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American Teacher

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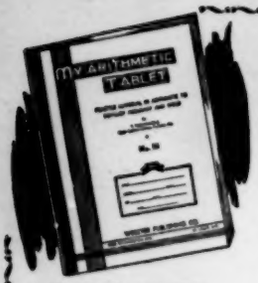
A.F. of T.
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION
EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

VOL. XIX JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1935 No. 3



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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

VOL. XIX JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1935 No. 3

The Election in Kellogg

ONE DAY last May three teachers in Kellogg, Idaho, which is in the copper country, read in their local paper that their successors had been hired by the Kellogg School Board. No notification had been given them by the Superintendent or the School Board that they would not be re-elected to their positions. No explanation of their dismissal could be obtained from either the Superintendent or the School Board.

These three teachers, Miss Natalie Ferguson, T. B. Kelly, and L. H. Thornburg, were active members of A. F. T. Local 278, which had been successful in securing a substantial increase in salary for teachers through influencing the miners to vote more millage for education support in the face of the opposition of the bankers and mine operators.

An attorney was at once employed and ouster proceedings against the School Board started. Mr. George Vanderveer who handled the "yellow dog" contract case for the Seattle teachers, was also retained as attorney for the Kellogg teachers. Unfortunately the recall does not apply to school boards. Representatives of the American Federation of Teachers and the Regional Labor Board visited Kellogg and investigated the case, finding no fair reason for the dismissals. Mr. Charles Hope of the Seattle Regional Labor Board, acting under instructions from Washington, visited Kellogg in the effort to arbitrate the case. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor asked the Federal government to send a conciliator to make a thorough investigation. Vice-presidents Darling and Satterthwaite of the American Federation of Teachers visited Kellogg and made a thorough investigation. All of these found no fair reason for the dismissals.

The teachers believed, with reason, that 90% of the citizens were with them. Five hundred signers on the petition to oust the school board from office were obtained without difficulty. From the beginning the public showed that it was hot on the trail of a school board which would be guilty of such rank discrimination. They, therefore, decided to try their case at the bar of public opinion while waiting for court action. Since no press was available to them, they distributed handbills for the information of the public, and told their story in paid advertisements.

All three teachers entered the primary election on August 14, Miss Ferguson for county superintendent of schools, Mr. Kelly for Probate Judge, and Mr. Thornburg for the state legislature, with the result that they all three not only won but by big majorities.

In the campaign which followed Mr. Kelly was State Committeeman and Miss Ferguson State Committee woman of the Democratic Central Committee.

In the general election in November all three teachers won by good margins. The Teachers and the Miners Union have achieved the most remarkable victory Shoshone county has ever experienced. They won all county offices except four; they have the three county commissioners who control the money of the county; they have chosen the county democratic chairman; they have sixteen precinct committeemen out of twenty-two; they have a state democratic governor.

This is a marvelous victory. The Republicans and the old-line Democrats who lost the primary election were both whipped. Any amount of money; all the possible noise and ballyhoo; all the mud-slinging and branding as communists, reds, radicals, incompetents; all the attempts to steal the election, came to naught. The labor ticket with three union teachers WON.

And how? They organized. They brought in able speakers including Senator Wheeler and Congressman Monaghan of Montana. They knew their opponents and enemies and they watched them. **They told the people the truth and the people backed them up with votes.**

We are indeed proud of our Kellogg teachers. They have been vindicated by the people, and the mine operators who had them fired have been slapped in the face by the voters of Shoshone County.

Our Kellogg teachers have given an object lesson in the value of organization. They have shown the wisdom of joining with their friends to fight their enemies. They have put on a real demonstration of what the American Federation of Teachers can do for its members.

It remains to be seen how well the lesson on *Why Join the American Federation of Teachers* has been learned by teachers everywhere.

We can do, if we will do.

But will we?

A Critical Evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Education at Smith College, May, 1934

Aileen W. Robinson

CHAPTER IV.

METHODS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

THE foregoing chapter considered in a general way some of the outstanding aims and objectives of the American Federation of Teachers as found by a study of their convention reports.

Two questions, vital from the point of view of the effectiveness of the organization, now present themselves. What does the group actually do to accomplish its aims? What methods does it use?

That accomplishment is a criterion of a social group, David Snedden avers. In commenting on teachers' organizations in general, he says:

> These existing organizations rarely formulate or consistently pursue definite social policies. They frequently express lofty ideals in resolutions and then proceed to neglect their offspring as the codfish neglects its eggs. Their aspirations are but seed sown on the rock or else fleecy summer clouds that are speedily dissolved in thin air. Not so do strong social groups cherish their ideals and policies. (*52*, 533.)

Therefore, in an attempt to determine whether this is a strong social group or not, the effectiveness of the American Federation of Teachers in translating its resolutions into action was examined. The AMERICAN TEACHER, since it devotes much of its space to an account of the activities of the various locals, provided the chief source for this study.

Methods

When it is known that the Federation is organized on the union basis, many people raise an immediate objection to such an association for teachers, for they feel it means that teachers will employ the tactics of Labor in promoting their cause. Such is not the case. The Federation claims that no local within the organization has ever resorted to the strike as a method of attaining its ends. Moreover, because the American Federation of Labor has given the teachers a charter of complete autonomy, no organization can call the teachers out on strike, nor does the American Federation of Teachers endorse the strike policy. (*59*, 91.)

Looking back into its history, it can be seen that organization and affiliation were early recognized as effective means of securing results and power. That was why the Chicago Teachers' Federation turned to Labor in 1902, when it felt that it could not secure results without a powerful ally. That was why the American Federation of Teachers when organizing in 1916 affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It is an application of the old adage, "In union there is strength."

It is on the point of choice of allies that much debate has raged. There are two main arguments advanced against a union with labor; first, that it is "unprofessional" for the teacher to class himself with the common worker of America (*30*, 352); secondly, that the public school serves all classes, and the teacher in the interest of maintaining the impartiality of the schools should not side with any particular class. (*53*, 737.)

Each of these arguments is supported by many educators, but it is quite safe to state that in general conservatives oppose affiliation with Labor while liberals favor such a step.

From the point of view of the Federation both arguments previously stated are unrealistic and ignore conditions as they actually exist in the United States today. First, teaching is not as yet a profession, because it does not embody the characteristics of a profession. Speaking of the "professional" attitude of some teachers, the American Federation of Teachers describes the situation as follows:

> For generations public school teachers have salved their pride with this pitiful substitute (membership in a "profession") for adequate remuneration and a position of influence in the community. They have refused to face the obvious fact that whereas doctors, lawyers, architects, and other professional men can control their hours, the conditions under which they work, and the amount of their fees, teachers, as individuals, have almost no control over these matters so vital to their welfare. The results are that the vast majority of teachers receive a smaller annual wage than unskilled laborers, and exert far less influence in their calling and in the community than any other skilled workers. (*68.*)

John Dewey calls this unwillingness on the part of educators to face conditions as they actually are "a kind of intellectual and social exclusiveness, an academic snobbery." (*17*, 5.) Consequently, according to the Federation, in order to make teaching into the profession which it should be, one must be realistic and remedy root conditions. When one advocates remedying "root" conditions, one is a radical. Therefore, the position of the Federation on these questions is a radical position.

Secondly, the argument that the teacher should refrain from uniting with a class, in the interest of preserving the impartiality of the school, is based on the assumption that the school is impartial and free from class consciousness. This assumption would be difficult to support, in view of the fact that school boards are drawn almost entirely from one class—the upper-middle class of business and professional people (*5*, 74); that text books are sometimes subsidized by vested interests. According to revelations before the Federal Trade Commission the National

Electric Light Association subsidized the Harvard School of Business Administration to the extent of $30,000 a year for its research staff in public utilities management, for the avowed purpose of having them produce an adequate text book on public utility corporations, which "would better appear under academic auspices than as a publication of this association." In addition, the National Electric Light Association said:

> It is obvious that such literature bearing the imprint of Harvard University would be quite generally adopted by other institutions. (*45*, 16.)

Granted that the school should be impartial, does it follow that affiliating with Labor will make an impartial teacher into an indoctrinator? If so, we should also ask teachers to refrain from joining Christian churches, for it might make them hostile to Jews who are in our public schools in large numbers, and to refrain from joining the Republican party since they might try to influence Democrats.

It would seem that the arguments advanced against affiliating with Labor are inclined to be unrealistic, but when it comes to an examination of the effectiveness of affiliating with Labor as a method of achieving aims, the situation must also be examined realistically. In the history of the organization it was pointed out that the Federation experienced growth when Labor was flourishing, and entered a period of decline with Labor. Thus, it would seem that union with Labor has its disadvantages as well as its advantages. Moreover, it is true that in many small localities where Labor is not well organized or powerful, the affiliation is a distinct handicap to the Federation. (*72*, 66.)

Consequently, in attempting to judge the effectiveness of the Federation, one must weigh the aid which organized Labor can give in the shape of trained organizers, lobbyists, legal support, etc., against the hostility which it arouses to have the teachers affiliate with Labor.

Since the Federation has renounced the strike as a method of achieving its aims, it has chosen instead the way of propaganda, which it calls "publicity, organization, and political action." (*59*, 91.) Propaganda is a war of ideas, and whether it is good or bad depends largely on the correctness of the information given out. Mr. E. L. Bernays, the well-known public relations counsel, in his book entitled *Propaganda*, says,

> Propaganda will never die out. Intelligent men must realize that propaganda is the modern instrument by which they can fight for productive ends and help to bring order out of chaos. (*3*, 159.)

Mr. Bernays further states:

> An occasional McAndrew case calls the attention of the public to the fact that in some schools the teacher is far from enjoying full academic freedom, while in certain communities the choice of teachers is based upon political or sectarian considerations rather than upon real ability. If such issues were made, by means of propaganda, to become a matter of public concern on a truly national scale, there would doubtless be a general tendency to improvement. (*3*, 124.)

This is exactly what the Federation is attempting to do. Consequently, the question arises, why has the Federation not been more successful after seventeen years of attempting to arouse "public concern on a truly national scale"?

In writing of propaganda technique used in the World War, Harold D. Lasswell, a professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, says,

> Propagandists are always likely to run foul of some deeply imbedded prejudice. (*10*, 186).

and,

> Success depends upon traditional prejudices and the changing level of popular irritability. (*10*, 192.)

This offers an answer for the lack of success. Prejudice against teachers uniting with Labor has offset all the efforts of the Federation to stir public opinion. However, this may not be a permanent obstacle to its success, provided the "changing level of popular irritability," as in this time of depression, shifts in regard to Labor.

In addition to the prejudice of the conservative element in the community against the alliance of teachers with Labor, there is also a feeling among the radicals against such a union. To them the American Federation of Labor is "ineffective" and "bossridden." They feel that

> The American Federation has just one "pure and simple" business—how to create a united front which is able to deal as one man with any situation regarding higher wages, shorter hours, slower speed, stricter shop control of jobs, and permanence of unionism. (*78*, 26.)

Another reason for lack of greater success might be a mistaken emphasis in propaganda for Bernays says (*3*, 124),

> The appeal must be predicated upon the actual present composition of the public mind.

Judging from the criticisms of it (*33*, 191), the Federation has created the impression that it is more interested in the welfare of the teachers than in the general good of the schools, the children, the public, etc., while the composition of the public mind is such that if it thinks the teachers are self-seekers, it will react with hostility. Consequently, if the Federation wishes to be effective, it must stress more the fact that the condition of the teacher must be improved for the sake of the school and the child. The public mind is used to such indirections, and not the direct, forthright propaganda of the Federation.

In spite of its difficulties with propaganda, its type of organization is a distinct asset to effective propaganda. Because it is organized on the local plan, the local press is much more open to it than to an organization of the type of the National Education Association which is not concerned with local conditions. (*1*, 39.) Therefore, it has elements of strength as well as weakness inherent in its form of organization and propaganda.

Activities

Dr. Howard Beale, who was appointed by the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association to study the problem of freedom in teaching, writes (*71*):

> The American Federation of Teachers is among organizations at present in existence the one really effective friend of freedom for the teacher.

He characterized the American Association of University Professors as an organization lacking courage, vitality, and power.

But, he says,

> The A. A. U. P. appears a tower of freedom when com-

parel with the NEA which most of the teachers in the lower school depend on for what protection they get.

The American Federation of Teachers has made many fights for the freedom of teachers, and the struggle which it went through in Seattle was chosen for discussion here, not because it was the most successful or outstanding, but because it illustrates so clearly the method of procedure used by the Federation and the advantages of the type of organization peculiar to it.

In October, 1927, Local 200 of the American Federation of Teachers was chartered as the High School Teachers Union of Seattle, Washington. The teachers in Seattle had for many years had a low salary scale, ranking last for cities of their size in the maximum salary for high school teachers. In 1920 they had obtained a raise, only to be cut again in 1922. Finally, after vigorous, but futile, attempts in 1927 to have the salary scale increased, the teachers decided to unionize. (*46*, 3.)

The purpose of organization was said to be "the welfare of Seattle youth and the teachers' economic betterment." Forty per cent of all the high school teachers enrolled at once, and more continued to join. Three-fourths of all high school heads of departments belonged, and the constitution soon had to be amended to admit the professors from the University of Washington who wished to join. (*27*, 18.)

Soon after they organized, the teachers launched a salary campaign, and formed a taxation and tenure committee. Interest of teachers all over the state was aroused, as tenure through the entire state was limited by contract to one year. They also declared that revenue rightfully belonging to the children of the state was never collected, and they proposed to investigate tax evaders. (*51*, 31.)

In May, 1928, the Teachers Union entered local politics. It opposed a reactionary member of the Seattle School Board, who was up for re-election, and supported a progressive in civic affairs. The vote cast was an unusually large one, showing that the teachers had stirred the public, and the reactionary member was returned to the board by a very small vote. Also, early in May the efforts of the public utilities and the power trust to dominate public opinion through control of school texts were exposed to the press by the teachers. (*46*, 3.)

On May 8, the Board presented the teachers with new contracts, which demanded as a condition of employment that the teacher sign a clause reading,

> I hereby declare that I am not a member of the American Federation of Teachers, nor of any local thereof, and will not become a member during the term of this contract.

Thus, it should be noted, after the Union had made a distinct threat to power in local affairs, and had exposed the propaganda of the power trust in the state of Washington, the teachers were presented with a "yellow dog" contract. (*46*, 3.)

The Seattle Teachers Union secured a temporary restraining order which prevented the Board's action until a hearing before the courts on May 11th when it hoped to get an injunction against the enforcement of the Board's demands. (*46*, 3.)

The Seattle Union informed the National Office of the American Federation of Teachers of its plight. The National Office, in accordance with Article II of the constitution, pledging it "to bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance," went to work at once to afford aid and to arouse public opinion. It wired a vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, living in Portland, Oregon, to go to Seattle to help the teachers. It instructed Miss Borchardt, legislative representative of the American Federation of Teachers in Washington, D. C., to see President William Green of the American Federation of Labor. It asked the California State Federation of Teachers, which had successfully fought the "yellow dog" contract, to advise Seattle. (*46*, 4.)

President Green replied with advice, a statement for the papers, and offers of legal assistance. He also urged the Seattle Central Labor Union to support the teachers. Teachers' unions, which had fought the same kind of contract, sent messages of sympathy and support. (*46*, 4.)

Miss Borchardt in Washington, telegraphed as follows to the National office in Chicago:

> Not going to Philadelphia. Busy on Seattle case here; working on national board of Y. W. C. A., Federal Council of Churches, National Catholic Welfare Council. Advise you ask their help also. Father Ryan wired protest. Expect to get protest from Washington senators tomorrow. Green's statement will be read on floor of Congress. Wire me result of court decision. (*46*, 5).

Dr. Henry Linville, president of Local 5 of New York City, put all the machinery and resources of the New York local to work. As a result Professor John Dewey protested to the Seattle School Board, as did also Rabbi Stephen Wise, Herman Oliphant, William Kilpatrick, William Bagley, Paul Douglas, Robert M. Lovett and Father Ryan, all of whom were eminent in civic and educational activities. (*46*, 5.)

All of these facts are interesting and pertinent, inasmuch as they show the machinery of the American Federation of Teachers at work, and demonstrate how the national organization stands ready to use all its channels of propaganda to aid a local in distress.

The suit of Local 200, seeking to restrain the Board from enforcing a "yellow dog" contract was denied, and the case appealed to the State Supreme Court. While the case was pending, a temporary restraining order was refused, and the teachers were presented again with the contracts. Acting on the advice of labor leaders and the American Federation of Teachers, the teachers signed, with the exception of Mr. W. B. Satterthwaite, who drew a line through the objectionable clause in his contract. His connection with the Seattle schools was thereby severed. (*50*, 4.)

Local 200 was now a teachers' union without members in the public schools. Mr. Satterthwaite was made president, and the university professors comprised the membership. According to an editorial in the AMERICAN TEACHER (*46*, 6), the Seattle Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution commending the school board for its action, and at the same time they wrote to Local 200, asking that Union to use its influence to have the American Federation of Teachers hold its national convention in Seattle in the near future.

