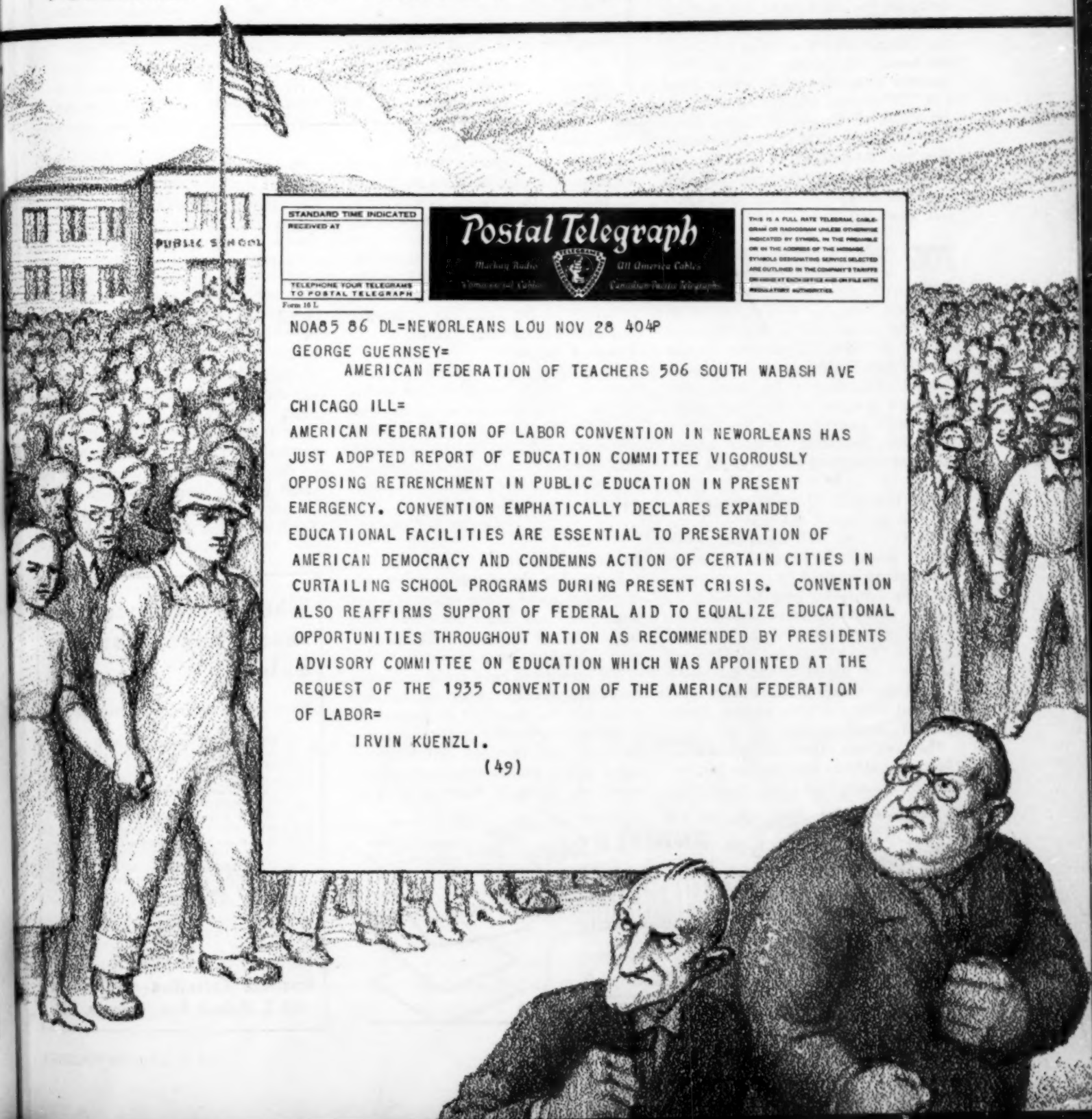


THE AMERICAN TEACHER

JUL 18 1941

December, 1940

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS



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GEORGE GUERNSEY=

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS 506 SOUTH WABASH AVE

CHICAGO ILL=

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION IN NEWORLEANS HAS JUST ADOPTED REPORT OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE VIGOROUSLY OPPOSING RETRENCHMENT IN PUBLIC EDUCATION IN PRESENT EMERGENCY. CONVENTION EMPHATICALLY DECLARES EXPANDED EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES ARE ESSENTIAL TO PRESERVATION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND CONDEMNS ACTION OF CERTAIN CITIES IN CURTAILING SCHOOL PROGRAMS DURING PRESENT CRISIS. CONVENTION ALSO REAFFIRMS SUPPORT OF FEDERAL AID TO EQUALIZE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES THROUGHOUT NATION AS RECOMMENDED BY PRESIDENTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION WHICH WAS APPOINTED AT THE REQUEST OF THE 1935 CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR=

IRVIN KUENZLI.

(49)

The Teachers Union in Action

THREE NEW AFT locals made their bow last month. They are the Saginaw Federation of Teachers, Local 663, Saginaw, Michigan; Massachusetts Institute of Technology Teachers' Union, Local 664, at Cambridge, Mass.; and the Grant Parish Classroom Teachers' Federation, Local 665, at Grant Parish, La.

Five other locals have joined the ranks of the AFT since the last announcement in these columns. They are the Calumet City Federation of Teachers, Local 658, Calumet City, Ill.; Wilberforce Federation of Teachers, Local 659, Wilberforce, Ohio; Federal Teachers Union of Greater St. Louis, Local 660, St. Louis, Mo.; Coal Township Teachers Association, Local 661, of Shamokin, Pa.; and Calumet Township Teachers Federation, Local 662, Calumet Township, Ind.

* * *

206 NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Dr. Jerome Davis, former president of the AFT, and a member of the Yale University local, has been appointed director for Canada of the War Prisoners Aid of the World Committee of the YMCA with headquarters in Toronto, Canada. According to Dr. Davis, who is also a member of the Connecticut State Jail Commission, the organization is working in behalf of three million prisoners throughout the world.

* * *

89 ATLANTA, GA.—Atlanta teachers celebrated the thirty-fifth anniversary of their AFT Local last month with a gala dinner attended by nearly five hundred persons.

Principal speakers were Dr. Willis A. Sutton, superintendent of schools, and Ed S. Cook, president of the board of education. Guests included members of the board of education and members-elect of the board, administrative officers, and civic and labor leaders. President Ira Jarrell presided.

The Local was organized December 2, 1905. In 1919 the organization became formally affiliated with other labor bodies

Declaring that he was of draft age and could not accept the post offered him, George W. Provost, vice president of the New York State Federation of Teachers Unions and former president of Buffalo Teachers Union 377, declined an appointment to his local draft board. He was one of four classroom teachers of that city to be named to that body.

Two other AFT members have been named to local draft boards. They are G. Y. Smith, first vice president of the Atlanta Public School Teachers Association, and

Ned Dearborn, of the New York City College Teachers Local 537 and former AFT national vice president in charge of WPA adult education.

Another Union member named to a selective service post was Norval Fast of the Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal., member of Local 61.

Dr. George S. Counts, AFT president, has been appointed a member of the National Co-ordinating Committee on Education and Defense.

Floyd Reeves, member of Local 259, has been named as Sidney Hillman's assistant and is already active.

and since that time has been in good standing with the American Federation of Teachers, the Georgia Federation of Labor and the Atlanta Federation of Trades.

At the dinner meeting telegraphic greetings were read from AFT President George S. Counts and William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor. The messages follow: President Ira Jarrell,

Heartiest greetings to the members of Local 89. Please accept my best wishes for the coming year, my congratulations for your vigorous defense of public school education and the ideals of American democracy, and my hope that you will take an active part in our nationwide organizational campaign.

George S. Counts.

President Ira Jarrell,

I extend to the officers and members of your splendid public school teachers organization and their friends my hearty congratulations upon the celebration of your thirty-fifth anniversary. I am proud of the record you have made, and upon your achievements. Your national organization, the American Federation of Teachers, is measuring up to the requirements of the American Federation of Labor and is establishing itself upon a sound and enduring American Federa-

tion of Labor basis. I express the hope that all local teacher unions throughout the country will follow the excellent example set by the Atlanta Teachers Union. Accept my very best wishes for your future success.

William Green.

* * *

223 MADISON, WIS.—Professor Nathan Feinsinger of the Law School discussed "The Legal Status of the Labor Movement" at a recent meeting. "Trends in The Labor Movement," a discussion led by Professor Selig Perlman of the University Economics Department, will be the subject of the November 25th meeting of the Local in the Memorial Union. Other meetings will hear "The Relation of the Teachers Union to the Labor Move-

(Continued on Page 26)

What every member should know about his Union

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7. Why I Am Glad to Be a Member of the AFT (Goodwin Watson) 35c per hundred

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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.

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.

SUBSCRIPTION: \$2.50 for the year—Foreign \$2.60—Single copies, 35c. Published monthly except June, July and August, at 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal or express money orders, draft, stamps, or check.

Four Represent AFT at AFL Meeting

Representing the American Federation of Teachers at the American Federation of Labor Convention in New Orleans were George S. Counts, who was a member of the Legislative Committee, Irvin R. Kuenzli, who served on the Committee on Education, John M. Fewkes, who was secretary of the Committee on Wages and Hours, and Selma Borchardt, who served on the Committee on the Executive Council Report. Lillian Herstein, chairman of the National Educational Policies Committee, was also a delegate to the AFL Convention, elected by the Chicago Federation of Labor. Excerpts from resolutions on education passed by the AFL are published on pages 16 and 17 of this issue.

Committee Report To Be Printed

We are happy to report that the *Curriculum Journal* edited by Henry Harap is planning to reprint the section on building curricula of the Educational Policies Committee report to the National Convention which appeared in the October AMERICAN TEACHER. The January issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER will feature a report by Alice Hanson, chairman of the National Academic Freedom Committee, on some of the cases before the Committee. During the next three months the AMERICAN TEACHER will consider the following subjects: national defense and education, working conditions, and problems of taxation.

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Published by

The American Federation of Teachers

AFFILIATED WITH THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Locals with committees working on these problems are requested to write to George T. Guernsey, editor of the AMERICAN TEACHER, and to give plans for articles which they might contribute.

Wagner Introduces Amendment

The following amendment to S. 4269 has been introduced into the Senate by Senator Wagner:

"Service performed in the employ of a State, or any political subdivision thereof, or any instrumentality of any one or more of the foregoing which is wholly owned by one or more States or political subdivisions, or any instrumentality or authority created and existing by virtue of legislative acts of two or more States, where the employee performing such service is a beneficiary, or a contributing member, or has an unrealized interest in, or is designated as a future beneficiary by the rules of, any pension, relief, or retirement fund, established and maintained by authority of the constitution or statutes of a State, provision of a municipal charter, or ordinance of a municipality or other political subdivision. Provided that such persons as are separated from said service without pension, retirement, or compensation award shall not thereafter be affected by the provisions of this paragraph."

TNEC Announces Monographs

The Temporary National Economic Committee announces that its monograph studies, some forty-three in number, are beginning to come from the Government Printing Office. They are the work of experts in various government agencies and economists on the Temporary National Economic Committee staff who have had access to official documents and the hearings of the Committee.

The following four monographs have recently been issued: (1) No. 2, *Families and Their Life Insurance*, by Donald H. Davenport and Gerhard A. Gesell, Securities and Exchange Commission (25 cents); (2) No. 3, *Who*

Pays the Taxes? by Gerhard Colm and Helen Tarasov, Department of Commerce (10 cents); (3) No. 4, *Concentration and Composition of Individual Incomes*, by Adolph J. Goldenthal, Department of Commerce (15 cents); and (4) No. 10, *Industrial Concentration and Tariffs*, by Clifford James, Edward C. Welsh and Gordon Arneson, TNEC staff (25 cents).

AFT members interested in securing a list of the forty-three studies to be issued by the Committee may obtain one by writing to Dr. Dewey Anderson, executive secretary of the Committee. The Committee also issues short summaries of the monographs in the nature of publicity releases at the time the studies are published. To those interested in securing these summaries, we would suggest writing to Dr. Anderson. The AMERICAN TEACHER hopes to publish a short summary of each study as it is published.

East Chicago Decision Upheld

Since John Souter wrote "Indiana Court Upholds AFT Member" for the AMERICAN TEACHER, a motion for a new trial by the attorney of the East Chicago School Board, A. P. Twyman, has been denied by Judge B. C. Jenkins of the Lake County Superior Court.

Mr. Twyman now has sixty days to file an appeal with the Indiana Supreme Court. It is thought he will recommend an appeal by the East Chicago School Board versus Vernon Sigler to the Indiana Supreme Court. If the Board does file an appeal the Supreme Court will probably render a decision sometime this winter or next spring.

AFT Local 511, our correspondent reports, feels that the Supreme Court of Indiana will uphold Judge B. C. Jenkins' decision rendered in the Lake County Superior Court.

Education and Defense

To make education increasingly effective to meet existing and potential social needs in a war-torn world, the National Coordinating Committee on Education and Defense was established recently.

Representing fifty-five national organizations in the field of education, including the American Federation of Teachers, the Committee has a four-fold purpose:

1. Immediate and continuous representation of organized education for effective co-operation with the National Defense Council, the Federal Security Agency, and other government divisions.
2. Stimulation and co-ordination of the efforts of educational organizations and institutions in projects related to the national defense.
3. Dissemination of information regarding defense developments to educational organizations and institutions.
4. Maintenance and improvement of educational opportunities essential in a long-range national program.

Representing the AFT on the committee is President George S. Counts, who is serving as a member of the organization's operating committee.

New Format for "Federationist"

For some time we have been meaning to call to the attention of AFT members the new format of the *American Federationist*, the official Publication of the AFL. Changed recently to a spritely, thirty-six-page magazine using charts and pictures, the national monthly journal emphasizes a more popular type of writing and is well worth the \$2.00 per year which it costs. We recommend for your holiday reading the article, "The So-Called Labor Shortage—Where Is It?" in the November issue.

On the question of skilled labor shortage, Illinois Labor Director Martin P. Durkin reports recently: "Our survey shows that 11,458 workers whose principal jobs have been in occupations essential to defense industries and 6,192 with secondary skills useful in such industries were registered with the Employment Service on December 1."

Those readers who were taken in by the story of a newspaper reporter who got a job at Fort Meade, Maryland, where an army cantonment is being built, should know that the story wasn't true and that both the reporter and his publisher have apologized. The point of the story was that it was easy for anybody to become a union carpenter and draw high wages under the protection of a labor organization.

Another journal AFT members might well read is *Labor Standards*, published by the U. S. Department of Labor, which can be obtained for 75 cents per year through the Government Printing Office. The October issue featured an article on the status of the Fair Labor Standards Act in the courts and another on good labor standards as a part of Canada's war program.

Last month we forgot to list Local 61, San Francisco, as one of the AFT unions using the labor press regularly. Also note that Willard Millsaps' article on page 15 of this issue is reprinted from the *Labor World*, Chattanooga, Tenn. Orchids for this month, however, go to the Kenosha AFT Local for its fine job in editing an education page for *Kenosha Labor* of November 14. The page contained Frank Baker's article from the October AMERICAN TEACHER, George S. Counts' statement from the September issue and one of Chandler Montgomery's illustrations on the closing of the schools. Each year the Kenosha Local edits this page as its contribution to American Education Week.



