with it through its representatives in the A. F. of L. conventions, in the state federations of labor, and in the city central bodies, and

WHEREAS, we recognize the importance of having strong unions of teachers who are a part of every public school system where they may be on guard to protect labor interests and point of view as against those who would attack and destroy the ideals for which organized labor has always stood, and

WHEREAS, organized teachers have consistently made known their objectives of striving to improve the working conditions in the public schools, and to raise the standards and to increase the effectiveness of education in the ultimate interest of our children in these schools, and,

WHEREAS, in the present economic situation in America organized labor needs increased support for its programs of recovery, and believes that the understanding of labor's objectives will come more speedily through the general education of the people, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor urges all city central labor bodies throughout the state to seek actively to encourage the organization of local teachers' unions in cooperation with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Secretary of the State Federation of Labor immediately undertake through the proper channels to promote this work to the end that a State Federation of Teachers' Unions be made a possibility within the present year.

BOOKS

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

THE PROPAGANDA MENACE. By Frederick E. Lumley. D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. \$3.

NATIONAL IDEALS AND INTERNATIONAL IDOLS. Wallace B. Donham. Free from Chemical Foundation, Inc.

Professor Lumley examines propaganda in its many varieties and methods and suggests that education and the scientific impartial spirit of the university, in the best sense of that term, is the necessary antidote. But the rub is that teachers must teach. Even before any formal education begins the child imitates and even our examples are propaganda. In social science as Professor Lumley well knows it is impossible to get even a fair statement of facts on which to found the would-be impartial conclusion. The open mind is in danger of becoming the mind empty of all leads to action. Pressure from our companions, from the mores and institutions of our environment is unavoidable.

In making his propaganda against propaganda, as implied by the very title of his lengthy book, Professor Lumley heaps up definitions of the word made by numerous writers. Finally he attempts his own:

"Propaganda is promotion which is veiled in one way or another as to (1) its origin or sources, (2) the interests involved, (3) the methods employed, (4) the content spread, and (5) the results accruing to the victims—any one, any two, any three, any four, or all five."

Accepting this would-be comprehensive definition, all the promotional work done by various bodies to secure a new social order should be regarded as education for it certainly does not attempt concealment in any way. The Labor movement like science "thrives on free and full expression, complete revealment, exact portrayal, the ruthless tearing away of all masks." A statement of the facts about wealth maldistribution is in itself education for change, but to the ruling capitalist class it will certainly sound like propaganda.

The fundamental weakness of this book despite the industrious garnering of much reading and observation is that a static and classless attitude is taken throughout. Professor Lumley does not connect the debasement

of propaganda by the World War and the decadence of capitalism in its imperialist stage. In its struggle with the old feudal system the capitalist class developed and used natural science. When it is no longer a progressive force it resorts to propaganda in the worst sense of the term with all the concealment of the Lumley definition. In the matter of social classes Professor Lumley adopts the above-the-battle pose necessary to all educators who wish to retain their jobs in orthodox institutions of learning. Yet with tongue in cheek and somewhat shamefacedly Professor Lumley chiefly concentrates on the various forms of capitalist propaganda and for these reasons:

"For one thing the capitalists have more money to spend and effective propaganda costs money. For another, having more money to spend, this group is able to command the best talent. Therefore it is able to do propagandistically what the other two groups are unable to approach. There is more and more propaganda from the farmers and from the labor unions, and it all does its pernicious work of mental obfuscation. [This sweeping charge is not substantiated in the many pages of this volume but it gives Professor Lumley his getaway if he is accused of being partial.] But the group with the funds—among them we may look for propaganda par excellence."

He too sees that the farmers and the workers, in contrast with the capitalists, are "more willing to rest their cause on the facts" because "the facts are entirely sufficient to turn public sympathy in their favor," if known "The facts as to wages paid to laborers and as to incomes from agriculture in comparison with profits made by employers are so damaging that the latter must engage in propaganda to defend themselves. It is probably not far wrong to say that the party with the weaker case is more tempted to use propaganda."

Another weakness of the book is that it ignores the fact that the complete school system is a bolster to keep things as they are. Professor Lumley exposes how the power interests and the other individual vested interests seek control of public opinion, but he thinks that "By and large there is no elaborate propaganda on behalf of the capitalistic system as against the communistic system in this country." Obviously propaganda sanctioned by usage and embodied in the history texts is not so easily recognized as the advocacy of an entirely new system.

Despite these failings and Professor Lumley's liberal prejudice against revolution, this book well serves as a book of reference for most of the

mental aberrations and fallacies thrust upon our generation. The best insurance against future deception is to analyze the falsehoods of the wartime propaganda. (By the way, "Lord George" (p. 235) is not the name of "the man who won the war.") The best antidote to the machinations of the armament mongers is to recall the activity of such men as Wm. B. Shearer and the more recent exposure in the Senate investigation of the steamship owners' racket and its "lecturer," Clara W. McQuown. The professional patriots and red baiters' lists have one item of special interest, for "Scabbard and Blade" in listing the opponents of military training named "George A. Coe. He is a member of the American Federation of Teachers which has many extreme socialists and radicals in executive capacities." Teachers particularly should read the chapter on propaganda in education for although, as quoted above, Professor Lumley denies elaborate general propaganda for the existing system he endorses the findings of Dr. Bessie L. Pierce and others on the nationalist bias of school textbooks.

