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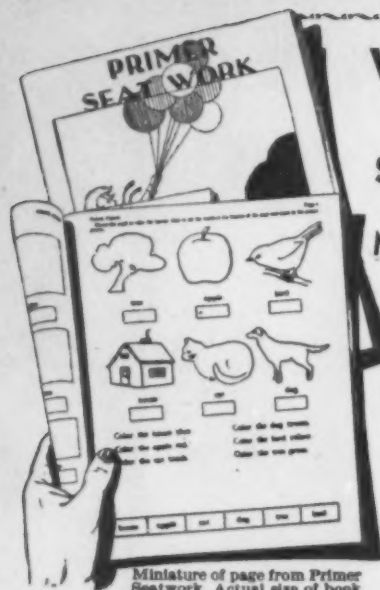


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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Why the American Federation of Teachers	Professor Jerome Davis	3
Must Free Education Disappear?.....	W. B. Satterthwaite	4
Critical Evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers.....	Aileen W. Robinson	6
Relation of the Federation to State Programs of Education.....	Irvin R. Kuenzli	9
Inevitability of Unionism.....	Albert E. Croft	11
Public Education Costs.....	Richard Aspinall	13
Financial Emergency Facing Schools; Federal Office of Education.....		15
The Unemployed—Pariahs or Freeman?.....	Michael B. Scheler	17
Analysis of Opposition to A. F. T.....	Local	230 20
Government and Children.....	Dr. John Dewey	20
Mental Attitudes, Inc.....	Raymond F. Lowry	21
So This Is America!.....		22
Editorials		24
A Word to All Teachers.....	Dr. Jesse H. Holmes	26
Teacher Population vs. Pupil Population.....	Paul Jarvis	27
Book Reviews		28
News from the Field.....		32
Advertisements.....		2, 19 31, 35
1935 Convention Program.....		36

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Why the American Federation of Teachers

Professor Jerome Davis

IN SPITE of the fact that we are living in a depression period, we have not realized the extent of the catastrophe which is upon us. Actually, the depression had long ago cost us far more than the entire World War. Last year the decrease in wages alone was 35 billion dollars.

The teachers of the country are now beginning to feel the full force of this depression. To the traditional "three R's" we can add to the American public school system a fourth "R"—*retrenchment*. Educational budgets all over the United States have been drastically cut. In Arkansas the budget was reduced from 19 million to \$9,500,000. In Michigan it was reduced from 109 million to 49 million. One hundred thousand more children than usual have been denied all educational opportunity, and shortened terms have resulted in a million additional children receiving what the Bureau of Education of the United States calls "mental starvation."

Yet a moment's reflection brings the realization that education is the very foundation of all the best and highest forces in American life. The basic philosophy of our nation embodies the belief that we are creating a society in which liberty, equality, and fraternity are woven into the very fabric of our social life. However, it is obvious that it is impossible to have liberty, equality, and fraternity without the opportunity for free education for all. It was because of this realization that free public schools were started, against the opposition of the vested interests and the aristocratic groups. It was the organized workers who realized that their children could have no semblance of liberty, equality, and fraternity unless they could secure free public education; so we are indebted to the working class for the great educational opportunities which have played so important a part in the development of our country. Now, because of the catastrophic effects of the World War and the depression, we are closing our schools and shortening the school year, discharging teachers—all this at the very time when the demands on the school system are greatest. If men cannot work, surely they ought to have the opportunity to learn.

Yet certain groups in America have waxed fat and prosperous. They have become soft with luxurious living, and if only their dividends are paid they are willing to justify any retrenchment to protect their selfish privileges. Actually, the empty schools of today mean the full jails of tomorrow. Curtail the school curriculum and you encourage criminality.

It is not surprising that the common people of America are confused. It reminds me of a church bulletin board which bore this rather surprising notice: "Rev. Mr. Jones will speak on 'What is the cause of

the depression?' Miss Violet Hocking will sing, 'Search me, O Lord.'" Whether or not we see clearly the causes back of the depression, we should clearly recognize that we must not, we dare not, curtail education. Rather, we should increase it. This the school teachers of the nation know full well. They realize that additional teachers are needed to care for the increased enrollment. They recognize that maintaining and promoting education not only keeps our country psychologically and socially sanitary, but it increases purchasing power and thus plays its part in counteracting the dire effects of the economic crisis. Both President Hoover and President Roosevelt have recognized that education should not be curtailed.

Why is it that in spite of all these facts education has been so badly injured? The answer is that we live in a world of groups, that government today is largely a matter of group pressure. Therefore, if we are to protect education, and the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the days of Jefferson and Lincoln, we must organize. The words of Franklin, "we must all hang together, or we will hang separately," are just as true now as they ever were. The handwriting on the wall is plain. We have only to turn to what is happening in Italy and in Germany to see the emasculation of all free education. The schools are the bulwark of democracy.

What will the teachers do to protect their rights and the rights of society? I believe that it is necessary to organize with the American Federation of Teachers, the only effective organization of public school teachers which protects salary, tenure, and intellectual freedom.

A few years ago I spoke in a city in Massachusetts where there was a teachers' organization, to be sure, but it was largely a matter of form. They held one annual conference, with paid speakers like myself who were supposed to furnish entertaining remarks. Then they went home to wait for another year. In this city the teachers had no protection for either salary or tenure. With great difficulty some daring teachers began to organize a local of the American Federation of Teachers. The school board condemned them, the political parties called them "radicals," they were in constant danger of discharge, but they persevered. This last year I returned to find an overwhelming proportion of the teachers in that organization; they had elected members of the school board, and at the meeting I attended the entire board was present. The salary of the teachers was secure, their tenure was safe, because they had back of them a strong, fearless organization.

In the second place, I believe teachers should organize in the American Federation of Teachers because it helps to bridge the gap between abstract theory and the basic realities of our community life.

The teachers always stand in danger of speaking theoretically about abstract intellectual knowledge and of failing to let their students know the realities which they will face immediately upon graduation. Teacher organization prevents this, since the teachers have a social program and are constantly trying to translate their idealism into the local and national life.

In the third place, since we are living in a political world in which group action is determinative, we must be sure that we have the strongest possible support back of our program. The American Federation of Teachers is fortunate in that it is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The workers, both of hand and of brain, make up the overwhelming bulk of the population of our country. We need in education to secure their support for the work we are doing. We need to be an integral part of their struggles for justice, in order that they may recognize to the full the supreme value of education in their own struggle and in the national life. Teachers are always in danger of falling victims to smug respectability, of considering themselves as just a little better than the rank and file of the workers. We must actually recognize the truth, that we are partners with the toiling millions. From the selfish standpoint this will secure the backing of an untold number of workers; but in a larger sense, it is the only way in which we can be true to the highest ideals of American liberty.

In the fourth place, I believe teachers should join the American Federation because it is the most progressive organization of teachers in the country. It stands guard against dangerous legislation and the action of selfish, predatory interests. It is this Federation of Teachers which has opposed in state after

state drastic reductions in education. It is this organization which has repeatedly blocked so-called "loyalty bills," which are disloyal to the highest principles of American democracy.

In the fifth place, I believe in this organization because teachers are in danger of becoming mere intellectual serfs. Without group solidarity and group organization they cannot speak with authority to the political bosses and the monied interests. An individual teacher, alone, cannot speak out in an unpopular cause, but with an organization behind him aggressive action for the right is possible.

Finally, without some such organization education for democracy and democracy in education are made a hundred times more difficult. Why is it that the position of the teacher has grown progressively worse since 1929? It is because the teachers are not adequately organized. Teachers should form one of the most highly respected groups in the nation, but this is possible only as they become more organized and so more powerful.

I plead with you to join the American Federation of Teachers, not because it will help your own position and protect your salary, your tenure, and your intellectual freedom—it will do all of these things—but rather I plead on behalf of all the American people. In joining this organization you are in reality sacrificing to protect the very basic principles of American life. The liberty for which your fathers died can be perpetuated only through organization. The price of liberty is eternal struggle. The American Federation of Teachers is an effort to create power, not for selfish personal ends, but for the welfare of all our children and of society itself.

Must Free Education Disappear?

W. B. Satterthwaite

THOMAS JEFFERSON said that a democratic government without an educated electorate could not endure. He believed that his accomplishments in promoting education were more important than his accomplishments as President of the United States. So much so that his self-written epitaph mentions only his leadership and interest in education with his authorship of the Declaration of Independence.

The founders of this republic firmly believed that it could not last unless the masses of the people were educated. The Ordinance of 1787, older than the Constitution, testifies to this belief.

Intelligent people all over the world believe that education and democracy are synonymous, that illiteracy and ignorance necessarily must be ruled by monarchy and dictatorship. It is sufficient proof to consider the nations of the world today. Those in which democracy survives in a great period of crisis and change are those in which there is a relatively high degree of mass education and in which the illiteracy rate is comparatively low.

With these facts before us, those of us who believe in the democratic rule of the people as opposed to autocracy and dictatorship are alarmed at the rapid destruction of the free public school system in America today.

At a time when the national government is spending far more than at any peace time in history and when

local governments, except in educational expenditures, are spending very little less, school expenditures have been diminished from twenty to one hundred per cent throughout the country.

The American system of free public schools has not been built up without opposition. Wealthy taxpayers who could afford to and did educate their children in expensive private schools have always opposed what they considered unfair taxation to educate the children of less fortunate citizens. They have been too shortsighted to see that the education of all the people was necessary to maintain our very system of government under which they were able to become wealthy and prosperous.

It has been only within the past ten years or so that groups of wealthy taxpayers have organized themselves for the definite purpose of destroying, in large part, the free public school system of America. Within the past five years, under the excuse of a depression, they have been tragically successful.

Through various organizations called committees on public expenditure, taxpayers' leagues, economy leagues, the ability of local school districts to maintain public schools has been curtailed and in thousands of instances completely destroyed. At the present time there are thousands of school districts who cannot operate any schools because they do not have the taxing power to raise any money for the purpose.

Insofar as the activities of economy groups has resulted in lessening the burden of taxation to home owners, city and country, there is no criticism. But when the same groups consistently oppose substitute revenues for the support of schools by other taxation, namely state and national levies, they put themselves squarely in the position of enemies to the education of the children of all the people, and if Thomas Jefferson and the other founders were right, enemies of democracy and republican institutions, in short, public enemies. The misled members of some of these so-called economy organizations would not enjoy being classed with ultra radical and communistic groups who wish to change our form of government, but if what Jefferson and thousands of intelligent leaders have said and believed is true they are just that.

So far has the attack on public schools been successful that there are today throughout the nation, thousands of school districts which are unable to maintain public schools at all. The children in these districts are getting some measure of education through public charity, that is, federal relief which is temporary in nature. When this relief is withdrawn, and the public enemies who have made it necessary for the children of America to receive their schooling through this temporary device are doing all in their power to have it withdrawn, millions of children will be without schools.

The power of local school districts to tax themselves sufficiently to maintain adequate schools is gone permanently. Lower tax rates on real estate and exemptions to home owners and farmers have come to stay, and properly. But if the enemies of public education succeed in preventing the adoption of state and national responsibility for education, most of our public education is doomed.

I believe that most of the American people believe in free, universal public education as much now as ever. The trouble is that they are not organized for the protection of the rights of their children to the extent that the enemies of education are organized.

Whether we like it or not, in a large and complex civilization like ours, power is not exercised by individuals but by organized groups. This is true in finance, government, labor, and in all the phases of modern life. A well organized minority of wealthy financiers can control the nation's financial life. It can also control the political activities of the nation unless it is opposed by a strong organization of those who do not believe in such control. A few well organized wealthy citizens can destroy and are destroying the public schools of the people even though 95% of the people desire to retain these institutions.

Public schools have been built through the effort of organization. Foremost among the organizations favoring the establishment of universal free education in America have been labor organizations. Free publicly supported education can properly be called the child of organized labor. There has been no nation-wide labor organization in the past hundred years that has not had as one of its principal objectives, the creation and support and extension of a system of free public schools. Compulsory education, free text books, health education, vocational education, longer terms, all have been advocated by organized labor long before they were considered seriously as possibilities by educational leaders.

John Dewey, of Columbia University, perhaps the greatest figure in twentieth century education, has said that a research of years convinces him that the

educational policy of the American Federation of Labor is the most constructive of any organization in the past fifty years, not excepting the purely professional education associations.

The American Federation of Labor, alone among nationally organized economic groups, has stood steadfastly through the crisis of the past five years against any curtailment of educational opportunities for the children even during a depression. Other great organizations have advocated and where possible have forced curtailments in the educational facilities everywhere. It is no wonder that outstanding educators throughout the land look upon the American labor movement as the one hope to save our schools. Many of these educators have become a part of the labor movement and are doing their utmost to assist in the attempt to rescue from those who would tear it down, the greatest system of free public education in the world.

The greatest weakness in the campaign to save the public schools from destruction is the fact that the group of citizens who could exercise the greatest influence in the struggle, are exercising very little. I mean the public school teachers of America. There is no group that knows the schools as well. There is no group that is so widespread geographically. There are teachers in every corner of every city, in every farming community, in every mining and lumber camp where there are children. Teachers too are in almost daily contact with most of the families of the nation.

Teachers, fully alive to their responsibilities as protectors of the children while they are in their class rooms, are a little more than negligent in doing what they could to protect those children in their right to continue to have that schoolroom for a normal school term. Teachers are not exercising their full rights of citizenship when they do not organize themselves economically and politically to protect the schools in the present crisis. Many do not even vote. Comparatively few belong to organizations that are endeavoring to select men for public office who are interested in maintaining public education.

The attitude of teachers in not organizing themselves economically for their own protection and the protection of the schools and their reluctance to exercise their natural political rights and even leadership for the same purpose is due in large part to an assumed unfriendliness of a part of the general public toward such activities on the part of teachers. Whatever opposition there may be to organization and political activities of teachers is easily traced to the small group of people whose only interest in public education is that its cost remain small.

The members of organized labor and the farmers of the country whose children make up the bulk of the school population are eager to have the advice and active help of the teachers in the struggle to maintain public schools for their children. Wherever and whenever teachers have thrown off the timidity which has kept them out of active affairs outside the class room progress has been made in maintaining and improving the schools and the conditions for the teachers employed in them.

If the public schools are to be saved to the children of America, all those interested will need to get together and organize a defense for them. The most active participation of those best fitted to lead such a defense, the teachers, is not only desirable but absolutely necessary.

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 VI

"THE CHANGING LEVEL OF POPULAR IRRITABILITY"

PROFESSOR HAROLD LASSWELL, in writing of propaganda technique (10, 192), makes the statement that success in its use is determined by what he calls the "changing level of popular irritability." By this he means that public opinion is not a static thing. Consequently any attempt to predict the future of the American Federation of Teachers must be based upon a careful examination of public opinion, to see whether or not there has been, or is likely to be, any change of feeling in the public mind toward teachers unionizing and affiliating with Labor.

Dr. Carter Alexander, of Teachers College, Columbia, who, in 1910, made a study of Teachers' Associations, said:

Practically no discussion of this general movement of teachers for economic self-betterment in recent years has been complete without extended reference to the possibility of teachers organizing along union lines. However, the facts at present give little indication of the likelihood of such a turn of affairs in the near future. (1, 58)

And again:

It is evident that, whatever be the theoretical advantages of teachers' associations organized along labor union lines, their practical significance in the country at large at the present time is negligible. (1, 61)

Six years after this prophecy the American Federation of Teachers was born, but it must be admitted that in the seventeen years of its existence it has grown comparatively little, considering the great number of potential members* in the United States. Since 1927, however, it has enjoyed a period of steady growth, and its future is a matter for interesting speculation.

Unquestionably the Federation encountered traditional prejudice in its union with Labor, and its future success seems predicated upon the evaporation of that prejudice, or a change in public opinion. There are signs pointing to some such change, which may have important influence on the future of the Federation.

First, the National Recovery Administration has placed Labor on a new footing in the entire country by acknowledging the right of Labor to organize for collective bargaining—a right which was by no means universally granted them before the advent of the National Recovery Administration. In one gesture the "yellow dog" contract has been thrown into the discard. Thus, the Federation's allies have gained prestige, and a weapon used against the Federation in the past has been discredited.

The most remarkable change, however, is in the attitude of educators themselves. While for years the

progressives and radicals have been calling on teachers to come out of the classroom; to organize in an effective manner; and to study the social and economic environment in which the school is forced to function, the National Education Association, that great barometer of educational opinion, has had its face set steadily against any such "unprofessional" conduct. But the organized pressure groups made a grave error in their attacks on the school in 1931-1932. They overshoot the mark, and aroused even the conservatives among educators to the necessity of protecting the public schools in the United States.

Consequently, signs point to an awakening of the National Education Association. In the *Journal* of that organization for February, 1934, appear these statements:

With the great concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few that has taken place in America in the last seventy-five years, there has arisen an acute need of a large body of people alert to the dangers of such concentration. . . . Today the battle over the maintenance of the public schools is a struggle between a selfish minority that seeks to perpetuate its power and the common people that are striving for a richer, fuller life. (37, 44)

and again:

Socially minded citizens must awaken to the crisis and join the teachers in a fight—against the wealthy. (21, 36)

Such radical sentiments would not be found in the *Journal* of a year ago, though they might easily have been printed in the *AMERICAN TEACHER* of five or more years past. In fact, the following extract from the *AMERICAN TEACHER* of November, 1918 (the earliest number available for this study) is, interestingly enough, quite comparable to the passage appearing in the *Journal* of 1934. It reads:

The present status of teachers' salaries shows clearly the need of collective bargaining, if reasonable claims for services rendered are not to be forgotten or ignored. This need becomes greater when definite powerful groups, such as the real estate organizations, are interested in low taxes, hence in fighting salary increases in the schools. (64, 197)

The most recent indications of the present level of popular irritability among educators are to be found in the educational conferences which have just taken place in Cleveland, Ohio, namely, the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association from February 25th to 28th, 1934, and the meeting of the Progressive Education Association in the same city from March 1st to 3rd, 1934.

The Department of Superintendence, traditionally interested in discussions of method, problems of the administrator, mental tests and measurements, etc., gave itself up to a discussion of the school and the social order, almost to the exclusion of traditional topics. A few extracts will serve to show the tenor of some of their discussions. Dr. Jesse Newlon addressed the superintendents as follows:

* There are approximately 950,000 teachers in the United States according to Bulletin 20, 1931, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*.

While the first three decades of the twentieth century swept by with their epochal changes, teachers were busy principally with intelligence quotients and achievement scores, with norms and standards. The gap widened between the extremes of poverty and wealth; economic and social maladjustment increased; but the profession of education, for the most part well satisfied with the existing arrangement, spent its time in the technical and managerial aspects of education. We have been too much concerned with the minutiae of education, with its form rather than its substance. We need to recapture the social vision of the leaders of the first American revolution. We need to see that education has truly become a national problem, that the school is concerned no less with shaping the national destiny. . . . Compared with such objectives, the technical problems of teaching and administering that have occupied so much of our attention in the last thirty years pale into insignificance. (77)

But although the National Education Association displayed a new interest in the social and economic situation, it was still displaying the educational lag so characteristic of it, according to the educators whose conference followed immediately after the National Education Association meeting. Dr. Beale, one of the chief speakers at the Progressive Education Association conference on March 1st characterized the National Education Association as

One of the greatest sources of futility and inertia in the whole field, utterly incapable of providing the leadership so badly needed. (75, 16)

Dr. Counts, addressing the same meeting, said:

Teachers will frequently be subjected to attack on the part of vested interests and of an ignorant public responsive to the propaganda of those interests. The profession should unionize from kindergarten to college. (75, 16)

This talk of unionizing is something new and startling at teachers' conferences, but time after time reference was made to the necessity for teachers' unions. Jesse Newlon talked of it (77) as did also Harold Rugg, (69, 4) Howard Beale, and George Counts. (75, 16.) These men are all influential educators, and certain to stimulate thought in the profession. These signs point to the fact that the educators themselves are opening the field to the American Federation of Teachers.

