

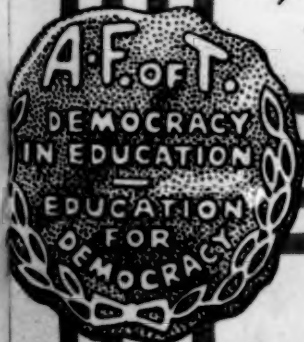
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American Teacher

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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

NEW LOCALS

The American Federation of Teachers welcomes into membership the following locals whose applications have been approved since the previous issue of *The American Teacher*.

Ohio County Federation of Teachers, No. 429, Ohio County, W. Va.

Los Angeles Federation of Teachers, No. 430, Los Angeles, Calif.

The Cambridge Union of University Teachers, No. 431, Cambridge, Mass.

Wisconsin Circuit Teachers' Union, No. 432, Madison, Wis.

Norris Teachers' Federation, No. 433, Norris, Tenn.

Federation of Teachers of the Belleville Township High School, No. 434, Belleville, Ill.

Flint Federation of Teachers, No. 435, Flint, Mich.

Jasper School Teachers' Union, No. 436, Jasper, Ala.



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WEBSTER'S
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A Great American Institution

By WILLIAM GREEN
President, American Federation of Labor

There is no institution that directly or indirectly affects the lives and prosperity of more people in the United States and Canada than does the American Federation of Labor. The level and rate of industrial and business progress depend on expanding consumption. It is the American Federation of Labor that puts additional millions and even billions in the pockets of those whose patronage is necessary to the corner store, the doctor, the theater, the art collector, the shoe shop, the office clerk, the farmer, the dairyman.

The organized workers have been the flying wedge that has raised wages and incomes for the unorganized as well as union workers. It formulated and gained acceptance for the American high wage principle. It is the organized labor movement that has put the products of factories, mines and mills to work in constructing higher standards of living.

Prosperity in two countries is directly attendant on the progress of the American Federation of Labor. It is obvious, therefore, that every person concerned for his or her own best interests should know exactly what the American Federation of Labor is.

The American Federation of Labor has had a long and distinguished history.

Purposes

It was organized November 15, 1881, by a group of trade unions. There had been a number of national labor organizations but none had lasted long. At this time trade unions began to feel the need of mutual help with industrial problems. This organization became exclusively a union of trade unions for trade union advancement. As the name implies, it is an organization of unions of workers which is the spokesman through which the unions act on matters that concern more than one trade or group of workers. Practically all important unions with the exception of the four railway brotherhoods are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Just as workers on a job need to act together in a union, so unions in an industry need to act together to prevent lower standards in any section of the industry from undermining their gains. To meet wider interests, wage earners in all industries find it necessary to agree upon how they shall deal with common problems. Members of the Federation increase their economic strength, political and social influence because they are identified with a national organization and have its potential backing.

Structural Organization

The American Federation of Labor consists of the following affiliated organizations: 105 national and international unions, 4 departments, 337 directly affiliated

local unions, 49 state branches, and 799 city central bodies.

National and international unions are organizations of workers in the same trade or calling with control over a definite jurisdiction to which the affiliated members of the Federation have agreed. International unions have members in Canada as well as the United States and sometimes in Mexico. Their membership is organized wholly into trade unions. The jurisdiction of an international or national union may extend over a trade such as machinists; or it may extend over several different kinds of work such as carpentering, furniture making, pile driving, or it may extend over an industry such as mining, covering all trades and kinds of work in the whole industry. The tendency of a jurisdiction is to broaden in order to adjust to changes in machinery and technical processes.

There have been many changes in the affiliated membership of the Federation since 1881. Out of these changes has come a trend toward consolidation, unifying responsibility. For practical reasons the American labor movement is opposed to dual organizations and division of authority. Dual organizations divide responsibility and make for friction.

Coordination

In some industries where trades are well organized into unions, a method of coordinating the work of the several national and international trade unions in an industry has been worked out through departments of the American Federation of Labor. There are three such departments: building trades, metal trades, and railway shop crafts. A fourth department is that of the Union Label Trades where cooperation is for mutual assistance in promoting the sale of union labeled products. The metal trades and construction departments promote the formation of corresponding local bodies through which the related local unions function. The railway shop unions organize system federations with jurisdiction paralleling railway systems. Similarly local union label leagues are formed in industrial centers, sponsored by the Union Label Trades Department.

The unions of a single city or industrial center have found it necessary to band together for mutual protection and assistance in local undertakings. These local central labor bodies are chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Their authority is restricted to federated activities and in no way infringes upon the functions of trade organizations. They cannot declare strikes or negotiate agreements but they are invaluable in mobilizing labor support for a union engaged in such undertakings. They enable workers to have effective representation in the life of the municipality.

Similarly, state federations of labor have been formed to further the state-wide interests of Labor and to promote state labor legislation. These state bodies are also chartered by the American Federation of Labor. These local federated bodies have a responsibility for initiating organization and educational work.

In order to take care of workers over whose organization no national or international union has responsibility, the Federation charters them in a directly affiliated union. Where there are not enough workers to meet the charter requirements of standard unions, the Federation also issues a charter to the whole group as a federal labor union. The directly affiliated local unions are the materials out of which new national and international unions are formed.

Executive Machinery

The American Federation of Labor has a president, secretary-treasurer, and fifteen vice-presidents. These seventeen officials constitute its Executive Council. It holds annual conventions to which affiliated members send delegates in proportion to their dues paying membership. These annual conventions are the supreme law making bodies of the Federation. Between conventions, issues are referred to the Executive Council which meets about four times a year. The responsible administrative agents are the president and the secretary who devote full time to the Federation's work. The Federation has its headquarters in Washington, D. C., in its own building.

The Federation has twenty-one paid organizers who are sent out to perform specific duties and 1,337 volunteer district organizers who are responsible for local interests. There are 369 persons who in addition to obligations to their own unions are commissioned to serve as general organizers to help with Federation work.

Administrative and educational work is carried on through the Washington office. The legislative and political interests of Labor are taken care of equally with its economic and social welfare. The Federation's representatives keep members of Congress informed as to Labor's interests in pending legislation. The Federation is active politically, following non-partisan political policies. That is, it submits political principles to candidates and parties and advises labor organizations as to their positions on these and other labor issues.

The Federation publishes an official monthly magazine, the "American Federationist." It issues a weekly news service to the labor press and supplies unions with statistical, educational and organizing literature. The President of the Federation is the spokesman for Labor who officially presents its needs and experience.

Revenues

The revenues of the Federation are derived from a per capita tax paid by national and international unions of one cent per member per month; monthly dues from directly affiliated local unions of thirty-five cents per member; and flat annual dues from state federations of labor and central labor bodies of \$10.00 per year.

Fundamental Principles

The Federation is based upon a philosophy of voluntarism—that is, the organization has no power to compel any union or person to do anything. Trade unions realize that force does not lead to permanent progress, but only realization of the value of better

methods and better agencies. Membership and compliance with regulations are the result of voluntary decision, directed by enlightened self interest. Because the union renders valuable service, it retains its membership.

The worker needs the union just as the individual union needs the support and cooperation of other unions in the same kind of work. Similarly unions in one trade or industry need the cooperation of other groups of workers. Related interests are the strong ties that bring workers into unions—mutual help and service are what keep them in. Intelligent understanding of the welfare of the whole group is the disciplinary power that imposes policies and rules.

Following this principle of self-determination, the national and international trade unions have control over their own jurisdictions, make their own rules and decisions. There is, however, one regulation common to all—the trade union card is essential to activity in the union and this is given only to wage earners in the jurisdiction.

Collective Bargaining

Industrial history shows that collective bargaining is the method by which progress is made in industrial relations. When representatives of management and workers meet for the purpose of finding and agreeing upon conditions of employment, the workers acquire status in the industry. They are putting their time, work ability, and personalities into the industry under conditions which they helped to decide. Conferences with the management give them a better understanding of industrial problems and definitely disclose that economical production and sales with increased output make is possible for the company to pay higher wages. These conferences help management to understand the experience of those who handle their tools and machinery. Collective bargaining naturally leads to cooperation between union and management in working out industrial problems so that each may benefit.

The American Federation of Labor has a constructive program which guarantees fundamental rights to workers and provides for the settlement of industrial problems. This program enables workers to participate in the problems of work and to share in the results of work. There may result a real partnership in work. The union gives workers an organization with the necessary independence and scope to enable them to keep pace with progress in the industry and the community and thus give a substantial foundation for rebuilding prosperity.

EDITOR'S NOTE:

This is the first of three informative articles. The second will deal with the state federation; the third, the central body.

They Are Not Organized

The Washington Joint Committee on National Recovery in their report on "The Present Economic Position of the Negro Woman Worker" stated that the Negro woman worker was triply exploited, because of her nationality, sex, and class. They have the lowest wages, the longest hours and greatest insecurity of any group in the U. S. More than any other group they are denied the benefits of the Security Bill, since 90 per cent are in domestic and agricultural work. These two types of work are specifically excluded in the bill. Negro domestics work 70 to 80 hours a week, usually for less than \$2 a week. Some families of 12 to 14 people live in one room houses and 10 to 12 people sleep in three beds.

SEACROFT

Toward an Independent Workers' Educational Community

F. M. GOODHUE

I

The first week of last October a little group of earnest people began the development of SEACROFT, a square mile island one and a half miles off Port Royal, South Carolina, where they plan to open a free and independent school for workers on October 1, 1936.

To many romanticists a verdant isle in a sunny sea is just the beginning of a lovely pipe dream. But to Dr. Wm. E. Zeuch* and his associate founders it is just the beginning of much very hard work. From years of experience with somewhat the same sort of venture they know that it means plowing and planting and harvesting, erecting and remodelling buildings, formulating a realistic course of study, establishing working rules and productive efficiency, developing intelligent community social standards, and all the thousand and one things that go into the building of a workers' cultural center.

II

Educationally, SEACROFT will be a non-factional, non-sectarian, non-propaganda school of the social studies. Since throughout the world today the teaching of the social studies is largely a war of propagandas, this statement needs a bit of clarification.

In the regular schools and colleges of the United States the teaching of the social subjects is notoriously safe for capitalism. The successive "Red" hunts have failed to discover the teaching of any "Red" ideas in any of our conventional colleges and universities. Our institutions of higher learning appear to have accepted this appalling disclosure of their intellectual dishonesty and moral bankruptcy with complacency; seemingly they have given up even the pretension of being free forums for the analysis and discussion of all economic, political and social ideas. Subservience to capitalism could hardly sink lower.

In the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics the teaching of the social subjects is just as safe for communism. No teacher there would dare to allude to capitalism except to damn it. To extol capitalism would be counter revolution and any teacher or other person caught praising it would sacrifice not only his job but also his liberty, and possibly his life.

Free teaching of the social studies is thus banished in orthodox educational institutions in the U. S. A. and in the whole of the U. S. S. R. To the earnest scholar in search for the truth there is not much difference between "Red" hunts and "White" hunts. In the United States, however, we are still permitted to establish independent schools devoted to the free teaching of the social studies if they are established privately. That is what the founders of SEACROFT are planning to do. They are taking advantage of that still remaining freedom.

*Dr. Zeuch, as early readers of the American Teacher will remember, was the Founder and first Director of Commonwealth College. In 1931 he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in recognition of his pioneering labors in the field of workers' education and he spent a year in Europe studying resident workers' education, cooperation, trade unions and labor politics. More recently he devoted almost two years in the Administration at Washington trying, without success, to induce responsible officials to inaugurate cooperative resettlement projects.

Further, since young industrial laborers and farmers are being excluded more and more from higher education because of mounting costs and unemployment, and since the interests of the workers are sacrificed in the present biased teaching of the social studies in our colleges and universities, SEACROFT will devote itself to the education of workers and the building of a workers' cultural center.

III

SEACROFT will be different from any educational community yet attempted in that it will make a greater effort to lay an adequate economic foundation for academic freedom. The key to that effort is found in its slogan, "Production—Education—Recreation," which sums up the methods of economic support as well as the purposes of the community.

Physically, as has been stated, SEACROFT is a square mile island. Aside from several hundreds of acres of timber and pasture there are approximately 240 acres of trucking and general farming land—and a set of plantation buildings. There is a commodious farm house, a bungalow, a half dozen two to four room cabins and cottages, a large packing shed, barns, cribs, a dock and boat house, a deep well with tank and water system—in short, enough simple housing and other facilities, with some remodelling, to shelter for some time the growing nucleus of a workers' community.

The trucking and farm lands, as well as the surrounding waters, will be utilized to the limit to develop food sufficiency. Garden and truck crops can be and will be grown the year 'round. The sea will provide fish, shrimp, crabs and oysters in season. The community will furnish meat, eggs and milk. Since the winter climate is fairly mild—about like that of Jacksonville, Florida—and as the summers are made livable by sea breezes and sea bathing, SEACROFT will also develop its recreational possibilities as a workers' resort, especially for fall and spring when the climate is at its very best. During these seasons the school will be in session and visitors may attend lectures and join discussion groups as well as fish and swim. By means of fishing, trucking, farming, teaching and entertaining guests, the resident members believe that they will be able to raise sufficient income in produce and money to meet the running expenses of the project. It is hoped to receive the cost of the initial capital equipment in the form of grants from the friends of free workers' education.

The teachers and other specialized workers at SEACROFT receive only a simple maintenance. All students will pay a nominal tuition and put in fifteen hours of efficient work each week. A number of scholarships covering tuition will be available for worthy unemployed workers. No student will be accepted unless he or she has had actual working experience. While students will be admitted from all sections of this country and from abroad, preference will be given applicants from the southeastern section of the United States.

The Ashtabula City Schools Situation

as related to the A. F. of T. Convention by

E. B. PENDLETON

In January, 1932, all teachers of the Ashtabula City Schools were forced to accept a 10% salary cut. They were forced to sign a statement for publication in the Ashtabula Star Beacon that they "willingly" accepted this cut. Some were told that if they did not sign it, "someone else will be in your place who will." The evening after nearly every teacher had signed, a general teachers' meeting was held for all teachers in the system and it was explained why we should sign and the floor was thrown open for discussion on both sides of the question. (Sort of a post-mortem.) And this happened at a time when nearly all of the teachers had contracts which read: ".....dollars per month for the school year." The school year was completed and the summer annual report showed a balance of several thousands of dollars but the teachers had their 10% cut just the same. We talked of a teachers' federation at that time but the teachers were afraid to stick together. They preferred to hang separately as time proved. From this time on there has been continual unrest.

Down, Down

In April, 1933, teachers were handed their second cuts, less gracefully this time for the contracts had been changed to read "on a month to month basis" which means good for twenty school days. These cuts were 12% on the upper salaries (so called) and 10% on the smaller salaries. This left the maximum salaries at \$1,496.67 per year, and the minimum that prescribed by the state (\$810, I believe) with some senior high school teachers at less than \$1,000. Even Supt. M. S. Mitchell had to acknowledge that the salaries were the lowest paid by any city the size of Ashtabula in the state. But nothing was done about it. Again teachers talked of organization but did nothing.

But Not Supt. Mitchell

Just this spring it came out in the Star Beacon that Supt. Mitchell had received \$4,800.00 before the cuts. The paper said he took the same rate of cut the teachers took (i.e., 10% and 12%). Then it added that he had been reemployed for five years at the salary he has received since the cuts and stated that as \$4,000. Figure it out and you will find that he has been receiving \$198.40 more per year than he is entitled to and expects under his new contract to receive that amount for five more years.