Presumably the Chemical Foundation gives away the address by the Dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University to aid in the spread of scientific knowledge but, fresh from reading "The Menace of Propaganda," we wonder if there is not a connection between attempted national self-sufficiency and chemical preparation for the next war, or it may be the annexation of some foreign patent or the displacing of some foreign rival firm is involved. Dean Donham pleads for planned equilibrium in the United States and the fixing of prices and regulation of working hours without any reference to world standards. He proposes, it is true, the continued export of American cotton, tobacco, and other raw materials, but these would be paid for with such raw materials as silk, rubber, coffee, and sugar. Without in the least subscribing to the old Manchester ideals of rugged individualism in trade and the blind competitive wasteful development of industry and international trade, we feel that what has been done in international trade cannot be quickly undone. The United States government cannot buy wheat and dump it abroad without danger. At the moment the United States warships are in the waters of Cuba ready to protect the United States investments there. It seems that withdrawal from world affairs is

impossible. Economic interdependence is a fact. American imperialists and financiers will not be content to stay at home and give increased purchasing power to the native American workers. Dean Donham sees the difficulties involved and the relative smallness of foreign trade and the increased competition for the world market as the other nations mechanize and speed up their industries. If American society were an organic unit, instead of congeries of rival industries in addition to the fundamental division between the workers and their exploiters, social planning could be applied. The difficulties of applying the modest regulations of the NRA indicate what can be expected.

MARK STARR.

TAXES AND TAX DODGERS

There are two fundamentally conflicting concepts of government. One regards government as a necessary evil, while the other views it as an instrument for public service. The attack on the schools, on relief funds, and on other essential but financially unremunerative public services is gaining in strength today. There is a nationwide move to "cut cost of government."

The depression and all of the evils attendant on it are laid to the high cost of government. The plea to lower taxes is being heard on every hand backed by the weight of chambers of commerce and merchants and manufacturers associations.

John Dewey's "The Crisis in Education," published by the American Federation of Teachers, has attacked this problem particularly from the teachers standpoint. Up to now, however, there has been no general answer to these viciously anti-social attacks. Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee has filled this breach by writing a short and simple pamphlet called "Taxes and Tax Dodgers."

In it he discusses the purpose of taxation, do taxes cause depressions, duplication and graft in government, cheap government, efficiency an economy, the debt burden in cities, land taxes, income, inheritance and gift taxes, and program of taxation which will enable essential public functions to be carried on and yet not burden the worker.

Mayor Hoan's exposure of the groups fighting to cut taxes is twofold: First, the answers to the arguments they advance; then, he shows up the personal interests they represent. "In local affairs," he states, "it is nearly always the real estate swin-

dler who runs the taxpayers league." Other typical quotations are:

"Racketeering in private business far exceeds that in public affairs, even in the most corrupt of cities. Where is the civil service examination for the incompetent relation of the boss who sits with his feet on the desk behind the door marked 'Third Assistant Vice President'?"

"When business men began to fail because of their collective stupidity, they looked about for a scape goat and they chose the government."

"We are still imposing taxes on the basis of a minimum of public assistance to our most exploited class."

"If the sheriff catches a thief with stolen goods, the goods are returned to the owner. We Socialists want high income and inheritance taxes for the same purpose."

This pamphlet is number 2 in the Issues of the Day series published by the Socialist Party of America at 549 Randolph Street, Chicago. The cost is 10c.

AN INTRODUCTION TO BIOLOGY. By *Elbert C. Cole*, Associate Professor of Biology at Williams College; formerly Instructor in Biology, Hartford Public High School, Hartford, Conn. 518 pp. \$1.75. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York.

Teachers of Biology in secondary schools, and normal schools, will find that this text not only provides ample material for a full year's course but also allows considerable choice in the selection of topics to be studied.

The text has been organized to facilitate instruction in the extensive use of living things in the course and the subject matter lays stress upon the following series of ideas.

- 1—The basic similarity of organisms in structure and function.
- 2—The dependence of all organisms upon the inorganic world.
- 3—The complex and ever-changing interrelations existing between living things, tending to attain and maintain a condition of balance in Nature.
- 4—The economic importance of organisms—their relation to human health, wealth, and enjoyment of life.
- 5—The increasing control man exercises over the living world, involving problems of conservation and improvement.

- 6—The importance of a knowledge of the kinship of organisms as a basis for more nearly complete control.

Fresh illustrations with detailed legends are included and a Related Readings section is given at the close of each chapter which makes possible the use of the book in courses where the order of treatment differs from that of the text.

Christmas Program

Suggestions and ideas for your Christmas Program this year, emphasizing goodwill among all nations has been prepared by the Women's International League. This pamphlet is one of a series of similar publications and contains suggestions for songs, plays, games, and other entertainment suitable for school purposes. Definite Program arrangements are given with an index of where the suggested material is available. The leaflet may be obtained at cost (five cents) by applying to the Women's International League, 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.



REHEARSE

To Harrow Again

The farmer, after plowing his field, goes over it with a harrow to break up the clods and level the ground. Sometimes, in order to make the field still smoother, he harrows it over again.