Soon the American Federation of Teachers ideal of a "new deal" in educational funds in the interest of equal educational opportunity for all the children may become a reality. Both conferences were practically unanimous in their demand for federal aid for the schools, at least during the emergency period. Moreover, several states are now laying the ground work for a completely rejuvenated public school system. In North Carolina, for example, school support has been completely centralized, with counties and local communities no longer responsible for producing funds. This is a revolutionary step in American education, but is taken in the interest of relieving the local communities of an enormous tax burden and of insuring uniformity of opportunity within the state. (76, 2.)

If revolutionary steps are the order of the day, perhaps the time has come for a change in attitude toward the Federation, and this is not such an improbable speculation, due to the fact that educators of prominence, outside of the Federation, are openly recommending that teachers unionize.

Henry Linville, who has been a member of the Federation since its beginning, said to the American Federation of Teachers in his inaugural message as president, in 1931:

Although our organization is now entering the sixteenth year of its existence, it appears to me that only now are we

at the beginning of a social era that is likely to prove favorable to the development of a movement such as the organization of teachers' unions. . . . For those of us who helped to start the national movement among teachers fifteen years ago, as well as for those pioneers who had teachers' unions before our time, it is now clear that it was impossible to attain our objectives until the general social environment had taken on some of the liberal attributes favorable to our purposes. I trust that my belief that the present social situation is favorable to the growth of the union movement among teachers will not seem to be mere enthusiasm. (28, 5)

Thus, it seems that the signs of the times point to the possibility that the American Federation of Teachers may be entering a period of unparalleled growth, for prejudices are yielding and the "popular level of irritability" has changed.

Current Educational Philosophy

In conclusion, to evaluate this organization the question of how its philosophy compares with the theories of some outstanding educators in America must be examined. In 1933, there appeared *The Educational Frontier*, a symposium on educational philosophy by a group of our prominent educators. With the philosophy of this group the American Federation of Teachers seems in close accord.

First, the American Federation of Teachers agrees with these educators in condemning the "device of compartmentalization" in American education (9, 6); a device which not only keeps basic problems out of sight but adds to the difficulty in locating them; which enables educators to put the schools in a neat compartment away from the social and economic order in which it functions, or to dispose of such basic problems as the equality of opportunity for all children with the logic of the colored man at a prayer meeting, who thanked God, that, while he had robbed hen-roosts and got drunk and slashed folks with razors, he had never lost his religion. (9, 8.)

The American Federation of Teachers states that our insensitiveness to contradictions in beliefs and practices must be shaken. Hence, it attacks the problem of raising the standard of the teaching profession, not by trying to lift the profession by its bootstraps, but by attempting to expose and remedy the root conditions which keep teaching from being a bona fide profession. In this it does not accept the advice of the kind old lady: "You must take your troubles philosophically; just don't think about them." (9, 10.)

For its eagerness in attacking the economic and social issues which condition education it has become known as a radical organization. Yet our educational philosophers express the following view on the importance of the economic phase of society:

Economic forces are at the present time superior to others in causal power. They condition what people can do now and how they can develop more than do other forces. . . . The emphasis laid upon the economic is not due therefore to any *a priori* theory of its necessary importance but is due to the power of the economic factors in contemporary culture. Because of the organic relation of ends and means and because the economic is so potent both as potential means for values and as a retarding and distorting force, and because it is the means most susceptible of modification by concerted effort, it is, strategically, the key at present to other values. (9, 296)

These same educators say that any significant educational philosophy must be the expression of a social philosophy. Therefore, the American Federation of Teachers finds eminent support in its attention to the economic and social environment of the school.

In addition to being radical, it is also definitely a minority group, as the figures regarding its membership show. These two characteristics are so closely correlated as to be almost synonymous, for when a group wins a majority, it is no longer known as "radical." Its radicalism makes it difficult for it to win the large body of teachers, for Dr. Manley Harper of Teachers College, Columbia, in his study of the social beliefs of educators has shown that the great majority of American educators are overwhelmingly conservative. (6, 80.) His data, also, led him to some very interesting conclusions. In discussing his scale of attitudes, he says:

It has been shown with continuously increasing support that down to the lowest points reached on the scale the greater the conservatism the less stable, the less independent, the less consistent, the less scientific is the thinking on the problems of the test. (6, 66).

He concludes:

It would seem that conservatism is characterized not by cautious and alert inquiry but by dangerous and satisfied blindness. By its very nature it can not create, neither can it conserve. (6, 79).

Can a radical, militant, minority organization create; and if so, has it a place in American education? An answer of yes would not be unsupported. Thomas Jefferson said:

The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it always to be kept alive. (6, 13).

He saw radicalism, the spirit of resistance to the *status quo*, as a creative force. In addition, James Harvey Robinson says:

How can anyone with the most elementary notions of history fail to see that almost all the things that we prize today represent revolts against tradition, and were in their beginnings what seemed to be shocking divergences from current beliefs and practices? What about Christianity, and Protestantism, and constitutional government, and the rejection of old superstitions and the acceptance of modern scientific ideas? The race has always been getting something for nothing, for creative thought is, as we have seen, confined to a very few. (12, 215)

What of the affiliation of the American Federation of Teachers with Labor—a persistent argument against the Federation? This thesis has attempted to point out that propaganda and pressure groups are prevalent. Success in the use of this method of activity means choosing allies wisely for the exertion of power. Labor, historically, has always been friendly to the public schools. If the teachers are not to unite with Labor, then with whom shall they unite? Does organized business invite the teachers? Certainly the attitude of business has been exposed as far from inviting—even as actively hostile to the true interests of the schools.

Why, then, this persistent opposition to the union of teacher and laborer, since they both have a real interest in the school? In *The Educational Frontier* this answer is suggested:

Sinister class interests flourish better in the dark. If the free play of intelligence were not intrinsically a foe of their schemes, they would not fear it as they do, and they would not attempt by continuous propaganda to palm off substitutes for it. (9, 316.)

In this world of balance of power and class struggle, it is necessary to have allies. In the past the alliance of the American Federation of Teachers with Labor has been a handicap in drawing teachers, a timid and conservative folk, into the organization. But times

are changing, and in view of the improved status of Labor under the National Recovery Administration, and the demand on the part of certain educators for a teachers' union affiliated with the workers of America, the handicap may not be permanent.

In addition, the philosophy of the American Federation of Teachers is in sufficient accord with that of America's prominent and well-known educators, as typified by the authors of *The Educational Frontier*, to seem to assure for it at last an hospitable consideration by the teaching profession.

Thus, one is led to conclude that the level of public opinion may have changed sufficiently to insure in the future some larger measure of success than the American Federation of Teachers has experienced in the past.

CHAPTER VII.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis was undertaken with the hope of arriving at some evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers, in order to determine whether there is a place in American education for such an organization. This means not necessarily the organization exactly as it stands today, but one with the same general type of organization, aims, methods, and philosophy. In order to draw conclusions, it is necessary to summarize briefly the findings of this thesis, and to generalize therefrom.

The American Federation of Teachers, organized in 1916, is the only existing teachers' union in the United States. It affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in order to gain allies in its fight against social, economic, and political injustices under which it conceived the profession of education to be held. It first enjoyed a period of rapid growth and then entered a period of decline. Since 1927 it has been experiencing a steady growth.

The Federation has two main objectives. (1) It purposes to consolidate the teachers of the country into a strong group which would be able to protect its own interests. (2) It aims to raise the standard of the teaching class by a direct attack on the conditions which, according to the belief of the Federation, prevent teaching from enjoying the status of a profession. These conditions are: lack of academic freedom and of civil liberty, the absence of the opportunity for self-determination of policies and for democratic control.

The methods used by the Federation to achieve its ends are, not the strike, but affiliation with other organizations to gain prestige and power, and the use of propaganda in the attempt to arouse public opinion to the point where some action in aid of the teachers and the school will be forthcoming. This use of propaganda is the most modern of all methods, and an extremely powerful one, if properly employed. It has, however, inherent dangers in its use: namely, it may become entangled with some popular prejudice, or it may not be predicated on the changing level of popular irritability. It has been shown that the American Federation of Teachers encountered two popular prejudices. In the first place, the union of teachers with the American Federation of Labor has not met with popular approval. In the second place, opinion has been widespread that teachers, instead of emphasizing constantly that all of their activities are

for the ultimate good of the school, have in affiliating with Labor, seemed to seek their own economic gain. The first might be called a mistake of strategy in choosing allies; the second, a mistake of emphasis in propaganda.

It was pointed out that its activities are of the type, and conducted in such a manner as to win for it the epithet of "militant." It enters into local situations in the interest of protecting the rights of the classroom teacher, in marked contrast to the policy of other teachers' organizations.

It was examined in relation to the existing crisis in education, an economic and social crisis, and found to have a philosophy which enabled it to see, analyze, and prepare to meet the crisis in advance of the other educational organizations.

It was suggested that, due to the crisis in education and the depression, public opinion is changing in a direction which may offset the previous offended prejudices, and win for the Federation both popular support, and the support of a large body of educators.

Its philosophy is characterized by John Dewey as standing openly and aggressively for the realization of the social function of the profession. (17, 9.)

The Relation of the Federation to State Programs of Education

Irvin R. Kuenzli

THE American Federation of Teachers is faced with a new problem in the fact that education is rapidly passing from a local function to a state function. In the simple social structure of colonial days when the ox-cart, the candle light, and log cabin were in vogue, the rude country or village school was a matter of concern for a very limited neighborhood. With the development of a great commonwealth, highly organized systems of transportation, great cities with gigantic industries, and a complex social structure, education has become a state problem and is rapidly becoming a problem of national concern.

The states have been slow to recognize education as an inherent part of the state program. The schools have lagged far behind the development of industry, the building of roads, and the general social structure of the state. In a day of airplanes and automobiles many communities still maintain an ox-cart type of education. The charge of the sociologist that social progress lags far behind scientific and industrial progress is well founded in the case of the public schools of America. The disinterestedness of parents, the complacency and languor of the teachers, and the political influence of certain organized interests, have prevented the schools from growing into their deserved position of social service in the complex organization of society.

The teachers themselves have not been entirely blameless in this lack of progress. There was needed only a depression of national scope to reveal the fundamental unsoundness of our educational structure. For years the pedagogue has shouted his theory unto the heavens that the schools would solve the crime problem, promote world peace, pro-

The Federation serves as a rallying point for the more liberal and progressive teachers in the profession. There is no argument here that all teachers should join it, for it is more effective with its small, vigorous group than any organization made inert and conservative by gathering to itself all the teachers. Dr. Beale sees it as

The one really effective friend of freedom for the teachers, and says rightly:

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)

In conclusion, the writer feels with Dr. William Kilpatrick that:

The general position herein set forth is at present a minority view. . . . Socially, there is, of course, nothing wrong in a minority view as such. It is of the essence of historic free speech that a minority shall have the right to present its views and, if possible, win a majority of them. A deceiving propaganda cannot be defended, but the fair exposition of merits (so that intelligence may have a better chance to judge and choose) seems the only defensible program for a free people. (8, 62)

vide for complete living, and build upright citizens for tomorrow. With the rising cost of crime, with the vanishing of world peace into an idle dream, and with the development of the most turbulent society in the history of the nation, it is quite evident how miserably the schools have failed in their basic objectives.

Practically every state in the nation has, therefore, been faced with the problem of reorganizing its educational system to meet the needs of a rapidly changing social order. There has been clearly demonstrated the imperative need of creating school systems in the various states which will function not only during the embellishments of prosperity but also during the adversities of depression. Thinking men have come to realize that if there is to be anything of unfailing stability in the social structure it should be the public school system, and that no great nation can afford to permit its children to pay for the mistakes of its adult citizens.

Only a few of the states, to date, have satisfactorily met the challenge of establishing an adequate school system. Every teacher is cognizant of the sad plight of the schools throughout the nation. Never was there a more serious need for courageous thinking on the part of the individual teacher, and for constructive collective effort on the part of organized teachers. If the incessant attacks of interests opposed to the schools are to be met, if the serious curtailment of the school program is to be prevented, if the social security of the teachers of the nation is to be maintained, there must be a militant aggressiveness on the part of the individual teacher in order to add all possible strength to the organization as a whole. The fight to save the schools is primarily a teachers' fight and the success

or failure of the school program of any state will depend ultimately upon the willingness of the classroom teacher to participate actively and unceasingly in the united effort against the interests which are attempting to crush the public school system.

With education passing out of its present chaos from a local function to a state function, the need of organizing the various locals of a state into a state organization becomes apparent. No longer will the teachers of separate communities be able to solve their problems irrespective of the needs of other districts of the state. The success of the school system and the security of the teachers of any district will depend upon action in the state legislature as well as upon the action of the local boards of education.

The Ohio State Federation of Teachers has made a distinct effort to adapt its program of action to the changing social and educational status of the state. At a convention in Cleveland, Ohio, October 20, 1934, there was formulated a state program as a basis for legislative action. This program was built around certain fundamental principles as follows:

1. The state, recognizing education as a state function, should guarantee a minimum standard of education for every child in the state.
2. This minimum standard should be provided through state funds secured by the most equitable form of taxation—the income tax.
3. Boards of education or school districts desiring to provide a standard of education higher than the minimum should be permitted to place special school levies on the ballot by a majority vote of the governing board.
4. To provide for efficiency in the school program, there should be a full term of school, a tenure law for teachers, a minimum salary of not less than \$1,000.00, and a complete curriculum in which no essential school activity should be eliminated or curtailed.

Obviously such a program is merely a statement of general objectives, and requires extensive elaboration before it can become effective in operation. However, a goal is established and a general program set up in simple language so that any legislator may easily understand what is desired. Legislators have repeatedly declared that the school men have no definite program and that they do not know what they want. Many of them have asserted, too, that the professional phraseology of the pedagogue is beyond the comprehension of the average legislator.

The most serious handicap of the State Federation is the lack of ample funds with which to operate effectively in securing the enactment of a satisfactory school program. The fact that classroom teachers are so closely confined to the daily routine of their positions makes it imperative that one or more full time executive secretaries be employed for purposes of legislation and organization. This program requires a small per capita payment from all members. The price of a postage stamp per week from each member linked with down-right hard work will go far in meeting the thousands of dollars of those opposing the school program.

A second difficulty involved in statewide Federation activities is the fact that teachers, unaccus-

tomed to responsibilities of leadership, do not fully appreciate the necessity of concerted action on a large scale. It is undoubtedly true that classroom teachers are more alert today than ever before in matters pertaining to their own welfare. Nevertheless many Federation officials believe that the greatest weakness of the organization lies in the lack of enthusiasm of individual members, and that the greatest need of the organization is education within its own ranks.

Teachers have been only too prone to criticize and crucify those who have the courage to fight their battle for them and to have been too quick to fall prey to the soft praise and blandishments of those who would exploit the teacher for selfish gain. Teachers must come to realize that their security lies within themselves and in the strength which arises from absolute solidarity. Members of new locals should not anticipate miraculous results overnight, but must appreciate that permanent progress is a matter of gradual accomplishment. (*Crescit eundo.*)

The classroom teacher stands today at the crossroads. He may go upward and onward on the road to success in solving his own problems, or he may weakly succumb on the pathway of retrogression paved with promises unfulfilled. How many times have we heard the challenge "Teachers cannot succeed because they are hopelessly divided among themselves, too critical, too complacent!"

It has been said by our enemies that the teachers possess inadequate leadership in solving teachers' problems. These challenges must be met by a demonstration on the part of the teachers that languor, inertia, 'damnable criticism, jealousy, and idle talk have been replaced by enthusiasm, action, constructive cooperation, respect, and intelligent study.

It should be kept in mind that no state program can succeed ultimately and permanently which is based wholly upon selfish motives. It is the duty of the teacher as a citizen and a builder of citizenship, to cooperate in all movements which make for a better school and a better society. The professional progress of the teacher must be associated with the social progress of the state. Only under such conditions will society accept the teacher as a leader in the community and state. When once the schools have met their obligation to society more adequately, it is quite possible that society will rally more enthusiastically to the support of the schools.

The goal of the State Federation must be, therefore, not merely an adequate school system but a better state founded on a brotherhood of mankind in which every individual may live as abundantly as possible.

It is true, as the terrified Technocrats say, that a single turbine now has a capacity of 300,000 horsepower. But it has not a single horsepower capacity for editing a newspaper, or creating beauty, or caring for the sick, or governing a city, or ministering to human souls who are weary and heavy-laden. And all the turbines in the world cannot develop enough horsepower to take the place of a single school teacher.

DR. WM. TRUFANT FOSTER.

The Inevitability of Unionism

Albert E. Croft

Five Years of Chaos

OVER five years ago most of us here today were meeting in scattered groups in at least six different cities. At that time we agreed, much to the concern of others, that we were not faced with a depression, but with the failure of what was once a great economic order. It is highly significant that our separate but similar thinking on social events has brought us together here today. We are now a homogeneous body of like-minded friends devoted to a common cause.

During these five years in which we have been thinking along similar lines we have been motivated to common effort by the observation of a series of social collapses. Every field of our civilization has been cracked or strained: economics, government, religion, education, and along with them our philosophies.

Economic Collapse

Our capitalistic economic system cracked with such completeness that it was forced to resort to every acceptable means of preventing utter chaos. Unemployment piled up until we had over one-half of the unemployment of western civilization. Capitalistic community leaders were forced to adopt public ownership of production and consumption goods in caring for the poor who when articulate were branded "socialists." Thus good Rotarians were actually adopting communism to keep socialists from starving in a capitalistic system—a system which was so committed to value based on scarcity that when we had an abundance we actually had to manufacture scarcity by artificial means—the destruction of foodstuffs.

It is absurd for intelligent Americans to call each other names. In American life, in the folkways and mores of the people, we now have anarchism, capitalism, and fascism on the "right" and cooperation, socialism, and communism on the "left." But there is no "right" or "left." The folkways of American life contain all these elements which will go forward together in the social process. We need to see the facts in their entire relationship and go "Forward with Roosevelt," emphasizing with him the need for cooperative economics.

Governmental Collapse

In the field of government we have seen the greatest upset in American history. We can clearly recall listening to radio reports on the last presidential election, and we can clearly remember how one of our greatest parties went down to defeat. It was nothing short of revolution.

However, an expression through the ballot box may record the feeling of the people at a given point of time, but it cannot change the habits and memory of the constituency of the elected leaders. As a result it is fair to raise the question, "What fundamental reform has been made in our social order since this change of political parties?" I deeply sympathize with our President. His problem is well stated in the spring, 1934, bulletin of the International Insti-

tute of Economics, Rome, an associate of the League of Nations, which says that all the leaders of the countries of Western civilization now realize that they must as rapidly as possible make the transition from free to controlled and planned economic orders. The only stumbling block in the march of western civilization is in the United States where the President and his advisors know what should be done but cannot do it because an ignorant constituency would vote them out of office. Truly here is a colossal task for education!

Other Fields of Chaos

We have also seen during the past five years the challenge to religious bodies, and endless effort to bring them into the field of social action. Church after church has set its best minds and leadership to making social programs. All realize now that *laissez-faire* and individualism is *passé* in religious life and that the order of the day calls for group action.

The demoralization of the educational profession has also been witnessed. While normally we need nearly one and one-half million teachers, we are actually employing less than 800,000, and we have about two million persons trained to teach. The net result is a collapse of educational standards and such a preponderance of problems that local leadership has often succumbed to political influence.

