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The Teacher's Relation to Labor . . . John L. Lewis

AMERICAN TEACHER

March-April, 1937

A Symposium on Organization

Esther Peterson - Nancy Lea Smith - Harry Steinmetz -
Mercedes Nelson - Israel Wallach

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The Educational Equalization Act . . . Mary Foley Grossman
A Valiant Fight: Against the Loyalty Oath -- E. Allison Grant
Steel Labor Enters A New Epoch . . . Clinton S. Golden
Needed - An Educational "New Deal"
For the Negro . . . Charles H. Thompson
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The AMERICAN TEACHER

VOLUME XXI

MARCH-APRIL, 1937

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On Organizing Teachers The symposium on organization brings out very clearly that in the difficult task of establishing contacts in new regions, the trade unions and the Central Labor Unions are our greatest source of help. Equally clear is the need to come out of our isolation and present our program to the teachers within existing organizations. In the state of Washington, union teachers have begun to function politically through the Commonwealth Federation. They have elected one of their number, Stanley Atwood, as State Superintendent of Schools and he is pushing the union program. Several members of the legislature are willing to introduce union bills and to speak to groups of teachers on the importance of these measures. The greatest

help in organizing, however, is constant concern with the concrete, everyday needs of classroom teachers. . . . Establishing new locals and building existing locals in an educational system which is none too friendly to the idea of teachers unions controlled by classroom teachers requires constant effort and follow up work. Often the results are slow in coming. Yet trade unions are at the present time growing by leaps and bounds in all fields as a result of campaigns for better conditions and devoted and often dangerous work in organizing in company strongholds. With similar understanding of the needs of teachers, and similar devotion to day-to-day organizing work, the A.F.T. will grow with the rest of the labor movement.

A Challenge to Judicial Dictatorship

With understandable unanimity, labor organizations have taken their stand beside President Roosevelt in his fight to liberalize the Supreme Court. Most of the truly progressive legislators and political writers have expressed their support; and as we go to press, it appears that whatever opposition from other liberals still exists may be largely dissipated by the hint from Senator Robinson that the administration will later press for a clarifying amendment to the constitution, to attack the problem of judicial dictatorship nearer its roots. . . . The briefest of examinations into the identity of the belligerents, and the most casual of recollections of their former records, reveal the true nature of the battle now taking place. The tory stand on the issue taken by William Randolph Hearst was predictable and need occasion no surprise. That the Republican Party, repudiated at the polls but still speaking for the vested interests, would oppose court reform was likewise understandable; the party leaders have nevertheless been clever enough to stay somewhat in the background and allow the fight to be led by certain liberals who fail to understand that by holding out for an amendment at the present time they are helping the reactionaries. . . . Chief Justice Hughes admitted the existence of judicial dictatorship when he said "the Constitution is what the judges say it is." Abraham Lincoln fought the same judicial dictatorship. In one sense, as he himself stated, the Civil War was fought to overrule the Supreme Court's

shocking decision in the Dred Scott case. . . The C.I.O. is committed to judicial reform; so is Labor's Non-Partisan League. For the A.F.L., President Green has said that the infusion of new blood into the nation's highest court was necessary to obtain an enlightened judiciary. Labor realizes that much of its legislative program may be defeated in the future as it has been in the past, by the arbitrary action of a Supreme Court which has long since lost all real contact with the people of the nation, and which has arrogated to itself an unwarranted power to veto acts of Congress. Only by judicial reform can the way be opened to social and labor progress.

Mrs. Roosevelt Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was the guest of honor at a dinner given by the Yale New Haven local on February 23. Dr. Jerome Davis, in his introductory remarks addressed to Mrs. Roosevelt, said: "It has been a tradition for the wife of the President to be called the 'first lady of the land'. You, through your active concern for the good of the whole people, have won that title, not because you are the wife of the President, but in your own right."

Formerly a teacher and at present a member of the Newspaper Guild Mrs. Roosevelt expressed candidly her hopes for the labor movement, her recognition of the role that the labor movement will play in our country "in straightening out our problems". "I am particularly glad to attend this meeting of the American Federation of Teachers," Mrs. Roosevelt said, "because I feel that in the movement of organized labor, teachers and other groups of that kind have a particular responsibility. . . . You have the responsibility of being the intellectual leaders of the whole movement."

Speaking of teachers, Mrs. Roosevelt said: "It comes home to me that teachers have learned patience, tact, the power to be objective, to keep their prejudices out of their judgments, to think things over calmly, and any groups which have learned these things have a tremendous potential power in a democracy, particularly in a democracy which is groping its way through a period of growth." Mrs. Roosevelt reemphasized the responsibility of teachers to join with labor and expressed the hope that "in the labor movement in this country we will find the kind of leadership we need among the intellectuals." "We want a better civilization," Mrs. Roosevelt said, "a civilization in which more people are happy, are better off. . . . A group of people who are willing to meet other people and listen to their point of view has a great opportunity to lead and a great responsibility to keep the right kind of thinking and calm attitude which we must have in a democracy."

Mrs. Roosevelt's estimate of the intellectual qualities of teachers and her estimate of the role of leadership which it is our responsibility to play in the labor movement are

flattering and challenging. But it would be unhealthy and unrealistic for us to think of ourselves as the natural leaders of the labor movement. It is true that teachers are often more articulate than some other kinds of workers and possess certain skills and acquirements which can be of service to labor. Nor should we hesitate to feel that we shall furnish our share of personal leaders. Just as leadership springs from the ranks of the miners, the loom-fixers, the railroad workers, the sailors, all alike cozened and cheated by rapacious trusts and rapacious interests—so from the ranks of college professors persecuted for too undeviating a devotion to truth, from the ranks of public school teachers whose professional self-respect is outraged to see education defeated in the slick relationship between school board and board of trade—from our ranks, in short, leadership will develop. But it is hardly our part to as-

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sume in the labor movement anything more than a natural and honorable equality of give and take.

Teachers must root themselves in the common philosophy of the trade union movement, a philosophy which Mrs. Roosevelt herself expressed with such simple clarity at the meeting in New Haven: "You join together to protect a great group of people and you think not only of the advantages you are going to have from your organization, but you think of the advantage to great numbers of people who would have no strength without organization." Rooted in this philosophy we have the responsibility to build a strong, well managed, and effective union. In this way we protect ourselves and the children whom we teach and at the same time make the same contribution to the American labor movement that is made by any other strong, progressive union in an important industry or class of work. In this way the teaching profession as a whole can best fulfil its responsibility to American democracy and to the efforts of American democracy to build a "better civilization, a civilization in which more people are happy, are better off."

The Associations Take Action At conventions of two of the best known and most influential national teachers' organizations, the activity of progressive forces within the ranks of education has been demonstrated in a most convincing fashion. When the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association met in New Orleans at the end of February, the official yearbook issued for the convention, by insisting firmly upon a determined resistance to anti-democratic tendencies in the United States, called attention more clearly than ever before in the history of the Association to the dangers which threaten American education at the present time. In its analysis of contemporary problems of education, the yearbook pointed clearly to the friends and foes of education in this country. Among the former it mentioned "a strong and militant labor movement", "courageous religious realism" and "the organization of educators". As a menace to education was cited "the drive of Hearst, the D.A.R., the Elks and other groups against courageous educators and liberal thinkers". Quite significantly, the freedom to discuss social problems in the classroom is recognized by the yearbook as fundamental in the teachers struggle against the infringement of his democratic rights. . . . At St. Louis, the Progressive Education Association took a forceful position on immediate teacher problems by passing a resolution which termed the dismissal of Dr. Jerome Davis by Yale University a violation of academic freedom. The Association also rebuked the St. Louis Board of Education for its yellow-dog policy in the schools, which, in terms of the resolution, "is to the detriment of the best interests of American education." A sidelight on the two conventions is the action taken by the PEA in voting down a resolution for universal draft, as

presented by the American Legion Schoolmasters Club. This organization had better success with its resolution at New Orleans, for the NEA approved it with but five dissenting votes. Nevertheless, with this convention, the NEA has declared itself on the side of progress. The American Federation of Teachers welcomes the support and cooperation of both organizations on the common problems of the teacher which all progressive organized teachers must work together to solve.

Conflicting Stories From Spain During the past seven months it has been difficult to learn exactly what is happening in Spain. Conflicting stories appear simultaneously in our newspapers concerning atrocities, intervention, the composition of the opposing forces, and the general progress of the war. Six months ago, some newspapers declared with absolute certainty that the war in Spain would not last another month. Newspaper accounts of the World War and its purposes have taught millions of Americans to be skeptical of war stories, and many now look upon the Spanish situation as something they can know nothing about so long as Spain is in flames. However, many of us do not consider such resignation justifiable. Is it really impossible for the scores of experienced newspaper men who "cover" Spain to come to some agreement about what they see? If not, why do they submit conflicting reports so consistently? A very significant answer to this question comes from George Seldes, veteran war correspondent and author of several important books on foreign affairs, who writes from Spain: "The 1936 press campaign against Roosevelt in the United States . . . appears . . . honest compared to the present Fascist red-baiting campaign throughout Europe directed against the Spanish Republic. . . In Germany, Italy and Portugal, where the press is in Fascist Government hands, not a truthful word about Spain has ever appeared since the war began. But the fact that in Britain, France, and other democratic countries the campaign of misrepresentation, falsehood and plain lying in the so-called big press should become so general, has surprised even the journalists. . . The red-baiting campaign . . . is no mere whim of individual editors but a systematic business engineered by international Fascism, and, in the case of hundreds of notorious papers, actually paid for in Fascist cash." Concerning the usual falsehoods, Seldes states that the Spanish government is democratic, "that it has done nothing but preserve churches and churchmen", that "it has freed hostages, left the political prisoners untouched, spared soldiers and civilians . . . whereas the massacre of hostages, the execution of union labor leaders and the murder of the wounded have been committed by order of or with the approval of the rebel leaders." He also claims that the talk about street fighting in the big cities is nonsense.

Certain silent retractions are observable in reports now appearing in the newspapers favoring General Franco.

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They now at last call the rebel forces Fascists. Any other name is inadequate in the face of such news dispatches as: "A mighty foreign army of 120,000 trained Italian and German troops was sweeping down on this war torn city [Madrid] tonight." (United Press, March 12) These newspapers now seldom call the Loyalists "a handful of Reds". It is obvious that the Spanish government could not hold out against these well-equipped foreign armies unless it had the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of Spain. However, the fact that the present Loyalist government was democratically elected by the national plebiscite on February 16, 1936, these pro-fascist journals simply fail to mention. The Very Reverend Francis Underhill, Dean of Rochester, England, who has just returned from Spain, where he led a deputation of ministers to investigate the position of the Church, states: "It is of the uttermost importance that the government should win, for . . . they are the lawfully elected government; a democratic one which represents the will of the people. My own views are that if Fascism succeeds in Spain then it is simply a preface to a fascist uprising in France." Seldes is of the same opinion: "One thing is obvious from the moment you enter Spain to the day you may be plodding through the front line trenches at Madrid; that the people . . . are wholeheartedly, and with a spirit that welcomes death if an ideal is attained, fighting against international Fascism". In the face of scores of similar testimonies, it is not strange that United States Congressman John T. Bernard, Farmer Laborite of Minnesota, declared in Congress concerning United States "neutrality": "We broke a precedent of 150 years. For the first time in our history we placed an embargo against a friendly, democratically elected government."

A Challenge to 1938 As we go to press, Nebraska's "No" in the matter of ratifying the proposed child labor amendment has crushed the hope of its adoption in 1937. Eight more "Ayes" are needed, and only seven legislatures meeting during 1937 have not yet voted. . . . Opposition to the bill has come from two sources. The reactionary interests have of course been activated solely by industrial expediency, and have followed steadily the bright star of profits. The other source of opposition has been motivated by the fear that the amendment would bring about interference with parochial school education, or with relations between parents and children. A forthright statement on this last point was made by Governor Lehman, of New York, in his radio address of March 5. "If I thought that the amendment could possibly be construed as a grant of power over education, or would limit the freedom of secular or religious education, I would oppose it as strongly as any person in the state. I am certain that it does not do so." . . . Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward F. McGrady said at the hearing on ratification in Massachusetts: "The

amendment gives Congress power to 'limit, regulate and prohibit' the labor of children under eighteen. It has nothing to do with education. Let that be clear. If it was intended by this amendment that Congress could affect the education of children in any way it would have said so." . . . These ungrounded fears led to the pressure which caused the defeat of ratification in several states. . . . In New York, the *Herald-Tribune* reached a nadir of political acrobatics, when it suddenly urged a state child labor law, after having bitterly fought ratification in fair and unfair ways, including the trick of referring to the amendment as "Youth Control" in both editorial and news columns, a device well calculated to stir fear. . . . The extent to which legislatures taking unfavorable action represent the will of their constituents is not definitely known, but an indication may be derived from the situation in New York, where the legislature voted 102 to 42 to defeat ratification; yet a sampling of public opinion indicated that 83% of the people of the state favored ratification. . . . In Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Vermont and Rhode Island the issue will arise this year. In these states this year, and in all states that have not yet ratified next year, let us make unyielding opposition to child labor our cause, and remove forever at least one shadow cast by the zeal for profits.

Welcome to New Locals

- No. 479 Cincinnati Federation of Teachers
- No. 480 South Bend, Indiana WPA Teachers
- No. 481 Essex County, New Jersey Federation of Teachers
- No. 482 Paterson, New Jersey Teachers Union
- No. 483 Washington Educational Employees Union, Olympia, Washington
- No. 484 Springfield, Massachusetts Federation of Teachers
- No. 485 Pasadena, Texas Classroom Teachers Association
- No. 486 Cambria County, Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers
- No. 487 Schram City, Illinois
- No. 488 Adams Township, Pennsylvania Federation of Teachers
- No. 489 Inter-County Teachers Association, Pierce and King's Counties, Washington
- No. 490 Douglas County, Wisconsin Federation of Teachers

The Teacher's Relation To Labor

JOHN L. LEWIS

THE GREAT depression through which we have been passing has adversely affected the economic status of the vast majority of Americans. It has been like one of the great plagues of history and, as in the case of such catastrophes, it has fallen hardest upon the poor and the weak.

The evil done has been colossal, and much of it can never be undone. We can never hope to repair the broken lives and broken hopes of millions of our citizens. But at least we can try to profit from experience, however bitter such experience may be. To do this, we must re-examine not only our economic system, but also our very ways of thinking. This means among other things, that we must inquire into our whole system of education.

The American public school system is, in large part, an outgrowth of the American labor movement. In the early days of the Republic there was no great fervor for educating the masses on the part of the propertied and commercial sections of the population—the large landlords, the business men, the slave owners, the well-to-do generally—those who at that time, as now, tended to have a dominating influence in public affairs.

This group was seriously and intelligently concerned with the education of its own members, and this interest was manifested in the early establishment of many excellent institutions such as Harvard and William and Mary Colleges. Probably few of his colleagues agreed literally with Sir William Berkeley, Colonial Governor of Virginia, who thanked God that there were no printing presses and no free schools in Virginia, but most of them had little interest and certainly no enthusiasm for real educational opportunities for the working classes.

In other words, in spite of the Declaration of Independence, there was no true concept of political democracy, much less of industrial democracy. The existence of slavery, especially in the southern colonies where it was most profitable, was, of course, in part responsible for this. It is true that Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, afforded a striking exception to this general situation, by establishing the University of Virginia, a State institution, financed through taxation and opened to all citizens of the State. Jefferson, however, practically stood alone among the colonial public men in his realization that the success of democracy practically depended upon universal education.

The free workers in post-Revolution days were very conscious of the fact that the education of wage earners was not in favor among the financially privileged. So far as they were articulate, they kept demanding a real public school system. But the demands of the free workers which gradually became more insistent did not meet with serious recognition until the decades immediately preceding the Civil War. Efforts toward labor organization were constantly and bitterly opposed, and it was only very slowly that labor won the right of assembly, especially on a more than strictly local and craft basis. But, in so far as labor organizations and assemblies could and did function, the matter of free education was constantly under discussion and pushed zealously as a principal plank in labor's platform. To these efforts on the part of labor is to be attributed probably more than to any other influence the early spread of our public school system.

During the years that have intervened, the trade unionist has continued his intense interest in the public schools. His concern has been a very personal one. It was his children and the children of his fellow workers who filled the schools, and in the education offered by the schools he had the hope that his children might get a little more out of life than had been available to him. Therefore, he has always been in the forefront of those appearing before public bodies to urge more liberal school appropriations—better buildings, better equipment and, not the least, more and better teachers. For this reason, the labor movement may be regarded as possibly the earliest and most constant friend of the teacher.

I am not quite sure that this friendship was always reciprocated in days gone by. Teaching was what is now called a "white-collar job", and like the holders of other "white-collar jobs", there was a tendency perhaps among its members rather to look down upon the labor trade union, composed as it was almost entirely of manual workers.

But this attitude, if it ever existed in the crude way I have described it, has passed, and the present depression has given it its death blow. The depression has brought out more vividly than ever before the fact that all employed workers, whether paid a wage or a salary, or whether working with hand or with brain, are, economically speaking, in the same boat, and must sink or float together.

When, in 1930, employment began its catastrophic decline, the salaried worker suffered just about as much as

the wage earner. Furthermore, when payrolls tumbled, the two groups suffered about equally. Likewise, when the relief rolls began to expand so rapidly, the names of salaried workers were just about as frequent as the names of wage earners.

To the white collar workers generally there came the bitter realization that theirs was no preferred status, and also the hopeful realization that organization was as beneficial in their own case as in that of manual workers. For it is one of the lessons which the depression offers to the workers, that, by and large, organized labor suffered less than the unorganized. Organization, it is true, was unable to stop the downward curve of employment for the reason that employment is a matter over which, in our present economic set-up, labor as such is permitted no control.

Under the circumstances, however, organized labor was extraordinarily successful in holding its wage levels and in protecting working standards. In the organized trades as a whole there was no such decline in wage rates as occurred among the unorganized. Also, by virtue of organization, such groups were in a far better position to aid unemployed members, and to oppose successfully some of the most vicious forms of exploitation. In addition, organized labor by virtue of organization was in a position to play an important part in the framing and administration of remedial legislation. In other words, trade unionism, faced with the most serious difficulties which had ever confronted it, carried on with astonishing success. It demonstrated not only the value of organization to the worker, but also that the ideals of organized labor were socially beneficial.