Old French *berce* meant "a harrow," *bercier* "to harrow," and *rebercier* "to harrow over again," borrowed in Middle English as *rebercen*, Modern English *rebearse*. Now we *rebearse*, not the plowed field, but a speech, a play, or the like. There are thousands of such stories about the origins of English words in

The "Supreme Authority"

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY

A Merriam-Webster

Write for Free Illustrated Booklet of Word Origin Stories—Are you receiving our helpful publication, "Word Study"? It will be sent to you regularly, without cost, upon request.

G. & C. Merriam Company
Springfield, Mass.



THAT STRANGE LITTLE BROWN MAN: GANDHI. By *Frederick B. Fisher*. New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932. 239 pp. Price, \$2.50.

Strange as it may sound, it is nevertheless true: India was once a prosperous country. Its town, Dacca—the Lancashire of India, exported to England in 1787 muslin to the value of a million and a half pounds. Thirty years later this export dropped to an almost negligible figure. On the other hand, the export of raw cotton increased from nine pounds in 1813 to the spectacular sum of forty-eight million pounds in 1838. What caused this radical transformation in the character of India's foreign trade? The answer is: the presence of the English East India Company and the increasing domination of the political and economic life of India by the white Englishman.

About the time the Indian cotton industry reached its zenith, machine looms were introduced and rapidly applied in Lancashire. The English cotton industry was soon to be found in feverish activity and a howl was soon raised for protection of its gains. As a result of this agitation, a duty of sixty-seven per cent was placed on Indian goods coming into England and only a duty of three per cent was placed on British goods going into India. The effect of this clearly discriminatory taxation was the strangulation of India's sole source of revenue at that time, the ruin of its cotton industry. Dacca soon became a desert.

This is the first singular result of English exploitation of India. But this was not to be the end. English greed and thirst for exploitation knew no bounds. In 1858 the British Crown "bought" India from the East India Company—every dollar involved in the "purchase" being "charged" to India and coming out from taxation on Indian goods. Now English exploitation shed its veneer of hypocrisy and proceeded unmolested in its course. India became merely a tool for the enrichment of England and the welfare of over 400,000,000 Indians was totally disregarded.

And this is the effect of England's domination of India: 95 per cent of 350,000,000 natives live upon small strips of soil, and it is a life of degradation. Their wages range from seven to eleven cents a day. During four or five months of the year they have no employment and no wage at

all! On the other hand, while India's wealth was being drained by the English exploiters across the sea, their henchmen in India—the white English officialdom—built knightly castles, appropriated the gifts of industrial civilization for their own kind, and wallowed in luxury.

And you wonder, how could such a small number of English officialdom and civilians hold under their heels a race of 400,000,000 souls for such a long time? It is true the Indians have rebelled on many occasions but their rebellions were ruthlessly and easily suppressed by the few English regiments posted in India. The Indians are poor adepts in the art of revolution. And the background for this Indian docility is both psychological and moral. Ancient India taught its children "Ahimsa," which literally means the glory of non-violence, and this teaching left an indelible impression on the Indians' mentality. "Ahimsa" is ingrained in his very nature, and thus his rebellions become ineffective and the rule of the English mailed fist rendered possible. The soil of India was not, therefore, propitious for the emergence of such revolutionary apostles as Nicholas Lenin or Leon Trotsky. India needed a different leader. And such a leader presented himself in the person of Gandhi who was to transform "Ahimsa" into the most effective instrumentality for India's liberation from the English yoke.

And what irony of fate! Gandhi was a child of the favored caste of India; a descendant of those privileged Indian families who sold their souls to English bureaucracy; whose two uncles were prime ministers of the State of Porbandar and whose father, Kaba Gandhi, was chancellor of the Exchequer of the court at Rajkot, another native state. Moreover, his parents were of the Jains stock, the Puritans of Hinduism. Mohandas himself received a training designed to fit him for government service and thus to be able to carry on his family's tradition. He was educated in a law university of England where he completed his studies with distinction. Though Mohandas Gandhi in his early student career indulged freely in the wild life of English youth, it is also in England that he first caught the spirit of the Sermon of the Mount and of his own Hindu Bhagavad-Gita, the Song of God. He found their teachings fundamentally uniform. After obtaining his diploma, he returned to his native land. After a short stay, he accepted an

offer to go to South Africa and settle a claim of \$200,000 of one of his Indian clients. He intended to make his African visit brief—but it extended to twenty years. In Africa he became a successful barrister and very wealthy, and it is also in Africa that the opportunity presented itself to him to apply the truth he saw in his student days to a practical test.

The despicable exploitation of black laborers in the mines of Africa, their miserable wage, the shameful discrimination accorded them in all walks of life, their segregation in "lowly" quarters, of which crime even the churches were guilty—all of these factors brought Gandhi to a realization of the wide chasm between the theory and practice of religion as existing in modern society. It is to the bridging of this gap that he was soon to dedicate himself.

After many years of service in behalf of the English judiciary and of the business world in Africa, Gandhi decided to break with them. He renounced his titles. He gave up his wealth. He donned the simple clothing of the Indian peasant. And he vowed himself to the cause of India's freedom through the Indian philosophy of Ahimsa. From that day all Indians became his equals, his brothers. There were no longer "untouchables" in his eyes. "A divided India will never win!" "Forged in the love of God, it will conquer all obstacles."

Soon Gandhi returned to India and in 1916 he settled in Ahmedabad and established the Ashram—a community where the truth was to be sought and where the Gospel of Passive Resistance against the English yoke was soon to be proclaimed and disseminated to all the corners of the world.

