

Edue

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The AMERICAN TEACHER

MAY, 1939



National Action For Health by Josephine Roche

Published by the AMERICAN FEDERATION of TEACHERS

Inside the Cover

After reading and re-reading pages 17-24

of this month's *AMERICAN TEACHER*—we've caught this suggested reading bug too. . . . Before you read the books suggested in any of the articles get yourself a copy of *Consumers' Guide* (September, 1938, which was reissued for December 19, 1938). This presents in pictorial chart form the material issued earlier by the National Resources Committee in *Consumer Incomes in the United States*. . . . Orchids to Mary Taylor, editor, and D. E. Montgomery, consumers' counsel, for publishing such a deliciously "subversive" document in a format that any five-year-old child will find understandable. . . . It's free from the Consumers' Counsel Division, A.A.A., Washington, D. C.

We'd like to give the call to three other books (besides *Grapes of Wrath*)—*Death of a Yale Man* (F. & R., \$2.50) by Malcolm Ross, who is with the N.L.R.B. . . . It's a swell story of one man's attempt to fight through the educational hogwash to the world in which most people live . . . sort of Steffinish in our opinion . . . then G. E. R. Gedy's *Betrayal in Central Europe* (Harpers, \$3.50) . . . and for a ten-dollar bill you can invest in *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens* (Harcourt) . . . a good idea for the teachers' reading room.

Good news from the Southland comes in

Maury Maverick's election as Mayor of San Antonio. . . . Coming events were forecast when C. K. Quin, Garner follower, lost to Maverick by 3,500 votes. . . . Lawyer for the C.I.O. Automobile Workers Union is Charles P. Taft who might try a little of his progressive thinking on his senator-brother who is opposing Federal Aid. . . . At the Kansas City meetings Methodist-Minister Tittle from Evanston, Ill., urged, "Let the church go so far as to lift the standards of employee-employer relationships. Let the church pronounce the right of its employees to organize."

A. W. Robertson, chairman of the board of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, in a speech before the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce scored "minority rule" in America. He held that disfranchisement of citizens now on relief rolls would furnish them with an incentive to "regain the right of citizenship."

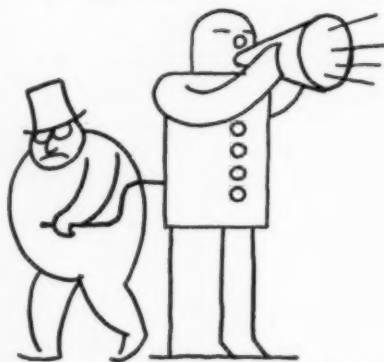
"At present, a person on relief has little incentive to get off. He is both the judge and advocate. As a citizen he decides the case in his own favor," said Robertson.

The kids in Oslo, Norway, are entitled to a free breakfast at school . . . and we have our troubles providing the free schools. . . . The D.A.R. will probably collapse, but a mural of Marian Anderson singing at the Lincoln Memorial will be

placed in the Department of the Interior (thanks to Mr. Ickes). . . . President Roosevelt in a recent letter to Haywood Broun said that he was in favor of maintaining the Federal Arts Projects. . . . The state legislature of Missouri found it necessary to cut child-aid funds but is considering a bill which would raise legislators' pay. . . . A locked out miner in Pennsylvania is spending his time digging his own grave. . . . National Maritime Union members in New Orleans find it hard to get used to riding in the new union truck which is a former police patrol wagon.

Freedom of the Press: Tom Stokes,

Scripps-Howard reporter who won the 1939 Pulitzer Prize for the best job of reporting, got it for an anti-New Deal, smear-W.P.A. series. . . . In 1936 Stokes did a series on low-wage southern employers, how runaway shops fled to the protection of southern chambers of commerce, and methods used by southern employers to keep their workers from organizing. . . . This series was not given a Pulitzer prize. . . . Although New York newspapers have accepted employers' advertisements that name and criticize unions, none of them would accept the Cafeteria Employees Union's ads because the company, "Automats," was named in the ads. . . . The *Journal-American* and the *World-Telegram* refused any ad applying to the union's organizational campaign. . . . It took six phone calls to the *New York Times* to get them to accept the ad. . . . News of the *Times* N.L.R.B. case, which has been going on for two months, is hard to find in any



newspaper. . . . The trial thus far indicates that the *Times* maintains a spy system, that although fifty other papers in the U. S. have accepted the "guild" shop, such a contract would ruin the "impartiality" of the *Times*, and Publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger said that he would sell the paper if forced to sign a guild-shop contract. . . . Under a guild-shop contract a publisher is free to hire anyone he chooses, but the new worker must join the Newspaper Guild.

At the recent A. F. of A. meeting,

which was presided over by President Sophie Tucker, Rudy Vallee, Sally Rand, Jed Dooley, and Walter Diggs were elected to the executive committee for four-year terms. . . . The greatest technological advance of the past decade is the stripmill in the steel industry, according to H. J. Ruttenberg of the S. W. O. C. . . . The *Milwaukee Leader* became the only labor-owned daily newspaper in the country when the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, Wis., took the paper over and renamed it the *Milwaukee Evening Post*. . . . The World's largest department store, R. H. Macy Company, signed a closed shop contract with the Department Store Employees Organizing Committee of the C. I. O. . . . The contract calls for wage increases totalling \$175,000 annually, shorter hours, time-and-a-half overtime pay, paid vacations, and legal holidays off with pay.

Lawrence Tibbett, A. F. of L. union presi-

dent, sent a check for \$25 to a book auction at Norwalk, Conn. which was held as a benefit for the Newspaper Guild strike in Chicago. . . . An "Annotated List of Motion Pictures for Workers' Groups" has been prepared by Sophie Udell for the Southern Summer School for Workers, 302 E. 35th Street, New York City. . . . It lists more than 100 movies, most of them available free. . . . According to reports by the Social Security Board, the average annual income of men during 1937 was \$1,027 and for women \$525. . . . The Dutch government has had a housing act since 1901 and has built more than 220,000 homes for working class families under it. . . . the cooperative housing societies built 75 per cent of the homes and cut rents 20 per cent.

Hollywood Shorts: the film industry has

lost about 65 per cent of its foreign revenue. . . . William Holden who will play the lead in *Golden Boy* will get \$50 a week and, if he makes good, at the end of seven years he will be making \$400 a week. . . . An anti-Nazi movie *Boycott* will use newsreel shots of the famous Bund meeting in Madison Square Garden, which have been shown in England but not in the U. S. . . . Theodore Dreiser is in Hollywood working on *Sister Carrie*. . . . *Back Door to Heaven* is highly recommended by Associated Film Audiences. . . . "The record of a lad who never had a chance told with rare and compelling honesty" . . . Tess Slesinger, short story writer, is working with Director Biberman on Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians*. . . . Producer Grainger has bought Spivak's *Secret Armies*. . . . *Gone With the Wind* is now a best seller in Germany. . . . *Grapes of Wrath* which Darryl Zanuck bought for the movies may never be made. . . . Chase National Bank controls 20th Century-Fox films and is said to be involved in the vigilante Associated Farmers. . . . Movie reviewers have been threatened for praising *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*. —G. T. G.

The AMERICAN TEACHER

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Drawings by Chandler Montgomery

THE EDITORS OF THE AMERICAN TEACHER request that no material be reprinted from this magazine without an accompanying credit line stating the source and the issue in which such material appeared.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER

GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Editor

ENTERED as second class matter January 3, 1939, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of February 28, 1925, authorized November 3, 1926.

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THREE LOCALS of the American Federation of Teachers in the Chicago area have had their "accounts closed" with the Chicago Federation of Labor. These are Local 460, North Shore Teachers' Union; Local 259, the Chicago College Teachers' Union; and Local 464, the Private School Teachers' Local. The accounts were closed because the locals refused to "expell" or "repudiate" George E. Axtelle, Dean Ralph Tyler, and James P. Mitchell, respectively, for allowing their names to be used on the "A. F. of L. Committee to Aid the Guild Strike."

Members of the Chicago Typographical Union, No. 16, have also been working on this Committee, but thus far the Chicago Federation of Labor has not expelled this local nor other large locals whose members are working with this committee. Through its president, Ralph E. Fischer, the Typographical Union has offered its offices to the Guild and the Hearst management. Charlotte Carr, director of Hull House, has joined with the Typographical Union in urging the Guild and the Hearst representatives to meet and settle the strike.

In the meantime cases of "treason" are bound to occur until unity in the labor movement is established.

★ ★ ★

THE EIGHT PAGES IN THIS ISSUE ENTITLED "A Summer's Reading Program" by Goodwin Watson, Paul R. Hanna, John J. DeBoer, and Malcolm S. MacLean will be reprinted and distributed free of charge to non-Union teachers through the summer schools. We would appreciate letters from all Union members who are going to attend schools this summer, stating how many copies of the reprint they can use and where the reprints should be sent. It is important that we get these orders early so that we can print the necessary quantity.

★ ★ ★

AT A TIME WHEN reactionary forces in American life are using every conceivable method to split farmers and workers, it is encouraging to find the author of the National Labor Relations Act, Senator Wagner (N. Y.) introducing the National Health Bill, a bill which will be extremely beneficial to our rural population, according to the testimony of John Vesecky, president of the Farmers' Union, and Edward A. O'Neal, head of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

In his testimony before the Senate Education and Labor Committee, Vesecky said that the measure would be of especial benefit to the farmers. Rural communities, he pointed out, are almost entirely without adequate hospital and clinic facilities.

O'Neal told the Committee that the health of rural youth is of concern to the urban as well as the rural



communities because of the increased migration of young people from farms to cities.

★ ★ ★

THE NEW PRESIDENT of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce is W. Gibson Carey, Jr., head of the Yale & Towne Manufacturing Company. He was a director of the National Association of Manufacturers in 1935-37. He served on the National Industrial Information Committee of the N. A. M. which raised a fund of \$750,000 to be used in influencing public opinion. He is a member of the National Metal Trades Association which has been exposed by the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee as one of the major employers of spies and strike-breakers.

His corporation had two Metal-Trades spies working in its plants in 1935-36. One of these managed to become vice president of Local 1557 of the International Association of Machinists (A. F. of L.). During his term of office the local's membership dropped from 243 to 21. While President Carey was using the labor espionage service he obtained contracts from the U. S. Government for almost a million dollars' work.

All in all, we should say that the new president of the Chamber of Commerce has been well schooled in the "experience curriculum" and should go far in carrying on the work of his organization.

★ ★ ★

AT ITS RECENT MEETINGS in Washington, D. C., the U. S. Chamber of Commerce came out for repeal of the Wages-Hours Law, for "structural amendments" to the National Labor Relations Act, hamstringing of social security, and the abandonment of the best features of the present relief setup. It also urged the

abandonment of "the philosophy underlying the W. P. A."

Among the fifty honored guests at the annual dinner of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce were Supreme Court Justices Pierce M. Butler and James C. McReynolds. It was the first time, apparently, that members of the Supreme Court have openly appeared as honor guests at a dinner of such a group. Recently Chief Justice Hughes returned an honorary membership upon the protests of an opposing group in order to avoid that semblance of partiality.

★ ★ ★

WE MEANT TO WRITE a long editorial pointing out the number of prominent writers and educators who are not members of the A. F. of T. but who have seen fit to contribute to the AMERICAN TEACHER during the past year. However, our artist, Chandler Montgomery, on whom we can always count for help and ideas, has done the job for us. (The art work which so many Union members have commented upon has all been done by Mr. Montgomery, who is an art teacher in the Winnetka Public Schools and a member of Local 460, A. F. of T.)

The fact that these people contributed to the magazine during the past year would seem to indicate that they feel that the American Federation of Teachers is one of the most significant educational organizations in the country. Many of them are extremely busy, and we are grateful that they could find the time to make the AMERICAN TEACHER what it has been during 1938-39.



CHAS. A. BEARD

CHAS. E. MERRIAM

ERIKA MANN

SEN. ROBT. F. WAGNER

WM. ALLEN WHITE

ERNEST O. MELBY

JOSEPHINE JOHNSON THOS. MANN

ROBT. R.R. BROOKS

GEO. SELDES

PORTER SARGENT ROBT. JACKSON

SEN. ELBERT D. THOMAS

FRANK MURPHY

K. LENROOT

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON

JOSEPHINE ROCHE

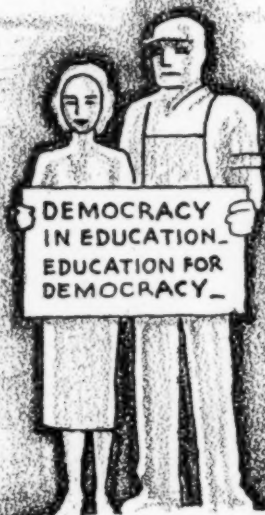
MANDEL SHERMAN

JOHN W. STUDEBAKER

F. P. GRAHAM

ELMER A. BENSON

PHILIP F. LAFOLLETTE



The President's Page

TWO CONVENTIONS

I HAVE JUST RETURNED from the Annual Conference of the National Union of Teachers at Llandudno, Wales. This is the most powerful educational organization in Great Britain. It has a membership of 155,000 and a surplus in its treasury of \$7,500,000. The delegates discussed much the same educational problems as confront our own convention, but in addition those precipitated by war crisis.

I could not help but recall that it has been the fate of most of the empires of history to go tottering to their graves because the rulers placed their class interests ahead of the welfare of the people. Not that England is necessarily doing this, but only that as in the case of every empire, it stands in danger.

The teachers of England and Wales have had to spend considerable time on the war issue because it means airplane raids, the bombing of London, and possible destruction of schools. All England has been divided into evacuation areas, reception areas where those evacuated are sent, and neutral areas.

It sounds easy to evacuate children, but in London alone over one million three hundred thousand children have to be evacuated. This means complete arrangements for transportation, for food and shelter. Each child must carry not only clothing, but his own gas mask as well. In their new homes the government pays only \$2.50 per week for both room and board. The English teachers have had to prepare everything for such eventualities. Much of the past year, therefore, has had to be concentrated on the problem of the safety of the children in time of war.

The National Union of Teachers has had to discuss with the government just how much responsibility they are to assume for the care of the children in evacuated areas. Shall those who have a full teaching load during the day be required to shoulder the responsibilities of caring for the children during the remaining hours of the day and night? It was finally settled that while the teachers might volunteer to do extra tasks they would not be compelled to do so. It was also arranged that those who were drafted for war service would retain seniority and pension rights in the schools.

Besides these added responsibilities, the teachers of England have faced the problem of refugee teachers. For instance, some German teachers hostile to the Nazi system had fled into what they thought was the safe haven of Czechoslovakia. After England consented to its dismemberment they were ordered deported back to

Germany. The English teachers felt sure that this would mean their imprisonment or death. Money was provided so that they could be rescued by airplane only a few hours before the deportation order would have been carried out. One of the airplanes crashed and even now the teachers in that plane are in the hospital. They are reported to feel that they would rather be resting in a free hospital than in the tyranny of a concentration camp. All this work has cost money, and the English teachers have generously given thousands of dollars to help the refugees.

We are somewhat more remote from the European crisis. But just as the teachers of England could not ignore the problems of the teachers of Czechoslovakia so we cannot remain indifferent to the problems of teachers and students anywhere who are working for democracy. In these critical days the teacher who remains aloof from contemporary life, secluded in the halls of learning, is apt to lose not only his seclusion but his position.

Fortunately our own convention does not have to grapple with the problem of evacuating children. *We should concentrate attention on educational problems. We must avoid wasting time on irrelevant issues.* We are engaged in the task of building the schools of tomorrow. If democracy is to endure, it depends on the educational foundation which we are building now. Are the schools, not alone in the major cities, but in the rural districts, training for democratic citizenship? Should there not be increased opportunity for civic, social, and economic courses. Should we not have scholarships provided by the state? Are we doing all that should be done in the field of adult education? How are we meeting the devastating drive for retrenchment in education which is threatening in so many states? How are we making sure that every teacher is free? Are we doing our part for academic freedom? Have we done all we can to insure tenure, adequate salaries, and above all for democracy within the administrative structure of our schools and in all phases of the educational system itself? What does our own National Educational Policies Committee recommend and have we given this adequate consideration?

These are some of the problems which will confront our convention in August at Buffalo. Every convention of the American Federation of Teachers is an educational opportunity. Indeed, unless it is educational, it is not worth the time, the effort, and the money which

it requires. The average member of the American Federation of Teachers does not realize perhaps that a convention of the A. F. of T. costs our membership (in expenses, railroad fare, hotel, etc.) somewhere in the neighborhood of fifty thousand dollars. This money would go a long way toward organizing new locals. It could wage an effective campaign for Federal Aid to Education. It might be used in getting out a weekly news sheet, free to all our members.

In the light of so great an expenditure, is the convention worth the cost? Not unless it can act as a great,

positive, constructive, stimulating force to all the delegates, and through them in turn to the minds of the rank and file.

This year the convention is going to be one of the most important in our entire history. Basic changes in society are taking place; the schools must keep pace. If the schools are to produce free, unafraid citizens of the highest type, the Federation must move forward. Let us promote the welfare of the childhood of the nation by providing progressively better educational opportunity for all.

JEROME DAVIS.

Children in a Democracy

◆ KATHARINE F. LENROOT

FOR THE FOURTH TIME in our history a national conference on children met under the auspices of a President of the United States when the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy assembled in the East Room of the White House on the morning of Wednesday, April 26, with about 500 members in attendance from practically every state, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia.

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, in whose department the Children's Bureau is located, is chairman of this Conference and presided at the various sessions held on April 26. President Roosevelt, as honorary chairman, delivered the keynote address, in which he pointed out that this fourth Conference marks a new and somewhat changed era as compared with its three predecessors which, he said, discussed the conditions surrounding child life more in terms of child life than in terms of the national community.

It is still our task to bring to bear upon the major problems of child life all the wisdom and understanding that can be distilled from compilations of facts, from the intuitions of common sense, and from professional skill. But we have now gone one step further. Said President Roosevelt: "Definitely we are here with a principal objective of considering the relationship between a successful democracy and the children who form an integral part of that democracy. We no longer set them apart from democracy as if they were a segregated group. They are at one with democracy because they are dependent upon a democracy and democracy is dependent on them."

As the President pointed out, the work of the Conference has only begun. During the greater part of the coming year the Conference members, representing every state in the Union and many fields of endeavor, will be at work. "We shall be testing our institutions, and our own convictions and attitudes of mind as they affect our actions as parents and as citizens, in terms of their significance to the childhood of our Nation."

President Roosevelt and other speakers not only at the White House session but at the section meetings in the afternoon expressed concern about the future of democracy if the children of today cannot be given a greater measure of security and opportunity. All agreed that much has been done, especially in recent years, to advance the interests of children but that, as President Roosevelt indicated, "only a beginning has been made in affording security to children," and that this Conference and the activities which it initiates furnish an opportunity for us to test ourselves and our institutions by the extent to which they serve the future generation.

Homer Folks, director of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, as chairman of the Report Committee and a vice-chairman of the Conference, was one of the speakers on the morning program. He listed as follows what he considered to be the special task of this White House Conference of 1939: (1) to determine and define the minimum needs for the suitable rearing of children to be adequate citizens of the American Democracy; (2) to measure the extent to which these services are now being actually rendered

and where they fall short in volume, quality, or distribution; (3) to find out the causes for such shortcomings as may be found; and (4) to ascertain and recommend how such causes can be removed, and how suitable provision for child health, training, and development may be adapted to every type of condition and circumstance, and be effective for every child in the United States.