Electricity Comes to Rural Schools

Jay Deiss

TODAY, IN literally thousands of rural schools, readin' and writin' and 'rithmetic are done to the excellent light of electric incandescent bulbs. On dark days, the kerosene lamp is as much a part of the past as the 1890 little red schoolhouse itself. Electric power—with all its great benefits—has come to the rural school because electric power has come to the farm.

This was not always so. As late as 1935, rural schools were in the dark because rural America itself was largely in the dark. One farm in ten had central-station electric service. Only the periphery of large cities and areas of population concentration along the main roads had electricity. Decades of private utility management had not brought the highline anywhere near the rural school house. Though city schools were modernized with all the devices electricity makes possible, the country boy and girl continued to strain their eyes on dark days, drink out of a common water bucket, trek through snow and rain to the little red outhouse, and learn only in theory of the greatest wonders of modern science.

In 1935, the Rural Electrification Administration began the task of bringing electricity to America's blacked-out farms. REA's method was to lend money to local groups of farm people, usually organized into co-operatives, for the construction of their own rural electric distribution lines. These lines, built by mass production methods, were calculated to serve not only the areas of population density but also the "dark pockets" in the back country. A co-operative, having no dividends to pay, can afford to do things a private utility cannot.

So well did this method work that by the fall of 1940, nearly 775 rural electric systems had been organized, designed to make service available to 1,070,000 consumers in forty-five states. Some 260,000 miles of line, now completed, are already serving 600,000 farmers. Private utilities, stimulated by the government program, have also built thousands of miles of new line. Thus electricity came to the rural school—the result of rural people's insistent demand for a better way of life, and the government's will to help.

Many REA electric systems publish monthly news letters for their members. It has become common to see in these mimeographed sheets such items as the following:

How the electrification program affects the lives of children. (top) Rural children learning how to make electric motors. (center) Sanitary drinking facilities come to the schools with the power lines. (bottom) Electrically heated lunches nourish rural pupils.

Photographs by Rural Electrification Administration.





Photograph by Rural Electrification Administration.

**An electrified home economics department
in a rural school.**

"Rural schools are making splendid use of REA service. We now have fifty-two grade schools and two high schools on our lines." (From Nebraska.)

"Electricity has been unknown in the rural school house. We have quite a number of rural schools receiving electricity at present. The school board relates to us that it is very convenient not only for the teachers and the students, but also for holding meetings and as a social center for their community." (From Pennsylvania.)

"We have twenty-six schools on our line that are enjoying electric service for the first time. We do not know of any service that could be rendered which would pay bigger dividends to a community than having electricity available to community gatherings at night and also available for hot plates to be used in the preparation of warm lunches for children during the winter months." (From Kansas.)

"The schools that are being served by electricity are in a better position to serve the community. They are certainly better lighted, and also equipped so as to furnish radio programs, moving picture programs, along with refrigeration and other appliances. All these things add to the usefulness of our schools." (From Indiana, written by the superintendent of a rural high school.)

So rural electricity is changing to a marked degree the education of hundreds of thousands of rural youth.

What are some of the changes brought by electricity in the rural schools? Look, for example, at the impact of electricity on the rural curriculum.

Consider, first, the changes in such practical instruction as comes out of home-economics and manual-training classes. In home economics, the rural girl has placed at her disposal modern equipment for running a household on the most efficient basis. The electric refrigerator teaches her how to store food healthfully and with little

waste. The electric range gives her the widest opportunity to prepare appetizing, wholesome meals at low cost. She has the assistance of electric mixers, beaters, toasters, waffle and coffee makers. In sewing class, the electric sewing machine speeds her tasks and improves the quality of workmanship. The electric washing machine and iron change the entire connotation of wash day, with new neatness and efficiency as the result.

Manual training without electricity is almost hopeless, for the power age requires technicians skilled in the most advanced uses of machinery. With electricity, the "shop" in the rural school can provide training as adequate as any city school.

The Southern Industrial Rural Training School, an orphanage near Alma, Georgia, illustrates the change brought by REA electricity. There, power for the first time makes possible up-to-date training for homeless children, offering each one a much better chance of finding a niche in an increasingly mechanized society. Obviously, electrically driven lathes, drills, forges, grindstones, circular and band saws change the character of instruction, and set a new tempo in education.

One of the most far-reaching changes in the rural curriculum, however, is in the field of vocational agriculture. Here lies the key to training future farmers in the techniques of an electrified agriculture—an electrified agriculture which means greater income-producing opportunities and the elimination of much drudgery. The United States Office of Education has recognized these potentialities, and its Vocational Agriculture Service is publishing a new bulletin on "Building Electric Equipment for the Farm." This bulletin is especially intended for vocational agriculture teachers, as a teaching manual for rural high-school boys and for adult farmers in evening classes. This is highly practical instruction, for the initial investment in homemade equipment is not great, and it offers low-income farmers especially an opportunity to put electricity to service.

The role of electricity in the rural laboratory also is increasingly important. Consider the handicap borne by students of biology, physics, and chemistry who must perform experiments without running water, proper light, or electricity itself. In some rural schools, courses in electricity are now given from the grammar grades up. Children are familiarized with electricity and its uses. They are taught how to build toy motors, simple telephone and telegraph sets, and how to use galvanometers, electrometers, volt meters, and the like. This is carried on into more complicated experiments in the laboratory, so that the foundations of future technical careers may be soundly laid.

In cities, schools with modern equipment—that is, electrical equipment—are taken for granted. But modern equipment in the country is a different thing. How does electricity bring about new efficiency in the rural school by changing functional equipment?

Most important, perhaps, is sanitation. No city school

today faces the problem of the outhouse. With electrically-pumped water, proper sanitary facilities can be had in the smallest rural school. Toilets, lavatories, showers, and drinking fountains become practical items of equipment. In areas where low cost electricity is available, the electric water heater is the simplest and most satisfactory means of obtaining hot water.

The routine of the school day is changed by the addition of automatic buzzers and electric clocks to regulate the class periods. Internal telephone and public address systems can provide quick communication in the larger schools. And electricity can ring the fire alarm in schools of any size—and pump the water to put out the fire.

Electric lights also are taken for granted in city schools. But in many country schools they are an innovation. Good lighting is generally credited as being a component part of good scholarship. Modern indirect light of the correct foot-candle intensity is as essential in the country as in the city. Indeed, some of the most modern rural schools are following the trend to lighting automatically controlled by photo-electric cells. This way, there can be no dark spots at the blackboard, no glare, and no straining to see whether $2 + 2 = 4$. Playing fields are also being lighted for night games.

Motion picture equipment not only adds a new medium of education but opens the rural school as a social center with new attractiveness to the rural community. Electric hot-plates and ranges are not only valuable to the domestic science classes, and to hungry children, but serve in a social capacity for school events which introduce a new note into rural social life. The radio also plays a dual role with not the least of its attractiveness being its social contribution.

As the day to day efficiency of the rural school is markedly increased by electricity, the electrified rural school also becomes, more than ever before, a center of community gatherings and a service institution to rural life.

What of electricity's contribution to the rural school of the future?

That of course depends on the continued extension of the rural highline. It depends also on the appropriation by school boards of adequate funds for wiring and equipment.

It now appears that the program of the Rural Electrification Administration will continue unabated, and growing numbers of electric co-operatives will be established to bring in "the lights" and power to rural homes. At present, about 30 per cent of all U. S. farms are served by central-station electricity—nearly three times as many as five short years ago. The growing social and economic advantages of this continuing rural electrification program are obvious, and the rural school is certain to share in the benefits. Any expansion of vocational training (other than for agriculture) in rural schools, as a result of the present national defense program, will of course depend markedly on continued electrification. Technically, electricity is likely to perform increasing wonders, with the

Power and the Land

THE PHOTOGRAPHS on the following page are stills from *Power and the Land*, the new motion picture produced for the Rural Electrification Administration. It is a 36-minute documentary motion picture combining photography, narrative and music. Production was started on *Power and the Land* during the summer of 1939 under the U. S. Film Service and all photography was completed during the summer and fall of that year. Joris Ivens, noted documentary film director, whose *Spanish Earth* and *New Earth* have received international acclaim, completed the production for the REA after the suspension of the Film Service. The commentary was written by Stephen Vincent Benet, and the film is set to an original musical score by Douglas Moore.

The film story is told in terms of the William Parkinson family, an actual family living near St. Clairsville in the picturesque rolling hills of Ohio. The film illustrates how electricity has become a necessary factor in better living on the farm.

Power and the Land is now being distributed free of charge through RKO. AFT members are urged to call the film to the attention of their local theatre managers and to arrange for community and union showings of the film.

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 8

photo-electric cell to control lighting only a sample. The availability of electricity at reasonable cost is now, and will continue to be for some time, the key to modernization of more and more rural schools.

One thing is certain: only with electricity can the rural school become a fully modern educational institution. The future education of rural youth—for farm and city tasks—depends in large part on the rural electrification of today.

Getting a little closer to science. A rural Tennessee teacher helps her class study electricity.

Photograph by Rural Electrification Administration.





Blitzkrieg on a Labor School Board

Henry L. Johnson

This is the second article in a series on Cleveland, its public schools, and its labor-endorsed School Board. Last month the author told how the Board has been elected and re-elected despite unceasing opposition by the "best people" and the three Cleveland newspapers, and how school finances have been affected adversely by the anti-Board campaign. In this article he cites names and dates.

INCOME, THE life blood of the schools, had been slowed to a trickle in 1934 when three young Cleveland men were elected to the Board of Education in a voters' rebellion against the "stuffed shirt" boards of the preceding two decades.

Thoughtful teachers heaved a sigh of relief when this first breath of fresh air penetrated the precincts of a Board which, shortly before, had officially censured a teacher so presumptuous as to criticize some of its acts.

Only the year before the teaching corps had endured salary cuts of 33 per cent for four months in addition to an average cut of 12 per cent for the rest of the year. By September, 1933, the teachers of Cleveland were owed the sizeable sum of \$2,600,000 in unpaid salaries.

The financial outlook still was gloomy, for the *Cleveland Press* of January 15, 1934, carried this headline:

COFFERS BARE,
TEACHERS FACE
PAYLESS DAYS.

The three fledgling Board members elected without the support of the "better people" were given the cold shoulder when the Board met that same month to elect officers. The same newspaper reported undramatically as follows:

WIN CHAIRMANSHIPS
ON SCHOOL BOARD

"Four School Board members whose candidacies for election were sponsored by the Cleveland Schools Emergency Committee today held all of the important positions on the Board."

These four non-labor candidates constituted the first "majority bloc" in the modern history of the Cleveland schools, but no newspaper pundit pointed with alarm or sounded the tocsin in a fight to rid the schools of blocs and factions. Board members bickered and fought, but reporters were not listening. The leader of the silk-stock-ing bloc reported that someone had attempted to bribe him regarding a milk contract, but no one raised an eyebrow.

The *Cleveland News* announced on May 12, 1934, that the Board again was resorting to "star chamber" sessions with the public excluded, but newspaper headlines flowed only sluggishly. The first report of larger issues came to light on October 24, 1935, when the *Press* repeated this charge by opponents of the "silk-stocking" candidates for Board membership:

"The charge has likewise been brought that Schools Committee candidates have opposed restoration of teachers' salaries out of consideration for large taxpayers.

"The committee answers this by saying that school finances are in better shape than those of any other taxing agency, and that while they favor generosity toward teachers, the public comes first."

On election day of 1935 the four candidates sponsored by the infant Cleveland Teachers Union and the Cleveland Federation of Labor were swept into office under such newspaper heads as these:

"LABOR SLATE"
CAPTURES ALL
SCHOOL POSTS

Then came the first turn in the tide of editorial lethargy. The headlines in the *Plain Dealer* screamed on December 24, 1935:

NEW SCHOOL
BOARD BLOC
SNAPS WHIP

The three new members had joined forces with the one liberal holdover of the old minority to form a new bloc, and though the election was over and the votes all counted, the editors began the process of "running for the School Board" which they have continued ever since.

STEAMROLLER TACTICS WIN, cried the *Plain Dealer* on January 7, 1936, when the labor-endorsed majority proceeded to elect one of its own members as president. An editorial on the same date in that paper characterized this step as a BAD BEGINNING.

"The new Board of Education gets off to a bad start," said Grandmother P. D. pontifically. "Cleveland voters, observing what happened yesterday, may well regret their decision last fall to turn the public schools over to the new combine.

"Every sincere friend of the public schools should adopt a vigilant attitude from this time forth."

Then the black ink began to flow in earnest, and a succession of incidents which under previous Boards had not moved an editorial whisker caused the following rash of scareheads: HITS LOW POLITICS, TEACHERS BREED A RACKET, INDEFENSIBLE, IF TRUE, FIGHTS UNION CAMPAIGN, BLOCS, WANTED: CAPABLE CANDIDATES, CHILDREN FIRST, HOIST ON OWN PETARD, SCHOOL "MACHINE" BUSY, SCHOOL BOARD CONFUSION, RECKLESS SPENDING.

Soon the new Board became the focus of public attention. Wars were fought, criminals brought to the bar of justice, financial empires crumbled into dust, civic grafters came to brief notice and vanished, but the pitiless spotlight of publicity beat about the Board, and slightest action brought thunderous roars of journalistic disapprobation.

For two years the newspaper heavens heaved, and on election day the plain people of Cleveland dealt the fault-finders a thorough rebuke by adding one more liberal member to the four-man majority. The *Cleveland Press* apparently was the only newspaper which took this decision of the voters to heart, because it was the *Press* which thereupon imported a reportorial Sherlock Holmes from its sister Scripps-Howard paper in Cincinnati to dig around in the welter of innuendo and generalization for specific evidence of Board shortcomings.

The out-of-town bloodhound was not slow in uncovering this earthshaking fact, which the *Press* reported on April 12, 1938:

RELATIVES OF O'DONNELL GET SCHOOL JOBS

Brother-in-Law and
Niece Hired

His sensational finding was that four long years before a miscreant Board member had recommended the employment as a school helper, at a lowly wage, of a relative by marriage. Two years later the same conscienceless member had helped to place a niece in a high school as a student assistant at 35 cents an hour.

Encouraged by his success, the heroic Paul Pry moved on to new disclosures of majority perfidy, with the editorial thunders sweet music in his ears. His technique was always the same. All the groups and individuals on whose toes the Board majority had trod were interviewed, and their diatribes liberally aired. Little space was found

for the majority's side of any given controversy, and when the reportorial findings had been embalmed in print, the next day's editorials solemnly accepted them as facts no more assailable than the findings of the United States Supreme Court.

One revelation followed another. One day it was SCHOOL BOARD CIVIL SERVICE ABUSES SHOWN. The next day, SAYS "STAGGER PLAN" USED BY SCHOOL BOARD. April 21, 1938, the *Press* screamed CHARWOMAN IS SCHOOL CLERK.