Strange, indeed, were the teachings of Gandhi in a country which was washed by the blood of English gunfire. . . . "Love shall rule the world." "Moral force shall defeat the force of machine guns!" "The enemy may be conquered without hate." "Love is greater and more endurable than navies!"

Passive resistance was soon to be supplemented by another and as equally effectual a weapon: the economic boycott. Gandhi exhorted his native brethren to fetch the spinning wheel once more, settle to a simple life, and subsist on the products of their native soil.

And Gandhi at first had his opponents, even among the Indians.

Some of the leading Indian intellectuals and rebels, including the famous philosopher and poet, Rabindranath Tagore, found Gandhi's ideas objectionable. Especially his teachings of passive resistance they found impracticable. But gradually the Indian intelligentsia fell in line with Gandhi's movement. Many of them, following in the footsteps of their teacher, renounced their titles, honors, medals, wealth, and "privileged" ties, and adopted the humble life of their prophet.

Gandhi's teachings demonstrated their soundness. The passive resistance and the economic boycott on the part of the Indians cost the British Government "more in time, worry, and actual cash than any other uprising within the empire since the American Revolution." And in 1932 Lancashire became another Dacca!

The Sermon of the Mount is now being relived in India, and its effectiveness already proves conclusively, in the opinion of Dr. Fisher, its superiority over the bullets of the imperialists and over the dictatorships of the Marxian revolutionists.

However, Mr. Fisher overlooks one singular lesson of history. What may be effective in one country, may prove destructive in another. What is meat for one man may be poison for another.

MICHAEL B. SCHELER.

THE PAINT CREEK FLOOD AND OTHER STORIES. *Alice Paddleford*. Pioneer Youth, New York.

Teachers have long been clamoring for story material that can be used to rouse children's interest in social issues. Something that gives a labor slant and yet is not crudely propagandist. Something that is well written and interesting.

During the summer of 1932 Alice Paddleford was on the staff of Pioneer Youth working in some of the mining towns of West Virginia. She took pains to absorb the local color of the region and gathered exact information as to events that had taken place. With this background she wrote stories concerned with the lives of mining town children. "The Paint Creek Flood" is an exciting tale of how Kitty and Robbie are washed out of their flimsy home during a storm at night. "Poked Out" tells of how the family was evicted from their house for joining the Union. To each is appended information as to the factual basis of the stories.

The NRA may gradually bring about changes in the coal industry. However, the social structure remains. If one would understand the raw side of capitalist exploitation it can still be seen in West Virginia. We offer these stories to teachers who want to present to their children the challenge of the economic crisis.

They may be obtained in attractive mimeographed form from Pioneer Youth of America, 69 Bank Street, New York City, at 10 cents a copy.

CHILDREN—WHY DO WE HAVE THEM? Harper Brothers. New York and London—1933. 287 pp. \$2.50.

"He, (the child) must make the world in which he is to live. It is we who must set him free from the past."

With this sentence as the opening one, and the book written consistently around the theme, Mrs. Russell's book would have been a vigorous and spirited exposition of a definite point of view. However, the sentence is the last in the book, and comes after a wandering and indefinite—although always very lively—treatment of the theme set forth in the title.

The sociological books of both Mr. and Mrs. Russell always promise much and always leave this reviewer somewhat disappointed. CHILDREN—WHY DO WE HAVE THEM? is no different from the others. It hastily reviews all that has been said in recent years of the rise of the family, its place in society, parental attitudes, the moral forces of religion, birth-control, divorce, and the more popular aspects of education. It is, in substance, old stuff, and without the occasional penetrating barbs of Mrs. Russell's always facile wit would become very dull reading.

The second half of the book, called THE EDUCATORS, is the most valuable to teachers. Here the author seems more sure of herself, has something more definite to say, and blasts and bombards many conventional points of view in her very best manner. Mrs. Russell has a wealth of experience gained in her own school and home, and is always honest with herself in her reactions to child behavior. It is this prestige which gives her words such import. One wishes she had outlined a program of action, had given inspired leadership to the great cause of freeing education from the shackles of convention, prudery, and sheer nonsense which still en-

cumber it. And yet, one wonders, what could that program be? At least Mrs. Russell has stirringly called attention to much of the witch-dogma that exists, and she should inspire every teacher who has ever felt in revolt against the many inconsistencies of our present educational system.

Her remarks on freedom of movement and expression for children both in the class-room and out, her wise criticism of our existing sex standards for little children, her carefully thought out analysis of our treatment of children which so often results in stereotyped and dull adults, will give great encouragement to any forward-looking teacher.

In substance Mrs. Russell says, "Children, like women and the proletariat, are an oppressed class." They must achieve their own emancipation. They must make the world in which they will live. And we as parents can help, not by the heavy hand of authority, nor by the sugar-coated pills of precedence and guidance, but by the active work of freeing them from the heavy hand of the past that they might go forth better fitted than we to make a better world than the one their parents have to offer them as heritage.

There is not much about why we have children in the book. What there is in that respect is not very new or interesting. But what there is about children is sound and ably presented. This is a book which offers a direct challenge to all parents and educators.

BERTRAM ENOS.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN ENGINEERING LINES. Published by American Association of Engineers, 8 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. Price \$2.50. 560 pages, 50 illustrations.