Laissez-faire as a regulator upon all phases of life has not regulated anything, and an uncurbed individualism has brought us face to face with the necessity of protecting ourselves through group action. *He who does not function through groups is virtually of no social significance.*

Sources of Social Intelligence

As I have traveled throughout Wisconsin during the past five years, meeting with groups of every kind, I have been impressed with the plainly visible fact that there have been certain sources of social intelligence. We have lots of intelligence of the individual sort, like that of the great surgeon who did not realize the similarity between the clot in the bloodstream and the Wall Street clot in our money-stream, and who would correct all ills by turning the clock back. But we have few sources of social intelligence and they stand out like oases.

The first source is in the social science departments of our state universities. They have supplied such a body of socially intelligent leadership for the nation that they share the seat of business as counsellor to government, and the metropolitan dailies subservient to ultra-capitalistic groups have found it necessary to ridicule them to save the prestige of business.

A second source of social intelligence is found at our labor temples. Here gather people who are on the margins of our social life. They react to every minor change since they are first affected. They openly, honestly, discuss issues and search for solutions. They have nothing to conceal; everything to reveal. They serve no selfish motive, but are dedicated to benefit all. Democracy and brotherhood are characteristic of their actions. The programs which

they give us are statesmanlike documents, and the opposition they invite is merely a revelation of the anti-social nature of vested interests.

The several liberal movements are important sources of social intelligence. These movements are both urban and rural, and Progressive and Socialist. In Wisconsin we find they are associated with the Progressive Party, or friendly toward it.

Teacher unions have been a generous source of intelligence regarding the present needs of social life. For many reasons, however, this source is limited. Experience in Wisconsin shows that in cities where there are teacher unions less than ten per cent of the teaching staff have the knowledge and conditioning prerequisite to good union membership. The little locals of sixes and eights have been very constructive and should keep the craft together at all cost. However, the time is ripe for large unions since we have good leadership and can take care of an indefinite expansion. Wherever a teacher union exists there is a matrix for the development of social intelligence and the membership should heed their major responsibility of leavening the lifeless organizations about them.

Then in every major field we have individuals who stand out almost alone by virtue of their social intelligence like the Franklin Roosevelts and Frances Perkins in government, and the John Deweys in education. These are isolated cases and not to be confused with the demagogues so plentiful in times like these. This surveys the major seats of the social minded leadership that during the past five years has brought our thinking to the present point where we desire to save the foundations of democracy and reconstruct the social order in the service of common justice and social efficiency.

The Impact upon Education

What has been the result of the five-year period of chaos upon the educational profession? And what has been the effect of our union source of social intelligence upon our profession? It is now time to apply the generalizations specifically to the educational field.

To answer these questions it is necessary to go into the structure of the social organizations of education. There are two general organizations, known as the N. E. A. with its subsidiaries, and the A. F. T. based upon its locals. The former is based upon the military pattern of hierarchy of authority. It is the same sort of organization used for the direction of physical effort and for the sole purpose of controlling non-thinking units in the rank and file. Since it is purposed to control, it cramps initiative, consequently inhibits creativeness.

The A. F. T., on the other hand, knows no hierarchy of privates, corporals, sergeants, on up to the four-star general. It is based on the democratic principles of social participation and in the stimulated interaction between members, locals, and leadership. It is therefore relatively far more productive of mental activity and social accomplishments than its dominating rival.

Any scientific examination of the programs of the two organizations, the N. E. A. and the A. F. T. consequently places the former in an unenviable position. It is always at least a five year lag behind the times; on the other hand the A. F. T. began its first program, before our entrance into the Great War,

on the sound platforms of the British and the Canadian national teacher unions. It rapidly added to these programs to meet American needs, and since 1917 has monopolized the realm of social intelligence in our educational profession.

It is difficult to see how an N. E. A. organization can lay any claims to originality and creativeness when it is at a five year lag behind the A. F. T. Ordinary observation of the plans and programs of the latent organization and its tardy leaders definitely reveal them as simulations. Their leaders who would urge non-socialized young teachers to back their forward looking views are at least unwitting simulators since they combat an organization that is one of the seats of our social intelligence, and they urge teachers to enter into a system of control that can only make them obstacles to essential change.

This does not mean that the time has come for union teachers to divorce themselves entirely from other organizations. In many cases it may be better wisdom to join even latent organizations to stimulate them to advance. Also education needs all the support against other groups that it can get and much educational support has to be marshalled under a system of control.

The relation between teacher unions and other groups in Wisconsin has usually been welded by the former furnishing leadership and programs to the latter. This arrangement has many advantages that should not be overlooked.

In conclusion we see unionism setting the pace in education in America. This unionism rests upon sound social intelligence scientifically substantiated by every branch of social learning. We must not feel disturbed if our fellow teachers do not immediately see our viewpoint and join us. Their personalities are still pre-industrial, and their emotions attached to ideas and things they do not realize have been superseded.

Whether unionism will ever come fully into its own in its own name is immaterial. Nevertheless I think it will. However, as we today study the personality of the typical N. E. A. member, we note that it is comparable to that of the union teacher of 1920-1925. They are rapidly unionizing as they are socializing. As class lines are drawn tighter in American life, and they are bound to do so, unionism will be fully accomplished. American teachers will then be abreast of British teachers in their democracy. Meanwhile let us carry on.

The Tree and Life

Beneath a giant oak that gently tossed
Its waving top to heaven's canopy
I sat one day in pensive revery
Enthralled by many massive limbs embossed
With myriad leaves untinted by the frost,
Which, sun-kissed, in their joyous ecstasy
Drew forth from rugged earth's profundity
The gorgeous beauty where my gaze was lost.

It seemed that life, as countless seasons roll,
Might draw from out earth's dark and lifeless form
The boundless beauty of the human soul
And strength to meet the devastating storm.

Thus beautiful my passing life might be
As passing beauty crowns this noble tree.

—Irvin Kuenzli.

Public Education Costs

As Costs Are Lowered, Taxation Totals Will Rise

Richard Aspinall

THE purpose of this discussion is to show that huge curtailment in public education costs will reflect the same principle as "penny wise and pound foolish." If too much of the American tax dollar is spent for education, either by reason of too many students in the secondary and higher grades, (we assume none would forbid free instruction to all in the grammar school grades), or because the school terms are too long, then retrenchment should be summarily applied. Or, if formal instruction teaches nothing more than love of books and if only a few folks acquire that yearning and if most college graduates and their instructors turn out to be high-minded bigots enclosed within cultural walls of conceit, then the state cannot justify its outlay of public funds in a vaunted gesture to spread informations and inculcate scholarly habits and attitudes and citizenship skills to its future electorates. Or, if the grammar grade pupils are hopelessly biased toward evil and general social maladjustments, then the all too common charge obtains that formal instruction produces educated rascals. Or, if the net results of education are that the pupils by and large abidingly cherish a dislike for honest toil, and that our professional educators are chisellers and wolfish pillagers upon the public treasuries, then public education is a colossal and abject failure in that it has completely missed the mark.

For ordinary personal methods of dialectic there are two sides to any question:—our own and the wrong one. Yet, accumulated informations tend to induce compromise and arouse keener abilities of discernment. It may later be driven home to us that there are three sides to the problem of the High Cost of Public Education:—ours, the wrong one, and the correct one. The right attitude may be in a zone far removed from the poles of rabid radicalism and wary conservatism. "Truth is the organic unity of opposed parts," and it is absurd to aver that anyone has gathered all the informations of a problem so intricate and far-reaching as public education costs to enable one to speak upon it with finality.

One of the ironies of our social set-up is that folks are still just as eager as ever to argue—and die if need be—for their ideas, regardless of how patent is the evidence in point to the contrary. Advancing civilization does not seem to have changed that attitude in people. This ego centric reservation to cling with unreasoning devotion to indiscreet notions despite consequences is outlined by Safed the Sage in a parable of a gander and a big red automobile. The gander seemed fully conscious that he was just too adorable in the eyes of his flock. It happened that one day while crossing the highway the big red automobile bore swiftly upon them. The geese flapped their wings and scurried to safety, but the gander imagined such haste was undignified, therefore he joggled along at a semi-majestic gait, hissing at the automobile as he went. After the car had pulled up and the driver had settled with the farmer for the ex-gander which the farmer took home to stew, the owner of the car said in soliloquy: "If the high-

minded gander had carried his head lower and put the energy of his hissing into the manipulation of his legs, it might have fared better with him and cost me five dollars less."

Unfortunately, not all who argue without reason are run down. The majority of them, alas, become vehemently vitriolic and querulous. Bitterness closes their minds to compromise. They cry for the heads of all who dare question the *status quo*. A cursory glance through European History discloses against scholarship and reform a long list of shamefully pathetic exhibitions of bigotry by those ensconced in high places. The most glaring are typified by the murders of Giordano Bruno and John Huss. Even in the vaunted free thinking days of the French Revolution, Lavoisier, the formulator of the theory of combustion as now accepted in scientific circles, was denounced by Marat as the "Master of Charlatans"; and the judge who sentenced him to death vainly boasted—"The Republic has no need of chemists." Recently there came to our attention a positive phase of the episode recorded of the assailants of Galileo, who sustained by refusal to look through the telescopes their beliefs that Jupiter had no moons. In the modern circumstance it appears that a sanitary engineer was endeavoring to locate the cause of a typhoid epidemic when an irate rustic loudly proclaimed there were no such things as germs and melodramatically demanded in the presence of a group of curious listeners that the engineer produce one and show it to him. The sanitary specialist not quite prepared for such an emergency, temporarily lost prestige.

It is lamentable also that so much public opinion is systematically made to order by professional and unprincipled propagandists. Slogans and political catchwords that rarely have any meaningful connotation are foisted upon an unsuspecting public. Every biologist knows for instance that we are not all created free and equal, and every educator knows that we are not all born equal in mind. These are two of the very good reasons why our government cannot be successfully conducted upon the theory that all men are able to bear equal burdens of taxation, or that all men have equal monetary earning abilities.

Despite the violent prejudices, mass instabilities, and general frailties to which mankind seems so naturally bent, this writer subscribes very definitely, yet with becoming humility, with that long list of the choicest educators to the thesis that only informations broaden the outlook to the stage of tolerant charity. The differentiating factor between the Dark Ages and the Renaissance was an intelligent public opinion. Of course it is puerile to claim that any particular year or decade was more "awakened" than any other in the Renaissance, yet it is easily demonstrable by contrast at this late date that there was a vast difference between these two periods by reason of the factor of intelligence in the one and the lack of it in the other.

It would be inconsistency itself, in view of what has been stated above, to extol unduly the glories of

this present era, but extreme modesty will permit the suggestion that our set-up of public education has brought untold and manifold social benefits in terms of happier homes, more healthful activities, better sanitary conditions, and a larger proportion of competently equipped citizens. Consider that in this country there were no hospitals, pharmacies, trained nurses, anaesthetics, or vaccination against smallpox during the Revolutionary Period. District schools were few and far between and were open for only two months each winter. In those schools there were no maps, blackboards, slates, or pencils, and girls were not eligible to matriculate. In many respects it was a cruel age. Victims were imprisoned even for debts of less than twenty-five cents. It was thought to be entirely in keeping with Christian ideals to cut off the ears or other bodily members, or to burn people at the stake for such mild recalcitrancy that would in this day be hailed as progressiveness. Education is the only antidote to an undesirable regimented society.

It may be that owing to present financial conditions a longer moratorium of formal education costs should and will be declared. But it is safe to assume that if the states cut down the teaching terms, or close colleges and universities, either temporarily or permanently, that private and sectarian institutions would make the most of the situations and probably the public purse would not be spared for education costs. It is granted that under such conditions the burdens of costs would fall upon those best able to bear them, but these same people would not be disposed or able to assume the charitable and religious benefactions that are now carried by their voluntary endeavors.

The total expenditures of public elementary and secondary schools in the U. S. in 1930 were \$2,316,790,000 or more than ten times the expenditures for the same grades in 1900. School property in the country was \$6,211,327,000 in 1930, or more than eleven times the value in 1900. There were 25,678,000 pupils enrolled in all the elementary and secondary grades in 1930 as against 15,503,000 in 1900. The state supported colleges and universities cost approximately 20% per year of the total amount of public instruction.

It may be beside the point for professional educators to insist that public education costs ought not to be seriously curtailed since so much money is spent for chewing gum, cosmetics, golf, automobiles for pleasure, to say nothing of tobacco, intoxicating liquors, and narcotics, because our citizenship may think these expenditures are very worthwhile. It is to the point, however, if it can be shown that money invested in public education eventually spared the public purse by and large in terms of what was saved from what inevitably would have been other items of state expense.

Let crime costs be considered. There is virtue in the assertion that the public school is a social agency for the prevention of crime. Investigations by the U. S. Department of Commerce of 18,000 prisoners showed a smaller proportion had gone beyond the elementary school than had done so in the general population. The same study revealed that 11% of the above group was illiterate, while for the general population the illiteracy was only 7%. This may prove only that the literate are more successful in avoiding imprisonment. But in a study of 500 criminal careers, Glueck and Glueck found that 90% had not gone

beyond the eighth grade. The same investigators also found that of a large group of reformatory children there was a greater degree of retardation in the group than among the school population of the city of Boston. Slawson reports that the number of mentally deficient children among the delinquents in St. Paul was nearly five times as great as among the public school population.

It is deserving of serious consideration that crime costs in the United States are almost as much as those of public education and that the average cost per person of those incarcerated in our jails and penitentiaries is higher than the average cost per pupil in our public schools. In 1928 for every \$2.00 spent on elementary and secondary school pupils, we spent \$1.50 to control the criminal. It costs about \$400.00 a year to maintain a delinquent in a public institution, \$300.00 for an adult prisoner, and somewhat less than \$100.00 for each public school pupil for the same period. These data are taken from the 1932 September Research Bulletin of the N. E. A. which thus comments on the situation:

In a sense, then, if the \$100.00 spent annually on each public school pupil does not produce a "good citizen," the state must later pay three or four times that amount for penal or correctional treatment.

There are also the indirect losses of crime that can never be estimated in dollars. The innumerable griefs, fears, worries, and ultimately deaths among the innocent relatives and friends of the convicted are ghastly and should be diminished and prevented as much as possible. The sufferings and tortures of the recreants should also enter the picture. Two quotations from Horace Mann on this particular subject are characteristically thought-provoking:

Governments do not see the future criminal or pauper in the neglected child, and therefore they sit idly by, until roused from their stupor by the cry of hunger or the spectacle of crime. They erect the almshouse, the prison, and the gibbet, to arrest or mitigate the evils which timely caution might have prevented.

The people do not yet seem to see that the intelligence and the morality which education can impart is that beneficent kind of insurance, which, by preventing losses, obviates the necessity of indemnifying for them; thus saving both premium and risk.

It may be that public education should stop at the high school level, and that all who desire more training should pay for it out of their own pockets. Yet on every hand and in an increasing number of countries the tendency is to socialize. Soldiers, sailors, civil service employees, and other public servants are secured by the state against old age and infirmity. It will not be in the remote future that greatly increased numbers of physicians, dentists, nurses, sanitary engineers, and the like will be paneled on the public pay roll to protect and professionally administer to the populace. It would appear logical that if the state in its wisdom takes such precautionary measures for the physical health of its citizenship, that it will not be shortsighted respecting the mental and cultural health of its people. Insistence for self-protection in terms of an educated youth is not offered as a threat, but it may be the part of wisdom to have our youth well-informed. A people that neglects the education of its oncoming citizenship might not be able to protect itself against a self-willed, maladjusted, ignorant adolescence.

Finally, relief from taxation for adequate public school instruction may not make for a happier and

more contented people. A new day of that kind might prove to be a sad one. The urbanization of our people and the general complexity of our social life, with the attendant added leisure time on our hands, have made the raising of a family a seriously difficult problem. These factors are reasons why more parents than are commonly credited undergo great privations that their children may receive more and more formal education.

It is obvious that if the depression continues there will obtain a very much lower rate of spending. There will perforce be an increasingly larger proportion of our wage earners permanently unemployed unless some plan is forced upon us by a dictator type of government whereby all legitimately gainful occupations will be increased by dividing what there are so that each adult will have opportunity to provide for himself and those dependent upon him. It may be that the so-called laboring classes will have to be scaled down to work a limited number of weeks per year so that all will have employment; school teachers and administrators may not be allowed to teach more than one semester per year and then be replaced by another staff for the second semester, and so on, and so on. Such divisions of labor would be infinitely better than conditions wherein half of the legitimately employable are on full time, but in addition to providing

for themselves and their own they must feed and clothe and house the other half.

Albeit, it may be that serious discussions of costs of public education in these days are just so much prattle, that the intensified and elaborated system we indulged during the last generation was a flourish attendant to an unprecedented wave of mechanized prosperity, and that the builders of our nation do not perceive it to be an organic element of a great democracy. That is to say, the state will gladly support public education when money is very plentiful, but if and when sacrifice is required to maintain it, then it must go by the board as an ornament, or another "noble experiment" of a rich society.

Or, the judgment may obtain since society is hard pressed financially, that the higher education of the masses should revert back to the Church, or private enterprise, so that the state may attack what are supposed to be problems of more moment. If such mores become the vogue, then all that will be required to ring down the curtain on this chapter of civilization, so far as it affects this country at least, will be for one underfed and malnourished generation to reach a feeble maturity coincident with one that has grown up more or less devoid of secondary and higher formal instruction. The inevitable result is best left to the imagination.

Financial Emergency Facing Schools

Federal Office of Education

THE emergency in education this year is fully as extensive as last year. More than one-eighth of the school children of the United States are in school districts without sufficient funds to operate schools the customary school term.

This is the central conclusion of a final report on the financial situation in rural schools and independent school districts for the current school year presented by United States Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker to Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. A copy of the report was also forwarded to Relief Administrator Harry L. Hopkins.

The survey was requested by Secretary Ickes last October at the time President Roosevelt authorized the use of relief funds to keep financially distressed schools open. A preliminary report was submitted on December 10.

Approximately 42,200 schools are in districts reporting insufficient funds to operate schools for the number of months to which they were accustomed in past years. In these schools located in 25 States there are 3,429,920 pupils and 102,116 teachers.

"Although numerous reports of sounder financial conditions in school districts—especially city school districts—have reached the Federal Office of Education, this improvement should not obscure the continuing emergency in many rural school districts and even some city school districts," declared Commissioner Studebaker, commenting on the report.

Outstanding Facts Disclosed by the Survey

In 467 school districts in eight States there were no available funds to operate schools this year. In these districts there are 57,090 pupils and 1,745 teachers.

Without the receipt of additional funds the school

term for one-eighth of the school children of the United States will be shortened on an average of 3 months.

Deficits in operating funds reported by officials of the schools involved a total of \$31,816,010. Adding deficits estimated officially for six additional States the total is \$37,316,010.

Of this amount \$24,544,874 represents contract salaries for teachers.

Rural schools reported without sufficient funds total 37,513, with 2,122,468 elementary school pupils and 562,712 high school pupils.

City or independent schools without sufficient funds for normal terms total approximately 4,700, with 687,650 elementary school pupils and 501,165 high school pupils.

Closed Schools

"It is rather difficult to define what a closed school is," says Dr. Howard A. Dawson, who prepared the survey at the request of Commissioner Studebaker. "But it is relatively easy to determine whether or not a school has any money with which to pay its teachers. In many cases, last year and this, schools which did not have any money remained open only because the teachers served in a missionary capacity. From a technical standpoint, at least, such schools may be designated as closed schools."