Four days later the Cincinnati G-man announced to a breathless city that the Board majority that very day would abolish the school fund for insuring buildings, and would buy insurance from an outside source. No such action was taken on that day, or on any day since.

On May 4, 1938, the *Press* shouted SEEKS SCHOOL NURSE PROBE. There was no "probe," then or later. On May 10 it was RACE GROUPING IN SCHOOLS HIT. An assistant superintendent had championed the breaking down of racial barriers in Cleveland through teachers of foreign descent, and one group revealed its fears of a "Jim Crow" development. No effort was made to state the exact viewpoint of the school man mentioned.

The cutest trick of the year blossomed into print on September 9, 1938, when the indefatigable investigator found as follows:

TRIES TO BUY ITS OWN LOTS

School Board, in Haste to Prepare for PWA Project,
Gets Tangled

The statement was made that the Board had approved a recommendation to buy a piece of land which it already owned. That same day the *Press* was notified that no such action had taken place, and the reporter was found to have been more successful in writing fiction than in reading maps.

The *Press* management was asked to correct the error, but no mention ever was made of the misprint again, and the public still may assume that the Board was guilty of monumental stupidity. The Board did *not* own the land.

In 1939 the five-man majority again was given a vote of public confidence and was returned to office over the unanimous opposition of the editorial writers of the *Press*, *Plain Dealer*, and *News*.

Endless newspaper criticism of petty Board flaws has had no effect on the election of Board members, but it has succeeded in creating a state of mind which has helped to bring about the defeat of school finance measures.

The greatest factor in these defeats, however, has been the publication by a group of downtown realty, banking and mercantile groups of the salaries of the 3,800 teachers in the Cleveland school system. Newspaper fault-finders, with one exception, have made no slightest criticism of the group which exposed teachers to ridicule and resentment because their salaries were shown to be larger than those of WPA workers and factory laborers.



Three school finance measures were lost in 1940—two of these because of the salary-list publication. The result is that the entire Cleveland school system faces a shut-down when 1941 funds are exhausted, possibly by next summer.

A special levy election will be held on December 20, 1940, and if the schools are not permitted to replenish

one-third of their annual operating funds, there seems no other recourse except to keep 130,000 children at home.

If that situation comes to pass, a dollar bet will bring a million that the editorial thunderbolts again will be loosed at the heads of the majority members by agencies which are loath to lose their only reliable whipping boy—the "majority bloc."

Only the Reform Schools Are Free

Harold C. Hand

ON VIRTUALLY all such ceremonial occasions as faculty meetings at the opening of the school year, teachers' institutes, school commencements, education day at the businessmen's luncheon clubs, national education week, etc., we usually hear eloquent and repeated references to our "free and universal" system of tax-supported secondary education. Since the mores of the times seem to demand that respected if not revered educational leaders provide the oratorical fireworks at these gatherings, it is not strange that an overwhelming preponderance of both lay citizens and teachers believe that our high schools are typically free institutions, i.e., that it costs a youth little or nothing to attend them.

This belief can accurately be catalogued only as a myth. Every study of elimination which takes account of welfare or economic status which has ever been reported has shown in unmistakable terms that the accident of birth in an economic sense is the primary and principal determinant of whether or not the typical child in any given unselected population shall enter high school and of how long he shall remain in the secondary school should he enroll in it. These studies¹ all reveal the fact that the lower the economic status of the child's family, the less is the likelihood that he will ever get into or complete high school. In the face of such findings, it is sheer nonsense to speak of the American secondary school as a "free institution." Bell has been commendably outspoken on this point. He has suggested that our society should "... change the nature of 'equality of educational opportunity' from that of a noble jingle to that of an established and effective reality."² There is good reason to believe that the reform schools are the only genuinely free educational institutions on the secondary level in this country—free in the sense that all the educational benefits to be derived are equally available to all enrollees totally regardless of their respective economic stations in life.

Everyone who is honestly and realistically concerned with democracy in education and education for democ-

cracy is desirous of ferreting out and remedying the causes of our proven lack of equality of educational opportunity as evidenced by the elimination studies referred to above. The present writer is one such who set his hand to the task of finding out why the boys and girls from the poorer homes are so disproportionately being frozen out of our high schools. One of the hypotheses on which he worked was that the costs typically incidental to high-school attendance were sufficiently large to constitute an impossible drain upon the budgets of those families in the lower income brackets. This hypothesis was tested out in several widely scattered high-school situations in the manner and with the results noted below.

First, an approximate 150 high-school principals variously representing nearly every state in the country were asked to give their estimates of what it typically costs a pupil to attend their respective institutions for one year. The average of these estimates was found to be about \$7.50. The error in this estimate as revealed by the presumptive evidence yielded by the second part of the investigation probably mirrors quite accurately the popular ignorance with reference to high-school costs as they actually are.

Second, a series of simple studies were set up in eight high schools variously located in California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York and Ohio. These schools ranged in size and type from village schools of 125 pupils to large city institutions of over 2,000 enrollment. In the smaller schools every student was included in the study. In the larger schools random samplings of never less than one out of every six pupils were employed. Each boy and girl included in the study was asked to keep an accurate daily account of all pennies, nickels, dimes, quarters, half-dollars and dollars spent in connection with high-school attendance. These accounts were submitted each week to a faculty person or persons in the school and filed away for later tabulation. In the six schools located east of the Mississippi the study ran for an entire year. In one of the California schools data were gathered for but the first semester. In the second of the California situations the study ran for but one-fourth of

¹For type studies see Howard M. Bell: *Youth Tell Their Story*, George S. Counts: *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education*, and Emily G. Palmer: *Pupils Who Leave School*.

²Bell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 67.



Photographs by Ann Rosener



National Youth Administration of Illinois.

the school year and began about a month after school opened in the fall.

In the six schools in the Midwest and East, the average yearly expenditure per pupil to the nearest dollar was found to be \$125; the median amount expended was \$115. The averages for freshmen, sophomores, juniors and seniors were, respectively, \$95, \$117, \$135 and \$154. No student reported an expenditure of less than \$25.

In the California schools in which the study ran but eight weeks, the average expenditure was \$52 for boys and \$51 for girls, all grade groups combined. If it be defensible to multiply these figures by four to secure an approximation for the entire year, the estimate thus derived would be slightly over \$200.

In the other California situation in which cost data were gathered for but the first semester the findings ran from a low of \$5 to a high of \$226 with a median of \$41. Three-fourths of the group spent \$67 or more; one-fourth, \$26 or more. If it be defensible to double these findings to secure an estimate for the year, we would have a high of \$432, a Q3 of \$134, a median of \$82, a Q1 of \$52, and a low of \$10.

In this particular school, the students included in the study were classified according to the Alba Edwards' socio-economic scale. When the average (a similar story would be told if space permitted us to report medians) expenditures by children on the various welfare levels as thus denominated are compared, it is quite apparent why students on the lower levels—and particularly those on the bottom-most two—are encouraged to drop out of school. Coming as they do from homes with family incomes for the most part in the lower third of the income distribution (the national figure for this bottom third ranged from \$0 to \$780 in 1938), they simply cannot

There are vast differences between schools and between the opportunities of youth to participate in the life and action of the school, reveals this article by Harold C. Hand. (left) California high-school students enjoying educational opportunity. (right) Two youths on a street corner.

maintain a social status anywhere near approximating that of the more fortunately-born pupils because they simply cannot afford to buy as "many or as much" in the way of admission fees to dramatic productions, debates, assembly programs, musical performances, athletic contests, etc.; club, class and student body dues; fees for laboratory science, mechanical drawing, wood working, etc., courses; charges for towels, lockers, and gym clothes; costs of ribbon, tag, etc., days and drives; ROTC medals; band and orchestra instruments and/or uniforms; textbooks, workbooks, pencils, ink, paper, etc.; domestic science uniforms, rooters' caps, athletic equipment, class dresses, class sweaters, class pins, rings, keys, etc.; admission charges to school and/or class dances and parties; subscriptions to school yearbooks, newspapers, magazines, etc.; photos for school yearbooks; excursion costs; graduation photos, graduation announcements, diploma fees, cap and gown rental or other commencement garb; and so on and on.

This inability to "buy their way" in a supposedly free institution is clearly mirrored in the following estimated average annual expenditures (the observed first-semester average doubled) by welfare levels: professional class, \$154; proprietor group, \$130; clerical category, \$124; skilled classification, \$112; semi-skilled designation, \$52; unskilled parents, \$54.

Considered *in toto*, the findings yielded by the eight studies briefly reviewed above must be viewed against

the background of the facts of the national family income picture if their full significance with reference to the question of equality of educational opportunity is to be glimpsed. Approximately 27 per cent of the nearly 30,000,000 families in this country were in 1938 receiving so low an income that a nationally-known authority on the economics of welfare declared them to be "continually facing starvation."³ An added 37 per cent of these families he declared to be "fighting poverty."⁴ This means that nearly two out of every three families is either continually fighting poverty or starvation. Who of us, were we parents living on these lower levels, could and would find the funds to enable our sons and daughters to attend the "free" American secondary school on terms of economic equality with even the far-below-average child in it?

The implications of the findings briefly presented above are quite obvious. First, every faculty should

³Theodore J. Keps: *Social Education*. New York: Macmillan, 1939. p. 127.
⁴*Ibid.* p. 127.

study its own situation to discover what the facts are with reference to costs to its pupils. Second, the students should be invited to join with the faculty in determining which of the expenditures thus revealed could be eliminated or drastically reduced without in any way involving the curtailing of educational benefits to anyone, and in devising ways and means of effecting the changes thus revealed as desirable and possible. Third, in all public schools, immediate steps should be taken by organized students and teachers alike to persuade patrons and board members that all desirable educative experiences be financed out of tax funds. If any given school activity or experience has no demonstrable educational value, the school has no right either to promote it or to permit it to continue. If the activity or experience has educational value, neither the school nor organized society is behaving democratically if the right to benefit by it is made contingent upon the accident of birth in an economic sense.

Cincinnati Studies Truancy, Relief

David Strong

ALMOST ANY teacher working in the crowded and poor sections of an American city is aware that many parents have a real problem in getting the wherewithal to clothe and feed their children so that they can attend school regularly. Even aside from the expenses that may be incurred by the child within school, the sheer obstacle—apparently so simple to overcome—of placing shoes on bare feet and clothes upon naked young bodies is frequently well-nigh impossible to hurdle. Teachers feel these needs keenly, and many are those who quietly dig into their own meager purses for the money to buy clothes so that their pupils may be educated as is their right and duty. Parent-teacher organizations also, deserve credit for the concern they have shown in this matter, concretely, for the funds and clothing supplies they have made available.

In Cincinnati the situation is perhaps not very different from that of any other city. The Cincinnati Central Labor Council, however, made a study last winter of relief conditions in this city and gave it wide publicity in their organ, the *Chronicle*. So extensive and so astounding was this study that the charges made by the Central Labor Council were given front page publicity in all the local papers, and an investigation was made by the City Council. Through the help of representatives of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 479, there was published in the *Chronicle* much material on the number of children absent from school because of lack of sufficient clothing. Local 479 gave full official support to the investigation of relief

conditions and, because of its interest in the problem, many facts that concerned the well-being of school children were brought to light.

Figures which were published in the *Chronicle* show that 45 per cent of the families of Cincinnati report incomes of less than \$1,000 a year. It is with this large section of the population that we are concerned, since the bulk of school attendance problems arises from this group. Demoralization, poor health, and general hopelessness often create their own attendance problems quite aside from the physical lack of clothes, and we find these conditions prevailing among this 45 per cent of Cincinnati's population. An examination of the general relief picture of this city affords a better understanding of the related problems of school attendance.

Most of us remember the relief crises which arose in the cities of Toledo and Cleveland last winter. Newspapers all over the country were reporting the long lines of starving unemployed in Cleveland, and the political capital that was being made of the situation by politicians in the state, local and national governments. Even Nazi newspapers in Germany pointed with scorn at the way in which Cleveland was starving the unemployed. At about that time Colonel C. O. Sherrill, the City Manager of Cincinnati, wrote an article in the *Harvard Business Review* which received national publicity, claiming that Cincinnati had solved the relief problem. He said that Cincinnati had reduced relief expenditures per case to a level of one-third that of WPA. He boasted that the clients co-operated with his pro-

gram by working for their relief at the rate of 25 cents per hour. He pointed with pride to Cincinnati's ability to cut relief costs to a level of \$282 per year per case. Immediately Ohio WPA Administrator Minderman answered this attack upon WPA by pointing out the much higher hourly wages paid to WPA workers, together with the amount of money spent on materials necessary to the building of useful public works. Undoubtedly justified as Mr. Minderman was in his defense of the WPA, he did not point out that in Cincinnati during the winter months the blessings of WPA are rather nebulous to the poor family depending upon it for an opportunity to earn a living. For during the winter the WPA worker cannot work much of the time because of the weather and is thus not paid as much. Many draw bi-weekly pay checks no more than \$4.00 or \$5.00 or perhaps even nothing at all, and thus are forced to turn back to the relief program of Colonel Sherrill to eke out a living until they can make up their time for WPA in the spring. Nor did Mr. Minderman mention that at that very time the national administration was calling for a considerable cut in WPA rolls in spite of the millions of able-bodied unemployed unable to get WPA jobs.

To the needy family these political charges and counter-charges made little difference as long as the money for food and rent and clothes for the kids was nowhere to be found.

The fact is that in spite of the much publicized relief conditions in Toledo and Cleveland, Cincinnati had little to boast about in the relief allotments granted the unemployed. The *Chronicle* did notable service in exposing this fact. This paper brought out the fact that the average relief granted by the largest relief-giving agency of the city, the Cincinnati Department of Public Relief, was \$28.42 per month per case. Actually this scale was the lowest of any city in the state. Akron, for instance, gave \$40.85 per month per case. Other cities including Toledo and Cleveland ranged higher than Cincinnati. Rent for unemployable families averaged here \$8.00 per month. The highest rent granted was \$12 a month. The policy of the Department was and is to "encourage" the employables to work for part of their rent at least, although they are not given the opportunity to work for it on the work program. Thus they depend upon the uncertain fruits of odd jobs to keep the sheriff from the door. The *Chronicle* pointed to an article appearing in the *Survey Midmonthly Journal of Social Work* giving the results of a health organization survey in Chicago. There it was shown that a family of four receiving \$36.50 per month for relief will starve in that city. In Cincinnati the allotment was \$19 to a family of four plus incidentals for a little milk, a little coal, and perhaps some clothing and part of the rent.

From the scale of allotments for food, the *Chronicle* published the amounts individuals receive per meal in this city: in a family of one, 12 cents per meal; in a family of two, 7 cents per meal; in a family of three, 7 cents per meal; in a family of four, 6 cents per meal;

in a family of five, 5 cents per meal; in a family of six, 5 cents per meal; in a family of seven, 5 cents per meal; and up to a family of ten, 4 cents per meal per person. Perhaps this scale should explain to Cincinnati teachers why little Jimmy, whose father works on the work program, seems to be so dull and uninterested in his lessons, or why he doesn't come to school at all.