In this connection, from the experience of the United Mine Workers, I might cite the case of bituminous coal mining. In this industry, organized labor had formulated a very definite, constructive plan. It fought for it and would have been completely successful, had it not been for an adverse decision by the Supreme Court. And this plan, I wish to emphasize, not only had in view good wages and working conditions for the mine workers, but also envisaged raising the industry itself from a condition of profitless chaos to a condition in which the operators could make reasonable profits.

With these experiences as evidence, the principles of organization received a new impetus. Its value came home not only to the salaried workers, but even to those engaged in many lines of professional work. During the past very few years unionism has spread with astonishing rapidity among those groups, who more and more are coming to an understanding that the concept of trade unionism is one that embraces all employed workers, whether manual or mental, and that the full measure of success for any group can be obtained only through the united action and support of all groups.

This is as true of the teaching profession as of any other

group of workers. The teachers need organization among themselves and have already recognized this need. But they also need the support of a broader, more embracing labor movement. The labor movement offers them support not only on the economic front, but on the legislative front, which in the case of public servants is peculiarly important.

On the other hand, it should be also emphasized that the labor movement needs the help of the teachers. Because of their professional background they have something to contribute to the labor movement which the movement has often lacked—namely, scholarly attainments, a training in clear thinking and an appreciation of the cultural values of life. Their qualities will be more and more demanded in the labor movement of the future. That movement is still in its youth. As it matures, it must not only grow in size, but it must also broaden in its vision. It must develop a more definite and better-rounded social philosophy.

I sincerely believe, and I say this with all humility, that the future of our country lies in labor's keeping. If we are really to have a better world; if we are to realize a commonwealth built on social justice; if, as the President has so well expressed it, we are to maintain our democratic institutions and also obtain a measure of economic security for our people, then I believe it can only come through a strong, effective, and intelligent labor movement.

In this movement the teaching profession must and will play a part of very great importance. Also it must shoulder a great responsibility, for the reason that in very large degree the teachers have in their care the mind of the coming generation. How this responsibility shall be assumed, and how the teacher shall attempt to shape the child's knowledge and way of thinking is of course a very difficult question to answer. It cannot be answered by a simple Yes or No. No one would oppose more strongly than I any effort on the part of a school to warp the mind of a child in any one direction. The preaching of "isms" of any kind has no place in our school system.

On the other hand, I think it desirable and essential that in the teaching of children, as in the teaching of adults, more and more emphasis should be placed on the social aspects of our life. Our cosmos is changing so rapidly as to make even the bravest tremble. In such circumstances, it is no less than folly to leave upon the child's mind the idea that when he goes forth from the school he is entering a well-ordered world. It is well for him to know the truth before he leaves the protection of his school. It is still better if he can be taught that if there is ever to be a well-ordered world, it will come only as the result of clear thinking, broad social sympathy, and possibly much time, on the part of himself and his fellows, devoted to organized activity for the public good.

President's Page

MRS. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, on the occasion of her delightful address to the teachers of New Haven, declared that such an organization as the American Federation of Teachers was indispensable if education were to fulfil its necessary place in American life. If American teachers faced facts realistically there would be no one to question this profound judgment. Unfortunately we often become followers of myths, of fables, instead of facts. The consequence is that we are the victims of our habit patterns rather than of our creative intelligence. I want to list a few of the many myths to which we often fall victim. Here are a few to think over or explode:

1. The myth that children have equality of educational opportunity now.

The average Negro school in the South has anywhere from fifty to seventy pupils of mixed ages and grades, all taught in some fashion by a single teacher. Instead of an eight months' term, this school usually runs for four months and during the depression was often shut down entirely. About one out of thirteen Negro teachers received in 1933 in salary for the entire school year only \$150 or less.

2. The myth that the teacher must not affiliate with labor because it would make him biased.

For a teachers' organization to affiliate with a labor organization does not necessarily bias a teacher; it may help him to see another aspect of truth which will correct his constant affiliation with the middle and upper classes.

3. The myth of the lofty professional status of the teacher.

The fact is that the teacher has spent time preparing for a career but owns neither the tools of his trade nor his equipment. For these and other reasons, he is essentially one with the skilled worker.

4. The myth that the teacher must be isolated in a narrow scholastic world.

The fact is that the teacher must be in contact at many points with the real forces of the social world of which he is a part. Otherwise the attitudes and the ideas he shares with his students are likely to be unrealistic.

5. The myth that education in its essentials remains an unchanging process over the centuries.

We cherish the treasures of the past, they are our heritage. At the same time, education must be related to the dynamic changing life stream of the contemporary scene and in some degree must change as that changes.

6. The myth that the teacher should train the student for "suspended judgment."

Pupils should be trained to live in a real world where action is as necessary as thought.

7. The myth that the teacher should always be impartial.

The fact is that the intellectual dogma of the divine duty of impartiality is invalid. The teacher should be free to become an advocate of truth and justice. Loyalty oaths, red riders, investigations, the type of text book used, as well as the general practice in the classroom, indicate that teachers are expected to be partial—to the status quo.

8. The myth that the teacher should always be primarily factual.

The fact is that the teacher needs to be idealistic as well as factual. Crusaders for the right need understanding and help from the teacher.

9. The myth that the teacher is really free now.

Freedom the country over is real only to the extent that teachers are organized into a powerful association, safeguarding the most professional standards and security. Struggle and organization in an ever continuing process are always the price of liberty.

American teachers can be said to have come of age only when they have adequate salaries, genuine tenure, just retirement allowances, and complete academic freedom. Yet today twenty-seven states have only annual contracts or no contracts at all. Tenure laws in the states where tenure does exist are often woefully inadequate. California, for instance, has a law, but one which does not affect teachers in schools with a daily attendance of less than 850. If teachers were strongly organized, the possibilities of tenure would follow immediately on a short probationary period, with no teacher eligible for dismissal except for certain clearly defined reasons stated in the law and with an opportunity for hearing and appeal. What are we doing to displace the myths of our time?

JEROME DAVIS.

A Symposium On

What is the best way to establish new locals? How can one maintain and build locals already established? These are questions with which a number of locals have asked us to deal. We have therefore obtained statements from those who are actively engaged in organizational work in various parts of the country.

We are printing in this issue the first instalment of these statements. Others will appear in subsequent issues.

Breaking Ground

Esther Peterson

Organizer for New England

IN NEW ENGLAND I have found myself beginning almost below bottom in trying to bring teachers to see even the elementary relationships between their problems and those of the labor movement.

In starting in a new community, I found it very essential to have "leads"—as many as I could possibly collect. I have secured the best of these from members of existing locals in nearby towns. I found it helpful to interview them and act according to their advice, coupled with the advice of the labor people. It is interesting to note that in every town I have found the labor people at least as aware of the local educational problems as the teachers themselves.

I think it is wise to establish contact with the heads of the teachers' associations rather early. The "undercover" type of securing recruits is so sure of leaking out that it is much easier to meet them in the open, immediately, rather than after rumors and whisperings have gone around. This naturally may not be wise in many situations, but I find it much easier to work in a rather open atmosphere than one that appears quiet and is seemingly on the defensive. This can be done if labor has been contacted and will give support, and if labor is strong enough to mean something in the community. In the towns where I have used this method, labor has promised to sponsor the meeting in the event that the association refused. In one case the association accepted the invitation to have our case presented before the teachers. In another, it promised to help with the meeting without standing sponsor for it.

I cannot over-emphasize the importance of obtaining

labor's cooperation. It has been helpful to me to have introductions from other labor people to labor people in the community in which I am going to work. In two towns such contacts have been helpful, not only in speaking at meetings, but also in visiting teachers.

Through labor contacts one can usually make both school and press connections. The latter especially is important, for unwise and premature publicity is very dangerous. The Newspaper Guild has been very helpful in one place.

Small group meetings in respectable places; teas;—then larger and more public meetings were effective in one town. In another the order was reversed, a large meeting, then meetings with small and interested groups. Along with all the meetings, the personal interviews are most important of all. Phone calls were not nearly so effective as visits. I found that by visiting teachers briefly before school in their classrooms, I could get appointments for longer interviews later in the day. Teachers aren't nearly so weary in the morning, and they are honest and keep appointments, even though the appointments are rashly made. I have had to use extreme care in using the school buildings themselves for the visits. Whenever I learned that I was being discovered, I went immediately to the principal and told him what I was doing. I have found them all the way from cold and indifferent to willing to cooperate. School directories are very essential, though often difficult to obtain. People know others interested if you have all the names handy, so that they can check them. Before meetings, visits and calls are essential. I made a big mistake with one meeting by not going into the town a few days in advance to remind people personally of the time and place and get their promises to be present.

Some community support is essential if the organization is allowed to grow. I found that by contacting influential liberals and getting assurance of their support, the teachers overcame part of their timidity. They would listen to my arguments, if I could attach them to an important name. I realize that it is necessary to take them far beyond this stage, but at least it is a step in that direction.

The literature is not too helpful. It is the personal contacts that really count. I have used the literature after contacts have already been made, but I have had to select it very carefully. The magazine is good or bad,

n Organization

depending on the community. I feel that good reprints labeled as from the *AMERICAN TEACHER* would be more effective. The literature needs re-doing both in appearance and content.

In some places we are failing to get membership because of our concern with problems too remote from those of the average teacher. Not really too remote, but too remote to begin with. In five places, this has been a major problem, the Central Labor Unions having been used, not for teacher problems, but for all sorts of worthy causes. We have become identified with causes rather than with teacher issues—and, oh! how many worthy teacher causes we could sponsor! Before we can do effective organizing we must get a knowledge of the local school problems. In New England we are grossly ignorant of the situations within the school systems.

There are so many things we need. Existing locals should keep constant watch for situations in nearby towns. News files and note files would be so helpful to an organizer. Existing locals must assume a good part of this work. We must also try to work through regular teacher organizations. At present, we are almost completely on the *outside*. A constant educational drive both within and without our locals must be made. A.F.T. membership has moved up and down with the general progress or retarding of the labor movement. Now, with the tremendous push forward, we must move fast, but soundly, so that permanence can be built.

Delivering the Goods

Nancy Lea Smith

Vice-President for Tennessee

WE FEEL that the following methods were effective in organizing several locals in Tennessee.

1. Achievements for teacher welfare by local unions attracted state-wide attention. Local 246's successful drive for a salary schedule and a tenure law for our county resulted in many requests for information. The Marion County Local recently secured a county tenure law and they have received requests about "how to do it".

2. We have set up a booth in the exhibit hall at each of the State and East Tennessee teachers' meetings. We distributed literature from these booths and talked to teachers who seemed to be interested.

3. Our locals have taken an active part within the State Association (NEA) which has been trying to put over a state program for education. The delegations controlled by A.F.T. locals have consistently fought for the adoption of a more adequate program and we have received support from many non-union teachers. What is more important, we have stirred up interest in the A.F.T.

In closing I would emphasize that the most effective method down here seems to be proof that teachers unions can deliver the goods. Every time a local makes a noteworthy gain for the welfare of teachers, neighboring teachers prick up their ears and become less afraid of "labor affiliation".

Some Fundamental Principles

Harry Steinmetz

Vice-President Southern Pacific Coast Area

THE GROUP starting a cooperative venture such as a labor union should be bound together in three ways; by a social goal, by immediate objectives, and by a principle of order.

1. The social goal is an ultimate objective, ideal, purpose. If it is too remote and intangible, however, it can become an excuse for function, an ivory tower retreat such as "development of personality". Possibly, the A.F.T. goal is such to some unreflective folk, but to most of us "Education for Democracy and Democracy in Education" suggests very tangible improvements in the educational systems of the world. This goal or slogan meant so much to the people of Washington during the last election that on the strength of it they elected a good unionist, Stanley Atwood (Local 400), state superintendent of schools.

2. Immediate objectives must be of sufficient attraction to make effort worthwhile even though the final goal prove elusive. The securing of federal aid in such a manner as to equalize educational opportunity, the application of rating scales in both directions, securing of civil service tenure, equal pay for equally difficult and skilled work, freedom to teach the facts according to convincing evidence without propaganda or coercion or intimidation, hours and load of work proportional to efficiency and right to a personal life—these are a few of the objectives of union teachers that bind them together.

3. The only principle of order operative in a coopera-

tive venture is, of course, democratic procedure. Curiously, teachers' unions are obviously less skilled as yet in the application of rules of order than are waterfront and laborers' unions. Every teacher should observe the functioning of a good central labor council for the sake of seeing democracy in practice in sound forum circumstances. Necessary for survival of a worthy organization is disciplined adherence to majority decision. Parallel with such discipline, but not yet frequently enough found, even within long established craft unions, there must be opportunity for frequent revision of tactics and policies following frank criticism and open suggestion.

The structure of an organization should be so clear as to indicate lines of responsibility and definite relationship. A chart is advisable which will show how democracy functions; one finds such information usually lacking, for obvious reasons, in a company union or politically established party. Not one voter in fifty knows how control is achieved in his party.

The program of any cooperative venture must be planned to activate the largest possible number; changes must occur which will keep attention focused upon progress; successes must be popularized and defeats analyzed. There should be variety without confusion, division of labor without bureaucracy, and other virtues better planned in advance than introduced as afterthoughts.

Campus Issues

Executive Board

University of Washington, Local 41

WITHIN our local, we have nearly doubled the membership within a year. So far this has been done by personal contacts; we have found that evening meetings in members' homes have made friends for the union, and we have also held several dinners and banquets to which we invited prospective members. On two occasions we bought out a complete performance of the local Civic Repertory Theatre, once for *Waiting for Lefty*, once for *Bury the Dead*.

We have also found that an occasional printed publication, or mimeographed letter explaining our stand on current issues such as legislation, has created much favorable comment. We have taken full credit for successfully defending academic freedom in two cases, and for helping to increase the University appropriation in the legislature. When our stand was challenged in the Instructors' Association, we explained our position in detail, and although our program was not sanctioned by that body, we gained many new friends.

In summary, we have found that the way to grow is to make our voice heard on campus issues, and then take full credit and all the publicity we can get for our accomplishments.

Help From Organized Labor

Mercedes Nelson

Vice-President for Minnesota Area

THE SUCCESS, if any, of organization of the American Federation of Teachers in the Northwest states can be attributed largely to the active cooperation of the executive councils of the state federations of labor. In Minnesota, the Executive Council is very friendly and interested,—vice-presidents throughout the state make contacts, distribute literature and keep in communication with me. Mr. Aaron Kruger, vice-president of the South Dakota Federation of Labor, is taking the initiative in Watertown; assuming the responsibility for mailing of literature and arrangement of meetings. There is interest evinced in Iowa, a state where we have no local as yet. Wisconsin State Federation of Teachers, under the able leadership of Colin Welles and Howard Aker, are working for new locals in Wisconsin's smaller cities. They have issued two special organization editions of their paper and have sent it into centers wherein they are working. Much buildup and educational work has been done during the fall months; the spring should bring results.

Taking the Union Into the Schools

Israel Wallach

For the Membership Committee, Local 5

THE INCREASE in membership in Local 5 from 1400 to 5000 in one year and a half has been due to the campaigns and successes of the local on such issues as salary restoration, absence refunds, a sound pension system, improved conditions for substitutes, appointments, reduction in class sizes, academic freedom, etc.; and to the extent to which the local has succeeded in making each member an active, able spokesman for these issues and for the Union.

The task of increasing membership is the special task of a Membership Committee of about fifty members, one from each school district. A sub-committee issues weekly 10,000 copies of a mimeographed news bulletin, *Teacher News*. The monthly printed magazine of the local, the *New York Teacher* and other publications of the local are also used in membership drives. Mass meetings and open membership meetings held by the local are also used to attract non-Union teachers.

The Membership Committee guides the work in each school by calling monthly meetings at the Union office of representatives of school Union groups. There are Union groups of varying size in about 400 out of 800 schools. At these meetings, ways and means of bringing Union issues into the schools, of obtaining the right to distribute Union literature and holding Union meetings in the schools, and of

increasing Union membership are discussed. The following suggestions, from a statement "How to Build the Teachers Union in Your School" have proved very useful:

Everyday activity within the school by every Union member is the surest means of building the Union. An alert Union group within a school brings home most directly to the teachers of that school the fact that the Union and its members are the best fighters for teachers' rights and interests. As an aid toward building the Union in this manner, the following suggestions are made, particularly to Union members in schools in which Union membership and teacher activity are low:

1. Find out through the Union office whether there are other Union members at the school. Each member can be asked to concentrate on two or three prospective Union members. Check progress periodically.
2. Keep well posted on teacher issues. Read at least one school page of metropolitan newspaper a day.
3. Bring the attention of teachers to these issues—such as sick-pay, salary, etc. If possible, have newspaper items posted on the school bulletin board.
4. Discuss the issues of the substitute teachers. Urge them to join. Show that employed and unemployed must be in one organization.

5. Circulate Teachers Union petitions on specific issues, e.g., for full state-aid, for full sick-pay, etc.

6. Invite teachers to Union mass meetings, membership meetings, regional meetings, specially arranged school meetings.

7. Circulate Teachers Union reports and statements, the *New York Teacher*, *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*, etc. Follow this up by discussion of the material circulated.

8. Have informal meetings of teachers at your home, meet them socially to discuss general and specific educational problems. The Membership Committee will be glad to supply a speaker.

9. Have regular monthly meetings of the school Union group. Discuss recruiting, furthering the Union's campaigns, report of delegates.

10. Try to raise issues, at regular faculty meetings, confronting teachers. Resolutions passed at such meetings should be publicized in the press and sent to the appropriate individuals or bodies.

11. If possible, secure permission to have the entire faculty addressed by a Teachers Union speaker.

12. Where parents' associations exist, secure their cooperation on as many issues as possible and cooperate with them.

International Sympathy in the Texas Disaster

The catastrophe which cost the lives of almost 500 children and teachers at New London, Texas, as a result of needless economizing and faulty equipment, has called forth expressions of sympathy from all over the world. The American Federation of Teachers is strengthened in its determination to provide adequately for the educational needs of children and to cooperate with parents to this end. The message sent by the A.F.T. to the stricken parents, and expressions of sympathy from France and Mexico follow:

Parent-Teacher Association
Overton, Texas
Dear Parents and Teachers:

The American Federation of Teachers extends deepest sympathy to the parents and friends of the children who were the victims of tragedy in New London High School. Let us not think that these boys and girls have died wholly in vain. To their memory, monuments will be builded throughout America and the world in the form of structures more suited to the health, happiness and safety of millions of children. To those who teach shall come through this tragedy a deeper devotion to the task of providing more abundant lives for the children of the Nation.

May these children in death teach us what destruction

war might bring to the Nation's children and give us courage to carry forward the torch of peace.