Some schools began the year without funds; others were able to operate a few months. This is revealed by a summary showing that

- 1,745 teachers are in schools that are financially unable to operate at all;
- 4,018 teachers in schools that are able to operate less than 2 months;
- 6,859 teachers in schools able to operate less than 3 months;

11,712 less than 4 months;
 26,968 in schools less than 5 months;
 38,698 less than 6 months;
 59,320 less than 7 months;
 85,551 less than 8 months;
 102,116 teachers in schools that are financially unable to operate in excess of 8 months.

"One of the significant facts revealed by these data," continues the report, "is that the average monthly salaries paid to teachers in these distressed school districts are certainly among the lowest teacher salaries in the United States. Sixty-four per cent of the teachers affected are in States where the average salary paid to teachers in distressed school districts is less than \$100 a month."

Teachers' Salaries

How low teachers' salaries go in the United States is revealed by the facts assembled for districts in 33 States which received Federal emergency aid last year. The Relief Administration agreed to pay these teachers the salaries called for by their contracts with boards of education up to \$100 per month. Reports show that the average contract salaries of elementary teachers in aided school districts was less than \$58 per month and one-fourth of all elementary teachers received less than \$50 per month. This is less than the minimum for unskilled labor in most codes.

In 16 States many teachers received less than \$20 per month.

In 22 States a considerable number of teachers received less than \$40 per month.

Causes of Emergency

Local school officials were asked to report the causes of the financial emergency in their school districts. Following is an analysis of the reasons given in order of greatest frequency:

- Delinquent or unpaid taxes
- Decrease in taxable valuation resulting in lower returns from general property taxation
- Drought conditions
- Districts carrying the maximum current or bonded indebtedness.
- Unusual or unexpected increase in population
- Maximum tax limitations too low
- Insufficient State aid
- Reduced valuations due to acquisition of property by United States Government
- Calamities, such as storms
- Small weak school districts
- State salary schedule requires increased expenditures
- Non-payment of taxes by corporations holding cut-over lands or abandoned mines

"There is no reason to believe that reports concerning all districts in distress have been received," according to the report. "But the data presented are more complete concerning this educational problem than any heretofore presented."

F. E. R. A.

Commenting on the report United States Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker said: "Last year the emergency in education was relieved by the agreement of the Relief Administration to place teachers of schools faced with closing short of the

regular term on relief rolls. Approximately \$14,500,000 was advanced to 33 States. This money was used to pay salaries of about 100,000 teachers of 3,000,000 pupils for periods ranging from a few days to 16 weeks.

"This year," continued Commissioner Studebaker, "the Relief Administration placed on the relief rolls teachers in sections of four States; South Dakota and North Dakota, Arkansas and Alabama. More recently four additional States—Oklahoma, Mississippi, Florida and New Mexico—have been added to the list to receive funds for teachers in schools faced with closing. Fourteen additional States have applied for aid. According to the Relief Administrator approximately \$5,000,000 has already been authorized for this purpose this year. This authorization should not be confused with the employment of needy teachers for special adult classes and nursery schools.

"Legislatures of 44 States are meeting or have met this winter. All of them have school legislation under consideration or passed. One State, Ohio, has taken action on a new school financing program. Information reaching the Federal Office of Education is that all of the States included in this report, with the possible exception of Ohio, will experience considerable difficulty in keeping financially distressed schools open this spring.

"States have not shirked their responsibilities to education," said Commissioner Studebaker. "Most of the States which now have many districts in need are States that have for years led the list in percentage of funds for schools supplied from State sources. Many States also have, at the urgency of the Federal Government, extended and raised their tax system to the breaking point to cooperate in financing general relief. The curtailment of school term, teachers' salaries and services does not indicate failure on the part of localities or States to do what they can for themselves. Quite the contrary.

"Administrator Harry L. Hopkins has declared that aiding the distressed schools through the Relief Administration is not satisfactory. The difficulties the F. E. R. A. faces in aiding schools have been revealed in reports to the Federal Office of Education. The Relief Administration was created to aid individuals rather than schools. Rules practicable for individual relief prove awkward when applied to a school situation.

"First of all, as Mr. Hopkins says, the placing of teachers on relief rolls is anything but desirable. Then, other difficulties crop up in applying relief rules to the school situation. In some rural schools both man and wife are teachers. If such schools were to be kept open, only the men or the wives could be paid from relief funds. This means that in each of these cases one teacher must teach without compensation, or resign. Then a new teacher must be employed. Last year, moreover, the Relief Administration paid teachers their contract salaries up to \$100 per month, although few received anything near this figure. This year the limit a teacher may receive teaching a school included among those eligible for aid, is \$60 per month. The individual viewpoint in relief also means that nothing may be advanced for books, operation of the school bus, or to purchase fuel, even in cases where there was absolutely no money for such needs and no way to raise money. As Administrator Hopkins points out, schools are in

a different category, and if the Federal Government is going to help keep schools open for children it should set up a special program for this purpose. In other words, what is needed is 'school-relief,' not individual-teacher relief.

"Cities of 5,000 and more population are excluded from relief for schools. Some of the most distressed situations in the country are in cities 5,000 to 10,000 population. Provision also needs to be made for assisting the schools in such situations."

FOLLOWING ARE FACTS REPORTED BY 31 STATES

State	Number of districts with cur-tailed schools	Number of schools in districts*	Number of pupils	Number of teachers	Deficits in districts without sufficient funds Teachers salaries	Total
Alabama	5,060	6,838	519,145	13,029	\$ 3,184,160	\$ 3,614,901.00
Arizona	103	121	44,054	1,395	356,855	627,177.92
Arkansas	690	1,095	220,312	5,721	2,241,924	2,500,000.00
Colorado	279	375	19,041	691	178,207	368,609.00
Florida	965	1,147	164,231	4,052	605,464	859,335.00
Idaho	146	171	7,602	298	55,882	103,525.00
Iowa	62	62	681	63	4,095	12,725.00
Louisiana	234	268	25,844	549	107,089	267,653.00
Minnesota	180	243	13,574	547	96,764	208,907.00
Mississippi	5,134	6,148	482,685	15,169	1,905,562	2,708,707.67
Nebraska	192	331	16,826	688	120,505	267,118.00
New Mexico	880	930	11,500	950	95,700	180,000.00
North Dakota	1,977	2,307	78,851	3,987	1,005,954	1,400,615.30
Ohio	1,773	3,546	443,395	11,445	3,548,512	9,000,000.00
Oklahoma	2,523	3,435	340,809	8,600	2,271,857	2,585,189.00
Oregon	125	142	6,750	450	131,406	181,275.00
South Dakota	1,020	1,585	87,750	5,765	829,282	1,200,000.00
Tennessee	2,476	2,682	172,429	5,674	900,083	1,132,639.58
Texas	2,133	4,014	300,620	10,134	1,370,194	2,239,883.15
Utah	20		49,201	1,780	351,288	424,058.00
Virginia	2,442	2,945	230,018	3,984	462,836	951,821.00
Washington	38	41	2,035	80	12,120	25,366.00
West Virginia	3,149	3,149	159,547	5,725	627,044	605,761.00
Wisconsin	437	457	27,250	1,090	457,456	200,000.00
Wyoming	101	140	5,770	250	78,635	150,743.00
Total	32,139	42,172	3,429,920	102,116	\$20,998,874	\$31,816,009.62
<i>Other States</i>						
<i>Estimated</i>						
Georgia					\$ 2,000,000	\$ 3,000,000.00
Kansas					150,000	200,000.00
Maine					150,000	300,000.00
Montana					150,000	200,000.00
Missouri					600,000	1,000,000.00
North Carolina					500,000	800,000.00
Total 6 States					\$ 3,550,000	\$ 5,500,000.00
Total 31 States					\$24,548,874	\$37,316,010.00

*An elementary school and a high school both in the same building are counted as two schools.

The Unemployed—Pariahs or Freeman?

Michael B. Scheler

FEW of the boys and girls in our grammar, high schools, and even colleges and universities have an inkling of the fact that our country was not at all times "the land of the free" and that it is far from being such to this very day. The authors of the stereotyped history texts used in our schools made sure that no loophole in their works would make it possible for this truth to filter through and lodge in the minds of our young folks. But *truth* is an obstinate entity. It defies barriers, excisions, and proscriptions, whether emanating from fascist councils or "brain-trust" cabinets. Somehow, sometime, it forces itself to the surface and finds its heroic champions in all branches of human cognition. In recent

years the crop of historians who dared to look into the face of truth has grown quite numerous and more bold. They dug into the musty documents and archives of American history and uncovered some of the more unfavorable angles of our national development. Thousands of our youngsters may be shocked to learn that few white Americans in the colonial period of our history and in the early decades of our Republic had the right to vote and that many restrictions, religious, political, and financial, deprived them of the privileges of free citizens. It may be news to many that until 1691 "no person who was not a member of a Puritan congregation could vote in Massachusetts" and that in many of the original thirteen states

Catholics, Unitarians, Jews, agnostics, and other non-conformist sects were excluded from "places of political trust" by numerous religious tests.

It may also be news to many of our citizens that the fathers of our Republic were aristocrats from the caps of their heads to the soles of their feet, that they despised and looked down upon the poor and the propertyless, and that they feared those who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow, namely, laborers and mechanics, as Cicero feared "the proletariat and debtors of ancient Rome." Accordingly, the framers of the first state constitutions, in conformity with their predilections, incorporated provisions therein which virtually disfranchised all white men who could not pay property taxes or who did not own any property,—and those elements constituted the majority at all stages of our history, not excluding our own times. Moreover, the framers of the first state constitutions couched their artifices with one end in view, namely, *to keep out from public office all those who did not possess substantial property.*

Then the Negro holds some surprises in store for many of our gullible folks. Nearly all school children in the North and in the West are certain—so the textbooks say—that since the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment all the male Negroes born in the United States have had the right to franchise and to participate in the unlimited political opportunities of our democracy. And it may be news to them that in all Southern States the Fifteenth Amendment is observed more by its breach than compliance and that the Negro is virtually barred from all political office, and that even in many states outside the South numerous obstacles are placed in the path of the Negro and that few succeed to political office, and when they do get political plums they are generally of the less desirable sort, such as jobs of street cleaners, elevator operators, snow shovelers, firemen, and policemen.

It never occurred to millions of our school children that women, too, were citizens of our Republic and as such were entitled to franchise and to the enjoyment of our political and economic opportunities. And so it may be news to many of our rising generation that it is only since the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in the Summer of 1920 that American women have become free politically, and that fourteen years after the passage of this Amendment, women, like the Negro in the South and in the North, face open or subtle discriminations in all walks of life.

And bitter as this truth may be millions of our young citizens in public schools and students in colleges and universities, it must be told: *Millions of our black citizens in the South are for all practical purposes disfranchised, and there seems to be no likelihood that their position will be materially improved in the near future. Thousands of our Indians, whose great grandfathers certainly had a more just claim to our soil than the white immigrants from England, are virtually the pariahs of modern American society. Millions of our gifted women-folk find their talents and ambitions frustrated as a result of medieval prejudices still entertained by twentieth-century men.* But Negroes, Indians, and women are not alone singled out for prejudice and discrimination. What may be news to thousands of school youngsters and even many history textbook compilers and college professors, even white American men, by the thousands, are virtually disfranchised and disqualified for

political office in the United States today. A study of the "qualifications for voting" in a good number of our states will prove extremely illuminating. I will reproduce some of them in alphabetical order, "qualifications" which are indisputably designed to bar certain white elements from the polls and political office.

Alabama—to be qualified to vote, citizens "must have property" and "must pay a poll tax." "Vagrants and tramps disqualified."

Arkansas—"must pay a poll tax."

Connecticut—"must be of good moral character."

Delaware—"paupers disqualified."

Florida—"must pay a poll tax."

Georgia—"delinquent taxpayers disqualified."

Louisiana—"inmates of charitable institutions disqualified."

Maine—"paupers disqualified."

Massachusetts—"must pay poll tax." "Paupers disqualified."

Mississippi—"must pay poll tax." "Delinquent taxpayers disqualified."

Missouri—"paupers disqualified."

New Hampshire—"paupers and non-taxpayers disqualified."

New Jersey—"paupers disqualified."

Oklahoma—"poorhouse inmates disqualified."

Oregon—"must have property."

Pennsylvania—"must have paid a State or county tax within two years."

Rhode Island—"paupers disqualified."

South Carolina—"must own and pay on \$300 worth of property." "Paupers disqualified."

Tennessee—"must pay a poll tax."

Texas—"must pay poll tax." "Paupers disqualified."

Vermont—"must take freeman's oath and be of good behavior."

Virginia—"must pay poll tax." "Paupers disqualified."

West Virginia—"paupers disqualified."

Let us analyze these "qualifications" or disqualifications more carefully. In 3 States: Alabama, Oregon, and South Carolina, white Americans, in order to be politically articulate, must own property, in South Carolina to the value of \$300. In 2 States: Georgia and Pennsylvania, only taxpayers are eligible to the polls, in the former "delinquent taxpayers are disqualified" and in the latter, voters who failed to pay a State or county tax "within two years." In 7 States, Arkansas, Florida, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, voters must pay a poll tax to be qualified to vote. In 12 States: Delaware, Louisiana, Maine, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia, paupers, inmates of poorhouses and charitable institutions are disqualified. In Connecticut voters "must be of good moral character" and in Vermont they must take a "freeman's oath and be of good behavior." What, may we ask, is "good moral character" and "good behavior," and who is to determine it?

What do these qualifications for voting mean and what are their implications for the near future? Some 4,000,000 American families, comprising around 16,000,000 men, women and children, are now (October, 1934) dependent upon the public for support in one form or another, and 6,500,000 men and women over

65 years of age constitute a large percentage of all persons on relief, particularly in rural districts. Only a little stretch of the imagination will make us realize that one day these unemployed men and women may wake up to find themselves politically disfranchised, if and in the event the "qualifications for voting" in the States I listed are to be literally interpreted. Here is an interesting Associated Press dispatch apropos of this subject, which undoubtedly escaped the attention of many sports and sensation-news readers, printed in the metropolitan press for October 20 and 21, 1934. Three States have laws or constitutional provisions "which might be invoked to deny the ballot to those on relief rolls." For instance, New Hampshire has a law which provides that "persons receiving direct aid within 90 days of the election are not eligible voters." And then the same dispatch adds: "According to the opinions of some officials in several states, the poll tax requirements would make voting difficult for many destitute unemployed." (My italics.) And here is an instance of "an overt act" which shows in which direction the wind is blowing. The Kansas Relief Committee recently declared that "transients on relief would be taken off the transient rolls if they cast ballots."

There is now in our midst a more or less steady army of 20,000,000 unemployed men, women, and children, who are out of work and destitute not through any fault of their own but as a result of the unregulated and anarchistic management of our capitalist system. They regard themselves as free men and are determined to exercise their inalienable rights of free American citizens. But there is the danger that they may band themselves into independent revolutionary organizations, or form an independent militant political party with a platform of "impossible" demands for the unemployed, or that they may use their collective political force and influence as a lever to unseat or elevate men and women in the two major parties and thus indirectly mould their character, ideology, and political strategy. This is a threat that "the powers that be" cannot countenance and so the unemployed are coming to be feared in the councils of the rich, the mighty, and by the beneficiaries of the age-old system of political spoils as the proletariat and desperate debtors of ancient Rome were feared by Cicero, and as the inarticulate laborers and mechanics were feared by the fathers of our Republic. Already voices have been raised in "influential circles" to the effect that "recipients of public and private relief," which means all the unemployed, should be disfranchised in the interest of the welfare of the nation at large. And what the Kansas Relief Committee has done in the case of "transients on relief" may be done to those permanently on relief in those States where voting is limited to taxpayers and property owners and withheld from paupers, inmates of charitable institutions, and persons with moral defects, by some legislative or judicial hocus-pocus. Are not the modern unemployed the paupers of capitalist society? Are not the methods employed by most of our "relief agencies" as humiliating as those used by charitable institutions, and is it not possible to lump both agencies in one category? And so 20,000,000 of Americans are face to face with the danger of losing their constitutional birthright, the right to franchise, and of becoming the *modern pariahs* in American society, simply because they were so unfortunate as to be born

under an economy that places greed and profit above human welfare and happiness. *This eventuality must not come to pass!* Every red-blooded American must and will oppose the potential development of a pariah class of 20,000,000 souls in our democracy, which our vociferous reactionaries openly or clandestinely covet. Every red-blooded American must intensify his vigil against the enemies in our midst who are constantly plotting against the sacred liberties and rights of our Constitution and democracy. But vigil alone is not sufficient. All progressive and liberty-loving elements in America must forget their individual and ideological grievances, must line up behind one united, powerful progressive party, which will pose foremost in its platform a demand for a new XXII Constitutional Amendment guaranteeing the right to franchise to recipients of unemployment relief or insurance for all time, and a determination not to rest content until this Amendment shall have become the law of the land. The single State of Massachusetts was far-sighted and progressive enough to show the way by placing a statute on its books specifically assuring those in receipt of relief the right to vote, and from now on no American who has the noblest traditions of his nation at heart will rest content until every State in the Union will fall in line with Massachusetts or until the XXII Amendment to the Constitution, which will safeguard the free exercise of American citizenship of the unemployed, regardless of color, creed, or race for all time to come, becomes the law "in this land of the free."

Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you promise.

—Benjamin Franklin.

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Analysis of Opposition to A. F. T.

Dear Mrs. Hanson:

Local No. 230 wishes to acknowledge your letter of March 8, telling of the recent attack by Congressman Dickstein on the floor of Congress, when he dubbed the American Federation of Teachers "communistic" because, forsooth, he said the Federation had contributed money to the Theatre Union. We have heard from you since that Congressman Dickstein has withdrawn his statement about the A. F. of T. from the Congressional Record. We think, however, that this incident should not be closed without locals of the A. F. of T. taking cognizance of its real significance.

As the *AMERICAN TEACHER* for March-April, 1935, points out, "Hearst leads drive for U. S. Gag Laws. With Hearst Newspapers beating the drums, an anti-red drive of more serious proportions than in years is being conducted by military and patriotic groups, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the American Legion, and the D. A. R. . . ."

But "red drives," whose result is always the suppression of basic American rights, are never limited to an attack upon just the left-most wing of the labor movement, in this case, the Communists. Any labor group whatsoever, if it is active and militant to better its conditions and defend its rights, soon finds itself the object of precisely the same attacks. As Mrs. Hanson tells us in her letter, Congressman Dickstein "groups us with the YWCA, the Socialist Party, and others whom he classes as communist because of their support of the Theatre Union. . . ." In America, among the forces of reaction, "red" and "communistic" are used merely as devices to incite fear and distrust in people's minds against the labor movement. Once it was "anarchistic" and "socialistic." Sometimes all three are thrown together indiscriminately, as when, in Massachusetts last year, in the legislative hearings on the proposed child labor amendment, the amendment was termed by a representative of one group a "socialistic, communistic, anarchistic" measure! When reactionary forces begin a "red drive," we can be certain that their aim is to dis-

rupt workers' organizational efforts to better their living and working conditions.

If this is the real significance of the incident, we should ask why these interests wish to prevent American teachers from joining the A. F. of T. Let us look at the following facts:

1. The American public school system has in many places completely broken down. According to the *AMERICAN TEACHER* for Nov.-Dec., 1934, more than 30,000 fewer teachers were at work this year, and one teacher out of every six will receive less than \$450 for the school term.
2. The American Federation of Teachers has been growing in numbers and in locals. Many new locals have been formed only recently, and there is evidence that teachers are becoming aware of the fact that if they are to win security not only for themselves but also for the free public school system of America they must organize to do it.
3. But the organization of teachers into a union, affiliated with the American labor movement, is precisely what the reactionary forces in this country do not want. To see how they are fighting such organization, one need only call to mind the "anti-red" drives in the colleges and schools, the teachers' oath bills now under consideration in various state legislatures, this Dickstein incident, and other such symptoms.