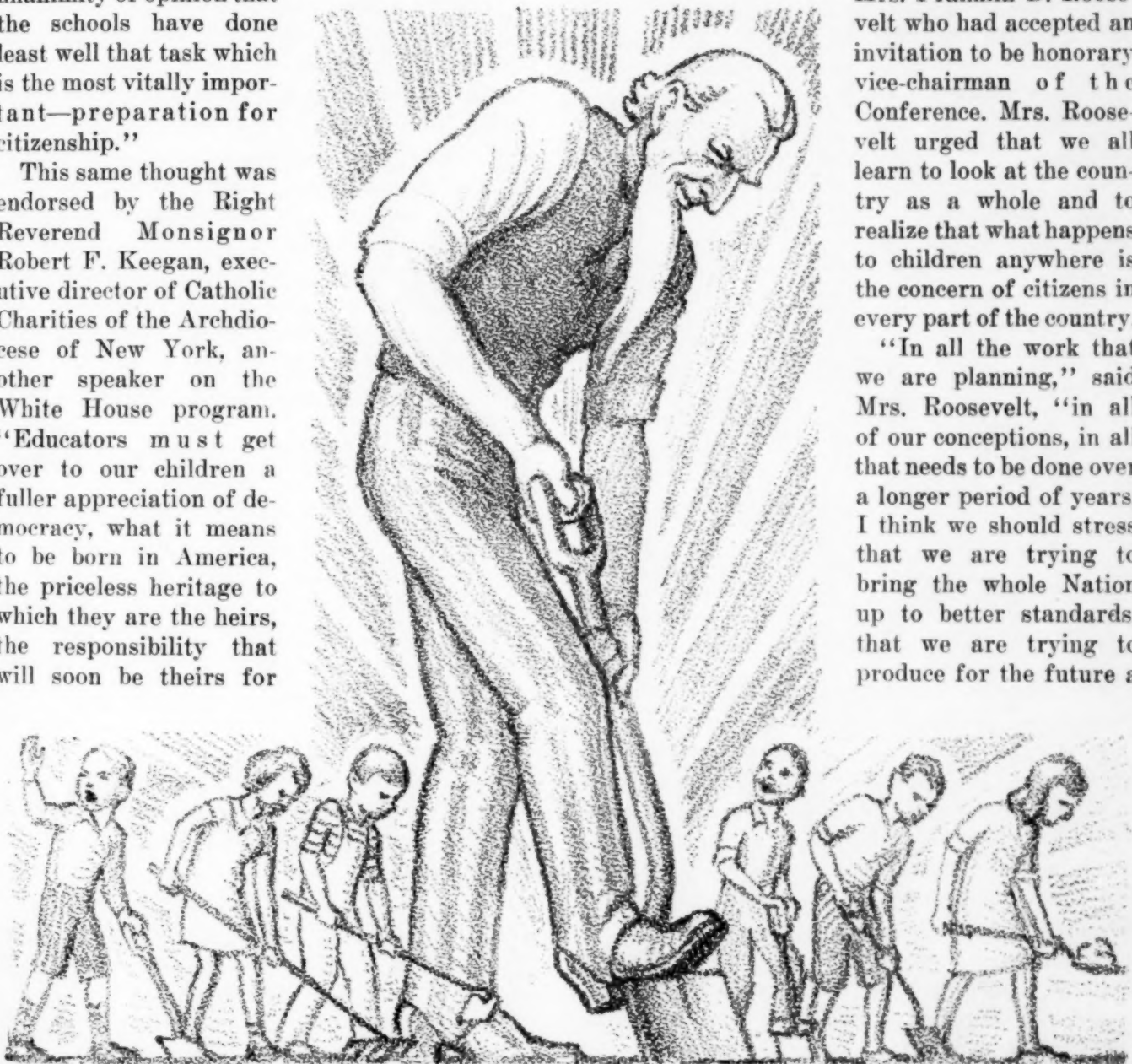
Recent studies and reports indicate clearly the child's needs for health and education, Mr. Folks said, but when we ask how far these well thought out plans are now actually carried into effect, we find some surprising shortcomings as in, for instance, the recent studies of the nation's health. "In particular," he said, "there seems to be unanimity of opinion that the schools have done least well that task which is the most vitally important—preparation for citizenship."

This same thought was endorsed by the Right Reverend Monsignor Robert F. Keegan, executive director of Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, another speaker on the White House program. "Educators must get over to our children a fuller appreciation of democracy, what it means to be born in America, the priceless heritage to which they are the heirs, the responsibility that will soon be theirs for

preserving our free institutions. . . . Certainly one of the basic responsibilities of a democratic society for the care of children and youth is to see to it that they get a fair, full, and complete statement of the principles upon which this democracy rests." Monsignor Keegan expressed his conviction that the educational program should meet the myriad diversities of the complex life of today, and that children and youth should be prepared vocationally with equal diligence for the farm, the workbench, the desk, and the office. The aim of education, he said, "is not to teach our children and youth how to make a living so much as it is to teach them to live and to live harmoniously with others."

Another speaker at the morning session was Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt who had accepted an invitation to be honorary vice-chairman of the Conference. Mrs. Roosevelt urged that we all learn to look at the country as a whole and to realize that what happens to children anywhere is the concern of citizens in every part of the country.

"In all the work that we are planning," said Mrs. Roosevelt, "in all of our conceptions, in all that needs to be done over a longer period of years, I think we should stress that we are trying to bring the whole Nation up to better standards, that we are trying to produce for the future a



healthy group of children who, because they are physically healthy, because they know what it is to live under decent conditions, will have become more useful in their communities and in their Nation."

It is obvious that gaps in existing programs cannot be filled and that needs cannot be met without consideration of economic factors. This was made very clear in the discussions among Conference members which took place at the four section meetings in the afternoon and in the address of Secretary Perkins at the dinner meeting which closed the Conference.

"There will probably be two main points of emphasis in the work of the Conference and the committees organized as part of this undertaking," Secretary Perkins said, "First, the economic factors which underlie the security of home life, which we still are convinced is the highest product of civilization and the safest basis of democratic order; and second, those conditions and factors which make for the freedom of development of the individual, and assure him that he will have some chance for utilizing his inborn capacities and talents in satisfying and worthwhile ways within the framework of democratic institutions."



In far larger measure than in any of the preceding conferences, Secretary Perkins said, the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy is facing issues which go to the roots of personal and social living and the foundations of our economic and political institutions. In studying the problems of the child we are studying our own problem and the problems of our time.

The four sections into which the Conference members were divided for discussion purposes dealt with Objectives of a Democratic Society in Relation to Children under the leadership of

Dr. James S. Plant, director of the Essex County, N. J., Juvenile Clinic; Economic Foundations of Family Life and Child Welfare led by William Hodson, commissioner of welfare of the City of New York; the Development of Children and Youth in Present-Day American Life headed by Dr. Ruth Andrus, of the New York State Department of Education; and the Child and Community Services for Health, Education, and Social Protection headed by Frank Bane, executive director of the Council of State Governments.

The main purpose of these section meetings was to promote discussion and to crystallize thinking of some of the ways in which we may bridge what President Roosevelt described as "the broad chasm of knowing and doing."

The Conference will not engage in extensive research in new fields or attempt to break new ground; rather it will deal with the meaning of democracy to children and youth, not only from the point of view of the safeguards and opportunities it assures to individuals, but also in relation to what children and youth should be prepared to give in the service of democracy.

Recent reports of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association on the Purposes of Education in American Democracy, the Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy, and The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy, together with the summary of the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, will be studied by those who are carrying on the work of the Conference.

The belief that "that government is best which governs least" is giving way, in societies still impregnated with the democratic ideal, to the conviction that that government is best which best promotes the full development of individual integrity, initiative, capacity, and power; just distribution of the fruits of human effort; and compassionate regard for human need—and that apportionment of responsibility for the performance of social functions among the different levels of government and between governmental and private effort must evolve in accordance with these basic purposes. If this concept of government comes to prevail among parents, teachers, and citizens generally, and if it is inculcated in children from their earliest years, as the way toward which this nation is setting its face, the democratic principle will be given fuller expression in this new world than it has ever known.

National Action for Health

◆ JOSEPHINE ROCHE

"THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE is a public concern; ill health is a major cause of suffering, economic loss, and dependency; good health is essential to the security and progress of the Nation." With these words, the President of the United States opened his message on Health Security for the nation, which he sent to the Congress on January 23, 1939. Submitted with his message were the reports of the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities and its Technical Committee on Medical Care. One month later Senator Wagner introduced the National Health Bill, S. 1620, which closely follows the program outlined by these committees' reports and was discussed at the National Health Conference last July.

Summarizing the objectives and provisions of the bill, Senator Wagner said, "The National Health Bill which I have just introduced in the Senate is the culmination of five years of intensive Federal study and investigation concerning the health problems of the Nation. . . . The National Health Bill puts in the form of concrete legislation the recommendations for action which have developed out of this five-year period of careful and expert inquiry. The bill utilizes the sound procedure of grants-in-aid developed in various titles of the Social Security Act, which gives the greatest latitude to the States in the development of their own plans consistent with the needs of their own people. Grants are made available for the purpose of establishing, expanding and improving State programs for (1) child and maternal health; (2) general public health services and investigations; (3) construction of needed hospitals and health centers; (4) general programs of medical care; and (5) insurance against loss of wages during periods of temporary disability. . . . The fullest development of this program would bring the benefits of modern medical science, both preventive and curative, within the reach of all groups of the population, especially in rural areas and areas suffering from economic distress." If its proposals, calling for a moderate but sound begin-

ning at once, are translated into action each year, health security will become a reality for increasing thousands of our people to whom it is now merely a phrase.

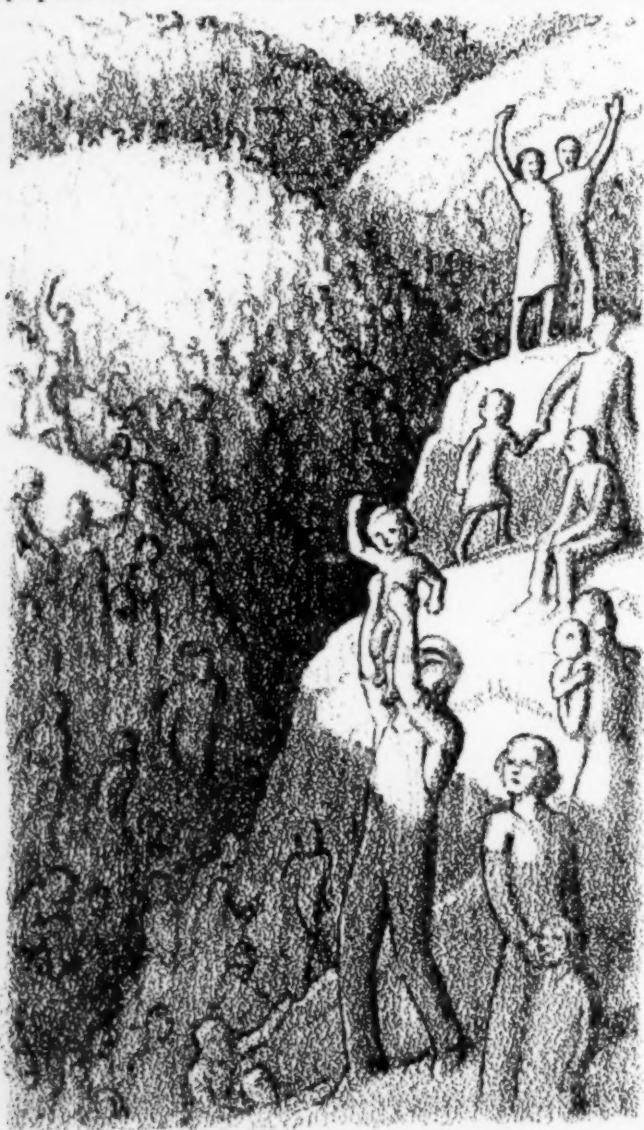
In all parts of our country today, in the rich states and in the poor, in the cities and in the country, there are great numbers for whom life is still as uncertain and as brief as if the medical and public health progress of the past half century had not occurred. The improved "average" level of health, the increased "average" length of life, which this progress has brought, are but cold comfort to these millions who have had no share in the gain, who are today as restricted in their chance for health and life security as was the nation as a whole fifty years ago. As the President said in his message, "The average level of health or the average cost of sickness has little meaning for those who now must meet personal catastrophes. To know that a stream is four feet deep on the average is of little help to those who drown in the places where it is ten feet deep. The recommendations of the committee offer a program to bridge that stream by reducing the risks of needless suffering and death, and of costs and dependency, that now overwhelm millions of individual families and sap the resources of the Nation."

The need for action in behalf of national health may be measured both by the lack of essential resources for the prevention and care of sickness and by the shocking and unnecessary burden which sickness, death, and poverty impose on countless individuals and on our national economy. The nation's bill for sickness and postponable death amounts annually to about \$10,000,000,000, including the costs of medical and health services, the loss of wages due to illness, and the loss of potential future earning power because of premature death.

On an average day of the year, about 5,000,000 persons are disabled by sickness to such an extent that they cannot go about their usual work or other routine. Of these 5,000,000, about half get well, sooner or later, and resume their ordinary life; about half remain permanently dis-

abled. Among those permanently disabled, nearly 2,000,000 are less than 65 years of age. During the course of a year, sickness and disability cost the American people over one billion days' absence from work, school, or household duties. Workers who are in the labor market lose a billion dollars or more each year in wages because of sickness, which amount does not encompass losses resulting from permanent disability. Industry and the nation as a whole suffer additional losses.

Tuberculosis, pneumonia, cancer, malaria, mental and nervous disorders, industrial injuries, and occupational diseases—these and other specific ailments—are far more prevalent or more deadly than they need to be. About 70,000 persons die of tuberculosis every year in the United States. For each death there are about five living persons with the disease, many of whom, in turn, are continually exposing the other members of their families to infection. The total population of the tuberculous and those in con-



tact with them is probably about a million and a half. Every year sees about 600,000 cases of pneumonia, and 150,000 deaths occur annually from it as a primary or secondary cause. Yet with quick diagnosis and the use of serum, more than a fourth of these deaths could be prevented. The death rate from cancer has risen from 63 per 100,000 in 1900 to 111 in 1936; the deaths from this cause in 1936 numbered 143,000. To cut this number, medical staffs, laboratories, X-ray equipment, radium, and hospital beds are needed. Workers in industry have a life expectancy about 8 years less than non-industrial workers. It is estimated that about 1,000,000 persons are exposed to hazardous silica dusts in the United States. It is further estimated that of this number 110,000 have silicosis in some stage. It is well known that individuals with silicosis are abnormally susceptible to tuberculosis.

Maternity, infancy, and childhood are very inadequately protected, especially in rural areas. Between one-half and two-thirds of the maternal deaths, nearly two-fifths of the stillbirths, and between one-third and one-half of the deaths among new-born infants are preventable. Here is an opportunity to save more than 70,000 lives a year. Preventable sickness and death among children are still much too common. Tens of thousands die unnecessarily each year. Hundreds are left with impairments to health which handicap their future lives. Approximately 13,000,000 school children do not receive adequate medical care. Children in relief families lose nearly one-third more time from school because of illness than do those in families of moderate income.

Public health services for the prevention and control of sickness are largely undeveloped in many rural areas and are totally inadequate in many smaller cities. Hospital services for persons with low incomes are insufficient in many cities; at the same time, many hospital beds in private or semi-private rooms stand empty because patients are unable to pay the private rates. In rural areas, general hospitals and clinic services are grossly insufficient and in many places wholly lacking. Only about 16 states now meet professional standards as to general hospitals; only about 12 as to tuberculosis sanatoria; only about 5 or 6 as to mental-disease institutions. In the rural areas, there are 18,000,000 persons living in counties with no local general hospital.

The general picture presented by such facts as

these is the more startling when the effect of sickness on specific groups of the population is examined. Sickness comes oftener and lasts longer, and death comes earlier to the homes of the poor than of the well-to-do. This association of sickness and poverty bears upon the whole population in costs of dependency. Persons in families whose annual incomes are less than \$1,200 suffer, on the average, more than twice as many days of disability a year as those in families with incomes of \$3,000 or more. Death rates go up as income goes down. The death rate from tuberculosis is seven times higher among the unskilled workers than it is among professional; it is three times as great among the skilled as among the professional. Pneumonia kills three and one-half times as many unskilled workers as professional. Cancer's toll of the unskilled worker is 50 per cent higher than that of the professional. The death rate from all causes is more than twice as high for the unskilled worker as for the professional.

The objective of a national health program can be nothing less broad than the assurance that all areas of the country and all members of the population shall have the protection of adequate public health services and an opportunity to avail themselves, in accordance with their medical needs, of adequate care in sickness. About a century ago, the United States recognized that public safety and public economy, as well as the ideals of democracy, demanded that the opportunity for an education be open to all. Today we are at the point of recognizing and making effective an equal opportunity for health and life.

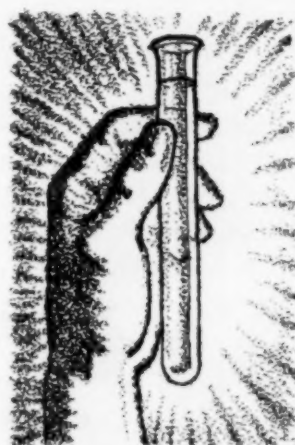
The five-point program for action which Senator Wagner's bill proposes, meets the five-point summary of present human needs and economic waste presented at the National Health Conference and unchallenged then or since:

1. Services to prevent sickness are insufficient for the nation as a whole.
2. Hospitals and other organized facilities are too few, too small, or wholly lacking in many communities, particularly in rural areas. The financial support of hospital services is meager and uncertain, especially the support of services for patients who cannot pay for the care they need.
3. One-third of the population, on relief or in the low-income brackets, receives no medical service or inadequate service.
4. A far larger portion of the population suffers from the economic burdens created by illness; the largest of these burdens arise from the vari-

able costs of medical services, costs which can be budgeted by the large group as a whole but not by the individual family.

5. Wage earners and their families need protection against loss of income during periods of temporary or permanent disability.

The needs thus summarized briefly are large and urgent. These continuing deficiencies deprive the nation of much of its potential vigor and well-being. These needs can be met only through proper application of the resources of the nation. Neither individuals, families, voluntary groups, localities, nor states, alone and unaided, can cope with the problems. An adequate program must be national in its dimensions if it would come to grips with problems which are also national in their breadth and depth.



In the proposed program the role of the Federal Government is to give financial and technical aid, the states, under the grants-in-aid program, developing their plans on a basis of local needs and conditions. The bill does not establish a system of health insurance, nor require the

states to do so. Specifically, under Title XIII of the bill, dealing with a general program of medical care, the states will be free to develop plans of their own choosing, subject to necessary basic standards. Such plans may be limited to those on relief or include others more fortunately situated in the economic scale. The plans may be supported by insurance contributions, by general revenue, or both. The method and scope of medical services are likewise for the states to determine, and may include services rendered through existing private agencies or institutions.

State plans, under the various titles of the Wagner National Health Bill of 1939, are required to provide for maintaining and improving standards of medical and institutional care; for establishing and safeguarding administrative personnel standards on a merit basis. Appropriations for grants-in-aid to the states to carry on the various preventive and curative services are authorized by the bill. The proposed sums aggregate about 80 million dollars, including ad-

ministrative costs, and excluding amounts which Congress may appropriate for aiding states in building needed tuberculosis and mental hospitals. Grants are authorized on a variable matching basis which takes into account the relative financial resources of the state and thus makes the funds serve the interests of the state and localities where need of the services is greatest. For the various programs of public health services and hospital construction, the authorized federal grants would vary from 33 1/3 per cent to 66 2/3 per cent of the total sums expended by the states; for general programs of medical care, the matching ratio varies from 16 2/3 per cent to 50 per cent of total state expenditures. Thus the bill would raise the general level of health protection throughout the country, while reducing the existing wide variations among the states, especially as between rural and urban areas.

In addition to various preventive and curative health services, the bill authorizes grants-in-aid to states in establishing insurance plans to provide cash benefits during periods of temporary disability. These insurance systems would protect the American wage-earner against an annual

wage loss through disabling illness amounting to over one billion dollars a year. Systematic insurance payments will maintain the worker's income at precisely the times when he needs that income most. Federal grants for this purpose are authorized on a fixed matching ratio—33 1/3 per cent of the total expenditures by the states under approved disability insurance plans.

The call to action sounded by Senator Wagner stresses not only the immediacy of our need to act but also what the Interdepartmental Committee and the National Health Conference earnestly and repeatedly emphasized—that the program is a long-range one and must develop over a period of time. The plan, based on federal-state cooperation, provides the essential protection and support of a national approach and the equally essential latitude of state initiative and freedom of choice as to various methods of meeting a common objective—putting science to work so that all of the American people will have the greatest possible opportunity to live out their lives in health and vigor, free to the maximum possible degree from the unhappiness and the economic burdens that result from sickness, disability, and premature death.