In July, the National Education Association held its annual convention in Minneapolis. A delegate to the convention from California introduced a resolution condemning the Seatle School Board's restrictive regulation. The resolutions committee refused to present the resolution to the convention, so the California delegate brought the matter up on the floor. The trend

of the argument against it was that "the National Education Association should not meddle in local affairs." (*47*, 5.) The resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

To contrast the attitude of the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers on questions of civil liberty for teachers, the reply of the American Federation of Teachers to the statement of the National Education Association is pertinent:

> This question is not a local matter. It would seem to be extremely short sighted and to show a lack of understanding to characterize this Seattle situation as a "local quarrel." It is a matter that involves much more than the signing of a contract. It involves every teacher from coast to coast. The right of teachers to join an organization of their own choice, including as it does everything that is American, democratic, fair, and just, certainly cannot by any intelligent individual be regarded as a local dispute between the teachers and the Seattle School Board. One may as well say that slavery in antebellum days was a local dispute in which only the slave and his owner were interested, or that an anti-evolution law in Tennessee is a local difference between Scopes and his Board of Directors. The very fundamentals of education, of freedom, of Americanism are involved. It is a matter of grave concern to the future of our schools and of the Republic that a group of educators could take a position so lacking in vision and understanding. (*47*, 6.)

The Seattle labor bodies helped to finance the appeal to the State Supreme Court, as did also the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Teachers. While the appeal was pending, Local 200 busied itself in a campaign for a state tenure law, and a movement to displace the reactionary school board in Seattle. It enlisted the Seattle Central Labor Council and the Washington State Federation of Labor in support of its program.

The first sign of success came when a State Superintendent, favoring a tenure law, was elected. (*48*, 29.) The next gain was made when two school board members favoring the right of teachers to unionize, were elected to the Seattle School Board. These candidates had been endorsed by the teachers, and, although a minority on the Board, marked the entering wedge of opinion favorable to the teachers. (*49*, 32.)

In the meantime, the State Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the lower court, but was not unanimous in its decision. The American Federation of Teachers was planning a further appeal to the United States Supreme Court, when the School Board, in January, 1931, dropped the offending clause from its contracts. (*20*, 10.)

It is such struggles as this that give the American Federation of Teachers the name of a fighting, or militant organization. Because such fights are so utterly different from the activities of other teachers' organizations (*18*, 72), certain educators mistakenly believe that it is the only form of activity which engages the attention of the American Federation of Teachers. Such is far from the case.

In the summer of 1927, Local 5 of New York City carried on an experimental summer school at Manumit School in Pawling, New York. This school was planned to introduce public school teachers of New York to the technique, psychology, and philosophy of progressive education, in order that "ultimately the public schools may profit through learning a method that is now largely restricted to a few experimental private schools." (*29*, 224.)

The school opened with seventy-five children and twenty-five "student-teachers." The actual teachers for the groups of children were selected from some of the outstanding progressive schools in and around New York. The "student-teachers" observed the children, had a seminar, and a work-shop period. (*25*, 103.)

As another indication of its interest in progressive education, Local 5 sent a delegate to the Locarno conference of the New Education Fellowship in August, 1927. (*24*, 13.) The New Education Fellowship is the international organization of progressive educators.

In many localities the teachers engaged in campaigns for the adequate support of the public schools by an investigation into the local tax situation. (*15*, 4.) In some places they protested against the practices of Community Chest drives saying:

> The attempt to set for us the amount each of us should give is an effrontery, if nothing more. Who, but the individual himself, can be the true judge as to what he can give? If the amount wanted is to be a tax, then let us not call it giving. Furthermore, if the proposed day's pay is to be in the nature of a tax, then the tax ought by all means to be a progressive one. In which case, the Community Chest should announce that whereas day laborers and teachers should give, perhaps, a day and one-fourth pay, lawyers and bankers, should give five days, captains of industry, ten days, etc., on up the line. But no, we hear only one day's pay for everyone. It's a safe guess that a day laborer did not sit on the original committee that devised that brilliant idea. (*38*, 30.)

To return to David Snedden's criterion of a strong social group, it must be said of the American Federation of Teachers that it formulates and consistently pursues definite social policies; that it does not work by formulating lofty resolutions, and then proceeding to neglect them. Its effectiveness of method and activity leads Dr. Beale to conclude, after comparing it to other organizations,

> Whether the union idea is accepted or not, the liberal outlook, methods, courage, aggressiveness, and group solidarity of the American Federation of Teachers must in some way be created in any organization which adequately protects freedom of teachers. (*71*.)

(*To be continued.*)

It would seem that a rich government with many idle musicians and thousands of people anxious to hear good music, might well interpret the "pursuit of happiness" to include an opportunity to become familiar with musical culture. A national orchestra and a national opera company may some day be an integral part of our life. They could by means of tours and the radio be made to serve the country even more completely than does our national park system today. The responsibility of our government along these cultural lines is late in being recognized, perhaps because of philanthropic efforts which in some cities have provided the opportunities which in Europe have been at the expense of the state. The uncertainty of continued philanthropic interest will no doubt result in a government undertaking when the government's responsibility for cultural recreation is more generally realized.—HAROLD L. ICKES, *The New Democracy*.

Pleasure comes through toil and not by self-indulgence and indolence. When one gets to love work, his life is a happy one.—RUSKIN.

Educational Opportunity for Employed Youth and Adults

Florence Curtis Hanson

I WELCOME the opportunity to meet with you here today and to talk with you for a few minutes on Labor's interest and part in the topic before us —*Educational Opportunity for Employed Youth and Adults.*

This topic divides itself into Evening Schools, Continuation Schools, Special Trade Schools, Apprentice Training Opportunities, Workers' Education, and Adult Education. I shall not take these up severally because with my special assignment, *Labor's Viewpoint,* it is not necessary, since Labor's interest in each of these and all phases of education is not divided nor greater in one field than in another.

I am here speaking for Labor, but I hope you will say "She talks like an educator," for that is what I should talk like, when speaking for Labor and the American Federation of Labor. It is my purpose to make it clear to you that the American Federation of Labor is an educational organization of high ideals, standards, and accomplishments in its particular field. It is peculiarly fitting to have the topic *Labor's Viewpoint* on Educational Opportunity for Employed Youth and Adults on this program, for this particular type of education as well as every other type of public education was initiated by Labor. Labor was the major instrumentality in the establishment of our free, tax-supported public school something over one hundred years ago. Public education owes almost its entire being to the interest and support of Labor. Horace Mann in Massachusetts, Henry Barnard in Connecticut, and Thaddeus Stevens in Pennsylvania did indeed do pioneer work in the educational wilderness of early America and represent leadership in the revolutionary problems of their time, but not to these humanitarian leaders alone do we owe our great social institution, the public school, founded on the principle of *Education for All.*

The social force which translated their ideals into reality, the social force back of the demand for public schools for the children of the workers, for equal educational opportunity for every child regardless of the accident of residence, race, social status, or income of parents, was Organized Labor. Public education was born of the labor movement and its development has gone forward side by side with the development of the labor movement. The story of free education in America is the story of the constructive efforts of Organized Labor.

Consistently since that early day when Labor founded the public school, Labor has fostered and protected the social institution for which it was so largely responsible.

The Newark, N. J., *Village Chronicle* in May, 1930, reported:

> Within a few months past, we discern symptoms of a revolution second to none save that of '76—*universal education* and equal advantage at the polls are the leading objects for which *workingmen* are contending.

Address before the American Vocational Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., Dec. 6, 1934.

The American Federation of Labor has carried on its fight for public schools, and a real fight it has been, as it is today, since its first convention in 1881, when it went on record for compulsory education:

> We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of the children.

Beginning with its foundation in 1881, the American Federation of Labor has given problems of education, including those dealing with young and adult workers, a major part of its attention. This has resulted in an education program of unquestionable benefit to all branches of public education, of which Dr. John Dewey says:

> The educational record of the American Federation of Labor is conspicuous. A few years ago I went over a good many of the documents in that field and I say without any fear of contradiction that there is no organization in the United States—I do not care what its nature is—that has such a fine record in the program of liberal progressive public education as will be found in the printed records of the American Federation of Labor.

and Professor Paul H. Douglas says:

> Perhaps the most important educational movement of the past decade has been that of industrial education,

which we all know is the child of the American Federation of Labor.

The interest and effort of Labor for high standards of education have been continuous. Whenever well-considered, progressive, courageous proposals have been made for the improvement of public education, Labor has supported them and fought to bring about their adoption. It has stood for public-spirited educational objectives without deviation from the first convention in 1881 to the last in 1934 when it declared:

> This arbitrary educational retrenchment with its inevitable result of limitation of educational opportunity is abhorrent to the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor in relation to public education has a long and noble tradition to maintain. Labor's children form the great majority of the pupils of the public schools. The workers within the school system are our fellow workers with a common cause, common objectives, and common enemies. And now the Organized Labor Movement of America, the American Federation of Labor, whole-heartedly and unreservedly pledges itself to the defense of the public school system of America, to its full and complete restoration, to the maintenance of educational standards for the development of character, culture, and citizenship, and to the principle of equal educational opportunity for all the children of America regardless of race, creed, or social status. It pledges itself to the preservation of the public schools for democracy; it pledges itself to the preservation of democracy in which public education can and will function for the building of a saner economic world and the good life for all.

And President Green in a recent pronouncement has said:

> As citizens devoted to the preservation of our democratic institutions and to our democratic form of government, we in the American Federation of Labor shall fight for the maintenance of our schools, as the chief agency through which to preserve our democratic government and our democratic institutions.

Labor's program for the education of young work-

ers which it regards as a public school problem, as shown in Senate Document 936 and compiled by A. D. Evans, Superintendent of Girard College, includes:

1. Industrial education should not displace any of the present general education, but should be added to it.
2. Up to the age of 14 the pupils' time should be devoted to general education; after that industrial education should begin.
3. The economic need and value of technical training is not to be disregarded and cognizance should be taken of the fact that throughout the civilized world, evening and part time technical schools enroll 20 pupils to every one that attends the other types of vocational schools.
4. Technical education should be conducted by the public at public cost.
5. Industrial education must be based on a careful survey of industrial conditions and trade requirements and should meet the needs and requirements of the workers, as well as those of employers and industry.
6. Industrial education shall include the teaching of the sciences underlying the various industries and industrial pursuits being taught, their historic, economic, and social bearings.
7. There should be development of vocational guidance and industrial education in both urban and rural communities.
8. It is important that industrial education have for its purpose not so much training for efficiency in industry as training for life in an industrial society.
9. Continuation schools are recommended, of the part-time day type for the younger boys and girls, of the evening type for more mature workers, and of the all-day trade preparatory type for boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age.
10. Compulsory part-time day schools for all children in industry between the ages of 14 to 18 for not less than 5 hours per week at the expense of their employers are recommended.
11. Teachers should have practical trade experience.
12. The turning out of machine specialists and the flooding of the labor market with half-trained mechanics is condemned.
13. While subscribing to any plan which offers efficient instruction in practical product, Labor insists that emphasis be placed upon education rather than product.
14. The curriculum should include civic and social studies as well as trade technique.

Early in its history, Labor began its campaign for continuation schools, not because it believed that this part-time education was an adequate substitute for full time education, but because it recognized and understood a practical situation and would not consent to the limitation of educational opportunity for those handicapped in whatsoever way. Labor intelligently recognized the need for further guidance and training for young workers who have left the regular schools for whatever reason,—economic demand or need, genuine desire to go to work, inability to do the work of the regular school,—if they are to earn a living and *live a life*. Labor holds all three reasons mentioned for leaving the regular school,—compulsion of economic need, desire to work, and inability to do the work of the regular school,—however debatable these may be, sound arguments for the part-time school. Labor is concerned with the rebuilding of the present curriculum upon present social, industrial, economic, and avocational needs. It insists that the 3 R's are no longer enough. It pledges its full resistance to those who cry,

> Let's get back to the 3 R's. What was good enough for me is good enough for the children today.

And it replies in clarion tones,

> What was good enough for us is *not* good enough for our children.

It demands a complex curriculum to fit the child and youth for the complex world in which he is living. Not the 3 R's alone but the 3 C's, character, citizenship, and culture, and the 3 G's, grace, gumption, and grit, Labor demands from today's curriculum.

It is no criticism of any pupil that he cannot do the work of the regular school. I long since learned that the school is for the child, not the child for the school; that we are teaching the pupil; that the school must be fitted to the pupil's need; that the only worthwhile ability is not that shown in the regular class room. Had the public school system been meeting the needs of these young people who have left to go into industry, many of them would have remained. In a large number of cases what took them out was not inability to learn but unwillingness to do the work, and my years of teaching have taught me that the place to look for the responsibility for this condition is not at the pupil, as is usual, but at the teacher and the school. Is it not possible that their unwillingness to submit to such maladjustment indicates intelligence above, rather than below, the average? I am not criticizing school people only in so far as they fail to recognize the facts and to accept their responsibility, but I am criticizing those who control the schools and prevent school people from making them what they should be. But that's another subject, though one that comes immediately to mind when one thinks of Labor and the Schools.

Labor says the question of part-time education is, Shall the amount of education which any individual receives be determined by his ability to learn or by his ability to pay? And it answers today as it has answered for many years, *Equal educational opportunity for all.*

Labor's demand for equal educational opportunity for every child is not based merely on sentiment, nor is Labor solely concerned with keeping children out of industry and protecting them from exploitation in order to save adult workers from low wages and making them also an exploited class. It has had and has now sound educational ideals. (I'm showing you, do not forget, that the American Federation of Labor is an educational organization where the most professionally and socially minded belong.) The part-time schools were a part of Labor's demand for the square deal for whatever reason young people and adults were not getting it. Labor asked for a school whose curriculum would furnish real value, would meet individual differences. The continuation school is one way to overcome the handicaps of the traditional, impractical standard school. The continuation school is dealing with a selected group of young people. Labor is asking that through it they may have developed the same ideals and attitudes regardless of economic or social status or I. Q., but through a different type of subject matter,—a subject matter fitted to individual need, that will discover interests and aptitudes, and fit for life and living.

And now at this time the enemies of public education in the name of "economy" are seeking curtailment and retrenchment in this particular educational field. One-fourth of the cities of the United States have closed their evening schools and part-time classes for youths and adults. One illustration will suffice. In Chicago the continuation schools have been reduced from 11 to one, and in percentages about 75 or 80 per cent. In this same city, the apprentice classes are still available but the classes are smaller because

fewer are taking advantage of them. The other part-time work has suffered in about the same ratio as the continuation schools. Chicago is not a unique case; it merely serves as an illustration. Chicago has had much advertising but had I the time and you the patience I could show you that school conditions in Chicago, regrettable as they are, are paralleled and exceeded in hundreds of places.

To return, part-time schools are being crippled by those who are interested in the public schools only as taxpayers and are being defended by those who are interested as tax-producers, as the founder and defender of the public school system, that is, Organized Labor. Let me quote:

> If society must pay the bill, anyhow, how much better to do it in the beginning; see to it that these boys and girls have an equal educational chance by sending them out equipped with the right ideals, attitudes, habits, and skills, and by helping them to secure positions where they have possibilities of happiness and success.

I have been talking somewhat about what Labor did and why it did it prior to 1919 when continuation schools were first established. But I refer you to the very latest pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor at its recent convention in San Francisco. You will find there the evidence of the deep concern of the American Federation of Labor in the educational crisis.

It is on record for

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 of organization and affiliation 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, furthermore, it pledged its utmost endeavor for the protection of every branch of public education. It pledged also its full support of legislation for Federal Aid for the support of public education, such legislation to provide that $600,000,000, collected from income and inheritance taxes, be appropriated and allocated to the States partly on the basis of need and partly on the basis of population, such funds to be disbursed and administered locally. And not of least interest to you, the A. F. of L. reaffirmed its belief in Vocational Education, pledged its efforts for ample appropriations and for the restoration of the Federal Board of Vocational Education.

You will find that Labor is not satisfied just to talk about the crisis and the attack in the name of economy that has been made upon continuation schools, vocational education, and the other additions to the curriculum and the public school system, which have been made to fit it to a modern complex society. A great many groups are talking, but Labor did something in 1826, in 1830-50, and saw the first tax-supported schools established; it did something in 1919 and saw the continuation schools launched; and again it did something and industrial education was established. Now it proposes to do something again.

Decrease economic and social illiteracy we hear on all sides, but Labor with its usual practical attitude says on this subject,

> That's right. That's what we want. Let's do something about it. Let's get together on this principle in which we profess to believe and get some real action. Let's realize that we are under attack, that the reactionary forces attacking education are the same as are trying to undermine the living standards of Labor. Let's recognize that we have a common cause and common enemies and join battle for a common victory.

Do you, do the teachers of America want what Labor wants, security, leisure, freedom, plenty, happiness, the good life for themselves and for others?

Do the teachers want what Labor wants for the schools and the workers in them? Do the teachers want to see Labor's standard of equal educational opportunity for every child made a reality throughout this broad land of ours? If they do, they must heed what Dr. John Dewey has said:

> It is only by the union of all those who work whether with their heads or with their hands that we can hope to build a better world.

The future of the schools, the future of society, rests very largely with the teachers, far more than they have realized. The teacher's own security depends in large measure on his own efforts to protect it. The security of the public school depends on the teachers' effort to protect it.