In short, it is not precisely because labor in general and teachers in particular have been organizing and have been showing a determination to fight for decent conditions that such attacks have begun? Are we sufficiently awake to the fact that there is in this country a determined reactionary minority whose aim is to weaken and eventually to crush the whole organized labor movement?

The response of the organized teachers to this threat must be a redoubling of efforts. "We must hang together or most assuredly we shall all hang separately." Let us declare our solidarity with all labor in the determination to re-

pulse every invasion of our basic liberties and rights.

Western Mass., Local 230,
JAMES J. GIBSON, President.

Northampton, Mass.,
April 18, 1935.

Government and Children

DR. JOHN DEWEY, *Chairman,*
Joint Committee on Unemployment

The depression has told with ferocious brutality upon children. It is depriving them of schooling and undermining their health. Two million dollars less a day are spent on education than in 1930. Two thousand rural schools are closed. On the average, the school year has been shortened from one to two months over the country, although it averaged before from a month to two months and a half shorter than in European countries. Teachers are dismissed in great number. The depression and the shutting down of child labor has resulted in sending children in greater numbers to high schools. One out of every four teachers in the United States is teaching for less than the N.R.A. codes fix for unskilled factory workers. Kindergartens are closed. Music, physical education, art, home economics, and health services are lopped off.

In 1930 President Hoover estimated there were 6,000,000 undernourished children in the United States. The Children's Bureau estimates that one-fifth of the children of the country are suffering from bad nutrition, bad housing, and inadequate medical care. Official investigation shows families who suffered a loss of income between 1929 and 1932 have a 60 per cent higher rate of illness than families in which there was no drop. One-third of the children in a low-income region of New York City were rated poor or very poor in health by examining physicians—only one-quarter good. Loss in education and health cannot be made up in later life for either child or nation. The federal government must come to the rescue and grant appropriations for education, scholarships, food, and care, to maintain future citizens in sound body and mind.

Mental Attitudes, Incorporated

Raymond F. Lowry

THE American Federation of Teachers is facing at this time many major problems. Along with their affiliates in the world of production the principal one, however, is that this professional body must be educated to the ideals of the American Labor movement. It is not sufficient that great numbers add their strength to the growing membership, although such a numerical proportion of educators is a glorious daily incentive to greater organization efforts on the part of every individual teacher and local. The more realization that in the defense of ideals and for the maintenance of the public school system a more intelligent and less fearful attitude is being expressed by action would seem to declare the victory won, when it has, in fact, only begun. The most difficult ordeal is yet to be endured; the hardest fight is yet to be fought.

During this dark night of social unrest and economic insecurity, the air vibrates with agitation for the adoption of some new system—Fascism, Hitlerism, Communism, Socialism, or the like. Intelligent people within every group in society are to be found in varying degrees of sympathy with one or the other. Such is not according to the teaching of Labor.

Those aged with the years and seasoned by the campaigns of scores of struggles are the living examples of the lesson which we must learn. Attitudes of mind, of course, came first with even them. Repeated failure and occasional victory taught them a further truth—the way out of economic troubles and social malpractices does not consist in changes of system but of fundamental changes in human nature to the destruction of selfishness. Not even under the application of the New Deal have these great leaders forgot the lesson of the years—the best results are obtained not by placing the emphasis on the introduction of new systems but on the human factor in the operation of them. We must learn that the real good to be obtained through organization is the improvement of the individual for cooperation, divorced of ignorance and intolerance, and inspired by a desire to serve.

Open-mindedness must play a major role even in the act of affiliation, but with affiliation must come complete coordination of mind and heart. The temptation to achieve through added strength the objectives long sought by our profession may early sidetrack us from the course to be followed in the interests of the many. Local and personal problems loom large, but the more distant ones need not receive only secondary attention. In every scientific and moral sense we "live not to ourselves alone." The welfare of the children must come first, in state and nation, but we dare not climb to security over the faces of our friends.

To be union-minded carries an inseparable corollary, we must be union-hearted. As we shall continue to receive greatly, our gratitude should exert itself in seeking to render greater service. As we have become a part of a great organization so should the functioning of our body conform to the demands of the united structure. We dare not allow that we become so interested in contending for our rights and credits, that we miss large opportunities for service.

In immediate conjunction with the fulfillment of our obligation to our friends is that of maintaining a closer and livelier unity with the

National Office, particularly at this time of imperative growth and crisis. It is entirely in keeping with the much-needed program of education that the entire membership should come to realize what vital part the officers there are playing in drawing an increasing number of teachers into a program of defense and progress which local organizations are powerless to accomplish by themselves. This function is entirely due to the peculiar privilege which they alone may extend to locals throughout the Nation, namely, the charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. And in so doing, they serve as a clearinghouse for local problems, keeping the membership informed of trends within the Federation as well as other organizations. Through this office we also participate in national and international conferences. Confusion and chaos would immediately result if this head were not in turn served faithfully by the body members.

The strength of our defense of the schools and of the profession depends upon the subjugation of personal or individual desires in the interest of service and the abandonment of selfishness. This is the ideology of Labor. Power and truth have not suddenly come to grips. The long advance of science to the more perfect emancipation of man has ever been accompanied by those forces in society which through personal interest and greed have seized their power in utter disregard or ignorance of the greater good. This trend will never result in the utter debasement of man as a servant to the machine because organized labor has fought for generations against it and is winning gloriously right before our eyes.

Under the New Deal the worth of the individual is being restored to a truer, higher valuation. The Age of Science has not been brought to a close, but the Age of Humanity is about to dawn.

Power and truth are at grips perhaps as never before. Through spurious propaganda and the use of weak instruments within the throng of the teaching profession destructive discrimination has been effectively wrecked on the schools. The normatives which have controlled or inspired this result were largely the teacher's responsibility. Too long have we feared to approach the anvil where truth is put to the test of fire and is tried. On questions of social, political, and economic significance we have stepped backward, fearful of the cost required in exposing the truth.

To reverse the process, to step forward now instead of backward is our professional and highest duty, yet it should not posit in our thinking the belief that we can authoritatively command the leadership in all matters not primarily concerned with the administration of the schools and the advancement of knowledge. Selfishness comes of ignorance. It breeds ruthless power. It is in the main responsible for the suffering of the world and must give way to the clear light of truth.

Again, may I repeat the line from that great poet and philosopher I have quoted so often before? "He who carries the lamp shall not despair, though the night be long." The lamp of love, faith, hope and, of course, understanding points the way to a New Day. Systems may fail; normatives may undergo eternal change, but the application of one principle to our times and to our state can meet the challenge—The Golden Rule.

The President's Page

So This Is America!

Where Your Treasure Is, There Will Your Heart Be Also.—The U. S. Congress appropriates

400 million dollars for the army

40 million dollars for schools

The United States is spending

1½ billion dollars to incarcerate ½ million prisoners

200 million dollars to educate 26 million children.

Pennsylvania Committee Wins for Teacher.—After more than six months of negotiations and pressure, the Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Committee was successful in securing a permanent teaching certificate for James J. Stewart, a high school teacher of Plumville, Pa. The certificate had been denied on the grounds of alleged radicalism by James Chapman, supervisor of Indiana County Schools, and by Dr. James N. Rule, superintendent of the state department of public education. Handling the case for the Committee were its chairman, Dr. Philip D. Bookstaber, and Lewis G. Adler, Harrisburg attorney. The case received wide attention throughout the state from teachers and liberals.

Nationally Prominent Lawyers Favor Child Labor Amendment.—Support of the Child Labor Amendment is steadily gaining ground in that stronghold of conservatism—the legal profession. The *Journal of the American Bar Association* gives welcome if tardy recognition to the strength of the case for ratification through publication in its April issue of an article, "The Need for a Federal Child Labor Amendment," by Charles C. Burlingham, former President of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York.

7,400,000 Children Are on Relief Rolls.—Some 7,400,000 children under 16 years of age are on the relief rolls of the Nation, it was stated by Arthur Williams, Assistant Administrator, Federal Emergency Relief Administration in the paper read before the National Conference on the 1935 Needs of Children, meeting in New York City.

Newspaper Guild Wins.—After being on strike since November 17, members of the American Newspaper Guild won a sweeping victory when it settled its controversy with the Newark morning "Ledger."

N. Y. Tenure Bill Becomes Law.—The Feld-McGrath tenure bill, making the State Education Department's proposed new certification regulations inapplicable to teachers in New York City and Buffalo, has become law.

The act grants to teachers in those two cities the strongest tenure protection in the country. It has been interpreted as providing that a teacher may re-enter the school system without examination no matter how long he or she has been away from teaching duties.

Three Courses of Study at New Haven High School.—The number of courses of study have been reduced from seven to three at the New Haven high school. A stringent policy on teachers' leaves has been adopted.

The C. of C. "Friendship" to the Schools.—The latest "friendly" act of the Chamber of Commerce is the proposal that the state of New Jersey reduce its contributions to the Teachers' Pension and Annuity Fund.

The president of the State Teachers Association says such action would make the fund insolvent.

And still teachers uphold the C. of C. and do not make the choice between their defenders and their attackers.

Tenure for Teachers Opposed.—The N. E. A. is distributing a report of the Joint Conference on the Emergency in Education held in Washington, D. C., in December opposing permanent tenure for teachers.

Illinois House Resolution Seeks U. S. Aid for Schools.—A resolution introduced by Mrs. Bernice T. Van der Vries and adopted by the House requested Gov. Horner to make application to the federal government for assistance for Illinois schools in financial distress.

"Because of financial difficulties schools have remained closed for several months, school terms have been shortened, many teachers are not receiving a living wage, and many schools are threatened with permanent closing," said Mrs. Van der Vries. "The federal government has appropriated a large sum of money for relief purposes, including educational relief, and Illinois should be allotted some of this fund for its schools."

For those of Cook county's schools in need of financial aid \$268,000 would carry them through this school year and permit them to reopen after the summer recess, the woman legislator said.

Social Security Laws.—Wyoming has passed an old age pension law and Utah an unemployment insurance law, both of them the first to be passed conforming to the terms of the Wagner-Lewis-Doughton bill.

Wyoming and Utah have organized a number of teachers' unions.

Are these two statements irrelevant? We say *not*.

Which is Cause? Which is Effect?—Between five and six thousand of the teachers in these elementary altars of freedom have themselves but one year more than an elementary school education. About four thousand of them quit school after two terms of secondary work and went to teaching, says *Collier's*.

The U. S. Office of Education says about 250,000 teachers, nearly one in three, are receiving less than \$750 annually. Approximately 54,000 teachers, one in sixteen, are receiving less than \$450 annually.

We raise the question whether, granting the inadequacy of the preparation, the community is not getting more than it is paying for.

Where is West?—Miss Daisy Lord, president of the Classroom Teachers' Dept. of the N. E. A., talking to Newburgh, N. Y., teachers, says there are no longer any closed schools in the West. What West—West of the Alleghenies, West of the Mississippi or West of the Rockies?

Teachers War on Large Classes.—A call to the Board of Education "to abandon idealistic statements and to take definite steps toward smaller classes which will make possible better teaching in the real sense of the word," was sent out by the Teachers Union through its president, Dr. Henry R. Linville. The Union asks a maximum of 35 pupils, saying that average size misleads.

Board of Education Sets Up Hierarchy.—The new regulations of the Flemington, N. J., School Board provide that "any teachers and other employees of the Board having business with the Board shall present the same in writing to the supervising principal. The supervising principal shall present such business to the Board of Education at the next regular meeting with or without recommendation."

Hits New Voters' Oath.—A bill to require all new voters to take a loyalty oath, introduced in the New York legislature by Assemblyman Fife, "passes the bounds of rational legislation with respect to the inherent rights of citizens," according to Dr. Henry R. Linville, president of the Teachers' Union.

Dr. Linville says that the measure would classify young people as suspects in loyalty, adding that "if the young people are potentially disloyal, their elders may be still more deeply involved in criminality." A logical extension would be the fingerprinting of all citizens and daily report of their movements to the police, he said.

Tenure Law in Tennessee.—A tenure bill has been passed in Tennessee through the efforts of Chattanooga-Hamilton County Local 246.

It provides higher standards for selection of new teachers, but does not affect present teachers; a probationary period of two years during which teachers are employed on contract basis as at present; after two years indefinite tenure during good behavior and efficiency of the teacher and the right of appeal in case of dismissal.

Labor Backs Connery Proposal to Bar U. S. Arms in Strikes.—Strong support for the Connery bill, prohibiting the use of Federal supplies and military equipment by state troops in labor disputes, without the express permission of the Secretary of War, is being given by labor organizations throughout the nation.

Punishment for "Reds."—Rear Admiral Clark H. Woodward says: "These college reds should be punished as they deserve—summarily expelled and deprived of citizenship, or, if foreigners, deported at once." He complains that "first class brains" are spreading communism in the navy; he prefers second class brains.

Fascism.—Political fascism is the dictatorial rule of a single capitalist party.

President Green says:

Because Fascism is opposed to democracy as it exists in the United States and in the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor will resist it and oppose it with all the force and power at their command.

Teachers need to recognize it when they see it. It is found in loyalty oaths, attacks on academic freedom and civil liberties, "red-baiting," etc., etc. See the Hearst Press.

Abolition of Compulsory Military Training.—Student government heads of 150 colleges in the United States started the new year by declaring for the abolition of compulsory military training.

At Princeton University, where military training is optional, a change has been made, substituting in sophomore year a course on civil and military law for the instruction in gun firing and in junior year a course on international relations for the one on the operation of an artillery battery. Army officers will be retained as instructors as well as members of the politics department. The alumni are almost unanimously for the R. O. T. C.; the undergraduates are divided, many believing that military training should not be included in a course for a B. A. degree.

Some More Cause and Effect.—Campbell County, Wyo., teachers organize themselves in Local 356 A. F. T. The school trustees vote salary increases of \$50 and \$60 per year. Quite a return on that investment.

Child Labor Amendment Two-Thirds of the Way.—36 states are needed.
24 have now ratified.

Among the twenty-four that have not ratified are those that have the most inadequate child labor legislative protection and the worst child labor conditions.

Taxpayers' Leader Hits Pay Increase.—Criticism of the upward revision of teachers' salaries has been directed at the Board of Education of Madison, N. J., by James Alexander Smith, president of the Madison Taxpayers' Association. True to form and loyal to the principles of Taxpayers' Leagues.

Charlotte, N. C., Teachers Get a Raise.—A salary schedule for teachers has been adopted in Charlotte, N. C., home of Local 249, providing an increase in salaries. But look at the figures!

The schedule for next year will provide a *maximum* salary of \$1,200 a year for nine months' teaching as compared to the present maximum of \$720 a year with eight months' teaching school term. Those teachers who do not receive the maximum are also given salary increases at exactly the same proportion as those who will obtain the maximum. All increases will be effective at the beginning of the school term next fall.

Cheyenne, Wyo., Raises Teachers Pay.—The Cheyenne school board has voted to increase the pay of all school executives, teachers, and employees in 1935. Cheyenne Local 266 is young but vigorous.

Teachers Given \$3,600 in Back Pay.—Pay checks for two weeks' work were given out to teachers in the Wheeling, W. Va., public schools on April 16. This brings them up to February 1, leaving two months in arrears.

Salary Schedule Bills for Chattanooga and Hamilton County Enacted.—Salary Schedule Bills, part of the legislative program of A. F. T. Local 246, providing a payroll increase for the next two year period of 45% and 35% respectively have been signed by Governor McAlister.

Schools Now Closed.—The latest reports from Washington say that of 27 states investigated 12 states have from 1 to 1000 closed schools and 16 have from 1 to 4800 schools which would be forced to close if teachers' salaries were required to be paid in cash.

Democracy in Education

American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916
Affiliated with the American Federation
of Labor
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The Cutting Amendment

The Cutting Amendment for federal aid for public education benefiting the children in twenty-six states or more has been made a part of the works relief bill.

A Washington press despatch says:

Against opposition led by Senators Tydings, Walsh, Byrnes, and Glass, U. S. Senator Bronson Cutting of New Mexico by a vote of 55 to 25 got over his amendment to the works relief bill providing that not to exceed \$40,000,000 "shall be made available to the states, on the basis of demonstrated need, to enable them to maintain their public schools for the remainder of the current school year." How much of this sum shall be expended is left to the discretion of the president.

The amount is based on U. S. surveys and vigorous appeals from the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS former Rep. Ross Collins of Mississippi, representing the public education league, the national parent-teachers association, and others.

The amendment, it is declared, will prevent closing of schools in 26 states on April 1; affects 3,500,000 pupils, or one-eighth of the total in the U. S.; keeps open 42,000 schools and affects 102,000 teachers.

Mississippi and New Mexico where \$250,000 was diverted from school funds for relief, are two of the principal states affected.

Teachers' Loyalty Oath

Fifteen states have passed laws requiring teachers to take an oath of allegiance or loyalty and similar bills are pending in other states. There seems to be some confusion as to the meaning of "loyalty" as applied to teachers. By the interpretation of the Chicago *Tribune* the test of a teacher's loyalty is his willingness to take such an oath. The *Tribune* asks *why not*. The proper question is *why*. A clarification of the meaning of loyalty and of the teachers' status and constitutional rights seems called for.

There are ominous possibilities inherent in this legislation which need the consideration of every worker. Teachers' oaths and children's oaths will be followed by workers' oaths and subject oaths for us all. Americans will soon lose their proud status as citizens and become subjects as in some European countries. We need but to make a cursory study of what has happened in Italy and Germany and to recall how the fascist state was built up in those countries to realize "that Teachers' Oaths are but the subtle opening wedge, the diabolical instrument for undermining our democracy with its freedom of speech and of press, of teaching and of learning, and of ushering in the dreaded fascist or totalitarian state."

The motivation back of this legislation is certainly not true to the spirit or to the letter of the Constitution. Examination of the Federal Constitution will make clear that teachers in public schools are not "executive, legislative, or judicial officers" within the meaning of the Constitution or within the intent of the founding fathers. The oath that the Constitution devises is not a loyalty oath. The Constitution makes the oath purely affirmatory of performance of duty, as specified by the Constitution, and under laws enacted thereunder. They are limited to executive, legislative and judicial officers. The widest stretch of the imagination or the wildest seeking for status could not place public school teachers in this classification.

Such legislation is a gratuitous insult to teachers for no group has

so demonstrated its loyalty to the schools, to the children, and to the community as have the teachers. The requirement of a special oath casts upon them the unjust suspicion of disloyalty. The implication would appear to be that teachers are an especially dangerous class.

The futility of such a measure is evident. It will not accomplish the purpose it is claimed is intended. If there be disloyal teachers they will not hesitate to take the oath. Their disloyalty will be but continued. A report on the Ives Law of New York says:

The Ives law was obviously intended to entrap radical teachers who, it was presumed, were employed in the schools or might later be employed. No more futile device could be invented to guard against radicalism than an oath. So far as known, every teacher in the state of New York has taken the oath and not a single dangerous radical has been discovered. But a large number of teachers have been stunned by the manifestation of a suspicion that they are less than loyal as citizens and less than honorable as teachers.

In the fifteen states having such laws not a single disloyal teacher has been uncovered. Not loyal teachers but a class of intellectual slaves will be developed.

This bill deprives teachers of their right of freedom of opinion. It is part of a movement to destroy freedom of speech. Governor Alfred E. Smith in his veto of a similar bill said,

If this law had been in force prior to the abolition of slavery, opposition to that institution which was protected by the Constitution and its laws, would have been just cause for the disqualification of teachers.