Mr. Jones Warns the Educators

♦ LAWRENCE MARTIN

“E DUCATORS WERE WARNED YESTERDAY,” the *New York Times* said, on April 13, “that unless they paid more attention to the grave problems of society and less to their own professional and technical interests they stood in danger of losing the support of the general public.”

This is the reporter's summary of the “warning” issued by Mark Jones, president of the Akron Belting Company, at the ninth annual convention of the New York State Vocational Association, heard by “two thousand teachers, administrators, and business leaders.”

There can be no doubt that society faces grave problems. Since 1929 teachers have known some of these grave problems on intimate terms. Many a humble schoolma'am or schoolmaster has had to live with grave problems day after day.

But even an “educator” can learn. Let us listen.

“Pointing to the ‘failings’ in our present society, Mr. Jones questioned whether the teachers were entirely blameless in this respect. He listed several ‘illusions’ which would have to be dispelled before ‘true prosperity’ could be achieved.”

(The setting-off of these key words in single quotes is the work of the *Times* reporter, or a copyreader. Is it possible some newspaper man was being ironic?)

“In the drive to achieve equality, security, and other similar illusions, we have taken courses which could not be better calculated to assure insecurity and all the other opposites of our desires,” he asserted.

“The American standard of living is declining,

the economy is in devolution, and the number of individuals who are reaching the end of their economic resources is increasing day by day."

Mr. Jones charged that foreign ideologies of the left were "the source of the principal causes of unsettlement today in the United States and elsewhere." He declared that educators had failed to provide "ideological allergy tests" to dispel many of the current "illusions"—among which he listed "equality, democracy, security, collective bargaining, and economic planning."

"No fantasy of dreamers has exerted such a devastating effect upon countless millions or upon the course of human events as the illusion of equality," Mr. Jones continued, according to the *Times*. "For more than 150 years it has served to delude the masses into belief in equality of individuals and races."

It is a pity the *Times* could not have given us more of Mr. Jones's outspoken message. What did he say about the illusion, or delusion, of democracy? What about the pipe-dream of security?

Was it an educator who said that the people would yet have two chickens in every pot, two cars in every garage? Or was it a Great Engineer, chief of a powerful national party, a political engineer

who was the confidant and trusty of industrialists?

Must we now turn upon Herbert Hoover and denounce him as the carrier, possibly unwitting but still the carrier, of a dangerous foreign and leftist ideology?

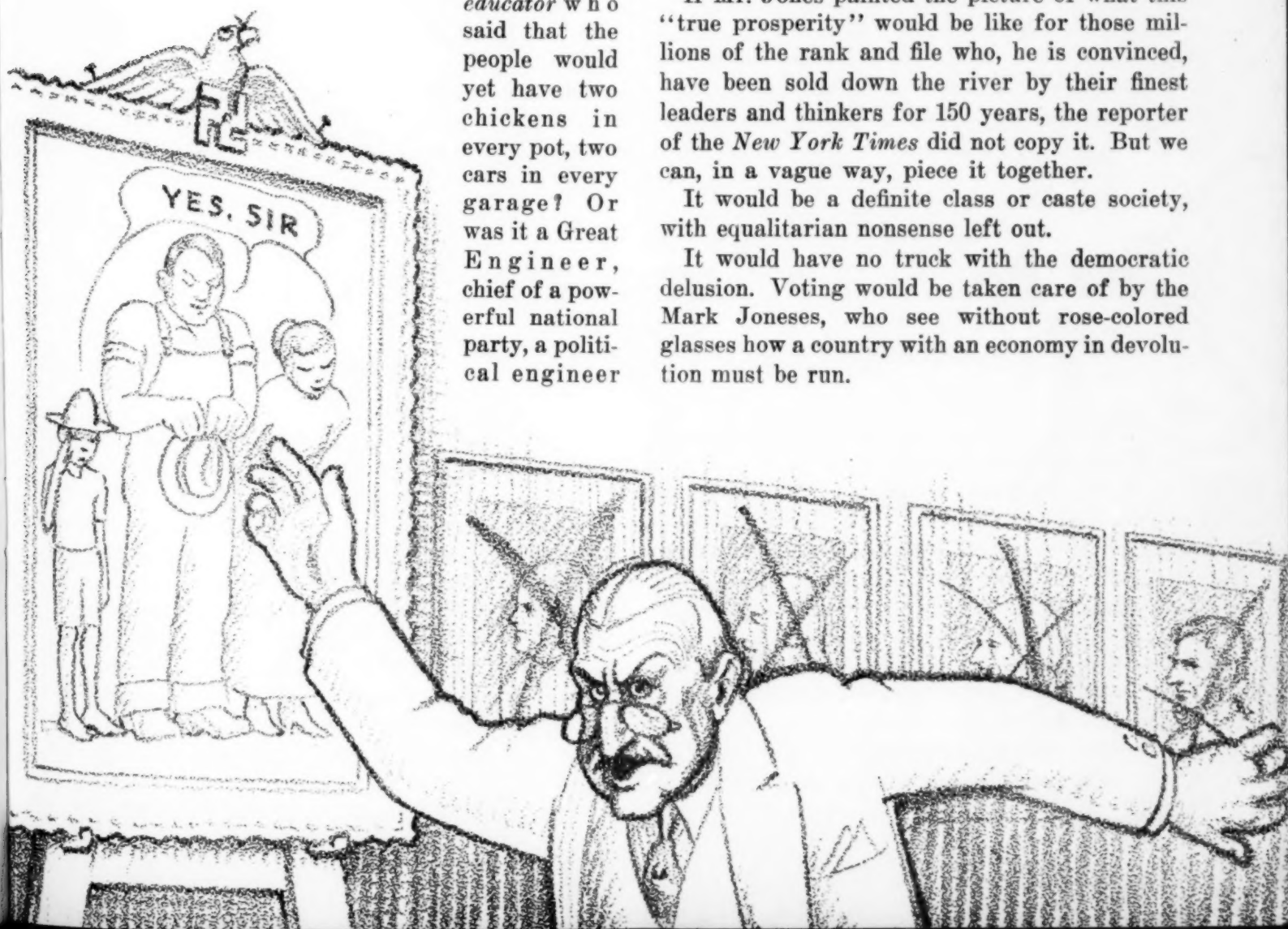
In 1939, 163 years after the Declaration of Independence and 150 years after the Constitution, a new patriotism, an Akronistic patriotism of a belting magnate, declares that the blood of the soldiers of the American Revolution was spilled for a fantastic dream. The Civil War was a silly brawl over an illusion of equality. The lifework of the best men America produced—the Franklins, Washingtons, Paines, Henrys, Jeffersons, Lincolns, and a battalion of other heroes whom educators have been misteaching the children to revere—this lifework boils down to "deluding the masses" and "exerting a devastating effect upon countless millions."

These illusions—equality, democracy, security, collective bargaining, economic planning—Mark Jones wants us educators to dispel so that "true prosperity" may be ushered in.

If Mr. Jones painted the picture of what this "true prosperity" would be like for those millions of the rank and file who, he is convinced, have been sold down the river by their finest leaders and thinkers for 150 years, the reporter of the *New York Times* did not copy it. But we can, in a vague way, piece it together.

It would be a definite class or caste society, with equalitarian nonsense left out.

It would have no truck with the democratic delusion. Voting would be taken care of by the Mark Joneses, who see without rose-colored glasses how a country with an economy in devolution must be run.



This means, if it means anything, that Mark-Jonesism would take over the schools. It would also set "decent" limits on the rights of assembly, speech, and press.

In the future Commonwealth of Jones, which educators are called upon to usher in, cooperatively with business, the veil would be torn from the "hokum" of security. It is a little more difficult to fill in the picture here. People must either live or die—there is no middle state.

What does the new Commonwealth propose to do with or to those who, as Mr. Jones recognizes, are reaching in increasing numbers the end of their economic rope? Are they to be sentenced to starve? Are they to be shot? If we confine them to concentration camps and feed them on slops and chicory, that is still "security."

Mr. Jones's train of illusions ends with two blind cabooses—collective bargaining and economic planning. We can forget about them, for with equality, democracy, and security gone, these refinements do not exist.

Mr. Jones has concluded, from his study of the economic "devolution" of the United States, that if the Joneses are to continue enjoying security, the United States that has been for 150 years must be buried. That United States was built not only by Jones but by the rank and file. It was built into a mighty nation by men and women who held before them ideals—or illusions

—of equality, democracy, freedom, security.

Evidently we have come to a crisis in the affairs of the nation, in the life and work of the people. Evidently it is no longer possible for our country to be equal, free, democratic, and secure—while the Presidents Jones do business as they are used to doing it.

Mark Jones has made his choice. He votes for Jones. If equality, democracy, freedom, security, do not square with Jonesism, they must go.

It should be flattering to "educators"—not only those in vocational guidance, but to all of us, down to the lowliest spreader of "illusions" in a junior-high-school history department, down to the humblest concocter of "delusions" in civics classes—that they are important to Mr. Mark Jones and his peers as pavers of the road to an un-American America.

Mr. Jones did not do well to get his sketch for a Second American Reich reported in a newspaper. He should have spoken *in camera* or off the record. It is true that he spoke for the ears of the New York State Vocational Association alone. But he was overheard. And the echo of remarks which place so strange and ominous an interpretation on the American future should arouse to thought and action American educators who take both their citizenship and their profession seriously.

For Mr. Jones does not speak for himself alone.

The Mexican Teachers' Union

◆ DOROTHY DOUGLAS

ANY ONE WHO WANTS TO KNOW the new Mexico should first of all get to know something of its schools, its teachers, and its Teachers' Union. For many years now the teachers of Mexico have led in all the changes that have built their country over from a semi-feudal, semi-colonial land to one of democracy and opportunity. But it is in the last two years since their National Teachers' Union has become entirely unified and nationwide that they have been able to make their services most complete and effective.

The first and most fundamental thing they do is to teach the mass of peasants in their country

that schools are at last really possible for their children if they will sacrifice and work together with the Government that is trying to help them. Take this example that I experienced only last December. A friend and I had gone out to visit the great cotton-growing region in the north of Mexico, La Laguna. Cooperative *ejidos* (joint peasant farms) had been established there. We were hurrying home to Monterey, one hundred miles away across desert country, yet when we passed an *ejido* village close by the roadside, with a big school house in full view, we could not resist stopping.

The building was a fine new one of several rooms, facing the old dilapidated adobe dwellings and farm buildings left over from the old days. The teacher and her assistant came out from the school when they heard some American teachers were there. The former was young, full of life, only two years out of training-school, enthusiastic about her Union, and delighted to hear that we were union teachers too. As she told us the story of their school, the peasants and children crowded about us, anxious to have their word.

For a year and a half, she said, ever since the *ejido* was organized and she came to be their teacher, she had gone before the village council at each monthly meeting to plead the cause of a new school here and now. But so many things called for the peasants' time and their small funds, and the Federal Government could not give them another penny. It was paying her salary and that was all it could do. She showed us the old schoolroom, built long ago by the landlord of the estate and today used as a storage shed. It was not even a very good shed! It was tiny and narrow, dirty and dark, its adobe crumbling with age, with only a few small holes high up in the walls to serve as windows, a dirt floor, and a roof so leaky that in the rainy season, she said, whenever it stormed hard she had to send the children home. (There were eighty children to be crowded into that hovel.) Finally this last spring she had given her ultimatum: a new building or she would leave. (Would she have?) At any rate, the school at last was voted, and the means of building it. They got in a neighboring glazier and a mason. All the rest they did themselves. They used their own labor and they paid for all the materials. They paid by *having each man give up one day's wages a week for eight weeks*, through July and August. And the teacher gave up her summer's vacation and stood by. (She was twenty-two years old, had never lived in an isolated community before, was used to good times with other young people in a town far to the north.) But she said, "I planned every corner of it myself. See those windows? I couldn't go away and maybe have a window put in wrong." And sure enough, the building was alive with windows—great, well-glazed ones, set in handsome stucco walls; and the several large rooms were convenient and well-proportioned.

Never had there been so fine a building for the people's children anywhere about. The equipment, as we could see, was scanty as yet, but by

next year they would have that too. For see, out here behind the barns was the "school land," a fine large tract of ground, well cultivated, set aside for the support of the school. On this the peasants give their labor free, and with the proceeds from the produce they buy the school's books and equipment.

Today that whole community is proud of its achievement and its children's future. They have put their finest line decorations across the front of the building, and a great sign to be seen from the road, "Federal School Il Huicamina." Now let the stranger and the old landlord as they go by see what the peasants and the Government and the children's teacher can do.

Not only for the four walls of the school and the organization work of all kinds is the Mexican teacher responsible, but also for a myriad of social services that in America we should expect to be carried on (or not carried on) without our aid. Near the Federal District we drove out one day with a young man from the Agrarian Department to visit neighboring farms. On the way there was a particularly large village, and sure enough, another new community school. The chief teacher, a young man still in his twenties, showed us what he and the other teachers had been doing. A laundry had been set up for the womenfolk, a great saver of backs, with fine stationary tubs and running water, under a covering roof to protect them in the rainy season. (Formerly the village washing had had to be done on the banks of the muddy river—in fact a few benighted old-timers were still doing it there as we went by.) Baths for the school children and also a bathhouse for adults had lately been installed in the school grounds. Two schoolboys took us in proudly to show us the showers and dressing-rooms. A cooperative cornmill had also been established, and we went to see that too. Grinding corn by hand each day is a burdensome task that falls on the women while the men are in the fields. It lifted a great burden from the women to be able to carry their buckets of corn to the electrically run machine located on the main village street. And see, one of their own number was running it.

What do the teachers do for themselves, if they do so much for their communities? That can be seen readily from the work of the typical secretary of "Working Conditions and Conflicts." In the city of Monterey one evening we happened into the office of the local union and found a group of young men still at work after a long day.

They were busy drawing up handbills that were going out next day to the parent-teacher organizations, trade unions, peasant groups, and all others sympathetic to the cause of the organized teachers. The Union had just concluded a series of only partially successful conferences with the governor of the state, a gentleman of the type not unfamiliar to political circles in the U. S. A., who thought school budgets should come last. The particular group of teachers on whose behalf the young "Secretary of Conflicts" and his helpers were working were state teachers, not federal, and were under the direct jurisdiction of this governor and his associates. Their salaries were absurdly low, starting with a minimum of only thirty pesos a month (six dollars of American money at the present exchange rates) whereas the federal teachers' minimum was eighty. Moreover, even this beggarly sum was in many cases weeks and even months in arrears. Thirdly, the governor had not been observing the *escalafon*, or ladder of tenure and promotion, properly. The state teachers, with the backing of the more fortunately placed federal teachers, were accordingly demanding a radical change in the whole local system of budgeting and taxation, with a rock-bottom minimum of sixty pesos plus ten pesos increment for all salaries under 100 pesos.

The headquarters of all Mexico's unions with their many problems is, of course, in Mexico City. Here the Teachers' Union has an entire large building with many rooms, alive with visitors and active far into the evening. The head of the organization, young Campos Salas, has to keep track of a membership of 72,000, scattered throughout the land. They comprise almost the entire teaching staff of the nation's schools, as well as all the various librarians, stenographers, school teachers, and administrative workers under the Department of Education. About 32,000 of these teachers are in the federal system; that is to say, their salaries are paid directly by the Federal Government and their salary scale, tenure, and the entire administration of their school system are in federal hands. The remainder, and it is the major part of the teachers, are under state, municipal, private, or "Article 33" administration. The "Article 33" teachers are what with us would be called company-town teachers, that is, teachers paid directly by big business concerns for their employees' children. In Mexico, however, they are under federal ad-

ministration and protection. Private teachers are relatively few in number and also have the advantage of federal regulation. But the state teachers are very numerous and to their sorrow thus far are pretty exclusively under the control of the various state governments. It is this latter group that have always had to meet the worst conditions and the most opposition to organization. Moreover, it is they who for many years have led the way in militant action and the desire for a strong, nation-wide organization. Now, since February of 1938, they have all been together under the one national organization of the S. T. E. R. M. (Unions of Educational Workers of the Republic of Mexico), and it looks as if their most urgent needs are soon to be met.

The economic activities of the S. T. E. R. M. are, of course, its most important ones. As I indicated earlier, for federal teachers it has to date succeeded in raising the minimum salary to eighty pesos a month, and this year it is to go up to ninety pesos. (Four years ago the minimum was only fifty-four pesos, and the initial increases were extremely small.) The next step is to get the state teachers in every case up to the federal minimum.

Besides an improved salary scale, the federal teachers today have an excellent tenure law. The *escalafon* ("ladder" of tenure and promotion) is based upon a combination of length of service, personal ability, and educational equipment.

The Union also finds it necessary to put pressure upon reactionary state and local governments to make them cease interfering with the teachers' necessary social-service activities in their communities. Local officials, often out of sympathy with the federal "New Deal" program, find an attack upon the teachers a convenient way to keep the program from being carried out locally. Consequently they have in various quarters raised the cry of, "Keep the teachers at their desks!" that is, prevent them from taking their due leadership in community affairs.

The relations between the Teachers' Union and the federal Department of Education are very close. Technically, the Union has no voice in the Department of Education administration, but actually a number of valuable Union members have been appointed to important posts in the Department, and this has served to make for a constructive harmony of interests. I have already mentioned that the inspectors of schools are

members of the Union. We found that even inspectors in charge of a whole state are members, and there is the case of certain inspectors who are Union members with as many as five states under their supervision.

Most important of all the Union's connections is that with the labor movement of Mexico itself. The Teachers' Union is a member of the C. T. M.,

the great central labor organization of Mexico that now has a million members and is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam. In every place where labor is in difficulties, the teachers are the first to come to the workers' help, and in return organized labor everywhere gives its unqualified support to the teachers and the schools.

A Summer's Reading Program

Goodwin Watson

Paul R. Hanna

John J. DeBoer

Malcolm S. MacLean

Study with Social Significance

◆ GOODWIN WATSON

THE GAP BETWEEN what our economic plant now produces and what it is physically capable of producing is now larger than that gap has ever been before for any other generation in any land or at any time in human history. Ours is the era of unutilized resources and neglected opportunities. Little wonder that we look skeptically at the social sciences! What is wrong with our pretense to knowledge of history, economics, sociology, anthropology, and psychology? The physical sciences have given us implements of release from scarcity; the social sciences seem unable to teach us how to use them.

The most dismaying fact is that so many social scientists seem undismayed. They have continued to train historians who can name the famous generals, economists who analyze price movements within a framework of false assumptions about the market, sociologists who speak superficially about social forms or social processes in general, anthropologists whose erudition is centered on pottery designs or bone implements, and psychologists intent upon factor analysis or Rorschach tests. Most teachers know

that this is not a time when drift means progress, and they feel the tightening clutch of something threatening which is caused by our confusion. They have entered upon graduate courses to get some clearer picture of how to save democracy and how to build a saner economic order, but have emerged, bitterly disappointed, with collections of facts which did not add up to insight or direction of action.

At long last, a leader in the field of social science has given us a trenchant polemic¹ against his colleagues who have retreated from pressing contemporary problems into the ivory towers of their subjects. Their disinterested research, which disclaims any values or viewpoint, Lynd compares to "the ditty bag of an idiot, filled with bits of pebbles, straws, feathers, and other random hoardings." Their isolated, scattered, piecemeal attack upon social problems seems to him to be based upon something like a "hay-stack theory," which looks upon the total mass of problems to be solved as a stack which is gradually reduced as one pitchforkful after another is removed. Actually, of course, our disabilities accumulate more rapidly than we solve them, each attempt to change one element in disregard of the whole pattern creates new difficulties; and now, with "capitalism on the decline and democracy on the defensive, the question our culture appears to confront is not 'Shall we change?' but 'How can we contrive change extensive enough and rapid enough, however radical its innova-

¹Robert S. Lynd: *Knowledge for What?* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 268 pages. 1939.



tions, to enable basic human values to survive?"

Progressive educators will be delighted to discover that Lynd's remedy for the futility of university work in social science is close kin to the "functional" curriculum which is transforming elementary and secondary schools. He would replace our separate disciplines or "subjects" with "problem areas" such as labor problems, family life, consumer action, political citizenship, etc. Upon each such problem some economists, sociologists, political scientists, and social psychologists would work cooperatively. The proposal to break down departmental lines and get at real life problems sounds familiar to educators, but it will undoubtedly create consternation up in the graduate schools.