Mild Protest

With this and many more things as a setting the men of the system got together and presented a petition to the superintendent, signed 100% except two new men who were not asked to sign. The petition was for the Board of Education and asked a restoration of salaries as they had been before the cuts, including the increases of \$90 per year for increased service. The petition and the teachers themselves were treated with reserved ire and some contempt by the superintendent who told them that the board would not meet for over a month and a special meeting could not be called. This notwithstanding the fact that the board has a printed schedule of meetings every two weeks. This was two years after the second cuts.

Other meetings were held by the men and on April 10, 11 and 12, 1935, the men circulated the following paper among all teachers of the system and asked for signatures:

"We, the undersigned, believing that the mutual interests of the Ashtabula schools can best be furthered through a permanent organization of the teachers, so express our desire to cooperate in forming such an affiliation."

Before all had been interviewed many had been intimidated and others had been forbidden to sign. Even so a check-up revealed that a large majority had already signed. A committee of six (three men and three ladies) was chosen to set up the machinery for forming a local teachers association. These six were all teachers with years of experience. On April 15th they visited the Conneaut schools where they found an excellent association which even the superintendent said was working in perfect harmony with the administration and the board.

On April 24 this committee met with their own superintendent and after presenting the following nine objectives asked permission to use the building as a meeting place to organize an association.

Objectives

1. To cooperate with school administrative officials.
2. To better the educational agencies for the children.
3. To foster better teaching ethics.
4. To influence legislative action.
5. To secure legal tenure for teachers.
6. To obtain group action for civic and educational projects.
7. To help make our schools better.
8. To raise the standards of the teaching profession.
9. To encourage experimentation, research, and other projects for the improvement of public education.

So Far, So Good

The committee was assured by the superintendent that he was not opposed to a local teachers' association and that he would cooperate with them in arranging a time and place, as soon as he had consulted "a couple of board members." He also expressed regret that they had not come to him first in order that he "might have been of greater assistance to them." But his answer regarding the use of the building as a meeting place has not been given yet, except very indirectly. Members of the committee have gone to him individually but he has "not been ready yet." Indirectly the answer has come.

Then It Happened

Five days later, on April 29th, Mr. J. L. Spratley, science teacher at West Jr. High, was advised to look elsewhere for a position for next year. This after seven years in the system.

The next day Mr. Robert Stephens was given similar advice. His service record here dated back four years. He taught mathematics in the senior high.

The next day, Wednesday, May 1st, Mr. E. B. Pendleton was given similar advice. He had taught physics and biology for eight years in the system.

Together these three men had given nineteen years of satisfactory service but had suddenly become undesirable. Some very poor excuses were given to each but no satisfactory reasons to anyone. Some could be quoted and were very absurd. But the process of intimidation has continued until the remaining teachers fear to call their souls their own, much less their jobs. And the students are the real losers. It is an autocratic school supposedly preparing children for life in a democratic country, a czar with subjects bowing at his knee.

Answers Wanted

And now some of the teachers are wondering about the following:

1. Why Cleveland, Toledo and other places can have Teachers' Associations but Ashtabula can not
2. Why, when the teachers received their last cut of 12% the superintendent was cut only a little over 7%?
3. Why Ashtabula salaries stop at approximately the point where Cleveland teachers' salaries begin. (Reference: Plain Dealer of May 9th, 1935, pg. 3.)
4. Why the best paid teachers in our high school receive less than our city mail carriers, policemen, firemen, and many railroad employees? Is this a fair return for time and money spent in preparation?
5. Why teachers here are hired on a "month to month" basis with no definite salary schedule, but the superintendent was just given a new five-year, \$20,000 contract?
6. Why a superintendent's contract cannot be as easily broken as the teachers' contracts were in 1932?

The teachers feel that from the way they have cooperated through the present crisis they could safely be entrusted with the conduct of an association and their inherent right to organize demands it. Ministers, doctors, lawyers, bankers, business men and other groups of this city have their organizations. In fairness, why not teachers?

And so we offer out situation to you, fellow teachers, for a suggestion and a solution. We feel that the problem is one that reaches far beyond the local scope. And in return we offer our gratitude and thanks.

Child Labor Day

January 25-26-27, 1936

Following a custom of more than a quarter century, the National Child Labor Committee has designated the last week-end in January as Child Labor Day—dedicated to the thousands of American children whose lives are still shadowed by the threat of industrial exploitation.

The breathing spell granted to child laborers for nearly two years by the temporary industrial codes came to an abrupt end with the Supreme Court decision last May. Once again child labor is permitted in American industry.

Suggestions for the observance of Child Labor Day may be secured from the National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

We learn that:

Local 5, New York, is active in the promotion of a twelve point program of local teacher needs. A substantial gain in membership is reported.

Local 71, State Teachers' College, Milwaukee, has affiliated with the Federated Trades Council and added several members to its roll.

Local 89, Atlanta, president concludes message to members:

"There are then in this array [salary adjustment, tax limitation, city-county merger, elections, pension, insurance] no new problems, no new duties; only new opportunities: the same struggle, its solution dependent upon the same thing that it will always depend upon—the spirit of the union."

Local 192, Philadelphia, in cooperation with the P. T. A. is making a drive for complete restoration of salaries; is opening a membership campaign. The local was active in defeating a number of bills in the State Legislature aimed at teachers' salaries.

Local 250, Toledo, will work for a labor Board of Education this year and that the case against the local's president has been satisfactorily settled.

Local 252, Milwaukee, with the help of organized labor, has secured full salary restorations for Milwaukee teachers. Two laws were enacted with the help of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and the Wisconsin A. F. of T. locals automatically placing on the permanent list all substitute teachers who have taught full time for six or more semesters and correcting discrimination against vocational teachers without degrees. A proposed teachers' loyalty oath bill was defeated.

Local 279, Cleveland, reports the election of labor candidates to all vacancies on the Board of Education, and the passage of an additional four-mill operating levy at the November election.

Local 332, Butte, is championing a single salary schedule.

Local 414, West Allis, Wisconsin, reports only one non-member on the eligibles of the West Allis vocational teaching staff. A new salary schedule was put in force by the Vocational School Board this fall with general increases in basic salaries. The local hopes to secure full salary restorations for the second semester of this school year.

Local 417, Pontiac, reports "progress slight but shows signs of increasing."

Local 420, St. Louis, plans a membership drive. The Board of Education at that place up to the present has refused to rescind an anti-union rule.

The Michigan State Federation of Teachers in conference with the secretary of the Michigan State Federation has mapped out an organization campaign. Committees have been set up on Salaries, Tenure, Organization, Pensions, Academic Freedom, Progressive Education and Publicity. One local or a group of locals in close proximity will be responsible for one committee, the work being cleared through a state executive council.

The reason the American Federation of Labor has lived so long and grown so large and stands so strong today is because it is run from the inside and not from the outside.

Campus Issues and the New Leadership

WILLARD E. UPHAUS

I

Basic Issues Before Higher Education

The severe critic of college and university education may be forgiven for asking repeatedly why the graduate has not played a more constructive role in the life of the community. Why, with the vast amount of information gathered, lectures attended, papers written, and the extra-curricular affairs indulged in, is the output of the college so unimaginative, so intensely individualistic, so poorly prepared for the actual problems of personal and social living, and so little inclined to corporate effort in rebuilding the social and economic structure?

May it be that his picture of the leader is still one of the single self rising to the top through domination and control, and having as a following a docile, intimidated crowd? May the picture still be wholly of the driving business executive, the wily politician, the assertive clergyman, or the overruling professor? Despite the shining exceptions in the way of profound teaching and occasional evidences of a community of spirit on the campus, the college is not accepting responsibility for the new leadership. Among the reasons why this is so we may point out four.

Facts or Issues

1. College education fails to make students realistically aware of the real issues that confront the world. It does not sensitize their imaginations and enrich their emotions. (Instruction is factual, subject-centered and transmissive, instead of creative in character.) The whole system labors under the illusion that a knowledge of the facts leads to useful activity, when it is now well known that our attitudes and behavior depend more upon the way we feel about the facts. Courses consist of weary recitals of dry information abstracted from human situations and need. There is little taste for grappling with troublesome issues, or for dealing, in collective fashion, with social and economic problems full of nettles.

When the teaching situation deals with war, the chance is that it begins with costs and political and economic frictions as causes, and never gets around to the stark brutalities and the unspeakable agonies of the war system. The effectiveness of the teaching situation is often almost wholly destroyed by the counter propaganda of a military unit on the campus with its sweet, immaculately-dressed girl cadets, the honors and trappings of an officers' fraternity, or, if nothing better, by the meager income with which the needy student holds soul and body together.

If the course be one in social science the chance is that the class begins with statistics and ends up with (if it ever gets to) empty stomachs, degrading homes, miserable streets and all the squalor of shantytown. There have been enough fact-gathering commissions connected with institutions of higher education to change the economic structure and the overt behavior patterns of people in five years, if we could some way connect facts with feelings and get students and faculties, working collectively, committed to change.

It is a question whether the much-heralded new curricula, including survey and orientation courses, do bet-

ter than instill a subtler form of sophistication. Can we ever expect the college to be realistic, when, to do so, means asking some penetrating questions about the economic system from which it draws its resources?

2. Again, college experience fails to give students a single, unifying life purpose. It too rarely results in the intuiting of great and impelling ideas that gather up and correlate the fragmentary elements of a hurried existence. The educational setting discourages sequence of thought, and the synthesis of the many conflicting opinions and forces. Few students are known to bet their lives upon a great, moving, self-accepted hypothesis. The student who wrote the following expressed the plight of many: "I seem to be at war with myself. Two forces fight for possession of me. I take sides sometimes with one, sometimes with the other. More often I merely look on. Of all things I want peace within, in which to go ahead with my work."

Of course much of this inner confusion may be attributed to our departmentalized system of education. The graduate schools have turned loose a horde of specialists who were permitted to carry on their research and receive their degrees without being required to relate their disciplines to one another and to the whole of Reality. They escape problems of religion, morality and social control. They venture out of their fields with fear and trepidation. They refuse to express conviction, or share in group action, because the evidence on a complex issue is not all in—when they know all the evidence never will be in. To blunder in a conscientious effort to put knowledge to use means losing status in their professional societies. There is the real danger of escaping social responsibility in the plea for objectivity and academic standards.

I recently worked with a dynamic person who holds the belief that the real role of the leader is that of the participant-observer who escapes both the dangers of inaction and superficial behavior. He has experienced everything from authorship of scholarly works to first-hand contact with a policeman's stick. With so little planned search for the central ideas and issues of the time through the integration and humanization of knowledge, and with so few dependable criteria for determining the worth of activities, it is little wonder that the student is so disorganized and lacking in purpose.

3. The typical college campus does not provide situations in which the student can test the information he is receiving. He gets an idea of social change, but it must be *very* little and *very* gradual—no undue haste or radicalism. I am prepared to admit that there are plenty of so-called projects on foot—part-time employment that has some social value, assistantships on church and settlement staffs, practice teaching, days for gathering up old clothes and filling baskets—but at best these projects are slightly ameliorative.

The participants still do all the nice things *to* or *for* those who are expected to stay in an inferior social and economic caste. It is outside their imagination and purpose to reshape completely the whole order of life so that the recipient of the dole will rise to a self-sustaining and self-respecting place, enjoy all the privileges and comforts that modern science and technology could

provide, and sense a "togetherness" that characterizes a true community.

A college cannot be trusted to prepare the new leader for the solution of the great issues of classes and nations, if it is too unethical or incompetent to put its own house in order. I have seen many instances of this failure during recent visits.

A group of young men in a certain institution wanted to introduce a bit of social and religious realism into their education, but found their hands tied by the fact that the major industrial concern in the community had contributed the college's gymnasium and athletic field. Questions about labor conditions were not welcome. A university that prides itself on its social science survey courses excludes Negroes. In a church college, when a ministerial student insisted in a conference with the president that military training was not compatible with the religious ideals of the institution, he was answered in the words of scripture—that Jesus said His kingdom was not of this world.

It is a matter of common knowledge that campuses reek with corrupt politics, while professors talk on about the science and technique of government. Light about the delicate problems of the sex life, the choice of a mate, the building of a home, and parenthood may filter in incidentally in an unenlightened "bull session." At best these problems are covered in a minor section of some course.

Class distinctions appear in housing, in salary scales, treatment of employees and student-faculty relations. What an opportunity to relate sociology, psychology, economics, ethics, religion, and other subjects, in creating at once the sort of community that college-bred youth are supposed to build at some dim, distant date!

4. Because of the failures mentioned—failures at the points of sensitivity, purpose and practical demonstration—education naturally fails, also, in lifting the whole of life to the level of meaning and spiritual functioning. The great want is that of coming into illuminating and consummatory experiences characteristic of religious insight. There is seldom that sense of being caught up, of having an engagement with the universe.

The vast potentialities in individual persons, in society, and in the world are not comprehended. Real religion has lost its relevancy for many students, for they spend their college days in cynical reaction to the narrow indoctrination of earlier years or to the obvious betrayal of ethical standards in the institution itself. True worship is rare, for there is little time or provision for assimilation and synthesis. Where formal worship is set up, it is often an escape from reality and intelligent action.

II

Some of the More Specific Problems

The fundamental weaknesses of education are reflected in numerous campus problems of a specific nature. We mention five. There are many more.

1. An almost universal problem on the American campus is the lack of intellectual integrity. It is at this point that the college epitomizes the state of society at large. A hectic round of activities is substituted for sustained intellectual effort. Slovenliness in study is apparent. The single criterion of success is still the grade. It is sought at any price to win the coveted diploma, empty honors, or admission into a graduate professional school.

A student friend of mine recently characterized his dormitory during examination time as a mad-house.

Sometime ago, when I visited a campus soon after final examinations, I heard everywhere, "What did you get?" It is a real "break" when an instructor fails to show up for class. "There is not enough of the pure joy of learning in our college," said a professor to me.

In our criticism of the student we must not forget how difficult it is to have integrity in some of our systems. During the past three years a student-faculty committee in a well-known state institution has been making a study of the factors in the situation that encourage cribbing, and other unauthorized methods of getting by.

It has found some of the chief factors to be: crowded room conditions, unfair quizzes, stress on memory work and reproduction of facts, resistance broken down by seeing so much dishonesty rewarded by high grades, attitude of the instructor, lack of personal contact, the overruling of instructors who report cribbing, by the higher authorities, and the pressure for production in research which results in reduced time for student contacts.

2. Another problem is the constant conflict of interests and activities that befores the real issues and enervates student life. The struggle is particularly apparent in the case of the regular classroom work and extra-curricular interests. Someone has well asked, "Why two curricula?" If curricular resources were integrated around such focal points as health, social behavior, marriage, home-building, parenthood, civic responsibility, vocational and economic adjustment, human relationships right on the campus, leisure time, would not many conflicts be resolved? If education began, using a dynamic instead of a static logic, with the problems of students and society, might not the two curricula become one? Political science might begin with the problem of campus government.

Closer Home

Students who criticize Washington and London, or perhaps deplore friction in class and international relations, do not see the implications for their own fraternities. Courses in business administration might begin on campus managing boards, if they are concerned about either efficiency or ethics. Why should studies in nutrition go on, while the college bursar dictates what students shall eat or ignorant stewards in fraternities prescribe the diet of their houses?

The Department of Education, often the butt of ridicule, is absorbed in grinding out teachers' certificates, and neglects the college community as the choicest laboratory for working out and testing educational principles. So-called secular affairs constantly come into conflict with poorly attended courses in religion and hurried, sandwiched-in religious exercises. As was pointed out before, we may expect little in the way of effective attitudes and skills in practice after graduation, if the college cannot solve the problems inside its own gates.