The rent policy of the Relief Department, the *Chronicle* believed, was reflected in the number of evictions that took place in the city. Since November, 1937, when this work program was begun, up to December, 1939, there had been 11,848 evictions of families from their homes. These evictions ran as high as 750 per month.

An editorial in the *Chronicle* in January, 1940, enumerated what they called a "Four Point Degeneration Program": (1) forcing the relief families into the worst slums and dwelling units in the city through the low-rent or no rent policy; (2) evicting the families periodically from these dwellings and forcing them to find others equally unsuitable; (3) compelling every able-bodied person to work out his relief at the rate of 25 cents per hour, even if the work done is skilled, which should be paid for at prevailing union rates; and (4) forcing relief recipients to take all the "cut-throat, back-alley jobs in the city" (or be cut off relief) through the relief agency's own employment service, which is still operating in spite of adequate and fair employment service given by the federal-state employment center.

In connection with its relief survey, the *Chronicle* publicized the fact that the mortality rate in Cincinnati is exceeded only by those of New Orleans and Memphis. The tuberculosis death rate is the highest in the state of Ohio and one of the highest in the nation. Whether or not such figures cast a reflection on the relief policy here, it is quite definite that a low relief policy will not aid the health situation one iota.

This year, although the basic relief grants have not materially changed, the situation for food is better, since families on relief and WPA are able to obtain surplus commodities distributed through the federal government by purchasing stamps for that purpose. Light clothes are available, often after considerable delay, and also shoes. However no winter clothing such as sweaters, jackets or underwear is available.

From this general picture of the relief policies of the city it is easier to understand the difficulties that face many children in attending school. We get a further idea from figures of the Attendance Department itself in handling children out of school.

When an attendance officer discovers that a child is absent from school because of lack of clothes, a referral is made to the Department of Relief for investigation and report. In November, 1937, the present relief policies of the city were begun. During the school year, 1936-37, 183 referrals for investigation of lack of clothing were made by the Attendance Department. However in subsequent years the number increased tremen-

Labor and Public Education

The following summary of resolutions adopted by the American Federation of Labor since 1885 is an excerpt from an article, "Labor and Public Education," by Willard Millsaps, which appeared in the LABOR WORLD, published by the Central Labor body, Chattanooga, Tenn.

In 1885 the American Federation of Labor demanded education of children to the fourteenth year.

In 1887 it asked for the teaching of the science of government in the public schools.

In 1891 it urged the necessity of a thorough education of children so that they may be able to judge in after years of their standing, rights and liberties that are guaranteed to a free people of which they are part and factors.

In 1894 it insisted that the state compulsory education laws be strictly enforced, and that where there are no such laws, efforts be made to secure their enactment.

In 1903 it insisted that political influence, so often required of school teachers, be eliminated, and that teachers should be compensated commensurately with the value of their duties.

In 1910 it announced that a labor bill for vocational education was on the calendar for early consideration.

In 1911 it recommended that free textbooks be furnished the children.

In 1913 it demanded that a sufficient number of school teachers be employed to give a reasonable degree of personal attention to each child.

In 1915 it urged that the federal government afford generous financial aid to industrial education.

In 1917 it advocated that teachers be given security of positions during efficiency and that there be no dismissals without a fair hearing.

In 1918 it indorsed the federal bill requiring the commissioner of education to devise methods and promote plans for the elimination of adult illiteracy in the United States and urged the establishment of a federal department of education.

In 1919 it advanced ample playgrounds as an essential

part of the public school system.

In 1921 it demanded high standards of cleanliness and safety in our school buildings.

In 1922 it approved physical education as an essential part of the curriculum.

In 1928 it opposed the use of the schools to spread propaganda of special interests.

In 1930 it adopted as its policy tenure of office for teachers after two years of temporary service with proved efficiency.

In 1931 it urged participation in the activities of the parent-teachers' association.

In 1932 it urged vigorous action against curtailment or elimination of any school activity necessary to maintain and improve the educational standard.

In 1933 it advocated federal aid to education.

In 1934 it urged the employment of only regularly licensed and qualified teachers.

In 1935 it reaffirmed their declaration of federal aid to education.

In 1936 it advocated the appropriation of \$100,000,000 of federal funds to assist the states and territories in providing more effective programs of public education.

In 1937 it worked again for a federal grant to education.

In 1938 it advocated again that the schools be free from political control and exploitation in order that they may provide more adequate training for citizenship and democracy.

In 1939 it urged again that the federal government give aid to public education so that educational opportunities will become equalized for the children in all sections of this country.

That is only a small part of the record of the American Federation of Labor in its attempt to assist in the building and in the preservation of our public schools. That record has convinced me that the American labor movement is the greatest and most loyal friend to our public school system.

WILLARD MILLSAPS.

dously. For 1937-38 there were 713 referrals. For 1938-39 there were 746. And for 1939-40 there were 434. However this still does not give us a complete picture. A school principal himself may refer directly to the relief agency in order to get clothes for a needy child. In fact the general policy established is for the principal to refer to the Attendance Department only those cases not involving relief. Thus many more children are lacking in clothes than the above figures indicate. The number of those additional children is not available. Then again each referral may be and usually is for more than one child in the family. Thus the total picture is necessarily more gloomy than might at first appear.

Attendance officers are more and more impressed with the demoralization and general attitudes of dependency which accompany these low economic standards. Many of our attendance difficulties arise from indifference and neglect on the part of parents whose morale is constantly being lowered by continued joblessness and the terrific day-to-day struggle for existence. These attitudes

are growing in recent years, so much so that this year the staff of the Attendance Department was doubled in order to cope with it. How can one evaluate and put in concrete terms the large numbers of junior high-school children each year who find it impossible economically to continue in school, and thus drop out to seek some job even though it pay but a pittance? How can we express what thousands upon thousands of high-school students must experience in feeling unable to compete socially with others more fortunate, better dressed and able to pay the numerous fees expected of them? And yet these are problems which concern us all, and particularly teachers, who are called upon to instruct boys and girls increasingly demoralized by conditions over which they have no control.

As teachers and especially as members of the American Federation of Teachers we must come to the conclusion that the struggle to better the conditions of our pupils is our struggle as well, a struggle in which we will get the willing co-operation of the organized labor movement.

Excerpts from the 1940 Convention t

The American Federation of Teachers was represented at the American Federation of Labor Convention which opened on November 18 at New Orleans, La., by George S. Counts, national president; Irvin Kuenzli, national secretary-treasurer; Selma Borchardt, national legislative representative; and John Fewkes, president, Local 1.

Public Schools—AFL Executive Council's Report

More than a generation ago, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, defined education as the "gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race with a view to realizing one's own potentialities and to assisting in carrying forward the complex of ideas, acts and institutions which we call civilization. In other words, education in a true sense has to do not only with the individual to be educated but with the environment into which and for which he is to be educated." The genius of our American public school system, to the founding of which American labor made so distinguished a contribution a century ago, has been its concern both with the education of the youth for citizenship in a democracy and the democratic environment in which the young citizen was to take his place.

We now realize as never before that defending democracy is as much an educational as a military task. Such education goes far beyond instructing workers in unskilled trades and vocations. It means bringing unity out of the ideals of our people. Unity comes out of loyalty for the basic principles of democracy—free speech and free thought. The type of unity we in America have and want to keep comes out of love and loyalty and understanding of our basic ideals. This is a world struggle between the ideals and ideas of democracy and those of totalitarianism; the people of the United States must be on guard against any attempts from without or within to sacrifice any of these values which inhere in our democratic way of life.

Year after year the American Federation of Labor in its reports on education has rested the case for support and enrichment of public educational institutions on the highest grounds of public welfare. Its report this year is an eloquent plea, not only for equality of educational opportunity, but for the adequate support of our public educational institutions as our best servant in the cause of liberty. We are reminded as well that "liberty is not an inheritance but a fresh conquest with each generation." To that conquest of liberty through education is a task laid upon our public school system; we dare not neglect it in a world where liberty and the foundations of the democracy have been threatened.

The American Federation of Labor has taken the position throughout its entire history that widespread public education is essential to the successful operation of democratic government and to the very existence of a free trade union movement. Simultaneous destruction or regimentation of both the public school systems and the trade union movements of the totalitarian states have proved the soundness of this educational philosophy. The attempts in certain cities of our nation to curtail educational facilities, in the name of economy, to balance additional taxes for building the national defense, is not only unfair to the children of the nation, but also dangerous to the future welfare of democratic government. The 1936 convention of the American Federation of Labor declared:

"Adequate and effective educational institutions are essential in a democratic country, and the larger the investments we make in education the more likely we are to cope with our economic and political problems constructively."

Local and state labor bodies are urged, therefore, to be constantly on the alert to prevent curtailment of the educational facilities of the country, shortening of school terms, or actual closing of the schools because of retrenchment programs sponsored by well organized and highly financed pressure groups. Central labor bodies are urged to maintain active functional committees on education, carefully to study the needs of the school system, to assist in providing adequate financial support, and see that school funds are expended efficiently and effectively.

Your Committee would remind this convention that for many years it has urged upon central labor bodies the election of members of organized labor to membership on boards of education and boards of public libraries. The appropriateness of this objective has never seemed more clear or urgent than at this hour.

If the labor movement of America is to carry out its traditional policy of supporting the free public school system and libraries of the nation and contribute to a program of wise expansion to meet the new needs, it is absolutely essential that labor have adequate representation on the official boards responsible for providing educational services in local communities. Adequate representation does not mean that labor should assume *control* of public school systems and libraries. Labor, committed to the principle that the public schools belong to all of the people, insists that the organized labor movement in a community shall have representation on public boards in proportion to the important place occupied by organized workers in the community.

Your Committee would, moreover, associate itself

the American Federation of Labor

with the Executive Council in charting the course along which the expansion or reorganization of public education should take place, namely, "the reorganization of high-school curriculum to meet the needs of citizens in an industrial democracy, practical vocational training, and discipline for the responsibilities of our democratic way."

Reaffirming Support of Federal Aid to States for Education

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has supported the cause of federal aid to the states for education since 1917; and

WHEREAS, The need for such aid is made more urgent by the existing emergency; therefore be it

Resolved: That the AFL in convention assembled reaffirm its support of federal legislation designed to equalize educational opportunities among the states and within the states for all persons regardless of race, nationality, religion or economic condition.

For a period of more than two decades the American Federation of Labor has championed the cause of equalizing educational facilities of the several states through federal grants for education. It was largely through the efforts of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, that the Smith-Hughes Act, providing federal aid for vocational education, was enacted by the Congress of the United States in 1917. It was largely through the influence of the American Federation of Labor that subsequent acts were passed expanding the program of vocational education provided in the Smith-Hughes Act. Recent bills before Congress to provide federal aid to general education as well as vocational education had their origin in the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor which requested that the President of the United States appoint a committee to study the problem of federal aid for vocational education. The committee appointed by the President under the chairmanship of Doctor Floyd Reeves requested and received permission from the President to expand its activities and study the whole program of federal aid for general education as well as vocational education. The Permanent Committee on Education of the AFL assisted in drafting the resultant federal aid bill which is now before Congress. Recommendation of the 1937 AFL convention designed to protect programs of vocational education existing under the Smith-Hughes Act and subsequent acts, have been incorporated in the bill. However, the American Federation of Labor did not approve certain amendments which were introduced later.

The Committee is emphatic in its declaration that

control of educational programs shall be left to local communities in accordance with the fundamental principles of American democracy. Federal aid does not mean that the federal government shall dictate the type of administration and curricula in local schools.

The Committee, therefore, reaffirms previous declarations of AFL conventions in favor of federal aid for education and recommends concurrence in the resolution.

Proposing Support for AFT's Defense of Educational System

WHEREAS, The teachers of America desire to make the school serve most fully and effectively the ideals of American democracy; and

WHEREAS, Ill-considered efforts may be made to divert the resources of the school to short-sighted and anti-social purposes; and

WHEREAS, Reactionary interests may seek to curtail the educational services under a false conception of national defense; therefore be it

Resolved: That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, call upon all state and local bodies of the Federation to co-operate with the American Federation of Teachers in the defense of the integrity of the American educational system and in support of a further extension of that system as an essential part of the program of national defense.

As stated elsewhere in this report the Committee recognized the importance of extended facilities for public education during the present emergency. We believe that adequate educational facilities are essential not only to the national defense program but also to a sound structure of democratic government after the present crisis has passed. The children in the schools today who will be faced with the tremendous responsibility of guiding the nation through the post-war economic, social and moral reconstruction, must be fully trained in the processes of American democracy. The fact that labor and education have been first to suffer under the regimentation of totalitarianism is a grave warning to the labor movement in America carefully to guard the free public school system of the nation.

Your Committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that the Permanent Committee on Education, state federations of labor, and local labor bodies co-operate with the American Federation of Teachers in implementing educational facilities which will not only assist in protecting American democracy through the present defense program but also provide thorough training for the nation's children who will be the citizens of tomorrow.

The AFL Program of Education in the Present Emergency

BECAUSE WE are American citizens and value the opportunities of a democracy, we want to do our full share in this emergency against which we are preparing defense. Our most effective service lies in the field in which we have experience—the field of labor which is just as fundamental for defense as for progress in peace. Our responsibility for service constrains us to call attention to training proposals which are a serious menace to national ability to produce.

We feel that education is the most fundamental permanent responsibility of any nation which no emergency should interrupt. We hold that our public school system is the bulwark of our democracy and that it is provided with safeguards to assure social objectives. We believe that responsibility for education of our citizens should center in this system and that the setting up of separate agencies not related to this central system tends to undermine it and to make for conflict in objectives.

During the depression relief agencies have set up educational undertakings some of which contributed constructive results but which were not co-ordinated with our public school system and which are not controlled by the necessary safeguards and standards determined by labor experience. We believe this basic mistake should not be repeated in the defense program.

In addition the functions of relief agencies should be clearly differentiated from those of the defense program. The purposes of relief in many ways conflict with the necessities of defense production and planning.

Before the emergency due to business collapse had been cleared away, we were overwhelmed by the defense emergency growing out of the War of the Dictators. Expansion of industry began—not only expansion of defense industries but normal consumption industries responded to the stimulus of increased payrolls. There was an increased hiring of workers all along the line, but the increase in the defense industries made abnormal demands for skilled metal craftsmen, skilled ship builders, skilled precision workers of all kinds. It was early obvious that unless skilled workers could be provided the whole defense program would bog down. Apprenticeship is the only known way to secure apprentices and this has been neglected during the depression. All that can be done to make up that deficiency should be gotten under way as rapidly as possible, but meanwhile production is imperative.

Because the need for skilled and production workers in the defense industries in proportions greatly in excess of those required for normal needs seemed likely to become acute, Congress last summer appropriated \$16,000,000

On Wednesday, November 13th, President William Green conferred with President Roosevelt in person and presented recommendations with relation to the educational phases of the national defense program. The conference with the President was arranged at the request of the Permanent Committee on Education of the AFL after a meeting on October 16, 1940 (at AFL headquarters in Washington) with representatives of the U.S. Office of Education, NYA, CCC, Apprenticeship Board, Federal Board for Vocational Education, the National Defense Commission and other government agencies. Several consultants were called in from organized labor including George Googe, southern representative of the AFL; Dr. George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Miss Selma Borchardt, legislative representative of the AFT; and the late Henry Ohl, Jr., member of the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The AFL Committee consists of Matthew Woll, Elmer Milliman, Thomas Burke, Irvin Kuenzli and John Frey.

to the Office of Education for defense training. This appropriation, which did not require matching by local funds, was quickly allotted so that summer use of schools might facilitate training. The results of this program together with other proposals now under consideration presented so serious a situation that your Committee on Education held a special meeting and after consultation with those responsible for various programs, reached the conclusions which we have embodied in a program. We hope that after consideration of our program, you will wish to submit it to the Chief Executive of the United States.