I have just been attending a great display, an exposition, in which skilled salesmen have just been explaining to me the merits, not of automobiles, but of vocations. For I have been reading the new book—"VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN ENGINEERING LINES," sponsored by the American Association of Engineers. The aforesaid salesmen have made me wish I were skillful in several of these vocations. If I were back at the place where a youth must choose his life career, this book would help me amazingly. It would tell me truthfully and clearly what to expect in nearly three score distinct vocations, what preparation I would need and what difficulties I

must surmount to achieve success in any one of them; in many cases, the book would give me valuable hints as to where and how to prepare.

I know of no other book that sets forth the facts concerning vocations in engineering lines so clearly, so forcefully, and so authoritatively as does this one. Each writer has achieved success in his line. He need not theorize for he knows. Having been over a considerable part of the route he can advise from experience, the advice that every thoughtful youth is anxious to get before setting out on his life career. The book makes the reader of mature years think how much more favored is the youth of today than was he of yesterday who aspired to a career in engineering and who knew not where to turn for information such as is here recorded.

A copy of this book ought to be in every home in which parents and sons are trying to determine the career in which the latter can be most useful and most successful. The parents ought to read it, as well as the sons. The information about those vocations with the strongest appeal to such readers ought to be studied carefully, especially the one finally chosen. Such fundamental knowledge of the chosen vocation will help greatly toward success in it.

Every teacher or other person who may be in a position to give vocational advice ought to be familiar with the contents of this book. It is the product, not of one author but of many authors, each with achievement to his credit in the line about which he has written. The book seems destined to be invaluable for guiding the youth of today and of future generations into suitable careers. The editorial committee that elicited, edited, and arranged the contents have completed a task that will bring lasting credit to all concerned in this compilation.

D. E. CARPENTER.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF EDUCATION—1733-1933—SAVANNAH, CHATHAM COUNTY, GEORGIA. *Haygood S. Bowden*. 381 pp. Dietz Printing Co., Richmond, Va. 1932.

This book is distinctly local in its interest, and yet, because of its comprehensive treatment of the accomplishments of education in Georgia over a period of two hundred years, is always interesting, and at times fascinating reading.

The earlier part of the book, deal-

ing with the first schools in Georgia, contains much valuable historical material. Indeed, one wonders where Mr. Bowden could have gathered so much early information. That he has, is a tribute to his scholarship and ability.

One might wish that the book spoke more searchingly of the present crisis in education, but that is hardly to be expected in a book which deals with historical facts and more particularly with the progress made in education since its inception in Georgia.

Mr. Bowden should now bend his energies towards a similar book on a national scale. He is eminently fitted for the task, and such a book would be of the greatest value.

THE CHURCHES AND MODERN THOUGHT. *Vivian Phelps*. The Thinker's Library, London, 1931. 298 pages. One shilling.

This book, having run through four editions, now appears as a fifth edition in The Thinker's Library. Such demand must be merited.

The book is a truly scholarly work, in the very best scholastic tradition, and represents the gradual growth of the writer's philosophy from orthodox Christianity to Rationalism. This is no diatribe—the book contains not one drop of invective—rather is it judicious, scientific, and exacting.

The reading of such a book as this, in a day when scholarship is only too often a mere froth of seeming erudition upon a few startling facts, is a privilege. One is happy to know that by its inclusion in The Thinker's Library the book will now be available permanently to those, and they are constantly increasing, who will be interested in its fine treatment of such a controversial subject.

The book contains a meaty index which gives further proof, although such is not needed, of the author's true erudition, intellectual honesty, and indefatigable scholarship.

MEETING THE EMERGENCY IN EDUCATION. Dept. of Sec. School Prin. of the N. E. A. Bulletin No. 46. April, 1933. 27 pp.

The findings of the Principal's committee, together with a summary of what the organized profession through the Joint Committee on the Emergency in Education is doing, with suggestions as to meeting the emergency.

ECONOMY IN EDUCATION. *Hill and Kelley*. The Carnegie Foundation, N. Y. 116 pp. 1933. A bulletin.

An objective study of principles of Economy and Economic Administration, laying no claim to anything new, and having no special axe to grind. Its very objectivity is misleading when one considers the present crisis in education.

THE STATE AND HIGHER EDUCATION. *Kelly and Savage*. The Carnegie Foundation, N. Y. 269 pp. A bulletin.

An objective study of the status of higher education in 10 selected States. Objective and worthwhile as material for further studies, etc.

INSTRUCTION IN ENGLISH. Dept. of Interior. Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education. Monograph No. 20. 89 pp.

Study of the existing status of English teaching with emphasis on newer trends.

SCHOOL TEXT-BOOK REVISION AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, Paris, 1933. 193 pp. Cloth bound, \$2.00.

A study of progress made by interested groups in all countries in eradicating from school text-books—primarily history books—passages likely to compromise international understanding. An excellent point of departure in considering this whole matter for any history teacher.

CHILDREN OF THE DEPRESSION.—M. E. Haggerty—No. 6, The Day and Hour Series—University of Minnesota—Pamphlet.

An address delivered to the American Association of University Women, May 18, 1933. A statement of economizing in schools in several states, with a summary of three types of attack against the schools; viz.; 1. Newspaper attempts to blame school expense on teachers and schoolmen. 2. Efforts of certain national groups to restore tuition charges at secondary school level. 3. The creation of extra-legal committees who actually determine, and without authority, school expenditures. The pamphlet is well worth reading, although one wishes the indictment had been delivered with more strength—certainly it is a damning one.