Lynd's analysis of the contradictions and disintegration in our culture does not leave him very optimistic about what the public schools can achieve. When we remember what he found in the schools of *Middletown*, it is easy to understand his skepticism. His hypothesis is: Since "major changes are required in order to cope with present problems in our culture, it is impossible to rely primarily upon popular education to effect such changes. This amounts to saying that one cannot get an operation performed by setting out to teach the masses about appendicitis." Within their "institutional straitjacket" the schools cannot go far, at least until the social sciences have blue-printed the necessary changes. This challenge from a friend of education and a friend of social change deserves thoughtful appraisal. Have we been expecting too much of the teachers of children and too little of the teachers of mature minds?

In American culture, as Lynd so vigorously describes it, there is clearly need for such an organization as the Teachers' Union. We need more democracy, but in order to get it, we need intermediary organizations between the individual worker and the top controls of industry and government. It is all very well and necessary to fight against threats to civil liberties, but that negative program is not sufficient. We need "to state the problem of democratic social organization positively" and to devise instruments for making mass participation feasible. The effectiveness of a union is well explained by its introduction of deliberate, intelligent organization

into our drifting, casual, go-as-you-please, laissez-faire culture. The psychology of union appeal is vividly apparent in Lynd's discussion of the isolation and loneliness of our shallow, unrooted, urban culture. One of the deeper needs of modern man, Lynd suggests, is for mutuality on some basis other than sex. We all "travel light," weakening ties to relatives and to comrades, but the "continuous melody" of human nature is the "craving for sharing of purposes, feeling and action with others." Without committing himself to any wholesale endorsement, Lynd, who spent several months recently in the U. S. S. R., approves their "social activism." He reports that something over half of the entire adult population of Moscow is engaged actively, entirely outside their occupations, in some form of community service. In American culture it is too easy for some human participants to be lost in the shuffle. Is it true that "every human being has somewhere within him an active or potential interest in *something* which, if shared with others, will make both him and the culture stronger"?

Probably the most fundamental question toward which Lynd would direct our thinking arises from the hypothesis: "Private capitalism does not now operate, and probably cannot be made to operate, to assure the amount of general welfare to which the present stage of our technological skills and intelligence entitles us; and other ways of managing our economy need therefore to be explored." There are many subquestions, and here is one of the most important. "In what kind of American culture would the activities involved in getting a living be reduced to an instrumental, rather than their present monopolizing position?"

Summer reading may be our immediate opportunity for study that has social significance. What, then, are the new books that bear most directly on the central problems of our culture?

The prize title is Lerner's *It Is Later than You Think*,² taken from a clock tower in a Spanish square. Yes, Spanish. The same words were written on Parisian walls just before the French Revolution. Lerner's implication is not only warning. He believes that, although the peril is more pressing than is generally realized, our achievements in the direction of democratic col-

²Max Lerner: *It Is Later than You Think*. New York: The Viking Press, 260 pages, 1938.



lectivism have also gone farther than is supposed. The book is delightfully illumined with quotable phrases, such, for instance, as the "liberal" who is symbolized by the "swivel chair, whether that of editor, columnist, or professor—and the best thing about it is that it can turn in so many directions. . . . A purpose to him is like a work of art meticulously carved in butter."

Another book, which reaches conclusions very much like Lerner's is Alfred Bingham's new *Man's Estate*.³ The title might apply in one sense to the autobiographical section in which the author traces his ideological growing-up, and in another sense to his proposal for a "new New Deal," setting up economic coordination but retaining a free market as automatic control of production, prices, and labor, enabling man to become "full master of his estate."

The general principles of economic advance which Bingham presents are concretely embodied in Ezekiel's⁴ practical proposal for increasing production at present. The economic adviser to our Secretary of Agriculture, in 1936, published a book called *\$2500 a Year*. The new book, *Jobs for All*, tells in more detail how planning can be used, within our present changing economic order, to produce plenty without destroying freedom. The essence of his idea is that industry shall prepare expansion programs, and government shall guarantee (by public purchase of any unsold surplus within the approved program) regularly expanding markets. Bingham's point that this is neither capitalism nor socialism in the classical sense may indicate our probable direction of progress.

A British writer and member of Parliament has developed a very similar outlook, expressed by Harold Macmillan in his *The Middle Way*.⁵

A very readable—in fact the simplest to read of all the books in this review—little book by seven Harvard and Tufts economists⁶ gives attention to immediate New Deal activities in the light of a long-run program. Their book should be read by every teacher who hears talk about excessive government spending and our terrible burden of debt. Actually "debt" within our total economy is another name for "assets"

or "investments" and is essential for expansion. What has happened is that private enterprise stopped spending and so stalled our economy; public spending had to start, and thus far has progressed at only about half the rate at which private business increased our "debt" from 1920 to 1930.

The question of the part which the labor movement, in Britain and in America, is likely to play in social change is discussed historically by John Strachey⁷ in his recent volume, *What Are We to Do?* The answer is a challenge to the easier optimism of Macmillan, Bingham and others, who foresee cooperation in planning among representatives of labor and of the capitalists. Such a course, in a time like this, Strachey believes certain to lead to the stifling of struggle and the suicide of both the labor movement and emerging socialism. The more constructive alternative, as he reads history, is to prosecute steadily, resolutely, by all means "from the most constitutional to the most desperate," the struggle of organized "wage-workers against the conditions of life imposed upon them by capitalism."

Are we moving toward a revolution? Some light can be found in Brinton's⁸ description of the common factors in four previous revolutionary periods. Unfortunately Brinton is one of those specialists, criticized by Lynd, because they have fear to relate their knowledge to contemporary needs. Nevertheless one can find in the facts Brinton presents some striking points for reflection. Men never expected a revolution for themselves, but only for their children. All four revolutions were preceded by the desertion of the old order by intellectuals, by loss of self-assurance on the part of able rulers within the old order, by financial difficulties for government, by interference with the chance of able youths to rise to a high career by their own efforts, and by protest uprising, not of one class only, but of men of all classes except, perhaps, the highest and lowest.

All this may be rather heavy fare for the summer hammock when the sun is hot. Therefore, we add a novel. A truly great novel. One worthy to live in the best traditions of American liter-

³Alfred M. Bingham: *Man's Estate: Adventures in Economic Discovery*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 480 pages. 1939.

⁴Mordecai Ezekiel: *Jobs for All*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 313 pages. 1939.

⁵Harold Macmillan: *The Middle Way*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 382 pages. 1938.

⁶R. V. Gilbert and others: *An Economic Program for American Democracy*. New York: The Vanguard Press. 91 pages. 1938.

⁷John Strachey: *What Are We to Do?* New York: Random House. 339 pages. 1938.

⁸Crane Brinton: *The Anatomy of Revolution*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 326 pages. 1938.



⁹John Steinbeck: *The Grapes of Wrath*. New York: The Viking Press, 619 pages, 1939.

Problems in Elementary Education

◆ PAUL R. HANNA

IT IS DIFFICULT to read while you run. And teaching a group of live youngsters is hard running. As a consequence many teachers have to postpone much of the professional reading they would like to do until the summer months when there is more energy to devote to the absorption of new stimulation and new practices as contained in books and periodicals. This paper is one teacher's attempt to list the more significant publications which have appeared within the past eighteen months.

Probably the most logical and most exciting start on one's summer reading will be in the area of the purposes of elementary schools. What are these schools established for? What unique role should they play in the present period of transition in American Democracy? The recent publication of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association presents the purposes of education in American democracy.¹

This report, together with the splendid formulation of the prospects for democracy in the period ahead² by George Counts and the design of a curriculum to achieve the democratic goals,³ will raise for teachers the major issues and shed considerable light on solutions deemed possible and desirable.

For those who are ready for a little heavier reading and for excursions into writings not written especially for the educational profession, several volumes will prove exceedingly challenging. Mumford's new book on the place of city life in our past culture and the new trend in population distribution⁴ presents many educational problems for the more alert reader. The

ature. Read, without fail and before you go to any World's Fair, John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*.⁹

many documents by the National Resources Committee and particularly the one dealing with the possible effect of new inventions on our national life⁵ will make any thoughtful reader consider again how inadequate the traditional elementary curriculum was in meeting the demand of new social conditions resulting from scientific advances. Another volume by the National Resources Committee deals with the problems of a changing population and is decidedly worthwhile.⁶

A second area in which a teacher will want to explore is that of psychology and growth and development of pupils. A most interesting report by Blatz on the growth and development of the five Dionne "Quins" will demonstrate the type of evidence accumulating in many centers pointing to a more significant role played by the environment and by education. The book by Prescott on the place of emotions in the education of the individual⁷ is likely to be only a beginning in a hitherto neglected area of our profession. And no teacher can afford to miss the challenge and warning to certain extreme exponents of "child-centered" education in two small volumes by Dewey⁸ and Bode¹⁰ which deal with both psychology and philosophy. In social psychology a new volume by Reinhardt¹¹ presents much valuable material. An old favorite on psychology is just off the press in a new edition¹² and those who are not familiar with it should get acquainted.

Having built a foundation in the social purposes of the elementary school and in the psychological principles by which we can best guide good pupil growth, the reader now turns to the more concrete suggestions of designing new elementary curriculum and handling the everyday problems of normal boys and girls. For those who are teachers of very young children a new volume by Updegraff and associates details the practices in the preschool years.¹³ For teachers in rural schools a new book by Wofford reports many actual plans and achievements of small

⁵National Resources Committee: *Technological Trends and National Policy*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 388 pages, June, 1937.

⁶National Resources Committee: *The Problems of a Changing Population*. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 306 pages, May, 1938.

⁷William E. Blatz: *The Five Sisters*. New York: William Morrow and Company, 209 pages, 1938.

⁸D. A. Prescott: *Emotion and the Educative Process*. Washington: American Council on Education, 323 pages, 1938.

⁹John Dewey: *Experience and Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 116 pages, 1938.

¹⁰Boyd H. Bode: *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*. New York: Newson & Company, 128 pages, 1938.

¹¹J. M. Reinhardt: *Social Psychology*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 467 pages, 1938.

¹²William James: *Talks to Teachers on Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 238 pages, 1939.

¹³Ruth Updegraff and others: *Practices in Preschool Education*. Chicago: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 408 pages, 1938.

¹National Education Association, Educational Policies Commission: *Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. Washington: National Education Association, 157 pages, 1938.

²George B. Counts: *The Prospects of American Democracy*. New York: The John Day Company, 360 pages, 1938.

³The John Dewey Society, Yearbook III: *Democracy and the Curriculum*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 530 pages, 1939.

⁴Lewis Mumford: *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., 586 pages, 1938.

schools.¹⁴ For an introductory picture of what one modern elementary school is doing in curriculum revision the illustrated volume by Horrall and associates is about as good a volume as one could read.¹⁵ For more general treatment of modern elementary classroom procedure and principles, two new books—one by Lane¹⁶ and one by Hockett and Jacobsen¹⁷—adequately present the case. Where a curriculum laboratory is accessible the teacher will find help in looking through some of the new suggestions to teachers which attempt to organize within broad guide lines those learning experiences which give most promise of achieving the goals of education in our day. The “course of study” bulletins from San Diego, Los Angeles County, Santa Barbara, Kansas State, and similar cities, counties, and states represent a great stride forward.

In the areas of special subjects many new volumes add theory and practice. Outstanding are the yearbook on community resources for social studies,¹⁸ the yearbook on reading,¹⁹ Morton's two volumes on arithmetic,²⁰ the California State publication on music,²¹ and Noll's book on science.²²

Many teachers will be interested in a careful appraisal of modern elementary education. Wrightstone's research²³ shows how pupils of modern classrooms rate in comparison with pupils in traditional classrooms.

The periodical literature on elementary education improves with the years. Especially helpful will be the past dozen or so issues of *Childhood Education*,²⁴ *Progressive Education*,²⁵ *The Elementary School Journal*,²⁶ and *Educational*

Method.²⁷

One could not cap his summer's reading any more appropriately than by reading a small bit of biting satire on education in which traditionalists and progressives bear equally the devastating attack.²⁸ It is not improbable that this volume may someday be considered one of the two most important educational books of this year.

²⁷The Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction: *Educational Method*. Washington: National Education Association.
²⁸J. Abner Peddiwell: *The Saber-Tooth Curriculum*. Chicago: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 139 pages. 1939.



What's New in Secondary Education

◆ JOHN J. DeBOER

NEW BOOKS ABOUT SECONDARY EDUCATION appear to possess more vitality and more pertinence than the shelf upon shelf of ponderous volumes which appeared in this field five and more years ago. The change is probably due in part to the sense of futility which the traditional secondary-school curriculum has finally induced in the rank and file of educational workers and, in part, to the tardy and startling realization that a new generation is getting ready to live without being able really to have their lives.

Teachers who look beyond the curriculum to the young people for whom it is intended will find interesting the report of an American Council of Education study of youth's attitudes toward marriage and the home, the church, work, play, and education.¹ A full-length account of the efforts of the Federal Government to assist those in greatest need is presented by the Lindleys in their story of the National Youth Administration.² Very comprehensive and very sympathetic is the survey of youth problems reported in the sixteenth yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators.³

Several of the more recent publications describe

¹H. M. Bell: *Youth Tell Their Story*. New York: American Council on Education. 273 pages. 1938.

²Betty Lindley and E. K. Linkley: *A New Deal for Youth*. New York: Viking Press. 315 pages. 1938.

³16th yearbook of American Association of School Administrators: *Youth Education Today*. Washington: American Association of School Administrators. 509 pages. 1938.

¹⁴Kate V. Wofford: *Modern Education in the Small Rural School*. New York: Macmillan and Company. 582 pages. 1938.

¹⁵Albion H. Horrall and others: *Let's Go To School*. Chicago: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company. 434 pages. 1938.

¹⁶Robert Hill Lane: *The Progressive Elementary School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 197 pages. 1938.

¹⁷J. A. Hockett and E. W. Jacobsen: *Modern Practices in the Elementary School*. Boston: Ginn and Company. 346 pages. 1938.

¹⁸National Council for the Social Studies, Ninth Yearbook: *Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies*. Cambridge: Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University School of Education. 229 pages. 1938.

¹⁹Department of Elementary School Principals, Seventeenth Yearbook: *Newer Practices in Reading in the Elementary School*. Washington: National Education Association. 704 pages. July, 1938.

²⁰Robert Lee Morton: *Teaching Arithmetic in the Elementary School*. Volume I, Primary Grades, 410 pages. 1937. Volume II, Intermediate Grades, 538 pages. 1938. Chicago: Silver Burdett Company.

²¹California State Department of Education: *Music Education in the Elementary School*. Sacramento: State of California. 152 pages. 1939.

²²Victor H. Noll: *The Teaching of Science in Elementary and Secondary Schools*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. 238 pages. 1939.

²³J. Wayne Wrightstone: *Appraisal of Newer Elementary School Practices*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. 221 pages. 1938.

²⁴Association for Childhood Education: *Childhood Education*. Washington: Association for Childhood Education with cooperation of the National Association for Nursery Education.

²⁵The Progressive Education Association: *Progressive Education*. New York: The Progressive Education Association.

²⁶Newton Edwards with the cooperation of the Department of Education of The University of Chicago: *The Elementary School Journal*. Chicago: published in conjunction with the *School Review* and the *Supplementary Educational Monographs*.



the attempts of some of the schools to fashion an educational program out of the vital experiences

and endless questionings of the young people themselves. Perhaps the most remarkable of these is the document produced, without any direct aid from teachers, by the class of 1938 of the Ohio State University High School.⁴ The story is at once a persuasive account of the recent history of a progressive high school and an example of the results of its instruction. The new emphasis upon the community as a center for the educational experiences of young people is illustrated in a highly practical and readable volume on the Community School.⁵ The emphasis upon democracy as an aim of secondary education is reflected also in a new yearbook of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction,⁶ in which revolutionary implications of the ideal of cooperation for the school organization and curriculum are set forth. Teachers who are looking for more general surveys and descriptions of typical practices in more conservative schools should consult an extensive revision of Professor Douglass' volume on secondary education,⁷ or the more traditional publication of Frank Butler.⁸ Wrightstone's volume on the appraisal of the newer practices in secondary schools, on the whole, still tends to favor the activity school from the standpoint of all around achievement.⁹

Perhaps the most vigorous new movement in the field of secondary education is the trend in the direction of systematic programs of guidance. One volume, edited by Professor Witty and just off the press,¹⁰ presents a group of essays on the various phases of guidance that will make sense to the classical schoolroom teacher. Dr. Partridge's study of the social psychology of adolescence¹¹ and Carson Ryan's recent volume on mental health in education¹² afford opportunity for more intensive study of this field.

Every teacher should probably have a general knowledge of two extensive surveys recently completed. The first of these is the report of the statewide study of high-school and college education in Pennsylvania,¹³ which constitutes an appalling indictment of secondary and higher education, if one accepts the retention of information as the chief criterion of educational progress—as most institutions do. The second of these reports is that of the New York Regents' Inquiry,¹⁴ at this moment the subject of bitter controversy as the result of charges by Dr. Alonzo S. Myers.

Among the many new books in the special fields, the most significant are those which are addressed directly to the genuine personal need of high-school students. In the field of literature the appearance of Elbert Lenrow's *Bibliography of Prose Fiction*¹⁵ and Louise Rosenblatt's *Literature as Exploration*¹⁶ may be regarded as educational events of first importance. The former classifies and annotates English and American novels according to their treatment of a wide range of life problems that have personal meaning to adolescents. Dealing with literature from the same point of view, Miss Rosenblatt shows how literature may be taught, not as something to be worshipped or analyzed, but something to be experienced and used as a guide to living. A publication of the Progressive Education Association's Commission on Human Relations¹⁷ marshals impressively those elements in the field of science which may contribute to the enrichment of students' personal lives. Even high-school mathematics is shown in a publication of the National Council of Mathematics Teachers¹⁸ to have pertinence to the life of youth.

In the same vein are several small books, which, while addressed to high-school students, make fascinating reading for high-school teachers. One of the early publications of the Progressive Education Association's Commission on Human Relations,¹⁹ for example, presents a frank discussion of personal problems, including those

⁴Class of 1938, Ohio State University High School: *Were We Guinea Pigs?* New York: Henry Holt and Company. 303 pages. 1938.

⁵Samuel Everett, editor for the Committee on the Community School of the Society for Curriculum Study: *The Community School*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 487 pages. 1938.

⁶11th Yearbook of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association, *Co-operation: Principles and Practices*. Washington: National Education Association. 244 pages. 1938.

⁷Aubrey A. Douglass: *Modern Secondary Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 782 pages. 1938.

⁸Frank A. Butler: *Improvement of Teaching in Secondary Schools*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 389 pages. 1939.

⁹J. Wayne Wrightstone: *Appraisal of Newer Experimental High School Practices*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. 194 pages.

¹⁰Paul A. Witty, Charles E. Skinner and others: *Mental Hygiene in Modern Education*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 539 pages. 1939.

¹¹E. D. Partridge: *Social Psychology of Adolescence*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 361 pages. 1938.

¹²W. C. Ryan: *Mental Health and Education*. New York: Commonwealth Fund. 1938.

¹³W. S. Learned and D. E. K. Wood: *The Student and His Knowledge*. New York: Carnegie Foundation. 1938.

¹⁴New York State University, Editor: *Education for American Life*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1939.

¹⁵Elbert Lenrow: *Bibliography of Prose Fiction*. New York: Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum, Progressive Education Association.

¹⁶Louise M. Rosenblatt: *Literature as Exploration*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 340 pages. 1938.

¹⁷Committee on the Function of Science in General Education of the Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum: *Science in General Education*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 591 pages. 1938.

¹⁸Harold Pascoe Sussex: *The Nature of Proof*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. 146 pages. 1938.

¹⁹Alice Kellher: *Life and Growth*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 245 pages. 1938.



of sex, which frequently disturb boys and girls struggling to attain maturity. A volume by Harold Hand²⁰ meets a broad range of situations both inside and outside school. On the special problem of the movies, a volume printed by a committee of the National Council of Teachers of English²¹ represents a triumph in stimulating exposition and delightful illustrations.

No high-school teacher today has escaped the current emphasis on the improvement of pupils' reading ability. Books containing materials for remedial instruction are too numerous to mention here, but Strang's²² and Center's and Persons'²³ may be recommended as helpful manuals on the technical problems of corrective instruction in reading. Richards' *Interpretation in Teaching*²⁴ is not a book for light summer reading, but is the most authoritative source for the understanding of the semantic approach to the study of language, whether in reading or writing.