If we are to receive federal aid in support of public education, if vocational education is to be preserved and supported, if we in America are to have a school system that meets the requirements of the nation as a whole, social, economic, industrial, cultural, the friends of education must be united. Labor has a definite legislative program for the protection and advancement of education, for relief must come from legislative action. Let us take a lesson from the last Congress when eleven different school relief bills were introduced into Congress, each supported by some small group but opposed by the *united* powerful interests determined to keep down school costs and to secure low-wage workers, for ignorant labor is always cheap labor. And as a result we got little except the statement from congressmen,

> Teachers don't know what they want. They can't get together on a program.

It is evident that no one group standing by itself can win in a struggle so vital to us all against a foe so strongly entrenched, so thoroughly prepared through organization, financial support, and propaganda resources.

When the danger is pointed out, will we find a way to save ourselves? How shall we resist the mighty influences which attack and seek to destroy the public school system except by organization, by the banding together of all those who believe in the public school as the safeguard of the future of America, by the union of all those concerned with the schools as patrons and as workers therein! We shall not see preserved our public school system and our democratic form of government and our democratic way of living and thinking except through the union of all those who know that only through fair wages, decent working conditions, security in their jobs, freedom in organization, educational opportunity, can an improved economic condition, a saner economic world with social justice and the good life for all, be secured.

Let us then unite with the American Federation of Labor and advance upon the legislative halls of state

and nation, twelve million strong, and get what we want, that is, make equal educational opportunity for every child, youth, and adult not a mere hope but an actuality.

A square deal for the childhood, the young workers, the adult workers, every man, woman, and child of America is a possibility but only if the teachers and their fellow workers unite in strength, in courage, in vision to bring it about.

The American Federation of Labor is dedicated to the good life for all. Equal educational opportunity for all is its standard. Its interest is fundamental because its whole program is one of education. It is interested to be sure in wages, hours, working conditions but in these only as promoting its larger program of the Good Life for all. It has set its face against the enemies of mankind—poverty, ignorance, disease, waste, and inhumanity—in order that social justice may prevail. To achieve this, education is fundamental and for this reason a major interest of Labor is education of children, education of youth, education of adults, education of workers.

Labor has still to be shown that our faith in education is not justified.

Importance of Apprenticeship Training

John H. Walker

FROM the point of view of industry, no matter where located or what industry, the more training its employees have, the more highly skilled they are, the more efficient they are—the more productive that industry will be, everything else being equal, and the better quality its products will have. It follows, therefore, that not only will those involved as employees and employers have more out of which to get better wages, improved working conditions, shorter work days, and greater profits, but the public will get more and better quality goods for their money and the industry itself will grow and expand, adding to the standards and the material welfare of the entire community.

And on the contrary, the less training the employees have, the less skill they have, the less efficient they are, in no matter what industry or where located, the less productive will be that industry and the lower grade will be its products. So that the returns from it to the employee in wages will be lower, the hours of labor will be the longer, the working conditions will be the poorer, and the profits to the employer will be smaller.

The people purchasing those products will get the least quantity and poorest quality for their money, and the industry itself will bring the minimum of good to those directly involved and to the community in which it is located.

Many influences, exerting almost determining power in different localities, have been fearful that the apprenticeship school might be used to supply men in their field in such numbers and at such times that they might themselves be displaced and their standards—wages, conditions, and hours—lowered. If precautions were taken to safeguard against that happening, it would be much easier to have a thorough-going apprenticeship arrangement functioning wholeheartedly universally.

If the codes shorten the work period so as to distribute the work opportunities reasonably and fix the hours, wages, and conditions of labor, those matters will have been safeguarded and perhaps the strongest influence hampering universal apprenticeship training will have been removed.

Everything should be done to provide these safeguards. At the same time, not only for the good of the individuals directly affected but for the good of the nation in its every aspect, such a course of training should be made universally available to all the youth of the land. The reasons for such an apprenticeship being made available are almost as impelling as are those for free public schools and compulsory attendance, supported by taxation.

The responsibility for the well-being of the nation must rest on those young folks in the future, to see that mankind is supplied fully with the best quality and a full variety of the things that they need or use in every-day life, those that are essential for its physical well-being, its development in knowledge, mentality, and character.

To provide for himself personally and his dependents, every young person should be the most useful and productive citizen possible, because then he can most surely earn the best livelihood possible for himself and his dependents. To be without training puts him in the category of common labor, which is the lowest in the scale and the most difficult in which to find employment; and when he finds employment it means that it will enable him to earn only enough for the lowest standard of living. In times of depression or industrial stagnation, he will have the least possibility of earning a livelihood at all. And if anyone is to be sacrificed and made to suffer lack of the necessities of life, to live on charity, he is the one to whose lot that falls. And even if compelled to work as a common laborer, a boy or girl who has had training is of greater value in that work than is the common laborer who has not had training.

For the employer, the workers employed by him who are highly trained, will make for his surest and greatest success. The employer, whether an individual, a corporation, or a public institution, in order to prosper, of necessity is required to have the most highly skilled and efficient workers in the different capacities in the operation of that industry or service. To have less than the best, means that a competitor has the advantage either in quality or in the quantity produced, or in both, and as the consumer will, everything else being equal, purchase the product that is of the best quality or that he can procure at the least expense, the employer who has the most highly trained workers has a decided advantage. It is, therefore, of vital importance to the owner of the private industry that those whom he employs be the most highly skilled and efficient workers possible for him to procure.

In public service it is just as important that those who render that service be as highly trained as pos-

Address in part delivered December 6, 1934, at the Convention of the American Vocational Association, held at Pittsburgh, December 5, 6, 7, and 8.

sible. In the event that they are not, it means a poorer quality of service to the public, a greater expense to the tax-payer, and a reaction politically upon those public officials who employ that character of service. It ordinarily means their defeat at the first opportunity the citizens have to register a protest, which means their removal from office and the consequent loss of positions on the part of those employed in public service by him. Where the public service employee has had the benefit of the best training possible, he renders the highest standard of service to the public, which means that the most satisfactory service will assure to him rendering it, as far as that applies to political employment, preferment and security in his position. It reflects credit on the man who had been elected to political office who employs that kind of service, and makes for his continuance in office.

Where the worker is earning his own livelihood by engaging in a private industry of his own or a business enterprise or a skilled profession, the better he has been trained, the better his prospects are for being successful, the fuller and better living he will be able to make for himself and his dependents. For the best interest of the whole people and the government itself, every young man and woman should have the best possible training to fit him for useful service in the productive and distributive industries. For the well-being of all the men, women, and children of the nation as a whole it is obvious that the more highly trained, better informed, more efficient the men and women are who are engaged in all the different activities of life through which the material well-being and the facilities for mental development, education, and wholesome recreation and character are provided, the better the quality and greater the output will be, the greater amount of leisure they will have and the higher will be the level of life in all of its aspects on the part of all the people. It is correspondingly obvious that the less of training, knowledge, and education there are on the part of those who provide these things, the poorer the quality and the less the quantity output will be; the less will be the leisure and the lower will be the standards of life—material, physical, mental, moral, cultural, and spiritual—of those people. And particularly in view of the fact that our productive capacity has been increased to the place where through inventions, new discoveries, new processes, it is agreed that on the basis of efficiency, a decreasing amount of time of the average citizen will be required to produce and to distribute all of the material things that are needed by all of the people, everything being produced and distributed by machinery, changed by chemistry, communicated by telephone, telegraph, television, radio all of which fields require training, technical knowledge, and a high level of skill for their control, it is clear that only through proper special training under the direction of experts with equipment of the most modern type may the boy or girl acquire the skill and knowledge essential for the different processes and techniques of those activities. There are not only all these reasons that urge this training to be made available to all of the youth of our land, but it must be clear to all that the youth who has not that training is in the most unfortunate category amongst us. Students of biology agree that the acquisition of any information broadens the vision, strengthens the mind, and makes it easier to acquire more information. This apprenticeship training, acquiring skill and knowledge, means a higher level of men and women themselves. It is not only necessary to the most abundant life, but it is vitally necessary, if the men and women of the future are to be themselves the best men and women that it is possible for them to be.

Perhaps I am going beyond the jurisdiction given me in this matter, but, because I think it is closely related to this subject, is really a part of it, and of almost as great, if not greater, importance than the apprenticeship for youth itself, I want to add the word before closing that I believe it is just as necessary that we should have an adequate system of adult education established in our country, free public education for the mature, with the necessary teachers, buildings, and equipment to enable those who have passed beyond the apprenticeship age of youth to continue taking training for the higher vocations and activities of life, acquiring information on all subjects of interest or value to them, so that not only the time of our people may be occupied in a wholesome and beneficial way (in view of the great amount of leisure that we are going to have in the future, that is a rather important item) but that they may continue to raise the standards of efficiency in the material aspects of life, still further reduce the burden of drudgery in necessary work, shorten the working period, further increase leisure with which to do the most important thing there is for human beings to do, that is develop themselves into more capable, better informed, more intelligent, more highly cultured, more altruistic, finer men and women.

When a young person acquires knowledge, he has the advantage of that increased information and greater intelligence for a longer period of time than he would have had if his education had been deferred until later life; and as broader understanding and greater intelligence on the part of our people not only enable them to be more useful in the material aspects of their lives, but in intellectual pursuits, in understanding the problems of others, and in assisting them to be more useful, a sound apprenticeship training followed by wide opportunity in adult education should result in the use of that increased knowledge and intelligence in registering strong influence in the most helpful way in the settlement of all governmental, economic, and moral issues. Thus a sound foundation may be laid on which all life is to be built, out of which comes our standards of ethics, morality, mental development, culture, life, the spiritual status of the people, the souls of men. It is of primary importance that the youth who is serving his apprenticeship to acquire knowledge and skill for purposes of learning a trade or profession, be at the same time given the general education that will fit him to discharge the obligations of citizenship on the highest possible standard. A liberal training and education should take first place.

Enemies of the Public Schools

Warren C. Hawthorne

And she had the assurance to complain that she couldn't even pay for gas for her car, and I said to her, "What the hell right have you to have a car at all?"

No, ungentle reader, this was not said to an impecunious, unemployed worker. It was the expression of a prosperous doctor, driving his Cadillac at the time, and "she" was a school teacher of long standing who had acquired an old fliver which took her to her daily work until months of no pay had left her without means of providing the running material.

It seemed to me so typical of a common attitude towards teachers and schools that I began to notice other instances of the same feeling. Months later and 2000 miles away, a friendly conversation with a city employee was suddenly punctuated with a pronunciamento: "Wages of school teachers will have to come down. They're getting altogether too much for what they do. Preparation? Nonsense! It doesn't need any education to teach a roomful of little kids their a b c's."

Now here were two men, far above the average in education and intelligence, yet on this subject showing not ignorance merely but a rancorous ignorance against employees of an institution that must function effectively if this republic is to survive. Probably they would be surprised to be classed as enemies of public education, but that is the camp where they belonged.

Many people talk about the enemies of the public schools with the vaguest notions only of who or what these so-called enemies may be. Is there any justification for this expression? Who or what are these enemies?

Suppose we start by defining as an enemy of the public school any individual or organization that would diminish its effectiveness in the least. This may be done by shortening the school year or the number of years the child can spend under the guidance of organized instruction; or by impairing the value of the instruction, either by skimping on the appropriations so that inferior teachers must be hired, or overloading the teachers by long hours of work or such large classes that even a good teacher can not give the best that is in him. The commonest way of justifying any of these attempts is by raising the cry of economy, and while economy has been a dire necessity in thousands of places in the last three or four years it will not be difficult in most cases to distinguish between those situations and these where the cry is most obviously a blind for the real reason or reasons. The easiest test to apply of course is to ask whether economy has been impartially applied in all public expenditures, not only in the business management of the schools, where the greatest graft is always found, but in other branches of the civil government. When, as in recent glaring examples, economies are effected only in the educational department, and in such a way as to demoralize the entire system with, after all, very little actual saving of money, it is foolish not to look further for the reason for such attacks.

Who are those, then, who may be expected to oppose the spending of public money for public education?

In the first place, the big tax-payer, who may be perfectly honest in believing that too much money is being spent on the schools. It is more likely, however, that his motives are mixed.

(a) He will, if caught unawares, probably declare that the poor boy is being educated beyond his capacity to make use of what he is taught. This, of course, is based on his ignorance of the content of a modern school curriculum. His notion of a public school is a place where the unwilling human cub is forced to acquire a smattering of those things that will make him a cog in the wheels of industry. Since that is to be his destiny, why waste time and money on fads? The superabundance of cheap labor from Europe having been limited by law and changing economic conditions, he wishes a domestic supply provided for his mills. That the safety of the country demands a citizenry trained to think, to have an appreciation of the beautiful in art, science, and literature, to know something of the mechanics of our modern industrial society and to know how to employ its spare time pleasantly and profitably, of this he has no conception. No wonder he classes nearly everything above the three R's as fads.

(b) He may well fear that the products of the public schools will make life harder for his own children, who are being educated at the best private schools he can afford. He knows very well the value of "fads" for his own offspring; in the positions in society, industry, and finance which they are to occupy, these are among the fundamentals of the necessary preparation. And having spent time and money in giving his children these superior advantages, shall he permit the son of the hod-carrier, educated by taxes wrung from the rich man himself, to step in and carry off the prizes for which his own son was supposedly prepared? Is it not quite natural for him to oppose anything beyond primary education for such possible interlopers?

Another class will oppose public education that is of any value, and for much the same reason as above: that their position is threatened. This is the professional politician. The training that is creeping into even grammar grades now—a training in civics, in citizenship, in the understanding of public affairs—is fatal to the corrupt rule of the selfish politicians and well they know it. They don't want an intelligent electorate, any more than the industrialist wants an educated factory hand.

Corrupt politician, rich parent, and selfish business man have strong though unconscious allies in the superpatriots and conservatives who fear any change whatsoever in the present form of society, and under the guise of "purging the schools of communism, pacifism, internationalism" and what-not, would throw such restrictions on teachers and what is taught that no self-respecting man or woman would enter the profession. If all the demands of all the "patriotic" groups were met, sociology would vanish from the curriculum, economics would be reduced to business

training, civics would be limited to a study of the constitution, historians would revert to the Parson Weems type, and "patriotism" (defined as saluting the flag, singing *My Country 'Tis of Thee*, and drilling in the R. O. T. C.) would occupy the largest share of the daily program.

Not until one has come in contact with it again and again does one realize the force of another current against schools and teachers: a feeling of bitter envy on the part of the narrow-minded and ignorant against any one who wears clean linen and uses good grammar. One found it again and again when teachers had gone month after month without pay. There was no fellow feeling for a companion in misfortune, but a rancorous exultation that at last educated people had "got what was coming to them." Sometimes it took the form of diatribes against "feeders at the public trough" who were "bleeding the tax-payer white," and intimations that they were the real cause of the depression. But if ever the charges became particularized, it was evident that the teachers were the class thought of. This feeling, of course, is common only among those whose educational ideas have never advanced beyond the little red schoolhouse. But the persistence of this feeling among those who are modern in almost every thing else is surprising. It is ignorance, of course, and it is axiomatic that mankind instinctively hates that of which it is ignorant. The two men mentioned in the opening paragraph showed this feeling.

A not inconsiderable obstacle, though not active opposition, comes from another class who feel themselves unjustly taxed to support the public schools, since they already support their own schools (parochial). They can hardly be blamed for this attitude, and the fact that the public schools find so many stanch supporters among the leaders in the churches supporting their own parochial schools is to their everlasting credit. But it is too much to expect that the parents will take up the cudgels for public expenditures that will give their neighbors' children better schools than they are able to afford for their own. There can be no doubt that from among these people the active enemies of public education derive a great deal of silent support. The same thing might be said of the owners and proprietors of various private schools, though this, of course, is not a very important group on account of its small size.

It is easy, then, to enumerate at least seven classes of enemies of public education, whose attitude ranges from indifference, through the tendency to lower the effectiveness of the schools by slurring the teachers, to active opposition towards all the best of the work that the schools are trying to do. These classes mentioned are:

The patrons of various types of private schools.
The ignorant and envious mossbacks from a previous generation.
The industrialist who wants a supply of ignorant, hence cheap labor, and is no longer able to import it.
The "100% patriot" who is afraid of any new ideas being taught the young.
The politician who is also afraid of new ideas in the minds of oncoming crops of new voters.
The rich and aristocratic parents who want the best positions in society, business, finance, and politics reserved for their own children.
The big tax-payer, who sees in the annual school bill the easiest place to cut public expenditures without raising the protest sure to be heard if outlays are pared from which business may profit.

Some of these are conscious, others unconscious enemies. But the events of the last few years seem to indicate that the former have begun to organize the other elements and use them to their purpose. Unless the friends of the public school are aroused to the danger threatening, there can be little doubt that the chief safeguard of American Democracy will in future suffer even to a far greater extent even than it has thus far.

Forty-two in a Class and Free Discipline

Miriam Ziony

THE techniques used in teaching children, it has been said recently, are ineffective and inadvisable in the education of adults, who require such devices as group projects and discussion methods and who will not attend classes that are uninteresting.

For many years the harmful effects of dull, routinized methods upon the mental and emotional health of the child have been recognized by progressive educators and child guidance specialists. But the public school system has been slow to understand the importance of more vitalizing methods and curriculum to meet the individual needs and interests of the child.