We recommend:

(1) That our whole program of education be expanded in the emergency created by the War of the Dictators so that citizens and future citizens shall have all possible opportunities for progress and for satisfaction in living. While spending freely for the defense of democracy we must make sure that its basic sources are not obstructed.

(2) That all vocational education activities of the federal government be co-ordinated through the Office of Education and the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training to which is allocated responsibility for labor standards.

(3) That the Office of Education make compliance with the following standards mandatory for allocation of defense funds for vocational education:

(a) Committees at the state level consisting of equal representatives of organizations of employers and of state-wide organizations of workers, with representatives of the administration of state employment offices and the chairman of the state apprentice-training com-

mittee sitting in as consultants to advise with the State Office of Education on the development of the program and its administration.

(b) Local committees consisting of representatives of employers and organized labor, the director of the employment office and a representative of the local apprentice-training committee to advise the Superintendent of Education upon vocational education matters.

(c) Local employment service not to refer trainees from local undertakings to vacancies outside the community. Local control is essential to maintenance of standards.

(d) Every project for defense training should set forth specifically the actual or potential need for the workers to be trained which should be filed with the Office of Education. Provisions for labor supply should be included by managements in their long-time plans. Notice of needs to the employment service should allow the time necessary to locate workers under present conditions or for training them.

(e) Defense training must be to supply specific need for labor. Preemployment "refresher" courses and supplementary training for employed workers should be provided. Work training should be as nearly as possible on the job and under work conditions. Factories and plants might be used at night time or within out-of-production time, co-ordinated with day time use of schools. Related education should be available for trainees through the schools, so that skill and ability may be steadily strengthened.

(f) Committee on Apprentice Training to pass upon and safeguard all plans for dilution.

Skilled craftsmen and all-round workers are indispensable in a civilization as highly mechanized as ours. Apprenticeship is the only way to provide skilled craftsmen. One of the basic causes of our present difficulties is failure to maintain a fixed ratio of apprentice training during the depression adequate for normal needs of industry. Current rapid expansion of production provides the opportunity for industries to resume their responsibility for training their skilled workers, and we urge that unions and employers consider the possibility of making quotas for apprenticeship as large as possible. We urge the public schools to provide the necessary related education for the increased apprentice training program.

Craftsmanship was conserved first by the guilds and now by trade unions. This historic heritage is tied up with our personal lives as well as with industrial progress and welfare. In demanding protection for it our purposes are basically protective of human welfare. When dilution takes place it should be in accord with plans conforming to the judgment of those with intimate experience in the field and with responsibility for its conservation. We recognize that the exigencies of the defense program will make necessary some dilutions of our skill standards. While we recognize this probability we assert that our equities in craft skill will require and deserve conservation.

We submit, therefore, that all proposals for dilution shall be submitted to the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training for decision both upon facts submitted in justification of any proposal and upon how wisely and effectively the proposal meets proven needs. No consent to dilution should be regarded as permanent modification of apprenticeship and should be accompanied by training and educational provisions to enable the workers to advance from repetitive processes and machine operations to a rounded understanding of production and to greater efficiency and ability as a worker.

As there is danger to industry as well as to workers from over-specialization, the needs of the emergency must be related to the needs of the future. To safeguard these ends, each request for dilution must be decided on its merits so as not to precipitate a general and wasteful lowering of the whole basis of production skill. When a need is established for specific categories of workers, then a program for the best training of these workers can be worked out by those concerned—management, workers and educators. General standards and safeguards should be developed by the Federal Committee to be supplemented by the determination of local committees for specific programs. We appreciate that such emergency service would place new and heavy demands upon the Committee on Apprentice Training and urge that the Committee be provided the funds for expansion for emergency service.

We also urge state federations to see to it that state committees on apprentice training are set up in all states to co-operate with the federal agency.

We consider it of paramount importance that the principles and practices of democratic living be maintained during this emergency and that whatever new procedures and developments may be deemed necessary that all shall be squared with the principles and institutions that give life value.

A Job to Do

WE HAVE a job to do. You, and I, and everyone. Our job is this: to make America strong.

We have our lands to hold, our waters to protect, our skies to guard. We have these, but we have more. We have people.

We are rich in people. People who love and cherish our lands. People who know how and want to work. People who have deep faith that here we have the greatest chance for life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. People who know the fight for these is never won until it is won for everybody.

Defense is planes and guns. It is equipping an army to man our military weapons. It is this, and more. It is building the health, the physical fitness, the social well-being of all our people, and doing it the democratic way. Hungry people, undernourished people, ill people, do not make for strong defense.

This, then, is our job, not all of it, but a vital part: Let us make every American strong, stronger than ever before, sturdier in body, steadier in nerves, surer in living.

HARRIET ELLIOTT, *Consumer Commissioner,
National Defense Advisory Commission*

Toledo Opens Its Schools

Harry D. Lamb

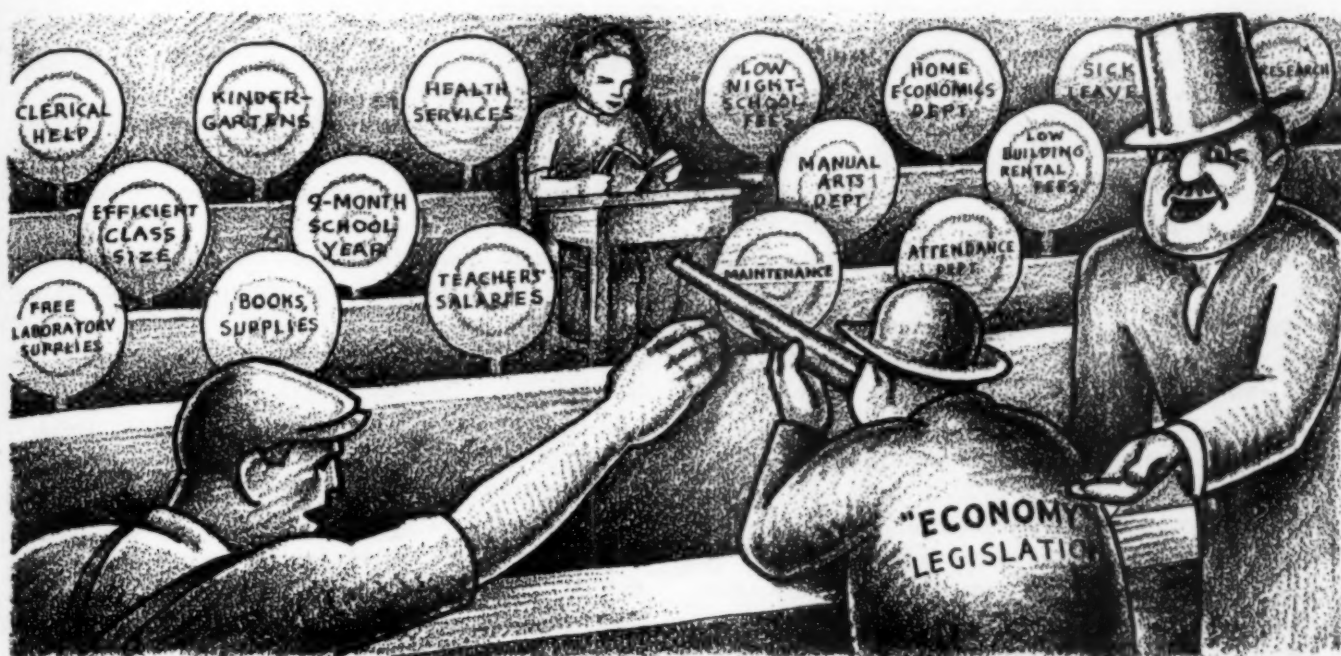
TOLEDO SCHOOLS have just received what is being called a vote of confidence in that a two-mill levy outside of the ten mills permitted by Ohio statute has just been passed. The levy has been in effect for the past twenty years and failure to renew it would have closed the schools almost immediately. This fact was not stressed in the campaign particularly. The outstanding feature of the campaign was that it was genuinely a citizens' committee with all of the active work done by volunteers. In the previous and unsuccessful campaign for the renewal and an additional two mills, much public ire seemed to have centered on the fact that teachers and other school people were campaigning for the levy. A more cogent reason for the opposition last year was that there was vociferous opposition from realtors, home owners' groups, etc., who objected to the additional two mills. This year there was no vocal opposition to the renewal, and it carried by a comfortable margin. How much credit should be given to the Democratic Party is open to debate. First some credit should be given to the national election and the heavy vote called out by it; second, the most bitter opponent last year had been taken over by the local Democratic machine and was a successful candidate for the state legislature.

Certain people look upon the passage of the levy as approval of the action of the Board of Education in cutting expenses in an effort to live within the funds

available. Others are equally positive that closing the schools for over a month last year is the chief reason people voted for the levy. Probably a combination of factors, each of unknown weight, is involved. In any event, the school term for 1939-40 was cut from thirty-eight weeks to thirty-three weeks; teachers and non-instructional employees drew only 76.4 per cent of their basic salaries. And this year all kindergartens were eliminated, the elementary school program in home economics and industrial arts was heavily curtailed, sick leave regulations were made more stringent and the total accumulated allowance was cut from eighty days to forty; teachers on base pay rates above \$2,900 were lowered to that figure; health services in the schools have been reduced and a saving may be effected by a combination of county health services and Board of Education services now in process; reductions in personnel in the attendance department, in plant operation and maintenance have been made; supplies have been curtailed; and fees have been established or increased for materials of instruction in such courses as art, home economics, industrial arts, vocational education, laboratory courses, etc. Night school fees have increased and building rental fees to civic groups have been increased. The closing of certain elementary schools or portion thereof is contemplated in those areas where population has fallen off.

In addition to the foregoing actual or planned reductions teachers are looking askance upon a salary revision committee which has been called for by the Board of Education. Members from Local 250, from the teachers' association and from the principals and supervisors make up the committee. It has not met as yet and speculation is rife as to what its duties will be. If the committee has been called to establish the basic pay rates on the basis of funds available there is certain to be opposition from the teaching ranks. For the past eight years teachers have been working at considerably less than their basic rate of pay. Their thought has been that 76 per cent or 85 per cent of a basic rate was better psychologically than to be receiving 100 per cent on a lower scale of pay. And realistically most teachers know that once a basic pay rate has been lowered it is extremely difficult to revise it upwards. Opposition from tax groups developed the fact that they seemed to want the percentage available to be established as the ceiling or 100 per cent. While it is true that the amount of money is no greater by the adherence to the basic scale now in effect, many people resent the salaries paid teachers and readily overlook the fact





that the basic rate hasn't been paid since 1931 and quote the basic rate as evidence of overpaid teachers. This naturally works to the detriment of teachers and levies for operating expenses. On the other hand those civic groups who are interested in attracting industries to Toledo, or wish to show that Toledo is financially out of the doldrums, naturally find cold comfort in school financial data which show employees' salaries fluctuating between 63 per cent and 88 per cent.

Teacher opinion seems to be general that any study tending to revise salaries downward, with inflation just

around the corner, would be most unwise and unfair. For that reason it seems certain that teachers will insist that complete financial data covering the operation of every aspect of school operation be supplied them, so that they may determine intelligently whether a tuck should be taken in their salaries. Operating expenditures have dropped nearly \$700,000 over the last decade and salaries which constitute 90 per cent of operating expenditures have dropped \$750,000. Teachers naturally question the reasonableness of further cuts—actual or psychological.

Indiana Court Upholds AFT Member

John Souter

THE RIGHT of a teacher to run for public office without being deprived of his job has been tested in Indiana in the case of Vernon Sigler, head of the Social Studies Department of Washington High School in East Chicago and member of AFT Local 511. The decision of the local courts recently handed down concerned the right of a local board of education to restrict an employee from exercising his constitutional rights by running for public office and to pass resolutions which do not follow the statutes of the state tenure law.

It was in April, 1938, that Mr. Sigler, who at that time was president of Local 511, filed petitions as a candidate for the Indiana State Legislature in the primary election. A few days later Mr. Sigler's employers, the East Chicago Board of School Trustees, passed a resolution forbidding any employee to become a candidate for elective political office without taking a payless leave

of absence.

Mr. Sigler continued in his campaign for the nomination, whereupon he was forced to take the payless leave of absence stipulated in the Board's resolution. When the election was held, Mr. Sigler was defeated by a margin of 39 votes—after having led by more than 400 votes until the final 7 of the 171 precincts were reported (he led the ticket in his home city). His participation in political affairs thus ended, he was permitted by the Board to return to his teaching duties. In the meantime, the situation had attracted national attention among educators, labor leaders and other citizens. Among those who staunchly defended Mr. Sigler in the exercise of his right to participate in public affairs were President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, Jerome Davis, president of the AFT at that time, all the vice-presidents of the AFT, Secretary-Treasurer

Irvin R. Kuenzli, Executive Secretary Kermit Eby of the Chicago Teachers Union, Dr. John Lapp and Attorney Garfield Hayes of the Civil Liberties Union, and many AFT locals and trade unions.

Realizing that a far-reaching principle was involved, Mr. Sigler brought suit in the Lake County Superior Court (Judge B. C. Jenkins) against the Board to collect his salary for the period he had been illegally forced to take the payless leave of absence. As the case was developed, the issues involved were the resolution of the Board of Education and the fact that Mr. Sigler had an indefinite (tenure) contract. It was the allegation of the plaintiff (Mr. Sigler) that the resolution of the Board did not follow the Indiana tenure law on "leave of absence" and therefore constituted illegal action.

In its findings, the court pointed out that since this case involved a legal matter never before considered by an Indiana court, it became a matter of first impression in the state courts. It asked, "What power do such administrative boards as school boards have?"

In exploring the answer to this question and others, the court set forth the following considerations:

(1) Administrative boards such as school boards are the "creation of the Legislature"; therefore, these boards have only such powers as are specifically enumerated by the statutes which provide for setting them up.

(2) Failure on the part of the Legislature in its *Act Creating School Boards* to enumerate the specific power to prohibit employees from becoming candidates for elective political office is some evidence that the Legislature never intended school boards to have such power; therefore, these powers reside with the Legislature and not with a school board or administrative board.

(3) There was no evidence before the court to show that the East Chicago School Board followed the Indiana tenure statute on "leaves of absence" which is binding as law. In fact, the opposite was true, namely, that the Board followed only their own resolution.

(4) "The court has no hesitancy in saying that our school teachers as a body possess . . . qualities in a high degree and the public, the people, ought not to be de-

prived of their services in the Legislature—the lawmaking power of the commonwealth, by any act of a school board or school corporation."