3. The fraternity has always been a problem, but hard times have intensified some of the gravest weaknesses. House after house is practically bankrupt. Buildings erected and furnished with foolish extravagance in days of prosperity are now difficult to maintain. The drive for pledges with money is sharpened. Unreasonable standards of comfort are kept up with terrific strain on both purse and character.

On the other hand, there are houses where the sleek and well-fed lounge in ease, probably supported in their luxury by a few doting alumni. All the conflicting

passions and prejudices—national, racial, economic—are fed by such putrid situations. They belie all that may be said in a social science course about the possibilities of a new cooperative commonwealth. But all this scathing criticism does not mean that a real community, in which the welfare of all must come before the selfishness of a few, cannot use social nuclei in working out a basis for the common life.

4. Closely bound up with the problem areas so far stressed is that of the social life of the campus. Here the dualism between bookish education and driving interests becomes very real. There is an unfortunate separation between work and play. When our grandparents all turned out for a log-rolling or a husking-bee, they combined fellowship with utility. This the typical campus fails to do.

Work—Play

There is too little occasion for normal, joyous comradeship in doing things worthwhile: retreats around great personalities, excursions in connection with the investigation of social and natural phenomena, quest groups for studying and remedying some of the campus situations already described, community extension in the form of drama, adult education, recreation and political activity.

No, the country-club type of student grinds out the minimum requirements in readiness for quizzes and examinations, and then is off for the week-end spree; while the conscientious student always feels a tension between the claims of absorbing activities and the "regular" lessons.

What would happen on a campus if learning were centered in the issues of life, if advancements were made in terms of units of experience instead of regimented courses and grades, if students and faculty alike could take the participant-observer attitude and, if present-day questions were understood in the light of history, social and natural science and the world's best literature? Probably many students, without an eight o'clock or a compulsory chapel to get them up, would feel cheated, pack up and leave; while professors would throw away lectures that students pass on from one generation to another and examination questions that are carefully preserved in fraternity files.

Religion?

5. The disorganization and aimlessness of the college is exhibited best by the nature of its religious program. Among the reasons for this unfortunate state of affairs one must be the stubborn refusal of its leaders to face the requirements of a dynamic religion, and its relation to the problems of a rapidly changing order. In many church institutions the administrators seek to perpetuate religious belief utterly unreal in the light of modern science and human necessity. Average students remain blind to the discrepancy; the brilliant continue to attend classes for credit, or avoid everything religious with cynical indifference.

The liberal university that prides itself in its new program of orientation to literature, science and civilization

breaks down old attitudes and habits much better than it commits disillusioned youth to constructive new ways. A pathetic sight is to see a student body relieved of its faith in the old order of things, but restrained by a social system, of which the university is still an integral part, from trying something essentially radical.

The chapel problem, unfortunately, is still with us in spite of surveys and investigations. Except in rare cases, the findings get safely pigeon-holed just as the results of industrial surveys are promptly forgotten. Formal worship remains unreal because it is not the heart, center and inspiration of social and spiritual adventure. Prejudices, bickerings, unrelated instruction in other fields, race and class discriminations, questionable business practices quench the feeble flame.

Candor, fearlessness, questing, things in process, the actualization of the potential in life—the essential attributes of the religious experience—find it difficult to thrive. The system smotheres, hounds, dragoons. Interdepartmental groups hesitate to test the social aspects of their related disciplines. I can think of a college that advertises "clear-thinking" as a slogan, where instructors in religion and the sciences would take their professional lives in their hands if they applied their subject-matter to such questions as race, war or the industrial system. On another campus I felt the constant dread of "the firing squad." Students there plan carefully to take their chapel cuts on the days when the president gives his sermonettes.

Religion—Realism

It seems to be an inevitable law of our natures that real religion takes its flight the moment the campus refuses to be realistic, honest and open for the demonstration of the ideal. Integrity comes when deep feeling and overt behavior are coupled with insight. Until groups—nuclei, cells in the new order—learn through study, discipline, penalties and loyalties how to humanize and relate intellectual disciplines in terms of behavior and definite social and economic goals, religion will be an empty formality. Not until then will it achieve its real function—to determine the ends of the whole of life in all of its relationships.

There is something extremely significant in the way the authors of a recent volume on the principles of education both criticized and set the goals of education by introducing the work with the following lines:

Greeting his pupils, the master asked:

What would you learn of me?

And the reply came:

How shall we care for our bodies?

How shall we rear our children?

How shall we work together?

How shall we live with our fellow-men?

How shall we play?

For what ends shall we live? . . .

And the teacher pondered these words, and sorrow was in his heart, for

his own learning touched not these things.

III

The New Leadership

The student aspirant to leadership is one of our best examples of a selfish individualism. Leadership, in popular thinking, spells power, control and high pressure for selfish ends. The gain of the leader means the loss of the whole. His ingratiating ways lead to a servile, dependent following. He is constantly on the stimulating end of the experience.

His petty courtesies, when added together, do not compensate for one-tenth of the damage of the system that nourishes his own selfishness and vanity. He expects a tractable following. Acquiescence is what he craves. While he seems to give with one hand, he takes more with the other. He is morally incapable of complete disinterestedness.

Who has not seen campus leaders that answer this description? Take the clever, young politician who can deliver the vote of a block of fraternities. He promises to hold his forces off one field, if he can reach his coveted goal in another. Not infrequently the plaudits and trappings of a military career break down the resistance of a sensitive conscience.

Big Shots

The ruthlessness with which students struggle for the managements of organizations and publications is a matter of common knowledge. Recently the newspaper in a certain school was taken out of the hands of racketeers. A junior declined to accept the editorship, a prize upon which he had had his heart set for two years, because the expected rake-off had been eliminated. The idea that leadership should signify usefulness, and eliciting the potential powers of each member of the group to which he belongs, for the mutual benefit of all, seems foreign to the campus scene.

Ten or fifteen years later one will find this type of leader manipulating municipal elections, accepting bribes, receiving huge bonuses at the expense of the public, underwriting false propaganda, fighting for power and security through interlocking directorates, suppressing the working class—all with a smiling amiability that deludes the victim.

The way even the worker has risen from the ranks and, when in a position of power, has betrayed those whom he has left behind is a vivid example of the poisonous effects of this merciless individualism. Education has so magnified the tinsel of the "big shot" type that the mass of students move out into the struggle, each cherishing in his own breast the hope that he will land on top too. Unfortunately, faculties do not dare attack this philosophy too vigorously, since the "big shot" alumni and financiers control the budget.

Moral leadership should, in the future, reside less in the individual, and more in the group. This means a loyalty, a cohesiveness, a candor, a nobility of purpose, and a stand-or-fall togetherness that does not characterize the ordinary educational process.

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Educational Policies in Mexico

Moral Education

H. L. LATHAM

Character Research Service, Chicago, Illinois

An examination of the publications* of the federal Department of Education for the past few years discloses a sincere and well considered effort to organize the education resources of the Mexican Republic.

The Revolution has placed in power men who believe earnestly in the need for universal public education. The task is stupendous since for ages past no one until recently has struggled manfully with the problem of popular welfare including the schools.

The plans outlined in these publications reveal a clear sense of the need for moral education although specialized departmental activity seems lacking. Our task will not be a minute criticism of these plans; instead certain quotations from the monthly bulletins and annual reports will be offered and with them a few summaries of declarations relative to moral education problems.

1. In several passages the ethical elements in a well balanced education are mentioned but are not developed in detail. Very often the list of objectives set up for certain schools contains particular reference to ethical matters.

Some Aims

Respecting rural schools it is said that "Everything in the rural school of today has been devised with an eye to material, social and moral improvement of country life . . . 1. Improvement of the health of individuals and sanitary provision for the rural communities. 2. Exaltation of the home, introducing better standards in domestic life and establishing and organizing the family as an effective economic unit. 3. Improvement of the common occupation, substituting for routine habits of agricultural labor truly scientific methods . . . 4. Creation of a satisfactory social life, introducing healthy forms of recreation and socializing activities of a different type." (Memoria, 1:5, 1932.)

Among the objectives set up for the primary school occur the following: "4. To acquire the social virtues such as co-operation, mutual help, the spirit of service without which the progress of the community would be impossible. 5. To develop the spirit of initiative, self-confidence and of the qualities of veracity and responsibility. 6. To qualify the child for formulating plans and projects and for carrying them forward to completion with perseverance. 7. To make suitable use of leisure time" (Boletin 9:43, Sept.-Oct., 1930.)

The "Cultural Mission" is a group of educators sent out to rekindle and redirect educational activities among teachers and school patrons. Here again the objectives put forward reflect interest in moral education:

"The work of the Cultural Mission is multiple, since it touches all the aspects of the economic, spiritual, moral and intellectual life of the people." (Boletin 10:31, May, 1931.)

*Boletin de la Secretaria de Educacion Publica, May, 1929, and subsequent monthly issues to June, 1931. Also Memoria que Indica el Estado que Guarda el Ramo de Educacion Publica, Aug. 31, 1931. Also the same for Aug. 31, 1932, vol. I, Exposicion and vol. II, Documentos. La Secretaria de Educacion Publica, Mexico, D. F.

In the later publications of the Department of Education the word "moral" appears more frequently in the titles of particular divisions of a report; it is often coupled with the term "social." In fact there is an heroic attempt to produce many ethical results through social activities. Let us examine some of these statements.

"The new Mexican Secondary School has adopted, from the beginning, the Social Ideal as its primary educational objective. The intimate and constant relation of the secondary school with life in its social, economic, political, ethical and esthetic aspects should continue to be the fundamental basis of all of its activities within and without its halls."

This includes presenting knowledge in such a way that it will improve society, cultivating the unfolding personality of the pupil so that he may engage in worthy and conscientious social activity, for instituting habits of work, co-operation and service, cultivating a sentiment of responsibility, a sense of nationality with programs of instruction fully adjusted to social needs. (Memoria, 1:317, 1932.)

Values

The purposes guiding the operation of the House of the Native Student are thus framed: 1. Realization of one of the imperatives that has animated the Mexican Revolution—social justice. 2. Elevating the Indian by his own powers. 3. To initiate the mutual approach and spiritual fusion of the different aboriginal families that people the national domain. 4. To eliminate the distance that separates Indian graduates from each other by transforming their mentality, tendencies and customs. 5. To realize the idea of culture as a good which should be provided by service of others in connection with the interests of the whole group. 6. As a corollary of the preceding, to prepare social leaders in the best sense of the word, who will specialize as rural teachers after graduation. (Memoria 1:27, 1932.)

This fusion of moral and social matters has been effected in the Department of Primary and Normal Instruction: The school must "study customs, needs, inimical habits, and social ideals in order to correct them, to purify them, to ennoble them and direct them to higher levels."

The Kindergarten offers "improvement of the atmosphere, by means of counsels given to mothers, classes for mothers . . . cooking, washing, ironing; reading, writing, arithmetic and singing." (Memoria 1:261, 1932.)

In the primary schools annexed to the National Teachers' College, discussions are held in "respect to the child, children's lies; hygiene of the child of six years of age, thrift." Questions raised are such as these: "How shall we satisfy the curiosity of the child? How do you correct your children? How shall the children be occupied during the hours out of school?" (Memoria 1:267, 1932.)

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Campus Issues

Continued from page 10

Now the classroom lecture, the forum and the discussion are the commonly accepted techniques. Considering the values of meaningful participation and social change, they are given about in the order of merit. The most gifted lecturers only can use facts to fire the imagination and release moral energy. But the usual result of the lecture system is slavish note-taking and laborious reproduction.

The classroom situation is not an integral part of an issue being met. The class is neither a unit, nor a fellowship. It is without a common purpose. As a group, it stands for nothing. It may commonly be described as a number of bodies in physical juxtaposition. Let the suggestion be made that a class in anthropology or sociology begin at once to understand and resolve a race conflict right on the campus; it would crumble. A few members would respond, but the majority have had other motives for entering the course.

Some need it to complete a requirement, others take it because it fits into their schedule, others because it may help to get a position with some corporation operating in China, or to Christianizing the Africans—in Africa. This criticism does not imply that the lecture room should be ruled out; it merely seeks to show that the method is not functional in nature.

Forums

The open forum is rarely a part of the academic set-up. It disrupts the regular schedule too much. Christian Associations and Liberal Clubs sometimes succeed in rendering a splendid service by crowding them in on marginal time. But the difficulties are great. Many colleges, far removed from the larger centers, find it hard to secure leaders. A few local faculty members will make almost any sacrifice to speak and answer questions, but the majority are hard to reach. They plead heavy teaching schedules. They commute to quiet suburban towns where they can get away from the noise and clamour. They are pressed by the publishers to complete a book, or they must attend the sessions of a learned society, perhaps read a paper.

Often specialists show an inherent distaste for facing one another in the open. It endangers their prestige and authority. Besides, what committee would have the hardihood to pit a forum against a week-end migration, an athletic contest or an approaching final examination?

Given a forum with enlightening addresses on all sides of an issue and with clearly answered questions, the method still has its limitations. The members, except the speakers, are on the receiving end only, when participants in an educational situation should initiate as well as receive. There is little mutuality or interchange. Moreover, the process is in most instances not a part of a movement of a closely-knit group working in a given direction.

When students are now surveyed as to the method they prefer, large numbers will register in favor of discussions. When discussions are preceded by careful preparation, when stimulating papers furnish data, when the issue is clear, the leadership capable and the field open to all, then you really produce an experience of a high order. Considerable will to act arises.

It is a wise committee that has a few clear-cut proposals, when someone in the group asks, "Well, what are we going to do about it?" It is easy to get a second meeting. There is the possibility of finding a nucleus that will work and stand for something. Unfortunately, there is the constant temptation to depend on shallow impressions, old experience and a ready volubility. Many conferences, especially those that take the student away from the campus, never result in the application of the new light to a thorny local problem.

Group Discipline

In a sense the class, the forum and the discussion involve a group, but not one that leads to the integration of mind and purpose in the direction of a goal. The new leadership group has unique attributes. It includes both students and faculty members. It is interdepartmental in its composition, the representation depending largely upon the nature of the problem to be solved. Disciplines are related to one another and applied.

The economist does not ignore ethical implications. The psychologist, going beyond scientific description of the mental process, lends a hand in framing social and educational objectives. The religionist welcomes the rigid scrutiny of science. This group factors out the elements in the total situation, and orders them according to the ease with which they submit to analysis and treatment. Special committee responsibilities are assigned. Expert opinion is sought. Very specific goals appear. Candor takes the place of duplicity, courage the place of fear, mutuality the place of domination, disinterestedness the place of selfishness.

Uncovering the actual facts, developing new educational, social and economic creeds, making pronouncements and taking stands on issues call for group discipline and solidarity. Diligent but not censorious, the group becomes not another organization, but an organism in the community where it functions. Penalties for one means penalties for all. All the moral pressure that springs from scientific data, pitiless publicity and social action is brought to bear upon the situation. A spirit greater than the sum of the parts envelopes the whole.

If there were space, one might outline many current problems that would yield to such an approach. Suppose the issue were the rebuilding of the whole process of student government—attitudes and all. How much education, psychology, ethics, political science, etc., would it take to accomplish the task? Suppose it were any one of a number of possibilities—eliminating classroom dishonesty, reorganizing

the curriculum, setting up a five-year program for a social settlement, resolving a race conflict, exposing political corruption and electing the right alderman to the city council. What an unlimited opportunity to relate subjects in terms of goals and purposes, and to make the campus and the community a laboratory!

Contrast with this what happens in the typical college, church or community. The college is without clear-cut objectives. Faculties do not cooperate in the achievement of specific units of change.