In general the child has not been consulted regarding his attitudes toward school. A compulsory system of education and authoritative disciplines have made him inarticulate regarding his likes and dislikes; arbitrary standards have rendered him incompetent to express a preference for more satisfying school procedures.

Too often the outward show and restraint, the attainment of "straight lines," "perfect posture," "quiet classrooms," have been considered indispensable to the development of character and inner discipline. The fear of punishment and the promise of reward still play an important part in the maintenance of superficial disciplines which, because of their superficiality, would be difficult to maintain in any other way. Rewards in the form of "stars," "credits," "merits," "compliments," "A's," "honor cards" and other devices are now considered psychologically more productive of results than punishments; but the unwholesome psychological effects of reward methods are often unknown to those who advocate them.

Scientific analysis of school failures; extensive study of the case histories of children who have come to the attention of the courts or the guidance clinic because of truancy, juvenile delinquency, and other forms of personality and behavior defects; and a better understanding of the psychological bases of mental and moral conduct are, however, gradually making manifest to school authorities the need for freer and

more creative, more purposeful methods with children as well as with adults.

Even the handicap of large classes, so often used as an excuse for the continuation of regimentation and disciplinary processes, can be overcome according to the extent to which outmoded controls are replaced by genuine interest and initiative as incentives to the acquisition of knowledge and to the development of real self-discipline.

The following is the story of a personal experience in a New York City school several years ago when projects and group work and individualized methods of instruction were not yet being encouraged to any large degree.

Ever since I could remember I had wanted to teach, from the days when "playing school" was a favorite pastime until the summer after completing college when I gave up an opportunity in the field of journalism in order to enter my chosen profession.

I was a teacher at last, but, somehow, teaching was not what I had expected it to be.

The earlier years spent as a pupil in the public school system had not left with me any impression of the system from the teacher's point of view. I had always been a quiet, obedient child and adored school. Only in the queer dreams I used to have sometimes of trying to grope my way to school through dark streets at night, there may have been, perhaps, the expression of an unconscious need for more life and light.

My education at a little college where everybody knew everybody else, where many an hour was spent in friendly argument and intimate discussion of topics ranging from simplified spelling to religious doctrine, where the students gave faculty teas and the president's wife led the orchestra, had not included training in unquestioning adherence to authority nor practice in the technique of keeping a roomful of eager children at arms' length day after day, sitting motionless between immovable desks and seats.

In the elementary school to which I had been appointed, however, teaching meant administering doses of arithmetic and spelling and reading at regular intervals according to a fixed daily schedule. Together pens had to be taken up and together they were put down. Two minutes were allowed every hour for setting up exercises, then again the same clocklike routine.

One had to be careful not to become too familiar with one's pupils for familiarity bred confidences and had a way of upsetting the discipline. Tommy's cat had new kittens but who could stop to hear about new kittens when there was still twenty minutes worth of penmanship to be squeezed into the program before lunch time.

From 2:30 to 3 o'clock organized games were the order of the day. A few silvery aeroplanes flying over the playground might call forth a host of eager questions: "Teacher, what makes them stay up there?" "How do the aviators know where to go?" "Are there streets in the sky?" "What happens if they bump into a cloud?" But a hurried word of explanation had to suffice for this was a period sacred to physical training. Besides, children should not speak without permission! It spoiled the discipline and the straight lines.

"If you learn to sit still all day long without moving your hands and feet you will grow up to be wonderful men and women," the assistant principal told the children. Silence in the classroom was the criterion of the teacher's efficiency.

Where were Herbartian theories of fitting the school to the child or Montessori methods of learning by doing? "Dalton plans and free discipline are all right for private schools which have small classes and children from better homes," the principal argued. "These children need training in order and self-control."

By the end of the first year I had decided that teaching was not the work for me after all. Then suddenly an opportunity presented itself. A special class was formed for foreign children who had just come to the United States and did not understand English. The class was assigned to a capable teacher who had earned a reputation as a model disciplinarian. But a two weeks' attempt to apply standardized procedures in this heterogeneous group of children of different ages and varying degrees of education, left her almost on the verge of a nervous breakdown. I volunteered to take the class and for three years enjoyed teaching.

There were children from all parts of the globe—Russia, Poland, Italy, France, even China and Turkey—and none of them could speak English. One day I remarked that all we needed were some foreigners from Africa and sure enough, two little colored girls arrived, not quite from Africa but from one of the southern states where they had had little schooling.

The class register was never lower than thirty. One year there were as many as forty-two, from nine to nineteen years of age; two of the boys had been registered as below sixteen according to their passports but later proved that they were older. Some had never even held a book or a pencil in their hands, nor seen the inside of a school; several had gone to high school in their own countries.

The argument has been advanced that foreign children are more alert and more ambitious for learning than the American-born. But this did not prove to be the case. There were all types—good, bad, and indifferent; some who in terms of I. Q.'s would have ranked superior and others who could have been classified as mentally below normal. Most of them had come from the war torn areas of Europe. Some were orphans brought up by strangers or aged grandparents, suffering hunger and cold in the period after the World War. One boy had seen his relatives shot to death by enemy soldiers; another bore the scar of a bullet wound on his own head. Certainly their environment had not been superior.

Since there was no alternative, I was given permission to conduct the class in my own way, with group work and free discipline included. The children were divided into groups according to ability and previous education. While one group was being helped the other groups would work by themselves in various parts of the room, reading to one another, solving arithmetic problems together at the blackboard, hearing each other spell, the brighter ones advancing more rapidly and often assisting those who were slower.

There were no "marks," no rewards or punishments as incentives to greater effort, yet it was remarkable to see how absorbed everybody was under the stimulus of a group project. Even Tony, the little Italian boy

(*Turn to page 31*)

The Case of Dr. A. J. I. Kraus

The case of Dr. A. J. I. Kraus appears to one of grave injustice and serious abuse of academic freedom, and therefore one deserving of the earnest attention of all his fellow-teachers and all lovers of fair dealing.

Dr. Kraus was a professor of philosophy in Poland, from which country he was compelled to flee in 1930 because of his protests against the injustice to minority groups in that country. He came to America and became an instructor in philosophy at the College of the City of New York.

Dr. Kraus is an idealist and a firm believer in the rectitude of an aroused public conscience. He does not count the cost in a cause of social justice and he believes that if public opinion is informed and aroused, it will take a stand on the side of right.

Acting on these life-long ideals and beliefs, in December, 1932, he undertook a hunger strike to attract attention to political disturbances in the Polish universities which were costing the lives of many students. In January, 1933, he was dismissed from his post at the College of the City of New York on the charge of being mentally unstable. Moreover, no examination or tests were given to prove this allegation.

Since Dr. Kraus has no teaching position or other work and may become a public charge, he faces deportation from the United States. Shortly after his dismissal from the College of the City of New York, he was arrested and sent to Ellis Island for deportation. A stay of execution was obtained through the efforts of educators and friends. Eminent psychologists have found him to be sound mentally and emotionally.

The liberal and church press are protesting the treatment accorded Dr. Kraus. *The Christian Century* asks a full investigation. *The Living Church* says:

"The fundamental Christian social principle is the principle of respect for personality in all men," the Archbishop of York has said.

Arthur J. I. Kraus, one-time philosophy instructor at the City College of New York, is now a man without a country, a man without a profession, and to all intents and purposes a man without a mind.

The situation of Dr. Kraus is deserving of earnest and prayerful consideration on the part of all Christians and Jews.

The Kraus case is brought to the attention of readers of the Church press because the man, who is of unusual accomplishments and the author of one book in this country, stands at present without a friend. Unless some support in the way of public outcry is given him a life-time of study and of humanitarian idealism will go for nothing.

We wish to call the special attention of our readers to the important moral questions involved in the situation. Whether or not one approves of the cause for which Dr. Kraus stands and of his method of attempting to forward it, certainly one cannot help admiring his earnestness and his idealism. As Americans we insist that Dr. Kraus, and everyone else who comes to our shores, is entitled to a fair deal and it does not seem to us that he has received one. Can the Christian conscience of America be aroused to the extent of giving him a new opportunity to justify himself?

Prominent educators, including John Dewey, George S. Counts, Wesley C. Mitchell, Reinhold Niebuhr, A. Bruce Curry, Ernest F. Scott, William R. Shepherd, Arthur L. Swift, Frank Gavin, Paul H. Douglas, Albert Einstein, the president and a number of professors at the University of Michigan, a similar group at the University of Chicago, and others, those interested in social justice and truth as well as educators, are actively concerning themselves in this case.

Professor Albert Einstein condemned the dismissal of Dr. Kraus in a letter from Princeton, N. J.

Professor A. J. I. Kraus, formerly a teacher of philosophy at the College of the City of New York, has lost his position there, because he had shown the conscientiousness and the courage to defend in the life the same principles of justice which it was his duty to teach. That this has happened is a regrettable occurrence, and is certainly no mark of distinction to the responsible authority.

John Haynes Holmes, pastor of Community Church of New York, urges the re-establishment of Dr. Kraus in the field for which he is so eminently prepared. He says:

I have known Dr. Kraus for a period of years and regard him as an exceptionally able scholar, a man of sweet and gracious spirit, and an undaunted idealist. He represents the temper and type of mind that I wish were more common in the field of learning. He is a great teacher, and an able leader of young men, as his record clearly indicates. He would have climbed quickly to a high place in his profession had it not been for the experience of the hunger strike, which I feel stands very greatly to Dr. Kraus' credit. Single-handed he dedicated himself to this task of protest, and chose a method which hazarded his life and for a time threatened to wreck his career. I know of nothing more impressive than the group of men who rallied to his support in this crisis, vouched for his sincerity and courage, and themselves protested against the treatment visited upon him by City College. Dr. Kraus has suffered much, but his spirit is unspoiled, and his idealism as pure as ever.

Norman Thomas has expressed his concern and his belief in Dr. Kraus as a man and an educator.

Idealists are not so numerous in our world, nor in that part of it dedicated to education, that we can afford to penalize a man for his ideal even though his expression of it may not appeal to all of us as the way of wisdom.

Dr. A. J. I. Kraus is a man with ideals and courage. I should rather expose young people to him and those ideals, than to a great deal of what passes for pedestrian wisdom in our world.

I cannot be too emphatic in asserting that to deprive him of an educational position because of his hunger strike, was a travesty on justice and good sense.

The readers of the AMERICAN TEACHER are pledged to the cause of truth and social justice; they are believers in the square deal. Academic freedom and security of tenure are deeply ingrained tenets of their being. They will, therefore, wish to be fully informed on this case, and they will be aroused to action to insure for Dr. Kraus an opportunity for investigation and justification.

Further information and literature may be obtained from the Kraus Defense Committee, 550 West 110th Street, New York.

Sustains Board in Ousting Teacher.—Dismissal of Francis H. Seco as a teacher by the Rahway, N. J., Board of Education for inflicting corporal punishment upon pupils of his class and violating rules of the local board was sustained by Commissioner Elliott of the Department of Public Instruction.

The Teacher and the Social Mind

Raymond F. Lowry

A FEW months ago I attempted to draw the attention of the union teachers to the challenge of an intelligent, responsive youth for a friendly interchange of ideas and actions on the part of the adult citizen in their effort to acclimate themselves to a new world. My effort was to lead the teachers out of the classroom into life, to bring them into a sphere of activity where youth and age might think together. Such an intention was not conceived in any spirit of antagonism to any class; there was no concealed motive of unjust criticism of any group either in social or economic life, but rather an overpowering awareness to the crisis which faces us in these realms unless we pool our experiences and ideas to a more humane adjustment in attitudes, relationships, hopes, and methods. Hope and soul must not be crushed from the breast of the great peoples of the earth by the nerveless sinews of the machine; neither should man, the creator, be compelled to cringe in fear before the power he has made, as slave instead of as master.

Six months of travel through widely diversified sections of our country have only served to intensify the conviction that the time is at hand when the teachers of America, and of the world, must cooperate with the youth in the creation of a saner outlook, planned in service and not in self. We dare no longer allow the collusion of the mechanistic power of the machine and the selfishness of man's worst nature to turn into the Frankenstein of tomorrow. Before such a monster, even the most sacred of ties are even now threatened. The life blood of the people is being stopped. Ruin follows closely upon the heels of misunderstanding and even greatest hearts may sicken of the short-sightedness which has attended their most altruistic efforts.

Youth has been brought into a world which demands a readjustment which must first of all be mental before it can be sanely social or economic. Whether we like to make the admission or not, we have not sufficiently emphasized the importance of cooperation as opposed to competition. To compensate for lost opportunities, we cannot delay longer to make a personal adjustment in living in order that we may furnish the knowledge for a larger development of the best in the student as a governor for the control of the worst. The objectives of all creeds and faiths in society in furthering the onward march of civilization has been to bring into the foreground as determinates of action the better qualities of man's dual nature. And it is this place of leadership in creating a mental attitude as a more powerful instrument for the building of characters dominated by social mindedness that must be filled more strenuously by the teacher.

This does not mean condoning the swing to extremes either on the part of the teacher or pupil, graduate or undergraduate. It merely means that we must again get a clear vision of our functions in society; that we must not, with the older generation, forget the social function of the economic system—*"to provide goods to supply the material needs of ALL, and to afford creative experience."*

Throughout the ages, we must have learned that society looks to church and school to formulate the norms for life. It does not follow that the teacher or preacher should, if he could, seek to control life other than in the creation of normatives which establish concrete habits, attitudes, and ideas.

That trite and hackneyed phrase, "the youth of today is the citizen of tomorrow," constitutes a judgment and a challenge. Our generations are the youths of yesteryear. Apparent incongruities and misunderstandings threatening the social and economic life of the nation are the material realizations of the habits, attitudes, and ideas with which we were impregnated. The present confusion of youth grows out of the harsh awakening of the world to the realization that all is not well and the awareness that they have not the mental and spiritual vision to determine the solution. We have passed on ourselves to the youth.

Of course, many have not done the customary thing. They have honestly served. And yet, apparently, they have been greatly in the minority. I prefer to think that neither is the case; rather that all have been conscientiously engaged, consecratedly determined, seriously motivated, and yet wholly human. As products of their own training, tho in what proportions we are not as yet willing to agree, they have often fallen heir to the temporary blindness of the age. And the youth of America? Is it not tragic that they are being propagandized by unethical, unintelligent, inhumane, and often utterly undemocratic interests! They are looking for leadership. They are seeking guidance to meet a changing world, not that of ours of yesterday, but of theirs.

They would reconcile the doctrines of honesty with observed malpractice, of selfishness and greed with altruism and social service, of enervating inaction with willingness to act. They are striving to find themselves in a world in which they have no part. In this dilemma they are coming to question the basis upon which civilization apparently rests. They are finding that too great an importance has been granted to material rather than to spiritual values. They cite the present crisis as irrefutable evidence that money does not create money; when employment ceases production stops and bonds lose their value.

Herein lies one, at least, splendid reaction from this world economic depression. We may now, in this fertile field of discovery, better plant the seeds of a philosophy which will develop into the attitude of courting happiness as an accompaniment of work, the idea of profession and labor filling the horizon of our planning as the opportunities in which spiritual values pay higher and more certain returns than the material, and that wealth really consists in the joyful employment of the many in a producing world.

If youth learns this lesson, if service is to become the motivating principle, and if the end of education is going to mean to them fuller, happier lives in terms of the ability to enjoy along with their task art, music, literature, the teacher must have played a large part. He must have entered more closely into their lives; he must have offered to youth the frank opportunity to think together. He will have accomplished much in the creation of a social mind; he will have gone far in the creation of a new world if the resultant is one in which the pleasure derived from occupation shall weigh more heavily than the material advantages to be gained.

Yet, the foregoing accomplishment may not stop here in the attempt to create the norms for a new day. This personal contact of pupil and teacher must not be allowed to come to any actual or even apparent termination. The growing youth and the mature man need and must have the opportunity for constant cultural and intellectual improvement and activity. A machinery for education must syncopate its wheels with the whirring machinery of industry, commerce, and life.

The President's Page

So This Is America!

How Can Production Be Increased?—Unemployment relief is America's most urgent problem today. The number of persons dependent on relief has increased in the past year by over 5,000,000, from 13,338,000 in September, 1933, to 18,402,000 in September, 1934. The total cost of relief has more than doubled; it was $59,206,000 last year compared to $143,227,000 this year in September. In addition $42,111,000 was paid to those employed on PWA and CCC, so that the total cost of maintaining the unemployed is running more than $185,000,000 a month.

Hit Chain Store Wages.—The Parliamentary Mass Buying Commission, in recent hearings, has revealed many startling facts in connection with wages paid chain store employees, which is expected to result favorably for the workers. An example is cited in the case of the F. W. Woolworth Company, Ltd., which, while making a profit of $1,800,000, representing 20% on their investment, in 1932, reduced employees' wages 10%. Average pay was found to be $10.80, with some getting as low as $7 for a full week.

Teachers End Strike.—A brief strike of 66 teachers, employed to instruct the over 2,500 pupils in the Jessup Borough, Pa., schools ended when definite assurance that back salaries extending over eight months would be paid. Over $27,000 was due the teachers in overdue salaries.