(5) "This rule of the school board in a free and enlightened government would defeat the very object which it sought to accomplish. In order to make and enact laws for the government of the people, we must in the first instance have men and women in the Legislature who are capable, by reason of training, education and experience, of performing the function of lawmakers."

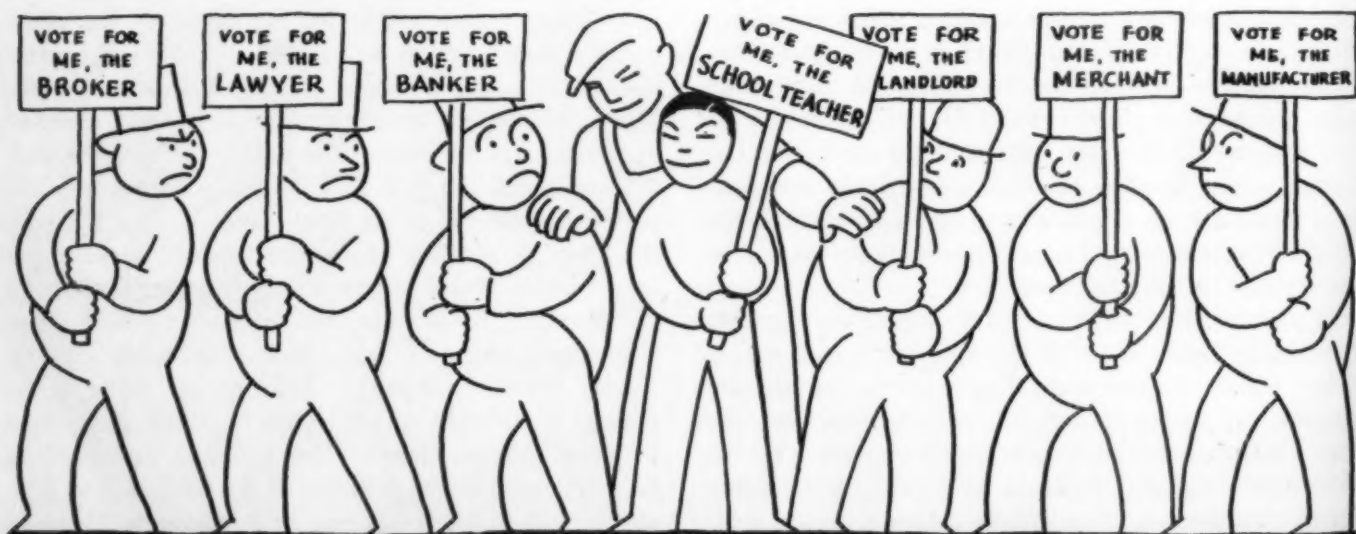
(6) It is the duty of the courts to protect civil rights of citizens when they are abridged or denied.

(7) Such a resolution of the East Chicago Board of Education denied constitutional civil rights of the plaintiff and, moreover, such a resolution is an invasion of the Legislature's powers by the said Board.

As a result of its deliberations, the court found for the plaintiff and entered a judgment in his favor. It ordered that the salary lost during the enforced leave of absence, together with interest at 6 per cent for the two years since it was withheld, be paid in full.

This victory in the courts has real significance in the effort of teachers to have their full constitutional rights respected. Notable, too, are the statements in the findings concerning the particular service teachers are enabled by their training and experience to render a "free and enlightened government." To the members of AFT Local 511 the decision means that Indiana teachers are no longer classed as citizens with no right to participate legally in public affairs.

The story of the case is a reminder to members of the AFT that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. The fact that the case involved an AFT member and that the Local was active in instigating and carrying on the case, together with the wide support gained from other AFT locals and labor unions, indicates that union teachers are more likely to press for the preservation of democratic liberties in such cases than are teachers who are not members of the union. The motto of the AFT, "Education for Democracy and Democracy in Education," should be our constant watchword.



Kenosha Organizes a Town Hall

Howland Paddock

DOES YOUR community need a forum in the truest and best sense of the word? Probably the answer is "yes" just as it used to be the answer in our small city here in southeastern Wisconsin. The need was so great, in fact, that the Teachers Union decided to do something about it. We had come to the conclusion that our Union owed something to adult education as well as to the education of youth. Older persons need "democracy in education and education for democracy" just as much as young people do.

Kenosha previously had two programs similar to Town Hall. The Kenosha Forum, which began about six years ago as a place of popular assembly where liberal ideas could be freely discussed, enjoyed a healthy, encouraging growth at first. But there was considerable opposition by a certain element to such speakers as Norman Thomas, Upton Close, and Harry Gideonse, so the Forum deteriorated into a lyceum course for entertainment and now has ceased to exist. A Labor Forum, under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Council, was discontinued when more pressing matters demanded the sponsor's time and energy. Thus we had an open field, no competition, and a public eager for new ideas on controversial subjects adequately and fairly presented.

The problem of an educational program for the adult population, especially workers, was presented at a regular membership meeting of Kenosha's AFT local, No. 557. After much discussion which emphasized the value of such a program, the matter was referred to the Educational Policies Committee for action. The Committee was alert, enthusiastic and competent. In a few weeks the first experimental programs were arranged for late winter and spring of 1939-40. Since the name, Forum, had been pre-empted by another group, we called our venture Kenosha Town Hall, a name which has a favorable connotation. Gerhart Seger and Joel Seidman were the first speakers for whose lectures we charged a modest fee. Later Dr. George Counts appeared before a large meeting of teachers and invited guests from the whole community.

Plans for the present season were begun during the late spring and early summer because much foresight and negotiation are necessary to get popular speakers. A political forum was arranged for mid-October, when the campaign would be at its height and political interest would be keenest. The second meeting was set after the election, when Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt could be presented for herself alone and apart from political

implications of any current situation.

For the political forum we asked the national committees of the major parties to assign the best speakers available. The Socialists quickly responded by assigning their vice-presidential candidate, Maynard Krueger. Glenn Frank was promised by the Republicans but his untimely death prevented his appearance. A local Republican speaker took his place. The Democrats sent us Senator Thomas, of Utah, widely and favorably known for his devotion to education and labor. In order to keep local politics and prejudices out of the picture, we invited Dr. George Axtelle of Northwestern University to act as moderator. Tolerance for the opponents' point of view, manifested by speakers and audience, and evident good humor on the part of all surprised many in attendance who frankly admitted that they had thought such a free-for-all and objective discussion of politics to be almost impossible. Town Hall received a tremendous impetus and increased reputation because of the success of the experiment.

During American Education Week, Mrs. Roosevelt spoke to a crowded house on the topic, "Peace." Despite the covert opposition of the die-hard reactionary element in the community, this program which involved considerable expense was a big success from the standpoint of attendance and finances. Workers and students eagerly bought up the lower priced seats, but when they were gone, the higher priced ones went fast. The question period is always an important part of each meeting; Mrs. Roosevelt's question and answer period was particularly enlightening.

Our whole idea in operating the Town Hall series has been to bring worthwhile speakers on significant subjects since no other agency has been doing just that. We have never had the idea of making money. Covering expenses and breaking even at the end of each season has been our goal. With no nest-egg to draw on and no "angel" to cover deficits, it has taken courage and the will to risk an adventure. In most cases we have obtained the best available talent at low cost (with the exception of Mrs. Roosevelt) and have kept the admission price low enough to attract workers. The unions have helped by taking blocks of tickets to sell to their members. Kenosha Town Hall is a community venture for the benefit of the whole community at the expense and for the profit of no single person or group. Operated on that basis, we can see no limits to the good it can do.

On the Labor Front

Edited from the
Labor Press and
the Federated Press

EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES has reached the highest peak in eleven years, the American Federation of Labor reported in Washington, D. C., on December 6 in its monthly unemployment survey. The Federation estimates 46,063,000 persons at work in October, 1940. The only time employment was greater than this, according to the AFL, was during the months from May to November, 1929, when the number working was 47,600,000.

The number of jobless, however, during October, 1940, was 8,130,000 as compared with 8,467,000 in September of this year and 9,181,000 in October, 1939.

"Today," the AFL said, "we have a labor force of 6,000,000 more workers than in 1929. That is why, as the defense program rolls along, we are not meeting any shortage of workers."

By Christmas, 1941, the survey declared, "we may expect to have 6,000,000 more at work than there are today according to the estimates of the defense commission. This will mean that the rate of re-employment will continue at the same rapid pace as in September and October when 500,000 men and women per month went back to work. The rate of increase in our armed forces was 100,000 per month in those two months."

Of the 2,100,000 persons taken off the jobless list since May, 1940, the Federation estimates 1,400,000 have found jobs in private industry. The rest have gone into the armed forces.

★
NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS LOST the first round in their court fight to gain exemption from the wage-hour law when U. S. Judge Francis W. Ford ordered the *Lowell* (Massachusetts) *Sun* to produce its records for examination by the wage-hour administration. The newspaper announced it would appeal.

A newspaper "is and should be subject to the general laws of the U. S., as any other industry operated for profit," Ford ruled. He invalidated the publishers' main argument that application of the wage-hour law would endanger freedom of the press, saying that enforcement of the law "has no relation whatever to impartial distribution of news."

★
ORGANIZED LABOR WAS LARGELY ignored in appointments for draft boards throughout the nation, a survey conducted by *Federated Press* among labor editors revealed.

Reports from nineteen states indicate that labor representation averages only 5.7 per cent—one unionist out of each eighteen board members. This figure is not conclusive, since if complete data were available the percentage might be slightly higher, or even lower.

While labor representatives were passed by, employers, bankers, lawyers and many persons with known anti-labor records were named by the hundreds and thousands. Thus in Pacific county, Washington, the draft board is headed by William Turner, general superintendent of the anti-union Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, which controls the area.

★
ONE OF THE FIRST UNION CON-tracts to provide drafted workers the difference between their pay as draftees and the pay they would get at their

regular jobs is one between the American Newspaper Guild (CIO) and the *Hammond Daily Times* in Hammond, Ind.

"Concerning a proposal by the Guild that the difference between service pay and newspaper salary be paid to employees by the publisher, the publisher agrees to this in principle, the procedural details of same to be covered, however, in a separate statement to be made soon by the publisher to all employees," the contract said.

★
OPERATIONS OF THE NEWEST group health plan in New York State got under way December 9 when the state insurance department licensed Group Health Co-operative, Inc., to give service to subscribers.

Executive Director Winslow Carlton said the staff was busy sorting a large

PRIVATE BUSINESS FAILURES have provided plants and opportunities for successful co-operative enterprises in many parts of the country, reported John Carson, Washington representative of the Co-operative League of the U. S. A. Talking to newspapers in New York upon his return from a recent trip through the midwest and central states, Carson said he was impressed to find flourishing co-operatives in areas where he had looked for poverty and hardship.

"Out in the town of Virginia, Minnesota," Carson said, "there is a fine little co-operative mortuary and chapel that provides funerals with bronze coffins at \$360—as compared with \$500 and up charged by commercial firms. Last month they buried nineteen people and there will be patronage dividends for the members. The mortuary was formerly operated by a private concern that failed.

"In Superior, the finest business building in the city is owned by the co-operative wholesale, which is doing a \$4,000,000 annual business. I learned that the building was erected by a private wholesale grocer who failed. If it hadn't been taken over by the co-operatives, it would have become a ghost structure.

"In Kansas City, the Consumers Co-operative Association started in 1929 with \$3,000 capital and headquarters in a two-car garage. They

wanted to buy oil from the Pennsylvania Petroleum Corporation there, but the company said the account would be too small to bother with. Five years later they took over the same company's plant."

One reason for the growth of CCA, Carson said, was the widespread response from sympathetic co-operatives everywhere. The association had to raise \$500,000 for the construction of its \$900,000 oil refinery and pipeline. Although dividends on the shares were limited to 4 per cent, orders poured in.

"A man from South Dakota brought in 1,000 pennies saved by his three children," Carson related. "That was enough for a \$10 share, and the CCA office staff chipped in with \$20 more so that each youngster could have a share."

Carson reported increased evidence of co-operation between organized labor and co-operative groups. He said that labor papers are giving more space to co-operative news, and that labor speakers are being constantly heard at co-op meetings.

"In the end," he said, "the co-operatives provide the most effective weapon for saving democracy. In co-operative study groups, education begins at the grass roots. When the Co-operative League established its office in Washington recently, it was the first organization to do so without a selfish purpose in mind."

volume of applications. Service will be given to members of labor unions and other organized groups at \$1.50 a month or \$4.50 a quarter, as compared with a \$6.00 quarterly rate for individuals.

The plan is limited to persons under sixty whose individual incomes do not exceed \$2,000. For married persons, the limit is \$3,000, with \$300 additional exemption for each child or other dependent. Although the plan will operate at first only in the five counties of New York City and in Westchester county, it will be extended later to include eleven southern counties. Headquarters are at 1790 Broadway, New York.

Dr. Kingsley Roberts is chairman of the medical advisory board, which includes seventeen other well-known physicians and surgeons. Paul Kellogg, editor of the *Survey Graphic*, said: "In the hospital service plan New York took the first step toward modernizing the distribution of medical services. The Group Health Co-operative plan marks the second and even more important step."

President Jack Rosenberg of Local 802, American Federation of Musicians (AFL), said: "All efforts to bring low-priced medical care to the masses of the people are commendable. The time is not far off when health security will be given as much consideration as we today give to social security."

★
MILITANT ACTION ON THE PART of AFL building trades unions on the west coast has resulted in the rescinding of a Navy department order that would have required workers to sell themselves into virtual bondage, it was disclosed in Washington, D. C.

On October 23, Commander J. T. Mathews, public works officer of the Navy, issued an order requiring a contractor to get permission of a worker's previous employer before giving him a job. Building trades workers in San Diego threatened a strike which would have tied up naval construction in the area in protest and the order was rescinded.

Officials of the AFL building trades department in Washington noted that even during World War days workers were not prohibited from transferring to higher paid jobs.

★
METHODS OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN wholesale distributors of consumer goods and the consumer protection division of the National Defense Advisory Commission were discussed November 12 in Washington, D. C., at a conference of wholesaling trade representatives, called by Miss Harriet Elliott, consumer member of the NDAC. Merchant and distributor leaders of about 100 wholesaling groups participated.

Utilization of distribution channels,

AVERAGE WAGES OF \$3.01 FOR a work week of fifty-one hours were found by the WPA to be the rule for pecan shellers in San Antonio, Texas, in a study published in Washington, D. C., recently. The future of the pecan shellers, says the study, depends upon whether the wage-hour act is enforced in the industry.

"If the law is evaded," the study says, "the pecan shelling industry will undoubtedly regress toward its former status as a handwork industry with extensive employment during certain seasons but wages far lower than a dollar per day." If the wage-hour law is enforced, it asserts, the operators will resort to mechanized methods and the workers in the pecan shelling industry will be left without jobs and have to resort to public

relief agencies for help.

The average weekly income, it was found, for individuals in pecan work was \$2.73, which was even lower than the average weekly income for agricultural work of \$3.50. Combining all jobs reported by pecan shellers' families, the average income per worker was \$3.01 a week for an average work week of fifty-one hours.