News from the Field

To the Men Teachers' Union of Chicago

Striving to make a city better,
Trying to keep a city free,
Fighting to win for voiceless children
Their education and their liberty;

Cheerful in spite of threats and censure,
Daring, enthusiastic, true,
Fighting like knights for forlorn causes—
O dauntless leaders, we will follow you.
For C. L. V.—C. B. S.—J. A. M.—G. C. R.

CELINDA B. ABBOT.

To the Leaders of the Federation of Women High School Teachers, Chicago

Superwomen you seem to me—
Such courage and ability—
Such bravery always to fight—
Such eagerness all wrongs to right—
Such knowledge of bewildering laws—
Such deep devotion to the cause
Of children and those suffering wrong—
All show you are the super-strong;
And your adherence to your goal
Is one proof of Chicago's soul.

CELINDA B. ABBOT.

Chattanooga-Hamilton County Local 246

The publicity committee of Local 246, C. W. Burton, Chairman, has released to the press and public the following statement:

The public school system of America is in danger and has in many places been almost destroyed by the demand of powerful and selfish interests, the promotion of which makes prey of the defenseless children of the nation. The public schools are the property of the people of the republic and must be preserved even in times of stress like the present. The policies of inequality and injustice which are begun will break down the morale of the teachers and destroy the schools, if pursued. All teachers condemn them, and all intelligent thinking citizens must condemn them. The inarticulate child cannot complain, but it is unfair to mistreat him. We ask for a fair deal for the child, due regard for his health, his mind, and his training.

The abuses appearing elsewhere have made their appearance in Chattanooga. The allowances for the schools have been reduced in this city to the lowest sum ever spent directly by the authorities from the actual city taxes. There is in the Department of Education of Chattanooga no standard for the qualification of teachers. Neither is there a salary standard. Today, the average teacher receives about half the annual salary paid the employees of the City Fire Department.

Many of the school buildings are in a

deplorable condition as is shown by the recent survey made by local architects and by the Chattanooga Safety Council of fire prevention. Some schools are crowded, and not a school in the city has standard equipment.

Such conditions we protest. It is time for the public to know of them and to bring pressure on the city authorities to correct them. The matter is not altogether a matter of finance. It is largely a matter of the distribution of finance.

In view of the crisis which public education generally is facing and which the schools of the Chattanooga system in particular are experiencing, we, members of the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers' Association in regular assembly, present the following protest:

WHEREAS, the Mayor and Commissioners of the City of Chattanooga have seen fit to reduce the budget of the Department of Education from approximately \$890,000 to approximately \$821,000, of which sum only approximately \$61,000 is contributed from the actual taxes of the city, and

WHEREAS, the city schools are not guaranteed a standard nine months term for the school year of 1933-34, and are returning to other policies not known in the Chattanooga schools since 1907, and

WHEREAS, some teachers in the schools have received contracts calling for salaries hundreds of dollars less than the pay of employees in other departments, less than half of the salaries paid teachers of similar training by the other cities of the State, approximately half of the salaries paid by Hamilton County for teachers doing similar work, and less than half the median salaries for the entire country. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that we protest the inequality of placing the main burden of necessary economies upon the schools and upon the teachers and demand a fair deal for the children, for the schools, and for the teachers.

Local 246 has petitioned the Governor of Tennessee to call a special session of the legislature to pass enabling acts to make federal funds apportioned to the state on a public works program available to counties and cities for the use of schools and other public services for repair work and construction of essential nature.

Resolutions on unjust dismissals and salary adjustments have been adopted by the local and made public.

WHEREAS, those in authority have seen fit to dismiss a large number of our fellow workers without due notice, at a time that was most unjust, and without giving a reasonable or satisfactory basis for said dismissals, and

WHEREAS, those same authorities have seen fit to replace a large number of those teachers with new teachers and to make trades and transfers between the County and City systems and in so doing to refuse to recognize the prior claim of the teachers let out, be it

RESOLVED, that we the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers' Association, Local 246, American Federation of Teachers, deplore such action and hereby enter our vigorous protest and demand that in the future the welfare of the teachers receive consideration and that dismissals be only for just cause and at a proper time.

WHEREAS, those in authority have seen fit indiscriminately to readjust salaries of teachers without regard to experience, qualifications, or service, and

WHEREAS, while this action may have served in some cases to rectify partly previous injustices, it has at the same time created new ones, and

WHEREAS, the manipulation of salaries was carried on in such secrecy and without consulting authorized representatives of the teachers, be it

RESOLVED, that we, the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers' Association, Local 246, American Federation of Teachers, do respectfully petition the Commissioner of Education and the Superintendent of Schools that our co-operation be accepted in working out standards of qualifications for teachers and an equitable salary schedule based thereon, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we desire that in the institution of such changes the welfare of those already serving as teachers and principals be given due consideration to the end that they shall be given proper opportunity to meet those requirements in such cases as they do not already do so.

The Southern Illinois Educational Crisis

The school situation in Southern Illinois has become a desperate one. This is largely due to the fact that assessed valuations of properties in this part of the State have decreased 30% to 50% since 1929, and at the same time delinquencies in tax collections have increased 25% to 50%. During the past three years the operating costs of our schools have been reduced to a minimum through reductions in teaching staffs, reductions in salaries, discontinuance of departments, curtailment of needed supplies, and the shortening of school terms.