The most lamentable frozen asset in the intellectual world is the record of credits in the secretary's office. Any clerk can inform a student whether or not he has completed his education. In the case of the church the members are often scattered over a wide area. Distance, individual interests and disruptive influences prevent them from becoming a dynamic force in meeting the problems indigenous to the community where the physical structure stands. Strangers, they drive by one another to their respective edifices to participate in worship.

Let the minister draw the line sharply on some issue and call for action, and he will learn whether he faces a crowd or a fellowship. Picture almost any municipal ward. How well do doctors, lawyers, ministers, educators, and those who work with their hands relate their training, energies and equipment in the interests of public health, housing, and civic righteousness. Their education did not give them the mental outlook or the techniques for cooperation.

Progress

There are evidences that group leadership works. I shall refer briefly to two instances.

A professor in the state college mentioned above reported the situation that led to an investigation of cribbing. "In 1929, on the way home from a conference, students in my car asked me if faculty men knew how much cribbing was done in quizzes and examinations. They stated that 95 per cent would crib under certain circumstances. I didn't believe it, but stated if it was as bad as that, we ought to do something. We agreed—so we tried."

As a result a Committee on Scholastic Ethics was organized, consisting of five students and five faculty members. Methods were worked out to observe the conduct of students. 3,552 were observed in 241 quiz and examination groups during two series of finals. During the first series 20.1 per cent gave evidence of cribbing, and an additional 10 per cent were suspected.

During the second series 24.1 gave definite evidence, and an additional 16 per cent were suspected. The figures were analyzed in terms of years in school and the various colleges in the institution—Liberal Arts, Agriculture, Education, Engineering, and the like. Students were carefully interviewed to find out the circumstances under which they would crib. These were mentioned in a previous section.

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Doing Things Together in a Democracy

M. A. WIGHT

Doing things together! Who is going to do them? I understand that the American Federation of Teachers is desirous of establishing an intimate contact with other workers of the community. If so, in what better way could this contact be made than through Workers' Education?

Obviously, the workers feel the need for some kind of education. They want something that will help them, but are not just sure what. They are handicapped by the lack of available teachers.

Education for Democracy

The American Federation of Teachers indicates an interest in "Education for Democracy." Where, other than to Workers' Education, then, could the teachers turn to find a more immediate outlet in achieving their objective? It seems to me that the trained teacher, in effective cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, can do things together in Workers' Education. I can visualize a council composed of both teachers and other workers as the guiding body in this venture.

The Other Half

Doing things together in a Democracy! What could one find better for a basic course in Workers' Education? Have we been more successful in the practice of rugged individualism, or in the doing of things together, in America? In our democracy, have we learned to do things together effectively? Can we make "Democracy in Education" work? Can we make it work in labor organizations? It is my belief that we need to rediscover and to apply the techniques for this job.

Concrete Suggestions

What matters would be considered in such a course? The following brief outline is suggested.

1. The *need* for learning better the doing of things together as exhibited by the attempts and many failures in current organizations.
2. The history of such attempts in the founding of our country and the early struggles of organized labor.
3. A technique for doing things together.
 - a. The setting up of such an organization that the *whole* group will *intelligently* decide what it wants.
 - b. The selection of a leader who will
Secure the cooperation of followers toward some goal which *they* come to find desirable.
Direct the efforts of the group effectively and efficiently in the execution of what is wanted.
4. The critical evaluation of this technique in group experience. What our fathers wanted as told in the Preamble to the Constitution. What labor organizations have wanted. How democratic were such groups? What kinds of leaders do we find? What makes a good leader? A good member of the group?

The Workers' Education class is a cooperative venture on the part of both teacher and pupils. The teacher must get to know class members; he must be *really* interested in them. In what other way can he actually help fellow workers in the satisfaction of needs. Failing in this, he can but present subject matter that is unrelated to the lives of students, subject matter that is lifeless and penetrates only skin deep.

Visual Material

By all means use some form of visual education. This will help you to be concrete. Use the printed word or picture to hold attention through the eye as well as the ear. Use it as a guide to discussion, a means to keeping discussion from wandering far afield. Use it to insure getting across something definite, to make class members feel that the class session was individually helpful and worthwhile.

Toward the Goal

The future of democracy depends upon how well the teachers and all other workers learn to do things together, learn what it is they really want, learn how best to go about getting it. If the American Federation of Teachers, in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, succeeded in working this out in a small way, a great step would have been taken toward achieving the above.

WHO'S WHO IN THIS ISSUE

WILLIAM GREEN—President of the American Federation of Labor.

F. M. GOODHUE—Member of staff of *Seacroft*.

E. B. PENDLETON—Former teacher in Ashtabula. Fired, went into brokerage business, elected to School Board by labor—takes office in January, 1936.

WILLARD E. UPHAUS—Executive Secretary, National Religion and Labor Foundation; member of New Haven A. F. of T. local. May be reached at 304 Crown Street, New Haven, Conn.

H. L. LATHAM—Director, Character Research Service, Chicago; author; critic.

M. J. ECK—President, Local 279, Cleveland.

ANONYMOUS—A Teacher who had a ringside seat at the "Big Show."

M. A. WIGHT—Co-director Workers' Ed. Council, Cleveland; Principal, Outhwaite (opportunity) School.

Fantasy Novemberesque

Anonymous

I have heard five Armistice Day speeches by radio today. They have varied from the resounding sophistries of professional statesmen, through the patter of the professional clerics, to the tail-twisting of Commander Ray Murphy of the Legionnaires.

I was under arms at the time of the first Armistice. I know the hysteria, the unbelievable and inexpressible relief of that day. It was unbelievable and it was inexpressible. All that anyone who carried a pack or shouldered a rifle could think was, "... it's over, and I am still here!" There just wasn't anything else to think. No single one of us but knew, down deep in what was left of his soul, that he would not let anyone *consider* war while he had a tongue in his head and a chance to vote. No one of us but knew then that there was no dishonor equal to the dishonor of filth and stink and fear through which we had gone.

I am not a speaker, but I should like to make an Armistice Day speech. Just one—but I should like every one to hear me, and most of all to see me.

For I am a teacher. And I teach in a school that has representatives of at least eleven of the great races and nationalities of the world. Living quietly and peacefully, and working perfectly safely and sanely together, they are a League of Nations. And I know enough of the world and have seen enough of its peoples to know that they are made up of just such boys and girls, multiplied the requisite number of times.

I would bring Bernard, from Bavaria; and Nelson, from Sweden; squat, dark Stanislaus, the Polish captain of our baseball team; Miale, the Greek; Tony, who is our crack soccer player; Sing, our Chinese boy; and George Washington Jones, our colored boy with the dancing feet and the broad grin—eleven of them I would take, one from each race; Pole, Lithuanian, German, Jew, English, Russian, Negro, a gawky Scotsman, and a red-headed Irishman, Chinese, and that disdainful mixture we call American—and spread them across the stage before you, for you to look your fill. And you would have to grin, in spite of the mist in your eyes, at their sheepish, embarrassed faces as they look a bit self-consciously at each other. But you would see no black looks, nor shifty scowls, for they are all safe with each other. They have played together and worked together—have allied themselves with and against each other in the ever-shifting alliances of boyhood's games. They are perfectly frank about each other's strengths and weaknesses, for they know each other—but they are not afraid, for there is nothing to fear. We of the schools do our best to see to it that there *is* no fear, if we can help it.

And if you have any imagination within you, you are thrilled with the power and the possibilities there on the stage in front of you. And if you have any sense, you, too, know that Germany is only so many million Bernards, and Poland so many million Stanleys, and Italy, for all her swaggering Mussolini, only a lot of grinning, quick-heeled Tonys. There they are; multiply them as many times as you like. I could multiply them from thirty to a hundred times in our own High School. There they are; look at them. You were like that once; so was

I—until "they said" too many things, and I believed "them" and so became grown up.

Now sit down back there, gang, while I talk to the rest. This is my day to talk.

And you out there—take one more good look at them as they are now, for I can turn them into Hell-hounds with a very few words. They don't even have to be put together very cleverly, those words, so long as I use three of them often enough. Talk about Open Sesame and Abacadabra! I can make more magic than that.

My first magic word is—"defend."

Defend from what? Unfortunately, I don't have even to mention what, so long as I make my reference big enough and vague enough. *Defend*—that's all! And if I can give each of them a stick, purely for defense, mind you!, or, even better, a gun or a knife—I have made a soldier; for a soldier is the result of, and the epitome of fear. He was born of fear; he serves for fear; he is disciplined by the so shaping of his fears that he dreads one fear more than any other—the fear of being thought afraid. I was a soldier, and I know. I have talked to soldiers—Fritz, Tommy, Pierre, Tony, Jock—all of us had one great fear, greater than the fear of stink and fear and mutilation—somehow on the field of battle you have lost the fear of the thing which started you out; the *enemy* from whom you were to defend yourself, you all too soon knew was nothing but a scared kid like yourself. You had substituted—no, even that isn't true!—you had *had* substituted in you the great Fear, in place of the now-unimportant original. But the magic word, *defend* had started it.

(Did you ever stop to wonder why it is that the militia or the police are the first to break in a strike? I doubt if the records can show where one unarmed striker ever started the bloodshed which has been such a blot upon our national banner. If you are honest, you will have to admit that it is the man *behind* the gun who has the fear. Talk to me of armaments for protection! The very size of the armament produces a perfect hysteria of fear.)

Defend. That's magic word number one. Incidentally, it is word number one with the steel interests and the war makers, and the wholesalers who sell the "rods" to gunmen, for that matter. Ask my boys up here—we've armed them now—if they are defending themselves from the ones next them—from Bernard? That's a laugh! Still, he has a gun, too—and maybe—

It's a good start.

My next magic word is *Honor*. Let me give some of my boys a rank, a favored place. I shall do it with my mouth, mind you. Call them presidents, ambassadors, captains—make up your own names, and be careful that it does not mean a thing; that it entails no privilege. Just give them a personal honor—which does not mean personal honesty, nor square dealing, nor any of the things which used to go with the good old word, *Honor*. With nations it means a chip on the shoulder which must be knocked off—or which must NOT be knocked off, as the case may be.

But we have given Tony a rank, and not Fritz; George Washington Jones has it, and he's black; while Stanley

hasn't, and he's, of all things!, white. Whoopee! My magic is working! And if I can get twelve Stanleys to knock my Jones in the eye, I have a Ku Klux Klan; and if I can get fifteen Joneses to get sore about that, I have a swell war started. Verily, I *am* a magician.

Now I'm going to add the most potent of all my magic words: *Property!* I'm going to give each something to own—bits of farmland down by the swamp, maybe. They are too lazy to work their own bits of land, or a game is much more important, or any of a dozen or more reasons they can find for not using their land—but just let me suggest to Matthew that Jake has a better piece of land than he has—or whisper to Jock that I saw Cyril digging on his (Jock's) land, and my battle is on. That's Jock's land, and, by Gosh! . . .

And if I can get the message across to several of the boys, get them stewing because something is to be found on another's property, I have started real trouble. Don't believe it? Ask any lawyer. And if I can keep the magic word *Honor* buzzing on their lips, and suggest they'd better take their guns down there to *defend* their own property—you pick up the pieces; I don't want to.

And they're all the same healthy, happy, clean, straight-forward kids they were—only somehow, fear and honor and property have changed their looks and their actions. They're tense now, on their toes, hands curving just a little, eyes glittering, and the happy grins have changed to straight slashes across their faces—white and tan and pink and brown skins have toned down to a gray—some of us will never forget that dirty gray! I've started something I can't finish.

And *they'll* take the punishment, when they are not the ones to be punished. I am the one; for they believe every one of the magic words as I said them. But I am old; I might sell guns and coffins; and I have to live, you

know. Besides, you expect it of me, for you still vote for big business and a return to old conditions, and against any approach toward a get-together of these millions of Nels' and Fritzes and Tonys where they can see that they have nothing to fear, each from the other. Nope!—you even call me on the carpet if, as a teacher, I venture to tell these kids that wars are always made by professional warmakers for a big profit. You know it is true; you read Congressional Investigations; you are not satisfied with what is, but you are afraid of a change. You do not believe in War—oh, No!—but you do not believe in Peace and in the inherent love for peace that is in the breast of every man, woman, and child until some megalomaniac in a uniform, or some hired liar puts the fear into them. And it is too true that he who does not believe in peace puts his belief in, and his weight behind, war.

I cannot even send each of these boys home, there to get the story of my tricks and my perfidy from his father and mother, for I would only send them home to *you!* You are of the old school, and you have been made to believe that some other nation is after your own. *You* believe that you have to defend yourself from the Jap or the Italian or the Negro or the Swede or the Englishman or whatever. You know that you believe a lie, but you are afraid. So you fan the flame and you keep the fires burning—and twenty years from now your boy will fan the flame for *his* son!

Armistice Day! We hear Taps. The notes, as they float through the air, sing the quietest, most thrilling serene aria music has to offer. But you and I, the grown-ups, the so-called adults, make of them a gruesome, blood-curdling call to arms because we refuse to believe. Weary God of Battles, strike us dumb! Take away our power, and let the kids take the reins!

Fraternal Greetings

México, D. F.,
November 17, 1935.

To the American Federation of
Teachers of the U. S.

Through our member, Professor Enrique Basulto Jaramillo, who is leaving for your great country on a pleasure trip, we send cordial and fraternal greetings to the members of the American Federation of Teachers, wishing that this be the first step in developing closer relations between our two organizations, whose members are entrusted with the responsibility of building the culture foundations of the future generations of the peoples of two sister nations.

We wish, at the same time, to convey to you our solidarity with your organization for working towards the fulfillment of the ideals and satisfactory solution of the problems of both organizations.

Please accept our sincere wishes for the prosperity of the American Federation of Teachers and for the unification of the teachers of the American Continent.

SALVADOR MONROY (Signed)
Secretary General,
Executive Committee of the National
Confederation of Teachers Associations.

December 10, 1935.

Salvador Monroy, Secretary General,
National Confederation of Teachers Associations,
San Ildefonso Num. 36,
Mexico, D.F.

Dear Sir:

Our organization is most grateful for the kind expressions conveyed in your November 17 communication.

We in return send our warmest greetings to the National Confederation of Teachers Associations and express our sincere desire for a closer relationship between the teachers of our two great countries.

As a second step in establishing a closer contact may we not suggest an exchange of fraternal delegates for our 1936 conventions?

No group could do more to promote a peaceful relationship and an understanding between our countries than the organized teachers. May we accept that task as a solemn obligation.

Fraternally,

George Davis (signed)
Sec.-Treas.,

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS.

So This Is America!

Bad Company

Damage suits have been filed by the Civil Liberties Union against Fred Cairns, the alleged leader of the vigilantes of Santa Rosa, Cal., for \$25,000 in behalf of Jack Green, and \$75,000 in behalf of Sol Nitzberg, the two labor organizers, who late in August were tarred and feathered by a mob of more than 300 men. Mr. Cairns, significantly, is secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Healdsburg, a town close to Santa Rosa.

This Will Learn 'Em

New York police moved with surprising severity against seventeen students arrested while picketing a theater showing "Red Salute." Those arrested were charged with unlawful assembly, carrying with it a sentence of from six months to a year. It is the first time that pickets have ever been accused of more than disorderly conduct.

One Way Out

Troy, N. Y., Nov. 14 (AP).—Miss Lillian Bruce, 35, of Lawrence, Mass., physical education instructor in the New Rochelle elementary schools, told Troy police today that fear of loss of her job caused her to attempt suicide. She jumped sixty feet from a bridge into the Hudson River last night.

Wealth in Education—Education for Wealth

Cleveland, Ohio.