Sincerely,
IRVIN R. KUENZLI,
Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Teachers.

MARCH 19 CABLE
ALL OUR SYMPATHY FOR VICTIMS OF TERRIBLE
CATASTROPHE NEW LONDON

I F T A
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MARCH 19 CABLE
SYNDICAT INSTITUTEURS FRANCE DOULOUREUSE-
MENT EMU PAR CATASTROPHE NEW LONDON EXPRIME
SYMPATHIE A CORPS INSTITUTEURS AMERICAINS

DELMAS
SECRETAIRE GENERAL
94 RUE UNIVERSITE
PARIS

MARCH 21 RADIOGRAM
WE THE MEXICAN TEACHERS WHO SUFFER FROM THE
PERSECUTION OF THE CRISTEROS ASSASSINS OF RURAL
TEACHERS WISH TO EXPRESS OUR HEARTFELT SYM-
PATHY AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE VICTIMS FAMILIES
OF THOSE WHO PERISHED IN THE TERRIBLE CATAS-
TROPHE OF LONDON HIGH SCHOOL AT OVERTON TEXAS
FRATERNALLY YOURS
CANDIDO JARAMILLO
GENERAL SECRETARY

A Valiant Fight

Massachusetts Progressives Unite Against the Loyalty Oath

E. ALLISON GRANT

IN 1935 THE GENERAL COURT of Massachusetts passed a bill entitled: "Bill Requiring that an Oath or Affirmation Be Taken and Subscribed by Professors, Instructors, and Teachers in Colleges, Universities, and Schools of the Commonwealth." Sponsored by Representative Thomas Dorgan of Boston, mouthpiece of William Randolph Hearst, the bill took the people of Massachusetts by surprise. A re-hearing was granted by the Committee on Education, and sixteen college presidents, led by James B. Conant of Harvard, appeared in person to record their protests, but the opposition was scattered and disorganized.

With the oath law in the statutes, the union teachers began to prepare the ground for repeal. Under the aegis of Professor Samuel Morison, Harvard's Tercentenary historian, the Massachusetts Society for Freedom came into being. The Teachers Unions, advised and assisted in every way by the officers of the Massachusetts state branch of the A.F.L., became the spear-head of the drive for repeal. A state-wide Teachers Union legislative committee was formed, which drew up and filed a bill for repeal in the name of the "Massachusetts State Council of Teachers Unions of the American Federation of Labor." The significance of this title will appear later.

The hearings on this bill before the 1936 legislature made history. The Teachers Unions and their allies from every section of society realized that the same legislators who passed the Oath Law would scarcely reverse their decision. For this reason, the 1936 fight was directed towards publicizing the issue in order to lay the ground work for the 1936 elections. For three memorable days the proponents of repeal addressed the Committee on Education. Prominent educators, again headed by President Conant, stepped from the studious atmosphere of their ivy-covered halls to be badgered and humiliated by members of the Great and General Court! For three days the hearings continued in what the Boston Traveler reported as a "tumult of disorder, booing, hissing, applauding, and yelling." In the end the Repeal Bill was decisively defeated in both Senate and House.

1937 has shown a profound change. This year the Repeal Bill was introduced jointly by four organizations: The Massachusetts State Council of Teachers Unions—now a fully organized, delegative body; the Massachusetts

Society for Freedom in Teaching; the Massachusetts State Federation, the state counterpart of the NEA. This year, after only one day of hearing, the proponents of repeal rested their case. They reserved, however, the right to introduce at later hearings, if necessary, the 250 speakers remaining on their list!

This year the hearings were conducted in an orderly and democratic manner. There was no badgering. The Chairman of the Committee on Education, Senator Cole, though known to be opposed to repeal, exhibited a most healthy respect for the right of petition granted to all citizens under the constitution of the Commonwealth. He treated the speakers and the assembled citizens with courtesy and attention and used the gavel only when speakers wandered too far into the convolutions of international politics—though he did see fit to class as impertinent a vigorous appeal, addressed to the Committee, for a Farmer-Labor Party! When Mr. A. Frank Reel, representing the proponents of repeal, rested the case, Senator recognized a dozen or so individuals who rose from their places in the auditorium to speak their minds. And finally, when it appeared that no more wished to speak, he called for a show of hands of all those present who favored repeal. It gave one a strange feeling of power—this forest of citizens' hands in a State House hall—as though night-blooming bunk and chicanery had fled at the dawning of true democracy!

What has happened in Massachusetts during the past twelve months to change so radically the attitude of the Committee of the Legislature? And why, with sufficient speakers to have drawn out the hearings and the publicity for a week, were the proponents content to rest their case in the late afternoon of the first day?

Certainly one factor in modifying the behavior of the legislators is their alarm at the growing resentment on the part of the public, which sees its right of petition seriously jeopardized by high-handed Committees. In cases where the hearing was upon a controversial issue and the antagonists—i.e., those who take a different position from that taken beforehand by a majority of the Committee conducting the hearing—appeared as plain, public-spirited citizens, without pressure group support, the hearings have invariably been conducted in the over-bearing style which we are learning to associate with Fascism. Speakers have

been shouted at, browbeaten, their motives impugned; and if a protest is made, the committees have frequently either adjourned the hearing or had the objectors forcibly ejected. The high point—or better, the low point—was reached during the hearings on the Child Labor Amendment. Kenneth Taylor, legislative agent of the State Federation of Labor, protested the gagging of the proponents of the bill and was removed, at the order of the Committee, by the State Police! The proponents gained the right to continue their case only by placing a picket line of hundreds of workers and sympathizers around the State House and holding a mass meeting on Boston Common. The result has been that Committees of the Legislature are beginning to show more regard for the rights supposedly guaranteed by the Federal and State Constitutions.

But the respect for the proponents of the Teachers' Oath Repeal in particular goes back to the November elections. Almost before the smoke of the 1936 Repeal fight had blown away, the State Council of Teachers Unions began to plan actions that the politicians would understand. A joint conference was held with the Massachusetts Society for Freedom in Teaching. This joint conference voted to work for the defeat of legislators who had voted in favor of the Oath Bill and against Repeal. Nine gentlemen, including outstanding members of the Committee on Education, were singled out for concentrated fire. Of these, eight failed of re-election in November. In all, forty of the sixty legislators who had voted against Repeal were retired or met defeat at the polls. Representative Dorgan gave up his seat in the legislature to run for Clerk of Court, campaigning proudly as the "Father of the Teachers' Oath." The voters defeated Mr. Dorgan in favor of a candidate who ran as the "Father of nine children!" In addition, ex-Governor Curley, running for United States Senator on the Democratic ticket went down to defeat in the midst of what was otherwise a state-wide sweep for the Democrats. Mr. Curley favored the teachers' oath. Speaking at the State Convention of the American Legion, he had renewed his stand on this measure, attacking the A.F.T., saying that it was "such organizations as the A.F.T. which made teachers' oaths necessary." Though the teacher-opposition to Governor Curley was merely part of a mass movement to retire him from public life, the teachers contributed to his defeat. November, 1936, was a bad month for gaggists.

If the election campaign of the State Council of Teachers Unions changed the attitude (along with the composition) of the Committee on Education of the General Court, it was the high degree of organized mobilization for the hearings that made it possible for the proponents to present and close their case in one day. So numerous and varied were the organizations recorded in favor of repeal that any protraction was unnecessary. This year almost every one who spoke for repeal spoke as the representative of some kind of organization, the membership of which might

be anywhere between a hundred and a hundred thousand. Women spoke for Parent-Teacher Associations from all over the state. Dr. Conant spoke not only for himself but as the official representative of the presidents of thirteen other colleges and universities. In the mobilization of this group opinion, the Teachers Unions were strategically placed and may rightfully claim much credit for its success.

The justice of this claim lies in the fact that the numerical base of this mobilization was organized labor. The State Council of Teachers Unions carried an energetic campaign into the trade unions on behalf of repeal. The fifty-first annual convention of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor unanimously adopted a resolution submitted by the State Council. The Central Labor Unions of Boston, Lawrence, New Bedford, and Northampton, all of which have Teachers Union affiliates, were strongly in favor of repeal. At first many trade unionists felt that the Loyalty Oath was a good thing, but when union teachers pointed its anti-labor character, and when moreover, its anti-labor character was demonstrated by attacks on union teachers at the 1936 hearings, the labor movement gave its full support to repeal.

An additional factor in mobilizing trade union support was the state-wide Conference on Social and Labor Legislation held in Boston about the time of the convening of the legislature. This Conference was first proposed by a union teacher, and another union teacher, as secretary of the Conference Committee, played an important role in organizing it. Sponsored largely by the C.I.O. unions, this conference brought together representatives of Central Labor Unions, craft and C.I.O. unions, church groups, youth groups, Negro groups, liberal and civic organizations, fraternal orders. One of the principal parts of its program was repeal of the Teachers' Oath Law. It resulted in a vigorous mobilization for the hearings and welded into firm unity on the legislative field the whole labor movement of the state.

For the cooperation of educators, civic leaders, and groups such as the Civil Liberties Union the union teachers are most grateful. But the mass power, the mass voting and fighting strength of the movement came from organized labor. We could have no better illustration of the strength our labor affiliation brings us.

One further gain has come from the fight to repeal the Teachers Loyalty Oath Law. Out of the Legislative Committee which introduced the first repeal bill and called itself the Massachusetts Council of Teachers Unions has come the extended and consolidated organizational form—the State Branch of the A.F.T.

Repealer Passed and Vetoes

Since this article was written, the Repeal Bill was passed in the Massachusetts House of Representatives by a vote of 111 to 102. It was passed in the Senate by 21 to 19 on the first vote; 18 to 16 on the second vote. The bill then went to Governor Hurley for signature. He vetoed it.

The Educational Equalization Act

A True Federal Aid Bill

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN

Representatives O'Day and Scott express their endorsement of the principle of Federal Aid in the following telegrams:

Mary F. Grossman
Legislative Representative
American Federation of Teachers
506 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

I AM HAPPY TO SPONSOR THE EDUCATIONAL EQUALIZATION ACT WHICH PROVIDES REALISTICALLY FOR THE SCHOOL NEEDS OF THE NATION STOP FREE PUBLIC EDUCATION IS A FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN PRINCIPLE STOP PROVISION FOR ACHIEVING IT MUST BE MADE A FACT

CAROLINE O'DAY

American Federation of Teachers
506 S. Wabash Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

CALIFORNIA IS ONE OF THE LEADING STATES IN MAINTAINING HIGH EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS STOP NATURALLY I AM INTERESTED IN PROVIDING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICAN CHILDREN AND AM HAPPY TO SPONSOR A FEDERAL AID BILL

BYRON N. SCOTT

ON MARCH 5, 1937, the Educational Equalization Act (H.R. 5360) was introduced in Congress by Representative Caroline O'Day of New York. On March 8, 1937, a similar bill (H.R. 5413) was introduced by Byron Scott of California.

It is significant to note that these bills, prepared and sponsored by the American Federation of Teachers, and providing for an equalization of educational opportunities throughout the nation, were introduced by representatives from two of the richest states in the Union.

The Washington Relay of March 1 has given you the story of our researches in Federal Aid. We pointed out in

the Relay that the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill, sponsored by the National Education Association, contained certain serious defects. To remedy these we prepared five amendments. Finally, that our proposals might be in more concrete form, we framed our own bill and had it introduced.

What are the defects of the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill? Mr. Wilkerson, in an article in the last issue of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*, summed up these defects very clearly. Briefly, the main defects of the bill are its failure to provide an adequate appropriation and its lack of provisions to distribute the funds equitably, so that poorer states may have proportionately larger allotments, rural communities may have their needs as well cared for as urban districts, and Negro children may be protected against discrimination, particularly in southern states.

The O'Day-Scott Bill provides \$500,000,000 against the \$300,000,000 of the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill; it contains definite clauses to protect Negro education and rural communities, and, by its method of determining a basis of allotment, guarantees poorer states proportionately greater funds than richer states. The O'Day-Scott Bill, while not an ideal equalization act, goes further in this direction than any other bill for Federal Aid before Congress.

We have been told that the provisions of our bill, though admittedly sound, are nevertheless "inexpedient"; that the House of Representatives, hostile to the idea of Federal Aid for education, will hardly be disposed to consider a bill that asks for more money (and contains specific proposals for expenditure) than the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill. Let us make clear that even the American Federation of Teachers' bill is a compromise; that the realistic educational needs of the nation require one and one-quarter billion dollars a year in Federal Aid; that to provide ideal equalization of education would require much greater Federal control (such as in standards of preparation for teachers employed, determination of equipment used, etc.).

Far from demanding too much, we have been most practical and conservative in framing our bill, and have kept in mind the understandable aversion of local communities to Federal interference in educational matters. We have been equally mindful of the national budget in asking for only \$500,000,000 instead of the needed one and one-quarter billion dollars. However, we have not for-

gotten the people's mandate to its representatives at the November elections and we still hear the stirring words of our President in his inaugural address. . . . "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

In working for Federal Aid we must keep in mind, however, that even the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill is in many quarters in Congress considered a most extreme measure; that many of our congressmen must still be convinced of the need for *any* degree of Federal Aid; that to make financial assistance to schools a reality, all teachers must

be united behind the idea of Federal Aid.

At the present moment, there are three prospects before us. First, to press exclusively for the passage of the O'Day-Scott Bill. To do this, however, would divide teacher forces throughout the country and might endanger the whole possibility of getting a Federal Aid Bill through Congress. Second, to back the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill in its present form. To do this, would be to give tacit approval to an inadequate Federal Aid Bill. Third, to urge amending the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill with our proposals, using the O'Day-Scott Bill as an illustration and a driving instrument.

WHAT TO DO

Individuals

1. Write to Vincent L. Palmisano, Chairman of the House Education Committee, urging our amendments to the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill, pointing to the O'Day-Scott Bill as a model Federal Aid Bill.
2. Write your local Congressman in a similar manner.
3. Talk to teachers in your school, to familiarize them with the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill and our proposed amendments. Purchase literature at the national office to distribute among the teachers.

Local Unions

1. If you have not already done so, set up a Federal Aid subcommittee of your legislative committee.
2. Introduce into your state legislature and your municipal council a resolution memorializing Congress to pass the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill with amendments as embodied in the O'Day-Scott Bill.
3. Call a conference on Federal Aid and invite to participate all local teacher organizations, parent-teacher groups and civic bodies. Explain at such a conference the whole question of Federal Aid and endeavor to have passed a resolution backing the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill with our amendments.

Send copies of all resolutions and letters to the NEA, 1201 16th Street NW, Washington, D. C., and to the National Legislative Committee, American Federation of Teachers, 506 S. Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

Steel Labor Enters a New Epoch

CLINTON S. GOLDEN

MARCH 2, 1937, SOUNDED alike the death knell of one epoch in the history of labor relations in the steel industry and the birth of a new epoch.

The old epoch covered a period of a half century at the beginning of which the then going and vigorous Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers had within its ranks many of the workers in a new and rapidly developing basic industry.

In this same period the early policy of dealing with the Union was changed into one of militant hostility and determined effort to destroy it. This period began on June 30, 1892, when a three-year agreement between the Amalgamated Association and the Carnegie Steel Company expired. Efforts had been made to reduce wages of the men in the higher brackets. Henry Clay Frick, Chairman of the Board, had been acting as the Company's negotiator. Andrew Carnegie, titular boss, was in Europe. The Company had been preparing for trouble. Common

labor then drew \$2.70 for a 12-hour day, or 22½¢ per hour. The 3,800 men and boys employed by the Company were talking strike. On June 30, 1892, the plant was completely closed.

At 2:00 A. M. on July 6, 1892, a towboat and barges loaded with Pinkerton detectives from Chicago steamed up the Monongahela River and neared Lock No. 1. One of the strikers' horseman scouts spied the boat and its two barges bristling with the rifles of the detectives. In Paul Revere fashion he galloped into Homestead with the news. Whistles shrieked and in a few minutes the entire community was aroused and running to the river bank.

Warnings against landing were shouted to the Pinkertons by the strikers, but went unheeded. A shot, then a volley was fired. The battle raged until late in the afternoon when the detectives unable longer to withstand the heavy fire hoisted the white flag.

There were ten dead or mortally wounded and forty

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more suffering wounds of some description. National Guardsmen took over the situation. The strike was declared off on November 20, but no agreement was signed. In the period intervening between June 30, 1892, and March 2, 1937,—forty-five years and six months—neither the Carnegie Steel Corporation nor any of the other companies that finally were brought together to form the U. S. Steel Corporation ever signed an agreement with a union.

All sorts of devices were used to prevent the workers from organizing. Immigrants from all over Europe were imported by the thousands. Every major steel producing community became a babel of tongues. Spies, stool pigeons and provocateurs were planted in the mills alongside the honest worker to report his every move and conversation to the bosses.

The twelve-hour day continued until after the great steel strike of 1919 in which 368,000 workers were involved, and which was successfully broken by the steel companies. But public opinion, mobilized by the Interchurch World Movement inquiry of the strike and its causes, finally brought about the substitution of the eight-hour day for the inhuman twelve-hour day and double shift once each week.

Following the enactment of the NIRA in 1933, another upsurge of interest in union organization was manifest. It was not the result of a well-planned and directed campaign of organization; rather it indicated a spirit of unrest growing out of fundamentally unsound labor relations policies.

Then the employee representation (company union) plans emerged as a device conceived in the minds of high-powered corporation lawyers and so-called labor relations experts to thwart and circumvent the normal desires for independent collective action by the workers. From the beginning the workers were conscious of the aims and purposes of this movement on the part of their employers. They knew it was superimposed upon them by the same dictatorial powers always in evidence in the mills and steel towns. They knew it was entirely financed by the employers, and in the main they were distrustful of all those employees who identified themselves with its operation.

Steel corporation press agents have unloosed upon a gullible public torrents of propaganda claiming 97% or 99% of the workers favored these plans because allegedly that number participated in the annual elections for company union representatives.

But where such large percentages actually did vote, the propagandists did not tell the public how foremen, company police and other persons, who symbolized to the workers the autocratic power of their employers, hauled men out of bed and brought them to the mills in cars paid for by the company, to cast their ballots. Or how foremen threatened them with discharge if they failed to vote. Or how candidates for election as employee representatives who were in favor with the bosses had the

run of the mills, and the communities for that matter, while on company time, to round up votes for themselves.