$2,500 Income Needed for Living.—The Rev. Francis J. Haas, labor representative on the general NRA board, in an address in Boston, Mass., asserted that, when minimum wages are being set, "not less than $2,500 a year" should be considered as the amount required to maintain a family in reasonable comfort. Rev. Haas also made this significant statement: "If Section 7-A—the collective bargaining clause in the Recovery Act—had been allowed to operate freely during the past year, it would have had the certain effect of increasing purchasing power."

More "Company Houses" Proposed.—Cleveland, Ohio.—It is reported that the steel and coal industries contemplate the biggest house-building project in the country's history. Under the plan, about 50,000 steel and wood houses would be erected, at an estimated expenditure of about $150,000,000. For many long years, "company houses" have been regarded as a curse to mining and mill towns. Many instances are recorded where workers have been set out of their company-owned houses during strike periods. The present plan, however, calls for cooperation with the Federal Housing Administration and eventual sale of the houses to workers on the same terms offered by the Administration.

• **Pay Raises of $89,000 Authorized.**—The Yonkers, N. Y., Board of Education has been assured of sufficient funds to operate the school system throughout 1935 without a December closing and without impairment of automatic pay raises for the teachers. The automatic salary increments for 1935 aggregate $89,900.

Taxpayers Hit at Teachers' Research Body.—A bitter attack against the Research Bureau of the Schenectady Teachers' Association has been launched by the 12th Ward Taxpayers' Association.

The association is charged with intent to deceive the public in its choice of a name, the allegation being that it is sought to confuse it in the public mind with the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, which the association is also accused of attempting to discredit by juggling facts and figures.

"It is almost unthinkable that we have people in our school system who will stoop so low to accomplish their purpose," says the taxpayers' statement, and it admonishes the school to "put an effective stop to the deceit and subterfuge, distortion and abuse so far indulged in."

Schools Group Answers Attack of Taxpayers.—The Research Bureau of the Schenectady Teachers' Association has replied to the attack upon it made by the 12th Ward Taxpayers' Association and, incidentally, paid its respects to the Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.

Of the taxpayers' associations the teachers' organization says that if the truth of the city's financial condition were generally known "they wouldn't have an organization." The Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research is depicted as "living off taxpayers' money, tearing everything down irrespective of the truth."

Borough Teachers Ask Pay Cut End.—Teachers in Rutherford, N. J., schools have asked the Rutherford Board of Education to cancel 10 per cent of the 15 per cent reduction in salaries now in effect.

Letters from the West Side Improvement Association of Rutherford and the Rutherford Taxpayers' Association asked further reductions in the budget. The West Side Association requested there be no raise in salaries. The Taxpayers' Association asked the budget be published in January, a month prior to the school election.

The teachers' letter pointed out living costs had increased, the federal government has adopted a policy of cancellation of pay cuts and the 15 per cent reduction in Rutherford salaries is 8.12 per cent greater than the average reduction of teachers' salaries in the United States.

The teachers compared their voluntary reduction with police department cuts of 8 per cent last year and 10 per cent this year.

Teachers' Pay Increase Voted.—The New Rochelle Board of Education overrode the City Council's veto and voted to restore five per cent of the 17 per cent salary reductions teachers have been obliged to accept in the previous two years.

It was in effect a compromise since the board had planned to restore 10 per cent in the 1935 budget and the council had demanded that 17 per cent salary contributions by teachers continue.

Teachers Decline to Aid Miss de Lee.—The New York State Teachers Association at its annual meeting in November declined to intervene in the case of Miss Esther de Lee, Pompey Hollow teacher who was ousted by a trustee in a dispute over the hanging of the flag.

The house of delegates of the association rejected a resolution for appointment of a special committee to review the case and help the teacher if possible. Speakers declared that the State Commissioner of Education could adjust such cases.

While considering the subject the delegates rejected another resolution which would have provided for a committee on "academic freedom" to consider future similar cases.

Jersey Teachers Demand Full Pay.—A State-wide drive for the restoration of teachers' salaries to pre-depression levels was mapped at the concluding session of the eightieth annual convention of the New Jersey State Teachers Association.

Laws Disfranchising All Persons on public relief rolls, prohibiting the general and the sympathetic strike, limiting picketing "to the mere announcement of an industrial dispute," and limiting taxes on real estate to 2 per cent of the true value are recommended in a 15-point program adopted by the New York State Economic Council.

Weymouth, Mass., Teachers to Get Pay Boost.—Thirty-nine teachers of the Weymouth school department will receive an increase in their pay checks on account of a redistribution of salaries made possible by the death and resignation of teachers. The increase will average $100 to each teacher.

Economy forced by the depression precluded the normal increase in pay being granted in recent years and the redistribution is an effort to adjust the pay of the lesser-paid teachers more equitably.

Woman Works 64 Years in Same Mill.—The terrible toll of child labor in the mills of the South prior to establishment of the NRA, is emphasized with the revelation that Mrs. Mary Deitz, now seventy-one years old, has worked continuously in one mill for sixty-four years. At the tender age of seven years, when any child should normally be in school, she started to work in a cotton mill instead.

Motor Coach Strike Won.—The four-month strike of motor coach employees of Chicago finally ended in victory for the workers. Following many wild scenes during the strike, which lasted from August 16 to December 6, settlement was finally effected through negotiations, the results of which, while not announced in detail, were reported as satisfactory to all concerned.

Teachers to Act on Salary Return.—No action has been taken on the part of the Oneida, N. Y. Teachers Association regarding the proposal of the Board of Education for a seven and one-half per cent return of salaries of teachers.

Several days ago members of the Association proposed giving back five per cent of salaries. The Board responded with a suggested compromise offer to seven and a half per cent.

Women Charge Men Are Favored in Tests.—The Unemployed Teachers Association, New York, has appealed to educators from the various colleges and universities of the city for advice and assistance in its campaign against discrimination against women in the field of teaching.

According to the teachers, the tendency toward discrimination against women teachers "assumed rather unwonted proportions" recently when it was announced that several important examinations to be given next year have been restricted to men candidates. In addition, the teachers declared, men received a "distinct preference" when the recent high school appointments were made.

Head Commended for Winning Tutors Over to December Cut.—Miss Lillian Broderick, president of the Yonkers Teachers' Association, received credit last night for the fact that instructors voted favorably on Mayor Loehr's plan to open the schools in December.

Board of Education members had just passed a resolution congratulating the city administration on its successful rehabilitation of finances, when Trustee Thomas S. Reilly turned the plaudits to Miss Broderick.

"I don't believe there's a citizen in Yonkers deserving of more praise than the president of the Yonkers Teachers' Association," he declared.

"I recommend a motion of thanks for her for the work that she did. She eased the teachers' minds and she had a hard time doing it but she got them to take the December cut."

New York City Teachers Received Pay Jan. 2.—New York City school teachers did not receive their December salary checks scheduled for December 19 until Jan. 2.

These checks will mark the restoration of the teachers' salary cut made last May under the payless furlough plan.

Lack of time before Christmas was given as the reason for non-delivery of the checks before the school vacation. In addition, the payroll, which ranges from $8,000,000 to $9,000,000 will bear interest for 11 more days. The city will gain $10,000 to $15,000 interest on the payroll, Charles Gilman, deputy auditor of the Board of Education, explained.

Loyalty Oath Is Assailed as Blow to Truth.—Fearless and social-minded leaders being forced out of jobs, says educator.

"Education," says Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, legislative representative of the Teachers' Union, "faces a crisis. Critical teaching is needed more than ever if America is to work out her economic and political salvation and preserve its democratic institutions and traditions against the assaults of those who believe in dictatorship or change by violence."

Child Labor Ban Held Invalid Now.—Amendment is criticized. As drafted, it gives dictator's powers over labor of all under 18, the report declares. An opinion that the child labor amendment to the Constitution cannot be legally ratified because of the lapse of time since it was submitted to the States by Congress in 1924 was expressed on December 27 by a special committee of the American Bar Association, appointed to oppose ratification.

Democracy in Education

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

President
RAYMOND F. LOWRY, Toledo Local 250
219 Fifteenth St., Toledo, Ohio.

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> The time will come when the principle of organization and co-operation and the recognition of common interests of all of those who work in any way, whether mostly with their head or with their hands, or mostly with their voice, will be so clear that the explanations and the apologies and arguments will have to come from those who are not members of the teachers' unions.
>
> DR. JOHN DEWEY.

Child Labor Day—1935
January 26-28

Following a custom of nearly thirty years, the National Child Labor Committee has designated the last week-end in January for the observance of Child Labor Day. *The keynote this year will be ratification of the Federal Child Labor Amendment.*

The *temporary* abolition of child labor in the major industries of the country through the emergency codes has won universal approval. These gains must not be lost when the codes expire. The Child Labor Amendment offers the only direct method of making them *permanent.*

You can help in the following ways:

- Arrange child labor talks or present child labor plays or tableaux in churches, church schools, clubs, or schools.
- Exhibit poster and literature displays in libraries, club rooms, etc.
- Take press stories to local newspapers.
- Arrange a radio broadcast over your local stations.

The National Child Labor Committee will send a poster, packet of leaflets and other material to be used in preparing for Child Labor Day for 25 cents.

Accident of Residence

Equal educational opportunity for every child regardless of the accident of residence, race, creed, or social status.

So says the American Federation of Labor.

Shall the child who happens to be born in New York have the advantage of $152.85 worth of education a year, while just across the line the Pennsylvania child gets only $91.13 worth, and in Maryland $86.10 worth, in West Virginia $65.52 worth and in Virginia $42.73 worth? Shall the child who has the fortune to live in Massachusetts have spent on his schooling each year, $108.91, while his neighbor in Vermont gets $78.80 and in Maine $69.24?

Shall the accident of residence give the New York child $152.85 per year school cost and the child in Arkansas only $31.70?

The childhood of the nation is its greatest asset. Education is the most important business in the United States. The amount of education which any child may receive should be determined upon his ability to learn, not upon the ability of his parents to pay, nor upon the wealth of the community in which he chances to live.

Eighty per cent of the children of the United States, 25 per cent of the total population of the country, are dependent upon the public schools. In this great education industry, the largest in the United States, its workers, one-fourth of the population, we have invested 13.6 per cent of our national wealth. We have received a return greater than any other industry can show.

Is it not time we increased our investment and our return? The equalization of educational opportunity is the first business of government. Nine cents a day for each person of voting age for publicly supported education is not enough. When we put our money into school costs, we are investing it, not spending it, and the returns are not only health, happiness, freedom from vice, crime and delinquency, but also tangible, material things—better and more houses, better and more clothes, better and more food, better and more books and pictures and music, more production of wealth and a fairer distribution.

Let us increase our investment from 3.6 per cent to 7.2 per cent, and increase our return many fold. A square deal for the childhood of America regardless of the accident of residence is demanded. Let the money be taken where it is and spent where the children are. Congress will do this if parents and teachers and all friends of children and public education demand it.

One for All and All for One

The American Federation of Teachers is seeking to build such a loyalty among teachers that no teacher will accept a position made vacant by the unjust dismissal of another teacher. Also it has always held that teachers should be appointed and retained solely on the basis of merit, regardless of race, religion, or social status, including marriage. It believes that trained teachers of character and initiative with teaching ability should be secure in their positions. It opposes the making of marriage a social crime for teachers for which they shall be penalized by loss of opportunity for work in their chosen field.

Education for Democracy

How far we have to go and how greatly an organization based on high altruistic principles is needed, is evidenced by the news from Newark, N. J.

Proposed changes in the tenure law to permit the dismissal of married women teachers was supported by a group of unemployed single teachers in Newark.

The statement urges the support of parents, voters, taxpayers, and officials in ousting the married teachers as a move for economy as well as a benefit to the educational system.

The dismissal of a few married women teachers in order to secure cheaper teachers, for the new teachers will be employed at lower salaries, is no solution of the problem. The unemployed teachers making the protest need to join with their fellow teachers in the effort to maintain standards and to secure protection. Attacks on tenure laws are "economy" moves. Not better teachers, but cheaper teachers, is the motive. Married teachers first, teachers over 40 next, men teachers next, and so on for any reason whatsoever.

These attempts to undermine tenure are generally fathered by interests which seek to use the public schools for selfish purposes. Such attempts, if successful, tend to destroy academic freedom, to bring the teaching profession into disrepute, to lessen the possibilities of teacher leadership in the community, to deter prospective teachers from making teaching their life work, and to so intimidate, baffle, and distress teachers in service as seriously to affect the morale of the teaching force and thus impair the efficiency of the school system in which it occurs.

Legislative Report, A. F. T., 1934

Among the six major purposes of the American Federation of Teachers, we find these two, pertinent to this subject:

First, it can and must develop such a loyalty of teachers to each other that no teacher will accept the position of another teacher who has been unjustly dismissed.

It will establish teaching on a sound basis of adequate compensation and security of tenure in order that only the ablest and most self-respecting may be the teachers of our children.

We believe this group of unemployed teachers in Newark will realize that the basic problem is an economic one, the satisfactory solution of which is hampered not helped by the undermining of tenure laws and such changes as they have suggested.

It is evident our work is cut out for us, but we are active in fashioning a good garment.

Teachers Have Much to Learn About Collective Action

In a recent issue of the A. F. A. Reporter, the official publication of the American Federation of Actors, there appearel an article entitled, *Actors Have Much to Learn About Collective Action.* It is so applicable to teachers that we are here adapting it.

We teachers have a lot to learn.

We have been, for years, highly individualistic persons who have worked very hard to make a living. We have usually refused to join organizations — and if we joined any, we rarely took an active interest in them. We have felt that we could best advance through our own private efforts. We joined an organization if at all because our administrators and supervisors told us to and it seemed well to obey, or because it was the popular thing to do. We never thought we had any responsibility in the organization.

Times have changed.

The teacher cannot make a living alone, as he used to. "Economy" is the watch word in the schools today. Salaries are cut, teaching conditions are worsened, security of position is gone, freedom is curtailed. It is harder than ever to find work, and it is even more difficult to get a decent salary when you do find work.

In other words, the day of fighting alone is over. This is the day for collective action. You can call it collective bargaining if you want. It is the same thing.

For years, the teacher has been helpless when gypped. He could not sue very well, his contract was just a piece of paper, public sentiment was against such action, and he could not count on the support of his fellow teachers. It was always difficult, and sometimes unprofitable, to hire a lawyer.

Furthermore, the teacher avoided suing or squawking too loudly. He was always afraid that too much squawking would label him a trouble-maker, and that he would be blacklisted for other positions.

Obviously the teacher cannot protect himself properly as an individual, but he can through a group. Or, to put it another way, the teacher cannot do much as an individual teacher, but he can do a lot as a member of the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor.

If a member, the American Federation of Teachers will fight for him in all cases of injustices and unfair discriminations. The American Federation of Teachers can lodge complaints for him with the N. R. A. compliance boards. The American Federation of Teachers can warn his School Board that the organization demands a square deal. The American Federation of Teachers can contact school boards and superintendents and demand arbitration of a dispute. It can institute legal suit for its members in cases involving disputes over professional services.

In other words, the American Federation of Teachers "can take it" for its members. What individual teachers are afraid to do, the American Federation of Teachers can attempt with no fear.

The American Federation of Teachers exists because the teachers want it to. They keep it alive with their dues, their financial contributions, and their moral support. When the teachers feel they no longer need an organization, the American Federation of Teachers will go, because the American Federation of Teachers has no employer or administrator backing. The American Federation of Teachers was organized by teachers, it is supported and run by teachers, and it is being run for the benefit of the teachers and the schools.

Leisure Time

Leisure time is really the time to do as one pleases. The hampered five-year-old child, whether in the tenement, the alley, or even in the pleasant apartment or the grand mansion, with an untrained mother or nurse, and the man who has spent practically all of his life in a single routine of hard work, have a similar difficulty with regard to leasure time. Neither one knows what he *pleases* to do; neither has had a chance to find out. The child is the better off of the two because his age is in favor of experimentation. He will begin to handle things. When he is rebuffed, he is likely to try out seeking pleasures through annoying tactics. If out-of-doors, he may

throw stones or attempt other destructive measures. In such cases habits will be formed for which society later will punish him, though he will not be to blame.

Society should learn that it pays to take advantage of the age of experimentation and exploration and see that the five-year-old has a chance to find worth while ways for spending leisure. Society has long known about kindergartens but ostrich-like has been poking its head in the desert sands of the depression and closing these classes. The kindergarten is the child's—yes, more than that, the future man's and woman's—opportunity for experimentation and exploration in the field of doing what one pleases. As good an opportunity will never recur. Yet unless someone who loves little children and who cares for the future of our country will take the initiative public school kindergartens will remain closed. Good publicity material on this subject may be obtained from Mrs. Ralph E. Stringer, Illinois Field Secretary for the National Kindergarten Association, Robinson, Illinois. There is no charge for this.

The kindergarten offers allurements in various directions. There the child is free to try out many different legitimate paths and so judge their separate attraction for him. Free manipulation is a first step in a variety of directions. The eager use of crayons or paint brush does not promise us an artist. It may be a first expression of a desire to create which will eventually find satisfaction in something quite different. It may be the bright colors that attract. When you see a boy delighting in building a play engine or in driving it, it does not mean, necessarily, that he will be a mechanic or an engineer, for that driving force which he is developing may well be adapted to any business or recreational activity.