To the Editor of The Press:

The Press of September 30 carried an item from Uhrichsville which ought to bring a blush of shame to the cheek of everybody in Ohio. I reproduce it:

"Twice rejecting a suspended sentence on condition he send his son to school, Clyde Dallas today was sent to Tuscarawas county jail for 30 days and fined \$20 and costs by Mayor J. W. Lytle. Dallas said he needed his 16-year-old son to help in the mines."

Here we have a boy past 16 years of age, helping his father to build up wealth; helping to build up wealth, not only for his own family in particular, but for the nation as a whole in general—the very thing that "education" is supposed to teach us to do.

And here we have a rapacious, highly-organized school crowd, assuring themselves of jobs by keeping the children under their thumbs for as many years as possible, preventing the boy from producing the wealth. And here we have a sensible, hard-working father, instinctively objecting to the wealth-prevention.

And here, finally, we have a good-sized town's mayor, probably anxious to please the school crowd, not only preventing the boy from producing the wealth, but now preventing the father from producing wealth as well.

I ask you, what earthly chance have we for prosperity under such conditions as that?

JOHN MCCARTHY,
2914 Bridge avenue.

Propounding a Poser

At the morning service Dr. Holcomb will discuss "If the Depression Is Disappearing, What Lessons Are We Learning?" Mrs. W. L. Walker will sing "Search Me, O God."—Memphis *Evening Appeal*.

A Good Idea

Breaking a precedent of twenty years, the so-called rank-and-file group of the New Jersey State Teachers' Association introduced an opposition slate of nominees at the evening session today of the eighty-first annual convention of the association.

Two Days Later

The election victory for administration forces of the New Jersey State Teachers' Association closed the four days' convention of that organization here yesterday, leaving no doubt by its decisiveness where control will reside for the next year.

Dr. Leon N. Neulen, superintendent of schools of Camden, won as presidential candidate of the regulars.

Down with N.R.A.

East Stroudsburg, Pa. (AFLNS).—Due to lack of organization in proper unions, a breakdown in wages paid in Monroe county silk mills approaching unbelievable slavery is being experienced.

Employees of the M. & G. Silk Mill of East Stroudsburg, a labor storm center for some time past, are reported to be paid in some instances wage rates of lower than 10 cents an hour. The L. A. W. Mill also recently asked workers to accept a 20 per cent wage reduction.

Swear, Swear!

Loyalty oath laws for teachers, despite opposition of teachers and liberals, were passed in seven states in this year's legislative sessions, says the Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The drive for the legislation was headed by the Daughters of the American Revolution, and supported by the American Legion, the Hearst newspapers, the Chambers of Commerce, the Elks, and all the allegedly patriotic societies, says the survey.

Introduced in sixteen states this year, bills were defeated in seven and vetoed by governors in two. An unsuccessful effort was made to pass in the House of Representatives at Washington a resolution calling on the states to enact loyalty oath laws. In all, twenty states now have laws requiring teachers to take oaths of loyalty, ten of them affecting teachers in private and parochial, as well as public schools, and four of them applying to aliens as well as to citizens.

"School Activities"

Extra-Curricular Magazine Says

The cancer in public schools—"Contestitis"—is steadily developing. Essay and similar competitions (usually promoted by commercial or "educational" interests that recognize that one of the best channels of propaganda is the school contest) and "instructional" contests in both curricular subjects and extra-curricular activities, have developed to a point where the "success" of many schools (and school officials and teachers) is measured by the number of ribbons, medals, cups, trips, championships, and other gee-gaws won.

They Say

Did you ever notice that the most violent critics of teachers for going into politics are politicians?

WILLIAM McANDREW.

"What one must demand from the school in the first place is something negative; it should not suppress in the young a feeling of independence, a joy of living, personal initiative, and the urge for knowledge. This most important demand the schools of the United States fulfill in a most satisfactory manner, in contrast to the schools of the greater part of Europe.

ALBERT EINSTEIN.

It was for a world of competitive gain that we organized our education. And we made out a good case for the system. It was truth because it worked; it had pragmatic sanction. Now we question the whole regime by which we have lived, or, to admit the very least, we agree that we pushed it too far. Competition drove us to combination and monopoly, then to speculation, over-development and unbalanced production, and finally to wide-spread disaster and unprecedented unemployment.

What wonder that we ask ourselves what to do about education in the future? Our youngsters face a world which seems to promise them very little. "Room at the top?", they re-echo; "why there's no room even at the very bottom of the heap. Give us bread and circuses." From the ranks of youth came the Fascist movements of the western world. They want something to tie to—somebody to believe in, to trust, and to follow.

C. A. DYKSTRA, City Manager, Cincinnati.

"Over a large part of Europe today it is, in effect, a crime to be a Jew, a Roman Catholic (or indeed a votary of any religion worthy of the name), a Freemason, a Socialist, or a Trade Unionist: a word, or even a glance, may earn a fate in comparison with which the life of the convicted malefactor in other climes is happy and rational.

"The Trade Union and Labor Movement throughout the world has a special and tragic interest in the fate of all those victims of our modern Neros. In the first place, it has for more than a century done a tremendous amount of work, through bad times and good, in maintaining the ideals of democracy and freedom. In the second place, it has seen its champions in Fascist states singled out for specially virulent forms of persecution. In Italy, in Germany, and in Austria, the robber bands of the Fascist dictators have directed the full force of their attack on the workers' organizations. Hundreds of Trade Union leaders have been murdered offhand. Thousands more, in prisons and concentration camps, have expiated, in their endurance of unmentionable tortures, the crime of having devoted their lives to the service of their fellow workers."

SIR WALTER CITRINE,
General Secretary of the British Trades
Union Congress.

Men in public office should never make predictions, but it seems desirable this evening to begin with two. The first one is this: Social change will continue in every field of human activity until the end of time. The second one is this: Our institutions—notably our economic and political institutions—will adapt themselves to social change or they will vanish.

HENRY A. WALLACE, Secretary of Agriculture.

"If the task of education is to build citizens who can finish and develop the greatest free government the world has ever seen, then I want to lay this down as a postulate, and I am going to try to put it in a very crisp sentence. . . . My belief is that there is no greater peril, no greater illusion than that merely teaching people to read educates them."

NEWTON D. BAKER.

"Who is wise enough to say, 'This is the truth and there can be no other?' The heresies of yesterday are the accepted commonplaces of today.

"Our forefathers recognized that you cannot have one rule of free speech for this man and another for that. That was why they wrote into the Constitution, as the supreme law of the land, an absolute guarantee of free speech for all, without discrimination and without favor.

"If we abandon that principle, there will be no stopping until we have destroyed altogether the greatest heritage of the English-speaking people."

LLOYD K. GARRISON,
Dean of Law School, U. of Wisconsin.

"Our population is becoming more and more adult, which means corresponding increase in competition for jobs. The young men and women must be kept in the educational fold for a longer period to ease the pressure of job competition among adults. The unsynchronized progress of science, government, politics, economic life and education presents our greatest problem. The process of speeding up politics, economics and sociology is developing, and education must be likewise changed."

F. L. HOVDE.

"As a matter of fact, our labor unions have a better understanding of what is good for business today than our Chambers of Commerce have. It is simply a fact that a man could not rise to leadership in organized labor without giving some attention to the common interest, whereas, until the passing of the age of scarcity, it was possible to rise to leadership in business and think solely in terms of special interest.

"The trouble is, that most business men developed theories of business during a time, now passed, when business could get more if the masses got less—when an employer could make more profits if his employees got less wages."

E. A. FILENE.

American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Democracy in Education Education for Democracy

Teachers and Taxes

Before the depression the study of tax problems and their consequent support of schools was rarely, if ever, made by teacher organizations.

Taxation was an academic study to be used only for classroom purposes—but the six long years of the depression have had their effect.

Teachers have been aroused as never before. They have seen tax duplicates shrink, tax rates cut, constitutional tax limitation laws passed, with the result that school services were drastically reduced, many teachers eliminated from service, numerous vital subjects taken from the curriculum, and last but not least, salaries, which even in the most prosperous times never were very high, have been reduced—in many cases to a mere pittance.

All of these events have had an effect which is becoming more obvious from day to day. Witness the many teachers who years ago rarely thought about taxation now panicky with fear of further pay cuts, requesting the legislatures of their respective states to save the tottering tax structures.

What is worse, teacher organizations, driven to desperation by the economic circumstances of their members, are now pushing certain emergency tax measures which are without question unsocial in their nature. In urging the adoption of these unsocial tax measures during this emergency, they do not realize that they are playing directly into the hands of powerful reactionary interests who, for years, have been working to pass the burden of taxation to those least able to stand it.

But notwithstanding these false moves to remedy a fundamental evil, it is hoped that the shock received by teachers during this depression will change their attitude from smug indifference to a militant desire to study and correct the evils and shortcomings of the present system of taxation for school support.

Teachers must capitalize their experience of past years and fight for the enactment of just and adequate tax laws.

But what has experience taught them?

Many have learned that some of the so-called friends of education are not greatly concerned with the social services rendered by the schools, but that they are vitally interested in the selfish returns which manifest themselves in dividend checks.

Many times during the depression have teachers listened to the demagogic and sentimental appeals of Chambers of Commerce, and Real Estate groups that the tax burden is crushing small property owners: "Reduce the duplicate! Cut down the tax rate! By constitutional action limit real estate to a lower millage!"

Any one familiar with the activities of Chambers of Commerce and Realty groups know they have special agents in nearly every community, whose duty it is to make a continuous survey of the activities and finances of every governmental unit.

They pursue the same activities along State and Federal lines. Their expert lobbyists watch all bills which in any way affect their rights; and in many instances these lobbyists propose certain bills that shift the tax burden from their employers to those least able to bear the burden.

If teacher organizations and other public employee groups expect to secure a semblance of justice in matters of taxation and adequate support for governmental agencies, they must use similar tactics.

Now is the time to begin a militant and aggressive campaign against the enemies of education.

Is your local doing anything to combat the tax chiselers in your community? If not, now is the time to get busy.

The following committees are suggested:

1. A Budget Committee. This committee should make a thorough analysis of sources of income of your school district. It should make a study for comparative purposes, of receipts and expenditures over a period of at least six years. New budgets should be carefully scrutinized to secure adequate provisions for salary restorations.

2. A Legislative Committee. This committee should make a thorough study of the principles of taxation. It must watch all pending legislation and recommend various measures needed for adequate school support. It is its duty to watch all legislation dealing with school finances and teacher problems.

3. Public Relations Committee. This committee should investigate all the groups both for and against education. It must secure the cooperation of interested groups in the carrying out of the local's program and must also win over the support of opposition groups wherever possible.

4. Publicity Committee. This committee is to publicize the program of the local throughout the community. As such it must work in close cooperation with the various committees to secure best results. It should also be the duty of this committee to sell to the public higher educational standards, and a greater respect for teachers and the teaching profession.

—M. J. ECK

A. F. of L. Education Committee Report

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 147, the committee reported as follows:

Public education, available to all the citizens and supported by all the citizens, is the foundation of our democratic way of life. This ideal American labor early recognized; this goal it has steadfastly championed.

Through the depression our public school system has been seriously handicapped due to a drastic retrenchment in public funds. In many sections of the country equality of educational opportunity has been denied to the children of many of our people. Such a situation is inconsistent with our fundamental principles; its continuance will have grave social consequences.

The economic crisis has wrought great havoc with our schools. The public schools have, in fact, been closed in many localities.

State Function

We recognize full well that education is essentially a State function. But, as has been stated by numerous conventions of the A. F. of L., if and when the state and local resources are so inadequate as to make impossible the maintenance of the public schools in any community, the Federal Government should during such an emergency render aid to the states, to assure to every child adequate schools and schooling.

During an emergency such as this, we must use extraordinary methods. The Federal Government must act in the school crises as it would in any other crisis; render adequate emergency aid.

Unless adequate emergency aid is rendered immediately, millions of children will be denied an opportunity to a free public school education; thousands of schools must be closed.

Action Needed

We can not stop at this time and debate whether a more equitable system of taxation will in the future sufficiently augment the resources of the states and their political subdivisions as to enable them to maintain a school system without federal aid. A study to determine our permanent policy on this question must be undertaken and this committee recommends that the permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. be asked to undertake this study at the earliest possible moment. We recognize that an attack on our schools is an attack on the most fundamental American institution; that those who would destroy or in any way hamper the usefulness of the schools would destroy American democracy itself.

We recognize that the depletion of State revenues makes it impossible for States to maintain their schools. Then, too, the high refinance rate on State and municipal commercial paper increases a State's difficulty. This cost of debt service in some States is so high as to use 44 per cent of the total funds appropriated for educational purposes. And the worst feature of this is that this cost is continually rising, for the interest accumulated one year demands more funds for interest the next.

To assure a rapid control of educational funds by the States which appropriated them, money must be made available to those States at a low interest rate.

Ways and Means

We have at previous conventions declared that this emergency aid should be given in any or all of the following forms:

1. Direct grants to the States of funds to enable them to keep open their schools; such funds to be administered by the States in accordance with State law provided that the fundamental principle of equitable opportunity for all persons be observed in the administration of these funds.

2. Loans to educational institutions at a low rate of interest to enable them to maintain themselves at a high degree of efficiency so as to render the best possible public service.

3. Refinancing State and municipal commercial paper at a low rate of interest so as to prevent further curtailment of educational work.

4. Continued appropriations from the Work Relief Funds for the emergency education program in Workers' Education Forums.

With the improvement in general economic conditions we insist that such inequalities be righted and that a tax base be found which will assure the continuity of our educational services against such inequalities in the future.

Public Forums

The necessity for such educational reorganization is the more necessary as the clear trend in America is toward a greater emphasis upon the public school system for the education of the democracy. The plan for a nation-wide system of public forums as outlined by Commissioner Studebaker before this Convention and as endorsed two years ago by this Federation, but waits on an up-turn in business and an informed public demand.

In his inspiring address to the convention, Commissioner Studebaker, speaking of the Forum as a medium of public education, said: "So I think the time has come when we must extend organized, systematic, competently managed education into adult life. . . . We must discuss our problems and share our experiences if we are to improve our democracy."

Your committee is in hearty accord with this idea presented by the Commissioner of Education and bespeaks for it your active support.

The schools of our nation must afford every child an opportunity for adequate schooling. Children must be kept in schools and out of the factories. We commend the plan of the National Youth Administration to devote itself solely to planning for the welfare of youth and its opposition to the exploitation of children.

Your committee would refer the Convention to the clear definition of educational problems and issue as set forth a year ago in the Executive Council's report; it remains as the considered goal of labor's educational effort.

To be continued

Effects of Technological Changes On Women Workers Studied By U. S. Women's Bureau

Technological changes in American industry during recent years have revolutionized the jobs of thousands of women wage earners at factory machine or work bench. Though these new methods have proved advantageous to manufacturers in the form of reduced labor costs and increased production, and have brought benefits to some women workers, in many instances women have been forced to bear the brunt of the changes, through their decreased earnings or loss of employment, according to a study made, at the direction of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, by the Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. The study was made by Mrs. Ethel L. Best of the Bureau staff.

To add to the scant information available on the effects of technological changes on women, the study covered factories of certain types of such changes where women were most involved. Data concerning 250 technological improvements that had taken place between 1921 and 1931, most of them in the more recent 5-year period, were secured from visits to 115 plants in 32 Eastern and Middle-western cities. Home visits were made to 1,035 women to secure additional information concerning the effects of the changes on individual workers.