Notwithstanding this earnest attempt to keep the operating expenses of school systems within the decreased revenues, some of our schools have not yet opened, many of them are threatened with immediate closing, and the larger percent of them are threatened with shortened terms.

The teachers themselves have carried the burden of keeping many of our schools open by holding unpaid warrants, in some instances three years old. Under the present Retail Code these cannot be accepted by local merchants in payment for necessities, so that the teachers in many communities are faced with the problem of keeping their families for the winter on non-negotiable paper.

On account of this desperate situation of the schools, something had to be done. The idea that it might be possible to secure aid for our schools originated in the meeting of the Southern Illinois Principals' Club on

September 19. From that time until now many things have been done to help secure aid, either federal or state.

On September 30, a meeting of the teachers of Franklin County was called by the County Superintendent of Schools. At this meeting, a code to insure standards in the teaching profession, and to encourage a closer relationship between the teachers and the school boards and the public was adopted. A committee was appointed to continue work for relief for our schools. Williamson County joined this organization on October 11.

This bi-county organization expanded into a Southern Illinois organization when at West Frankfort on October 19 was effected an organization of the thirty-three counties south of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

There are two committees at work all of the time. These committees are a federal and a state committee. The federal committee is trying to encourage the Federal Government to include the teachers and the schools in the N. R. A. program. Also, the committee wants to make it possible for the schools to borrow funds from the Federal Government in order to keep open the schools that we now have. The Federal Government will loan money for the building of new buildings, but that is not our need.

The state committee is working for new legislation for the schools. Petitions were circulated in the Southern Illinois towns to which more than 40,000 names were attached. These petitions ask Governor Horner to include a provision for immediate and continued financial legislation for our schools in the agenda for the next session of the General Assembly. On November 4, the legislative commission of the Southern Illinois organization appeared in Springfield before the Illinois State Teachers' Legislative Committee. At this meeting the details of the legislative program desired for the schools were presented and discussed.

To further their cause for education, the teachers have become interested in, and are joining, the American Federation of Teachers. Several locals of this organization have been established in the county, and other locals will be organized in the near future. We teachers feel that our movement needs the support of other natural friends. We feel that we cannot solve our tremendous problems without aid from other friends of education. Thus, we have turned to

the American Federation of Teachers where we expect to find help in solving our problems in this educational crisis.

BYNA HARGROVE,
MARTHA LAYMAN,
Benton, Local 264.

Franklin County Teachers' Code

Franklin County is located in southern Illinois, Benton is the county-seat. The schools of this section have suffered great loss and retrogression. The teachers have suffered from insecurity of position, inadequacy of salary, and long delay in its payment.

The following code prepared by them and signed by the majority is ample testimony to their sound professional spirit and their right to professional status and treatment.

We, the teachers of Franklin County, being mindful of the unrest and stress of the times, and realizing that the evils attendant thereto must be minimized if we are to preserve for this and succeeding generations the liberties bought and paid for by the blood of our forefathers, do ask the co-operation of our fellow American citizens in carrying into execution the following declaration of principles and code of fair dealing for the teachers of Franklin County:

1. We reaffirm our faith in the principles of democracy as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and pledge ourselves to support those principles both in and out of the classroom.

2. It is the duty of the teacher to know and teach the truth, omitting religious, partisan, or sectarian criticisms.

3. It is the teacher's task to be such a person as good people want their children to become; to love learning and virtue and to inspire boys and girls to love them; to be master of what he teaches; to make school a place which those who go there will hold in loving memory; to be a fountain head of encouragement and inspiration to those whom it is his lot to lead.

4. No profession calls for greater diversity of talent and skill than that of teaching; few are more exacting in their preparatory requirements; therefore its members are deserving of a monetary remuneration commensurate with the service rendered.

5. Believing that the present downward trend of teachers' salaries to a point far below what is necessary to provide for the necessities of life and allow for professional growth is injurious to the school as

well as to the teacher, we hereby adopt a minimum salary scale of ninety (\$90.00) dollars per month for the school year 1934-1935.

6. We think it a fair and reasonable demand that teachers' orders be redeemed in money at the close of each month. A failure to receive such money as is due constitutes a just cause for suspending school until payment is made; and it shall be considered unethical and unfair for any other teacher to teach or offer to teach in lieu of the teachers who are thus idle because of such suspension.

7. We consider it unfair for one teacher to try to acquire a position held by another by underbidding. In case of vacancies each teacher's bid is a matter of his or her own choice so long as it does not conflict with the minimum wage requirement of this code.

8. It will be unfair for a teacher to waive his or her right to regular monthly salary payments as provided in section six of this code in order to secure a teaching position.

9. We believe that a national code for teachers together with federal aid through loans to impoverished districts should be one of the paramount steps in the government's recovery plan.

10. Nothing in this code is to be construed as conflicting with the powers and duties of school officers, but it is intended to secure a closer co-operation between teachers and officers to the end that better teaching service may be rendered.

Believing that the above declaration of principles and code of fair dealing for teachers will help to put in order the chaotic conditions into which many schools have fallen, I pledge myself to support its provisions.

Teacher.

Italics ours.

While I agree there is stringency and bad trade and unrest in the world position to make us all feel rather depressed, I have always denied and still deny that there is any necessity to stop social services and social education; and because of this I hope educationalists will fight as hard as ever they can for a continuance of education and its development to the fullest extent.—Right Hon. George Lansbury.