Self-expression, adaptability, appreciation, cooperation, and fair play grow apace in the kindergarten, and we need them to make leisure time safe and happy in a democracy.

—*Florence Jane Ovens.*

The national convention of the American Physical Education Association will be held in Pittsburgh, April 24-27, 1935.

Let's Be "Union Label Conscious"!

The one emblem that most truly represents the fruit of ceaseless toil and all effort for the betterment of mankind, from Alpha to Omega, from the days of serfdom to the present advanced state of wage earners, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, is the Union Label.

The Union Label, Shop Card, or Button, of each respective craft, affords the only positive assurance that the goods purchased were (1) made by capable workers fairly compensated for their work, (2) not made by child labor, and (3) not produced by "sweatshop" methods.

When you demand Union-Made goods and Union services, you (1) help yourself, (2) help your fellow-man, and (3) help the advancement of civilization to higher standards and accomplishment.

These simple truths must be plain to all who toil; their origin a part of the struggle of all wage earners and their worth apparent. Absolutely nothing has happened to detract from the meaning or the value of the Union Label.

Let us, therefore, become more "Union Label conscious"; let us support, individually and collectively, with whatever buying power we may possess, Union-Made goods and Union services; let's support "our own."

Won't YOU become now and remain always a consistent supporter of this great emblem of progress? Won't YOU urge upon your family and upon your friends, the advisability of always demanding the Union Label? Won't YOU help make America "Union Label conscious," for your own sake, for humanity's sake?

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, with the earnest cooperation of local organizations throughout the country, is conducting a well defined and greatly needed campaign in behalf of Union-Made goods and Union services. Won't YOU join in the spirit of the occasion and aid in practical results by helping to make all people "Union Label conscious"?

Whatever the need in a commodity, there is a UNION-MADE product; whatever the need for service, there is a UNION service.

Teachers Urged to Form Alliance with A. F. of L.

An alliance of the 1,100,000 school teachers of the country with the American Federation of Labor "to keep the schools open, to protect their jobs, and to keep education open to the people," was urged by two members of the faculty of Teachers' College, Columbia University, at the closing session of the regional conference of the International Industrial Relations Institute, at Russell Sage Foundation, on November 27.

"I would like to see them make such an alliance," said Dr. George S. Counts, one of the Columbia professors. "I think that in the American Federation of Teachers you already have a beginning toward that step."

Dr. Harold Rugg, another Columbia professor, said: "I see no other way out of his difficulties for the teacher but that we align ourselves with the workers and join the American Federation of Labor."—*New York Herald-Tribune.*

THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION will hold its Twentieth Annual Convention at Atlantic City, N. J., FEBRUARY 20, 21, 22 and 23, 1935. The theme of the Convention is: *GUIDANCE AT WORK.*

The aim is to make it a practical convention with demonstrations and discussion groups dealing with the problems which the counselors in the schools, colleges, social service agencies, and industrial establishments actually face.

This year the association will join with the following organizations who will be meeting at the same time:

American College Personnel Association.
Institute of Women's Professional Relations.
National Association of Deans of Women.
National Federation of Bureaus of Occupations.
Personnel Research Federation.
Southern Woman's Educational Alliance.
Teachers College Personnel Association.

The 1935 meeting of the World Federation of Education Associations will be held August 10-17, in Oxford, England.

Academic Freedom Council

At the call of the Progressive Education Association an unofficial meeting of representatives of the American Association of University Professors, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Federation of Teachers, the International League for Academic Freedom, the National Education Association, the N. E. A. Department of Classroom Teachers, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the Progressive Education Association met in Washington, D. C., on November 10 to discuss how national educational organizations might cooperate in and combine for effective action in preserving academic freedom. The members of the conference decided to invite all national organizations primarily interested in education to send official delegates to a conference for the purpose of establishing an American Joint Council on Academic Freedom.

The second conference which was official, was held in Washington on December 15. The following delegates were in attendance:

American Association of University Women.
Kathryn McHale, General Director.
(Mrs.) Harriet Houdlette.

American Council on Education.
Henry G. Doyle, George Washington University.

International League for Academic Freedom.
Horace M. Kallen, New School for Social Research.

American Federation of Teachers.
Henry R. Linville, Teachers Union of New York City.
Selma M. Borchardt, Public Schools of the District of Columbia.

National Congress of Parents and Teachers.
John T. Webner, Executive Secretary.
Mrs. Wm. T. Bannerman, Staff Member.

National Council on Religion in Higher Education.
Dr. J. C. Merriam, Teachers College.

National Education Association.
William G. Carr, Research Division, N. E. A.
Donald DuShane, Chairman, Committee on Teacher Tenure, N. E. A.
Hazel Davis, Research Division and Administrative Service, N. E. A.
Mrs. Blanche Preble, Chicago.
Emily Tarbell, Chairman, Committee on Academic Freedom, Department of Classroom Teachers, N. E. A.

Progressive Education Association.
Boyd Bode, Ohio State University.
Frank Baker, Milwaukee State Teachers College.

Howard K. Beale and James M. Shields as invited individuals.

Three enterprises were taken up. First, a philosophy back of academic freedom; second, professional conditions relating to academic freedom; and, third, a plan of organization. As a plan of organization an Advisory Council was set up composed of two representatives of each national organization participating, with a chairman and a paid secretary.

The plan is chiefly one that involves the collection of information about academic freedom cases, or cases that are alleged to be of that kind, and the transmission of this information to the constituent organizations with the inquiry as to whether the organizations are willing to take up the cases and on what basis. It was decided that a maximum of $200 contributed by each constituent organization would be sufficient to carry the enterprise.

A full report of the conference will be ready for distribution soon.

Crime Conference Adopts 8-Point Plan Designed to Check Law Violations

By A. F. of L. News Service

Washington. — The Attorney General's Conference on Crime, concluded here December 13 and regarded by many as the most important conference of its kind ever held in America, finally voted adoption of an eight-point plan of crime eradication.

One of the outstanding features is establishment of a national scientific and educational centre for police. State "Departments of Justice" comes second among the recommendations.

Organized Labor, having always been interested in proper crime prevention and law enforcement on the basis of equal rights for all, is expected to give every possible cooperation in the forthcoming drive against crime and can heartily endorse several of the suggestions offered. The eight principal points mentioned include the following:

1. That a national scientific and educational centre be established in Washington for the better training of police.

2. That the States give serious consideration to a better form of coordinated control by means of State Departments of Justice or otherwise. Interstate compacts for law enforcement were urged.

3. That the Federal and State Governments eliminate youthful delinquency by facilitating constructive educational, vocational, and recreational opportunities.

4. That the use of methods not in accord with orderly and lawful procedure be condemned in dealing with industrial conflicts and racial antagonisms.

5. That "abuse" of the parole system be eliminated.

6. That State Legislatures consider a six-point program endorsed by leading legal organizations for "a substantial improvement in criminal procedure."

7. That a practice of unduly dramatic stories of crime and glorifying the criminal in the press and periodicals be condemned.

8. That improper conditions in many local jails throughout the country be condemned, as well as the possession of firearms by criminals, activities of "lawyer-criminals," "political" protection, and "abuse of bail."

Federal Aid for Education

Through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration the Federal Government is now spending approximately $3,500,000 a month on its emergency education program. This includes adult education, aids to needy college students, nursery schools, etc.

F. E. R. A. is also aiding in keeping open public schools in three drought affected states: North Dakota, South Dakota, and Arkansas.

When Congress convenes on January 3, bills will probably be introduced for permanent Federal aid in education.

The House Committee on Education will have a new chairman in the next Congress, since Representative John J. Douglass, of Massachusetts, present chairman, was defeated in the Democratic primary in his district.

If in the selection of committee assignments, the regular system of seniority is followed, Representative Vincent L. Palmisano, of Maryland, will become chairman, as he is next in line, but with so vast a number of Democrats to take care of in this distribution of chairmanships, someone else may possibly be selected by the Democratic leaders for policy purposes.

Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, reelected, will continue as chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

—*Congressional Digest.*

BOOKS

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

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. *Fred A. Shannon.* Macmillan. 942 pp. $3.75. Reviewed by Mark Starr.

Using the same economic clue to development, which Fred A. Shannon, Department of History and Government, Kansas State College, uses so brilliantly and convincingly in this most readable and up-to-date history, we would suggest that his book reflects the disillusioned clear-eyed vision produced by the panic of 1929 and the continuing depression. Lucky are the students and teachers who will use this volume as their text and every teacher and the general reader also can get from its pages much valuable insight into the story which begins with the discovery of the United States as a by-product of Europe's transition from feudalism to modern industrialism and ends in March, 1934, with the possibility of "state capitalism under a fascist regime . . . ." Mr. Shannon's viewpoint is that the problems of the present are rooted in the past development of this country and of the world. He has organized material that has been widely and wisely culled from many sources. His four big divisions are: (1) Period of Colonial Dependence to 1789; (2) The Period of Dominant Sectionalism, 1789-1865; (3) The Rise of Capitalism, 1865-1900; (4) The Capitalistic Age, 1900-1933. In each of his main divisions he devotes a special chapter to the condition of the workers and their movements.

One or two minor points could have been made clearer. Mr. Shannon (p. 620) writes as if the Social Democratic party continued after 1900 and ignores the merger with the group of dissident members of the Socialist Labor Party which led to the Socialist Party. He makes the guess (p. 813) that if "some intellectual go-betweens" had been employed to influence public opinion, the unions might have won recognition in the Steel Strike of 1919; he fails to note the weakness arising from the fact that the 24 craft unions involved did not pull together. The details of membership given for the American Federation of Labor need bringing up-to-date and checking by the returns made by the constituent unions in their own records. However, in the main, Mr. Shannon is fair and accurate. He is keenly alive to the dark shadows —the awful return made to the Indians for the assistance they gave to the first white settlers and agriculture, the evils of wage-slavery which made the chattel slaves in some cases wish to return to their old masters, the elaborate defense of property owners built up in the Constitution. He tells the story of the Molly Maguires, of the crushing of the strikes of 1877 by the unprecedented use of the Federal troops, of the Haymarket Martyrs, of Homestead, of the Pullman strike, of Sacco and Vanzetti and similar men and incidents. The scandalous profiteering in railroad construction by the directors of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific when the first transcontinental line was built in 1868-1869; the consequent end of the buffalo (which would not give milk or pull the plough) and of the power of the Indians, who also would not conform to modern capitalism; and the manipulation of railroad stock by "conscienceless pirates like Jay Gould, Daniel Drew, and Cornelius Vanderbilt" to enrich themselves, to impoverish the roads, to bilk the small stockholders, and to rob the shippers—all receive attention. Mr. Shannon thus sums up the tactics of the robber barons, the Morgans, Rockefellers, and Carnegies:

> The tactics were those of barbarian chieftains—combining foresight, boldness, courage, driving force, and executive ability with greed, avarice, cruelty, trickery, and ruthlessness. The fight for mastery was a rough and tumble affair where no holds were barred and any form of mayhem was considered proper.

Later their descendants built up supermonopolies more refined but not less effective. In many parts of the book, the author wields the irony of Veblen free from Veblen's polysyllabics. Members of the A. F. of T. will appreciate the following description of wartime:

> Salaried men, including teachers and college and university professors, who were too timid to organize and too proud to let their wives take in washings, frequently were pinched with hunger and clothed in patches after buying the quota of liberty bonds forced upon them as a test of loyalty.

Referring to the Monroe Doctrine (1823) Mr. Shannon says that the minor American republics were led by later American action to regard it as

> merely a declaration of prior claim to the Latin-American apple tree, the fruit to be shaken into Uncle Sam's plug hat as it became ripe. . . . Seldom, however, was the "white man's burden" lifted from native shoulders unless it was considered worth carrying home.

In similar vein a footnote dealing with Oriental policy remarks:

> In many of the events above mentioned missionaries proved valuable to the nation desiring colonies. If a missionary was eaten in an undesirable part of the world it was a regrettable incident. But any aggression, even if well justified, against a missionary in a region of potential profit was a national crisis making the subjugation of the tribe and the extension of imperial control a Christian duty.

There are similar spicy footnotes, and the paragraphs on modern advertising are masterly in their satire. They are the pepper and sauce to the solid meal of facts and tabular statements prepared by Mr. Shannon which deserves the serious attention of all who want to understand just how we got this way in our social order.

EDUCATION AND THE WORKER-STUDENT. A book about workers' education based upon the experience of teachers and students. *Jean Carter* and *Hilda W. Smith.* Publishers, The Affiliated Schools for Workers, 302 East Thirty-fifth St., New York City.

This is the book for which you have been waiting. It explains the ever-growing and increasingly important movement in workers' education. It is designed to be of specific assistance to those of you who are in contact with the many new centers for workers' education which are opening up throughout the country. *Education and the Worker-Student* is the latest pamphlet prepared by the Affiliated Schools for Workers at the request of the Office in Workers' Education of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The authors of this pamphlet are keenly aware of the many questions which arise in connection with the teaching of worker-students. Their discussions are incorporated under such chapter headings as these: The Teacher and the Student; What Shall We Teach?; Organizing Workers' Classes; How Shall We Teach?; Facing Problems of the Industrial

World; The Use of English as a Tool; Adventures in Creative Living.

The teaching of workers depends far less on set pedagogic rules than on the understanding of the individual educational needs of a worker or a group of workers and the ability to interpret education in terms of everyday industrial life. The worker is an adult whose formal education has been usually of fairly short duration. He has plenty of practical industrial experience which he does not always comprehend. He comes to class eager to have industrial and economic conditions explained to him, to attain greater facility in understanding and expressing himself both in the written and spoken word. For the worker-student, education must start with a fuller understanding of his own life and an interpretation of his own practical experiences before he can absorb the intricacies of our modern civilization. *Education and the Worker-Student* tells how the teachers of workers' classes may accomplish this end.

Both the authors have long been associated with this movement and are well qualified to speak on the latest developments and techniques therein. Miss Hilda W. Smith has been the Director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, and of the Affiliated Schools for Workers. She is now the Specialist in Workers' Education under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Miss Jean Carter has for some years been a member of the faculty of the Bryn Mawr Summer School, and is also a member of the Educational Council of the Affiliated Schools for Workers.

We believe that you will be well rewarded in ordering enough copies for yourself and your associates. The price is only 25c a copy. Order from the publishers.

I WENT TO PIT COLLEGE. *Lauren Gilfillan.* Macmillan. $2.50. Reviewed by Mark Starr.

Adopted by the Literary Guild and listed for some weeks as a best seller, this striking firsthand impresion by a college girl of life in a Pennsylvania mining village needs no introduction. The tragedy is that such a book is too often read as a "thriller" and nothing is done about the conditions it reveals. The miners asking for their rights under Section 7A will be met by the same tear gas, clubbings and shootings. The book should be required reading for all those reared upon roseate pictures of a fictitious United States free from the class struggle and the poverty of the less fortunate lands. It is not the whole tragic story of the coaldiggers and their unions, but a section which no one has told more convincingly.

ONE HELL OF A BUSINESS. *H. C. Engelbrecht.* Robert M. McBride and Co., New York City, 1934. 96 pp. $1.00.

Here is presented a useful summary and interpretation of the early findings of the Nye Committee. The public soon forgets. It is well therefore to have available such a handy reminder of the bribery and other corrupt practices of the munitions business. But the real value of this book derives not so much from its summary of the facts as from its intelligent interpretation of their meaning. Dr. Engelbrecht sees clearly that the armament manufacturers are not a special group bent upon a unique type of deviltry. Not at all: "The average munitions maker is above all a capitalist business man." Profit-making is "the key-note of capitalist civilization," and "the lure of profits has dulled many a sensitive conscience, and under capitalist competition this is almost inevitable." The author is also skeptical of nationalization of the industry as a solution: "If nationalization is looked upon as a guarantee of peace, a sad awakening will probably be in store for those who put their trust in this measure." The diffculty is that wars are made by militarist and imperialist powers which use the private arms industry as their tool. Therefore, "as long as capitalism and nationalism use the arms industry as an instrument for continuing imperialist wars, it makes little difference whether the manufacture of arms remains in private hands or becomes a government monopoly."

—*Breaking the War Habit.*

Announcement

The Federal Office of Education announces the printing of a splendid picture of the President which he inscribed at the request of United States Commissioner of Education, John W. Studebaker.

To the pupils and teachers of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Excellent copies of the original photograph on heavy paper suitable for framing will be sent free with the December issue of *School Life*, official monthly journal of the Federal Office of Education.

Copies of this December issue, with the picture insert, may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., at 10 cents a copy. There is a 25 per cent discount on 100 or more copies sent to one address. Send check or money order (no stamps) with your request.

December *School Life* contains, in addition to other features, quotations from speeches and statements in which the President has voiced his ideas on education.

Child Labor Play

A play suitable for presentation by groups of school or Sunday School children from 7 to 17 years has been prepared by the Young Women's Christian Association.* From 25 to 60 children can take part in the production, which requires approximately half an hour for presentation

Copies can be secured from the Womans Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. Price 20 cents.