Machines

An exceedingly serious problem has arisen from the rapidity of technological improvement in American manufacturing, resulting in an increased capacity to produce, especially during a depression period when the public is unable to buy enough goods to keep machines and workers steadily employed, the bulletin points out. As new and improved labor-saving machinery, better tools, and more efficient plant routing and use of man power are instituted by management, the amount one worker can produce is increased enormously. However, a large number of workers are displaced and their purchasing power is decreased during the period in which they are seeking reemployment in the same or other lines of work. As a superintendent in a knitting mill expressed it: "Before long we won't need workers, the machines are so perfect; but unfortunately machines don't wear stockings."

The object of every technological change studied by the Women's Bureau was more efficient and cheaper production of goods, either through reduction of cost per unit of output or through increased production per worker. Judged by the standard of lower labor costs, the different changes were successful in all but 10 of 187 cases reported. Success was also shown in the increase of production in the majority of cases. Seventy per cent of the cases reported showed production increases, ranging from less than 10 to over 1,000 per cent.

The steady trend toward the increased mechanization of the human factor in industry is shown by the predominating types of technological changes discussed in the report. Perhaps the most frequently found and widely distributed change was that of improved lay-out and better planning and routing of work. Conveyors or moving belts have been put into use in all industries wherever possible and often their introduction has caused considerable change in the work itself. The installation of new and improved machinery has been constantly carried on in all types of industry. The change might be from an old to a new machine, from a hand-feed machine to an automatic feed, from a single operating machine to a multiple.

Whatever the change there was frequently combined with it a change in personnel, the investigation reveals. Either the number employed was decreased, or women were substituted for men, or, more rarely, men for women. The replacement of men by women on specific operations at a lower wage was a common practice.

Unemployment

In consideration of our country's present serious unemployment situation the employment data included in the study are exceedingly significant. Before the technological changes described took place, 6,401 workers were employed on the processes involved; 6 months or more after the change went into effect only 3,604 persons were employed on the same processes, a decrease of 44 per cent. In every case this decrease was reported to be due to improved technology and not to lessened factory output. A comparison of the changes effected in employment and production shows that employment increases in less than one-tenth of the cases reported and decreased or remained stationary in the other nine-tenths, while production increased in seven-tenths and decreased or remained stationary in three-tenths.

The report on their earnings by the women affected by the various changes showed nearly one-half to be receiving less after the change than before, while about one-fifth experienced no change in earnings, and three-tenths earned more. Increases in average hourly earnings of as much as 30 per cent occurred chiefly in the lowest wage group (less than \$16) and corresponding decreases chiefly in the highest (\$20 and more), thus concentrating earnings much more closely around an average wage than was the case before the change.

The comments of the workers on the change were unfavorable in a majority of cases, due partly, without doubt, to a very general dislike of change. Among the reasons for the unfavorable opinion noted were an increase in difficulty of operation, a decrease in pay, the strain of "keeping up with the ma-

chine," the lack of rest periods, and the tedium of machine tending. On the other hand, many women found the new work lighter physically and enjoyed the variety when they alternated on different operations.

Examples

Many concrete illustrations in specific industries of the detailed effects of changes in the way of more efficient and cheaper production of goods, number of workers employed, their wages, and conditions of employment are presented in the bulletin.

For example, with the many goods now sold in package form, such as cereals, soap flakes, and so forth, the demand for cheap methods of filling and wrapping has increased. In one such plant reporting improved machinery the operator's work is reduced to merely feeding the flat unformed boxes to the machine, which without further assistance from human hands forms the box, fills it, inserts a slip, seals the box, and pushes it onto a moving belt that carries it to a packing room. Five new machines with 20 girls now do the work formerly done by 24 of the old type of machines operated by 48 girls.

In a candy factory the introduction of a moving belt and changed method of packing increased the daily output per girl from 100 to 190 boxes.

A change from hand to machine labeling and wrapping of bottles in another factory caused a reduction in the force to 6 girls to operate the machine which took the place of 15 girls on the hand method, while output was increased from 2,016 to 26,000 daily. Some of the displaced girls were transferred to other jobs, but all, whether transferred to the new machine or to other work, received a cut in pay, amounting in the majority of cases to 25 per cent. One woman when interviewed on the changed methods in her plant remarked, "They talk about lost hours, lost motion—all it is to me is lost money."

The report on a change in method of striping automobile bodies shows that formerly this decorative work was done free-hand by highly skilled men, whereas now it is done with a mechanical gun-like device, that with a little practice can be operated by anyone. With the hand method, the average time for striping a car was 1 hour and 12 minutes; now this has been cut down to 12 minutes. Where formerly the plant would employ 22 skilled men for striping, today with the gun the same work is done by 1 man and 4 girls. Where formerly, because the wages of skilled painters had been \$1.50 to \$1.75 an hour, the cost of striping 1 car was about \$1.77; now the cost has been decreased to 12 cents, with the earnings of a girl on steady work averaging 60 cents an hour. One woman who was placed on striping an automobile said it was the best job she had ever had and that the work was easy and clean.

WHO SAID IT?

A Hearst-baiting quotation presented to stimulate the mind and tickle the curiosity. If the passage sounds just too, too Red, you will find the author's name on page 23.

All this forwardness and self-reliance, cover self-government; proceed on the belief that as people have made a government they can make another; that their union and law are not in their memory, but in their blood and condition. If they unmake a law, they can easily make a new one. In Mr. Webster's imagination, the American Union was a huge Prince Rupert's drop, which will snap into atoms if so much as the smallest end be shattered off. Now the fact is quite different from this. The people are loyal, law-abiding. They prefer order, and have no taste for misrule and uproar. . . .

We began with freedom, and are defended from shocks now for a century by the facility with which, through popular assemblies, every necessary measure of reform can instantly be carried. A congress is a standing insurrection, and escapes the violence of accumulated grievance. . . . The men and women all over this land shrill their exclamations of impatience and indignation at what is short-coming or is unbe-

coming in the government—at the want of humanity, of morality—ever on the grounds of general justice.

We have much to learn, much to correct—a great deal of lying vanity. The spread eagle must fold his foolish wings and be less of a peacock; must keep his wings to carry the thunderbolt when he is commanded. Our national flag is not affecting as it should be, because it does not represent the population of the United States, but some Baltimore or Chicago or Cincinnati or Philadelphia caucus; not union or justice, but selfishness and cunning. . . .

In this country, with our practical understanding, there is, at present, a great sensualism, a headlong devotion to trade and to conquest of the continent—to each man as large a share of the same as he can carve for himself—an extravagant confidence in our talent and activity, which becomes, whilst successful, a scornful materialism—but with the fault, of course, that it has no depth, no reserved force whereon to fall back when a reverse comes.

Campus Issues

Continued from page 12

The preliminary investigation proved rather conclusively that the original estimate on the amount of cribbing had been too high, but the returns were so impressive that the president of the college and the Student Council authorized the Committee to continue its work. One of the practical consequences of the general campus awakening was that students and faculty, recognizing the class relation between cribbing and educational aims and methods, organized a dozen student-faculty committees in as many departments and schools to study the place of education in our present society, and the relation of the particular departments and schools to the entire system. With loyal administrative support and student cooperation we may expect many improvements in this institution.

The second example of student-faculty cooperation is found in a prominent eastern church college. Two years ago the president appointed a faculty committee to rethink the purpose of Christian higher education. This group reported progress to the entire faculty. The introduction of the statement finally adopted laid the foundation for educational reconstruction in the areas of intellect, culture, vocation, health, social behavior and character.

"..... College regards its educational task as a cooperative quest for complete Christian living.

To this end, the purpose of the College, with its resources of equipment, curriculum and personnel, is conceived to be the development of those ideas, ideals, attitudes, habits and skills in each student which will make for his creative and effective participation in the modern world."

Living up to the ideal of a "cooperative quest" the college augmented the faculty committee of four to a student-faculty committee of fifteen. On the student side both sexes and all four classes are represented; on the faculty side the Dean of Women, the Registrar and professors in religion, education, psychology, philosophy, political science, biology and mathematics are included.

The first step taken by the larger committee was a survey of student and faculty opinion to discover the unsolved problems standing in the way of achieving the new purpose. Four stood out quite clearly: an unsatisfactory chapel situation, dishonesty in the classroom and in the preparation of assignments, an improper balance in courses and a lack of a social program. The committee has agreed to begin with the fundamental problem of intellectual integrity, dealing not only with cheating but with all the systems that are an outgrowth.

I have been closely related to this committee for a number of weeks. Working with candor, earnestness, a sense of humor and a definiteness of

purpose, this group furnishes a bright spot on the educational scene. The committee knows it has the moral support of the administration and an increasing interest on the part of students. Such experiments do make one feel that the issues of personal and social living might be met if individuals could learn to surrender and relate their skills and energies in the achievement of definite goals.

Education in Mexico

Continued from page 11

Narciso Brissols, Secretary for Public Education, speaks plainly and emphatically, declaring that in the field of science and general educational culture Mexican educators have adopted an attitude of confidence and certainty and are capacitated to do the work well.

"But the same does not hold good when considering education in the strictly social field—the spiritual, artistic and moral aspects of life, because in dealing with them neither is there so much certainty as to the validity of the achievements of western civilization nor are we to overlook the fact that the native before the conquest had and preserved all of the characteristics of a true culture although they were undeveloped and dormant.

"An harmonious conception of life, a rich spiritual organization, and a strong system of moral doctrines were the definite elements of Indian culture." (Memoria 2:32, 1932.)

This competent critic continues by saying:

"Our effort is exerted more to obtain external forms of occidental civilization rather than its spiritual elements. We claim to gain from a utilitarian civilization like that of Europe the enormous power which for the sake of material progress offers to dominate and control the forces of nature, using them to improve the external conditions of life. But we struggle to preserve in the soul of the native all of the virtues in which without argument he surpasses all moral types of contemporaneous capitalism—discipline, co-operation, harmony and industriousness." (Memoria 2:33, 1932.)

Begins Early

Even for primary education a solid foundation is laid in the doctrine that no man can live to himself, because human life develops in communities or homogeneous social groups. The day for the dictator and the tyrant has passed; strength now belongs to those who give themselves in service to those with whom they live.

"The popular aphorism, 'The big fish eats the little ones,' has been rejected as a standard of relations for the cultured man and it is not allowable to leave the weak to perish. Our deepest desire is to live a rich, optimistic, generous life. We wish to realize the Christian precept which says, 'Let us love one another,' as a basis of mutual, effective and constructive co-operation; but it must not be depressing or negative." (Boletin 9:35, Sept.-Oct., 1930.)

Following out the broad social-ethical program thus outlined you discover that the teaching activities in behalf of morality are made up primarily of community and group projects.

Vocational

A report of the work done in the Industrial and Commercial School of Orizaba in the state of Vera Cruz affirms that the social activities of the school and of the economic system afford opportunity to the pupils for the development of initiative. There are numerous vital efforts at the cultivation of civic righteousness, fraternity and co-operation. Morality and economy are exhibited in constructive and patriotic action with consideration always for the social standards of the country, for its primary resources and for the specific social problems of Mexico. All classes of people are given consideration, especially the workingman and the lowly. Generous aid is rendered to fellow citizens and to sufferers in other parts of the world. (Boletin 8:226-7, Oct.-Nov.-Dec., 1929.)

According to Circular number 64 the Society for the Protection of Animals is given the privilege of access to the primary and kindergarten schools of the nation for the purpose of promoting its work among children. (Boletin 8:31, Oct.-Nov.-Dec., 1929.)

In 1929 2,000 packets representing the goodwill of American children were distributed in Mexico. In return the Mexican children sent a large contribution of "museum chests" to the children of the United States. (Boletin 8:29-30, Oct.-Nov.-Dec., 1929.)

The Family

Particular organizations are set up for the sake of cultivating family life. "For the purpose of watching over the health and well-being of children, assuring happiness in the family at a time suitable for preparing future generations to take the place of those now living by reason of the physical and moral virtues which the nation awaits for its positive improvement, let there be, on this date, established a society under the titles, The Caracuaro Committee in Behalf of Childhood." (Boletin 10:23, May, 1931.)

Peace

Education for peace is not neglected. In the Department of Primary and Normal Schools the plan of the Peace Committee which was used in Mexico City was announced through school inspectors so as to promote certain activities in behalf of world peace, not only for one week in July but throughout the year. Children's leagues were to be organized and correspondence with children in other nations arranged for. (Boletin 9:54, July, 1930.)

The celebration of the cessation of hostilities in the World War is held on November 11, with the suspension of school work followed by total silence for two minutes. All schools are to undertake specified activities in behalf of universal peace. (Memoria, p. 105, 1931.)

Temperance

A surprising amount of effort is spent on the fight against alcoholism. The complete program for the organization is to be found on pages 141-9, Boletin, volume 8, for September, 1929. This campaign is launched within the school system of the nation.

The message of the President of the Republic was distributed to the pupils of the nation during 1929, along with instructions for teachers on procedure for organizing the pupils for protection against alcohol.

In a report from one community the following passage occurs: "In order to relieve the people from the physical and moral misery and ruin which the enemy alcohol induces and to create on the other hand health habits, thrift and honor, thus contributing directly to the welfare of the race, there is hereby established in this town an association entitled, 'The Anti-alcoholic Committee of Caracuaro.'" (Boletin 10:26, May, 1931.)

The village of Langanilia sent in to headquarters an interesting message: "By the use of sports and program held in the open air theater the people of the village were so well entertained that not one was found drunk the whole day from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M." (Boletin 8:162, Sept., 1929.)

The children's alcoholic oath was set up in an intensive campaign in 1931; the day was November 20, the anniversary of the Revolution. A contest was held, in which all children present took part, for the purpose of determining the formula which would best serve for the Children's Oath. "It was deeply impressive and significant to hear the combined voices of thousands of children who took the pledge before the First Magistrate of the Nation to combat alcoholism for the good of the country. This contest provided other activities which the schools know how to direct so as to combat alcoholism." (Memoria, p. 104, 1931.)

A similar demonstration had been reviewed by the President in 1929.

Thrift

Thrift education is conducted through the National Pupil Treasury for Thrift and Loans. This organization was founded in 1925 and is conducted as a specific feature of the Department of Public Education. It receives deposits from pupils and teachers and makes loans to co-operative organizations in which they are members.

"Thrift tends to develop in the child his personality, assisting him to discern the value of thrift as a factor in progress and preparing him to become in the near future a useful member of society." (Memoria 2:119, 1932.)

Extra-curricular

Student activities in school organizations are emphatically required. "Every democracy should maintain liberty and responsibility, comprehension and fulfillment of duties; but in the school only do the pupils learn to carry out orders.

"Consequently there should be established in all educational institutions student government in which the pupils have the largest opportunity for participation, a government which responds really to the needs of the school, with actual duties to be performed and rights to be administered, so as to set up a situation in itself democratic, such that it may permit the pupils to develop initiative, the acquisition of ideals that control the life of the institution." (Boletin 9:38-9, Sept.-Oct., 1930.)

In a certain school the pupils are organized in 15 groups. In each group is established a society of pupils specially for the promotion of morality among its members; they share in the discharge of such duties as cleanliness and domestic care of the classroom and assembly. There is training also in the current social practices established among themselves and such as are in vogue in other groups. (Memoria 1:268, 1932.)

In instructional matters a few details may be noted. Among the ideals set up for the teaching of history is the following: "To secure satisfactory ideals of personal and social conduct." (Memoria 2:58, 1932.)

"7—Education for character—The history of Chemistry is filled with examples of great men who disinterestedly and with complete dedication and perseverance have devoted their lives to the work of investigation in the field of Chemistry. The teacher should cite the examples of the great chemists of all periods that have contributed to the development and progress of this branch of science." (Boletin 10:43, March, 1931.)