Such legislation creates an atmosphere of fear in which it is impossible to develop critical intelligence. Critical teaching is needed more than ever if America is to build a saner economic and political world and preserve its democratic institutions and traditions against assaults of those who believe in any type of dictatorship or in change by violence. The school is a place where may be developed change by education but only if manned by teachers free and unafraid. Effective teaching can be carried on only under conditions of freedom from fear of official discipline for thinking thoughts that may be different from those approved by an educa-

Education for Democracy

tion administration. Discipline may be for thinking Republican rather than Democratic thoughts. Without freedom to think there can be no inspiration for teachers and no worth while learning for students.

Such a bill enacted into law will introduce a system of espionage into the schools. The teacher will be at the mercy of his colleagues, his pupils, and their parents as well as of the politicians and selfish and aggressive minority groups. The relationship of confidence and trust between teacher and pupil essential to effective teaching will be destroyed.

In this atmosphere of fear, espionage, and intimidation, learning cannot thrive. And who will be attracted to a work which has neither security nor freedom? Will the more intelligent, self-respecting, better qualified of our young people be attracted to a calling with such restrictions?

To quote again from Governor Smith in his veto message of a like bill.

It permits to place upon any teacher the stigma of disloyalty, and this even without hearing or trial. It unjustly discriminates against teachers as a class. It deprives teachers of their right to freedom of thought. *It limits the teaching staff of the public school to those only who lack the courage or the mind to exercise their legal right to just criticism of existing institutions.* The bill confers a power of interference with freedom of opinion which strikes at the foundation of democratic education.

Dr. Felix Adler said of the same law,

The provisions are capable of great and sinister abuse, and the public should awake to the fact that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty' and was never more true than at present.

Just who is back of this legislation and why this hysteria are things we need to consider. The basic principle back of this legislation is absolutism in government and industry. This is part of the "red baiting" program of the Hearst press. This same Hearst who by his jingo propaganda got us into the Spanish American War and who by the same methods hopes to precipitate a war with Japan, who is trying by every desperate means to Hitlerize America. The 100% "patriotic" societies who sometimes don't know any better and fall a prey to evil,

vicious, silly propaganda and are tools of those seeking to lead us to war, fascism, and the totalitarian state. The Chambers of Commerce representing the Big Business interests determined to maintain the *status quo* and an economic system based on the profit motive,—profits for them, starvation for the workers. These are the forces behind this legislation putting one stone in the foundation of the fascist state. No thinking teachers; no thinking pupils. In this way we shall have cheap teachers and cheap workers for our industries. Against this we, teachers and Labor, stand for our democratic ideals of freedom, toleration, and justice and our right for security, leisure, plenty, and freedom.

To summarize: Labor opposes this proposed oath of allegiance: 1. As a gratuitous insult to the teaching group whose record of loyalty cannot be questioned. 2. As subversive of academic freedom, as engendering fear and thereby paralyzing the teaching of the social sciences by hampering discussion as well as making impossible critical and constructive thinking. 3. As prejudicial to the morale and the integrity of teachers. 4. As giving a handle to reactionary administrators for penalizing teachers for their civic activities in support of labor's viewpoint, social legislation, and opposition to fascism and war. 5. As tending to the creation of a fascist or totalitarian state.

We face a crisis. The tragedy of our situation is the lack of evidence of Americans' belief in liberty. More than ever before joint action on the part of all groups is essential if the campaign to defeat this and other subversive measures is to be intensified and to be successful.

Taxes and the Depression

Taxes have never caused a single panic in this or any other country. Nor have they contributed to the lag of recovery. On the contrary, if it were not for increased taxes and the social services they make possible such as unemployment relief, the stability of government itself would be endangered. Those who regard the advocates of in-

creased taxation as enemies of recovery, must bear a few basic facts in mind.

1. That our bankers and speculators, who helped precipitate the depression, did nothing to make recovery possible. On the contrary, the policies they have pursued have done much to retard recovery.

2. Bankers, economic councils and tax commissions have sought to cripple recovery by curtailing or seeking to bring about the curtailment of essential government services; by reducing salaries and purchasing power, and by seeking to curtail social expenditures—a factor in bringing about recovery through increased purchasing power.

3. That money spent for taxes brings a return far in excess of any other dollar spent by our citizens.

4. That tax delinquency not high taxes is responsible for municipal and state government troubles. The greatest disservice to good government, to recovery and to social progress is rendered by those who oppose the payment of taxes or the levying of necessary taxes.

5. Heavy taxes for unemployment relief constitute a major factor in bringing about recovery since they divert money from capital outlays into social expenditures which increase money in circulation and help business recovery.

6. That the greatest service teachers can render is to start a pay-your-tax-now campaign. Let us start now.

—New York Union Teacher.

Too good and too true not to repeat.

Wallop

Published accounts of the recent educators' convention at Atlantic City give the impression that the anti-Hearst campaign among teachers is petering out. Insiders say there was plenty of evidence to the contrary—but it didn't get much of a play.

The organization which passed the very mild resolution in favor of free speech—apparently a victory for Hearst—was composed solely of school superintendents.

They represent only one division of the National Educational Association and probably the most conservative one at that. Other educators scoff at the idea that their views are representative of the Association as a whole.

Moreover school superintendents from Hearst cities did their darnedest to push through a resolution extolling the publisher for his "great services." They couldn't get to first base with it—which was quite a defeat in itself.

Blistering anti-Hearst resolutions by an Educational Association group in Washington and by various chapters of the *American Federation of Teachers* got practically no publicity. Those who form the spearhead of the educational freedom drive claim they have just begun to wallop.

James McMullin Column.

Subjects or Citizens

The first step toward fascism is already an accomplished fact in many American communities and the efforts to make a Fascist America are many and varied and, unhappily, meeting with success.

Every attack upon our civil liberties guaranteed under the Federal Constitution in the first amendment which reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances"

is a fascist attempt. A cursory study of the development of fascism in Italy and Germany will make this clear to even the most naive and unthinking. Fascism is built on suppression. First the communists were suppressed, then labor, then socialists and other liberals, then racial and religious groups, and finally any one who disagreed. There were no longer any citizens but all were subjects, *compelled* to take an oath of allegiance.

We have made a good start in America. Aided and abetted by the Hearst press, the Chicago Tribune, and other papers of their ilk, fifteen states have passed loyalty oath laws for teachers, requiring them to take an oath of allegiance, taking from them their

civil rights as guaranteed under the Federal Constitution making them subjects, not citizens. Teachers have long been discriminated against as a class. They have not been treated as citizens or in some instances even as human beings, and now in the present fascist drive we find them to be the first selected for oaths of allegiance. Teachers' oaths will be followed by children's oaths, then parents' oaths, and subjects' oaths. We shall quickly find ourselves not citizens of a democratic state operating under the Constitution but subjects of a fascist state operating under a dictator with our Federal Constitution with its Bill of Rights but a scrap of paper.

Are we going to do anything about it?

A Word to All Teachers

DEAR FRIENDS AND FELLOW-WORKERS:

This is an invitation to you to join the Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the Federation of Labor. Why? Listen.

The teacher is probably the most helpless and the least protected of workmen. He should have prolonged, skilled, and expensive instruction in preparation for his life work; but so imperfect are the methods of testing his skill that he is at the mercy of institutions preparing by cheap short-cuts or showy and superficial stunts. Multitudes use the profession as a temporary stop-gap while they are preparing for other activities, which cuts down salaries and seriously interferes with security of tenure and continuity of work by which alone skilled teachers are developed. School boards are never experts in education and are often crude politicians preparing for more powerful positions, quite ready to use the schools to further their ambitions. Principals and superintendents stand between the teacher and local government, usually with the interests of the school at heart, but they are obliged, in the nature of things, to play the game with the powers that are. The teacher has an intense task demanding all his attention and all his energy; usually he is given his room, some small equipment, too many children not very well graded, and a free hand. He is expected to pass his regimented section to the next

grade, with few failures, and with a minimum of difficulties in the way of discipline, trouble with parents, and the like. There are frequent cases when he should come into conflict with the prejudices and habits of his neighborhood; but standing alone he is helpless. Society needs a strong, competent organization of teachers for the protection of the coming generation.

That coming generation has a difficult and dangerous path to tread; it needs every advantage in the way of correct information and above all a power impartially to use information to shape policies and to plan a rich and nobler civilization. The industrial and political forces that control our schools stand squarely across the way of advance; their influence is constantly used to prevent free discussion, to hush up new and unpopular opinions, to maintain all their advantages in the system of things as they have been. They push a false pride and patriotism, they confuse important issues, they threaten to use and do use their very real power over the livelihood of the teacher. So the teacher with no power to back him, is timid, cautious, afraid, and settles down to the conservative course of teaching only that which can offend no one, and of placating all dangerous powers. One who has really done this is no longer fit to be a teacher; for one inevitably teaches what he is as well as what he knows, and we need men and women of independence and initiative for work of the new day.

The Union thus supports the teacher in the two ways of his essential weaknesses; his own personal welfare and his best service to his pupils. It gives him assured backing when his security and his livelihood are threatened; and it supplies the strength of organized numbers when efforts are made, as at the present time, to destroy or to lower the value of the schools.

But why affiliate with the Federation of Labor? Because the laborer of all others needs the best schools and will make sacrifices to have them. Organized labor was the most active agent in getting public schools started in this country and has been their bulwark ever since. The well-to-do can make use of private schools and are glad to escape taxation for

universal education. The working-man must have the public schools or his children will have none. Finally it is a wholesome thing for teachers to emancipate themselves from the anomalous position of being a kind of superior class, allied rather to the people of leisure than to the workers. We belong,—and all should belong,—with those who do their part. We should be proud of ourselves as skilled laborers and we belong with those who labor. We need them and they need us.

We invite you,—all of you,—to join us in building such a union as will uplift both the teacher and his teaching. —JESSE H. HOLMES.

In the Philadelphia Teacher.

Schools Assist in Crime Curb

Touching as it does every social problem, the school has a rare opportunity for early recognition and treatment of personality disorders and anti-social tendencies, Miss Bertha Ferguson, a member of the American Federation of Teachers declared in an address over radio station WTCN. The talk was sponsored by the Minnesota Crime commission.

"The entire approach to the problem of juvenile delinquency is slowly changing," Miss Ferguson declared. "I use the word slowly advisedly," Miss Ferguson said, "for there are no wonder-working formulas in dealing with either juvenile or adult delinquency. There is only the slow spread of ideas derived from research in the fields of medicine, psychology, psychiatry and sociology. There is only the slow giving up, in the light of this new knowledge, of prejudice and traditional procedures. There is only a slow arriving doubt in regard to the efficacy of a punishment—approach for the final reclamation of the wrong doer."

The problem of juvenile delinquency and adult crime will one day be solved, Miss Ferguson declared. "How far distant that day is depends upon the willingness of the general public as well as upon schools and other social agencies to take into consideration the facts of modern science in regard to human behavior," she asserted. The attitude of the progressive school to delinquency is sometimes interpreted merely as sympathy to wrong doers. "'Sympathy' is not the word. It is 'understanding'." she declared.

Teacher Population vs. Pupil Population

Today pupil population has increased at a greater rate than teacher population in American schools, with the results—overloaded classes, heavier teacher loads, and lower pay for greater service. Professionalism rages with teacher rights in the mind of every teacher. Should more service be given at reduced pay? Does the public really understand the teacher problem? Should wages be cut without a cut in service? If the public really understood the situation, would they sanction it? Should the public receive greater service for less pay? What to do about it, that is the question.

The North Central Association and other Associations have rules as to class size. Should teacher organizations expect school boards to appoint permanent teachers to all classes created for the purpose of living within the rules of the North Central Association or some other such association, or will the appointment of a substitute teacher suffice? Is there a danger of an over teacher population after the depression? Would not such a situation hamper teacher rights? Does permanent appointment of teachers at the present time hazard the entire teaching force? Does permanent teacher appointment at the present cause a decrease in the wage scale which would not be tampered with so seriously, otherwise? If teacher over-population exists after the depression is over, and many pupils find employment, will there not be a danger of Boards of Education selecting for dismissal either teachers older in point of service, or those of their own whim as a recent New Jersey case would authorize?¹ If, however, all teachers were kept on the payroll, would not teacher salary and pension rights suffer?

In New York, the court has held that there is no authority to appoint a substitute teacher. The question arises, shouldn't there be such a right? Shouldn't teacher organizations consider the above problem, and apply a solution of their own to it? Permanent appointment should leave room for temporary appointment, or use of substitute teachers. It should not be necessary to appoint, and then

discontinue the service of probationers within the provision of teacher tenure statutes.

Lack of funds is usually due to unpaid taxes, either by tax dodgers, or by those unable to pay. Heavy penalties should be meted out to tax dodgers, while leniency should be granted the taxpayer who finds himself unable to pay. Tax collection laws of this nature would be more reasonable than the same penalty for all.

The practice in New York of appointing 1200 substitute teachers may not be good as this number is, no doubt, too many, as pointed out by the New York court.² Perhaps Judge Lehman's thought that no permanent teacher may be appointed where there are not enough funds to pay the present permanent teachers is a good one, provided that it be modified to allow teacher appointment under certain definite conditions. Perhaps a law requiring that the teacher population per thousand inhabitants based on say 1928 conditions would be correct. Perhaps the Boards of Education should be required to give permanent appointment to a definite number of teachers per thousand, whether there were funds enough to meet the required salaries or not. The teacher number per thousand inhabitants could be revised every ten years to meet the changing conditions of the times. The actual positions these teachers should fill should be left to the discretion of the Boards of Education. Substitute teachers should be appointed to fill pupil need during economic emergency. Such a policy would do away with over-pupil populated schools, and tend to eliminate any over-teacher population after the depression is over.

In addition to the above protective teacher methods, tenure, with seniority rights, should be advocated. When dismissal of teachers with tenure becomes necessary, those with the shortest time of service should be dismissed first.³

PAUL JARVIS.

1. *Downs v. Board of Education of Hoboken District et al.* (1934), 171 Atl. 528.

2. *Jaffe et al. v. Board of Education of the City of New York* (1934), 192 N. E. 185, 265 N. Y. 160.

3. See *Teacher Tenure—Does It Hold?*, American Teacher, Volume 19, Part One, Page 26.

BOOKS

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

THE WORLD BOOK ENCYCLOPEDIA, 19 Vols., 1934 Edition, New York and Chicago, W. F. Quarrie & Company; cloth binding, \$66.00; also terms; 7,990 pp.

THE WORLD BOOK ENCYCLOPEDIA ANNUAL, 1933 Edition, 160 pp. \$1.
Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.

The publishers and editors of the World Book Encyclopedia deserve our admiration for putting out two editions of the nineteen-volume World Book Encyclopedia within a period of one year. The 1933 edition, which was issued in the summer of 1933, was printed before the advent of the Roosevelt Administration and his NIRA and, unfortunately, as I pointed out in my review of that edition in *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* (June, 1933), the epochal events of the early months of the Roosevelt Administration were omitted. This was a serious defect and threatened to imperil the distribution of the set. The publishers, therefore, decided to issue a new edition, and hastily and at great expense produced another edition within several months.

The 1934 edition of the World Book Encyclopedia is the most timely encyclopedia on the market today. The Roosevelt Revolution is comprehensively and authoritatively treated. The important developments of the years 1933 and 1934 are covered by the addition of extensive articles on the Century of Progress, Mural Painting, National Recovery Administration, Russian Literature, Banks and Banking, Fascism, Federal Trade Commission, Income Tax, The Story of Money, Legal Tender, Mortgage, Muscle Shoals, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Rural Credits, St. Lawrence Waterway, Sales Tax, Tax and Taxes, and others. Several dozen articles were substantially revised "to include the changes involved in the New Deal, in altered Federal Departments, in Repeal of Prohibition and in World Affairs." According to the editors, the World Book Encyclopedia, 1934 edition, had "more contributors and more signed articles than ever before."

Another valuable service rendered to the public and to the subscribers of the World Book Encyclopedia by the publishers is by their publication of an Annual, which in format and

subject treatment harmonizes with the Encyclopedia itself. All outstanding events of the year in every field of human activity are extensively covered by the same illustrious contributors to the Encyclopedia. The Annual is richly illustrated with numerous maps, charts, graphs, and latest photographs of men and events of note. The Annual forms an independent and intelligible compendium of the events of the year, and at its modest price is within the reach of all.

MOLDERS OF THE AMERICAN MIND.
Norman Woelfel. Reviewed by Bertram Enos.

This book suffers as all synthetic productions must suffer. The leading educators, from whose principles the book is made, become somehow strangely wraith-like figures, and that quality of theirs which is most important for educators—their individual personalities—seems entirely to disappear. Some of these men I have known personally. Others I have heard speak on several occasions. And yet, in this book, they are not recognizable.

However, we must not assume that Mr. Woelfel has not done a decent job of what he set out to do. In the first section of the book, the author draws some implications from contemporary social change, a rather indicative sample being—"Organized education, properly conscious of itself as the integrative agent of all socially educative forces, holds the key to social stability, social decay, or social progress."

The next section gives us the viewpoints of several leading American educators, and this section is followed by one which attempts to make an interpretative criticism of these viewpoints. Again, a quotation will suffice to give the general tenor of this synthesis. "American education will emerge from its present theoretic confusion when educators face more squarely than they have in the past the fundamental issues of social life and human destiny as they apply to the American scene and to the problems of education."

The book concludes with a list of proposed objectives for educators on the basis of the earlier discussion.

It is almost impossible to give any kind of picture of this book in a short review. In fact, this kind of boiling down makes the book

seem slight. Such is not the case. While the conclusions drawn by Mr. Woelfel in his work may not be all-inclusive or even particularly startling, the reading of the book completely, savoring to the full all the innuendoes, implications, bits of brilliant logic, is the only satisfactory way to get the benefit of Mr. Woelfel's always clear and pertinent analysis of these molders of the American mind.

IT'S YOUR MONEY. *Barnet Hodes*, Member, Illinois State Tax Commission. The Reilly & Lee Company, Chicago. 216 pp. \$1.00.

Consolidation of uselessly overlapping government units, elimination of wholly unnecessary and inefficient units, and abolition of purposeless offices.

Establishment of an effective means of budgetary control of expenditures, thus attaining savings without destroying function.

Broadening the tax base to bring our taxing system in line with changed economic conditions as a means of eliminating excessive burdens upon particular classes of citizens or types of wealth. The central purpose of this objective is the realization of the principle that a taxing system be based upon "ability to pay" together with "benefit received."

These are the principal "planks" in a program of "common-sense" tax reduction contained in the book by State Tax Commissioner Barnet Hodes, called *IT'S YOUR MONEY*, released on January 14, by The Reilly & Lee Company, Chicago publishers.

Commissioner Hodes, in the book, makes a plea to taxpayers generally, and in Illinois in particular, to follow the injunction of President Roosevelt to "modernize government" and get rid of the forms left over from the "oxcart era." He likewise pleads for adequate maintenance of essential services.

The book hammers at the point that Illinois is the worst state in the Union in the number of local governments with tax-levying and tax-spending powers. Commissioner Hodes writes:

When one studies the list of local governments in Illinois, and recognizes that many, although not all, of these governments perform functions that either overlap the duties of other units or which could as easily be performed by other units, the puzzle is not why taxes are high but how it happens that they are not still higher.

Illinois has no patent on this condition. The same kind of multiplicity of local government units exists throughout the United States so that some estimates place the total number in the country at considerably more than 500,000. As President Roosevelt observed, the state of New York has more than 13,000 local governments, while more than 10,000 are accounted for in Minnesota.

However, to Illinois goes the doubtful

honor of having probably more units than any other state. In other words, Illinois, a state which boasts of its progressiveness, actually has permitted itself to be most reactionary in this respect.