**The Child Labor Amendment:* An Assembly Program by Margaret Hiller.

NEW YORK LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Copies of the Legislative Program of the New York Teachers Union, Local 5 of the A. F. T., are available at the office of the Union, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

This program contains material on legislative matters of general interest which will be of value to you.

A copy will be sent to any local requesting it.

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News from the Field

New Locals

The American Federation of Teachers welcomes into membership and its crusade for school protection and social betterment 14 new locals since the last previous issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

Campbell County, Wyo., Federation of Teachers, Local 356.
Eastern Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Teachers Union, Local 357.
Marin County, Cal., Federation of Teachers, Local 358.
Allentown, Pa., Federation of Teachers, Local 359.
Wisconsin Workers Education Local 360.
North Dakota University Local 361.
Casper, Wyo., Federation of Teachers, Local 362.
Sevier School District, Utah, Federation of Teachers, Local 363,
Independence County, Ark., Federation of Teachers, Local 364.
Izard County, Ark., Federation of Teachers, Local 365.
Cheyenne, Wyo., Federation ofTeachers, Local 366.
McDowell County, W. Va., Federation of Teachers, Local 367.
Caddo Parish, La., Federation of Classroom Teachers, Local 368.
North Stutsman County, N. Dak., Federation of Teachers, Local 369.

New York Local 5

Superintendent of Schools Harold G. Campbell, on December 1, was asked by the Teachers Union to declare himself for full restoration of absence refunds for teachers. The issue rests with him, it was pointed out.

Absence deductions were part of an economy program, which has since been nullified, Dr. Henry R. Linville, president of the union, wrote the superintendent. Further, they are being made illegally, he charged.

Dr. Linville suggested that restoration of full state aid should be followed by restoration of salary deductions for absence caused by illness.

He blamed the economy program for many teacher illnesses. The program increased the pupil load, he said, which burdened the teachers, "not only with larger classes, but also with increased assignments.

"Those actions bore most heavily on a conscientious teacher who broke down under the added strain," Dr. Linville wrote.

"Instead of receiving sympathetic consideration because of the load he has borne, he is penalized by half pay absence deduction. To add insult to injury, the deduction is made illegally, since it is based upon the salary of December, 1932, whereas the teacher now receives a much lower salary because of the pay cuts.

Dr. Linville's letter follows in full:

On January 30, 1933, the Board of Education rescinded its resolutions governing refunds of salary deductions for absence caused by illness, and adopted in its stead a resolution making the schedules on file in the office of the Commissioner of Education on December 9, 1932, the basis on which absence deductions were to be made. Refunds allowed for such actions were limited in amount to one-half of the deduction except that such deduction was not to exceed ten dollars for each day of absence for which the refund is allowed.

When the Legislature adopted the policy of decreasing State aid and educational appropriations were seriously curtailed, the board, contrary to sound public policy, adopted the above resolution.

However inequitable this policy may be because it is discriminating, we object to it on the following grounds:

First, the program of economy brought about an increase in the pupil load which burdened the teachers not only with larger classes, but also with increased assignments. Those actions bore most heavily on a conscientious teacher who broke down under the added strain. Instead of receiving sympathetic consideration because of the load he has borne, he is penalized by half pay absence deduction. To add insult to injury, the deduction is made illegally, since it is based upon the salary of December, 1932, whereas the teacher now receives a much lower salary because of the pay cuts.

Second, the action of the Union, the United Parents Associations, organized labor, the Joint Committee of Teachers' Organizations, and other groups which brought about the restoration of full State aid for schools, received your warm support and benefitted by your leadership and that of President Ryan. In view of the injustice of all absence deductions and the abandonment of the policy of cutting State aid which was the pretext which led to the adoption of the unfair and illegal absence deductions, now that this policy of reducing full State aid has been nullified, are we not warranted in asking the abandonment of the entire policy of absence deductions?

Moreover, at the budget hearings the representatives of the teachers were told that the restoration of full absence deductions rested exclusively with you. Hence we urge you to demand the full restoration of absence deductions for illness, and thus show appreciation of the heavy burden borne by teachers because of undue budget slashes and heavier pupil loads. NEW YORK POST.

Sacramento Local 31

A brief resume of the origin and accomplishments of Chapter No. 31, A. F. T., might be of interest to all our members—to the older ones for the memories it will revive of the stirring days of the post-war period and to newer members as a source of information and inspiration.

The immediate cause of the organization of the chapter was economic; costs of living had been mounting for several years; salary increases had been denied for reasons that were quite unsatisfactory; delays had been endured, when suddenly, in October, 1918, the faculty of the High School decided to ask for a charter from the American Federation of Teachers.

This was granted, and Chapter No. 31, A. F. T., came into existence February, 1919, with 45 charter members out of a faculty of approximately 60.

Mr. S. G. McLean was the first president, and Miss M .E. Baird secretary; 23 of the charter members are still serving on the faculties of either the High School or Junior College today.

Considerable interest was manifested in the movement, both locally and throughout the state, such a thing being entirely unorthodox, undignified, and unprofessional, of course. Up to this time teachers had quietly accepted the status quo and loyally submitted to the rulings of the powers that controlled their destinies.

Teaching conditions were as good as in the average city school system. The maximum salary for classroom teachers in the High School was $1,680, which was woefully inadequate to meet the ever increasing costs of living, and nothing apparently was being done to alleviate the situation.

That teachers should organize, hold meetings, and take a real interest in their own economic situation was an entirely new idea in Sacramento—quite unusual. We had the City Teachers' Association and the California Teachers' Association. why the need for any more associations and especially why affiliate with the A. F. L.? What kind of support could they offer the teachers?

At first, of course, the administration expressed its surprise and disapproval, but, upon being assured the teachers had not gone "Bolshevik," became reconciled to the inevitable and later even sought our assistance in salary schedule revision, which was directed very definitely upward.

We had been told that a $5.00 per month increase was the maximum possible on account of legal limitations, etc., and the prospects of a raise did not look very bright.

An energetic committee was appointed, ably led by Miss Lauretta Ferguson, which stayed on the job through most of the summer of 1919, found ways and means of securing more funds for teachers' salaries, and and succeeded in securing a $20.00 per month increase for the ensuing year.

The following year, 1920, the salaries were again revised upward and our present schedule adopted.

Having secured adequate salaries, our attention was next directed to teaching conditions in the classroom, and such matters as teacher's load, causes for dismissal, professional ethics, etc., came up for consideration.

Committees were also appointed to study the labor movement activities in relation to education and the public schools, school bonds, the junior high school and its relation to our local system, school cafeterias, and physical education.

In conjunction with six other locals in the state, we became interested in legislation pertaining to schools. Through our legislative committee, led by our zealous and untiring co-worker, R. W. Everett, we have been able to give much assistance in such matters as teachers' tenure, professional relations, etc. Recently, credit unions and group insurance have been under consideration, and so the good work continues. After sixteen years of achievement in battling for teachers' rights and school improvement most of our members are as enthusiastic as ever and look forward to even greater accomplishments in the future.

A. V. WILDE,
In The Teacher's Voice.

Madison Local 35

The Madison Federation of Teachers has joined with other groups of city employes in the formation of a central council with five delegates from each group. The council aims to do all in its power to secure the restoration of salaries and to correct the injustice which now makes teachers' salaries subject to greater waiver than those of other city employees. Dr. Arnold Zander, secretary of the Wisconsin

Federation of Teachers, is acting as counsel.

Local 35 was represented by two delegates at the convention of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers in Milwaukee in October.

A dinner, to which all Madison teachers are invited, is planned for February 8. R. F. Lowry, president of A. F. T., will be the speaker.

Philadelphia Local 192

During the past months, events of great importance to our organization have followed one another in rapid succession. First, by establishing a more fully equipped office, we were able to relieve members of much of the routine business of the union. They were then able to devote more of their time to the more pressing duties required of them.

The first issue of our monthly magazine, *The Philadelphia Teacher*, was published in a sixteen page edition, and distributed to all teachers. Reports from many sources indicate it was received most favorably and has helped materially in obtaining still more support for our organization.

The major part of our energies, however, has been devoted to an intensive campaign for the restoration of our salaries to the 1933 schedule. This drive was directed along a number of avenues of attack. First of all, union members circulated petitions asking for the restoration. Citizens interested in the school situation were enlisted to help further by writing letters to the Board of Education urging the salary restoration. Figures, showing that the financial condition of the Board fully justified the return, were secured and given considerable publicity. Finally two large mass meetings were held. One, primarily for teachers, was addressed by members of our salary committee, who reviewed the situation and presented a plan of action. We were especially pleased to welcome at this meeting, our national president, Mr. Raymond F. Lowry, who brought us a message of confidence and support. At the second meeting held in the Girls' High School Auditorium, an enthusiastic audience of about 1,000 teachers and parents heard addresses by Dr. Harold Rugg of Columbia and Dr. Luther Harr of Pennsylvania. Their topic was *Retrenchment in Education*. Members of the salary committee then again presented our plan of action and they were followed by representatives of labor organizations and women's clubs who offered us their whole-hearted support. A resolution urging the salary restoration was adopted unanimously at the meeting and sent to the Board of Education. This brought to a close a meeting which marked a significant point in the history of the Philadelphia school system.

On November 12, at the annual budget meeting of the Board of Education, a delegation of thirty representing teachers, labor organizations, and other civic groups appeared in support of our petition. Three speakers presented our views: Mr. Jack Levitt, financial secretary of Local 192; Mr. Adolph Hirschberg, president of the Central Labor Union; and Miss Felice Darkow, brilliant lawyer and representative of the public at large. As a result of this meeting, two facts appear as a concrete basis for hope. First, the president of the board expressed himself as fully in favor of the restoration of salaries, if at all possible. Second, teachers' organizations were invited, for the first time, to send representatives to discuss the question with the Board's Committee.

Local 192 continues to stride forward as the leader among teachers' organizations in Philadelphia. Although our salary campaign failed in the sense that we did not receive the much needed salary restoration, we succeeded along a number of very significant fronts. First of all, by revealing the necessary surplus for the restoration in the Boards' accounts, we exposed the fact that the Board was not the "friend of the teacher" as was generally believed. It is now clear to most teachers that the Board is more interested in appeasing the desires of the Chamber of Commerce and the Taxpayers' and Consumers' Leagues, than in satisfying the demands of the teachers.

Meetings which we held during the campaign attracted unusual attention. The facts and figures we presented, more than anything else perhaps, helped to establish the Union in the eyes of the Philadelphia teacher, as a courageous, militant organization on whose leadership they could depend. The attitude toward the Union is now much more sympathetic and friendly than it has been in the past, and our membership continues to grow.

Our publication, *The Philadelphia Teacher*, also continues to attract much favorable comment from teachers throughout the city.

Activity among other committees must not, however, be forgotten. The Legislative Committee has already prepared a tenure law which will soon be presented to the membership. The Child Welfare committee has also prepared a bill authorizing the distribution of free milk to children in schools throughout the state. An intensive campaign is being planned to push this project.

Commonwealth Local 193

Albert Einstein, world-famous mathematician, is paying the tuition fee of a young friend of his, Paul Beeck of New York City, to Commonwealth College, the labor school near Mena.

Beeck is coming to Commonwealth to better train himself for service in the American labor movement. Like all other Commonwealth students he will work 20 hours per week on the college farm, in the garden, office, library, etc., in exchange for his board, room, and laundry service.

Einstein is now at Princeton, having been forced to leave Fascist Germany. He became interested in Commonwealth recently and approves of the work being done by the school.

The only cost to the student at Commonwealth is the tuition fee of $40 per quarterly term of three months. The school is very economically operated and raises most of its food on its mountain farm. Teachers receive no salaries but work beside the students at the necessary tasks.

Courses to be offered during the winter quarter, which opens December 31, will include economics, history, journalism and creative writing, public speaking, imperialism, psychology, labor problems, working-class history, stenography, etc.

The purpose of the school is to train young men and women for service in the labor movement. It grants no degrees nor certificates, but gives students training in the subjects and skills they most need if they are to be effective in the movement to abolish poverty.

Detroit Local 231

The Detroit Federation of Teachers, Local 231, is having a steady and considerable increase in membership.

A grievance committee to protect the interests of individual teachers has been set up.

The Local participated actively in the election of officers in the First District of the Michigan Education Association. It was represented by delegates at the conference of A. F. T. affiliates in the state of Michigan at Ann Arbor on December 15 called by the University of Michigan and Ann Arbor Local.

The cooperation of the Detroit Federation of Labor in opposition to constitutional amendments to Michigan constitution on gas and weight tax has been secured.

LOREN WALTERS.

Appleton, Wis., Local 240

The Appleton Federation of Teachers through its committee, William Pickett and Carl Bertram, has issued the following bulletin to acquaint the teachers with its purposes and activities. Reprints may be obtained from the National office at a low cost.

The American Federation of Labor has carried on the fight for public schools since its first convention in 1881, when it went on record for compulsory education; "We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of the children." Since that time the A. F. of L. has always strongly supported the public schools.

THE TEACHERS' FEDERATION:

I. *What Is It?*

It is a classroom teachers' organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

II. *What Are Its Objectives?*

To bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and cooperation.

To raise the standard of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service.

To insure the support of organized labor generally by affiliation with the Federation of Labor.

To direct and guide the forces of labor in behalf of Education through membership and by representation on National, State and Local labor groups.

Through the support of labor, initiate and prosecute desirable social legislation. (Statewide.)

Interest local labor groups in the problems of Education.

To create an agency for collective bargaining for teachers in salary discussions.

Encourage intelligent participation in the political life of the Nation and in the State and its political subdivisions.

To conduct research as a basis for intelligent educational planning.

III. *Who May Be Members?*

Any classroom teacher.

IV. *What Is the Scope of Membership?*

Active membership in the local, state, and national Federations.

V. *What Is the Medium of Affiliation With Labor?*

Through local, state, and national Labor organizations.

VI. *When Are Meetings Held?*

Once a month.

VII. *Who Are Some Nationally Known Men and Women Who Are Members?*

Eugene W. Lyman, Prof. of Philosophy and Religion, Union Theological Seminary.

Gardner Murphy, Instructor in Psychology, Columbia University.

Harold Groves, University of Wisconsin Local, and former member of the Wisconsin Tax Commission.

John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.

Leroy E. Bowman, Instructor in Sociology, Columbia University.

Joseph K. Hart, former Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin.

W. T. Stone, Teacher of English, De Witt Clinton High School.

Caroline Pratt, Director, The City and Country School, New York.

Jesse H. Holmes, Swarthmore College, President of Philadelphia local.

Maynard C. Krueger, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago.

Raymond F. Lowry, Instructor, University of Toledo.

VIII. *What Prominent "Professionals" Are Members of the American Federation of Labor?*

John Dewey, professor of philosophy, Columbia University; Dr. Franklin Meyer, U. S. Bureau of Standards; Ethel Barrymore, Vice-President, Actors Equity; Harry A. Overstreet, professor of philosophy, College of the City of New York; Frank Gilmore, President, Actors Equity; Ethelbert Stewart, U. S. Bureau of Statistics; Robert Morss Lovett, editor, New Republic; Paul H. Douglass, professor of economics, University of Chicago; Edward F. Keating, editor, Labor; John Herman Randall, author and professor at Columbia University; John A. Brewer, professor of education, Harvard University; and hundreds of others.

IX. *What Locals Exist in Wisconsin at Present and Where?*

Green Bay, Antigo, Madison, Sheboygan, Oshkosh, Racine, West Allis, Milwaukee Vocational, Milwaukee Public, Appleton, Wauwatosa, Beloit, Milwaukee Teachers College, Wisconsin Extension, University of Wisconsin, Superior, Stout, Institute, Wisconsin Workers' Education.

X. *Is Labor Affiliation Professional?*

Is it professional for teachers to join the American Federation of Teachers and affiliate with Organized Labor?

Progressive teachers affiliate with groups having advanced educational programs. Intelligent people accept the opinions of experts.

Dr. John Dewey, the world's greatest educational expert says: *"The educational record of the American Federation of Labor is conspicuous. A few years ago I went over a good many of the documents in that field and I say without any fear of contradiction that there is no organization in the United States—I do not care what its nature is—that has such a fine record in the program of liberal progressive public education as will be found in the printed records of the American Federation of Labor.*

It is, therefore, highly professional to affiliate with organized labor through the American Federation of Teachers.

XI. *Can Teachers Be Ordered to Strike?*

Under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Teachers retains complete autonomy. It would be impossible for the A. F. of L. to order a strike. The constitution of the American Federation of Teachers contains no provision for strikes. In the nature of the case teachers must place their chief dependence on an aroused public opinion and political action.

XII. *Is the American Federation of Teachers a Growing Organization?*

In June, 1934, the American Federation of Teachers had a membership of 134 locals. Of this number 81 new locals were admitted during the year. Many have joined since.

XIII. *Conclusion.*

If all teachers were within the teachers' unions and if they were not merely somewhat nominal members who try to keep their dues paid but active working members who came into contact with the labor unions, with the working men of the country and their problems, I am sure that more would be done to reform and improve our education, and to put into execution the ideas and ideals written about and talked about by progressive educators and reformers than by any other one cause whatsoever, if not more than by all other causes together.—Dr. John Dewey.