Since the present recovery period began, there has been a pronounced speeding up of the workers in the mills. Older men have been eased out of employment in one way or another, to be replaced by younger employees. New labor-saving machinery has been installed. With the launching of the campaign of organization by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in July, 1936, the espionage system was geared up to greater activity. The industry, through the Iron and Steel Institute, announced brazenly its determination to resist to the utmost every attempt to organize the employees into an independent union. Vigilante groups, "hatchet gangs" in Weirton, West Virginia, appeared with the avowed purpose of driving out organizers. Government machinery, designed to safeguard the workers in the exercise of the right to organize, was thrown out of gear by the issuance of injunctions by subservient courts restraining the National Labor Relations Board from taking testimony or enforcing its decisions.

All these and many other circumstances and conditions, which there is no space to describe, conditioned the workers' minds for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee campaign.

The campaign launched by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee on June 17, 1936, differed in many respects from all previous efforts. On the part of those charged with responsibility for directing the organizing efforts, familiarity with the compact organization of the employers and the methods and devices they used to resist and prevent unionization necessitated a carefully developed strategy.

Basically this was designed to safeguard the individual worker against possible victimization resulting from union affiliation. Instead of chartering local lodges, thus exposing to the employer those workers courageous enough to identify themselves with the organizing efforts, secret contacts were made and secret mill committees were formed to carry on the work. As Steel Workers Organizing Committee organizers were able to win the confidence and respect of the workers, the latter redoubled their efforts to bring into the Union their trustworthy friends and shop mates.

While this primary work of organization and education was being carried on, other staff members were assigned to winning over the most sincere, honest and conscientious of the employee (company union) representatives. This was a departure from the traditional union policy of antagonism and hostility to company unions. Thousands of such men were won over to the union side and became efficient volunteer organizers. While this work was going on, research and publicity men, secret investigators and others were exposing the espionage methods of the com-

panies, the huge profits being made, the probable effects on employment and wages of the new labor machinery being installed.

Charges were filed with the National Labor Relations Board alleging violation of federal law by domination of the company unions. The hearings before the Board served as a sounding board to expose the iniquities and shortcomings of this system as an alleged collective bargaining device.

Much evidence and material gathered by the Steel Workers Organizing Committee investigators were turned over to the La Follette Committee. Its exposure of the steel companies' employment of labor spies and provocateurs and their stocking of munitions served to weaken the companies' position and strengthen that of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

The result of all this has been to restore courage, confidence and independence to the steel workers; to make them conscious of their rights and importance as members of society. Over 200,000 have enrolled as union members, and thousands are coming in daily. Hundreds of union local lodges have been set up on a functioning basis. Civil rights and liberties have been restored to the workers in scores of corporation-dominated communities.

The amazing showing of political independence in the last national election brought many allies to the organizing efforts. The mobilization of hundreds of fraternal, religious, benevolent and civic organizations to aid in the campaign have constituted an important factor in its success thus far.

All these factors and many others, plus the ever-swell-ing ranks of the union, contributed to weaken the anti-union position of the larger companies. The signing of an agreement by the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation with the Steel Workers Organizing Committee on March 2, 1937, symbolized the breaking of the backbone of anti-unionism not only in the steel industry but in all other industries.

There is reason to believe that in breaking with past traditions in the industry the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation has come to a realization of the need of adjusting corporation policy to changing social and economic conditions.

Profound changes in labor relations policies on the part of other steel companies and industry generally will undoubtedly follow. American labor and industry stand on the threshold of a new epoch.

Labor Notes

LABOR'S PROGRAM IN THE STATES

COMPLETE drafts of eight proposed bills affecting Labor organization have been sent to all state chairmen of Labor's Non-Partisan League, with the recommendation that they be made part of the legislative program of each state branch of the League. The law as proposed in each of these eight bills is long overdue in many states, and the League is endeavoring to have enacted into law what may be characterized as Labor's 1937 charter of rights. The eight bills offered are: (1) *State Labor Relations Act*, similar to the Wagner National Labor Relations Act. (The Wagner Act applies only to interstate commerce.) (2) *State Anti-Injunction Act*, similar to the federal Norris-LaGuardia act, prohibiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes. (3) *Anti-Eviction Act*, prohibiting eviction of employees engaged in labor disputes. (4) *Civil Liberties Act*, to prohibit local ordinances which prevent meetings, parades, distribution of literature, etc. (5) *Deputy Sheriff Act*, limiting the number of deputy sheriffs and requiring that their compensation be from public funds. (6) *Licensing of Detectives Act*, requiring all persons who act as private detectives, private police, or private guards to be licensed,

and prohibiting the issuance of licenses to former strike breakers. (7) *Collective Bargaining for Governmental Contracts*, requiring all persons who enter into contracts with the state to agree to collective bargaining with their employees. (8) *Payment of Wages Act*, requiring payment of wages at least twice a month, and other regulations protecting the worker. In each of the above cases, it is clear which abuse the law is intended to correct. Labor's Non-Partisan League was a powerful factor in the last election, and is marshaling its forces to attain the realization of these proposals. In many states, the League has already called statewide conferences with other progressive groups. The research and legal staffs of the League are at the service of every state group. . . . Labor is wise and will depend upon the development and utilization of its own organizational resources, and will not rely solely upon benevolent public officials.

NEW LABOR CHAMPION

FEBRUARY 22, 1937, appropriately marked a declaration of independence of the legal profession. On that day there was in session at the nation's capital the first convention of the National Lawyers Guild, an organization

formed to express the convictions of the liberal-minded lawyers of America. No one now seriously maintains that the long-established American Bar Association represents liberal thought in the profession, or even that it speaks for any real majority of the bar. The newly formed Guild will endeavor to articulate the principles of the majority of progressive lawyers now inadequately represented. The constitution of the National Lawyers Guild differs from that of the American Bar Association in that it is far more democratic, which in turn indicates a contrast in fundamental approach. Important to labor are the principles embodied in the preamble to the Guild constitution, which declares human rights superior to property rights. It further places the economic security and welfare of workers and farmers at the forefront of national prosperity. Cognizance of a pressing problem was taken when the delegates unanimously resolved to oppose loyalty oaths for teachers. Prominent in the leadership of the Guild are such persons as John Patrick Devaney, formerly Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court of Minnesota, who is now being mentioned by commentators as a possible choice for the United States Supreme Court; Morris Ernst, author of *The Ultimate Power*; Frank P. Walsh, noted liberal lawyer; Lee Pressman; Alexander Frye, and many others. Governor La Follette is on the Guild's Executive Board. Labor forces everywhere will watch the Guild with the most intense interest, and future developments will be reported in these columns.

IS UNEMPLOYMENT PERMANENT?

WHILE some business indices are already heralding the return of productive industry to "normal" or "near-normal" levels, there are still (according to the A.F.L. *Monthly Survey of Business*) about 9,000,000 workers who have no place in our industries. Outcasts of our

economic order, they have been forced into degrading poverty, and are deprived of a chance to make their normal contribution to society by creating wealth and earning a decent income. Must our nation continue to brook such human waste? A few facts gathered from the source quoted above will help us to find an answer, and will incidentally expose in bold relief the beginnings of the next depression. In manufacturing, the production of the average worker in one hour was 25% higher in 1935 than in 1929; our anthracite mines produced 17% more coal per man-day; railroads handled 20% more ton-miles of freight per employee; telephone companies have raised the number of phones in service by 53% per employee. Some of this is due to the speed-up and stretch-out, and the rest is due to technological improvement. In any case, the conclusion is inescapable that a return to 1929 levels of production *will by no means bring a return to 1929 levels of employment*; and even in 1929, be it remembered, we had several million unemployed. Since 1929, our population has grown steadily. There are today 4,500,000 more workers than were then seeking jobs. The present upswing will not take up more than a little of this slack; what shall be done in the next few years with all this wasted labor force? A partial answer lies in the fact that before NRA, the average work week was 41¾ hours; during NRA, 37¾ hours; today it stands at 41½ hours. A reduction in the length of the work week will spread employment; such reduction must of course be accomplished without any loss in real wages to those now employed. This incomplete solution must be fortified by an expanded public works program. In any case, until there are jobs in industry at decent wages for those who need them, we must count on large Federal expenditures. There is no other way. The time for abandoning WPA is not at hand; it needs to be considered most seriously whether our economic order clearly points the way to abandoning it ever.

The Final Report of the A.F.T. Committee which investigated the Davis case will be issued at the end of April. The Report contains much material that has not previously appeared in analyses of the case.

The College Committee on Academic Freedom had interviews with all the members of the Divinity School permanent faculty, and the evidence uncovered in these interviews is included. There are also unpublished documents, the comments of former and present students on Professor Davis's work, and the statements of scholars of sociology throughout the country.

The Report is divided into eight sections: Part I describes the procedure of the investigating committee. Part II analyzes the promotion procedure followed at Yale. In Part III the stand of the Yale administration is presented. In the succeeding sections, the Report takes up in turn the budgetary situation, the question of scholarship and teaching, the meaning of the faculty's failure to recommend

Professor Davis's promotion, and incidents involving violation of academic freedom.

The vast array of evidence presented in these sections leads the committee to the conclusion that Professor Davis is being dropped by the Yale Corporation "because his economic views, his researches into the evils of the present economic order, and his activities in the labor movement offended wealthy alumni and members of the Yale Corporation."

Members of the committee that conducted the investigation include Prof. Colston E. Warne (Economics) of Amherst, Chairman; Arnold Shukotoff (English) of City College, New York, Secretary; Prof. Robert Morss Lovett (English) of the University of Chicago; Prof. Ralph Harlow (Religion and Biblical Literature) of Smith College; Dr. J. Raymond Walsh (Economics) of Harvard University.

Copies of the Report may be purchased from the National Office at 10 cents a copy.

Democracy and School Administration

CHARLES J. HENDLEY

FOR THE purpose of this discussion it is necessary to give a meaning to the term democracy. The definition, rule by the people, is too abstract. For the details of administration cannot be executed by the people en masse. Obviously school routine cannot be carried out by the teachers and pupils without direction. We need efficient managers of schools. But do school managers have to be autocrats? Can a good manager fit in a democratic regime? The fundamental basis of democracy is the integrity and the wisdom of the masses. Democracy recognizes a dignity and an importance in the humblest member of the community. Lincoln once said, "Every man is my superior in some respect." In a democracy there is a basis on which all are equal. The strong and the weak, the intelligent and the unintelligent, the educated and the ignorant, the unskilled common laborer and the expert technician, are all recognized as having an equal right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the right to earn a living.

In school, democracy means a recognition of a basis of equality for every one in the school, including, pupils, teachers, supervisors, other employees, and the parents. (In some schools parents are treated as interlopers when they come around.) Democracy in school recognizes that the individuality and personality of each child is deserving of respect and consideration, and allows for the free development of the personality of every child and teacher. It aims at an equality of opportunity for all, which does not necessarily mean uniformity of opportunity.

To go outside of the school, there is no economic basis for democracy in America. The great mass of Americans do not own land or the tools they work with. They do not have homes of their own. In the modern industrial world the worker has no claim upon industry except for his wages for the hours or days he has worked. The rate of wages is fixed by the conditions of the labor market, and he can be discharged on immediate notice regardless of whether he is left destitute or has a little surplus of wages to tide him over for a while. If he goes on strike, he is treated as a trespasser on his own job that he may have held for years. The decisions of the Supreme Court have made it

plain that a worker does not have a constitutional right to a job and that if he has a job he does not have a constitutional right to a living wage. In some respects the modern industrial worker is more insecure than the serfs of the middle ages, for the feudal law did recognize the serf's right to subsistence on the lord's domain.

Similarly democratic school administration does not exist except in rare instances. It does exist perhaps here and there by default, even in the public school systems. But, on the whole, the autocratic power of the principal and the superintendent is taken for granted. Our social and economic environment makes for autocracy in the schools. It is thoroughly established in the custom and usage of American business and industry that the boss is an autocrat. His word is law. He hires and fires as he pleases, and has the air of an autocrat. The more powerful he is the bigger his commissions. In the depths of the depression some executives were drawing salaries of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The school administrator is an imitation of the business executive. He dresses like him, imitates him in his manner, and in the smaller city where he has opportunity hobnobs with him in the rotary club and local chamber of commerce. He has the lingo of the business executive. There is, however, this difference; an industrial autocrat, or even an army officer, is likely to rule with more reason because he has to meet his equals in the stress and strain of the work-a-day world. He may have to meet organized workmen like the dare-devils who put up sky-scrapers or man the ships at sea, who can give him back as good as he can give. But the school administrator issues orders to children and to teachers who for the most part are of mild temperament and are thoroughly drilled in obedience. As a consequence of this difference in the jobs of the two autocrats, the school man is likely to be more arbitrary and unreasonable.

The most appalling thing about our autocratic school administration is the utter lack of consciousness of it on the part of the autocrats and their subjects except when some fool administrator gets out of bounds and drives his subjects to desperation. The most perfect form of autocracy

is that in which orders are given as polite requests and are received with a smile and curtsy and obeyed without question.

We do not have space to give many examples of what we would classify as arbitrary rule by school administrators. It is well known that school administrators are hypersensitive to criticism, and if it comes from a subordinate, it is taken as evidence of personal disloyalty, the most intolerable attitude a subordinate in school administration can have. A typical administrator cannot understand how a teacher owes a greater loyalty to society, to the ideals of the school, to her conception of justice than to him. Supervisors are more eloquent on the noble quality of loyalty than on anything else, and are quick to sense a mutiny on the slightest evidence. One teacher a few years ago was denied her annual increment in salary because at a public meeting outside of school the superintendents were criticised sharply and she did not take the opportunity she had to defend them.

Our city and state school systems were consciously modeled after the Prussian and the French systems, perfect illustrations of bureaucracy. Now it is almost like challenging the state itself to question the arbitrary power of school administrators. The school is recognized as an arm of the state, and the more the totalitarian conception of the state comes to be accepted the more autocratic will the school administrator become. We know too well how the schools are serving the state in Italy and Germany. The school, of course, is a most strategic center in society, either in a democracy or an autocracy. So we may be sure that the reactionaries will use the schools to the full limit of their possibilities whenever and wherever they come into power.

Another reason why autocratic school administration is accepted without much question is the mechanical difficulties involved in managing the big over-crowded schools. In New York City the mechanics of putting more than a million of the population through a daily routine is appalling. The factory method of standardized mass production seems to be the logical solution. The syllabi, the text-books and the regents examinations are the blue-prints, the supervisors are the foremen and managers, the teachers are the workers on the line, and we have a pretty well standardized product in our graduates. The President of the Board of Education says there are over 5000 classes in the New York system enrolling fifty or more students. Yet every time the school budget comes up the Citizens Budget Commission, representing our most substantial citizens, is on hand to oppose an appropriation to reduce the size of classes. We have reports that the same obstacle stands in the way of the reduction of the size of classes in all parts of the country.

What can be done about democracy in the schools? One conclusion is that we cannot do anything about it. The school, it is argued, can function only as an instrument of

the state, and the teachers have no choice but to accept orders given to them. We are now bound by oath to support the state's constitution, which can mean only one thing to the administrator—respect for constituted authority and obedience to it. It is easy to reach the conclusion that it is futile to talk of democratic school administration, in that we should accept autocracy and adjust ourselves to it, either as martinets and drill masters or as obedient servants.

But why should a million American school teachers accept reaction without a struggle? The world is certainly not static. New social institutions will inevitably arise in the place of the old. If the human intellect has any influence in molding social institutions, why cannot a million school teachers have a part in molding the new institutions that are to come? The school will function in a positive way in the making of the social institutions of the future, and the school teachers should have something to say about what those institutions will be like.

But democratic institutions will have to be built by those who have an interest in establishing them. Those who profit by the present financial and industrial oligarchy are not going to save democracy for us. We who want democratic schools will have to establish them. And we cannot do it by wishful thinking or theoretical discussion. We cannot do it by individual effort. No one, no matter how good he is or how great his prestige is, can prevail against the reactionary forces alone. Collective action is absolutely essential. Organized labor has shown us the way. Labor has dared to challenge the autocratic power of the demigods of finance and industry, and by actual achievement has shown that organization does get results. There is a definite relation of cause and effect between the recent movement of the automobile and steel workers and their gains in pay and recognition.

Teachers are beginning to count as a positive force. Their experience as employees has changed their social and economic status. In the modern school systems the teachers are having much of the same experience that employees in industry have. In the big school systems we even punch time-clocks just like factory or office workers. We are directed in our daily routine by the sound of gongs, we are regimented and disciplined very much as factory workers are. We can be summarily dismissed, as a rule, for very few of us are protected by tenure. We are subjected to arbitrary wage cuts and suffer the insecurity in illness and old age that other workers suffer. We are even subjected to the speeding up, or stretch-out, process in the increase of the size of our classes and the additions to our extra-curricular duties.

Experiences of this kind have opened the teachers' eyes to the fact that they are employees rather than learned professionals. Working together in large groups and having very much the same experiences cause workers to organize for mutual advantage, and teachers are now aligning themselves with other workers.

The labor union that functions democratically is a strong bulwark against reaction. In the labor movement we have both the economic foundation and the functioning machinery of democracy. In the labor movement lies our best hope for a genuine democracy. The modern, alert teachers are aligning themselves with this progressive force. They recognize that in the schools as in industry, organization will break

through autocracy. They are beginning to organize, not in organizations dominated by principals and superintendents, but in their own organizations. They have caught the vision of a new frontier, the social frontier, and they prefer to be pioneers on this new frontier rather than merely to exist as beneficiaries of an old, dying order of society.

Hearing Granted

On July 10, 1936, the Board of Examiners of the City of New York denied Miss Laura Liebman a license to teach English in the high schools of the city. The reasons given were "insufficiently meritorious service and unsatisfactory class teaching test."

Miss Liebman, a graduate of Hunter College with five years' teaching experience, received a rating of 78.133 in the written part of the high school English examination and 13.5 in the oral interview. Besides these excellent ratings attesting Miss Liebman's ability as a teacher, several letters from the Board of Education supervisors and principals praising her as an excellent teacher have been sent to the Board. Dr. Max Horowitz, Chairman of the English Department of Textile High School, wrote:

"I'm certain Miss Liebman would be an asset to any school to which she may be assigned."

Dr. John M. Loughran, Principal of Samuel J. Tilden High School stated:

"Miss Liebman is intelligent to a degree distinctly above average and is quick and energetic . . . we feel that she has the essential equipment to become a good teacher. . . ."

And Dr. Frederick Ernst, an Assistant Superintendent of the Board of Education and Supervisor of the High School Remedial Reading Project observed:

"Miss Liebman spoke . . . in such a very intelligent way and showed such an interest in the problems of remedial teachers, that I had her assigned as a head teacher."