Among the requirements set up for texts in reading, the important item is: "From all of this incidentally and without insistence it should be possible to draw suggestions relative to hygiene, cleanliness, neatness, good manners, punctuality, affable manners, disinterestedness and courtesy toward all." (Boletin 9:11, July, 1930.)

Occasional specific references are made to the character of the teacher. The Director of Education in Tlaxcala commends the faculty members in the Cultural Mission as to the following points: immaculate morality, aggressive spirit, preparation for their specialty, tact in winning the esteem of student-teachers, recognition of the value of time. (Boletin 9:40, July, 1930.)

Moral Codes

The most prominent contribution to the instructional aspect of moral education is published in the Boletin for June, 1931—a code for school children. A translation of this code prepared by the present writer appeared in School and Society for January 7, 1933. This code follows very closely the outline of the prize-winning code prepared by Professor (now President) W. J. Hutchins for elementary school pupils. A few items have been added, but one could have wished that some writer had ventured to produce a code reflecting more exactly the peculiarities of Mexican culture.

In connection with this Mexican code there is no hint as to a method for its use. Very probably a well-rounded theory of ethical instruction for Mexican children has not been prepared. However, the program for moral education in Mexico already adopted has many features that many of us will consider superior to any use that can be made of a code.

On the whole it is evident that very much serious thinking on social and ethical problems is taking place in the sister republic. The primary burden for ethical progress in the nation undoubtedly rests on the schools of the Republic. Educational leadership has on the whole sensed the essential points of emphasis, stressing activities carried on under supervision far more than verbal instruction. Only one text on "Education Civica" has been discovered in lists of books appearing in these publications here reviewed.

Since so much confidence is placed by Mexican patriots in the aboriginal culture of the Mexican people we should welcome an extensive review of the social and ethical values of this culture in its relation to the present educational program of the Department of Public Education. No one need seek further than the educational leaders of Mexico for an exposition of the indigenous ethical culture of the Mexican Republic.

H. L. LATHAM.

California to Try Labor College

A resident Labor College in California, with an all-year program, has become a real probability with the organization last week of the Western Labor College Association, projecting the establishment of "a non-factional and non-sectarian school dedicated to the cause of Labor and the common people, and aiming to prepare its students for active participation and leadership in those various economic, political and cultural activities which may be inclusively described as the 'farmer-labor movement'."

The Executive Committee includes I. Feinberg, International Vice-President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; A. Alan Clark, Director of the Oakland Labor College (sponsored by the Central Labor Council and the Building Trades Council of Alameda County); Dr. John L. Kerchen of the Extension Division, University of California; Milen Dempster, Secretary of the Socialist Party of California; Stanley Most of Beverly Hills; and Samuel S. White, former manager of the San Francisco Joint Board of the ILGWU.

Who said It?—Ralph Waldo Emerson in Old South Church, March 30, 1878, in the course of an address entitled "The Fortune of the Republic."

A Detroit Suggestion

INITIAL TEST

Underline the correct answer.

- How much do you know about your local teachers' organization?
 - A little.
 - Nothing.
 - Too much.
- Why do you belong to it?
 - Because I almost have to.
 - Because it's the thing to do.
 - I don't know.
- How often do you attend meetings?
 - When I can't get out of it.
 - When my superiors request me to.
 - Whenever I have any idea of what is up.
- Why in your opinion do administrators usually handle its affairs?
 - It's one of those things.
 - It is proper that those in responsible positions see that things are run properly.
 - Because the teachers let them.
- How often do you participate in the discussion, if there is any?
 - Never.
 - I always try to assist the chairman in seeing that things run smoothly.
 - When things get too raw.
- How often do you, or would you, openly disagree with policies laid down by the organization?
 - Never! Do I look foolish?
 - I have never yet seen any occasion to do so.
 - More often than is good for me.
- Would you like to see your teachers' organization a live affair controlled by classroom teachers in the interests of education?
 - Of course, but I'm realistic.
 - No; such a change would be disastrous.
 - Would I!

Score your own papers.

If the majority of your answers are (a), you are an average teacher (God help you!). If at least four out of the seven answers are (b), you are in line for promotion. Those who score more than four correct (b) answers have a career ahead of them.

If most of your answers are (c) you deserve a better organization. Join the Detroit Federation of Teachers.

BOOKS

AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM. By *Elsie Gluck*; 35c; Affiliated Schools for Workers, Inc., 302 East 35th Street, New York, N. Y.

In a printed pamphlet of 100 pages Miss Gluck has given a survey of trade unionism in the United States. She begins with a bird's-eye view of the present situation, introduces some of the factors influencing the development of American trade unionism, and then discusses ways in which certain industries such as coal, clothing and textiles have attempted to meet their organization problems. The pamphlet ends with a discussion of some of the problems arising out of present-day developments. There are thought-provoking questions and references for further reading on subjects mentioned but not discussed in the pamphlet. Miss Gluck is the author of *John Mitchell, Miner*, has had intimate experience with trade unionism as an organizer and educator. She is at present Educational Director of the New York Women's Trade Union League.

CAN THE WORK-WEEK SHRINK AND WAGES GROW? By *Katherine Pollak*; 25c; Affiliated Schools for Workers, Inc., 302 East 35th Street, New York, N. Y.

An attempt to answer this important question is made in a thirty-six page printed pamphlet in which Miss Pollak has revised and brought up to date the material formerly presented in *Is There a Shrinking Week and a Growing Wage?* She presents in very simple language a picture of some phases of present-day economic and industrial life, together with some historical background. The pamphlet is recommended for workers who are just beginning the study of economic problems.

NEW FEDERAL ORGANIZATIONS. *Lawrence F. Schmeckebier*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1935, 199 pp., \$1.50.

The NRA is dead, but as a historical curiosity, which was designed to pin the hopes of the American worker to the messianic doings of a "good" capitalist President, and failed, will command the attention of workers and labor economists for generations to come. *New Federal Organizations* is a valuable contribution to the historic literature upon the NRA and a valuable manual of the NRA agencies while a working reality. Mr. Schmeckebier opens his book with a chronological list of the NRA agencies established between March 4, 1933, and July 1, 1934, and then proceeds to explain in simple language the legislative history, the scope, functions, objectives and the duties of the personnel of each. A comprehensive index adds greatly to the value of the book.

PUBLICATIONS

MASTERING THE TOOLS OF THE TRADE, by Jean Carter...25c

THIS AMERICA, by Jean Carter.....25c

EDUCATION AND THE WORKER-STUDENT
by Jean Carter and Hilda W. Smith.....25c

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Elsie Gluck.....35c

THE WORKER AND GOVERNMENT, by Lois MacDonald....35c

LABOR AND THE N.R.A., by Lois MacDonald,
Gladys L. Palmer and Theresa Wolfson.....25c

MONOGRAPH ON METHODS OF TEACHING ENGLISH TO
WORKERS' CLASSES, by Olga Law Plunder.....25c

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by Katherine H. Pollak.....25c

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AFFILIATED SCHOOL FOR WORKERS, INC.

302 East 35th Street

New York, N. Y.

SOCIAL STUDIES. *William McAndrew*, editor. Little, Brown and Company. \$1.60. 465 pages. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

Fifteen competent persons have contributed their best thought to a guide book for young people. This is not a series of homilies, nor a picture gallery of horrible examples. It is an exhibit of actions and policies that have been approved experimentally.

Thought attitudes, adjustments in school, use of time, choice of foods, management of clubs, home, loafing, citizenship and hundreds of matters that enter every student's life are judiciously treated. Of course these topics are well known in our tradition; it is the treatment that is distinctive. Illustrative material is abundant. Vivid appreciation of the student's thought world is a marked feature. Stimulus to reflection is never absent. Balanced decisions are made easy. Solutions for a vast number of life problems are proposed. The book fits. It should easily be the best seller in its field.

The book can be used in a wide variety of teaching plans. It will work into such courses as guidance, English composition, public speaking, citizenship or a Freshman orientation course. It will serve as a reference book and as a bibliography in many schools. Teachers might well absorb its spirit as a protection against awkward not to say exasperating techniques in trying to direct pupil conduct. Once you begin using the volume as a source of inspiring quotations it will not long remain out of reach.

CHILD PSYCHOLOGY. *George D. Stoddard and Beth L. Wellman*. The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y. 419 pp. \$2.50. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

The full title of this book might have been, *A Summary and Criticism of Recent Experimental Studies in Child Psychology*. The bibliography includes 493 titles and presumably every one of them has been treated in the body of the text. This feature alone is a valuable contribution to serious child study.

After commenting on the trends in child psychology and the methods of research the following topics are discussed at length: motor and mental development, social behavior, play, artistic ability, personality, character and adjustment.

This volume issues from the child welfare research station of the University of Iowa—another valuable contribution by leaders in child research. It is not only authentic, well-balanced and adequate but it is a book that has many obvious uses. For one thing it is a remarkable time saver; the author index is at hand for those who wish immediate information on the investigations of a given author. It should be at least a supplementary reading text for every elementary college course in child study. It should be mastered by anyone who contemplates engaging in child research projects. Writers in child problems would better know the latest findings here recorded. The general reader can inform

himself speedily respecting the present-day advance in well-grounded conclusions about child nature.

THURSTONE, L. L. *The Vectors of Mind*. Chicago, The University Press, 1935. 266 pp. \$4.00. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

This volume is the fruitage of long experience in the application of mathematics to psychological investigations. It is a volume of applied mathematics, devoted wholly to techniques for interpreting statistical data. The reader is supposed to have had training in calculus and analytical geometry.

The central problem is how to discover the traits or abilities displayed in certain recorded phenomena of human behavior and how to ascertain their interrelations in a discrete group of behavior factors.

The author has begun with the fundamentals of his subject and has built a structure showing gradation of data. The style is wholly adapted to his purpose. Investigators who need the tools here provided will greatly appreciate them, for the practical value of this pioneer extension of mathematics is sure to be demonstrated.

TRYON, ROLLA M. *The Social Sciences as School Subjects*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935. 541 pages. \$3.00. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

This is a guidebook for the administrator and teacher of social science subjects below the college level. The author summarizes the suggestions of several national organizations, and then treats the following topics: History, political science, economics, sociology and social science, as recognized school subjects. Lastly appears a discussion of methods, particularly the organization of these subjects for teaching purposes.

The treatment seems to have penetrated to the basic problems of the subject; it is provided with ample documentation. Many of the reports of studies in this field yield a vast amount of data pertinent to the problems considered.

Several methods of approach to these studies are listed: the chronological, psychological, the spiral, and the biographical methods. The following plans for organizing materials are described: in terms of significant topics, the type study, the problem, the project method, the unit of understanding and the contract plan.

The author's position is that of an impartial narrator of findings. His work consequently deserves the confidence and thanks of all his readers.

CURTI, MERLE. *The Social Ideas of American Educators*. Part X. Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, American Historical Association. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935. 613 pages. \$3.00. Reviewed by H. L. Latham.

This book furnishes good reasons for believing that the historian can interpret a man better than the auto-

biographer. A dozen or more of great American educators are presented in these pages. Their social philosophies are admirably pieced together and explained.

The story is told in two periods, with a dividing line falling at a point just previous to the Civil War, and reaches from the post-colonial period to the present time. The treatment is broad, ample, impartial and revealing.

Special chapters are set aside for comprehensive topics, including the education of women, education in the south, and post-war educational patterns. The list of conspicuous educators begins with Horace Mann and ends with John Dewey, but many significant educational leaders are given honorable mention.

Since great thinkers have great influence on men, we may comprehend our own educational history and forecast our future by scrutinizing the educational policies and social ideals of educators. This volume should be in the alcoves consulted by teachers, sociologists and interpreters of American civilization.

The sources of data are amply indicated in the footnotes, and the bibliographical notes at the end of the volume are invaluable for the research student.

RICH MAN, POOR MAN, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1935, 85 pp. \$1. By *Rylis Alexander Goslin and Omar Pancoast Goslin*. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.

Ex-President Hoover in his recent book, *The Challenge to Liberty*, speaks of the *American System* as the best system in the world, but he conveniently fails to inform his readers as to *who* controls this best social and economic system and in *whose* benefit it is being run. Well, *Rich Man, Poor Man*, inadvertently no doubt, serves as an appropriate and sensible answer to the arguments of Mr. Hoover and his kind. The charts, the illustrations, the figures, the mine of information assembled in this volume of 85 pages are veritable eye-openers and prove conclusively as to *what* is the *American System* and for *whom* it is the best. Here is a sample of what the authors say concerning the conditions in this country in the so-called years of prosperity:

"Nineteen million, four hundred thousand workers received less than a thousand dollars a year"—in 1929. And they continue: "Eighty-one out of every 100 got less than \$2,000. Only 15 received between \$2,000 and \$5,000. That leaves only 4 men out of the 100 to enjoy an income of more than \$5,000. If you were lucky enough to have an income of \$25,000 or more, you were one of 13 people out of 10,000, or 1 of the 1% of the people who received 20% of the national income."

And it was estimated that no worker could support his family comfortably, at 1929 prices, at less than \$35 a week, or \$1,820 a year.

Rich Man, Poor Man clearly, graphically unfolds the causes of our periodic crises, depressions, waves of unemployment, wars, and proves *why* the rich get richer and the poor poorer. The au-

thors offer a plan for the rational readjustment of our economy whereby the poor will be enabled to obtain an equitable share of our economic wealth and social benefits. Incidentally, *Rich Man, Poor Man* represents the programmatic platform of the newly-formed society, *The People's League for Economic Security*, with headquarters at 123 W. 85th St., New York. The membership fee is \$1 a year, which includes all the literature to be issued by the League throughout the year. Stuart Chase, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Harry A. Overstreet, and other notables are the sponsors of the League and its movement, and their names speak adequately for the high motives and objectives of their League.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, by *George Seldes*; The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis & New York; 1935; \$2.75; 380 pp. Reviewed by Michael B. Scheler.

Democracy is inconceivable without a free press—so we are told in thousands of textbooks, classrooms and sermons; and in thousands of editorials we are continually reassured that the American public is receiving its news free and uninfluenced by sinister forces. However, thousands upon thousands of progressives in our midst—or “reds” if you prefer to classify them as such—have for years questioned the veracity of these widely held notions and have pointed out the ever-increasing discrepancies in the reporting of the daily news and deviations from the genuine spirit of a free press on the part of the majority of our newspapers. First Upton Sinclair in his *Brass Check* and now George Seldes, newspaperman since 1909 and correspondent who traveled the world over to cover the major events of a good part of this century for American and some foreign newspapers, arrays a mass of documentary evidence in his *Freedom of the Press* which confirm the suspicions of our radicals that the American press is not as free as we are frequently told by our editors and that a good part of the American newspapers, both in their editorial and news policies, are influenced by political, financial and industrial groups who seek to advance their own selfish interest to the detriment of public welfare. . . .

On his first job as reporter for the *Pittsburgh Leader* in 1909, Mr. Seldes was already confronted with the bitter fact that even in the reporting of elementary daily events only news satisfactory to advertisers find their place in the news columns while unpleasant facts are unceremoniously discarded. In reporting an automobile accident in which a driver and a truck of an advertiser were involved, Mr. Seldes found to his amazement that the next day his mention of the advertiser's name was stricken out from his report. And as he proceeded with his work in the newspaper world, Mr. Seldes learned that the suppression of certain news was quite as important a part of the duties of our newspaper editors as the publication of other news. Mr. Seldes' book is literally packed with proof showing that the violation of the tenets and spirit of a free press is a widespread practice in American news-

paperdom. I will recite in my own way some of the major facts in Mr. Seldes' indictment against the American press.