Everyone, whether as teacher or citizen, should secure without delay the publications of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. The January issue, dealing with the attack upon democracy, is in itself worth the cost of an annual subscription. The first volume of the Propaganda Analysis report²⁵ should stand on the school library side by side with the report of a Senate Committee on the Violation of Free Speech and the Rights of Labor (Seventy-sixth Congress, first session, Senate Report No. 6).

²⁰M. E. Bennett and H. C. Hand: *Beyond High School*. McGraw-Hill Book Company. 185 pages. 1938.

²¹Helen Rand and Richard Lewis: *Film and School*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 182 pages. 1937.

²²Ruth Strang: *Problems in Improvement of Reading in High School and College*. Lancaster: Science Press. 390 pages. 1938.

²³Stella S. Center and Gladys L. Persons: *Teaching High School Students to Read*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 167 pages. 1937.

²⁴I. A. Richards: *Interpretation in Teaching*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 442 pages. 1938.

²⁵Institute for Propaganda Analysis: *Propaganda Analysis*. New York: Institute for Propaganda Analysis.

Browsing through General Education

♦ MALCOLM S. MacLEAN

WHY BROWSE THROUGH the books about general education? Many reasons clamor an answer. Some watchers of trends predict that general education will dominate American schools for another quarter-century. Others say it is the normal reaction from two forces that have jostled and shoved us teachers for many

years. First of these is the tenacity of the scholar-tradition that kept us teaching nothing but

ancient, medieval, and modern history to 1900 while guns thundered, men died, and dictators made history by slapping the moppet nations about; nothing but Latin as well as English grammar and Aristotelian rules of rhetoric while the youngsters we taught were building a hundred different little foreign languages of their own in sports, music, dancing (jitterbugs and their jam sessions), crime, science, mechanics; nothing but elaborate arithmetic, algebra, and geometry to children who would not ever have to add up even checkbook stubs. Second is the force that has so driven us to specialize that there is a growing eagerness to return to unity by means of surveys, composites, overviews, and integrations.

This reaction against the dead weight of a luxury-culture tradition and against flying apart into microscopic bits, either for scholarship or job training, is the essence of general education. To understand it and to watch where it is carrying us is not difficult if we browse through the significant books. There are still few because the reaction is just in its beginnings. To set the pattern clearly we want to start where Mr. Hanna¹ left off with Dean Harold Benjamin's editing (?) of the hilarious, shocking satire² on all education, where, in an unforgettable fable, we trace the forces and reactions breeding general education. We see, too, why in the short period of a decade general education has split into two different lines of march towards the same goal.

The first of these is the attempt to attain a newly unified and single-purpose education for American children and youth by manipulation of subject matter, by taking the fragments of squads of Humpty-Dumpties and putting them back together again into giant orientation courses. Chief proponents of this method of achieving general education are the president and faculty of the University of Chicago, who subdivide into the staff of The College on the one hand and Mr. Hutchins and his offshoot college of St. John's on the other. The latter states its case³ in two

¹Paul R. Hanna: "A Summer's Reading in Elementary Education." *The American Teacher*, May, 1939.

²J. Abner Peditwell: *The Saber-Tooth Curriculum*. Chicago: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 139 pages. 1939.

³R. M. Hutchins: *No Friendly Voice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1936.

R. M. Hutchins: *Higher Learning in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1936.

Scott Buchanan: "A Crisis in Liberal Education," *Amherst Graduates Quarterly*, February, 1938.

slim books and miscellaneous articles, the former its in one fat and one thin volume.⁴

The second centers principally or wholly on the students to be taught and on society's need for them and theirs for society. It is in Homer P. Rainey's phrase "education for the common life." Subject matter is chosen first in the light of the *needs* of children and youth; second, in view of society's *need* to have her growing membership trained in certain habits and ways of thinking and feeling. Early and striking declarations of this general position were made by President Wilkins of Oberlin⁵ and Duffus⁶ who talks about "The Old Order Changeth," "Educational New Deals," and "Thunder on the Left" in a series of crackling premonitory chapters. To these critics and prophets, Dean J. B. Johnston twice added his voice,⁷ and President H. M. Wriston once.⁸

Aside from these general discussions of changing theory and practice towards general education, three descriptions of special experiments in transition, incomplete but significant, are worth our reading time. Heaton and Koopman worked on and outlined a program for training teachers;⁹

⁴C. S. Boucher: *The Chicago College Plan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 344 pages. 1935.

Harry D. Gideonse: *The Higher Learning in a Democracy*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 34 pages. 1937.

⁵Earnest Hatch Wilkins: *The College and Society*. New York: The Century Company. 173 pages. 1932.

⁶R. L. Duffus: *Democracy Enters the College*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 244 pages. 1936.

⁷J. B. Johnston: *Scholarship and Democracy*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 113 pages. 1937.

J. B. Johnston: *The Liberal College in a Changing Society*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 326 pages. 1930.

⁸H. M. Wriston: *Nature of a Liberal College*. Appleton, Wis.: College Press. 1937.

⁹K. L. Heaton and G. R. Koopman: *A College Curriculum Based on Functional Needs of Students*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 157 pages. 1936.

the entire faculty of a college wrote and published its problems and practices;¹⁰ and Eurich, Palmer Johnson, and other experts did a scientific survey of Minnesota's General College.¹¹ In the Alexander Inglis Memorial lecture at Harvard in 1938, the writer¹² attempted to summarize and delineate sharply the trends in American education and to set expanding general education in its proper relationship to the traditional liberal as well as the vocational-professional patterns in schooling.

In late February last, so great had grown the groundswell in general education, the National Society for the Study of Education devoted Part II of its annual Yearbook¹³ to a summary of the assumptions, objectives, experiments, issues, and evaluation projects over the whole field. The book was issued under the masterly editorship of Professor Alvin C. Eurich. If there is time in your reading to do but a single book and you want to get the fullest, latest, and best, then this is the volume to choose. Moreover, do not be misled by the title into assuming that it is for college teachers only, because if the Yearbook does any one thing well, it is to show that the problem of general education is a universal one, common to all schools and teachers, operating at all so-called "levels" of education.

¹⁰Muskingum College Faculty. *A College Looks at Its Program*. New Concord, Ohio. 326 pages. 1937.

¹¹A. C. Eurich, P. O. Johnson and others: *The Effective General College Curriculum as Revealed by Examinations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 427 pages. 1937.

¹²Malcolm S. MacLean: *Scholars, Workers, and Gentlemen*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 92 pages. 1938.

¹³A. C. Eurich and others: *General Education in the American College*. Thirty-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education: Part II. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company. 382 pages. 1939.



Tenure Problems in Goose Creek, Texas

◆ JOHN WOODRUFF

IT HAS BEEN SHOWN in Goose Creek that local tenure agreements have to be defended constantly in the same way that state tenure legislation has been defended in Pennsylvania and other states.

Local tenure was established more than a year ago when the school board adopted a tenure agreement proposed by the teachers. Under this agreement dismissal could be based on two fundamental causes: incompetent teaching and objectionable social conduct (termed "immorality" in the agreement).

There have been many objections raised to the granting of this freedom to teachers, the objections coming from the adherents to the creed that teachers are not entitled to any viewpoint except complete neutrality in vital social and economic issues in the community; in other words, the extreme reactionaries have rebelled.

A majority of the members of our school board have shown their support for teacher tenure by voting for its adoption. Two board members just elected to the body took their stand for tenure during the election campaign. Nevertheless, the board has abrogated the tenure agreement which was adopted last year and has announced that a new form of contract will be substituted for it next year.

No indication has been given as to the provisions which will be written into the new agreement. It will, apparently, be a unilateral agreement, since the bargaining representatives of the teachers' choice have already been notified that they will not be recognized. To represent the teachers in bargaining there will be individuals appointed by the superintendent.

The chairman of the committee which drafted and presented the tenure agreement last year for the teachers has been notified informally by the superintendent that he will be dismissed at the end of the school term. It remains to be seen whether this will be confirmed by official action and whether it will be supported by the school board.

By the time this is in print arrangements will have been completed to carry the defense of our existing contracts under the tenure agreement to the state superintendent and to the courts if necessary.

Securing the adoption of local tenure agreements, judging from our experience in Goose Creek, should be but the beginning of the campaign for teachers' freedom. The idea needs to be sold and resold to the community until it has a chance to become a part of the community mores and secures itself from reaction with the shield of tradition.

The fight here will be intensified by the fact that we live in a typical company town. Our company is a sub-

sidary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, and its local executives include the Goose Creek local of the A. F. of T. along with all other unions of all kinds as proper subjects for summary beheading.

If our local is killed by a "yellow dog" tenure agreement, it is supposed that our salary schedule, which was adopted three years ago, will also be scrapped. Our position at present is that we are employed under a tenure agreement which will be defended to the highest court, since that agreement represents all the gains which have been made against traditional administrative autocracy in Texas to date.

Workers' Education Threatened in Wisconsin

◆ E. E. SCHWARZTRAUER

WORKERS' EDUCATION CHALLENGES the conventional notions of education. The proposition that workers ought to be given opportunities for education would meet little opposition. However, the question of the kind of education appropriate for the workingman thrusts the dilemma into the proposition and raises questions which demand an examination of the premises of education.

In Wisconsin the growth of workers' education is now a matter of at least twenty years. During these two decades workers' education developed from a scattered few classes organized in some of the larger cities, to a state-wide and centrally coordinated program. The latter stage coincided with a legislative enactment in 1937 which allotted state funds for the support of a School for Workers in Industry and entrusted its administration to the University of Wisconsin.

It appeared in 1937 that workers' education had achieved a status of permanency and of public recognition. However, within the past five months its continued existence has become a question of doubt. The doubt has been occasioned by the irruption in Wisconsin of a legislature dominated by a 1910 business mentality apparently finding it necessary to destroy most of the legislation favorable to collective bargaining, and including on its grim list the 1937 law which established the School for Workers in Industry.

Should the School for Workers fail to survive the onslaught, and there is little prospect that it can survive it, it is to be hoped that the consequent setback will be temporary. The deplorable waste of resources of personnel and experience, and the retardation of the development of workers' education will have to be regarded with infinite patience. These are the perquisites society extracts from its pioneers. But the movement of workers' education will rise again inevitably

and again seek recognition from society.

Wisconsin's experience provides this conclusion: that the growth of workers' education has reached the level where the question of its recognition as a legitimate form of education will be the salient "front" of its struggle. And Wisconsin's experience adds this conviction: that workers' education is an enterprise loaded with public interest, and the public must be informed of its values. Both of these conclusions are even more significant for people who are in the field of education.

Those with "frozen" notions of education have applied to workers' education the epithets "propaganda," "class education," "agitation," and, "merely another form of labor organizing." There will be no attempt to answer these charges, name by name. We feel instead that a briefly stated rationale of workers' education can clear away much of the prejudicial debris in the way of its unquestioned acceptance; and that public support and particularly the support of people in other fields of education will rally to workers' education when the latter is clearly depicted.

Workers' education is an "unlettered" form of education. There is little recourse to the "humanities" or to the glittering tradition of the arts. It is a form of education which dons the garb of the workingman and resounds with his idiom. Its arena is the little explored jungle of industrial relations. Its task is that of abet-



ting the application of the human ingredient in this arena which has been long disorganized by so-called "economic laws."

The setting for workers' education is created by the organization of labor into trade unions. These trade unions seek to establish themselves as an accepted institution with the prerogative of sharing in the control and administration of the "job territory" in our industrial society—or, to use a well-known term, the right to establish "industrial government," which has been de-

fined as "a highly integrated government of unionized workers and of associated employer-managers, jointly conducting the government with 'laws' mandatory upon the individual employer and employee."

This aim of trade unionism, the establishment of "industrial government," imposes tremendous responsibilities upon labor. It necessarily involves intelligent collective bargaining; it calls for skills in the administrative function of "job control"; and it demands an insight into the economic implications of such "industrial government." Assuming that management possesses the facilities to meet the demands of this mode of government, it follows that labor must be implemented at these points of its highest need. That is the job of workers' education: meeting the requirements of "industrial government" at these points of vital need.

This is nothing more and nothing less than education in applied democracy—democracy of the American texture. The pragmatic character of this type of education is best reflected in the curriculum it has developed. The curriculum has been described as a "tool" curriculum and consists of subjects such as parliamentary law and public speaking, collective bargaining procedures, labor problems, economics, consumer problems, consumer cooperation, labor history, labor legislation, trade unionism, social psychology, current events, and economics of individual industries. Occasionally some "culture" courses creep in like labor drama, etc. But generally the courses are of the type which provides materials capable of being immediately utilized.

There are two fundamental premises upon which workers' education is predicated. The first is that a trade union is a legitimate institution. The second is that industrial peace through trade-union action is a social desideratum. The acceptance or the rejection of these premises is the fulcrum upon which the fate of workers' education is balanced. Should these be accepted, workers' education is accepted. Should they be rejected, workers' education suffers the same fate.

While these premises are at least partially accepted today, the public must be shown their value and the value of workers' education. This virile form of education must not be lost because of the lack of public support or because it is not "dressed up" in cloistered habiliments.

It is a type of education which is attuned to the pragmatic demands of democratic process. Its wholesome aim is democratic industrial peace. It serves the workingman and helps provide him with the status of a democratic participant in the social order. To observe that these conditions serve the public interest is almost redundant.

Workers' education rests its case with this final observation: if it does not conform with the conventional notions of education, it may not be that it falls short, but rather that the accepted notions of education need revision to include this emerging instrument of democracy.

The Next Step for the Progressives

Charles A. Beard

Robert H. Jackson

Frank Murphy

CHARLES A. BEARD

Author of "The Rise of American Civilization"

THE NEXT STEP FOR PROGRESSIVES, as I see things, is to consider and support measures designed to raise our national production 30 or 40 per cent at least, thus adding from twenty-five to thirty billions a year to our output of goods and services. This will require intelligent and whole-hearted co-operation among capitalists, managers, organized labor, and government. William Green has more than once called for such concerted action. John L. Lewis has gone on record in favor of it. Enlightened capitalists see the need for great collective effort. If this is not done, if unemployment continues on the present level, if debts keep piling up, we are in for the kind of discouragement, conflicts, and bitterness which furnish the soil for arbitrary action.

At the moment no well-finished plan for accomplishing this end is before us. But the Industrial Expansion Bill, sponsored by Representatives Allen, Maverick, Voorhis, and Amlie, in 1937, furnishes a beginning groundwork. Another program, conceived in the same spirit, is in process of formulation in Washington and will doubtless be presented to Congress and the public soon for discussion and consideration.

Unless our unemployed can find honest work, and public revenues for public services can be put on a sound basis, the outlook for progressivism and conservatism alike will be dark, no matter how much exhorting we engage in, no matter what high-sounding professions we make. Recovery of the glorious boom before the burst of 1929 is out of the question. New times demand new measures.

ROBERT H. JACKSON

Solicitor General of the United States

IT IS A CHARACTERISTIC of political thought that reforms come to be accepted by everybody only after liberals have risked their political lives and fortunes to obtain them against the most bitter opposition of the smug elements of society. Then the once drastic measures are no longer thought of as liberalism, but as Americanism. And the reactionaries adopt the names and slogans of deceased liberals in order to discredit living ones. Meanwhile the liberals have to face new fronts because the dangers come from another quarter.

The frontier disappeared by 1932. The public lands are gone, and only the scandals of their administration remain. Our way of living has changed. Men can no longer walk into the wilderness and wring a living from

◆ This is the conclusion of the symposium on "The Next Step for the Progressives."

Attorney General Murphy's contribution is an excerpt from his Jefferson Day dinner speech delivered in Philadelphia and that of Solicitor General Jackson is part of a talk which he gave before the Liberal Voters League of Montgomery County, Maryland. Both talks are reprinted with permission.

nature. To get a living they must be accepted at an employment office, and the employment offices are in the hands of very impersonal and very cold-blooded corporations. It has become much less important to the average man under what mayor he lives than under what kind of a boss he works. When he leaves the factory premises, the Government respects his rights pretty generally. His chosen representatives cannot interfere with his free speech or free press or right of assembly. But spies sent out by his employer are bound by no such restrictions and if his free speech takes the direction of trying to improve his lot through organization, he is likely to find himself in a sort of industrial Siberia.

Therefore, it comes about that the liberal movement of our time is cast largely in the mold of economic liberalism which makes its parallelism to the Jacksonian era more obvious, although none the less real, than its parallel to the Jeffersonian liberalism. The liberalism of our day is concerned with the right of men in industry to be free from unfair labor practices, to enjoy the privacy of their individual lives without the invasion of labor spies, the right collectively to bargain, the right to have some security of tenure in their jobs as against arbitrary dismissal, and the right to a place in our economy where they can apply their labor in return for the commodities which labor produces. And we are also concerned with the right to see that the surplus of production, above what labor consumes while producing, is in a proper proportion applied to protection against unemployment and against dependent old age, against industrial accident, and against illness.

The modern problem is to make the economic system serve the social system, instead of master it; to bring about such a distribution of the products of industry as will protect an American way of life in the homes of the workers. Incidental to this are many problems, in the detail of which men may disagree, but, by and large, the liberal looks first to the effect of a given measure on the social system and on the lives and welfare of

the people. The organs of publicity are almost entirely in the hands of the opposition, and a favorite method of discrediting the liberal is to luridly overstate his true purposes.

The hope and usefulness of progressives rest in their loyalty to the liberal tradition which is an inheritance that enriches not only all liberals but all Americans.

FRANK MURPHY

Attorney General of the United States

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN is not willing any longer to depend on fate to bring him the chance to work. If natural economic forces fail to bring him that chance, he looks to his government, that alone speaks for all of us, to do something about it. He believes, with Abraham Lincoln, that "the legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all or cannot do so well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities." He believes, with President Roosevelt, that "our economic and social system cannot deny the paramount right of millions who wish to toil to have it function smoothly and efficiently."

Until recently, the delay in achieving social reform has not been seriously harmful. Its ill effects have been largely absorbed by the constant expansion and growth of the economic order. But we cannot be sure any longer that our economy will continue to survive this delay. We have never before this decade had 15 million employables without jobs. We have never before seen one-third of the nation without adequate food, adequate clothing, and adequate shelter. Now more than ever, nine-tenths of the wisdom of action is that it be taken *on time*.

If we act too late, if we tarry too long and quarrel too much about using the affirmative powers of government to keep our system of private enterprise working smoothly, we will assuredly seal our own fate. We will betray democracy into the hands of its enemies—either those who want to put all enterprise in the hands of an all-powerful state or those who would return to a socially irresponsible system of *laissez-faire*.

This is why I am so deeply concerned with the continuance of the progressive program of President Roosevelt. This is why I believe so strongly that we must not take a backward step.

We are so close to the scene that sometimes we do not realize just how heavily the future of democracy, not only in America but in the whole world, depends upon the success of the progressive program in the United States. And I am not now referring to any specific blueprints but to its general policies and objectives, its general methods of approach.

Thomas Jefferson knew that democracy *would* petrify unless the people had something more than the right which people under dictatorship have, to vote "yes." He saw the need of a political opposition—of competing

parties which would see to it that the people understood the vital political issues of the day—so that the people might have an effective right to choose not blindly but intelligently between *competing* principles of political action.

Before Jefferson there were no such things as party platforms or party principles between which voters might choose. Jefferson created the party system in this country when he founded the Democratic Party as a liberal opposition party to the conservative Federalist Party which up to then had enjoyed a one-party monopoly.

But the entire purpose of the party system is lost if the voters of the country do not have a chance to say "yes" or "no" on the real political issues before the country.

Now you know and I know that as the people of the United States see it, the President and his policies—the general principles and social objectives of the New Deal—constitute the overshadowing political issue in America today. And the democratic process insists that the people have the right to vote upon that issue—to choose whether or not the New Deal shall go on.

We know that the Republican Party, with the support of every reactionary influence in the United States, will fight the New Deal. And if the Democratic Party does not stand firmly behind the President's program, there is danger that the people will be deprived of the right to voice their own convictions at the polls in 1940.

There may have been times in our history when it made little difference to the people who was President—times when it would have made little difference if there had been no one in the White House.

But *our* times are not and will not be such times.