As a result of pressure exerted on the Board of Examiners by prominent educators, trade unionists and the Joint Liebman Committee of Locals 5 and 453 of the American Federation of Teachers, Miss Liebman, president of Local 453, was granted a hearing before the Board on February 25.

It is significant to indicate that at the hearing the nature of the questions addressed to Miss Liebman on the part of some members of the Board of Examiners had a concern with the trade union. "Did you distribute leaflets?

Have you participated in demonstrations? Do you believe that teachers should organize?" etc.

It is evident that the "insufficiently meritorious record" charge is a screen for discrimination on the part of the Board of Examiners against Miss Liebman's excellent record as a trade unionist. Miss Liebman did participate in demonstrations and she spoke at many of these open air meetings. Miss Liebman exercised her rights as an American citizen to protest against the injustice which the WPA workers suffered. Miss Liebman, together with others in the WPA organized movement have won the maintenance of WPA. In the course of these activities for economic security Miss Liebman took advantage of the only means available to any organized trade union group to win its demands—leaflets, demonstrations, picket lines, etc. At the hearing Miss Liebman met the questions with preciseness, and throughout defended the rights of teachers in the trade union movement.

The hearing did not cover the second charge dealing with the "unsatisfactory classroom teaching." Miss Liebman, together with Herman E. Cooper, attorney for Local 5, submitted a brief covering this phase of the rejection. The brief, based on documentary evidence, points conclusively to the fact that the charge is unsubstantiated.

More than three weeks have passed since the hearing but no decision has been rendered by the Board of Examiners.

As one means of hastening the Board's decision both Locals 5 and 453 are holding a mass meeting on April 16. The attendance at the meeting will show the attitude of New York teachers toward further penalization by the Board of Examiners of a teacher who exercises a citizen's rights.

It is urgent meanwhile that the locals of the American Federation of Teachers write to the Board of Examiners of New York City, requesting that a prompt decision be given and that Miss Liebman's license be granted.

**Joint Laura Liebman Defense Committee of
Locals 5 and 453**

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Needed—An Educational “New Deal” For the Negro

CHARLES H. THOMPSON

THE NEGRO population of the United States outnumbers the total population of either the Argentine, Belgium, Canada, Holland, or Hungary; equals the combined populations of Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland; and constitutes one-tenth of the total population in the United States—estimated at approximately 13,000,000 in 1936. Of this number some 3½ millions are school children, 5 to 17 years of age inclusive. Relatively too few persons, including Negroes themselves, have any real conception of the struggle which this sizeable segment of our population has been and is making to secure anything approximating an equitable educational opportunity, guaranteed as the inalienable right of every American child.

The Legal Basis of Separate Schools

Public education in this country is a function of state support and control. The public school “system” is not a system at all, but 48 or more independent school systems—supported and controlled by the individual states, consequently reflecting the varied mental, moral, and financial wealth or poverty of the units involved. Thus, in 19 states and the District of Columbia Negroes are forced by law to attend schools set apart for them; in three states, separate schools are legally permissive; in 12 states, they are prohibited and in 14 states, the law is silent on the question.

Since 1865, some 120 cases have been brought into State and Federal courts questioning the validity of separate schools and certain aspects related to their administration. The courts have generally held: (1) that states have the legal right to establish and maintain separate schools (public and private, higher and lower) for the various races, *provided* that substantially equal educational opportunity is afforded; (2) that where the power to establish and maintain separate schools is not expressly authorized, or is prohibited, by statute, school authorities may neither maintain separate schools, nor even separate classes which are based solely on race.

Despite the rather clearly-stated conditions under which separate schools may operate, school authorities either through direct violation or evasion of the law maintain separate schools to the admitted disadvantage of the Negro.

Typical Discrimination in Separate Schools

There has been considerable misunderstanding, misinformation, and just plain ignorance about the extent of educational discrimination against Negroes. The following examples of discrimination will be taken from the legally-mandatory separate school since it is typical.

Physical Plants of Common Schools. The physical plants of the Negro separate schools are almost invariably inferior to those of the white schools in the same communities. It is estimated that there are 25,000 separate Negro elementary school buildings in the country, and some 600 separate high school buildings. More than three-fourths of the elementary schools are one- or two-room structures. And, despite the building of more than 5,000 school buildings with the aid of the Rosenwald Fund, the typical Negro elementary school building is still a ramshackle, dilapidated affair sadly in need of replacement. Nor are there enough of these to “house” the Negro pupils enrolled in school. A fairly recent survey (1932) showed that 48 per cent more classrooms than are now provided would have to be built if Negro pupils now enrolled in school were to be “housed” to the extent as white pupils in the same communities are. Moreover, the value of school plants for each pupil enrolled in school was \$37 for each Negro pupil, and \$157 (or more than four times as much) for each white child enrolled in school. It would take \$242,000,000 just to bring the physical plants of Negro common schools up to the level of the white school plants in the same communities, even on the basis of pupils enrolled in school—to say nothing about providing for those who ought to be in school but are not.

Length of School Term. Not only has the length of the Negro common school term rarely equaled the white school term in the same community, but it was relatively shorter by one-half month in 1932 than it was in 1910. In 1910, the average length of the Negro school term was 5½ months; that of the white school term in the same community, 6½ months—one month longer. In 1932, the Negro school term was 6¾ months; the white, 8¼ months—1½ months longer.

Common School Teachers. Separate Negro schools not only have poorer buildings and equipment and shorter

school terms than the white schools in the same communities, but proportionately fewer teachers are provided to teach the Negro pupils enrolled. In 1900, 29 per cent more teachers were provided in the white elementary schools than were provided for the same numbers of pupils in the Negro elementary schools in the same communities. In 1930, 38 per cent more teachers were provided in the white schools. Thus, instead of a bad situation improving, it has grown relatively worse.

In general, Negro teachers are less well trained than white teachers in the same communities. One would, therefore, expect Negro teachers in general to be paid a smaller salary than white teachers. But one would also expect the Negro teacher to be paid in accord with her training and level of work. This, however, is not the case. The Negro elementary school teacher, although she has 70 per cent as much training and teaches 38 per cent more pupils, nevertheless receives only 47 per cent as much salary.

In 1900, the difference between white and Negro teachers' salaries was only \$56; in 1930 the difference was \$478, despite the fact that the training of the Negro teacher more nearly equalled that of the white teacher in 1930 than in 1900. Again, a bad situation grows still worse.

Provision for High Schools. A survey in 1932 found 230 counties in which there was at least one high school for whites in each of these counties, yet in not one of them was there a single high school for Negroes. And this, despite the fact that 158,939 Negro pupils of high school age lived in these counties, and despite the fact that in no county was the Negro population less than one-eighth of the total population. Moreover, even where high schools are provided, similar differences in school equipment, number and training of teachers, and in length of school term are found as were observed in the case of the elementary school.

Common School Expenditures. In 1930, the per capita expenditure for each white child in common schools was \$44.31; for each Negro child, \$12.57. Some 252% more money was spent on each white child enrolled in school—with a range of 28.5% more in Oklahoma to 731.9% more in Mississippi. Five states (Ala., Fla., Ga., N. C. and S. C.) spent more than three times as much money (\$5,055,846) merely to haul white pupils to and from high school as was spent (\$1,667,144) on all the Negro high schools in these states for everything—teachers' salaries, equipment, operation of plant, etc. In 1934-35, Louisiana spent more money (\$1,816,266) merely to haul 121,341 white pupils to and from common school than it spent (\$1,749,427) for both current expenses and capital outlay on the entire common school education of all the 172,629 Negro pupils enrolled in school.

But even more significant, the disparity in per capita

expenditures upon white and Negro schools has progressively increased rather than decreased. In 1900, only 48 per cent more money was spent on each white child enrolled in school; in 1930, 252% more was spent. Even in states such as Texas and North Carolina this same trend is found. In 1905, the disparity in Texas was only 26%; by 1930, it had increased to 142%. In North Carolina, it was only 35% in 1900; but had reached 155% in 1930. There is no question but that Negroes receive less of an equitable share of school funds now than they did in 1900.

Higher Education. Although the population ratio is only 3½ or 4 to 1, nevertheless these states provide college education for white students at state expense in the ratio of 16 to 1. Moreover, in 16 states there is not a single state-supported institution where a Negro may pursue graduate or professional work, yet some 15,000 white students receive such training at state-supported institutions. However, five of these states—Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia—have passed laws providing for the financial aid of Negro students thus deprived. But the small pittance generally provided serves more as a means to allow the state to escape the law than it does as an honest substitute for excluding Negroes from their legal right.

How Educational Discrimination Is Effected

In general, the same methods are used to effect educational discrimination as are employed in other phases of Negro life—discriminatory legislation, evasion and violation of law, intimidation, and the like.

Discriminatory Legislation. This method of discrimination is of two types. The first type arises because a differential in the educational provisions for whites and Negroes is written into the law itself. For example, the Public School Laws of Maryland make the following provisions regarding salaries of county teachers: "No white teacher regularly employed in a public school of the State of Maryland, holding a first grade certificate, shall receive a salary of less than nine hundred and fifty dollars (\$950) per school year. . . . No teacher regularly employed in the public schools for colored children in the State of Maryland, holding a first grade certificate, shall receive a salary of less than sixty-five (\$65) per month. . . ." Thus by law a lower minimum salary is set for Negro teachers in Maryland.

The second type of discrimination through legislation consists in framing school laws so as to permit discrimination without actually writing it into the law. The Mississippi salary law (1928) is a good example of this type of legislation. The law provides that teachers with a third-grade certificate shall receive a salary between \$20 and \$30 a month; those with a second-grade certificate, between \$30 and \$40 a month; and those with a first-

grade certificate, between \$30 and \$150 a month. Observe that no distinction between the races is made in the wording of this law as is the case in Maryland, although its practical operation has the same effect. Under this law a Negro teacher with a *first* grade certificate may be paid as small a salary as a white teacher with a *third* grade certificate, while a white teacher may be paid five times as much as a Negro teacher with the same training, certification and work. It is needless to state that this is exactly what happens in many instances.

Discrimination in Violation of Law. This probably is the method employed most frequently to impose discriminations. Numerous illustrations might be given but one or two must suffice.

First, illegal discrimination in regard to high schools and colleges has already been pointed out.

Second, state funds are generally distributed to the various county units on the basis of the number of children of school age in the county, regardless of race. In Louisiana, in 1932-33, for example, each one of the 66 parishes received \$6 for every child of school age in the parish, white and Negro alike. In addition, the school districts of the parish supplemented this fund of \$6 per child from local revenues. At the end of the school year it was found that 47 of these parishes spent less than half the money (48%) on each Negro pupil enrolled in school that they actually received from the state fund by virtue of the presence of Negro children in the parishes. In fact these 47 parishes not only diverted to white schools, more than 52 per cent of the money brought into the parish by virtue of the presence of Negroes, but spent *absolutely nothing* from local funds on Negro schools.

Exclusion of Negroes from Positions of Authority. Negro common schools, like all other American common schools, are controlled by state, county, and city boards of education, and to some extent, by state, county and city superintendents. Superintendents and boards of education are either elected by the people or appointed by some one who holds office through election. With few exceptions in large urban centers, Negroes in the South, either because of "custom" or for other well-known reasons, do not vote. Nor are they frequently appointed or selected as members of boards. The same situation obtains in the case of superintendents; there are practically no Negro county, city, or state superintendents.

Motives Underlying Discrimination

The basic motives underlying the educational discrimination imposed upon Negroes are two-fold.

Lack of Funds. The South is unable financially to support one system of public schools, yet it attempts to maintain two. Education, being mainly a state function, is dependent upon the resources of the several states. The

South is poor in wealth but rich in children. The average per capita wealth of the South in 1930 was \$1,785 as compared with \$3,609 for the rest of the country. The South also has 20 per cent more children. Moreover, the South expends just as large a proportion of its funds for education as the other states. And yet, if *all* the money for education were spent on white children alone, the school systems of the Southern states would still be at the end of the list. In such a situation, the school officials in the South, who are almost invariably white, have diverted school funds as far as possible from Negro schools to white schools.

"Keeping the Negro in His Place." The second motive underlying discrimination is the main one—"Keeping the Negro in his place." The Negro's "place" is a rather indefinite status, but always inferior to the whites in the same community. Unfortunately the white masses of the South have been led to believe that they can raise their own status by degrading the status of the Negro.

Effects of Educational Discrimination

As might be expected, the discrimination in educational opportunity which the Negro suffers in the separate school is reflected in a correspondingly lower educational and social status. Just a few examples will suffice to illustrate some of the effects of these discriminations.

First, the Negro school term is 1½ months shorter than the white school term in the same community. The Negro child, unless he can learn as much in a shorter time, is compelled to take 9½ years to complete the same curriculum that the Southern white child has an *opportunity* to complete in 8 years. The result of this situation is seen in the fact that in 1922, 17.9 per cent fewer Negro pupils were above the fifth grade as compared with the white pupils in the same community, and, in 1932, 19 per cent fewer Negroes were so enrolled—thus, indicating that Negro pupils were 17.9 per cent more retarded than the white pupils in 1922 and 19 per cent more retarded in 1932. (Note the increase.)

Second, attention has been called to the fact that not only are Negro high school facilities very inferior when they are provided, but in many instances no high school opportunity is provided at all. Obviously, this situation reduces the educational level of the Negro group correspondingly. In 1910, 2½ times as many white pupils of high school age were enrolled in high school as Negroes of high school age in the same communities; in 1932, almost 3½ times as many whites as Negroes were enrolled in high school. The same sort of situation exists on the college level. In 1932, there were 4 times as many white college students in the South in proportion to the total white population of the South as there were Negro college students on a similar basis; and 5½ times as many

white graduates as Negro college graduates on the same basis. One can easily imagine the handicap that Negroes must suffer in any competition which requires educational competence.

Third, in 1930, 19.7 per cent of the Negroes 10 years old and over in the South could not read and write, as compared with 3.7 per cent of the Southern whites of the same age. Even in the school-age group of 10 to 14 the proportion was about the same—6.1 per cent of the Negro children in the South of this age group were illiterate as compared with 1.3 per cent of the white children in the same communities.

Illiteracy statistics indicate definitely the differential effect of various types of school opportunity. In the North where Negroes have access to much better school opportunity less than 1 per cent (.4%) of the Negro children 10-14 years old are illiterate. This is considerably less than the illiteracy rate (1.3%) of white children of the same age level in the South. Not only is this true of illiteracy but also of other measures. Where Negroes have school opportunities that approximate the whites we find their educational status correspondingly approximates that of the whites. Where the school opportunities of Negroes are lower we find Negroes' educational status correspondingly lower.

The Classroom

BERYL PARKER

This department is concerned with discussions of the daily school life of teachers and pupils. It seeks to show how teachers have succeeded in bringing social procedures into the classroom and social content into the curriculum. Reports from classrooms are being collected for a series of articles that will be of special interest and practical value to readers of THE AMERICAN TEACHER during the school year 1937-1938.

Articles and notes from classrooms all over the country are needed to give a composite picture of changes taking place in the elementary and secondary schools of rural communities and city districts, suburban towns and industrial centers. Will you take a few hours during the summer vacation to write down your own experiences in making school life more democratic, and send the editor your story? Raise any questions you think should be discussed by teachers who are assuming increased responsibility for the determination of educational policies.

THIS issue continues a series of articles on *The Activity Program*. The first dealt with *The Meaning of the Activity Program* as revealed in democratic forms of school life, which permit pupils and teachers to gain social experiences in the classroom and thus equip themselves for active participation in the affairs of the wider community outside.

The second article discussed *The Development of the Activity Program* with respect to changes in school administration, pupil behavior, curricula, schedules, equipment and materials, class size, school budgets and the professional activities of teachers.

RESULTS FROM THE ACTIVITY PROGRAM

Schools which have reorganized classroom life to permit greater activity for pupils report better results in

academic learning and superior social responses on the part of both pupils and teachers.

For a democratic society it is important that educational standards in basic subjects should rise, but it is even more vital to democracy that the social behavior of citizens should attain higher levels. Public education has a responsibility for literacy, but its ultimate goal is social intelligence and social action. Therefore, it is necessary to weigh results in social learnings as well as the three R's.

Fortunately teachers of today do not have to rely entirely on opinion or their own experience when they want to know whether pupils learn more or less under the *Activity Program*. Recent and reliable studies of learning in the "old" school and the "new" give fairly consistent evidence of the superiority of the "school of activity", both on elementary and secondary levels.

Psychologists, sociologists and educators are moving toward agreement that the total learning situation provided by the socialized classroom is conducive to pupil growth in behavior, literacy, subject areas, and social efficiency. They are equally certain that difficulties in learning and behavior problems are frequently due to the artificial restraints and unsocial atmosphere of classroom life in schools which have never realized the meaning of "democracy in education".

Extensive research on results was reported by Wrightstone* in 1935 when he published a comparative study of practices in "standard-type" schools and "newer-type" schools in four communities, which included suburban and industrial districts with pupils of varying socio-economic status. After devising new means of measurement, Wrightstone set out to evaluate the sociological aspect of school life which he regards as fundamental in the "newer-type"

*Wrightstone, J. Wayne: *Appraisal of Newer Practices in Selected Public Schools*. Bureau of Publications. Teachers College, Columbia University. New York. 1935.

school. In addition, he applied the usual tests to measurement of achievement in basic school subjects. Groups in the two types of schools were equated for intelligence, chronological age and socio-economic status.

It may allay the anxiety of worried teachers to know that Wrightstone found the pupils from primary grades in "newer-type" schools ranked slightly higher than those in "standard-type" schools in reading, spelling, language and arithmetic. Similarly, upper elementary grade pupils from the "newer-type" schools were slightly superior in rank on reading, language and arithmetic tests. Although the differences in achievement are not great, they are significant, because they show that basic learnings do not decline under the Activity Program in elementary schools.

The trend toward superior academic achievement in secondary schools using "newer-type" practices is equally clear from the results of tests in history, civics, sciences, reading, language usage, literature, French, Latin, arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. Often the differences are slight and in two sub-divisions of major subjects the "standard-type" school ranked a shade higher.

From these studies it is clear that learning in the narrow academic sense is fostered by the freer forms of school life. The superior results from "newer-type" schools are all the more striking in view of the fact that the time spent on straight academic work and formal drill is less in the activity school than in the "standard-type" school.