Results of these low wages, says the study, are to be found in "overcrowded housing conditions, poor health, low educational level, and social disorganization. Crowded into old shanties with an average of more than two persons to the room, three-fourths of the pecan shellers could not afford electric lights and almost nine-tenths did not have inside plumbing."

warehousing and storage facilities in the provision of both military and civilian requirements and wholesale price policies in consumer goods in relation to the defense program were the principal topics.

Miss Elliott told the conference that the responsibility of wholesalers in national defense was "to watch cost and profit margins to avoid unwarranted increases and a skyrocketing rise in prices. Goods must be kept moving into civilian as well as military channels for ultimate consumption. That means keeping costs and margins at as low a level as is consistent with the services rendered."

★
LABOR'S CONTINUED CO-OPERATION in a program calling for "uninterrupted production in defense industries" was pledged by the labor policy advisory committee of the National Defense Advisory Commission following a meeting in Washington, D. C., recently. The statement was adopted unanimously by the sixteen representatives, six from the CIO, six from the AFL and four from the railroad brotherhoods. It read as follows:

"In this time of world crisis, American labor is awake to the crucial need for a strong national defense program. Labor recognizes fully that if the democratic way of life is to be preserved, and enlarged, our country must prepare itself for total defense—morally and materially.

"Labor knows that it is the first to be trampled under the march of dictatorship. Labor knows that if workers are to remain free men, and keep their free choices, democracy—as a living faith, as a living reality—must be equipped to meet the threat of totalitarianism, within and without.

Labor has been—and is—cooperating whole-heartedly throughout the entire defense effort. Until very recently no single serious interruption of production in defense industries had occurred; and then only two such work-stoppages took place—the first lasting six working days and the second four days.

"This record is ample evidence that labor recognizes the importance of continuous production to meet defense needs. Labor again reaffirms its assurance of co-operation with the national defense program and further pledges itself to take no action which may in any way impede production before all conciliation facilities of the federal government for resolving any existing controversy have been exhausted."

★
SHORTER HOURS AND BETTER wages are in prospect for the grocery clerks and butchers of the big chains operating across America.

Settlement of the long strike that closed down the huge A. & P., American Stores Company and Food Fair Inc. chains in the Philadelphia area is expected to spur both the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen and the Retail Clerks International Protective Association (both AFL) to renewed activity throughout the nation.

The local strike closed 1,500 stores in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware October 15. The butchers settled their dispute October 24 but refused to resume work until the retail clerks won a contract. This was accomplished November 11, when the clerks ratified the terms by a vote of 2,211 to 1,555. Although no official announcement was forthcoming as to future policy, insiders reported that this was the biggest strike in the history of both unions and that its successful termination will see a

spread of contract signing efforts in major centers immediately.

Working previously on a 51-hour week, the employees won a 48-hour week by eliminating three hours of Saturday night labor. This is regarded as a major victory because the wage-hour law does not apply to these stores. How wages were forced upward to the tune of about \$500,000 a year is shown by this table:

JOB	OLD RATE	DE-MANDED	NEW RATE
Manager	\$28.00		\$28.50*
Clerk	20.00	\$22.00	21.50
Part-time clerk..	.45x	.50	.48
Checker cashier..	22.00	25.00	23.00
Woman cashier..	16.00	20.00	17.00

xPer hour.

*Plus 1% commission.

Raises were given in several other classifications also. Seniority in rehiring of draftees is guaranteed by another clause, and the paid vacation is boosted from one week to two.

One of the happiest developments of the strike was the close co-operation among the butchers', clerks' and warehousemen's unions. All three unions were actively aided by the truckers.

THREE DAMAGE SUITS TOTALING \$3,000 against the Ford Motor Company have been filed by two former organizers of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) who were beaten by thugs at the company's Dallas plant in 1937. The two men, now officers of the UAW (AFL), are Baron De Louis and L. E. Gumpelstein.

Testifying at the NLRB hearings in Dallas last February, DeLouis pointed in the courtroom to S. C. Perry of the Ford service department as the leader

of a gang of men with company badges who beat him up in a local drugstore. A few weeks later while DeLouis was driving home with another organizer and a Ford employee, seventeen men attacked the car and bludgeoned its occupants with a cable or rubber hose, he testified.

THE DEARBORN ANTI-HANDBILL ordinance, originally requested by the Ford Motor Company, got a second knockout from the courts on December 7 when Circuit Judge James E. Chenot of Wayne county (Detroit and Dearborn) sustained the earlier decision delivered by Judge Lila M. Neuenfelt in municipal court, October 31. Both decisions held the ordinance, which prohibited literature distribution at the Ford Rouge plant gates, unconstitutional under both federal and state law.

FARMER-LABOR CO-OPERATION was the keynote of the 36th annual convention of the Farmers Educational & Co-operative Union held in Denver. Beet sugar farmers from Colorado, sharecroppers from Arkansas and Mississippi and wheat farmers from the Da-

kotas were among the 100 delegates representing the organization's 130,000 members.

A proposal, unanimously adopted, to send wires of greeting to both the AFL and CIO conventions was made by President John Vesecky shortly after the start of the convention. "Organized labor," the convention wired, "may count on the farmers' union for the fullest support of their fight for legislative justice to wage workers. We ask labor's support of our legislative programs."

THE EXPLOSION NOVEMBER 29 at the Nelms mine of the Ohio-Pennsylvania Coal Company, in which thirty-one miners were killed, "could have been prevented if we had adequate inspection and regulation of mines," said District President John Owens of the United Mine Workers (CIO).

He blamed the explosion on gas and said it would not have occurred if there had been sufficient air supply. The men, trapped 466 feet underground, were cut off from escape by deadly gas and tons of rock, coal and earth.

Teachers Union in Action

(Continued from Page 2)

ment," by Dr. Colin Wells of the Milwaukee Vocational School and an address by Jac Friedrich, secretary of the Milwaukee Central Labor Council on leading personalities in the labor movement.

Henry Ohl, for forty years president of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, died on October 16. He had been prominent in labor circles for a half century and held a post of leadership in the printing trades before his election to the post which he held until his death.

522 TENAFly, N. J.—A membership drive which has already doubled Union membership will be continued for another month, it was announced by the Bergen County Local.

337 ERIE, PENN.—Ruth Wanger, newly elected national vice-president of the AFT for the New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware area, is scheduled to visit the Erie Teachers Union. Miss Wanger is principal of the South Philadelphia High School for Girls.

24 NEW YORK, N. Y.—Members of the Union were informed at a recent meeting at the Hotel Woodstock that a committee is now at work on the revision of the constitution and the by-

laws. The Local is also holding educational meetings for shop teachers interested in future examinations in trade subjects which have been announced by the Board of Examiners. Several members have enrolled with President Eric S. Ericsson of the Union for a course on educational techniques.

449 CAMDEN, N. J.—The Camden County Federation of Teachers has adopted a new constitution under which the delegate assembly is the business and policy-forming body of the Federation. The delegates, who are elected annually, are based on the membership, each ten members providing one delegate.

482 PATERSON, N. J.—Paterson teachers are carrying on a vigorous campaign for the adjustment of salaries and restoration of increments. Cities throughout the state, including Newark, Jersey City, Trenton, Camden and Elizabeth, have restored salary schedules to their teachers, local AFT officers pointed out.

Fannie Midler, president of the Local, in a letter to the Board of Education last month, wrote, "We are glad that the Police and Fire Commission found the money to place the policemen and firemen on their salary schedules. We are likewise pleased to read of the recent appropriation of \$105,000 for the

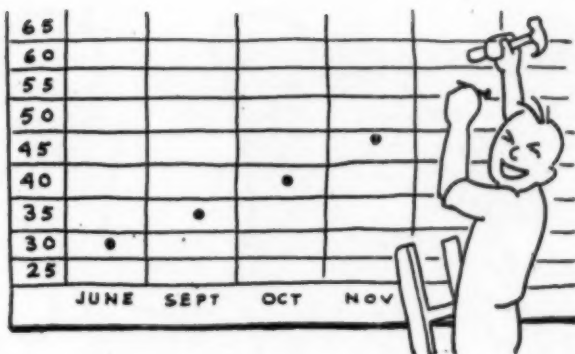
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extension of vocational education in Paterson.

"Much as we approve of these expenditures, we nevertheless believe that the welfare and education of all of Paterson's children is of equal importance. The teachers are dissatisfied. The morale of the teachers could be considerably improved if the Board of Education would take immediate action to return increments to teachers.

"The plan which the Paterson Teachers Union presents here is the fairest way to start the teachers toward their places on the salary schedules. The plan asks for only half of the increments lost. It has been enthusiastically received by the teachers. . ."

* * *

571 CICERO, ILL.—The Cicero Council of the West Suburban Teachers Union reports that the teachers have gained a new three year contract, a salary schedule, sabbatical leave, and salary increases.

Ralph Marshall, a member of the Local, resigned his position at Proviso Township high school in Maywood last month to accept a civil service appointment as inspector for the Wage and Hour Administration in the Chicago area. Marshall won reinstatement to his job at Proviso this year along with Mary Wheeler in a battle which the Union carried on for more than a year, charging discrimination.

Mr. Marshall was editor of the *Illinois Teacher* and a member of the state tenure committee and the state defense committee of the AFT.

HAMPTON, VA.—Dr. Malcolm MacLean, an honorary member of the AFT, former University of Minnesota dean, last month became the sixth president of Hampton Institute. The inauguration was the first Hampton has had since its founding in 1868.

652 LA CROSSE, WIS.—A goal of five new members per month has been set by the La Crosse Local, which has grown 30 per cent within the last year. In the past two months, local offi-

cers report, they have surpassed their goal by one member.

A special guest and speaker at a recent dinner of the Local was Dr. George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers. Guests at the dinner included:

Mrs. Sigurd B. Gunderson, chairman of the citizens' education committee; Mrs. Tom Maske, president of the women's auxiliary of the AFL; William Rossiter, president of the La Crosse board of education; A. P. Funke, president of the vocational board of education; Rexford Mitchell, president of the La Crosse State Teachers' College; T. H. Skemp, State Teachers' College regent; L. F. Kilian, president of the Trades and Labor Council, and member of the board of education; G. M. Wiley, superintendent of schools; Miss Jessie Caldwell, president of the Western Wisconsin Teachers' Association; John B. Coleman, director of the La Crosse Vocational School; George Hall, organizer of the Trades and Labor Council; Joseph J. Verchota, mayor; and Mrs. Hazel Leicht, county superintendent of schools.

The Local also reports the election to a state vice presidency of the AFT of Dr. Waldo Dunnington, a local member of the La Crosse State Teachers' College faculty. Dr. Dunnington is the editor of two mathematics magazines, president of the local Phi Beta Kappa, and a teacher of German and mathematics at the local teachers' college.

* * *

557 KENOSHA, WIS.—During the calendar year of 1940, Kenosha youth will have lost one week of schooling, and Kenosha teachers will have lost one week's pay. Kenosha Teachers' Union, naturally, is concerned about both losses and the attendant circumstances. Only the vigilance of a Union member discovered the discrepancy—it was that subtle!

Last spring when the school calendar for 1940-1941 was adopted, schools were set to open one week later than usual. The innovation was hailed as a boon to students and teachers alike, who would avoid the first warm week in September. When a check was made

in the fall, it was found that there was no provision to make up the loss at any other place in the schedule.

In an early news bulletin, KTU publicized the situation confronting teachers, students, and the community. A bad situation was exposed in impersonal terms and a few simple, direct questions asked. Was the lost week a result of administrative inefficiency, a premeditated change of policy as to number of school weeks, or a subtle attempt to balance the current budget at the expense of students and teachers?

The appearance of this bulletin was a signal for anti-labor forces to attack the Union. Kenosha Education Association, the schools' company union, criticized KTU for uncovering the cut in school time, announced that our facts and conclusions were false, and apologized for the superintendent. Anti-labor members on the school board condemned the Union's action and recommended that it be disciplined. The superintendent objected on the grounds that it was a personal attack on him.

Despite thousands of words of abuse and a general statement to the effect that all would be well if the Union was confident and patient, no one up to this moment has given a direct answer to the questions asked in the bulletin. In fact, no one seems as interested in correcting the situation as in baiting the Union. In the long run, some attempt may be made to restore the lost week and the lost pay, so that the Union may be branded unreliable. If and when the week is returned, KTU will be in a position to demand all credit. In the meantime, KTU hopes to make "the lost week" as well-known locally as "The Lost Chord"!

(Continued from page 2)

Knowledge is an organizer

learn about your Union with
these pamphlets

8. The Constitution of the AFT
(Correct as of Oct., 1939) \$2.00 per hundred
9. A Program of Action for Classroom Teachers \$2.00 per hundred
10. A Critical Evaluation of the AFT
(Aileen W. Robinson) 50c per copy
11. Teachers Should Organize
(Frank Baker) \$2.00 per hundred
12. A Golden Opportunity (Irvin R. Kuensli) \$2.00 per hundred
13. Facts \$1.50 per hundred
14. Organized Labor and the Public Schools (Irvin R. Kuensli) 75c per hundred

(Turn to page 28)

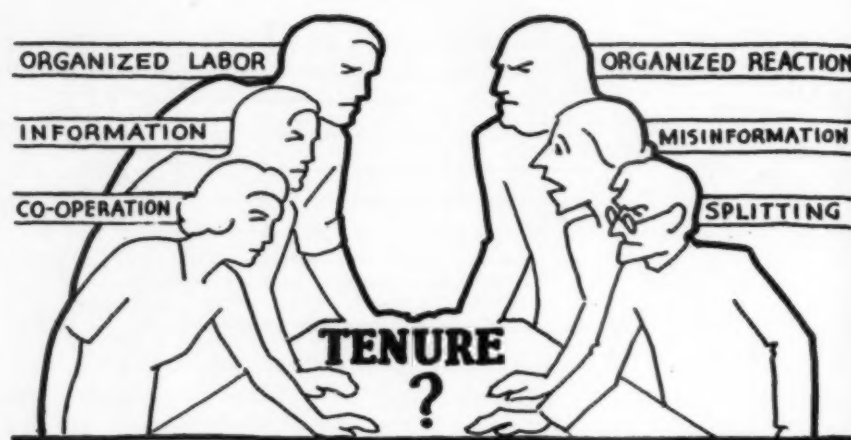
Order by number

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

435 FLINT, MICH.—Last spring a joint legislative committee, composed of representatives from three Flint teachers' organizations, including the Teachers' Club, Classroom Teachers' Association and Flint Federation of Teachers, requested the local school board to place on the ballot a proposal that Flint adopt the state teacher tenure law. Since no action was taken by the Board, the joint committee circulated petitions asking that the tenure proposal be placed on the November ballot. Six thousand five hundred signatures—more than 10 per cent of the registered voters—were obtained, and the proposal was thus able to appear on the ballot.

The joint committee then organized an extensive campaign which was financed by contributions from various teacher groups. Endorsement was obtained from local school officials as well as testimonials from various educational leaders in localities where teacher tenure has already been adopted. Many racial, religious, social and economic groups including CIO and AFL unions were contacted through volunteer speakers who offered to explain the proposal and clarify any misunderstandings concerning it. Most of the Flint voters were reached through the medium of newspapers, radio advertisements, handbills and informative pamphlets, and individual news letters were sent to each teacher.