Commissioner Hodes rips into the argument that eliminating useless local units violates the principle of "home rule." Another excerpt from *It's YOUR MONEY* follows:

The benefits of consolidation are attainable without sacrificing desirable local government. There has been considerable misunderstanding on this point, some of it no doubt fostered by self-seeking politicians, and, as a result, less progress has been made than otherwise.

Surely, no one can argue intelligently that reorganization within a county, with municipalities kept intact, robs anyone of "home rule." It could not be maintained successfully, for example, that less home rule exists for citizens in Illinois now living in county-commission counties, than they enjoyed under townships. The program in mind here, while holding the promise of the saving of millions of dollars, involves nothing more drastic.

Mr. Hodes declares that the matter of thousands of small school districts in Illinois is tied up very directly with this whole problem, pointing out that one-third of all taxes collected in Illinois go for support of education.

An excerpt dealing with the school districts follows:

If there were ever an anachronistic situation in this era—in the state which gave to the world the A Century of Progress exposition—it is the condition whereby Illinois permits its school system to be so uncoordinated as to be divided, sub-divided, and still further divided into more than 12,000 separate, independent, and virtually sovereign jurisdictions.

When it is considered that of these 12,000 districts, approximately 10,000 districts, each with a school board, whose schools are one-room affairs, this state of affairs seems nothing short of appalling. Not even the state of New York, with twice the population, has so many school districts. . . . Illinois' neighbor, Indiana, has fewer than 1,300. Rhode Island has only 39.

There may be some justification for a one-room school in certain peculiarly situated localities, but what justification there is for a state's whole system to be based upon such a unit is beyond an intelligent citizen's understanding. And it can be no source of pride to Illinoisans to know that Illinois, without question, is absolutely the worst state in the Union in this respect. . . . Certainly Illinois has permitted something to be put over on it in this respect. When it is considered that there are nearly 40,000 school trustees in Illinois, nearly as many as the total number of teachers, the extent of disorganization and waste necessarily resulting, may be pictured easily.

The book continues on this point:

Back in the old prairie days of Illinois, such a system may have had some reason. But today, when good roads and motor transportation make it possible

to get students to a school in the next township quicker than before they could have reached one "just down the road," all common sense is assaulted by the continuation of this system. . . .

Now, it is not contemplated that the remedy for this situation would be the creation of only one district for the entire state. That might be as bad as the present condition.

But certainly a common sense program would provide for organization of our schools on at least a county basis. In such a case, there would be only 102 school boards, rather than 12,000. Administrative functions could be consolidated, purchases of supplies made more economical and efficient, facilities improved and used more adequately, AND BETTER INSTRUCTION PROVIDED.

Commissioner Hodes adds that the charge that such a program is sponsored by "enemies of education" is the "sheerest nonsense," pointing out that the Illinois State Association is behind it. He writes:

The teachers recognize that until this program is in effect, there is little hope of raising educational standards in Illinois. Thousands of Illinois school teachers are miserably paid, not because the taxpayers have been stingy, but because lack of organization makes possible the dissipation of funds in other directions.

Anybody knows that the more windows or doors in a house, the easier it is for smoke to get out. It is the same with tax money.

The book likewise calls for an examination by the taxpayers of the townships and their functions, pointing out that there are 1,444 townships in Illinois "with some 8,700 elected officials, with no telling how many hired employees." The book comments:

This is not to say that these officials do not perform work. They do. No doubt many of them labor hard and long for their community. So does the manual laborer work hard in digging a tunnel with pick and shovel. The question is, hadn't we better bring in a steam shovel to get the work done cheaper and better?

As a first step toward proper budgetary control, which he views as an important corollary of consolidation, Commissioner Hodes suggests that in each county there be set up a commission, representing both officials and citizens, which would act as a "County Coordinating Commission." Such a commission, he writes, should be staffed with certified accountants and have the "duty to suggest ways of effecting economies, of coordinating activities, and of achieving structural reforms."

He adds:

Such a body would not have the power to force its recommendations but it could publicize the facts. On the theory that, possessed of the facts, the public will act, I know that tremendous savings would result from such a step.

Once it is established definitely that certain governments are failing to give a good account of themselves, those governments are bound to be changed.

In addition to Commissioner Hodes' program for cutting down costs and revenue reform, *It's YOUR MONEY* explains clearly many complicated tax questions. Through it all, runs the theme that there are two objectives—tax relief and the maintenance of adequate government services.

The book is illustrated by the Chicago artist, Leo Wolf, carrying fourteen attractive drawings in a special technique.

It carries a foreword by Professor James Weber Linn of the University of Chicago.

THE RELATIONS OF LEARNING. *William Bennett Bizzell*. University of Oklahoma Press. 1934. 178 pp. \$2.50. Reviewed by H. R. Latham.

The author has been the president of the University of Oklahoma since 1926. The volume consists of a series of convocation addresses, an address delivered at Ames, Iowa, a magazine article, and the inaugural address of 1926.

Doubtless the stimulus of a young university rapidly growing up in a western environment has afforded a competent college president much material for a philosophy of higher education. Consequently the interpretation of modern college life to a group of expectant students exhibits various social tensions and a challenge to propose wise solutions of problems.

These addresses are virile, timely, replete with wisdom, and belong to the best level of educational reflection. The volume is not only a treasury of thought to be cherished by the alumni of this institution, but it is also a source-book of educational data that should be absorbed in a description of social currents of the day.

The mechanical appearance of the volume is a distinct credit to the University of Oklahoma Press.

ORDER ON THE AIR. *James Rorty*. No. 44 of the John Day Pamphlets. 32 pages, 25 cents.

Those who may have awakened but recently to the major social consequences of radio will find Mr. Rorty's brochure a conscientious exposition of the ABC's of the subject from the so-called "radical" viewpoint.

A brief account of the problem of radio censorship leads to an encouragingly succinct conclusion: "What it all comes down to is that, under the law, financially powerful groups have the same advantage on the air as with respect to the use of other instruments of social communication." While Mr. Rorty feels strongly that this is not as it should be, the reader is kept somewhat in suspense as to why more should be expected of

radio than of the press or the movies. Finally he does learn that whereas he pays (if he is an average radio listener) some \$20 a year for power, new tubes, repairs, and replacements in order that he may sit in at the great American ether-show, the show is actually put on the air at a cost of about \$3 per year for each listening family. This Mr. Rorty takes as an indication that government might well take over the production and transmission of programs, and pay for them by a \$3 annual listening tax, or even less because of savings in cost through "functional rationalization of the system."

An all-too-evident contradiction in a frankly socialist dissertation is the anxiety displayed lest government wrongfully expropriate the radio channels held by dubious exhorters of the Shuler and Brinkley stripe, with little or no thought given to the thousands of unlicensed controversialists who might with equal justification demand what Shuler and Brinkley once enjoyed—i. e., a grant from the government of sole power to govern all the programs at a city, on a dial-point. Thus, Mr. Rorty manfully espouses the long fight of Labor in Chicago to retain its radio channel against commercial attack, but makes no allusion to the fairly obvious question of why, or whether, Labor should expect to go forever without direct access to the air in other cities—at least in those which, like New York and Los Angeles, are as well supplied with channels as is Chicago—simply because it did not have, like Chicago Labor, the foresight to preempt, years ago, those alleged "squatters' rights" in the air for which Mr. Rorty exhibits as little regard as does Congress itself.

The booklet contains an insert soliciting the reader's cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union's program for freedom on the air, which likewise appears solicitous that whom the government may have appointed to boss the air, it shall not lightly depose. Perhaps one should not hope for more, from a pamphlet of this kind, than that the reading of it should better prepare a thoughtful person to face what is, after all, the only problem that really matters much—just whom *should* the government appoint in the first place as a boss over program traffic; why and for how long should he be appointed, with what financial subsidies if any, and with what restrictions, if any, on his freedom to sell access to the listening public (at the prevailing juicy prices) to all and sundry advertisers and propagandists who may be, *in his opinion*, beyond the pale of those deserving "free time."

No partial and inept "solution" is desirable, alleges Mr. Rorty—without however claiming to supply a com-

plete one. Having passed unhesitating judgment upon advertising in general in his larger book *Our Master's Voice*, he seems not to have considered the possibility that what radio might be in need of at the moment is not the summary application of any complete "solution" so much as a policy of free and open experimentation in various cities with various concrete answers to the basic question just stated.

PARTNERS IN PLUNDER. J. B. Matthews and R. E. Shallcross. Consumers' Research, Inc. 403 pp. Reviewed by Joel L. Seidman.

Partners in Plunder is in reality two books, one superimposed upon the other. The first marshals additional evidence, in the tradition of *Your Money's Worth*, *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs*, and *Skin Deep*, to prove that under capitalism the pressure of competition and the drive for profits force the quality of goods much lower than our technical equipment makes readily available. The files of Consumers' Research contain vast stores of information on this score, and it is from this material that the authors have compiled their story.

The particular techniques of business examined in detail include trade puffery, high-pressure sales tactics, the testimonial racket, adulteration, and profiteering by absence of standards. The authors abundantly prove their case that by the use of these and similar techniques private business inevitably lowers the standard of living of the masses and helps to create a host of other social evils.

The author's second theme is that there is grave danger of fascism in the United States today, and that the practices and needs of business lead logically to it.

All the elements necessary for a first-rate regime of fascist reaction are present in American tradition or in American social forces of the day. That they have not yet coalesced into a nation-wide movement of overt business dictatorship is due solely to a few minor mitigating circumstances in the American crisis. One by one these mitigating circumstances are being liquidated, with a resulting drift of the most pronounced tendencies toward fascism.

Apparently in an effort to justify the inclusion of these two books under the same covers, the author's single out the means of exploiting consumers as the most dangerous evidence of a fascist danger.

In a society where commercial leaders have habituated the populace to a system of promising-everything-and-delivering-nothing, there is no tradition powerful enough to immunize it to fascism.

The authors place entirely too much emphasis, however, upon inferior quality and competitive advertising. If these and allied evils were cured by a program of reform within the structure of capitalism—which is entirely possible, however improbable—the evils of unemployment and starvation wages would still exist, and the dangers of war and fascism would be as great.

Advertising in particular riles the authors. They assert:

Advertising, in its spirit and purpose, is germinal fascism.

This, of course, is pure nonsense. If advertising is associated more with fascism than with the classless co-operative society, it is because fascist leaders have been astute observers of mass psychology, while radicals have been too busy quibbling over Marxian formulae.

The authors see fascists and their allies everywhere. They whack almost all heads in sight, including those of liberals, the lower middle class, the clergy, teachers, labor leaders, social-democrats, and pacifists. In this respect, their book well illustrates why radicals have appealed so little to the American masses. In their hatred of the barbaric reaction of fascism, the authors seem, unfortunately, to have sacrificed their balanced judgment. If a fascist menace is arising in the United States, it will take more than a case of jitters and a lot of name-calling to combat it. Certainly one does not create a powerful movement by attacking possible allies.

There is a note of flippancy, a tendency to crack wise, that lowers the tone of the book and may antagonize some readers. The authors would have been wiser had they kept their discussion on a higher plane.

MARIA PALUNA. *Blair Niles*. Longmans, Green and Company, New York. 334 pp. \$2.50.

Frederick Houk Law, head Department of English, Stuyvesant High School, New York City, writes:

"Maria Paluna" is an unusually good book for all who are interested in reading about the life of the past in the romantic cities of Central America, and it is an excellent and most informing book for young people and for general reading circles.

I myself am familiar with the lands the book describes; I have explored the ruins, and I know the Indian people and their history. "Maria Paluna" is intensely true

to the spirit of the past. The author wrote with understanding, and best of all, with human sympathy, both for the Indians who lost their civilization and for the victors, the "conquistadores," who destroyed it.

The book is compelling in interest, and for me it has not even one uninteresting page. It is so rich in detail, and so accurate, and so filled with local color, that reading it is much like visiting the lands concerned.

I know of no other book of fiction that tells the story of the Spanish Conquest so charmingly and so powerfully. I recommend "Maria Paluna" as a book that should be named in every general reading list. It has permanent value.

The book is really a triumph of sympathetic and artistic presentation and historical and local accuracy.

EDUCATION VERSUS INDOCTRINATION.

Horace M. Kallen. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 23 pp. \$.25. Reviewed by H. R. Latham.

Professor George Counts and Professor Horace M. Kallen both argue for indoctrination and yet contend against each other on this subject of indoctrination. Perhaps here and in similar debates there are many emotional explosions dressed up in argumentative garb. The parade of phrases in this tractate is worth witnessing whether we agree with either contestant or not. It is brilliant writing, particularly in the cavalierly attacks on Mr. Counts.

Mr. Counts advocates, we are told, an intramental injection of collectivistic theory as a means of saving the country. Mr. Kallen says "not at all;" the only indoctrination we can afford is that which teaches a method of procedure in learning and experimenting. Progressive education should stand for freedom and not stultify itself by upholding a reactionary pedagogism. But do not let any reviewer keep you from reading Professor Kallen's discriminating exposition.

THE WORKER AS A CONSUMER.

26-page pamphlet.

"John Jones does not think of himself as either a producer or a consumer. He just wants to earn enough money to buy groceries and pay the rent and get new shoes for the Jones kids. Of course he is really both a producer and a consumer. On the production end, he digs coal or makes coats or drives a truck to help produce and deliver goods that other people will use. In turn he eats the potatoes and wears the clothes and lives in a

house that other workers have labored to produce for his consumption."

So begins a pamphlet on *The Worker as a Consumer* just issued by Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y. The authors, Mark Starr and Helen Norton, show how gains in wages made on the trade union field may be wiped out by high prices or by the purchase of widely advertised but inferior products, and how legislation affects workers as consumers as well as producers. The pamphlet describes the various consumers' organizations now in existence, and suggests other consumer defenses which may be built up.

References for additional reading and a list of questions are included for the benefit of study groups. The price is 25 cents for single copies, 20 cents each for 25 or more, and 15 cents on orders of 50 or more.

YOU AND MACHINES. Dr. William F. Ogburn. American Council on Education, Washington, D. C. 1934. 55pp. 15c single copy; 10c in lots of 25 and over.

Much discussion has waged over Dr. Ogburn's pamphlet *YOU AND MACHINES* since it was decided by the education supervisors of the C.C.C. to be unsound and unfitted to the use of the camp classes.

Comments have been favorable and unfavorable. *The New Republic* in an editorial comment says,

It is a calm discussion of advantages and disorders produced in society by the introduction of machine production.

The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators in its issue of December, 1934, says,

Ogburn's book more rhetoric than reality.

YOU AND MACHINES describes but fails to analyze problems, and offers no solution.

But President Elliott of Purdue holds a different opinion,

The pamphlet is a dramatic presentation of social phenomenon of which our people cannot afford to be ignorant.

We recommend that you read the pamphlet and find out for yourself who is right. There can be no question of its attractiveness with its clear type, clever illustrations, and striking cover.

Suggestions for Textbooks or School Charts

Lucia Ames Mead

1. Our danger to life, prosperity, and property has always been far greater from within our country than from attack of foreigners from without. No nation has ever yet declared war against us.

2. Justice Hughes said: "So far as we can see into the future, the United States is not in the slightest danger of aggression. We recognize our immunity, not that we may boast, but rather that we may appreciate our duty and responsibility. We know that in no power or possible combination of powers lies any menace to our security."

3. Our loss of life every year from preventable accident and preventable disease is approximately 600,000.

4. Our total loss from our Civil War and from our five foreign wars, including loss of deaths in battle, wounds, disease and every other cause is less than that. These figures of loss in both war and peace do not include the immense number who are annually ill or injured from accident and preventable disease.

5. The losses of the Civil War as given from the War Department are: deaths in battle, 110,000; disease, 224,586; other causes, 24,872; total, 359,458. In the Revolutionary War, fewer than five thousand were killed in battle; in the War of 1812, Mexican War and Spanish War, 51,000 were killed in battle but others are still dying from wounds and from being gassed. In 1920, the sum total of all recorded deaths in all wars for every cause was 502,427.

Civil war is in another category than international war and may occur after international war has been outlawed and ended and an organized world has established an international police to replace rival armies and navies. Whenever there is tyranny there may be rebellion. But after arsenals and armaments have been greatly diminished, after no nation in civil war can get munitions from other countries, civil war will not be easy and will finally end.

The nation needs merely parity of security, not parity of tonnage. The slogan for all nations should be: "Above all nations is Humanity. Organize the World."

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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 16 new locals since the last previous issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

Parma (Ohio) Federation of Supervisors Local 389.

Kanawha County (W. Va.) Federation of Teachers Local 390.

Wayne County (W. Va.) Federation of Teachers Local 391.

Clarke County (Ala.) Federation of Teachers Local 392.

Bridgeport (Conn.) Teachers Union Local 393.

Hammond (Ind.) Teachers Federation Local 394.

Superior (Wis.) Vocational Teachers Union Local 395.

Claiborne Parish (La.) Federation of Teachers Local 397.

Logan County (W. Va.) Federation of Teachers Local 398.

Michigan City (Ind.) Teachers Federation Local 399.

Pittsburgh (Pa.) Federation of Teachers Local 400.

University of Washington Teachers Union Local 401.

Workmen's Circle Teachers Alliance Local 402.

St. Tammany Parish (La.) Federation of Teachers Local 403.

Boone County (W. Va.), Federation of Teachers Local 404.

Washington Local 27

Through a conference with our administrative officers, Local 27 has made some substantial gains for all the teachers of Divisions 10-13 in Washington, D. C.

We have secured reduction of clerical work, and eased the strain of educational tests and measurements on the classroom worker who was required to supplement a hard day's work with the joy of several hours correction of tests.

We have gotten the message of our Federation over to more of the teachers; we have petitioned for educational relief legislation, and have contributed fifteen dollars as a special gift to the N. A. A. C. P. in support of the Costigan-Wagner Bill.

We have been active in promotion of the Adult Education Program, have helped secure some consideration for some white collar workers, and we are now working on a plan to get together the best type of personnel worker with the employers who are willing to pay a living wage.

Our members have been active along many associated lines. Mr. O. W. Tinner, living in Falls Church, Va., is a leading civic spirit; he helped get a closed school for colored children open, painted the building himself, and later was successful in having four thousand dollars placed in a budget for Negro education in that particular county where nothing had at first been placed.

March 31 to April 8 was Negro Health Week, originated by Booker T. Wash-

ington because of certain special needs which Negroes have over and above what is normal for our citizenry in general; Mr. Tinner, with a civic association, succeeded in making secure a very splendid and impartial health set up for his community, over the opposition of a newly organized pseudo-medical organization.

Miss Charlotte Atwood of the Dunbar High School, active in inter-racial affairs and one of Local 27's earnest supporters appeared on the panel on inter-racial understandings at the Mayflower Hotel on Feb. 22; she set forth the advantage of training children of minority groups to know certain psychological situations calling for fortitude and control which they are bound to meet in life, and preparing them as far as may be for the most helpful reactions. This was part of the Progressive Education Convention.

Mrs. Esther Popel Shaw has published a beautiful collection of poems called "A Forest Pool." She has been called upon to read her poems at the Miner Teachers' College. Mrs. Shaw is also President of the College Alumnae of Washington, D. C., which has just celebrated its twenty-fifth year of valuable achievement.

Mr. Ernest Holmes, instructor in the department of philosophy of Howard University, has taken out a membership with Local 27.

Mrs. Virginia L. Williams, musician of distinction and member our local, has been training a chorus of two hundred voices during the winter and spring and on April 23 and 24 presented this chorus under the leadership of R. Nathaniel Dett, formerly Head of the Hampton Music Department and internationally known for his beautiful compositions.