Social responses of pupils were studied next, although they could not be measured by the usual test techniques. In order to compare the kind and number of social responses made by pupils in two types of schools, Wrightstone trained skillful observers who recorded specific kinds of social behavior in the classrooms for definite periods when different sorts of school work were in progress. The results give overwhelming evidence that the "newer-type" school encourages desirable social responses, while the "standard-type" school reduces pupil responses to narrow and mechanical forms.

Data from Wrightstone's studies will suffice to show the trend in results. During social studies periods, the observers recorded pupil responses under three major categories.

I. Initiative

in preparing a voluntary report or exhibit;
in extemporaneous contribution from real experience;
in extemporaneous contribution from vicarious experience;
in suggesting means, methods, activities, solutions.

II. Other Social Responses

Responsibility in preparing an assigned report or exhibit.

Curiosity in asking questions on the topic, unit or problem.

Criticism in praising or challenging the work of others, including the teacher.

III. Memory in giving answers to questions on assigned academic material.

The results are evident in the table below which shows percentage frequencies of pupil responses in two types of schools at three levels.

Percentage Frequencies of Pupil Responses in Social Studies Periods

(N.T.S. indicates "newer-type" school, and S.T.S. indicates "standard-type" school)

	Primary		Intermediate		Secondary	
	N.T.S.	S.T.S.	N.T.S.	S.T.S.	N.T.S.	S.T.S.
I. Initiative	75	3	69	8	49	14
II. Other Social Responses	10	1	15	5	24	13
III. Memory	15	96	16	87	27	73

For schools in a democracy wishing to fulfill their avowed aims, it is clear that the "newer-type" school, by its classroom practices, contributes much more to the development of initiative, responsibility and critical thinking than the "standard-type" schools where memorization and recitation restrict pupil activity seriously.

The response of pupils in the classroom cannot be studied apart from the teacher. It is necessary to know what teachers are doing to promote or restrain pupil activity. Wrightstone's observers made a record of the stimulation teachers gave to their pupils during the same social studies periods.

I. Orientation: The teacher allows a voluntary contribution; encourages a contribution; proposes a question or thesis; refers to source of information; suggests means, methods or activities.

II. Prohibition: The teacher discourages pupil contribution; recalls pupil's attention.

III. Assignment-Quiz: The teacher assigns specific subject matter; gives quiz on assigned subject matter.

Percentage Frequencies of Teacher Stimulation in Social Studies Periods

	Primary		Intermediate		Secondary	
	N.T.S.	S.T.S.	N.T.S.	S.T.S.	N.T.S.	S.T.S.
I. Orientation	72	3	75	7	70	13
II. Prohibition	8	2	5	2	3	2
III. Assignment-Quiz ...	20	95	20	91	27	85

Clearly the teachers in "newer-type" schools are actively participating in the classroom work of pupils and not merely carrying on the dull routine of assigned lessons followed by the inevitable written or oral quiz. Because pupils are so eager to make contributions and follow various interests, teachers in the activity school are actually prohibiting pupils' responses more often than in the standard school, where the passive attitude of pupils keeps them

from making suggestions. Whenever the activity program is soundly developed the class group becomes a social unit bringing pupils and teachers close together in their work on common plans and problems.

Results from other investigations confirm the studies by Wrightstone. Frederick Pistor had similar results in his study at Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana. Ellsworth Collings' report of an experiment with a project curriculum contains similar conclusions. Carleton Washburne and Louis Roths report comparable results for pupils from the Winnetka public schools. Thomas Hopkins and James Mendenhall, Lincoln School of Teachers College, showed that test results through a ten-year period in that activity school reveal that children achieve comparable academic proficiency with children in subject-matter

schools.

The experience of hundreds of teachers in their own classrooms supports the evidence gathered by research workers. No teacher need fear that her children will learn less reading, writing and arithmetic if she carries on a well organized program of activities. Every teacher may be certain that the growing social power of her pupils will make school life an experience notable for its democratic values. Teachers who have become effective leaders and participants in classroom activities are better equipped for group work in professional and civic organizations. Dismissing their anxiety about academic standards, they may now devote their energies to a fuller development of social content in the curriculum and social procedures in classroom life.

It's Happening Now

New Activities by Old Friends

THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION extends its felicitations! To whom? None other than the president of the Fansteel Metallurgical Association, Mr. Robert J. Aitchison, who recently distinguished himself by his war-like means of ejecting sit-down strikers from his factory. The Federation terms Mr. Aitchison's action "the first real victory of the forces of law and order [Is the emphasis needed?] over that communistic movement which, almost unchallenged, is making such dangerous headway throughout the nation." . . . By the way, did you know that one of the offshoots of the Liberty League, the American Sentinels of the Republic, was in the thick of the fight nationally against the Child Labor Amendment? Among its members are Messrs. Sloan, Du Pont, Pitcairn, Pew, Statesbury. Aging Financiers Oppose Youth Control!

Legislative Victories for Civil Liberties

AMONG recent victories for the defenders of civil liberties throughout the country we may proudly point to . . . The repeal of the state criminal syndicalism law in Washington by both houses of the legislature. . . . The defeat in the House of Representatives of Arkansas of a measure sponsored by local redbaiters in Arkansas to close Commonwealth College, located near Mena. . . . Non-partisan opposition in Congress to the repeal of the red-rider, the notorious oath law in the District of Columbia, which was the pet measure of ex-Representative Blanton of Texas, defeated last fall for re-election. The modification of the red-rider abolishes the signing of affidavits twice monthly.

The Production of "Loyalty"

HOW the big automobile companies produce the "loyalty" among their workers to which the newspapers gave so much

publicity was exposed during the February hearings of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee. One man testified that in the interests of a loyalty display, he was given access to factory stationery, mimeographing machines, the payroll of factory names to turn out "loyalty" propaganda. A machine worker in Chevrolet Plant No. 10 at Flint, Mich., told the Committee that he had been threatened with dismissal because he would not sign a petition saying he was satisfied with his working conditions.

Can Teachers Be Parents?

AT Akron, Ohio, the Welfare Committee of the Superintendent of Schools, in the course of its work with underprivileged children, reached the conclusion that a family with two children could not be adequately cared for on less than \$1500 per year. Since a survey of the Akron schools by Local 287 indicates that over one-third of the teachers in the Akron system receive less than \$1500, Local 287 raises the question: "Can teachers be parents . . . either school teachers don't need as much as other people, or they shouldn't have children—we haven't yet decided which!"

Note for Consumers

ON the economic horizon, the outlook is for rising retail prices and new increases in the cost of living, according to recent estimates. One financial writer in the New York *Herald Tribune* said in December: "Reflected in the family budget, the lowered purchasing power of the dollar at home conceivably may be followed by a decline in aggregate consumption and living standards." That big chain store and other retailers are going to pass the taxes under the new Social Security Act right on to the consumer in the form of higher prices is indicated in a recent state-

ment of E. N. Weinbaum, manager of retail merchants' department of Portland, Ore., Chamber of Commerce, in addressing the convention of National Association of Retail Secretaries. He said that "probably the greatest source of relief to the retailer from pay roll taxes lies in the possibility of passing the tax on to the consumer. In general, the opinion is that the taxes will ultimately have to become part of the sales prices of most articles!" . . . And in order to make the customer feel better when he pays the higher price, L. E. Frailey advises fellow manufacturers and merchants, in *American Business* (Jan., 1937): "Around your announcement [of higher prices], throw an atmosphere of optimism. Make your buyer realize that higher prices are only an indication that 'happy days are here again'—good for him and good for everybody."

Plans and Zeros for War

INTERESTING admissions were made by Bernard M. Baruch, the chairman of the War Industries Board during the World War, when he testified before the Military Affairs Committee of the House on H.R. 1954, better known as the Industrial Mobilization Plan. According to Mr. Baruch, the bill would mean that wages would be controlled during wartime. He also admitted that a dictatorship would be imposed by the President under that clause of the bill which declares "the existence of an emergency due to the imminence of war." . . . In the meantime National Defense Week, February 12-22, came at a time when the seven and a half billion armament program of Great Britain had stirred our Admirals into a new affirmation of the need for "a navy second to none." The current billion dollar national defense appropriation, to them, now seems like small potatoes.

Washington Shows the Way

HOW the elected representatives of the people respond to the demand of our countrymen for legislation which, instead of attacking the rights of labor, actually protects, secures and increases them, is now being shown in the State of Washington. With the powerful Commonwealth Federation in the lead, a bloc of progressives is shaping the course of progressive legislation in Washington. An anti-tear gas statute has been passed. Other measures backed by the bloc are a measure to lower the tuition fees of students in the State University, one to provide a state emergency youth act, another to prohibit and limit the use of state police and the National Guard in labor disputes.

Preview of Fascism at War

THE evacuation of Malaga after the Fascist capture of the town was termed by an eyewitness, Dr. Norman Bethune of Montreal, the "most terrible of modern times". 150,000 men, women and children, without assistance, were forced to undertake a 100-mile journey. The most terrible aspect of the migration was the deliberate bombing of the refugees by German and Italian airplanes. . . . Could this,

in any way, be an illustration of Nazi scientific theory, which approves the wartime bombing of the most crowded communities, where living conditions are the worst, on the grounds that eugenic improvement results? Major Erich Suchland likens this type of bombing to the use of insecticides in an address to the German Research Institute for Race and Social Biology.

No More Compulsory R.O.T.C.

COMPULSORY military training in State universities has at last been abolished by one state, North Dakota. The Farmer's Union was chiefly responsible for the victory. And it is to be noted that in its long campaign for the abolition of the compulsory feature of military training, the Farmer's Union opposed it as un-American.

An Exhibit in Censorship

DESERVED notoriety has reached a New York City school principal. William Clarke's propensities towards censoring were recently exhibited in his removal of *Arrowsmith* and *Les Misérables* from the shelves of the school library. Somewhat annoyed by the publicity, the principal is actually going to read *Arrowsmith* and decide whether it's fit for students.

NEA on the Marriage of School Teachers

ONE of the statements in the yearbook of the Department of Superintendence which should be of particular interest to the teacher, married or "considering", deserves to be quoted.

Social restrictions upon the marriage of women teachers have created a definite professional weakness. Undoubtedly the turnover in the early years due to marriage has conditioned the reward to teachers in all save the larger urban centers. This fact in turn has had its effect on the salaries paid to men and has had some influence on the quality of men who are attracted to the profession.

Why Organize?

SPECIAL Covenant No. 4, part of contract which all public school teachers in Roanoke, Va., are required to sign:

"The School Board reserves the right to curtail or increase the teaching year or salary as affected by the amount of city or state funds available for the session, and also reserves the right to terminate your individual employment at any time, with or without cause, or make such changes in salary as may seem necessary and proper."

The Board has no uniform salary scale, and no teacher knows, unless by accident, what another receives. Old, well-qualified teachers have been dismissed in the last few years and new teachers employed—evidently much more cheaply.

The Teachers Union in Action

NATIONAL NEWS

At the NEA Convention. Irvin R. Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, represented the A.F.T. at the New Orleans convention of the Department of Superintendence of the NEA at a session devoted to problems of teacher organization. He stressed the support given by organized labor to the public schools from their inception up to the present time.

Federal Aid. The national legislative committee is concentrating all its forces on the fight for an adequate Federal Aid Bill. There is a fuller statement elsewhere in this issue on the present status of Federal Aid legislation.

Election. Miss Allie B. Mann, Atlanta Local 89, was elected Vice President of A.F.T. to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Kuenzli's election to the office of Secretary-Treasurer.

Proposed Amendments to Constitution

At the meeting of the Executive Council on December 31, 1936, it was voted that the following amendments be submitted to the locals with a recommendation that they be adopted. The amendments will be approved or rejected by the majority of *votes cast* and not by the number of locals voting for and against.

A. In Re Per Capita Payments

Amendment to Article VIII. Amend by inserting after Section 2 as Section 3, and renumbering Sections 3 to 7 as 4 to 8. A local may pay the per capita tax as designated in Section 1 for all members of the local at the average salary for the teachers of the school system—such average to be obtained by adding the minimum and maximum salaries of the salary schedule and dividing by two. If locals which adopt this plan have members on different salary schedules such as Elementary, Junior High and Senior High, they shall pay for all members in each group at the average salary of that group, such average to be secured by adding the minimum and maximum salaries on the salary schedule of the group and dividing by two.

Explanation (by original sponsors—Local No. 3). The present interpretation of the Revenue Section as applying to the individual salary of each member requires an undue amount of detailed bookkeeping by the local. In the large locals this is excessively burdensome and absorbs time and energy which can ill be spared for this type of work. The purpose of the graduated tax was to throw the heavy burden

of the national organization on the locals of higher paid teachers who were best able to carry it. The proposed amendment will accomplish the same purpose.

B. In Re Employment of Secretary-Treasurer

Amendment to Article V, Section 1. Amend by adding "The Secretary-Treasurer shall have voice but no vote in Executive Council meetings."

C. Amendment to Article V, Section 3.

Amend by adding after Executive Council the words "with the exception of the Secretary-Treasurer" so that the section reads "The members of the Executive Council, with the exception of the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be elected by the Annual Convention for the term of one year, or until their successors are elected."

D. Amendment to Article IX, Section 4.

Amend by deleting "organizers and use other legitimate means to organize new locals," and by inserting "The secretary-treasurer and such other employees as it shall deem necessary," so that the section reads "The Executive Council shall employ the secretary-treasurer and such other employees as it shall deem necessary."

Amendments B, C, and D pertain to the same change in the constitution and should be voted on as a group.

Explanation (by original sponsors—Local No. 3). The growing size of the organization makes it difficult for delegates who attend conventions to judge competently among candidates for an office which requires skill and experience. It is increasingly recognized as good organization practice to center authority in an elected council, rather than to divide it so that in essential matters there is no completely responsible agency. This method of choice of Secretary-Treasurer also gives greater security to a competent employee of the organization. Section 5 includes the significant elements deleted in Section 4.

Note: The Executive Council in recommending these amendments, after discussion, desires to make it clear that amendments B, C, and D, giving the Council authority to employ the Secretary-Treasurer, will in no way increase the combined power of the Council and the Secretary-Treasurer.

Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman has asked the Editorial Board to print this statement of her views on amendments B, C, D dealing with the Secretary-Treasurer:

Because I was unavoidably absent from the Executive Council meeting in December I should like to take this opportunity to express my disapproval of the amendment to the constitution that would take the election of the Secretary-Treasurer out of the hands of the members and

place it in the Executive Council. That I spoke against the idea when it was proposed in discussion by Mr. Kreuger at the council meeting in December, 1935, will be remembered by those council members who were present then.

Democracy is and should be the basis of organization in the American Federation of Teachers. While we also differ on many points of policy with other educational organizations, we have been justly proud of our differences in democratic procedure. We have constantly repeated that the American Federation of Teachers is administered by and for the classroom teacher. We have reiterated that every member of our organization is equally responsible for and has equal voice in the conduct of its affairs. To begin now (and I have advisedly used the word "begin") to take from the membership its right of election and control of its officers would take from us one of our strongest claims for existence—that of democracy.

I am well aware that democracy is often inefficient; that it is blundering and slow; but I am not yet willing to admit that democracy cannot work, or that, workable, it is not the best form for administering social affairs. Accordingly, though I know that the delegates of the membership in conventions may make mistakes, I still trust the sound good judgment of the popular will and believe its percentage of errors to be much less than that of any small group no matter how honest and capable. I know well how often comes the temptation to cut knots for efficiency's sake, but I also know the danger of such procedure. Much better is the delay and the lengthy discussion that is invariably fruitful in crystalizing and unifying many divergent points of view. Armed with the certainty that the minds of many are behind him, one may make his decisions clear and his actions definite.

The American Federation of Teachers needs at its helm in the capacity of Secretary-Treasurer one who is clear, definite and determined. Only the assurance that the membership which has elected him will back him can give to the officer such confidence as he requires. Further, the delegates from a locality may in convention testify to the abilities of a candidate. The opportunity of knowing his colleagues' evaluation of the candidate thus at first hand is denied the member of the Executive Council who must get his information from letters or the pleadings of a friend. Again, the Executive Council should not stand in the relationship of employer to the Secretary-Treasurer but as cooperative adjunct to his responsible executive capacity.

In summary, let me say that, since the office of Executive-Secretary carries the responsibility of presenting a "front" for the entire body of the American Federation of Teachers, it requires one who is outstanding in his ability as an organizer, a clear thinker and a good speaker. It requires one who is loyal to the principles of the American Federation of Teachers, who understands its history, and is able to interpret for our friends and enemies outside our ranks the spirit of all its members. Therefore only the members in delegated

convention can be properly trusted to choose one of outstanding merit to represent them to the public—one whom they recognize as a leader and will support if he follows their mandates and recall if he fails them.

Fraternally yours,
MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN,
Vice President, A.F.T.

NEWS from LOCALS

Canal Zone Teachers Get Increase. Several years of work on the part of Locals 227 and 228, located in the Panama Canal Zone, looking toward a more equitable salary scale have at last borne fruit. In January the Governor and the Superintendent of Schools recommended increases for all members of the instructional staff with the exception of the junior college teachers, concerning whom the recommendation stated that no action could be taken until further study of the question had been made. The new scale ranges from \$1750 to \$3249 per year. It will go into effect in September, 1938, provided that Congress appropriates the necessary funds.

Sedition Bill Defeated in Arkansas Legislature. In the previous issue *News from Locals* recorded the struggle of Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas, against concerted attacks. The latest of these—the Horton sedition bill, the purpose of which was to outlaw Commonwealth—was defeated in the Arkansas legislature by a vote of 46 to 19. Local 424, New Era Schools, Little Rock, and the Commonwealth Local 194 led the fight against this bill with broad state and national support. School leaders describe the defeat of this bill as "a crowning victorious advance for academic freedom, civil liberty, and workers' education in the South."