We must have a President who has the strength and moral stature to guide the American people in the way they want to go. In a moving world, it is dangerous to stand still. The times demand a national leader who can act as well as say no. Modern government, as well as modern business, requires an executive who knows when to act as well as when not to act.

And of course a liberal and progressive leadership which accepts an affirmative responsibility for action must be strong and vigorous enough to throw off all the corroding influences which seek to attach themselves to its power. A liberal government must be alert to throw off the selfish and corrupt who would barter offices, jobs, privileges, and even justice.

The best protection of our Constitution against dictatorship is not a *weak* but a *strong* constitutional executive. All dictatorships in the world today have risen because of weak constitutional leadership. Dictators do not grow to power from *within* constitutional government, but strike swiftly from the *outside* when constitutional government has become too weak to handle the problems which the mass of the people demand shall be handled. That is Twentieth Century Lesson Number One.

Among the New Books

***HIGH SCHOOL AND LIFE: Report of the Regents' Inquiry, by FRANCIS T. SPAULDING.** New York: McGraw-Hill. 377 pages. \$3.00.

EDUCATION FOR WORK: Report of the Regents' Inquiry, by THOMAS L. NORTON. New York: McGraw-Hill. 263 pages. \$2.75.

ADULT EDUCATION: Report of the Regents' Inquiry, by F. W. REEVES, T. FANSLER and C. O. HOULE. New York: McGraw-Hill. 171 pages. \$2.00.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP: Report of the Regents' Inquiry, by HOWARD E. WILSON. New York: McGraw-Hill. 272 pages. \$2.75.

STATE AID AND SCHOOL COSTS: Report of the Regents' Inquiry, by A. G. GRACE and G. A. MOE. New York: McGraw-Hill. 400 pages. \$3.50.

HIGH SCHOOL AND LIFE

UNDOUBTEDLY THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT, and one of the best, of the eleven volumes of the Regents' Inquiry. The following quotation summarizes very well the conditions found to prevail in a majority of New York high schools: "The schools now emphasize, in their curricular and extra-curricular programs, the mastery of academic information, the development of certain clerical skills, participation in large-group athletics, performance in music and art, conformity with routine regulations as to group behavior.

"The majority of high schools give little or no place to the development of other types of competence, in which leaving pupils are notably deficient. They do not teach pupils directly and systematically about their local communities, or encourage them in any penetrating thinking about fundamental social problems, or get them to participate, by reading or listening to the radio, in out-of-school discussions of controversial matters. They seldom concern themselves systematically with such fundamental skills as reading, correct speech, and ability to deal with simple numerical problems. . . . They devote much less attention to the kind of literature with which pupils will be surrounded outside of school than to the academic classics. They usually give no consideration at all to the radio and the movies. . . .

"It seems fair to conclude, in the light of what the schools do not teach, that a major reason for young people's lack of success in meeting out-of-school problems is that the secondary schools give them insufficient chance to master important abilities which the out-of-school world will require of them."

The following are the major recommendations for the redirection of secondary education in New York State:

1. Begin the secondary-school program with the seventh grade in all school districts.

2. Make general education the central objective of the secondary-school program by devoting the greater part of the time up to the end of the twelfth grade to the study of general science, human relations, community life, world history, general mathematics, and the arts—subjects which touch many now divided academic

topics, and which cover matters of direct value and interest to the average American citizen. Present these broad fields of knowledge in the ways in which they are generally encountered in life and work, and not as semester hours for college entrance. Introduce more "review" in basis skills, such as reading and writing, particularly for those whose elementary-school work is deficient.

3. Recognize that the school has a distinct responsibility for character education, not by multiplying rules and discipline, but by establishing student activities, developing a knowledge of the great ethical literature and standards of mankind, and above all, by furnishing inspiring leadership in school. Make understanding and enthusiasm for the democratic system part of character education.

4. Make all high schools large enough, but not too large (300 to 1,200 pupil capacity if possible), so that there can be electives without too small classes, and so that pupils may really experience student government, intramural sports, group music, and club-activities which should be greatly expanded as part of the school program. Make possible easier cooperation among school systems to handle the more specialized subjects economically.

5. Establish a guidance service in each school system equipped to give educational and vocational help to boys and girls in high school and to those who have finished but have not found a satisfactory job.

6. Permit a pupil to leave school at sixteen years of age if he has a real job. If he is unemployed and is not attending an educational institution, require him to continue under the supervision of the school and to pursue the kind of educational program thus worked out until he is eighteen, unless he gets a job in the meantime. This program may be in school or not, as the boy and his advisers may determine. Discontinue continuation schools.

7. Include general vocational education in the program of every comprehensive high school. In high-school vocational courses lay chief emphasis on broad vocational training and not on the development of specialized skills.

8. Gradually add to the secondary-school program beyond the twelfth grade new cultural courses and new subprofessional courses which will prepare boys and girls to enter the technical and semi-professional occupations—surveying, laboratory work, junior engineering occupations and the like—wherever such courses are not now available. These new high-school courses beyond the twelfth grade should qualify for state aid only on the approval of the local expanded educational plan by the state.

9. Base high-school graduation on readiness to leave school, as judged by local school officers in accordance with rules and regulations to be approved by the State Education Department, and discontinue the Regents' Diploma. The local diploma should specify the work done and the competence achieved.

10. End the Regents' examinations as graduation tests, and transform them into examinations designed to discover the weak spots in curriculum or teaching. Make available to the schools a variety of examinations through which the schools themselves can measure pupils' achievement.

11. Emphasize in the school-health and physical-education program mental, emotional, as well as physical health. Protect pupils and teachers against persons within the school exercising a destructive emotional influence. Expand sports and activities in which all can join which have adult carry-over values; abandon the perfunctory but expensive annual "physical examination" now required by law and have in its place one examination on

*Continuation of Professor Alonzo F. Myers' review, reprinted with permission from the *New York Teacher*, the official journal of the Teachers' Union, Local 5, American Federation of Teachers. The concluding reviews of the Regents' Inquiry books will appear in the June issue of the *New York Teacher* and can be secured by sending 10c for the magazine at 114 E. 16th St., New York City.

school entrance, one on entering seventh grade, one on entering ninth grade, and one at the end of twelfth grade.

12. Give more attention specifically to gifted youth and to handicapped youth, not only for their sake and the future of society, but also as a means of improving instruction for the average group of students.

13. Improve libraries and increase reference, research, field work, and report-writing assignments; increase emphasis on English expression and broad reading.

14. The school authorities cannot undertake the whole responsibility within each community for the development of an intelligent handling of the problems of youth, but the school authorities should join with other interested groups in seeing that the work of all local agencies which deal with youth in the area is coordinated and is in some way meeting each of the basic problems of youth.

EDUCATION FOR WORK

The recommendations presented in this volume cover the following items: the pupils to be served; the objectives of the program designed to meet the needs of these pupils together with some suggestions as to the content of the program itself; the teacher preparation needed to carry out the program; and the responsibility of the State Education Department in the furtherance of the program. Vocational education in this discussion comprises vocational agriculture, vocational industry, home making, including domestic and personal service, and business occupations. The recommendations are based upon the premise that vocational preparation is an imperative upon the secondary school. This concept is interpreted to include such pre-vocational information as is essential to the intelligent choice of vocation by all pupils regardless of whether or not they expect to cease formal schooling when they leave high school.

This study points out definitely certain areas in which vocational education has not succeeded in meeting the needs of all the pupils in the secondary schools for such education. The offerings in general have been made with little regard to the occupational community into which the pupil must go. Practically all the vocational industrial education in the state, for example, is concentrated in New York City and Buffalo. Thus important large portions of the school population desiring this type of education cannot secure it. On the other hand, business education courses are so generally offered that the field of preparation for the clerical occupations is seriously overcrowded—and crowded, furthermore, with a relatively unselected group. Many of the pupils studying for business occupations, it is pointed out, are doing so because no other occupational training is provided for them. A second great weakness of the present program of vocational education is emphasized—the need for an adequate program of guidance, which term is specifically interpreted to include all the functions of guidance and includes assistance in the selection of an occupation, appropriate training for it, placement in the occupation, follow-up to assure adjustment to the occupation, provision for improvement training and for the development of new abilities when needed.

ADULT EDUCATION

For purposes of the study, adult education is defined as "any purposeful effort toward self-development carried on by an individual without direct legal compulsion and without such effort becoming his major field of activity." While giving passing notice to random activities and agencies of an educational nature such as concerts and exhibitions and to agencies such as the press and the theatre, the committee is primarily concerned with the better defined activities of established agencies with which the Board of Regents must deal. The main emphasis of the study is upon "those educational activities controlled by public agencies and supported, at least in part, by taxation."

The committee approached the problem of evaluating the uncoordinated adult-education agencies and activities in New York State by (1) a study of the organization, administration, personnel, and program of existing agencies; (2) a study of selected areas in which the functioning of agencies within a total community picture could be examined; (3) conferring with and interviewing educators and laymen known to be actively interested in the field.

This study discloses the fact that there are many opportunities for the general and vocational education of adults provided by both public and private agencies; that these opportunities are not distributed throughout the State, but are concentrated in the larger cities, particularly New York; and that the lack of coordination among adult-education programs, both local and state, results in much duplication of effort and inefficient use of available resources.

Some of the more specific weaknesses in the present program of adult education in New York State are:

1. Training adults for citizenship has been largely neglected by public agencies.
2. Consumer education for adults has been "general, ineffective, and sporadic."
3. Adult vocational education has been too narrowly specialized, has neglected the field of distributive occupations, and has been handicapped by a lack of information on occupational opportunities.
4. Neither the highest nor the lowest economic group is greatly affected by present adult programs.
5. Satisfactory facilities for educational and vocational guidance of adults are almost completely lacking.
6. Facilities and equipment for adult education are inadequate in the State as a whole.
7. Adult education has been the "fifth wheel" of the public educational system and a part-time activity for teachers and administrators.
8. Few attempts have been made to evaluate adult education in any geographical area or field of study.
9. There is no consistent plan for financing adult education from public funds.
10. Adult-education agencies are uncoordinated.

The program which the committee proposes to overcome these weaknesses rests upon the general principle that adult education is an integral part of public education and is of equal importance with education at other levels. Taking into consideration the financial status of the state at the present time, the committee concludes that the cause of adult education can better be advanced by spending relatively small amounts "for stimulation, coordination, experimentation and research, and for initiating or expanding certain programs operating primarily at the state level" than by furnishing state aid to expand local adult-education programs.

The coordination should begin by a reorganization of the State Education Department to place adult education on a parity with elementary, secondary, and higher education. The State Department should abandon certification requirements for teachers in adult education except in the Regents' evening high schools and should concentrate on the supervision of adult-education institutions as a whole.

For the stimulation, experimentation, and research related to adult education, the committee recommends the expenditure of \$1,275,000 over a five-year period to establish and maintain:

1. Educational and vocational guidance demonstration centers.
2. Community program demonstrations.
3. University extension correspondence instruction.
4. Radio.

In recognition of the fact that adults comprise an increasingly large proportion of our population and in the belief that the incidental and commercialized education of adults is not sufficient

to meet the complex individual and social problems of our day, one can readily accept the recommendation of the committee that adult education be recognized as a state responsibility. The policy of state stimulation and experimentation rather than direct state aid to local communities follows the familiar pattern set by the Federal Office of Education in maintaining demonstration forum centers in various states. In view of the fact that one such demonstration forum has been established in Schenectady and in the light of the committee's finding that adult civic education is inadequate, one wonders why the committee does not include among its recommendations a proposal for financing similar public forums in other cities and rural areas of the state as demonstration centers in the field of education for citizenship in a changing world. The reviewer is not wholly convinced that money spent for such a purpose would not be more advantageous than a subsidy for university correspondence courses. Admitting the fact that many adults in New York State are geographically isolated from opportunities for class instruction, the usual lack of guidance and high mortality in correspondence instruction suggests that it is one of the least desirable forms of adult education.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

This volume reports a rather searching inquiry into the program of social-studies instruction in New York State secondary schools. It presents valuable data relative to evidences of civic competence displayed by the pupils in the secondary schools, the social-studies curriculum, methods and materials, and the preparation, experience, and activities of the teacher of the social studies. The following are among the major recommendations:

1. School authorities should not depend upon instruction in social studies alone (even less upon instruction in other subjects) to develop the kinds of social competence in pupils that society seeks and needs.

2. All responsible agencies within the school should set about systematically to build the school of a wide range of sociological groups, each as homogeneous as possible, and each having prestige in the light of its own function. Included in these school groupings should be an active agency for pupils' participation on a responsible level in selected phases of school administration.

3. Social-studies teachers, because of the nature of their training, should accept considerable responsibility for the development of an active group life for pupils, especially in matters affecting pupil government and pupils' voluntary study of social-science materials.

4. There should be included in the social-studies curriculum careful and thoughtful and realistic analysis of the school life which pupils themselves are living.

5. Teachers of social studies should make much greater efforts to participate freely in the normal adult life of their communities, especially in connection with economic and political matters wherever possible.

6. So far as state syllabi are concerned, it is recommended that the present syllabi be supplanted as soon as possible by a series of curriculum bulletins in social studies. Each bulletin should be a pamphlet suggesting means and materials for teaching a single topic. A topic is to be regarded as a well-knit unit of content together with pertinent pupil activities; a topic may normally represent about a single month's work.

7. The State Department should substitute for the present Regents' examinations a variety of tests continuously to be developed which will measure all desired outcomes of social-studies instruction. From time to time (but probably not each January and June) these tests should be given in selected schools as a basis for supervisory stimulation and guidance of whole school systems.

8. There should be appointed to the State Education Department an outstandingly capable director of social studies—one able to provide the leadership which is needed to release the potentialities of social-studies teachers.

STATE AID AND SCHOOL COSTS

This book makes a valuable contribution to the considerable body of literature dealing with school finance in the State of New York. This reviewer does not profess to be competent to make an adequate appraisal of all the criticisms of the present plan in operation in the state or to judge of the effects of some of the proposed changes. He will endeavor to confine his comments to those aspects of the book in which he does feel competent.

The authors undoubtedly were on safe ground in advocating large units of control and management in local school-district organization. Unqualified approval should be given to the following statement: "The efficient and effective management of the affairs of the school district is impossible at present. The size and number of districts, the diffusion of responsibility, and the lack of educational leadership in small districts contribute to the general situation. . . ."

"The larger unit makes possible the selection of component boards of education as policy determining bodies. It would provide for the delegation of administrative responsibility to a superintendent of schools."

In the several criticisms of the present plan for the apportionment of state aid, the following appear to this reviewer to be especially justifiable: "The use of average daily attendance as the basic factor in determining the number of teacher units has led to practices that jeopardize the health of the individual pupils and of all children attending the school. State aid should not be used as a means of stimulating attendance. The computation of teacher units should be based on the number of pupils belonging in a district."

"Many districts are receiving full state aid on the basis of the number of teacher units specified in the formula, but fewer teachers actually are in service." If this is true, it represents a condition which should be corrected.

There can be general approval of the following conclusion: "No formula automatically apportioning financial aid to local school districts can function effectively in the midst of the weaknesses in organization and administration that exist in the New York public-school system. Equalization of educational opportunity cannot be attained and state aid cannot be effectively apportioned to 8,412 independent and autonomous school districts."

This significant statement is made at the beginning of Part II of the book, dealing with school costs: "Per pupil cost of education in New York State is high in comparison with the school costs of other states. However, because the state has far greater wealth, a smaller proportion of state income goes to school support in New York than in comparable states." This statement should be remembered and quoted by those who hear and see this volume quoted in justification of reduced state aid and of lower school costs. Regardless of what the authors of a book dealing with school costs might say, opponents of adequate school support would inevitably use some of their statements in justification of reduced school expenditures.

There can be no question but that economies can and should be effected by the consolidation of one-room schools. There has been some progress in this matter but the progress has been too slow. It must be admitted, however, that there are serious difficulties in the way of consolidation in many sections of up-state New York. Some of the economies recommended undoubtedly are justifiable and practicable. Others such as the one relating to the state-wide insurance fund, are open to question. It should be borne in mind, also, that the recommended economies are offset by recommended expansion and improvement in the educational system of the state. Unfortunately, the New York State Economic Council and other tax-reduction groups will concentrate on the economies and forget about the proposed improvements.

ALONZO F. MYERS

and members of his New York University Seminar

NORTH OF THE DANUBE, by ERSKINE CALDWELL.
with photographs by MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE. New
York: Viking. 128 pages. \$3.00.

THE SPLENDID BOOK *North of the Danube* brings about my acquaintance with Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White; they are already well-known to the American public and have many friends.

First of all I was fascinated by the subject they have chosen this time—Czechoslovakia. The country and people of that wrecked, violated state are so close to us, they are so much a part of our own past, that each page brings us the touching experience of recognition. Beyond that, we feel that Erskine Caldwell is a poet. His language has epic power, lyrical winged rhythm and dramatic tension all in one. The great simplicity of his style is entirely natural, devoid of all tricks and calculated effects. In political matters, too, it does not seem to be his intention to impress or influence his readers. That he convinces is a matter of course. Every reader of the book will be convinced: Czechoslovakia is a beautiful fertile country, favored with charm, a multi-colored, lovable country. New and oldest culture met here in a common faith in the progress of the future, and a people that combine the traits of occidental civilization with those original oriental, mysterious Asiatic ones, there led a life devoted to peaceful work, a life that was beautified by the people's pride in the free, independent state that it served.

Of course, Erskine Caldwell's book speaks more of the wild and poor districts of the Carpathian-Ukraine, of the coal district of Bohemia, and of the High Tatra than of the ambitious urbanity, with a will to live, that we knew and loved in Prague, Bruenn, and even Moravian-Ostrau. Wilderness is more picturesque than urbanity, and its picturesqueness is this book's great charm. One might wish to learn a little more about how this state was built up and how it was governed, what merits must be awarded it and which denied, how much reason the "Sudeten Germans" had to be "liberated" by Hitler and whether they wanted to be at all. *North of the Danube* has not set itself the task of answering these questions. Its effect is altogether an impressionistic one. The picture is developed by clever intimations, delicately and knowingly placed color effects, shadows and lights. Poverty is great in the village of Uzok; the people there have not seen bread for nine years; the big Hungarian landowners will it thus—and will continue to will it thus "as long as the country remains Czech." That is not wise of the Hungarian gentlemen. The country will not remain "Czech," but neither will Hungary be able to dispose of it freely. We see a German making "history" with a wet pencil, on a map which he holds against the wall of the compartment where we are travelling with him; he massacres Czechoslovakia in such a manner that no one but the "Fuehrer" will be Master there. "The Czechs are stupid chaps," the German says; "they have no culture"! He demonstrates his own "culture" shortly thereafter when he strikes a travelling companion who has not harmed him in the least. He pounces upon the woman, slaps her face, and then asks his wife to spit at her. "Jewish swine," he shouts, but he doesn't even know whether his victim is of Jewish descent or not—it only seems so to him.

Not all the trips we take in Erskine Caldwell's and Margaret Bourke-White's company are as repulsive and as sad as the one just mentioned. In sunny and abundantly fertile Slovakia the finest asparagus may be found, freshly cut, and the most friendly tipsy hospitality. But even here there are shadows; the future is replete with dark clouds, and behind all these clouds Hitler's unloved face hides. Bruenn, too, is peaceful—only that there are already so many emigrants from Austria. Some of them must live in prison. They are set free, however, as soon as our American friends put in an appearance. There is shame before the Americans. "I am glad Americans come to our country . . .," a man somewhere in Moravia says. "If Americans come to our country and see how much we love it, they will help us, when

we need somebody to give us help. . . . It will be a good thing to have a great country like America helping us, because some day our enemies will try to take our country from us." Poor man in Moravia—how prophetic you were in your fears and how deceived you are in your hopes. No one helped you, not even the French, upon whose assistance you believed you had a claim.

Finally, together with the authors of *North of the Danube*, we visit the office of a Nazi agent in Prague; and here too, as everywhere in the book, there is to us a scene of recognition, excepting that this one fills us with disgust. How we know it all: the military drill with the claim of the redeemer; the gentlemanly airs that quickly change to fawning when there is a question of taking in the foreign press representatives; that stupidly proud, bumptious, ill-bred behaviour! The text part of the book would end on a discordant note if the "Heil" that the Nazi fellow "breathed into our faces" were not followed by a few beautiful and resolute words by the greatest contemporary Czech poet, Carl Capek, who has died meanwhile. He did not care to live under Hitler.