At the last minute a series of front page editorials misrepresenting tenure and its effects appeared in a local paper which, because it is distributed gratis, reaches every home in the city. The misleading and vilifying statements of this newspaper were met by paid advertisements prepared by the joint committee. These attacks together with a



whispering campaign could not be sufficiently counteracted because of limited campaign funds and time. On November 5 with the largest vote ever cast for a local proposal which involved the teaching staff and schools, the teacher tenure proposal was defeated with approximately 27,000 opposing it and 21,000 voting "Yes."

The results of the Flint teacher tenure campaign, the only tenure campaign in the state at this time, were not as pessimistic as bare facts might indicate. There has been aroused in Flint a greater awareness of the whole issue on the part of the teachers. The service rendered to the school child and the teaching profession by educating the general public regarding teacher tenure cannot be underestimated. The Flint Federation of Teachers has gained prestige since the tenure campaign in the eyes of both the teachers and the general public. Relations between Flint teachers and labor, somewhat weak at the beginning of the campaign as far as the teaching staff was concerned, are greatly improved. *A precinct analysis of the vote shows that organized labor strongly supported the measure.*

There is now among both union and nonunion teachers a recognition of this campaign as an important advance in the direction of security. It has become apparent to a number of nonunion teachers that without tenure the Flint Federation of Teachers represents the greatest force for teacher security and the general interests of the schools. The joint committee is considering continued activity for tenure by working to make the state tenure law mandatory.

The Flint Federation of Teachers looks forward to an active organizational campaign to increase its influence and capacity to serve the Flint teachers, schools, and community.

Encouragement has been given to the organizational campaign in Michigan by the establishment of a rapidly growing local in Flint's neighbor city, Saginaw.

Instrumental in its organization were the efforts of Genevieve Evanoff, vice president of the Michigan Federation of Teachers in charge of organization, and Arthur Elder, executive secretary of the Michigan Federation. Members of the Flint Federation have demonstrated their interest and willingness to assist the new local by consultation and conference with new members. Flint welcomes its new neighbor and looks forward to further co-operation.

* * *

332 BUTTE, MONT.—Last year a group of realtors succeeded in having the valuation of the original Butte townsite cut approximately one million dollars in order to effect a tax reduction. The first indication that this would affect the teachers came when a news item appeared in the daily paper stating that the 1939-1940 school term would be cut three days because of lack of finances. The Butte Teachers Union had counted as one of its major achievements the securing of a 180-day school term. Although this was not part of the contract it was nevertheless a gentlemen's agreement between the Board and Local 332 that whenever possible the teachers should receive 180 days' salary. Since no discussion between the Teachers Union and the Board had occurred, the newspaper story was a "bolt from the blue," and a committee from Local 332 was sent to ask for an explanation of the shortened term and also to learn why the Union had not been consulted. The Board's explanation was that something had to be done because of the shortage of funds and that the three-day cut had seemed the best solution. The Union committee stressed the unwritten agreement between Local 332 and the School Board and stated that as a matter of courtesy the Board should have consulted the Union before giving the newspaper the story. The Board agreed that henceforth the Union would be consulted before any decisions were made. In April the Board proposed that the salaries of teachers and all other em-

(Continued from page 27)

Have You Read These?

15. **Labor's Part in American Education** (George L. Googe) 50c per hundred
16. **The Function of Teachers Unions in Colleges** (Jerome Davis) 50c per hundred
17. **The National Union of Teachers of England** (Elsie V. Parker) \$1.00 per hundred
18. **Millions of Workers** 50c per hundred
19. **Address by George S. Counts** (AFL Convention 1939) 50c per hundred
20. **Why I Belong to AFT** (By Counts, Voorhis, Douglas and Baker) 25c per hundred
21. **A Challenge to Classroom Teachers** (Deak Blotter) 25c per hundred

Your friends will enjoy reading these—
and you will build the Union

Order by number

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

ployees of School District No. 1 should be cut 5 per cent for the 1940-1941 school term. Members of other unions employed by the district (engineers, janitors) refused the cut, and Local 332 also voted against it.

Section 1075 of the *School Laws of Montana* reads: "After the election of any teacher or principal for the third consecutive year in any school district in the state, such teacher or principal so elected shall be deemed re-elected from year to year thereafter at the same salary unless the board of trustees shall by majority vote of the members on or before the first day of May give notice in writing to said teacher or principal that he has been re-elected or that his services will not be required for the ensuing year."

Since the first of May was drawing near and the matter of contracts and the salary cut had not been settled, the Teachers Union at a special meeting on April 29, 1940, passed a motion to waive the right of tenure. The county attorney's office had authorized the waiver clause which read:

We, the undersigned, members of Butte Teachers Union of Silver Bow County, Montana, having been informed that the anticipated revenue for the school year, 1940-1941, is not sufficient to employ the undersigned at the salary in accordance with the single salary schedule for the school year, 1940-1941,

We, therefore, in consideration of our re-election for the ensuing year agree to waive provision of Section 1075 of the *Revised Codes of Montana, 1935*, or any other law or laws pertaining to the same salary clause as referring to the single salary schedule for the school year, 1940-1941, until such time as satisfactory negotiations between the Butte Teachers Union, Local 332, and the School



Board of District No. 1 have been completed.

After this the Union committee, having secured copies of the preliminary budget, went to the county commissioners and the county superintendent of schools and were assured by these officers that the budget could be approved without the cut. It was the opinion of these officers that the cut was unnecessary although the school monies would be less than in the preceding year.

At the final budget meeting the Board proposed that the teachers should accept a month-to-month contract. This was anathema to the Union which saw in such a measure the loss of the binding contract which had been one of the major accomplishments of Local 332. The Union also regarded this step as another breach of the Board's assurance that the Local would be consulted before any proposals were made.

A new meeting between the Union committee and the Board resulted in the Board's submitting to the Union three contracts on which the union membership would vote. These were the month-to-month contract, the 175-day contract and the 180-day contract. The latter was, of course, the choice

of the membership, and, as a result, the 180-day contract was given to the teachers.

The Board protested that it was not trying to make trouble but insisted that the money was not available. In addition the Board pointed out that the continuance of the 180-day contract would cause teachers' warrants to be registered in October and November and again in the spring. The Board seemed desirous of operating on a cash basis, although other districts have had registered warrants and have suffered no great calamity. The members of Local 332 thought that the risk in refusing the 5 per cent cut, even though it entailed registered warrants, was not too great. Butte is a leading copper mining district and the outlook for the continued operation of the mines during the year and fair prosperity in the city seemed hopeful. Besides the banks have been willing to redeem the warrants at face value because they carry 6 per cent interest when payable. The State Teachers Retirement System, too, will pay face value for the warrants.

Lila B. Hunter, regional vice president of the Northwest district of the AFT, was the guest of the Butte Union on November 3. She urged the establishment of other locals in the state in addition to the present three so that Montana might have a state federation.

When the southwest district of the Montana Education Association held its annual meeting in Butte in late October, Jane O'Brien, president of Local 332, participated in the panel discussion, "Education for National Defense," and Angeline Colubin, chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Local, was elected vice president of the MEA's southwest district for the coming year.

Marie Moebus, Jane O'Brien, Emma Williamson, and other members of the Local spoke before various civic clubs in connection with the celebration of National Education Week. Miss O'Brien was also heard over radio station KGIR in connection with the same celebration.

430 LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—At its September 18th meeting the local board of education adopted the following rule concerning teachers' joining of various professional organizations:

Rule No. 65a

1. Teachers and all other employees of the Board of Education shall have complete freedom in selecting the organizations, professional and otherwise, which they may wish to join, without coercion of any kind from any administrative officer or other school employee.

2. Whatever courtesies are extended to any teacher organization in the schools shall be fully and un-

reservedly extended to all teacher organizations.

3. The use of any coercion or pressure by any principal or other administrative officer or other school employee to influence any teacher to join or to refrain from joining any organization shall be deemed to be unprofessional conduct.

4. The Superintendent of Schools shall call attention to this rule at the beginning of each school term by means of a notice in the Superintendent's bulletin and in local school journals.

A similar ruling had been formerly adopted by the San Francisco Board of Education.

Among the New Books

WHAT PRICE EDUCATION? by the Salary Committee of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 279. *Cleveland: American Federation of Teachers; Local 279, 312 Auditorium Bldg. 29 pages. Free.*

For the sixth consecutive year, the Salary Committee of AFT Local 279 has published its survey of the public school finances of the city of Cleveland. The survey is divided into the following studies: (1) a comparison of the public finances of Cleveland with its suburbs and with other large cities; (2) the tax revenues of the county, city and school district; (3) the bonded indebtedness of the county, city and school district; and (4) the school-clerks' salaries.

The text, amplified by some twenty-two graphs and sixteen tables, presents to Cleveland citizens facts which should produce a friendly ballot-box response to the needs of our schools. The conclusions drawn are as follows: (1) taxes in Cleveland are far below the average of the large cities of the United States; (2) Cleveland school taxes on real estate are lowest among the twelve city school districts of the county; (3) of eight large Ohio cities, Cleveland is lowest in its percentage of local property tax levied for school purposes; (4) per pupil operating costs in Cleveland are lower than those of her major suburbs and are among the lowest of the twelve largest cities of the United States; (5) while the bonded indebtedness of Cleveland has increased, that of its schools has been reduced by more than half since 1931 and is now among the lowest in the state; (6) the school portion of the tax dollar has shrunk since 1930 with the schools losing more than the city or county and receiving less than the city from state tax revenues; (7) adjustment is necessary in the Cleveland school-clerks' salaries, which rank fourteenth in the list of cities of over 100,000 population, are lower than those paid clerks at the City Hall and are far too low for decent living standards.

The survey presents a direct, forceful and complete case for the Cleveland schools. In general the presentation of graphs and tables has been excellent. The criticisms that might be offered are: (1) all the material on bonded indebtedness should have been unified in the special section on that subject rather than divided between the sections on public finance and bonded indebtedness; (2) the graphic material of the study of the school-clerks' salaries has not been as efficiently portrayed as the material in the other sections; and (3) the graphs and tables should have been numbered to tie in better with the text.

MEYER O. NATHAN

★ ★ ★

LABOR AND DEMOCRACY, by WILLIAM GREEN. *Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 194 pages. \$2.50.*

Labor and Democracy is at once the life story of William Green and the AFL and a suggestive treatment of the role of labor in preserving the democratic ways of life. Here are the details of boyhood life in a mining town in Illinois. President Green's parents "were two of many disillusioned persons who came to the New World with high hopes of opportunity and plenty for all and found only the primitive conditions of a new continent and the hardships of creating a new civilization. The union was the one factor in their life in the New World which linked them with the Old and brought some sense of security which deepened as the union itself became secure."

He came up the hard way, learning by doing, rising to be the secretary of the United Mine Workers of America until he succeeded Gompers as AFL president. He tells the story

of Gompers' opposition to compulsory unemployment insurance. In describing the events leading to the permanent Committee on Education in which the AFT now plays an important part President Green says:

"Organized labor is concerned not only with seeing that the children of the nation have an opportunity to attend schools, but it is vitally concerned that they shall be truly educated in the broad social and economic aspects of the life of our union."

And the process should be continued when high-school days are ended.

"With the increase in size and influence of the organized labor movement, the education of adult workers has become one of its primary concerns. We recognize that workers' education is the basis of a permanent and responsible workers' organization and therefore of a sound democracy in our nation. The character of American democracy depends on the wisdom and understanding of its adult citizens, not a privileged few alone but the great mass of people whose intelligent and self-disciplined behavior preserves our free institutions."

The internal AFL differences about the use of political action and social control as compared with Gompers' "voluntarism," the split created by the CIO and the consequences are all described. That President Green can still change his own opinions in the face of facts is seen in his statement early in 1939 on United States wartime neutrality.

Those teachers who hesitate to join the AFT because of its connection with other labor unions in the AFL should read this human challenging book. Teachers who need lesson material dealing with current movements and men will also find it a good source.

MARK STARR

★ ★ ★

THE AWAKENING OF AMERICA, by V. F. CALVERTON. *New York: The John Day Company. 474 pages. \$3.75.*

In announcing his return to teaching, Dr. Beard has stated that his courses are planned frankly to develop a particular point of view in the historian. His students will be expected to take sides, to accept the responsibilities of the privilege of scholarship and research, and to work consciously toward the achievement of ends beneficial to society—a sort of *noblesse oblige* of the scholar. Mr. Calverton in his new book, *The Awakening of America*, anticipates this attitude. He states in the preface that his general approach can be described as Marxian; he writes American history in "terms of the ruled instead of the rulers, the masses instead of the classes." The cause he champions in this and in other volumes in preparation is the emancipation of the American worker from economic bondage. The inspiration for the struggle which this entails is here in the thrilling account of the earlier emancipation from political bondage to kings, proprietors, and colonial governors. It is an engrossing story written with imagination and insight, plowing deep into the ground that has been raked over by historians like Parrington and Simons.

The book covers the period from colonization to the Revolutionary War. About a fourth of the space is devoted to the European background, for the author believes in the continuity of tradition. He shows that what we have come to regard as peculiarly American, derived from our vast wilderness and expanding frontier, is not new at all. It is only an ancient tradition tempered by a new environment. Class conflicts were transported intact to the new world.

John Cotton in 1638 wrote, "Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as fit government either for church or commonwealth." Against this attitude the struggle raged unceasingly in each colony. Some of the chapter headings both factual and ironic, tell the story: The Rhode Island Defection—the defection of Roger Williams who proclaimed the revolutionary belief that the land belonged to the Indians, not to white men, and certainly not to the King of England; Virginia, the Cradle of Conflict, whose Governor Berkeley for sixteen years prevented election to the House of Burgesses lest a new House prove unsubmitive to the privileged classes; Maryland, the Free State of Menckian Fame, where Jews were not granted citizenship rights until 1818; Pennsylvania, the Peace State, where under the valiant leadership of David Lloyd occurred the most magnificent colonial struggle for a democratic assembly responsible to the populace instead of to his family as Penn planned it to be; New Jersey, Colony of Riot and Confusion, where the conflict over the land claims of squatters against land grants to proprietors led to the socialistic declaration that "no man is naturally entitled to a greater portion of the earth than another"; and finally Slavery, Black and White, wherein it is shown that the white slave, representing a smaller financial investment and a limited period of servitude was more frequently whipped to death than the black.

For the scholar the new material in the book is excellently documented; for the teacher it is presented in lucid, flowing style replete with challenge and assurance, as in these lines about democracy in an industrial nation like ours: "It means protecting the individual against economic disaster and defeat—protecting him not against kings, proprietors, and governors as in colonial days, but against industrial barons, financial magnates, and political demagogues."

For us, this is the *awakening of America*. This book, giving voice to the oppressed of an earlier day, linking the present with the past, fills a greater need than any other type of book on colonial history that could have been written today.

This picture of the American tradition should be in every teacher's mind—the book on every teacher's desk.

UNA CORBETT

The AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ of The American Federation of Teachers

506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Organized April 15, 1916

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