Butte Union Group Lobbies for Pension Bill. Local 332, Butte, Montana, is concentrating at the present time upon the passage of the Buck Bill, which is to come before the legislature during the present session. The Bill is for teachers' retirement in Montana, and will care for superannuated and disabled workers of the profession. The salient points of the Buck Bill are: 1. Costs will be shared by the teachers and the public: each teacher pays for his own annuity and the amount is about matched by the state for his pension. As soon as the teacher reaches a retirement age, the full amount will be procurable from which the allowance will be paid, such allowance not to exceed \$1000 per annum. 2. Payment of the retirement allowance will be due to superannuation or disability. 3. No retirement before the age of 60 years, unless the teacher is disabled. 4. Creditable service limited to thirty-five years. A teacher may retire at the age of 60 years providing he has fifteen years of experience, the last ten of which have been in the State of Montana. Should the time of teaching be less than 35 years, a pension of 1/140

of his average final compensation multiplied by the number of years of creditable experience will be given him, together with his annuity. 5. Return of total accumulated contributions to the teacher or his beneficiary. 6. Provision for protecting the rights of those who have retired under the present retirement law. 7. Credit for past experience allowed. . . . Three members of the Butte Teachers Union, Miss Cecilia Leary, Miss Angeline Golubin, and Miss Mary Sullivan were chosen to represent the organization as lobbyists. The School Board gave its wholehearted cooperation by giving these teachers a leave with pay to work at the capitol in Helena until after the Bill has come up. The Buck Bill is on the legislative program of the Montana State Federation of Labor, which is giving full support to the Teachers Union lobbyists. The Bill has also been endorsed by the State and local Parent-Teachers Association, the American Association of University Women, and practically all the local civic clubs.

Progressives in Akron Move Toward Union. Rumblings of revolt within the Akron Teachers Association—the “company union” or “Yes” organization of the administration—reached a climax recently when a group of younger teachers formed a liberal bloc within the Association. Calling themselves the Akron Progressive Teachers Association, they set forth to use the Akron Teachers Association as a means of improving salaries, tenure, sick leave, etc. Local 287, Akron, has actively cooperated with this progressive bloc, but the bloc has received surprisingly little encouragement from the administration. The result is that the “Progressive Teachers Association” found itself powerless to accomplish anything within the regular Teachers Association and is now moving to merge with Local 287.

Unorganized Teachers in Durham, North Carolina, “Ready to Act.” Nearly two hundred Durham classroom teachers appeared before the Appropriations Committee of the North Carolina legislature on February 12. The hearings followed a flood of telegrams sent by Durham teachers to the Appropriations Committee, declaring that “the teachers of the state are ready to act unless granted a 20 per cent raise before administrators receive raises.” At the present time administrators—superintendents and principals—receive two and a half times as much pay as the teachers. The Durham teachers have been rebuked by the North Carolina Teachers Association for taking their case to the legislature without going through the proper channels—namely the N.C.T.A.! Observers declare that the militant action of the Durham teachers expresses a pent up resentment against Superintendent W. F. Warren, of the Durham schools, who is the highest paid superintendent in the state, whereas the teachers in Durham receive the lowest pay in the state. Teachers also charge that Superintendent Warren is dictatorial and high-handed. At the end of his first year as superintendent he suspended thirty teachers, many of them long associated with the local

school system. Reasons for suspension were “sickness, ambition, and political-mindedness”! There is no local of the A.F.T. in Durham, but there is at least one voice crying in the wilderness. The Durham *Sun* publishes a letter signed “Pedagogue”, in which the Durham teachers are given some sound advice: “Teachers should learn that the fight for teachers salaries is wrapped up with the struggle for decent wages and unions among all workers. Teachers’ service, like manual labor, is a commodity bought and sold in the open market. Let all struggling teachers write for a free copy of the AMERICAN TEACHER, 506 South Wabash Av., Chicago. There they will learn about the American Federation of Teachers, which conducts a campaign for the teacher as a forgotten man, but one capable of helping himself through proper organization and publicity.”

Duluth Teachers Seek Better School Appropriations. The Duluth Federation of Teachers reports that teachers and labor in Duluth, Minnesota, opposed the proposals of the Duluth School Board for operating on a \$100 per pupil basis with a 20 mill limit. The representative of the Duluth Teachers Association pointed out that, when allowance was made for tax delinquency, the proposed \$100 per capita would not provide for complete salary restoration and that on this basis any state or federal aid would reduce the city’s school tax instead of providing better schools. Mr. Robert Olson, president of the Duluth Federated Trades Assembly, reported the Executive Committee of the Federated Trades in favor of removal of the 20 mill limit, stating that the voters had indicated that they were opposed to any limit when they rejected the proposal of the Tax Payers League for a 25 mill limit by a vote of 13 to 9.

Union Teacher Discusses Chicago High Schools in Radio Address. On February 25, in a radio address sponsored by the Federation of Women High School Teachers, Miss Mary Herrick, chairman of the Joint Board of Teachers Unions of Chicago, raised the burning question: “What’s Happening in Chicago High Schools?” In this address Miss Herrick pointed out:

“All personnel adjustment work in the schools was dropped by order of the Board of Education in 1933 as an economy measure. Recent experiments in Chicago offer some amelioration of the primitive lack of any guidance for pupils, but none of them is on an adequate scale, and they vary greatly in value. The enormous teaching load in Chicago high schools makes any instruction on the basis of individual curriculum adjustment within classes a haphazard and unscientific effort on the part of the most energetic and experienced teachers. In 1934-5, outside of the load of the shop teachers, who meet 120 pupils a day, the average teaching load in Chicago high schools has been between 190 and 200 per day, plus a division room group and a study hall of from 100 to 200. A few teachers were added last year, but not enough to materially reduce the load. And the abolition of the entire junior high school system in 1933 left the ninth grade in the senior high schools in a particularly unhappy state of maladjustment.”

The Federation of Women School Teachers, Chicago, in its February Bulletin, points out a serious situation

existing in the appointment of substitute teachers to positions which should be filled by permanent teachers. A study made in January, 1937, shows that of 150 temporary appointments, 27 were to fill vacancies caused by death, retirement or resignation, and 40 were to meet the need of increased school enrolment. A study made in June, 1936, shows comparable figures, indicative of a definite tendency to appoint temporary teachers—usually inadequately qualified—places where the best interests of education and the rights of tenure should require permanent appointments. . . . Union teachers in Chicago joined with non-union teacher organizations to protest against the failure of the Board of Education to provide any pay restoration in the 1937 budget. This cooperative action indicates a united resentment of teachers against the discrimination they have suffered and the pressing burden of increasing costs of living.

Progress in Cheyenne. The Cheyenne Federation of Teachers, Local 336, has been active during the past four months in campaigning for a Teachers' Retirement Insurance. Although the measure was not passed in the Wyoming legislature, sufficient pressure was brought to bring the Bill up for a vote. Some form of teacher retirement will probably be enacted in the next Wyoming legislature. . . . A drive is being planned for the restoration of the remaining salary cut for Cheyenne teachers, who are still ten per cent off the regular schedule. The Cheyenne local is cooperating with the City Teachers Association in working for salary increases. It is felt that the strength of the labor vote is the best weapon that the teachers have in their efforts for salary restoration. During the past two years, the Cheyenne local has been instrumental in winning the 9 per cent salary restoration that has been gained. . . . Through the efforts of the Cheyenne local, a measure at the state convention of the Wyoming Education Association providing for a delegate assembly rather than a full convention was successfully stifled. The proposed assembly would have given the administrators control of the State Association.

Progress in New York. Local 5, New York, reports the following victories: 1. Complete salary restoration; 2. End of McNaboe Investigation; 3. Passage by New York Senate of Full Absence Refund Bill; 4. Passage by Assembly of State Aid for Kindergarten; 5. Passage by the Education Committee of the Assembly of the Schanzer Bill for increase of salaries of Junior Clerical Assistants.

Toledo Union Objects to Conduct of Health Examinations. The weekly bulletin of Local 250, Toledo, Ohio, raises serious objections to the conduct of the Health Examinations of teachers in the Toledo schools. Members of the School Board have broadcast statistics of the examinations branding teachers as 40 per cent physically defective—without relating these statistics to normal standards for the adult population! The publishing of these statistics with-

out relating them with norms may have been the product of thoughtlessness or ignorance, but it represents a serious public injury to teachers. Further, the "secret relation which quite properly exists between a patient and his physician" has been violated on a large scale. Dr. Brockway, in charge of the Health Examination for the School Board, promised that he alone would know the records of the health examinations by teachers' names. This promise has been violated. The school nurses have been supplied with the names of those teachers whose examinations showed a defective hearing or the examining physician's statement "Normal", or no statement at all. "It is assumed," the Bulletin declares, "that the school nurses, possibly with the help of physicians, will re-examine the teachers. . . . It seems odd that the medical profession is so incompetent that statements from its members that hearing is normal should not be acceptable. What more is needed? What standards have been set up for hearing? The examination doesn't establish any. What physician dare arrogate the authority to declare incompetent a teacher whose hearing may be imperfect but whose success in teaching is unquestionable? We are certain now that the examination no longer is being used to protect the child from communicable diseases. Nor can it be used to establish physical efficiency until standards are set up which shall include compensatory qualities involved in all judgments of human efficiency." . . . The Toledo local also reports that salary schedule adjustment checks have come through. Thereafter a teacher, who wishes to remain nameless, appeared at the office of the local and contributed five dollars to the local's treasury, "in appreciation for her raise in salary and as a small token of thanks for the union's untiring efforts on behalf of the teachers of Toledo!"

Union Teachers in Buffalo Support Maintenance Employees. Local 377, Buffalo, New York, has requested the Board of Education to include sufficient money in budget to restore the salaries of maintenance employees. The letter of the local to the School Board stated: "Concerning the restoration of salaries for maintenance employees, we wish to point out that many of these are at present receiving little better than \$20 a week, and that charwomen are receiving what amounts to less than a subsistence wage, barely \$15 a week." . . . Meantime the local vigorously pushes forward its own demands for salary restoration. In this demand, the Buffalo local is supported by the Buffalo Central Labor Union, the District Council of Carpenters, the Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Local 84 of the International Molders Union of America, the Buffalo Typographical Union, Local 9, and the Musicians Union, Local 43. The budgetary reduction of the last year, amounting to \$906,000, resulted in the postponement of the opening of the new Kensington High School, elimination of summer school, drastic reduction of night school service, reduced provision for school and textbooks supplies, inadequate

maintenance of school plants, failure to grant salary restoration long overdue. The Board of Education has proposed its budget for 1937-38 and committees of the Buffalo Teachers Union are busily engaged in efforts to induce the mayor and the Common Council to maintain the budget intact.

Seattle Union Battles University Administration. The dismissal of Mr. Hugh DeLacy, delegate of A.F.T. Local 401, Seattle, Washington, to the Seattle Central Labor Union, from his position as English instructor at the state university because of his participation in politics, brought from the union a strong statement on the civil rights of teachers. Mr. DeLacy left the university to file for City Councilman in the March election. He had been privately assured by President Sieg of the University that he would be given a leave of absence, but the board of regents found two old precedents and dismissed him. The local union in its protest pointed out that such a policy isolated the campus and deprived the public of capable servants. The statement of the local received wide publicity and the result has been that Mr. DeLacy, running on a straight Labor Civil Rights platform and backed by Labor and by the Washington Commonwealth Political Federation, was

elected by a sweeping vote! . . . Local 401 has also found itself in opposition to the University administration on the legislative field—especially on a bill to cut tuitions and buildings and raise salaries. On one occasion this opposition took the form of virtual debate before the Educational Committees both of the House and of the Senate—an event which would have been unthinkable before the organization of the union. The University administration, which has three times refused to confer with the Union in ironing out differences, had a special meeting of the Instructors Association called on March 2. The faculty received a lecture from the president of the regents along with a ready-made resolution commending the administration and disavowing the constructive efforts of the union. Though this resolution was carried under administration pressure, a lengthy debate and a strong opposition expressed by a standing vote, robbed it of its force and gave the union new prestige on the campus. Meanwhile the union claims credit for forcing the University budget up \$388,000 in the appropriations committee after the governor had trimmed it down from the original figure. The union plans an open meeting to which all the faculty will be invited to hear the results of its activities at the legislature.

Among the New Books

Wealth of Nations

MAN'S WORLDLY GOODS: The Story of the Wealth of Nations. LEO HUBERMAN. Harper. 1936. 349 pages. \$2.50.

MAN'S WORLDLY GOODS is a history and an analysis of the rise and development of our present economic order—capitalism. It is an almost flawless example of the technique of textbook writing. Most textbook authors write more with an eye to their colleagues' approval than for their students. Mr. Huberman has reversed the process. He has not forgotten that the learning process takes place in the student, not in the teacher or the text book. His rich, racy, colloquial narrative is primarily intended for young people but is just as useful for adults of any age who are seeking an introduction to the mysteries of our economic system.

The author begins his story with the early feudal manor. He takes to the town with the early traders and the guild craftsmen. Slowly at first but gradually more rapidly, the new system that is destined to overthrow feudalism grows and develops. The Crusades, the Black Death, the Peasant Revolts, the Renaissance, the Reformation and many other familiar events are presented as phases of that development. The pattern of history takes form and significance. Feudalism finally succumbs in the unequal conflict and capitalism, freed of its chains, enters the period of its own supremacy.

With the beginning of the capitalist era, capitalist development proceeds more and more rapidly. We are carried through the phases of crisis, depression, and revival with their inevitable accompaniment of poverty in the midst of plenty. We watch the change from the small unit to combinations, trusts, corporations, mass production, imperialism.

All through the story the sense of motion is overwhelming. One gets the feeling of watching a race; a race in which the runners gather speed as they progress, a race that is now thundering down the home stretch.

Mr. Huberman's analysis of economic crises in the chapter entitled "The Weakest Link" is particularly fine. The sections dealing with economic planning in the last two chapters are also important. There is a splendid annotated bibliography for those who wish to pursue their studies further.

This book is recommended unreservedly for high school teachers and for college teachers of freshman classes. It should be a godsend to the WPA teachers in adult and workers' education. If not used as a basic text it should absolutely be in the first line of reference support.

JOHN M. JACOBSEN.

The Meaning of English Literature

THE LITERATURE OF ENGLAND. GEORGE B. WOODS, HOMER A. WATT, and GEORGE K. ANDERSON. Chicago: Scott, Foresman. 2 vols. Vol. I, 1004 pages. \$3. Vol. II, 1075 pages. \$3.

IN MANY, perhaps most colleges and universities in the United States, literature is studied in isolation from life, from other subject areas, and from world literature. Few university courses and fewer universities make any serious attempt to show that the classics which form our literature were the product of social and economic forces, and that they cannot be understood unless the relationship between the literature and the creative forces which produced them are clearly established in the minds of the students.

Parrington's three volume work, *Main Currents in American Thought*, constructed an outline of social movement for teachers and students of American literature. We are now recognizing that English literature does not exist *in vacuo*. The authors of a new work, *The Literature of England*, clearly state in their preface the necessity for presenting "English literature as the literary expression of a people. . . . Social cleavages, class relationship, social psychology have come to be regarded in recent years as more and more essential in any approach to literature. . . . The authors have tried to reveal the spirit of the people by whom and for whom the literature was created."

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This sharp departure in building college literature materials they have attempted to achieve by architectural unitary design: selection of the material for a total effect, accompanied by systematic interpretation. Each chapter begins with an introductory background essay which is a carefully articulated part of the whole plan, and head notes throughout each chapter carry on the conception. The Victorian Age is discussed under such significant headings as "The Heritage of Revolution", "Nationalism and Imperialism", "Science and Society", and "The New Democracy." Eliot's *Silas Marner* and Mulock's *John Halifax, Gentleman* are presented as admirable incidental depictions of the rapid transformation of rural communities into factory towns, and Arnold's *Dover Beach* and the work of Tennyson are used as evidences of the dominance of science.

Kipling is catalogued as "an outspoken imperialist" and the evidence provided with representative titles: "Fuzzy-Wuzzy", "Gunga Din" and "Mandalay." Certain notes such as that on "The White Man's Burden" point forcefully to the social significance of the literature, and carry out the promise of the preface. The strengthening of such connective tissue in the fabric of the survey would add to the authors' accomplishment.

There are naturally confusions and exaggerations in any work so comprehensive. In the section on the New Democracy it is stated that "In this half century of legislation (1823-1885) England became a modern democracy and the workers of England shifted their status from that of clients to that of patrons" (p. 403), and earlier, "It is always to be questioned whether science is a servant of man or man the slave of science" (p. 402).

The volume ends with Galsworthy's *Strife*. There is accordingly no presentation of the emerging proletarian and Marxist literature. Failure to mention this new critical and interpretative thinking is the most serious weakness of a fine scholarly effort to take literary masterpieces out of the monastery and make them available not only for understanding what life has been, but for their contribution to what we decide it must be.

The limitations of *The Literature of England* should not prevent recognition of its progressive contribution. College teachers who use the survey approach to English literature and general readers will find these volumes an original, sharply-edged answer to their needs for meaningful materials.

HOLLAND D. ROBERTS.

New Education in Advancing Mexico MEXICO, A REVOLUTION BY EDUCATION. GEORGE I. SANCHEZ. 201 pages. The Viking Press.

"MEXICAN MELEE" is the title of the opening chapter of *Mexico, A Revolution by Education*. But Sanchez, on the basis of careful study and much first-hand experience, analyzes the racial, geographical and historical elements that have produced this mixture. Having a very clear social point of view he creates no new confusions in fixing the positive and negative values of the period of Spanish conquest; he draws a clear distinction between colonization in the American colonies and exploitation of new lands under the Spanish mandate.

Mexico, nominally independent in 1821, did not free itself from feudal concepts until a hundred years later. The revolutionary school begins shortly after the overthrow of Diaz in 1910 but it hardly starts to function until 1921, so that the survey made by Sanchez in 1935 covers, in fact, the work of fourteen years. The achievement under a program of Socialist education, however inadequate to the total needs of a culturally undeveloped country, is prodigious, moving rapidly, because harmoniously, with the entire program of the Federal government. The school "seeks to accelerate the process of cultural, social, and economical development among the people." Cultural missions, which are traveling groups of educators and technical experts, rural schools providing classes for children in the daytime, for adults in the evening, labor schools established by law and paid for out of the income of local industrialists, Indian boarding schools, teacher-training schools—all of these are forms of federal schools functioning under the plan of Socialist Education. "The school is life itself and forms an active part of the total social structure. . . . The pupils of the new school

are the Mexican masses and the curriculum is based on the life problems of the Mexican people."

To the Mexican government the whole matter of social improvement is urgent; but reforms in sanitation, in methods of agriculture, in standards of literacy, in a whole cultural scheme cannot be imposed on a mass of people mistrustful after centuries of repression and exploitation. Growth comes through the satisfaction of present needs. If the environment of the Mestizo and the Indian is to be changed, then the materials of that environment must be used. The people are being taught, in terms of what they have, to reach standards better than those they have. The schools become the means by which to reach a new level of culture.

An unprejudiced traveler, visiting a new land, learning new folkways, is willing to cast aside certain well-worn assumptions. Sanchez' analysis of Mexican education as an integral part of the present dramatic growth of Mexico forces upon the reader the same vigorous attitude.