The photographs of Margaret Bourke-White are works of art, individually and as a persuasive entity: the charming Czech girls with their large laughing mouths, and the others over whose Slavic cheekbones the narrow eyes look at one in threatening seriousness; the young soldier of the Republic (how determined he is to fight and how gay with it all!); the Saints from the Karlsbruecke (Bridge of Charles) in Prague (so luxuriant and so pious!); the meadows and forests; the animals; Gothic and modern architecture; and in the faces of the people that harshness that comes with poverty and is not wicked but degrading. Two of the last pictures show a small Czech schoolgirl and a tinsmith, a Czech workingman who looks like a deity of nature. The little girl laughs—all of the broad and strong little face smiles at us—but the serene brow with blonde and loose hair tumbling over it is obstinate; this merry and stubborn child would not be easy to manage. The tinsmith, too, laughs. His arms are folded peaceably across his breast; the eyes in the laughing face are not entirely cheerful, not completely harmless. The head is thrown back, lending an air of challenge to his bearing. "Just dare," the bearded tinsmith seems to say, "just take the risk of offending me! You'll get the worst of it—in the long run."

ERIKA MANN

★ ★ ★

WHO WAS SOCRATES? by ALBAN D. WINSPEAR and
TOM SILVERBERG. New York: Cordon. 96 pages. \$1.25.

SOCRATES IS THE SYMBOL of a courage teachers would like to emulate—courage in criticising established beliefs. According to Professor Winspear this is a myth. Plato is our usual source for Socrates, and Plato's dialogues were written long after Socrates was dead. Moreover, Plato himself was opposed to democracy, and the reason he found Socrates a useful subject to idealize is that Socrates also had been a reactionary. Winspear presents convincing evidence to show that Socrates was condemned by the Athenian democracy for taking an active part in a conservative faction. This group had proscribed and murdered some 1500 Athenian citizens between 404 B. C. and 399, and while Socrates seems to have been shocked by these excesses, he had been the leader, and when the progressives returned to power in 399 they decided to "hew the head off and not hack the limbs."

We were brought up to believe (through Plato's influence) that Socrates was charged vaguely with corrupting the youth. But modern research points to the conclusion that the concrete charge was inspiring aristocrats to think that only experts (i. e., aristocrats) were fit to rule.

We have only to turn the pages of Plato's *Republic* to see that Socrates inspired his pupils with a raging fury against democracy. For Plato any large group of people is a mob. The masses are incapable of correct judgment in political affairs.

Socrates is represented as engaged in a quest for justice. One thing we can distinguish through the fog of metaphysical refinements is that justice is not achieved by the popular leaders. "The politicians" are humbugs. How modern (and fascist) this sounds! If we try to translate Socratic "justice" into familiar speech, we should say "Americanism." This is a good word; it can have a genuine and a progressive meaning. But when we listen to some reactionary mouthing platitudes about "Americanism," and by implication condemning the things which seem to us most promising in American life, we probably get the flavor of Socratic "justice."

To teachers throughout the ages Socrates has appeared as the ideal teacher, asking questions instead of indoctrinating. There is so much of value in this idealization that it seems tactless and heartless to mention the real Socrates. Yet there is much to be learned in the actual development of Greek metaphysical idealism. Life in Athens was still on a scale so simple that the relation of economics to politics and politics to intellectual trends can be made very clear. Professor Winspear has given us a very illuminating book. In modern life an intellectual's political influence, although intensely real, may be veiled to the nth degree, whereas Socrates in one important crisis was the outstanding conservative leader in the public eye, as the proponent of a decisive measure in the assembly. He earlier had close associations with Pericles, a middle-of-the-road progressive. At this stage Socrates was not a metaphysical idealist, and he was primarily interested in science. This is the Socrates of the *Clouds*. As the Periclean group broke up and a large section of it drifted to the right, Socrates began looking for an abstract ideal which would condemn the progressives, and he became explicitly contemptuous of scientific inquiry. In his case the connection between class politics and intellectual developments becomes extraordinarily clear. Such a turning toward reaction will be quite comprehensible to progressive educators, who have seen the same thing happen to men who had been among their most respected leaders.

University of Chicago

HAVEN PERKINS

★ ★ ★

THE TREE OF LIBERTY, by ELIZABETH PAGE. *New York: Farrar & Rinehart.* 985 pages. \$3.00.

FOR THIS NEW VENTURE in American historical fiction, large-scale, Mrs. Elizabeth Page has had the fine idea of taking as her major theme the age-old conflict throughout our history between the Jeffersonian and the Hamilton-Marshall ideology, between the Frontier, with its "plain people" and producers, and the Tidewater, with its aristocratic, ruling class. An ambitious subject, certainly treated far more thoughtfully than the subjects of other currently fashionable historical novels, I fear nevertheless (as the author herself suspected) that it all comes down to "a thin story dangling precariously around the edges of a history."

The "Tree of Liberty" at any rate is something that takes growth, beginning toward 1754, in the struggles that preceded the American Revolution, and assuming full symmetry with the second term of that old Jacobin, "Tom" Jefferson, in his phase of conciliation. Now the organic reality of the historical "tree" is depicted by the life and fortunes of three generations of the Peyton and Howard families, dialectically opposed in their politics but united by marriage. Or now it is the long career of "Tom" Jefferson that gives us the essence of the "tree" and the real hero of this novel. As fiction, strung upon the frame of history, it is barely second-rate; but in its historical thinking *The Tree of Liberty* is unusually enlightened. The significant parallelism between the class conflicts of the early Republic and those of today lends high interest to Mrs. Page's work. She has used material which I have longed to see given literary treatment; the struggles over President Adams' Alien and Sedition Act, and the trial and martyrdom of protestants, such as Matthew Lyons and Cooper, against these laws. The reading of such a work by students at an early phase

of their education, let us say junior high school, can only do good. Yet my doubts as to the merit of this form of historicofictional literature persist. In the essence, these things seem juvenile books aimed at adults who, for all we know, may be growing progressively infantile in their tastes. On the other hand, the wide appeal of such fictional history nowadays suggests a failure of our professional historians to take, for instance, such dramatic themes as the Jefferson-Hamilton epoch and write of them with the vigor, the bold color, and pertinacity with which men as different as Gibbon, Macaulay, and John Green once reached vast audiences of millions.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON

★ ★ ★

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, by HERBERT AGAR. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin.* 368 pages. \$3.00.

THIS IS HISTORY AS IT SHOULD BE WRITTEN, not a laborious chronicle of events, but a record of the struggle of a people for the achievement of its most profound aspirations. Specifically it is a history of the Democratic Party, but around this theme is woven a drama of much greater importance, the story of American Democracy itself. It is a story which should be read by every American who dares in these days to put meaning into the time-worn clichés of democracy. For Mr. Agar is a Jeffersonian, a fighting Jeffersonian, and to him democracy means far more than its customary political connotation of the ballot box and perhaps the direct election of Senators.

There are three parts to the democratic ideal, he says: the spiritual affirmation on which it rests, the economic order which it demands, and the political machinery which puts it into effect. Of these the least important is the third. The problem is how to organize the economic aspect of democracy so that the spiritual affirmation can come true. The spiritual affirmation means that all men have certain minimum rights and requirements which must not be denied—among these the right not to be forced into a slave relationship toward master or state in order to earn a livelihood. Obviously, this is impossible on the basis of an autocratic economic order whatever the political paraphernalia in which that order clothes itself.

In all this we may agree, but what to do about it! Unfortunately, Agar does not say. He intimates that we might look at cooperation as it functions in Nova Scotia and Sweden. His plea for labor is impassioned and just. But on the question of public ownership he pronounces no more than the customary plague on both your houses—communism and fascism breed slavery alike. Mr. Agar's viewpoint is largely agrarian, and for that we do not blame him, for it is a viewpoint which should be more frequently expressed. Yet surely Mr. Agar must realize that the economic egalitarianism of Jefferson, based as it was on individual private property, has small chance of realization within the modern technology, and that the spiritual affirmation of Jefferson must in our day find realization in new techniques of control.

University of Kansas

HILDEN R. GIBSON

★ ★ ★

GOD'S VALLEY: People and Power along the Tennessee River, by WILSON WHITMAN. *New York: Viking.* 320 pages. \$3.00.

DURING THE LATE UNPLEASANTNESS in the directorate of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Wilson Whitman's article, "Morgan, Morgan and Lillienthal," appeared in *Harpers*. Not only did Miss Whitman's analysis prove to be essentially true, the article was delightfully written. The same can be said of *God's Valley*.

The book is a survey of the Tennessee Valley and its people. One of the most interesting parts is about the historical background and its psychological effect on the people. The well-known Southern problems of poverty, soil erosion, flood control,

absentee ownership, one-crop farming, freight differentials, low wages, and voting restrictions are presented in a sprightly manner rarely achieved by serious writers.

Even as the Tennessee Valley Authority has woven itself into the fabric of life in the valley, so Miss Whitman has woven the T.V.A. into her story. She presents the most complete picture of the Authority, its purposes, methods, and achievements, which has come my way.

The reader, unfamiliar with the southern scene, will feel that Miss Whitman's picture of the Valley people is contradictory and that she fails to resolve these contradictions. The reader will also feel that she is inconclusive in her analysis of the southern attitudes toward such things as T.V.A. and Roosevelt; that her examples point in two directions. These feelings will be correct precisely because we in the South are a bundle of contradictions. Witness Congressman Rankin from Tupelo, Miss., who is very progressive in his attitude toward the T.V.A. and public power but sounds much like Mayor Hague when expressing himself about the C.I.O. To cite another example, Ed Crump of Tennessee "voted" Memphis about 17 to 1 for public power; he has led a magnificent state-wide fight for a pro-T.V.A. Public Utilities Commission and has participated in a number of other progressive movements—yet C.I.O. organizers are not "welcome" in Memphis and the Teachers' Union is forbidden.

There are some minor mistakes of fact which catch the local eye. For instance, there is no property qualification for city voters in Chattanooga as mentioned by Miss Whitman. These small defects do not detract from the truth of the whole. Miss Whitman proves herself a better discoverer than Jonathan Daniels, whose recent book, *A Southerner Discovers the South*, attracted wide attention.

NANCY LEA SMITH.

★ ★ ★

THE NEW INQUISITION, by KONRAD HEIDEN. *New York: Modern Age.* 188 pages. Paper cover, \$0.50; cloth cover, \$2.00.

WHEN MODERN AGE BOOKS, INC., published John L. Spivak's *Secret Armies*, which described the activities of Nazi secret agents in the United States and their dealings with pseudo-patriotic organizations, it told only half the story. What the American public still needed to know was the essential nature and spirit of the government which these conspirators sought to bring to power.

In *The New Inquisition* the rest of the story is told. It is told with restraint and painstaking documentation. It is the picture of madness and homicide dominating the councils of a great nation; of the leaders of a nation plotting arson, pillage, and murder with picked gangsters in the dead of night; of officially deputized thugs making relentless war upon the helpless and the innocent. That is the regime which the Silver Shirts and the vigilantes and the Black Legionnaires and the Gerald P. Winrods and the Fritz Kuhns are proposing for us.

The New Inquisition relates a few of the incidents of the fearful German pogrom of November 10, 1938, of which President Roosevelt said, "I myself could scarcely believe that such things could occur in a Twentieth Century civilization." It tells of the arrest of a man and a woman who pleaded that they might take their ten-month-old baby with them—unsuccessfully, for the baby's cries were heard in the neighborhood for two days until finally there was silence in the house which no neighbor dared enter. It tells of the sick who were pulled from their beds in the hospitals, one of them bleeding to death on the floor; of hundreds of thousands of people throughout the country whose arms and legs were fractured; of orphans driven into the street at night; of hunted men wandering in the forests like beasts; of tens of thousands who were dragged off into concentration camps where hundreds of them died from beatings, cold, exposure, and in their last extremity from the bullets of their guards.

All the world wept when the news services flashed the incredible story to the largest cities and the smallest hamlets. The American public, according to a reliable nation-wide poll, overwhelmingly approved the action of the government in increasing the tax upon imports from Germany. Konrad Heiden reports that in Germany itself multitudes deplored the unbridled fury and bestiality of the persecutions.

Yet in this lust for violence there are disturbing portents for us. If economic crises and crafty, though hysterical, propaganda can bring mad men to power in so highly civilized a country as Germany, they can do so here. Unless the pulpit, the press, the radio, the motion-picture, and particularly the schools undertake a determined program of education for tolerance, American society may face the degradation that has been visited upon Central Europe in these tragic days. There is no hope for us except in a united defense by Catholic, Protestant, Jew, white, and Negro against the rising tide of suspicion, fear, and hate.

Chicago Teachers College

JOHN J. DEBOER

★ ★ ★

THE NEGRO, TOO, IN AMERICAN HISTORY, by MERL R. EPPSE. *Chicago: National Educational Publishing Company.* 544 pages.

IN THAT GREAT "GITTIN' UP MAWNIN'," American historians will certainly have to defend their cavalier treatment of Negroes. They will have to breathlessly explain their deliberate excision of important Negro figures and their shameful interpretations of Negroes in such eras as the Reconstruction. Professor Eppse deserves credit for pushing them toward the uncomfortable corner which they are bound to occupy eventually. He has struggled to get the Negro properly "introduced." But he has not integrated the Negro into the story of American history.

Suppose you are being introduced to people who have never seen you in your proper light or have merely neglected noticing you. Your introducer says: Throughout the life of America, Mr. N (who is you) has been a stalwart flunky. Once he was America's slave, virtuous and sweet. Without thinking of himself, he assisted manfully in America's revolutionary and civil conflicts. He was freed. He was beguiled by carpetbaggers and sealawags. But he returned to the America he loved best—to the Southerner, who knew his heart; to the industrialist, who had graciously given him little jobs and furthered his education with philanthropy; and to the big-hearted public, who praised him for his exploits in track and field, in song and dance, in church and school, and on the shareboss' books. In such a way has the American Negro been introduced by Professor Eppse, chairman of the Social Science Division of Tennessee State College (for Negroes).

I, for one, am not willing to subscribe to this impression. I agree with Professor Eppse that the Negro has been sold very cheaply in American histories, but I do not see how a parade of singular exploits can help that case. How are we to know whether these great deeds were the deeds of Negroes or just of powerful men? How does it help the Negro race that these powerful men just happened to be Negroes?

At this stage of the game, we need an entirely different kind of history about Negroes. We need some student to look into the past for the makings of a plan which Negroes can follow. They are caught between the two necessities of being general Americans and members of a minority group, with distressing restrictions, at one and the same time. How much of their segregated limits shall they fight to destroy? How much shall they keep and guard? How shall they define the term "American democracy," since America refuses to define it for them? The answer to these questions is in their past, if it is anywhere. Thompson, Harris, Frazier, Wilkerson, Bunche, and Woodson are hacking away at that answer.

Howard University

JOHN LOVELL, JR.

The Teachers Union in Action

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION COMMITTEE which is composed of Vice Presidents C. J. Hendley, John Connors, and Michael J. Eck has submitted a tentative program for the National Convention of the A. F. of T. to the Executive Council. If the program is adopted the theme of the Convention will be "Equality of Educational Opportunity for All the Children."

The National Convention Committee suggested the following subdivisions under this theme:

1. Financing of schools locally and by state and national government
2. Tenure and economic security of teachers
3. Freedom of teaching as an essential in democratic education
4. Educational policies of the American Federation of Teachers
5. Organization of teachers in affiliation with labor

Recognition of the fine work done by the National Academic Freedom Committee of the A. F. of T. comes this month from Ruth Reardon, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Montana. Miss Reardon writes to Chairman Arnold Shukotoff:

"Thank you for the report on the Philip O. Keeney Case.

The American Federation of Teachers is doing a splendid piece of work and the teachers of our nation should appreciate the efforts of your organization in making academic freedom a reality."

The Midwest Conference of College Locals of the A. F. of T. was held at the Great Northern Hotel, Chicago, on April 29-30. The following locals were represented at the Conference:

Milwaukee State Teachers College, No. 79.

University of Wisconsin Teachers Union, No. 223.

University of Wisconsin Extension Division, No. 253.

Colleges and Universities in Chicago Area, No. 259.

University of Michigan and Ann Arbor Chapter, No. 284.

Oxford Teachers' Union, No. 375 (Miami University).

St. Louis and St. Louis County Teachers Union, No. 420.

Ohio State University Federation of Teachers, No. 438.

Minnesota Federation of College Teachers, No. 444.

North Shore Teachers Union, No. 460 (Northwestern University).

New York College Teachers Union, No. 537.

Lawrence, Kansas, No. 555.

Fisk Teachers Association, No. 611.

Ingham County Federation of Teachers, No. 624 (Michigan State College).

Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, No. 479.

In addition, two fraternal delegates were present from the University of Illinois. Arnold Shukotoff, chairman of the National Academic Freedom Committee and secretary of the New York College Teachers Union (No. 537), led the discussion on academic freedom. A

mimeographed report of the Conference may be had by writing to John Eberhart, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

ST. LOUIS, MO. (No. 420)—National Vice President Paul Preisler received 24,083 votes in his campaign for member of the Board of Education but found the united opposition of the regular political groups too strong to overcome. He was supported by the C.I.O., A. F. of L., Labor's Non Partisan League, church, and Negro groups in his campaign. He more than doubled the number of votes he received in his 1937 bid for the same position.

SEATTLE, WASH. (No. 401)—Harold J. Laski's membership in the Federation has been announced by the University of Washington Teachers' Union. Professor Laski, of the London School of Economics, joined the A. F. of T. during his incumbency of the Walker-Ames Fellowship at the University of Washington this spring.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. (No. 430)—The college section of the Union and the local chapter of the Lawyers Guild were the joint sponsors of a dinner in honor of Professor Harold J. Laski recently. More than four hundred guests attended the banquet including Charles Chaplin, Ella Winter, and Donald Ogden Stewart. More than four hundred were turned away because of lack of space. Professor Laski spoke on "The Role of the University and the Professional Worker in the Defense of Democracy." Professor Franklin Fearing, chairman of the college section of Local 430, was chairman of the meeting.

PALO ALTO, CALIF. (No. 442)—At the request of the Palo Alto Labor Advisory Board the Union is putting on a series of educational discussions. Professor Eliel discussed the proposed amendments to the Wagner Act, Professor Hopkins

discussed the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. controversy, Professor Kreps talked on the relation of monopoly to labor problems, and on June 2 Mr. DiMaria is to speak on labor laws in California. The Northern Branch Educational Policies Committee of the A. F. of T. recently adopted a thirteen-point program which included the request that the University of California establish an all-year Workers' School, that labor be represented on the Board of Regents of the University, and that a course in Labor Problems be included in the California State courses of study.

MILWAUKEE, WIS. (No. 252)—Teacher organizations, educational institutions, and civic organizations sponsored a dinner recently in honor of Mrs. Meta Berger, who is retiring as a member of the Milwaukee Board of School Directors after thirty years of continuous service. Both locals in Milwaukee were active in planning the dinner. Mrs. Eva Filtzer, member of 252, was in charge of ticket distribution.

ATLANTA, GA. (No. 89)—Ira Jarrell has been elected president of the local for her fourth term. The following delegates have been elected to the A. F. of T. convention: Allie Mann, Ira Jarrell, and Vice President G. Y. Smith. With the new organizational drive, they hope to have five A. F. of T. locals, which is the minimum number required to start a state federation.

Under present conditions the Atlanta schools will not have funds for operating next December unless the state meets its full obligations, according to School Business Manager T. W. Clift. The shortage will amount to one month's salary for all board employees. Because of the shortage of funds, there will be no summer schools in the elementary and junior high schools, but a senior high school will be kept open.

ROCKFORD, ILL. (No. 540)—John Nufer, editor of the *Rockford Teacher*, reported his trip to Springfield in the May 10 issue. He was active in lobbying for the state tenure bill (S.B. 177). President Ekeberg has been made chairman of the Illinois Federal Aid Committee. The *Rockford Teacher* carries a list of new books added to the public library in each issue.