We have lost one of the rarest and choicest spirits of our city in the passing of Mrs. Rachel Guy Moore, instructor in mathematics at Miner Teachers' College.

MARY MASON JONES.

Philadelphia Local 192

Primary interest during the past two months has been centered around our Legislative program which includes the following activities:

1. Securing passage of our Milk Bill, H. R. 1076, to provide free milk to all needy children;
2. Securing passage of our Tenure Bill, H. R. 1075;
3. Securing passage of the Aron Bill, S. B. 109, which provides for return of salary cut six months earlier than scheduled;
4. Blocking passage of Omensky resolution and bills directed against married women teachers.

To these ends the Legislative Action Committee was formed. It consists of four groups, The Teachers Relations Committee, the Citizens' Relations Committee, the Legislators' Relations Committee, and the Labor Relations Committee. Contacts have been made with the various groups by means of letters and speakers in pursuance of our policy of securing mass public support for our measures. The foundation is also being laid for a united front with other teacher

organizations and for a state federation of all Pennsylvania locals.

So popular is our campaign among teachers that an appeal for a \$1000 fund to carry on our work was speedily oversubscribed. Tentative plans have also been made for securing public hearings on at least one of our bills.

We have also been active on the national legislative front by sponsoring the Lundeen Bill for Unemployment and Social Insurance. We are cooperating with the Interprofessional Association for Social Security in backing the bill as the only bill before Congress now which gives security to professionals, and the only genuine social insurance measure for all workers.

Milwaukee Local 252

On March 15 and 16, Milwaukee was host to the Progressive Education Association in Regional Conference. It was a great time for teachers who think they are progressive in educational outlook. For the benefit of our readers who were unable to attend the conference, we reproduce the substance of content and points of view set forth by the chief speakers in the sections and sessions indicated.

At the first General Session, James L. Mursell, Professor of Education at Lawrence University, indicated that Progressive Education must be afforded in terms of the best things for those who need them most. The teacher, being the key to the whole situation, must be a learner, and his status of freedom must be conserved.

William Trufant Foster, Director of Pollack Foundation, spoke on Education and the Economic System. Schools have failed largely to adapt themselves to what is going on around us: they must be brought into closer relationship with the process of accelerating change in social concept. There are too many stupid adults in authority; they are prone to accept things as they are and to resist change. Fortunately this isn't the way with youth; youth wants change; youth cannot stand still. Since change is the law of progress, we must place more of the control in the hands of youth; that is if we want to push out frontiers and widen the horizons. Education has never at any time been adapted to the needs of the times, and nothing we can do or will be likely to do about the situation will probably be too wild or too radical.

Friday night session sparkled with wit and brilliancy, with Supt. Milton C. Potter as chairman. William Trufant Foster, the speaker, made a pretty good case for the technocrats; he showed that there is no justified excuse for this depression, no economic necessity—that on the contrary we possess every means of creating wealth and enjoying prosperity, that the only thing we lack is the sense to use what we have and what we could have. He attributed our trouble to the fact that the most powerful impulse of the human race is the instinct to sit down. He offered the hopeful assurance that the forces of education, if they want to, can mend the ways and preserve civilization—barring the possible frustration of it all by another world war, which, by the way, looms dangerously near.

Saturday morning session was in the hands of George S. Counts, on the theme: *Responsibility of the School for Social Progress*. He took up the theme where Mr. Foster left off the night before, showing that the old individualism of 150 years is gone forever, and some form of collectivism stands at the door; he advised us to see the facts and to reveal the emergence of this new reality. Since we are always teaching social arrangements of some kind, we must choose our course, and go ahead. It will be indoctrination, but what of that? We have always had it! Now we are to change the direction and emphasis. The world today is tremendously interrelated; each is involved in the welfare of all. Let us make children intelligent about issues, strains, and problems of the age in which they live; help them to decide whose interests are to be served by our inter-dependent economy and economic mechanism. Any system of society may be judged by what it does for the underlying masses of the people. Shall we educators crawl further into the shell? Shall we keep on passing on the platitudes of the past? Shall we come to grips with problems as they arise? If we respond as we very clearly should, the underlying population will see that it wants education that will protect its interests. It may be entirely too late to develop a genuinely democratic society in America. Powerful vested interests will use every means at their command to frustrate any educational program that seeks to develop such a society. We choose this day whom we shall serve.

The Social Studies Section of the Convention held two sessions. Interest was keen, so keen that the room just couldn't hold all who tried to attend. Dr. Counts presented the report on the social studies. We educators are responsible for the failures in public education. Social problems are not solved by mere accumulation of facts; we need a frame of reference, must operate under some interpretation of history and of social science, must make choices on some basis of principles, for we are always imposing something. Possibly we have thought too much about method, have been too much just technicians manipulating a course of study. We need to become real people in the class room and must face squarely the troublesome problems that bother the world. Providing that kind of teaching and securing proper working materials constitute the most important work of the profession in the forum of the social studies, if we are to save the day for democracy. We must see to it that no adverse, vocal, selfish minority is permitted to block our effort in producing informed, thinking, social minded young people. Unfortunately teachers have always been afraid to say what they think. Timidity now on our part may mean the frustration of the American ideal of democracy.

The Secondary Session discussed the curriculum on a functional basis. Principal Otto Gilbert of Lincoln (Milw.) High School led off with "Does the thing we are teaching function in life?" That led to the caution uttered by Alexander Pope: "Be not the first by whom the new is tried, nor yet the last to lay the old aside"—consistent advice to

any group of people. He pointed out the fact that transpiring change calls for continuous revision. The entire high school curriculum should be done over, drastic revision being needed in the social studies. Of course good teachers change the curriculum as they go along, irrespective of boards of education and the like, but anyhow the schools are cluttered with children who are not getting what they want and what they need.

Mr. Giles from the department of public instruction noted the fact that educators have grown skeptical about the dogma of transfer of training, and after all it shouldn't make much difference what children study as preparation for college. What does matter is what boys and girls are doing day by day *about* and *with* the tools of learning. There has been too much spoon feeding, not enough cultivation of self dependence, not enough in school of what they'll be doing outside.

It was a great conference of seekers after truth. Here were some hundreds of teachers, the kind Otto Gilbert must have had in mind when he suggested that good teachers aren't likely to be frustrated by the inertia of curriculum or of administration. One rarely sees such spread in ages, of diversity of fields of instruction with such kinship of spirit and outlook, such promise of progress.

H. J. PARMLEY.

Local 259 Fights Teachers' Oath Bill

A bill to force all public and private school teachers to swear allegiance to state and national constitutions has passed the Illinois house and is now before the senate. Local 259 of the A.F.T., including college and university teachers of the Chicago area, has been carrying on a vigorous fight against the bill, aided by other teachers' union locals, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and the Illinois Federation of Labor.

Ross Stagner, of the People's Junior College, has been elected chairman of a committee to oppose the bill, with Frank Spencer, Central Y.M.C.A. College, and Maurice Krout, Medill Junior College. This committee has been using petitions, public addresses, the radio, and resolutions from central labor unions, over the state to bring pressure on the legislature.

"Politicians as well as selfish minorities will define 'loyalty' to suit themselves," says a statement by the committee against the bill. "Teachers will work under the handicap and constant fear of having their teaching misinterpreted. Espionage and gossip of students and parents will destroy the necessary relationship of confidence and trust between teacher and student. Teachers will be at the mercy of any student or parent who has an axe to grind, or bears a grudge.

"The bill deprives teachers of the right of freedom of thought, it limits the teaching staff of schools to those who lack the courage and mentality to exercise their legal right to just criticism of existing institutions.

"In being applied to private schools, the bill permits the invasion of the freedom of schools not under state control,

and opens the way to espionage and control of labor, religious, and other schools."

Generous cooperation from other teachers' federation locals and warm support from labor bodies of all kinds are reported. Dr. Stagner, who has spoken to several groups to explain the opposition to the bill, states that he has found no one who continues to support the bill after learning of its true significance. "Teachers can expect just treatment from the citizens if they go out and explain their point of view; otherwise the people will be misled by the propaganda of selfish interests in the newspapers," he said.

State College, N. D., Local 281

When dirt farmer Ole Olson, governor of North Dakota, stood before a strike meeting of General Drivers' Local 173 last fall in Fargo and said to men ready to declare a strike against the milk companies: "I have taken an oath. And I can never forget what I learned at my mother's knee, that my word is a sacred bond," he spoke with the profound sincerity of a plain man who takes his morals literally. That was before the men took his advice and voted to accept the compromise which the Governor, working with NRA and Labor Board officials, had induced the committees representing the milk companies and the union to agree to. And that was also before he sat again with the committees and heard the employers squeal with chagrin when faced at last with the necessity of signing the paltry compromise which they had been confident the drivers would be silly enough to reject. Dirt farmer Ole Olson saw the employers, whose bluff had been called, trying frantically to argue the bluff out of existence. And being an honest man who takes his morals literally, he did his magnificent bit in holding those business men to their bargain. The joint committee for the milk companies accepted the contract, finally, although practically every step of the way had to be fought over again that night, a way that had already consumed fifteen days of heated controversy.

The appearance again of a farmers' governor as referee in a labor controversy was a noteworthy event. The weight of his honesty did much to insure a victory for the union. It was a small victory indeed, but an important one, for the drivers gained, above all else, recognition of 173 as the collective bargaining agency for the milk drivers in the neighboring cities, Fargo, North Dakota, and Moorhead, Minnesota, and fairly good stipulations to enforce this recognition. In this hitherto unorganized industry, these were the points fought most stubbornly by the employers, but the union was shrewd enough to stand pat for collective bargaining as of first importance. However, the men also gained small wage increases, the forty-eight hour week, exemption of driver-salesmen from responsibility for company losses due to delinquent accounts, and other minor reforms.

This first victory of the General Drivers came as the climax of fifteen days of truce and negotiation last fall which the union was obliged to force by a one day strike tying up all milk delivery. Credit for the strike itself was

due to the short-sighted, obstructionist policy of the employers, supported by business interests organized to sabotage the NRA. After union officials, carrying tentative contracts and hoping for peaceful negotiations, had for many weeks met with only insult, rebuff, cries of 'Red,' and other forms of civic indecency, as a last resort the milkmen voted to strike.

When the strike issue came up in the regular meeting of the central labor body, the delegates from the local union of the American Federation of Teachers, recently organized at the Agricultural College, became active. The teachers had affiliated with the labor movement with a conviction that their place was with the rest of the working people of the community and a feeling that, in such a crisis, their influence might loosen a deadlock and save the community the evils of a prolonged strike. Led by Dr. Herbert Hanson, secretary-treasurer of the Teachers Union, and with the active cooperation of Dr. William C. Hunter, union president, the teachers set out immediately on the trails of civic-minded people of the community, whose help they enlisted to press the employers to be reasonable and to enter into negotiations with their men, arguing the justice of collective bargaining under the NRA. Thus sufficient contacts were made to enable the leaders of the central body to exert enough moral and civic pressure to bring about the first steps toward negotiation between employer and employee. The employers' first steps were made with extreme reluctance and were taken back many times before the forces of civic virtue made the retreat more tortuous than the advance. The real suffering of those employers will never perhaps be fully chronicled: they were being led into the very hell-hole of collective bargaining by the quickly marshalled righteousness of the community—and of a very conservative community. Finally, after the drivers had demonstrated how completely they could tie up milk distribution, the employers agreed to negotiate: a truce ended the strike pending the outcome of negotiations between an employers' committee and an employees' committee, aided by a committee of neutral citizens selected by the two contesting parties. Dr. Hanson of the Teachers Union was selected by the drivers to serve as a member of their committee.

The employers resorted to their characteristic strategy of evasion and delay. One of their favorite tricks, however, was, for the time being, out-manuevered. In the face of the substantial respectability that had been recruited in support of the principle of collective bargaining by the teachers the raucous shout of 'Communism' became a feeble gargle in the throats of the partisans who found their opponents stealing the rôle of virtue. Generally, however, the negotiations went badly; the original ten day truce had to be extended five days, although nothing but deadlock was in sight. Then was the time when the Teachers Union did its best service in preventing the strike which the employers now seemed to be willing to cause.

Organized in the Agricultural College, the Teachers Union had made good contacts with the organized farmers of

the state. Governor Olson was a member of the Farmers' Union and of the Holiday Association. When it seemed apparent that the milk companies, supported by other employers in the two cities, were ready to risk a strike in the hope of breaking the union, the teachers brought about a meeting between the local labor leaders and the officers of the Farmers' Union; the latter in turn arranged a meeting with the Governor, in which he agreed to come to Fargo and use his influence to bring about a peaceful settlement. In the meantime a man from the Regional Labor Relations Board had appeared on the scene. Because of the danger of the case being thrown into the hands of the Board and the consequent public scrutiny of the companies' books, the employers were ready to argue their case before the Governor. His influence moved the employers to offer a compromise agreement; and his influence only, caused them to stand by their bargain after the men had unexpectedly voted to accept it.

The teachers at the Agricultural College are being educated. They are learning some of the facts of life. They have learned, for example, that, while there may be good in everyone, a man in the rôle of an employer confronted with economic issues will behave, not as a human being, but as an employer.

Butte, Montana, Local 332 Single Salary Schedule Adopted

In keeping with its policy of high standards of attainment within the profession, the Butte Local presented to the Butte School Board a schedule for teachers' salaries in accordance with qualifications and experience. Salaries with qualifications and experience as the determining factor should be the ideal situation in the teaching profession and toward that end the Local made every effort. The result was highly gratifying. On March 26 the Butte School Board adopted the schedule prepared by Local 332 after a hearing at which the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly and the Butte Teachers Union appeared in behalf of the measure.

Through its influence standards were upheld when a request that Osteopaths without professional training teach Osteopathy in the High School, was refused.

The signing of a petition to be sent to Washington, D. C., that the proposed grant of money from the government toward building a new Butte High School be obtained if possible, was attended to by this body.

Keeping in touch and in sympathy with the work of Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council through its delegates, and the making of a survey of pensions, tenure, salaries, and conditions of teachers in other sections of the country through committee study, occupy an important part of the routine program of the Butte Local.

After every storm the sun will smile; for every problem there is a solution, and the soul's indefensible duty is to be of good cheer.
—Wm. R. Alger.

An Appreciated Message

I just want to add my congratulations concerning the magazine. The reports of news relating to teachers and their organizations are the best I see. I wish that all teachers were reading THE AMERICAN TEACHER as eagerly as I do—then we would have an educational movement with genuine vitality.

GOODWIN WATSON.

Teachers College,
Columbia University,
New York, N. Y.
March 26, 1935.

So This Is America!

Today, April 1st, as a classroom teacher, I cast my ballot to do my part in electing delegates from this section of the state to the N. E. A. convention. On the list of candidates I found seventeen superintendents, five principals, three supervisors, and eight classroom teachers. I noticed that seven of the teachers were from one large city. All of which means that several thousand classroom teachers of this part of the state are represented by a total of one name on the ballot. I do not mention this situation in a spirit of criticism, but it is quite obvious that the teachers' problems cannot be solved by such gross inequality in representation. When will the teachers of America awaken to a need of organized effort?

A CLASSROOM TEACHER.

International Fellowship School,
Gland-Sand, Switzerland,
March 21, 1935.

The American Federation
of Teachers.

Dear Friends:

The Armenian war-victims in Aleppo Syria are hand-spinning and weaving Rainbow Peace flags, the seven colors signifying the divers national gifts, interwoven in mutual service to form upon earth the footstool of the Prince of Peace.

In Aleppo little boys with toy pistols have been quite pleased to bring them to be bonfired, when they carried home Peace flags in their place.

On Goodwill Day, we are planning International Maypoles. The refugees are making rainbow tints as strands to be woven round the pole, with a program of peace-songs and dance, which we should be glad to supply.

The refugees also make Tablecloths, Towels, etc., with rainbow edging, by which they are helped to keep off starvation.

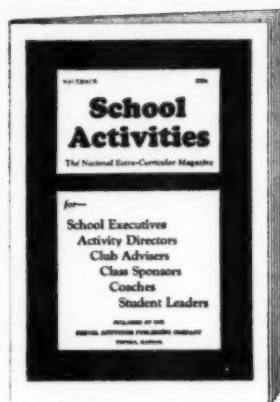
I hope that in some way we may find cooperation with your teachers.

Yours faithfully,

MÔTÔ EDITH ROBERTS.

A Parisian school-teacher has been taken to task for adding a "smile course" to the curriculum. An unimaginative school committee didn't know the Miltonic stanza:

Smiles from reason flow,
To brute denied, and are of love
the food.



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National Hosiery Club,
162 N. State St.,
Chicago, Illinois.

I enclose herewith \$1.00 for which payment I am to receive—as outlined above—the opportunity to buy my hosiery requirements at savings indicated.

Name

Street

City State.....

(Full particulars and printed forms to be mailed me at once)

PROGRAM

Nineteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers

August 25-30, 1935

Hotel Hollenden, Cleveland, Ohio

Theme

FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE SCHOOLS

Sunday, August 25—10 a. m. and 2 p. m.

Executive Council Meeting

Monday, August 26—10 a. m.

Addresses of Welcome:

George Davis, President Cleveland Local 279
Dan Moley, President, Cleveland Federation of Labor
Ray C. Miller, Member, Board of Education
Thos. J. Donnelly, Secretary, Ohio State Federation
of Labor

Harry L. Davis, Mayor

President's Address

RAYMOND F. LOWRY

Secretary-Treasurer's Report

Adoption of Rules

Appointment of Committees

12:30 p. m.

Get-Together Luncheon

Sectional Reports

R. J. Ahlstrom, Minneapolis, Minn.
May Darling, Portland, Oregon
G. D. Hargrave, Grand Forks, North Dakota
Clyde E. Kiker, Toledo, Ohio
Abraham Lefkowitz, New York, N. Y.
Allie B. Mann, Atlanta, Georgia
Barbara C. McGlynn, Wilkes Barre, Penn.
Homer J. Odell, Jacksonville, Florida.
F. C. Purviance, Norphlet, Arkansas
Bernice Rogers, Cambridge, Mass.
C. L. Vestal, Chicago, Illinois
John H. Swan, Sacramento, Calif.

2:30 p. m.

Committee Meetings

8 p. m.

**Open Meeting—Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties
for Teachers,** HEYWOOD BROWN, President, American
Newspaper Guild.

Tuesday, August 27—9 a. m.

Legislative Representative's Report

Organization

Secretary Hanson
President Lowry
W. B. Satterthwaite

2 p. m.

Committee Meetings

7 p. m.

Banquet

Address—*Where Are We Headed—Right or Left?*—

MAX S. HAYES, Editor, Labor Journal

Address—*Outlook for Public Education,* CHARLES H.
LAKE, Supt. of Schools, Cleveland

Wednesday, August 28—9 a. m.

Address—*America's Future,* ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

Reports of Permanent Committees

Academic Freedom and Tenure—DR. HENRY R.
LINVILLE.

Education—DR. HENRY HARAP

Finance—DR. HAROLD M. GROVES

International Relations—SELMA M. BORCHARDT

Publicity—GROVER C. RAMSEY

2 p. m.

Address—*The Out-of-School Youth,* GEORGE P. HAM-
BRECHT, Director Vocational Education, State of Wis-
consin; President, American Vocational Association

Committee Reports

3 p. m.

Report of Committee on Nominations

5 p. m.

Excursion

Thursday, August 29—9 a. m.

Address—*Why the Union Label,* I. M. ORNBURN, Sec.,
Union Label Trades Dept.

Committee Reports

2 p. m.

Committee Reports

3 p. m.

Election of Officers

Friday, August 30—9 a. m.

Committee Reports

2 p. m.

Committee Reports

Saturday, August 31

Executive Council Meeting