Upton Sinclair's exposures of the scandalous conditions in the meat industry in his *Jungle* were suppressed by the American press, with but few notable exceptions. During the agitation for pure food laws and for the regulation of the patent medicine industry, which periodically agitate the American scene, the advocates of such legislation are generally held up for ridicule in the columns of the press, and the reason for this is obvious: forty-five per cent of the general advertising in the press comes from food and patent-drug manufacturers. The influence of the patent medicine conspiracy was keenly felt in the recent campaign for the Tugwell Bill, designed to regulate the advertising of foods, drugs and cosmetics, and its defeat was attributed to it.

During the intensive advertising drives of the manufacturers of the *Lucky Strike* and *Camel* cigarettes, when the public was “informed” that the smoking of a cigarette was preferable to the partaking of candy, Dr. Ben Jablons, who was authorized by the American Medical Association, made a statement in which he said that “excessive use of tobacco to kill the appetite is a double-edged sword, for nicotine poisoning and starvation both leave dire results in their ‘train’”; and his statement was suppressed by the press, with few exceptions.

Whenever the public is roused by the periodic agitation for public ownership of the public utilities industries or the regulation of the munitions industry, the interests concerned do not hesitate in pouring out millions of dollars in the form of full-page advertisements in the press with the chief design to “influence” the editorial and news tenor of the press and thus to counteract the effects of public ownership propaganda. What success the financial and industrial magnates attained by this indirect method of “subsidizing the press”—and in thousands of instances by direct methods of gaining possession of newspapers by purchase or by “buying off” the publishers and editors—will be seen from a perusal of the fifty-two volumes of evidence collected by the Federal Trade Commission in its investigation of public utilities in their relation to the American press, which were published in 1934. Here are some of the major revelations of this investigation concerning our “free” press. Out of 223 editors of Illinois newspapers, 191 declared themselves against public ownership of public utilities. In Boston nearly all newspapers were bought by the power trust. In New York City the owner of three big newspapers was listed as a mouthpiece of the utilities. The majority of the editors of North and South Dakota newspapers agreed to run propaganda of the utilities if “paid for.” In Ohio, 625 out of 700 newspapers were “reached” or corrupted by the utilities. And so on through the forty-eight states. How did the “control” of the newspapers “reached” express itself? In editorial attacks on and in special articles

against the policies of the Roosevelt administration, the Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam project; in continuous vituperation of senators, representatives and publicists favoring public ownership of public utilities; in attacks of state bills intended to regulate the power companies; and in the periodic whipping up of “red scares” and of “communist infiltration” in our free institutions. Most of the newspapers either entirely suppressed the findings of the Federal Trade Commission or buried sketchy items among the financial news, which the average reader never reads. The proceedings of the Nye Committee, investigating the extent of the profits of the munitions industry, received the same scant notice in the American press, with few exceptions. . . .

What is the attitude of the American press in the incessant struggles between capital and labor? Invariably the majority of the papers will be found on the side of capital and against labor. Rarely was a major strike supported by the press. The deliberate fabrication of lies and the whipping up of “public sentiment” against the strikers in the San Francisco general strike in 1934 on the part of the majority of the newspapers throughout the country, which resulted in its failure, proves conclusively what little sympathy organized labor may and should expect from the “free” press. Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the dozens of other martyrs in the cause of labor emancipation from wage slavery never received fair play in the capitalist newspapers, with but few notable exceptions. During the early years of the present crisis, few were the newspapers who did not hide the effects of unemployment, who did not distort the figures of the unemployed, and who did not deliberately instill in the public mind a false sense of security. As a result, when the banks failed in 1932 and 1933, it is the workers who lost most of their earnings and suffered more keenly.

While the columns of the American press are largely closed to the spokesmen of the labor and radical movement, they are liberally extended to the propagandists of American and European finance capital, imperialism and reaction. The New York Times served for several years as the mouthpiece of the Czarist White Guards until exposed by the New Republic. Two years after the Bolshevik Revolution, it reported no less than ninety-one times that the Soviets “were tottering to their fall.” Again an outspoken apologist of Mussolini and all his dastardly deeds, in the person of its correspondent, Arnaldo Cortesi, has had for a number of years free play in the columns of this great newspaper. William Randolph Hearst, too, through his ownership of a chain of newspapers going into millions of American homes in strategic parts of the United States, has, unfortunately, employed often in the past and is engaged in employing at the present time his entrenched powers in the journalistic world in behalf of imperialism, reaction and fascism. For years the mouthpiece of the worst brand of American imperialism—to which his

vicious diatribes against Spain, Mexico and Japan testify—Mr. Hearst has now deemed advisable, for reasons of his own, to lend his newspapers to the voicing of the anti-Soviet designs and hatreds of Hitler and his cohorts. Accordingly, Communism and Soviet Russia have become the new obsessions of Hearst and of his associates.

While the reading of *Freedom of the Press* leaves the mentally advanced reader in a depressed mood—cruelly exploding a notion many of us have cherished since childhood, namely, that in this land of the free the press is free—Mr. Seldes sees no ground for alarm. In the first place, the fact remains that dozens of great newspapers remain uncontaminated despite the powerful pressure of all forms of temptation. They thus continue to serve as the best exemplars of the spirit of a free press and will function as a beacon light for those who wish to follow in their path. In the second place, while we are still free from fascism, the workers have the opportunity to build up their own press, either as independent ventures or as organs of their trade unions, and thus develop a powerful antidote against the vicious influence of the kept press. In the third place, a new force has come into being which promises to revolutionize the character and policies of the American press, this is, *The American Newspaper Guild*, the trade union of American newspapermen and editorial writers. Its code of ethics calls for a genuine free press, its program calls for economic and social standards for the newspapermen and women commensurate with their calling and training, and for the sole control of the news and editorials by those who write them. *The American Newspaper Guild* has already enrolled thousands of members and has shown its mettle in dozens of scuffles with the publishers on the picket line. It is the hope of many of its leaders to have the *American Newspaper Guild* affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and as a recent vote on this proposition within the Guild indicated, the time is not far away when the *American Newspaper Guild* will become a fighting unit of the A. F. of L. All these factors and forces, therefore, make the case for a free press in the United States hopeful.

Freedom of the Press is an extremely valuable study, written in a gripping style, and should adorn the library of every friend of freedom in all domains of human life.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF POTENTIAL PRODUCT CAPACITY. Prepared under the sponsorship of the New York City Housing Authority and Works Division of the Emergency Relief Bureau, City of New York. Harold Loeb, director. 247 pp. Reviewed by Joel Seidman.

What volume of goods and services might be produced in the United States if physical factors and knowledge alone limited production? This is the fascinating question that Harold Loeb and his associates attempt to answer statistically.

To aid them in their study, a master chart or flow-sheet was designed, showing actual production, capacity production, and desirable production. The flow of goods from raw materials to finished products was shown on the chart, and each commodity considered in relation to the entire economy. Sources of raw material, adequacy of transportation facilities, capacity of manufacturing equipment, availability of power and labor supply—these and similar factors were studied in detail.

The authors found that we were able to produce many commodities in quantities greater than any possible demand. Transportation facilities were found to be far ahead of the need. In the case of housing, on the other hand, it was estimated that from five to ten years would be required to house adequately the section of the population whose present living conditions are deplorable. The capacity of the food-processing industries exceed both available supplies of raw materials and budget needs. The textile and clothing industry were equipped in 1929 to produce double the quantity actually turned out.

In 1929, the year of greatest national income, goods and services to the value of \$93,000,000,000 were produced. The authors estimate that \$135,000,000,000 could have been our national income that year, and that the loss to the consumer therefore totalled \$42,000,000,000. As our national income decreased during the depression, this estimated loss to the consumer reached a peak of \$70,000,000,000 in 1932. For the five years from 1929 to 1933, inclusive, the estimated loss reaches the staggering total of \$287,000,000,000. "It is obvious," the authors assert, "that this period represents an orgy of extravagance probably without precedent in the history of the world."

Nor would it require an onerous work schedule to produce these values. The rapid increase in productivity per worker, both in manufacturing and agriculture, suggests that working hours can be successively curtailed in the future without diminishing production. A more rational method of distribution could drastically reduce the army of workers now required for wholesale and retail trade. The authors estimate that, under 1929 conditions, we have in our customary working force almost a million more workers than are required to produce the goods and services which total \$135,000,000,000 in the budget. The potential working force exceeds by 13,000,000 the required number.

Production is kept far below the possible figure, the authors believe, because competition now forces enterprisers to reduce wage costs, thereby lowering purchasing power. Instead of production being governed by a grossly inadequate national income largely consisting of wages, they argue that wages should be based on the goods and services that can be provided. This can be done, quite obviously, only if our existing profit economy is replaced by a system of production for use. This means the replacement of capitalism by a cooperative commonwealth.

"The Western World," Harold Loeb concludes, "is stultified by a convention which has come down from the long ages of scarcity. It does not yet realize that modern technology has abolished the necessity of withholding from consumption most items of the human budget."

Help Wanted

Michael B. Scheler, 475 Wyona St., Brooklyn, N. Y., editor, author and student of the labor movement, is planning an American labor encyclopedia to include all available documents such as constitutions, programs and declarations of principles of labor and radical organizations as well as biographical data on leaders in this movement. He would be glad to hear from persons who can contribute relevant material (out-of-print books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc., concerning the labor movement; photographs and intimate sketches of pioneers of all social movements) as well as personal assistance in carrying forward this projected work. Full credit will be cheerfully given and contributed material, if desired, returned as soon as checked and copied.

ROAD TO WAR. By Walter Millis. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935. 460 pages. Reviewed by F. Melvyn Lawson.

It may be tragic to realize that it has taken eighteen years for American readers to be presented with a comprehensive background for our entrance into the greatest war of all time, but it is true, nevertheless. Walter Millis, whose *Martial Spirit* established him as one of this country's keenest students of the Spanish-American war period, now gives thoughtful Americans an even more penetrating analysis of the forces and events which sucked us into the European maelstrom during the second decade of the twentieth century. His latest work, well named, *Road to War*, is an intensive study of America during the historic months before our formal declaration of hostilities with Germany. Through this account he presents in detail a picture of the interaction of events between Europe and America from 1914-1917 as no former student of this period has done.

The book seeks neither to be a whitewash nor a denunciation. It merely attempts to hack through the underbrush of prejudice, propaganda, and misrepresentation which long has obscured the real road America was travelling during those hectic three years prior to the Spring of 1917, and to allow the facts to speak for themselves. How articulate those facts are cannot be described in a brief review. The reader must come to grips with them himself.

The whole account is so skillfully integrated that the story has no well defined hero in the romantic sense of the word. But it is interesting to find that one widely known American personality who was well nigh disfigured by the relentless barbs of persecution during the war era, is made whole again by the perspective which only the years can bring, and is revealed as seeing America's tragic path more clearly than many of his associates who were

thought to possess considerably more insight. The man was William Jennings Bryan, and his pronouncements from the State Department which were so bitterly condemned or contemptuously received when issued, now appear as gems of prophetic vision. The Bryan-scoffers who have contended that the "Commoner" was a pitiful choice for the first cabinet position may yet be forced to eat crow. In fact, had Mr. Wilson been half as fortunate in his choice of an ambassador to the Court of St. James as he was in his selection of a Secretary of State, perhaps both he and the American people would have less to regret.

In view of the present situation in Europe and its potential effects upon the daily lives of every person in the United States, the facts presented in *Road to War* should be the common property of every American citizen. Unless they become so, there is already considerable evidence to prove that this country may unwittingly walk the same highway toward the coming world war that it did in the last.

New Frontiers, Authentic Research Magazine, to Be Launched January 1

A new weapon in the armory of fighters for the cause of labor and the new social order is announced by the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, N. Y. C.

New Frontiers, announced as "periodical studies in economics and politics", will be edited by a distinguished board of experts in the field of research and the new social orientation. Early issues of the publication will be devoted to detailed studies of the white collar and professional workers under capitalism, industrial unionism, the Negro worker in America today, federal appropriations for recovery, social security legislation, credit as an instrument of social control, and other topics.

Ten monthly numbers will be issued during the year. In addition, subscribers will receive free a full-sized volume on economics or social politics written by a recognized expert. Subscription price is \$2.50 for publication and book, but paid up members of the League for Industrial Democracy will get both free.

On the editorial board are Frederick V. Field, Mary Dublin, Mary Fox, Abram Harris, Sidney Hook, Harry W. Laidler, Joseph P. Lash, Robert Morss Lovett, Alonzo Myers, Orlie Pell, Carl Raushenbush, Esther Raushenbush, Joel Seidman, Maxwell S. Stewart, Walter Wilson, Robert G. Woolbert, Theresa Wolfson.

Today new frontiers again lie ahead, and we must back our way through the present-day jungle of fear and suspicion and ignorance, poverty and anti-unionism and war and fascism. The implements to be used in making the road include knowledge, understanding, facts, RESEARCH. That's why the League for Industrial Democracy, a pioneer in education and struggle for labor's rights, has sponsored New Frontiers.

From THE NEW YORK TEACHER

72 Fifth Avenue., New York

THE PORTEOUS CASE: A Challenge to Teachers and the Community.

Published by The Teachers' Union. 10 cents.

The Teachers Union presents a new publication. In thirty-one tight pages are crowded the history of the now famous Porteous case, a critical examination of the evidence brought forth in the trial, a blasting exposé of the star-chamber methods of investigation followed by the Board of Superintendents, an analysis of the significance of the case for school-children, parents, teachers, and the community at large, and a description of the line of action that must now be taken in defense of a wronged teacher and a threatened system of education.

Any attempt to write a résumé of this little masterpiece of concentration would be futile. To omit any of the facts presented would be to throw the story off balance; to attempt to sharpen the fine edge of argument would be but to gather filings. No dust lies upon this brief. Its lines are clear, its story bald, its argument sharp, its appeal ringing. Rather the reviewer is likely to add, injecting words for exclamation marks, running comments of amazement, anger, bewilderment, and applause.

To the devotee of penny-dreadfuls, we recommend a wild tale of poison-letters, plots of baby stealing, threats thrown by an unknown voice across telephone wires in the dead of night, curses slung on desks by an unseen hand, skeletons found hanging on doors at the witching hour, sluggings administered by thugs on dark New York streets, and attacks (in self-defense) reminiscent of the fate of Abelard. To the addict of detective tales we recommend an exercise in discovering the villain and his motives. To the humorist we recommend a five word classic which pierces a darkly serious section to inject a laugh that shakes the reader out of the story into sanity. To the logician and the legalist we recommend, on the one hand, an examination of the absurdity and confusion which administrators still foist upon teachers and teaching in all the grandeur of authority, and on the other, the sure light directed by the writers through the thick fog cloak-ing malicious design.

We recommend this slight pamphlet, our little David, for its courageous stand—and its sure victory.

May we quote the challenge?

"The case of Mrs. Henrietta Porteous is a challenge to every teacher in New York City, to every parent, and to every individual concerned with the education of the children in our city. It is not only a case of a great injustice done to a capable teacher who has performed her work conscientiously and earnestly; it is a case that shows that all is not well in New York City's educational system, a system that affects the lives, progress, and future of 1,250,000 children as well as of 35,000 teachers. The assumption on the part of the teachers of the right to think for themselves, to express themselves, to act in defense of their interests, to exercise the ordinary rights of citizenship is a crime, in the eyes of the authorities, that has to be punished, no matter what methods have to be used.

"The educational authorities have had their say in the case of Mrs. Porteous and of certain other teachers in P. S. 174, Brooklyn; it is now the duty of parents, teachers, and all progressive-minded forces in the community to take up the challenge, to express an opinion, and to see to it that certain decisive changes are effected. Public education, as conducted by the Mandels, is on trial!"

M. L.

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GEORGE S. COUNTS, Editor

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