Lawrence Local 244

The annual meeting and election of Local 244, held November 20, 1934, at Columbia hall was well attended. The election of officers for 1935 resulted as follows:

President, Walter A. Sidley; 1st vice-president, Albert V. Regan; 2nd vice-president, Elizabeth F. McKenna; recording secretary, Charles A. Reardon; financial-secretary, Edward F. Glynn; treasurer, Anna L. Carey. Elected to the executive board were Alicia T. Quealy, Marion Brown, Charles J. Stahle, Thomas H. McElroy, Cornelius F. Sweeney, Walter D. Lynch, Edward F. Praetz, Thomas H. Derby and James A. Griffin.

The finance committee and special committee on waivers were instructed to seek the return of the full 15% voluntary contributions to all teachers for 1935.

Heavy payment of dues at the meeting, and the initiation of a large group of new members made possible the showing of a balance of several hundred dollars in the treasury by the retiring Treasurer, Augustine A. Donovan.

It was voted to continue the membership drive until January 1, 1935, during which period all women teachers joining still constitute themselves "Pioneers of 244."

Chattanooga-Hamilton County Local 246

Establishment of a definite pay scale for city teachers, to replace what President Stanton E. Smith described as "the hit-and-miss fashion" now dominating local salary policies, was demanded by the Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers Federation.

A three-point program for the following year was adopted by the meeting of the association at University of Chattanooga calling for the following objectives:

(1) A drive for the teachers' tenure law; (2) a campaign to enlarge membership of the organization throughout the state; (3) a drive to obtain adoption of the salary scale submitted by the city commission last summer.

Committees were appointed to manage each campaign, twenty-two teachers, headed by Miss Lassie Munsey, being named to the salary committee.

While the meeting of the association, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, was closed to outsiders, President Smith issued a statement of what transpired:

"We are not asking for a pay scale even approaching those of other cities, but we do ask that salaries be paid according to some objective basis, not in the hit-and-miss fashion which for years has characterized local salary policies, particularly in the city," the president stated.

"While it is true that the present commissioner of education (W. E. Wilkerson) has stated that he is attempting to adjust salaries, it is also true that no definite basis has been made known for making such adjustments."

Mr. Smith charged that low wages paid Chattanooga teachers, who receive less than firemen and policemen, have prevented teachers from furthering their professional training.

Officers of the association installed Saturday include Mr. Smith, president; G. M. Swingley, vice-president; Miss Lassie Munsey, vice-president; Miss Jean Petitt, recording secretary; C. P. Parsons, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Stewart Rogers, financial secretary; Sam Harris, treasurer, and Paul Morris, sergeant-at-arms.

—*Chattanooga Times.*

Local 246 has opened an office at 201 Ferger Building with a part-time office secretary.

The president writes, and we heartily agree with him, "We feel that our new business set-up is a distinct advance and will add enormously to the effectiveness of our local."

Toledo Local 250

The press has been carrying the following interesting story about Toledo Local 250.

Teachers Win in Toledo

The school teachers in Toledo won a victory that seems of much importance at this time.

The American Federation of Teach-

ers. Local No. 250, won the fight for academic freedom and job security. The question was over the right of the school board to demote teachers for radical views. The board, without revealing the grounds for its action, decided that any teachers demoted for radicalism could be reinstated, and that the matter should be a closed incident thereafter.

Milwaukee Local 252

The Milwaukee Teachers Union, besides the usual four executive officers, has several standing committees with specific duties. The chairmen of these committees together with the executive officers and delegates to affiliated organizations form an executive committee that meets each week. The Union meets once each month during the school year.

The first of the standing committees has for its duty the education of teachers to realize the value of a broad social and educational point of view. At present it uses a mimeographed letter reaching only part of the local teachers. Mr. Welles, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, is making arrangements for a publication having state wide circulation. This will enable us to reach a much larger group of teachers.

A second committee is active in helping to formulate a system of education concerned not only with intellectual training, but also with creating dynamic social and civic consciousness. It is at present working to achieve the enlarged course in social science described in the last issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

A third committee is our representative before the Board of School Directors and other legislative bodies. The chairman and members of this committee not only appear at board meetings but also confer with individual directors. It is largely through the efforts of this committee that we secured a six per cent restoration in pay cut.

The fourth committee will estimate current social and civic problems, encourage dissemination of information regarding them, and if advisable, recommend suggested solutions to such problems. Interviewing candidates for public office and informing interested parties of the records of such candidates are functions of this committee.

A fifth committee will interpret the aims and needs of the schools to the public through all available agencies. The duties of two other committees, on programs and membership, are self evident.

The Union is affiliated with and maintains close contact with local and state labor organizations. These organizations have given us 100% cooperation at all times. We are also making contacts with Parent-Teacher and other public spirited civic organizations.

Our program is an ambitious one. We are not functioning anywhere near 100%, but hope to do so as our membership grows. The work we are doing is very interesting and is proving decidedly educational to those of us that are venturing into public endeavor for the first time.

SEVERIN SWENSEN,
Press Secretary.

Cleveland Local 279

Cleveland Local 279 has been at work for ten months. Linkage of the personnel of the city schools to the only strong organization representing the economic and social viewpoint of the average city parent and voter was the chief purpose of those organizing Local 279. Rightly they felt that such connection could, in the long run, result only in the welfare of the common schools. Cleveland teachers lost none of their independence, committed themselves to no dark-actions by such liaison; on the contrary, they affected favorably the attitude of thousands of Cleveland workers toward their schools.

The teachers' union has championed the cause of the teachers low in the salary schedule and has led the fight for an adjustment in salaries restoring all teachers to their proper place in the schedule through a partial restoration of cuts and lost increments. At no time has the pressure of our claims endangered contracts.

At our last presentation of these claims, an administrator congratulated the salary committee upon having made the best presentation of the teachers' cause yet offered. One member of the Board of Education expressed his appreciation of the manner in which the negotiations were conducted, while another said that she hoped we would continue to press our claims until the situation was corrected.

Local 279 fired the opening gun against the proposed constitutional amendments taking automoive and liquid fuel taxes away from the schools. The *Press* of July 5 and 6 records that action in news and editorial columns.

The challenge of the educational committee of the Chamber of Commerce to academic freedom was promptly met by the Cleveland Federation of Labor through a resolution presented by its teacher-affiliate. The action was carried as important news in the papers of October 18.

One hundred and fifty members of the teachers' union, through one thousand calls on delinquent tax-payers, were directly responsible for the payment of $350,000 into the county treasury, and indirectly responsible for an additional amount not yet determined. County-treasurer Boyle gladly vouches for this statement.

The teachers union invites comparison between its slate of candidates for the legislature, and the state senators and representatives elected. The score is 16 out of 24.

Local 279, in spite of the defeat of the two-mill levy, believes that it was a potent factor in votes amassed. Through Frank B. Gillam it reached foreign language newspapers through a series of eight published appeals. Twelve neighborhood papers carried favorable editorial comments as the result of M. J. Eck's efforts. The union contacted 40 labor organizations. It secured the endorsement of the Cleveland Central Labor Council for the levy. It assumed half the expense of publicity issued through the schools. Several chapters contacted parents of all home room pupils.

The school financial situation in Cleveland, though discouraging, is by no means helpless. There is no reason to believe that schools will close before the end of the school year, nor any need for teachers to go without being promptly paid for their services.

The Board of Education may still (1) defer payment on notes; (2) borrow money on its excellent credit; (3) issue non-interest bearing notes; (4) transfer money by court order from the building to the operating fund. The difference between apparent funds available and money due employees can more than be made up by a combination of these methods. Before September the state will certainly have provided means of continuing Ohio schools. If it has not, then and not until then will the crisis occur.

Members of the union salary committee met with various representatives of the Board of Education on November 10, 12, and 13, to discuss and formulate a policy for meeting the financial crisis. A statement made by uninformed non-union members, that the union was committed to closing the schools has no foundation in fact. The union's policies are formed by its general membership which has not yet received its committee's recommendations.

Every Cuyahoga County senator and representative will be interviewed by the Cleveland Federation of Labor to secure support for schools. Do you believe that 4,000 teachers in one organization will carry as much weight as 150,000 members in 175 affiliated organizations?

The state secretary of the affiliated Ohio locals of the American Federation of Teachers has a majority of senators and representatives elect on record as favoring (1) the guarantee of a basic program of education by the state; (2) the support of adequate revenue laws to carry out this program; (3) tenure for teachers. His full time is being devoted to furthering these three aims, not with a small group from one county, but with representatives throughout the state, with the active support of 18 locals in various parts of Ohio.

Membership in Local 279 carries with it affiliation with the Cleveland Federation of Labor, the Ohio Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Labor; membership in the Ohio Federation of Teachers, and the American Federation of Teachers, the only national teachers' organization active in local units throughout the year.

Local 279 offers the best plan for protection of its members through true group health and accident insurance, group life policies, and jury indemnity. The local invites comparison in these respects.

THE CLEVELAND TEACHER.

Parma, Ohio, Local 345

The Parma Federation of Teachers, Local 345, has completed its organization and has now enrolled 75% of the teachers of the city. It is anticipated that another month will show a membership of at least 90% of those eligible to join.

An active participation in local politics has been a part of the local's program which included a canvass of all the city's voters and endorsement of a non-partisan slate of state legislature candidates.

CARL MCCLERG.

Butte, Montana, Local 332

The Butte Local, an enthusiastic group, professional and educational minded, has made rapid strides since organizing last April. It has been recognized by the Butte School Board. A substantial raise in teachers salaries has been effected through its efforts, and important matters of legislation are being organized for presentation at the next meeting of the Montana legislature.

Though not all of the Butte teachers are members, the Local feels that the good it continues to accomplish, and the efforts it puts forth in the interest of the profession, warrants a rapidly increasing membership.

Mr. Satterthwaite, National Field Organizer, in an open meeting before the Butte group gave a very convincing address on the need of affiliation and organization of teachers.

A feeling of "strength in union" pervades the Local and is well marked by the interest the Butte Trades and Labor Council has shown in all its activities.

Sure of success with such fine affiliations, local, state, and national, the Local is proud to be added to the roster of Teachers Unions.

Sharp Co., Ark., Local 333

Sharp County Local 333 is increasing its membership and its activity. The local press carries accounts of its program and meetings.

It is joining with other Arkansas locals in the effort to secure additional allowance for teachers from relief funds, and is contributing financial support to this campaign.

Ohio Federation of Teachers

Recommendations adopted by the State Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, October 20, 1934:

We recommend a foundation program of education for the state of Ohio which will guarantee $45.00 for each grade pupil of the state, and $67.50 for each high school pupil of the state.

We recommend that the school law be changed so that local boards of education may be authorized to place special levies on the ballot by a majority vote of the members of the board, instead of the now existing two-thirds majority.

We recommend that an adequate tenure law be enacted in the interest of better teaching.

We recommend that any program of state support of schools include a minimum salary of $1,000 per year.

We recommend that no department of school activity be curtailed or eliminated.

We recommend that a full term of school be provided in all school districts.

We recommend that a permanent program of state support for the schools be financed by an income tax.

We urgently recommend that the legislature enact the continuance of the liquid fuel or gasoline tax for the support of school funds.

They Write—

To the Editors:

The article on "Teachers' Strikes" in your last issue presents a number of statements that I feel called upon to challenge.

First of all you say that the non-strike policy (which I was sorry to see reaffirmed at the last convention) is based on two beliefs—first, that "the teacher is the greatest conserver of the public interest"; second, that "the teachers' grievances must not be remedied by any method that inflicts injury on the children."

I disagree with both statements. Teachers who refuse to strike (*when necessary*) help to keep fresh the stigma that employers have constantly endeavored to attach to strikes. The phrase "conserving the public interest" has always been given by employers as the paramount reason for submitting disputes to arbitration boards "from whom" (according to Mary Van Kleeck) "we have yet to get a real case of workers' demands being satisfied."

On the other hand, how can we teach students who are going out into the world (to get jobs, we hope) that they are entitled to a decent working and living standard? How can we inspire them to fight for a better economic life—resist to the end every attempt to lower their living standards if we continue to slave in the face of starvation wages, pitifully inadequate equipment and supplies, insecure tenure, and so on? Is no injury done to the child by having before him teachers who cover up their fear by their righteous concern for the public welfare?

The fact that William Green approves our non-strike policy is nothing to boast of. This highly paid guardian of labor's rights by his frantic desire for arbitration, has crippled every major attempt of workers in recent months to secure their meager rights as supposedly guaranteed by the N. R. A.

This does not mean that I have no use for the more polite means at our disposal—strong organization, political action, support of organized labor and the general public. In many cases these methods work *but there are also times when they don't work!* To have our hands tied at such times by resolutions which make no allowances for the future, is to shackle ourselves just as we enter, what I am sure will be literally, an arena of terrific struggle.

In conclusion, I earnestly solicit my fellow teachers to enter this discussion. I feel the subject is vital and should be thrashed out completely and thoroughly.

Fraternally yours,

I. K. L.

December 3, 1934.

Allow me to give you a great big compliment tied with a bow of sincere congratulations on the past two issues of THE AMERICAN TEACHER. I feel, as well as thousands of others, that it is *the* outstanding magazine of education in our country today.

BETTY STARBUCK, *President*,
Duval County, Fla. Local 254.

December 2, 1934.

Paris, France.

Dear Colleague:

The Secretarial Board of the I. F. T. A. has been instructed by the Prague Conference to convey to you the heartiest greetings and thanks of the Conference-members for your letter of July 5th containing wishes for the success of the Prague-Conference.

The next Conference of the I. F. T. A. will be held in Oxford, in the second week of August, simultaneously with the Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations and we should much appreciate if your representative would be able to attend this meeting.

With best fraternal greetings, we are, dear colleague,

Sincerely yours,

DUMAS—LAPIERRE,
The Secretarial Board.

December 4, 1934.

They Say—

The *Official Bulletin* of the Cincinnati Teachers' Association in reporting on a meeting of the Cincinnati School Masters' Club has this to say:

The third paper, presented by Mr. O. G. Martz, of Norwood, dealt with (strange to say), not the National Education Association, but the American Federation of Teachers. Mr. Martz said in part: "The American Federation of Teachers is the only association organized on a union basis and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor."

To contrast the National Education Association with the American Federation of Teachers the following differences may be noted. The N. E. A. is an inspirational organization which deals largely with academic school problems.

The A. F. T. is a democratic, militant organization. It is primarily a protective organization.

C. D. Howe, of the Cincinnati Teachers' Association, reporting on the same meeting in the Cincinnati Labor Chronicle, says:

Report on the American Federation of Teachers

The paper which aroused most interest was an excellent history and discussion of this national teachers union movement affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He presented its history and purposes, with a growth to about 12,000 in 1920 and a subsequent slump. Recent growth has again been rapid. Letters from locals in Springfield where 92 per cent of the teachers belong and in Cleveland where 1,800 out of 3,800 have joined, were presented. They told of added strength and consideration in the face of present conditions. Mr. Evans mentioned that these unions exist along with local professional organizations with many teachers belonging to both. The writer gave many of these facts to Hamilton teachers at their meeting last week and they had a representative at this meeting who took back a copy of Mr. Martz's paper.

Forty-two in a Class and Free Discipline

(*Continued from page 15*)

who learned to talk English most readily but hated reading as much as he loved to make pictures, would abandon the drawing of favorite movie actors, in order to read his share of a story. The individualized and socialized group procedures used made it possible for most of the children to learn enough after a year in this class to admit them to the regular grades in the school. One girl who had studied algebra and geometry in Europe, was able to master the English vocabulary and terminology so well that she was accepted by a high school.

Sometimes there were quarrels or disputes to be settled, but these were all part of the process of learning to live and work together. Silence for its own sake was taboo. Nearly always there was a buzz of voices. Inactivity was an indication of trouble. There was one boy who used to have toothache now and then. "What is the matter, does your tooth hurt again, Irving?" was the invariable question whenever Irving sat idly in his seat.

The principal was very proud of the foreign class. "I never have to worry about what they are doing," she would explain to the district superintendent when he visited the building.

Monitors coming in on errands from other classes would stare in amazement at the phenomenon of children talking and moving about freely. "Some class," they would mumble to themselves, "can't even sit up straight."

The test of the method came one day in winter when I was delayed in a snowstorm and arrived twenty-five minutes late. As I opened the classroom door I was greeted by a stillness such as I had never found there before. Everybody was working by himself without saying a word—and the bad boy of the class was in front taking charge. The principal had not yet come in on her daily morning tour of inspection.

Teachers Petition for Old Salaries.—The Teachers' Taxpayers' Association, an organization formed of teachers in the Paterson, N. J., public schools, has petitioned the board of finance for "the early return" of the former salaries of the teachers.

The resolution also was addressed to the mayor, the board of school estimate, and the board of education.

Pay of Temple, Texas, Teachers Raised by School Board.—Temple teachers benefitted by a general salary increase by recent action of the school board.

Teachers who were making less than $900 annually were increased 10 per cent. Teachers making over that amount were given an increase of five per cent.

New teachers were not raised. The raise will make a total of around $6.00 additional per month on the payroll of 100 teachers and janitors.

The increase was made retroactive to Sept. 1 and the increase for the first month's services was received by teachers.

The hike in teachers pay will not affect the school budget or require further funds from the city as cuts were made in other places to make the pay raise possible.

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