New Locals

Ten applications for charter for ten new locals have been received since the last issue of the American Teacher, nine of them during the past thirty days. These new locals are located in six different states. Both the number and the geographical distribution of the new locals are an encouraging indication of the better interest of teachers in saving the schools and incidentally preserving their own interests in the only practical way, through organization.

The following is a list of the new locals with their numbers and location:

Hellenic Teachers Association, Inc., Local 260. A nation-wide organization with headquarters in New York City.

Highlander Folk School, Mont-eagle, Tenn., Local 261.

Baker County, Florida, Teachers' Association, Local 262.

New Bedford, Mass., Local 263. This local was the result of a very fine meeting arranged by the New Bedford Central Labor Union and particularly through the efforts of Ferdinand Sylvia, the Central Union's Secretary. The meeting was addressed by President Linville.

Benton, Ill., Local 264.

North Dakota Agricultural College, Fargo, North Dakota, Local 265.

Zeigler, Ill., Federation of Teachers, Local 266.

Christopher, Ill., Grade School Teachers, Local 267.

Oshkosh, Wis., Vocational Teachers, Local 268.

Zeigler, Ill., Community High School Federation, Local 269.

In behalf of the thousands of organized teachers and the millions of other organized laborers, the American Federation of Teachers welcomes the newcomers who have shown a desire to cooperate with us.

The National Geographic Society announces that publication of its weekly Geographic News Bulletins for teachers will be resumed early in October.

These bulletins are issued weekly, five bulletins to the weekly set, for thirty weeks of the school year. They embody pertinent facts for classroom use from the stream of geographic information that pours into The Society's headquarters. The bulletins are illustrated from the Society's extensive file of geographic photographs.

New Jersey Schools in Desperate Plight

Speakers before the recent annual convention of the New Jersey Congress of Parents and Teachers at Atlantic City, N. J., made fervent pleas to voters to support two referenda for the transfer of a \$7,000,000 bond issue to school relief.

The convention was told that conditions in town and rural schools were desperate and half of those in the State would have to close unless voters approved the loan.

It was declared that not only was \$4,000,000 of teachers' salaries unpaid, but \$3,800,000 of current expenses including high school tuition fees, text books and supplies and \$1,390,000 for debt service also was unpaid.

It was announced that the school at Chesilhurst, Camden County, had been closed because the principal, himself unpaid, was ill and there was no way to pay a substitute.

In another school near Camden, one of the speakers disclosed, a teacher whose salary was unpaid for eight months had copied text books on mill-ends of wall paper so her pupils might have something from which to study.

In another school, 48 children shared five text books in history and geography, one of the mothers reported.

A supervisor told of finding in one day three teachers who lacked carfare to come to work and others who feared to go home lest they find eviction notices for non-payment of rent.

The President's Page

(Continued from page 17)

2. The union is the only type of teachers' organization that trains its members to deal with the forces of reaction that are bent on withdrawing economic support from public education.

3. The union is the only teachers' organization that tries to prepare its members to understand the need of fundamental improvement in public education.

4. The teachers' union is itself an educational opportunity.

Are You Listening?

Radio broadcast sponsored by the Men Teachers' Union, Chicago Local No. 2—

WCFL (970 kc.)

10 P. M. every week day.

KYW (Hearst)

6:45 P. M. Tuesdays.

The Federation of Women High School Teachers, Chicago Local No. 3, can be heard every Saturday night at 7:35 P. M. over WCFL.

If you listen, you will hear distinguished educators of the world discuss the problems of public education.

N. B. C. Broadcasts

Federation of Women High School Teachers

Chicago Local 3

Station WENR—4:45-5:00 P. M.

Dec. 6—JAMES MULLENBACH
Former Member, Chicago Board of Education.

Dec. 13—DR. CHARLES H. JUDD
Director, School of Education, University of Chicago.

Dec. 20—FRANCIS G. BLAIR
Superintendent Public Instruction, Illinois.

Dec. 27—MRS. HELEN S. HEFFERAN
Member, Chicago Board of Education.

Who's Who in this Issue

James P. Barron is principal of the Maddox Junior High School and former president of Atlanta Local 89.

Dr. William J. Bogan is superintendent of schools in Chicago.

Irving Brant is editor of the St. Louis STAR and author of *Dollars and Sense*.

Bertram Enos is a teacher of English in progressive education schools, now at the Graduate School of Education, Winnetka. He is the author of *Writing With Children*.

Michael B. Scheler is a free lance writer whose work appears in many periodicals.

Mark Starr is instructor in Labor Problems at Brookwood.

American Federation of Teachers

506 South Wabash Avenue
CHICAGO, ILL.



The American Federation of Teachers

desires to establish an intimate contact and an effective co-operation between the teachers and the other workers of the community.

The American Federation of Teachers

desires to co-operate with all civic organizations for improved civic life.

Groups of seven or more public school teachers are invited to affiliate with this National Organization of Classroom Teachers, for mutual assistance, improved professional standards and the democratization of the schools.

Our Slogan Is:

Democracy in Education: Education for Democracy

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

is published bi-monthly by **The American Federation of Teachers.**
Membership dues carry subscription to the magazine. To all others the
subscription price is \$1.00 per year, 25 cents per copy.