KENOSHA, ILL. (No. 557)—Edward Weston, former president of the Trades and Labor Council, was elected to the Board of Education of this city in a recent election in which the Teachers' Union took an active part. President Le Roy Wolfe of the Union spoke to more than

3,000 Union members during the campaign. George Anderson, president of the local chamber of commerce and member of the Board for twenty years, objected to President Wolfe's activities in the election and openly said so at the Board meeting. Chairman Blair of the Board pointed out to Lumber Dealer Anderson that "we cannot deprive teachers of the right of free speech."

The school budget for Kenosha has been cut \$92,000 for the coming year. Salary slashes appear to be in store and contracts may be held up until teachers are home for the summer, making an organized fight against salary cuts much more difficult.

★
TRENTON, N. J. (No. 437)—Working through Labor's Non Partisan League, members of 437 helped to win a smashing victory for the progressive forces of this area when the city manager plan was voted out and replaced by the city commission form. Counselor Louis Josephson, attorney for the Union, showed how the present city-council set-up has been allowing millionaires to be almost exempt from personal property taxation. Teachers in this community are being asked to accept another voluntary "waiver."

★
NEW JERSEY STATE FEDERATION—The Supreme Court of New Jersey has ruled that the Tenure Act clearly protects teachers against attacks on their salary and position in a recent decision handed down on the Cole-Kriser case which the A. F. of T. has been fighting since April 1, 1937, when the Trenton Board cut salaries for 1937-38 and later attempted to have the Tenure Act declared unconstitutional.

The Court also ruled that those janitors who had failed to protest their salary cuts were not entitled to redress. Because the Court decided that Cole was only entitled to the salary he was receiving when he went on tenure, the case is being taken to the Court of Errors and Appeals. Many teachers in the state received their tenure during the years when salaries were reduced by legislative act. If the present decision is permitted to stand, teachers will lose credit for the several years they worked for higher salaries before the emergency cut.

★
CINCINNATI, OHIO (No. 479)—A college section of the Union has been organized at the University of Cincinnati as a part of the public-school local. The following officers were elected: H. M. Goettisch, chairman; D. F. Radcliff, vice chairman; R. H. Riley, corresponding secretary; and H. G. Schrickel, recording secretary. The new section has already drawn up a program which recommends an improvement of salary and promotional policies of the University and a democratization of the administrative procedures. George Axtelle, national college vice president, spoke at a recent meeting of the new section.

The local sponsored a showing of "The

People of the Cumberland" recently. The A. F. of T. has been placed in charge of all work among educational groups by the Ohio Public Improvement Association in an effort to amend the state constitution so as to reduce the 65-per-cent law necessary to pass bond issues to a majority. The local voted a 50-dollar appropriation for this work.

★
CHICAGO, ILL. (No. 1)—John M. Fewkes has been returned to the presidency of the Chicago Teachers Union without opposition. The Union Study Class had a Panel on Teacher Tenure on May 10 and a discussion conducted by Kermit Eby on "What the Union Contributes to Education" on May 23.

Mr. Fewkes, Miss Taggart, and Mrs. Raymoth are representing the Union in Springfield where Senate Bill 325, which would restore the salary cuts of teachers, was passed in the Senate 28 to 3, and Senate Bill 177, giving tenure to down-state teachers, was also passed in the Senate, 28 to 11. House Bill 599, to increase the state distributive fund and benefit all Illinois high schools by a flat grant to high schools, passed the House 129 to 13 and is now in the Senate.

★
NEWARK, N. J. (No. 481)—The Union chalked up a victory when the Board of Education passed a resolution on March 29 granting teachers the right to hold meetings in the schools, post notices on the bulletin boards, and deposit notices of meetings in the teachers' mailboxes. The resolution, however, takes the power of refusal away from the principals and gives it to the superintendent of schools. Samuel Roessler, president of the Board, and Dr. Rolfe said that the Union was free to circularize any teachers they wished to contact.

★
CHATTANOOGA, TENN. (No. 246)—Three new Union committees have been appointed: one which will expand the work of teachers in aiding needy students, another which will contact teachers who let contracts for school products in an attempt to persuade them to use union services, and a final committee which will work out a revision of the Union's constitution.

The local prepared a history of its work for the Spring Edition of the *Labor World* and also prepared a short summary of the Federal Aid Bill for a recent issue of the labor paper.

★
DETROIT, MICH. (No. 231)—The Union has succeeded in getting the \$783,000 proposed school-budget cut defeated by the Common Council. More than 30,000 leaflets were distributed, labor support was enlisted, every Council member was interviewed personally, and wide newspaper publicity was used.

In the state the loyalty-oath laws will probably be modified and the tenure law saved, but state aid will be reduced by from 5 to 7 million dollars. The Michigan Federation of Teachers will meet in

Detroit, May 19-20. A town-hall meeting on "The Schools—Whose Responsibility?" will be the feature of the convention.

★
FLOODWOOD, MINN. (No. 506)—The Union recently made a collective agreement with the Floodwood Board of Education in which the Board agreed to follow the salary schedule proposed by the Union for 1939-40. The members of the Union agreed to take a salary cut of no more than 10 per cent if the reduction was made necessary by a reduction in state-aid funds. Since the bill for state aid has been passed, teachers in Floodwood will receive full salaries for 1939-40.

★
WASHINGTON, D. C. (No. 440)—Representatives of the Howard Teacher's Union participated in a District of Columbia conference to defend the Wagner Act. A forum on "The Stakes of Higher Education in Democracy" is being planned by the Educational Policies Committee. A number of members of Local 440 have signed the recent "Manifesto of Educators."

★
BERKELEY, CALIF. (No. 349)—A resolution has been passed by the East Bay Teachers' Union asking that the City of New York and the City College of New York be urged to grant a hearing to A. J. Kraus, a professor at City College who was dismissed by questionable methods and has never been granted a hearing in which to vindicate himself.

★
COLUMBUS, OHIO (No. 438)—Local 438 is pushing subscriptions to the *Labor Tribune*, local labor paper, and also asking all members to save sales-tax coupons to be redeemed for the benefit of the newspaper. Officers of the local elected in April are: David C. Williams, president; Edward Borden, secretary; Edgar Dale, first vice president; Margaret Willis, treasurer; F. N. Maxfield, second vice president; and Merriss Cornell, associate secretary-treasurer. President Williams attended the Midwest College Conference held in Chicago.

★
BROOKSTON, MINN. (No. 508)—Defeat of the suggested salary cut and a new ten-day sick-leave plan, retroactive for this year, were victories attained at a meeting of the St. Louis County Teachers' Federation with Superintendent of Schools Arthur Lampe. Salaries may even be raised if the Federal Aid to Education Bill is passed. A banquet was held the evening of the day of the meeting with delegations present from Minneapolis, Duluth, Floodwood, Cloquet, Chisholm, and Gilbert.

★
MADISON, WIS. (No. 223)—The Wisconsin School for Workers in Industry will be ended with the summer quarter if the present legislative plans are carried through. C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions have protested to their legislative representatives but thus far have been

unable to change their minds. The School was started in 1925.

The Union is fighting the "compromise" tenure bill which has been offered by the School Boards' Association after the James repealer of tenure was passed. The Union is opposing the increase of \$20.00 a semester in tuition proposed by the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin. According to the Union this increase would cause many of the students who are not wholly self-supporting (29 per cent of total enrollment) to leave school.

★

MISSOULA, MONT. (No. 497)—Secretary E. A. Atkinson has recently been reelected for another year as president of the Missoula Central Trades and Labor Council. With splendid cooperation from the labor forces in the state, headed by James W. Graham, president of the Montana State Federation of Labor, the University Teachers' Union was active in securing the passage of a retirement plan in the past legislature. Due to lack of an appropriation for the next biennium, the plan will not be effective for two years however.

On April 10 the Montana Board of Education approved President Simmons' proposal to assess the salaries of faculty members of Montana State University to pay the amount due Philip O. Keeney if the Montana Supreme Court upholds Judge Padbury's decision ordering his reinstatement. In an open letter to the people of the state Professor Keeney points out three discrepancies: (1) The amount due, up to June 1, 1939, is about \$6000, not \$10,000. To what purpose is the additional \$4000 to be devoted? (2) Why was a reserve for sums that may be due as a result of court action not carried in the accounts of the University as is the established practice in every reputable business office? (3) Since no librarian was appointed to replace Professor Keeney and therefore no salary has been paid, to what purpose has this money been devoted?

★

SPRINGFIELD, ILL. (No. 601)—The Springfield Federation opened its membership drive on May 4 with a large meeting to which all teachers, P. T. A. associations, labor and civic organizations, churches, and the general public

NEW LOCALS CHARTERED

Blue Island Federation of Teachers, Blue Island, Ill., No. 633.
Peru Teachers' Union, Peru, Ind., No. 634.
North Shore College Teachers' Union, Evanston, Ill., No. 635.
St. Lawrence University Teachers' Union, Canton, N. Y., No. 636.
Seymour Classroom Teachers' Federation, Seymour, Ind., No. 637.
Gillespie Teachers' Union, Gillespie, Ill., No. 638.
Metropolitan Denver Teachers' Union, Denver, Colo., No. 639.

Reinstated:

Superior Teachers' College Federation, Superior, Wis., No. 101.

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

WE URGE YOU TO REDOUBLE EFFORTS for the passage of legislation in which we are interested. The following are of prime concern:

S-1305 (Thomas)—Federal aid to education (reported favorably by Senate Committee).

S-1630 (Wagner)—President's health program.

S-1970 (La Follette)—Prohibiting unfair practices.

HR-236 (Celler)—Making permanent W. P. A. educational services.

S. Res. 126 (Schwellenbach)—Appropriation of \$100,000 to continue the work of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee.

MATERIAL ISSUED BY LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

Your local has received and should have on file for the use of its members the following material:

1. *An Analysis of Tenure*—This contains much valuable material including points a good tenure bill should have; comments of various prominent people, educators, labor leaders, etc., on the value of teachers' tenure; married women and tenure; arguments for and against tenure; court's decisions in Pennsylvania.

2. *Model Tenure Bill*—This includes an explanation of the various points of the bill.

3. *A Summary of State Legislative Programs of the American Federation of Teachers*—The bills supported and those opposed, with their numbers, are arranged by states. It would be most valuable if each local were to obtain copies of the bills from the various state legislatures. These could be used for comparison and reference.

4. The following issues of the *Washington Relay* have been sent to each local: February 6, February 25, and April 20, 1939.

5. Each local has also received an analysis of the Federal Aid Bill, copies of the speech of Senator Thomas on the introduction of the Federal Aid Bill, S-1305, copies of the Bill itself, copies of the speech of Representative Joseph B. Shannon on the Dies Committee, as well as a petition for the Anti-Lynching Bill. In addition, each vice president has received ten copies of *Oppressive Labor Practices* (La Follette and Thomas, *Congressional Record*, March 28) and one copy of a study on malnutrition made by the Philadelphia local.

If your local has not received this material, please write to:

MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN, Chairman

National Legislative Committee

2302 Delancey Street

Philadelphia, Pa.

were invited, and at which Lillian Herstein spoke on new educational and social developments. The goal is 100 per cent of the teachers in Springfield.

Two outstanding Illinois women, Mary Todd Lincoln and Mrs. Lottie H. O'Neill, were honored recently by the Education Committee of the House of Representatives with delegations present from the schools and from Local 601. A vigorous drive on legislation is being conducted by the Union, with some members at the Legislature every day, and the membership kept informed of the progress of bills on education. The membership has flooded the State House with letters, cards, and telegrams.

★

PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS—The 3,000 teachers who crowded the Educational Building in Harrisburg on April 5 in the finest and most solid demonstration of teachers in Pennsylvania were articulate testimony that the Pennsylvania teachers want to keep the Tenure Law intact. Of the 23 opponents

of S-45, the bill to kill the Tenure Law, not one deviated by the slightest margin from the greatest united front of teachers in the history of Pennsylvania.

★

WASHINGTON, D. C. (No. 27)—The colored schools of Washington, D. C., are celebrating their seventy-fifth anniversary. Local 27 is now twenty-three years old. The Union led in voicing the protest to the school board against the barring of Marian Anderson, Negro singer, from appearing in the Central High School Auditorium. The local has also been working strenuously toward the suffrage movement and for civil rights for the District of Columbia. Significant is the development in the past few years of a great difference in the teacher load of the dual system, the white being 30.7 and the colored 37. There is pending legislation threatening to destroy the autonomy of the school board, reduce the personnel, and to cripple the educational opportunities.

On the Labor Front

Edited from the Labor Press and the Federated Press

THE A. F. OF L. IN ITS MONTHLY survey of business for March-April urged the establishment of a National Planning Board to coordinate the nation's economic activities. . . . Three organizers of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union were brutally beaten in the mayor's office in Crawfordsville, Ark. . . . The Sight-seeing Guides and Lecturers Union (A. F. of L.) won a one-day strike in New York City the day before the World's Fair opened. . . . The Air Lines Mechanics Association called off its three-week strike against the Eastern Air Lines. . . . Reason for the failure of the strike was the failure of the Air Line Pilots Association to take action in support of the mechanics. . . . The International Fur Workers Union and the National Leather Workers Association (both C. I. O.) have merged. . . . The Wisconsin Telephone Company (A. T. & T. subsidiary) was ordered by the N. L. R. B. to cease interference with the rights of its workers to organize. . . . The Atlantic Coast Line may be held for \$300,000 in back wages for 4,400 workers by Federal Wage-Hour Administrator Elmer F. Andrews.

ALTHOUGH WALL STREET HAS just closed one of the most unsatisfactory periods in its history, E. T. Wier's National Steel Corporation has just floated a \$70,000,000 bond issue. The ability of National Steel to stand out so remarkably against the field is proof that Wier's labor- and price-cutting policies pay.



When the steel industry as a whole had recovered to 58 per cent of capacity, National Steel was running at about 70 per cent. Its Detroit plant where National Steel has a monopoly of sheet- and strip-making facilities operated at about 90 per cent of capacity. The funds which Wier is raising are undoubtedly going to be used against U. S. Steel in the Chicago area. Wier's attack on wages makes it only a question of time before the rest of the steel industry begins to cry for "relief" from their labor burdens.

IN A LETTER IN THE CURRENT issue of the *American Pressman*, George L. Berry, president of the Printing Pressmen's Union (A. F. of L.), urges that N. L. R. B. should be given a chance to function under normal conditions and that "there can be no real logic in sup-

port of amending the National Labor Relations Act at this time". . . . The Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' Alliance, third largest A. F. of L. union reminded the House Labor committee through Vice President James McNamara that it was opposed to all changes in the Wagner Act. . . . An article by First Vice President F. G. Barrett of the International Typographical Union in the official I. T. U. journal pointed out the dangers of any amendment to the Wagner Act at this time. . . . And Vice President Barrows of the General Electric Co. has stated: "We have had no trouble with the Wagner law. It was designed to take the part of the employe who can't take care of himself. My suggestion would be to let the Wagner law ride and let some of the employers who haven't tried it, give it a try."

A. F. LOCKHART, EDITOR OF THE

St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly's *Minnesota Union Advocate*, pointed out in the May 4 issue that the decision in favor of the Apex Hosiery Company of Philadelphia is a threat to all labor unions. The A. F. of L. editor indicates that the company could have used the state courts to collect for damages during the sit-down strike but "deliberately invoked the Sherman Act to set a precedent." The Apex decision set the calendar back 36 years, the editor states. Since the Apex decision, numerous unions have been sued, all under the Sherman anti-trust law.

Senator Wagner pointed out in his testimony recently that he was unable to recall "any treble damage judgment against any industry in recent years comparable to the Apex hosiery judgment."

THE EIGHT-AND-ONE-HALF MONTH

strike of the Retail Department Store Employees Union (A. F. of L.) against the Kress and Newberry stores—the longest strike in San Francisco's history—has been settled with a complete victory for the union. The 190 strikers won five-and-one-half-day week, two 15-minute rest periods daily, vacation, and a 21-dollar weekly minimum. Tom Mooney gave \$5.00 to the strike upon his release from prison.

A NEW KIND OF COOPERATION BE-

tween manufacturers and an international labor union has been launched by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and various men's clothing manufacturers including Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Eagle Clothes of New York, and S. Makransky & Company of Philadelphia. President Sidney Hillman has invited the clothing industry, which is 95-per-cent unionized, to send its technical and production experts to the A. C. W. offices in New York City where they will work with union

experts in determining labor costs. The union has already surveyed labor costs in all sections of the country.



FOUR THOUSAND FURNITURE

workers and sympathizers picketed the Spring Products Corporation in New York City in protest over the company's refusal to negotiate with 376 Negro members of the United Furniture Workers (C. I. O.), who have been on strike eight months. Workers in 250 shops throughout the city reported an hour late to work in order to attend the demonstration at 7 A. M.

Among those on the picket line were Secretary James B. Carey of the C. I. O., President A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (A. F. of L.), President Morris Muster of the U. F. W., and Business Agent Pierce H. Dieman of Local 108, Furniture Workers Union (A. F. of L.).

The company, which has refused to renew its contract on a closed-shop basis on the grounds that the Negro employees would loaf if they enjoyed closed shop security, has hired 300 Negro scabs to replace the strikers.

THE TOBACCO WORKERS INTERNA-

tional Union (A. F. of L.) won a "99.99-per cent" closed shop in an eight-day strike against the Liggett & Meyers Company at Richmond, Va. The strike was the first called in 39 years by the T. W. I. U. and more than 1,050 members took part in it. Increases of two, three, and four cents an hour were won by many workers.

SENATORS LA FOLLETTE OF WIS-

consin and Thomas of Utah, who together have formed the Civil Liberties Committee, have introduced jointly a bill to eliminate "oppressive labor practices," meaning the spying, bribing, slugging and maintaining private armies and arsenals which the committee hearings have shown.

Their joint statement on behalf of the bill begins:

"This bill is several decades overdue. On complaints made, and on the finding of past Governmental investigations in the last 40 years, such a bill should have been introduced long ago. Similar recommendations have been made, but nothing has been done."

THE CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES A. BEARD is an historian and well-known author. Most recent of his books, written with Mary R. Beard, is *America in Midpassage*.

JOHN J. DEBOER is assistant editor of the *English Journal* and teaches at Chicago Teachers College.

DOROTHY DOUGLAS, a member of Local 230 of the American Federation of Teachers, teaches at Smith College.

PAUL R. HANNA is in the School of Education at Stanford University and is a member of Local 442.

ROBERT H. JACKSON is solicitor general of the United States. MATTHEW JOSEPHSON is author of *The Robber Barons* and other books.

KATHARINE F. LENROOT is chief of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor at Washington.

JOHN LOVELL, JR. is a member of the English Department at Howard University and of Local 440.

MALCOLM S. MACLEAN is director of General College at the University of Minnesota and an honorary member of the Teachers' Union. His latest book is *Workers, Scholars, and Gentlemen*.

ERIKA MANN, daughter of Thomas Mann, has just written *Escape to Life* in collaboration with her brother.

LAWRENCE MARTIN, who has done a good deal of free-lance writing, teaches at Northwestern University and is a member of Local 460.

FRANK MURPHY is the newly appointed attorney general of the United States.

ALONZO F. MYERS is in the Department of Education at New York University and is a member of Local 537.

HAVEN PERKINS teaches at the University of Chicago and belongs to Local 259.

JOSEPHINE ROCHE is chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities in Washington.

E. E. SCHWARZTRAUER is director of the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin and a member of Local 223.

NANCY LEA SMITH is a former vice president of the American Federation of Teachers and is now a member of Local 246.

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The AMERICAN TEACHER

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A Request from the Editor

Dear Fellow Members:

Before we make plans for the AMERICAN TEACHER for next year, we are anxious to know how you like the magazine. Is it the sort of reading that you want? Does it fill your needs?

Won't you sit down right now while you are thinking about it and write us your comments and criticisms—so that we can give you exactly the kind of a magazine that you want next year.

Some of the things you might tell us are:

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Want more newspapers?

Are there any people in your Union who could and would write articles or book reviews for us?

Have you specific suggestions for articles that you would like to see written? Particular problems you would like discussed?

We are grateful for the cooperation that our correspondents in each local have shown and the help they have given us. But we also want to hear from all of you who are interested in trying to make the AMERICAN TEACHER the outstanding magazine in its field.

Fraternally yours,

George T. Guernsey, Editor

In order that the AMERICAN TEACHER may serve as a medium for the discussion of the educational problems of today, the contributors are not necessarily expressing the policies of the American Federation of Teachers.

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