A Revolution by Education is a brief study, lacking perhaps in such detailed description of cases as might add color to a vital theme, but it is very readable, informative, stimulating. For the general reader it makes a realistic contribution to the understanding of social change in the life of a geographical and political neighbor; for the teacher it has the additional value of provoking thought upon the relationship of our own schools to the economic and cultural development of our country.

BERTA RANTZ.

Progress in Youth Activities

YOUTH SERVES THE COMMUNITY. PAUL R. HANNA. A publication of the Progressive Education Association. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 264 pages. \$2.00.

PAUL HANNA's *Youth Serves the Community* is that rare thing, a book by an educator that is neither wordy, woolly philosophy nor an unprofitable elaboration of a platitude. Hanna has a stirring theme, the attempts by youth to better the environment. His method is to amass case studies in community improvement and to summarize in an opening and a concluding chapter his criteria for worthwhile activities.

Modern teachers have needed such a survey. Steadily our progressive educators and our liberals have hammered home the need for schools in which the problems of students and of today's society are paramount, and grudgingly educational aims have been swung in the new direction. But forays beyond class discussion of the deficiencies of our times have been relatively few, as *Youth Serves the Community* demonstrates. Yet here is the next step in the battle for realistic learning, for we need action along with understanding.

The survey conducted by Mr. Hanna and a WPA research staff shows that in a simple environment action to improve the community is quite feasible. Rural projects are many and include much experimental farming and breeding and beautification of the farm or school property or small town. But the urban environment is usually controlled by "impersonal corporations, set in a complex economic and political milieu which is so impregnable that youth cannot really have free access to it." Yet, despite handicaps, some urban groups have inspected tenements for building violations, started art galleries, publicized a threatened shutting down of libraries, fought vandalism in neighborhoods, surveyed delinquency for city officials, crusaded for health sanitation officers, publicized the smoke nuisance, converted a slum court into a playground, regulated traffic, and worked for fire prevention.

At its worst a youth activity may degenerate into an exploitation of children for the benefit of a local real estate board or a fascist state. But any tool may be abused. And at their best, youth activities may be the road to a citizenry trained in planning together and constructively working together to re-make the environment.

The Progressive Education Association chose well in its first venture into the publishing world. Hanna's book mirrors the association's progressive social and educational convictions.

WILLIAM A. VAN TIL.

Parents and Children in a New World

NURSERY SCHOOL AND PARENT EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. VERA FEDIAEVSKY and PATTY SMITH HILL. E. P. Dutton. 265 pages. \$2.50.

MADAME FEDIAEVSKY and her collaborator, Professor Hill, have given those interested in education a handbook of what has happened and is happening in nursery school and primary education in the Soviet Union. To read this handbook is to be reminded that probably no other country in the world offers children and mothers the opportunities for education that modern Russia provides.

Fully discussed and analyzed through numerous charts, drawings, and documents are the aims, objectives, and methods of the various aspects of child and parental education, physical, mental, and social. The book is well filled with information regarding the protection of mothers before and after the child's birth, the training and activities of teachers, consultation centers for parents, crèches (these are of various types—"day" and "day and night" in factories, railroad stations, and hotels), and the relation of all these activities to the state, and the socialist society.

The book should prove to be of special value to progressive and experimental educators in this country because the Russians have carried out on a vast scale the theories and practices which have been used here in a limited way. In fact, American educators have contributed not a little to Madame Fediaevsky, who visited this country some years ago.

One hundred photographs add a great deal of life and charm to the book.

MABEL HAWKINS.

Dramatist of Chaos and Hope

SEVEN PLAYS. Ernst Toller. Liveright. 434 pages. \$2.50.

HERE is a poet who has found in the drama a means of amplifying his impassioned protest against the injustices of society. These are plays that the world heard eagerly when Toller, in his five years as a political prisoner and afterward, continued in his powerful writing the struggle for a liberated man, until Hitlerism destroyed in Germany all that was human and truthful.

Two of the plays here reprinted, *The Machine Wreckers* and *Masses and Man*, are widely known. But the importance of this volume is that it enables American readers to get a more complete view of Toller's dramatic work. Much of the writing is autobiographical. But in the story of this sensitive intellectual whom the war and disillusionment had forced to live a thousand lives in one, there is also the story of his contemporaries. They, too, had passed through the bitterness of defeat. They, too, were arriving, like the hero of *Transfiguration*, at a Whitmanesque belief in human beings and then at an awareness that in spite of temporary defeat, in the workers could be found the strength to oppose man-made suffering, exploitation, war.

These plays, moreover, are essential for the study of the experimental forms of the modern theatre. Toller refers to one of them as "a fragment of the Social Revolution of the Twentieth Century." An age of such rapid change makes all conventional forms inadequate. But Toller's attempts to develop new ways of presenting the fragments of a chaotic era did much to advance our stage technique. There is effective energy in these nervous scenes, these *Stations* and *Dream Pictures*, these outbursts of characters "on the borderline between reality and unreality", this staccato verse and ringing prose, this profusion of poetic symbols.

Toller's dramas, often more like scenarios, formed the basis for the work of some of the most original post-war theatres. Reinhardt, Meyerhold, the Volksbühne, the New York Theatre Guild have applied their particular methods to these plays. For Piscator, one of the most advanced artists of the modern theatre, Toller wrote *Hoppla!* which by making use of film and loud speaker as well as living actors, expanded the limits of the stage to include a whole era of social struggle.

BORIS GAMZUE.

Book Notes and Recommendations

THE growing recognition of the drama as a means of mass education has brought with it a demand from unions and cultural groups everywhere for guidance in an art once the property of the people. To meet the new demands, the Affiliated Schools for Workers have published a useful pamphlet on "Labor Drama" which should be valuable to all amateur groups. It contains notes on the mass recitation, practical information about producing a play, and lists of essential books about the various phases of theatre work. The magazine *Federal Theatre* is another valuable contribution by the agency of the government that has done so much to return the theatre to the people and the people to the theatre. It is a handsomely illustrated publication, rich in suggestions for spectators who would be participants.

The New Theatre League has already earned an honored place for its contributions toward a vital theatre in America. Its publications are invaluable. From its offices at 117 West 46th Street, New York, it now issues, in addition to plays and play lists and useful pamphlets on the theatre, an important quarterly for more advanced students—*Theatre Workshop*, a journal of the theory, practice and history of the theatre arts. The emphasis in this, as in its increasingly popular magazine *New Theatre and Film*, is upon a theatre rooted in the life of our time.

A publishing venture of great importance to teachers is the new undertaking of the National Home Library Foundation. Those who have found it impossible to satisfy their book needs because of high prices, will welcome these attractive cloth bound, well-printed compact books that are sold for twenty-five cents.

The titles, selected by a distinguished advisory board, include *The Complete Poetical Works of Keats*; *The Odyssey of Homer*; *Writings of Thomas Paine*; *Horace Mann* by Joy Elmer Morgan, which includes Mann's lectures on education and his "Letter to School Children"; *Democracy in Denmark* by Goldmark and Brandeis; *Jefferson, Corporations and the Constitution* by Charles A. Beard; *Uncommon Sense* by David Cushman Coyle; and *Wealth Against Commonwealth* by Henry D. Lloyd, which contains his prophetic words of 1894:

"In nothing has liberty justified itself more thoroughly than in the resolute determination spreading among the American people to add industrial to political independence. . . . A new liberty will put an end to pauperism and millionairism and the crimes and death rate born of both wretchednesses."

BORIS GAMZUE.

Correspondence

Letters dealing with issues of interest to union teachers will be printed in these columns. Inclusion of a letter does not necessarily mean that the Editors endorse its sentiments.

The Geography of Concentration Camps

Dear Editor:

I should like to call the attention of the readers of our magazine to a map of Nazi Germany in the "Labor Chest."

This map, in my opinion, should be seen by every believer in democracy. It shows graphically the astounding number of concentration camps, jails, and penitentiaries in the land of Nazism. From one end of the Reich to the other are dotted these chambers of torture and repression.

The symbols used are as follows: a large black square for penitentiaries, a black circle for jails, and a large black K for concentration camps. These symbols are so numerous that they practically cover the map. This is the Germany of Hitler. What a desecration of the memories of Heine and Goethe and Schiller!

Here is the stark lesson of Fascism and Reaction. Humanity is to be beaten and jailed for the crime of protesting against a dying profit system and its insanities. Not work and leisure and culture for the masses, but a life of stagnation and physical and mental deterioration under the rule of Hitler and his backers.

Let us determine that we will unite to prevent such a tragedy in America.

CHARLES WEIR,
President, Local 344.

A Request for Trained Personnel

Dear Editor:

Perched on the side of one of the big Smoky Mountains of the South is a summer camp for workers' children. Trade union and unemployed parents send their boys and girls there for a four weeks' vacation. For some children it's the first chance to be really care-free—to play and hike and swim and splash paint. And in the midst of this life of fun they talk about their schools, their towns, their parents' jobs. They read stories and news of the labor movement. They come to understand in a measure what it means to be part of the working class. And sometimes their ideas come out in plays or pictures or stories. Sometimes the children go home to try to organize their playmates into union clubs.

Adults interested in children and in the labor movement are invited to apply as counsellors at Camp Larry. There is a particular need for persons trained in nursing, dietetics, folk dancing, creative arts (music, painting, rhythm), construction and general group leadership.

Anyone interested is invited to apply to Pioneer Youth of America, 219 West 29th Street, New York City.

Sincerely,

AGNES SAILER.

On the Kraus Case

Dear Mr. Editor:

Your readers will be interested to know that a committee has been organized to sponsor an appeal for funds for financing Professor Arthur J. Kraus' breach of contract case against City College of New York, which is now pending in the New York courts. Dr. Kraus' case is in the hands of a capable and experienced lawyer who is giving the case the best of attention. Members of the sponsoring committee include Professor Arthur A. Brodeur of the University of California, Berkeley; Bishop James E. Freeman, of Washington; Dr. Guy Emery Sipler, editor of *The Churchman*; Mr. George N. Shuster, of *The Commonwealth*, and others.

Readers of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* will recall that Professor Kraus suffered most unjust treatment at the hands of the authorities at City College four years ago when, following his hunger strike to protest against the persecution of students in Polish universities, he was discharged from his post on highly dubious charges of mental incompetence. During his hunger strike Dr. Kraus' classes were taken care of by substitute professors, and his heroism and courage in undertaking the strike were commended by his City College superiors. His superiors also invited him to return to his post after the strike. However, a few days after returning to his classes Dr. Kraus was induced to submit to a psychiatric examination, and the authorities used the findings of that examination to justify his discharge. Other prominent psychiatrists, including Dr. Robert W. Laidlaw, Dr. William Browning and Dr. Charles Rosenheck have testified as to the soundness of his physical and mental condition.

Our purpose is to assist Dr. Kraus in obtaining a full and impartial court review of all the facts relating to his discharge, and thus to aid in removing the stigma of mental incompetence so unjustifiably imposed upon him by the action of City College. We estimate three thousand dollars will be needed for this purpose. We appeal to all who believe in justice and fair play to respond by giving as generously and as promptly as possible. Gifts may be sent directly to the Secretary-Treasurer of our committee, Mr. Edwin C. Johnson, at Lester Studio Building, Broadway at 114th Street, New York City.

JOHN DEWEY,
for the Kraus Defense Committee.

The High Price of "Frill-Cutting"

To the Editors:

When a campaign for "cutting out the frills" in education begins, one of the first departments to be attacked is that of health and physical education. Classes are enlarged; teaching staff is cut; teaching load is increased; playing space is limited. Under such conditions, physical educators attempt to struggle on toward their main objective, which is improving and maintaining the health of the children. Under such conditions the attainment of the health objective is well-nigh impossible.

With huge classes of 70, 80, or 90 children pouring into a gymnasium every hour of the day to be exercised and turned back to the class-room, what happens to individual variations in physical capacity—to the too tense, undernourished, underweight child? He is carefully considered where the objectives are impressively listed on paper.

With hundreds of children pouring out onto a cramped concrete surface surrounded by high brick walls (expensive structures, brick walls) what happens to the opportunity for big muscle activity? In all well-written statements on "how to attain the health objective," big muscle activity is mentioned prominently.

With every period in the day filled up by the actual teaching of classes, when is the medical examination follow-up work done? How many thousands of shelves are collecting the dust of dead statistics? How many thousands of children are being denied the first right of every human being, the right to reach and maintain his fullest "capacity for activity," which means health?

When "frill cutting" groups cry "economy," they sometimes get a saving for which children pay dearly. Much has been said about the economic burdens which huge government expenditures are putting upon future generations. What about the curse upon a generation whose capacity for living has been wilfully stunted in the interests of a false economy? Overcrowded, state-supported hospitals are only one example of the expensive results of some one's "frill-cutting." It is seldom that the preventive is more expensive than the cure.

What is the physical educator's responsibility when he is working under conditions which make pure mockery of the attainment of his objectives? He must attempt to change the prevailing conditions. What should any worker do who would change unsatisfactory working conditions? The history of the labor movement gives the answer in one word—Organize. If the physical educator, along with all other educators, honestly and earnestly wishes to fulfill his responsibility toward the children he teaches, he must join with his fellow workers in standing as a strong and well organized body between those children and all so-called "frill-cutting" forces. The alternative to organization, in the final analysis, is the crippling paralysis or obliteration of the physical education and health program.

WINIFRED MACDONALD,
Boston, Mass.

Contributors' Column

CLINTON S. GOLDEN is regional organizer for the C.I.O. in the Pittsburgh area.

E. ALLISON GRANT is secretary-treasurer of the Massachusetts State Council of Teachers Unions and a member of its Educational Committee. He is a member of the Executive Committee of local 441.

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN is national legislative representative and a member of the Executive Council of the A.F.T.

MABEL HAWKINS is a teacher at the Little Red School House in New York City and a member of local 5.

CHARLES J. HENDLEY is president of local 5, president of the New York State Federation of Teachers and a member of the Executive Council of the A.F.T.

JOHN M. JACOBSEN is president of local 189. He is an instructor in economics at Brookwood Labor College. He is treasurer of the New York State Federation of Teachers.

JOHN L. LEWIS is president of the United Mine Workers of America, and head of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

BERTHA RANTZ is director of the high school division of the Walden School in New York City. She recently visited Mexico and made a study of the schools there.

HOLLAND D. ROBERTS is one of the contributing editors of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. He was, until the last convention in March, president of the California State Federation of Teachers. He is president of the National Council of Teachers of English.

CHARLES HENRY THOMPSON is head of the Department of Education at Howard University. He is editor of the *Journal of Negro Education* and has written numerous articles in *School and Society*, *Journal of Educational Research*, *Opportunity* and other publications. He is a member of the national legislative committee of the A.F.T.

WILLIAM A. VAN TIL is assistant professor of social science and education at Ohio State University.

The Proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention of the A.F.T. are now available. Price: 75c per copy—10% discount in quantities of one dozen or more. All locals are urged to purchase one or more copies. The supply is limited. Order from the National Office.

LEADING UNION LABELS THIRD SERIES

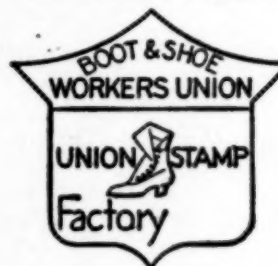
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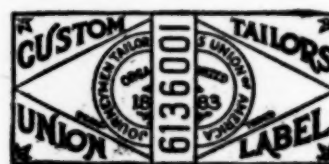


BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' LABEL



Shoes are not Union Made unless they bear a plain and distinct impression of the Union Stamp. An indistinct impression resembling our Union Stamp is likely to be a counterfeit.

TAILORS' LABEL



If your tailor has the privilege of using the label, and all good tailors do have that privilege, it will mean that your clothing will be made in a well-lighted, clean workshop and that the men and women doing the work are getting at least living wages and an eight-hour day.

HOUSE CARDS OF HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES' INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE AND BARTENDERS' INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA



Why I Am a Member of the Teachers Union

Defense of Common Rights

I belong to the Teachers Union because I believe that teachers have economic and personal rights, which can best be defended by group organization and which, if not defended, are infringed and suppressed; because I believe the Teachers Union more than any other educational organization is fighting to maintain these rights; because I believe that the Teachers Union is fighting not only to maintain the rights of its own members but to maintain similar rights for the people generally and the children of the public schools especially; and because I believe that alignment with other workers' organizations is a right and proper step in the common defense of common rights for the common good.

NEAL BILLINGS,
Local 79

The School as a Social Agency

For many years I belonged to the large group of teachers who believe their interests to be so identified with those of the communities they serve, that they need have no concern about these interests; that they will be taken care of by other members of the community who recognize the importance of the service teachers render. I finally discovered that communities are not so altruistically disposed; that if teachers wish to protect themselves and the schools they, themselves, must work to that end. I believe the Federation of Teachers is the only organization in a position to exert sufficient influence to be of real help in defending the rights of teachers and in insuring the success of the school as a social agency. For this reason, some years ago, I joined the Federation of Teachers.

CARRIE EDMONDSON,
Local 79

Better Working Conditions

I joined a teachers union because I believe that as a body, the teaching profession is capable of doing immeasurable good in aiding the teachers who are not so fortunate as others in securing better working conditions, tenures, better salaries and in building up and sustaining teacher morale.

HERBERT C. RETZMAN,
Local 395

Self-Respect—Salary Readjustment

Confidence, self-respect, support of a powerful organization are to me the equal in value of some salary readjustment which we have obtained through organization. Previously we lived in almost a state of serfdom. Too many still do. Because of powerful support outside our own membership, we have confidence in our cause and feel the self-respect enjoyed by those who are not afraid.

J. C. CHAPIN, Chairman of the
Grievance Committee, Local 279

Better Teachers, Better Schools

Before joining the American Federation of Teachers, I felt that life as a teacher was to a great extent bound by the four walls of the classroom. I realize now, since the formation of our own local, that my problems are not my own, but those of teachers all over the country. Organization has definitely widened the horizon, and since the A.F.T. is a classroom teachers' organization, puts teachers in a position to control educational trends. It has helped to make better teachers, better schools, and better educational policies.

T. M. BLISS,
Vice-President, Local 279

Fighting the Good Fight

Our country is controlled by pressure groups. You will be run over unless you belong to a strong group which will defend your rights. If an organization is fighting your battles and protecting your rights, you owe that organization your allegiance and your dues. I am proud to belong to the Teachers Union because it is fighting the good fight.

J. C. ADELL,
Local 279