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The NATIONAL ELEMENTARY
PRINCIPAL

BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT
OF THE
ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL CHILD

FIFTEENTH
YEARBOOK

JULY 1936
Vol. XV, No. 6

THE NATIONAL ELEMENTARY PRINCIPAL

BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Published in October, December, February, April, June, and July by the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association of the United States.

All elementary principals—administrative, supervisory, and teaching—are eligible to active membership in this department. The payment of \$3 dues entitles active members to attend all meetings of the department, to hold office, to vote, and to receive the Bulletins.

Associate membership may be had by all members of the National Education Association who are actively engaged in any phase of school work by paying the regular membership fee of \$3. They are entitled to all privileges except the right to vote and hold office.

Subscription to non-members is \$3 per year, single copies of the Yearbook, \$2; single copies of the Bulletin, 25 cents (except the Official Report).

Entered as second-class matter November 20, 1922, at the postoffice at Washington, D. C., under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized December 18, 1922.

Executive and Editorial Offices, 1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.,
Eva G. Pinkston, Editor.
Yearbook Prepared by Editorial Committee.

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Personality Adjustment of the Elementary-School Child

FIFTEENTH YEARBOOK

THE NATIONAL ELEMENTARY PRINCIPAL

Bulletin of the Department of Elementary
School Principals, National Education Association

Vol. XV, No. 6

July 1936

Price \$2

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PUBLISHED JULY 1936

PREFACE

PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS are increasingly aware of the personality problems of their pupils, and are seeking help in solving these problems. Generally speaking, school practise lags far behind the scientific knowledge which child-guidance specialists have accumulated in recent years. In this yearbook the Editorial Committee has attempted to combine a presentation of basic principles with practical suggestions which may be used in every elementary school. The book is not an encyclopedic or technical treatise on the psychology of behavior. It is designed for busy school people who wish to understand and guide their pupils better.

The procedure followed in compiling this volume is unusual. Feeling that specialized knowledge was essential, the Editorial Committee asked a large number of child-guidance specialists to contribute articles on specific topics. In addition, several selected contributions by school principals and others were included to give a better balance and a more general appeal to the book. While the Committee does not assume responsibility for the statements of any author, it has made a sincere effort to include only articles which are constructive and helpful.

To all who submitted manuscripts, as well as to those who helped in planning the yearbook, the Committee is deeply indebted. Appreciation is due also to Dr. Richard R. Foster and his assistants in the Research Division of the National Education Association, for editorial service on the entire book and for preparation of the chapter on research studies. Miss Eva G. Pinkston, executive secretary of the Department, compiled the official records and otherwise rendered valuable assistance.

The work of Miss Bess Clement on this yearbook completes her three-year period of service on the Editorial Committee. In her place during the next three years will be Mr. R. C. T. Jacobs, district principal, Hassell and Lagow Schools, Dallas, Texas.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS YEARBOOK

THIS YEARBOOK of the Department of Elementary School Principals is the fifteenth in a series of annual presentations, the first fourteen of which have become recognized as valuable contributions to educational literature. It is the belief of this year's officers and of the Editorial Committee that again the Department has published material of such worth that the new volume will be accorded a place of importance along with its predecessors.

In the complexity of modern life, serious strain is frequently placed upon both adults and children. This condition often leads to mental and emotional maladjustments. There is need for study and for interpretation of behavior in the light of child nature and of social conditions. Childhood is the period of greatest opportunity for personality adjustment. The child's adjustment to his fellows, to his school, to his home, and to his community will often determine his adjustment to and his place in adult life. Relationships between teacher, pupil, and parent must be on a friendly, sympathetic, and understanding basis if the child is to enjoy his greatest growth. These facts are a challenge to every elementary school.

Recognizing a real need in this field, the Editorial Committee selected as the subject of this yearbook, "Personality Adjustment of the Elementary-School Child." Principals and teachers will find here material on the nature of growing children, on the many environmental factors which influence pupil adjustment, and on methods of diagnosing and correcting maladjustments. That the conditions of good or poor adjustment are but imperfectly understood need not discourage us. We ourselves can contribute to a better understanding of these conditions as we study the problems of pupil personality in our own schools.

This book will be of greatest value if placed in the hands of teachers as well as principals and professional counselors. It may well be used as the basis for a series of faculty meetings, and subsequently as a handbook in planning and conducting the program of individual pupil guidance in the school.

The Editorial Committee, together with the individual contributors and the Research Division of the National Education Association, are to be congratulated upon having produced a volume that is readable as well as fundamental, stimulating as well as informing, and practical as well as progressive. The book deserves a warm welcome in elementary schools thruout the nation.

HARLEY W. LYON, *President*
Department of Elementary School Principals

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INTRODUCTION¹

MENTAL and social maladjustments cause tremendous human waste and suffering in the United States each year. Recent surveys by a large life insurance company indicate that nervous and mental diseases constitute 12 percent of all the illnesses reported.² In 1933 our mental hospitals cared for a daily average of 383,000 patients, or about the same number as were treated in other hospitals for all kinds of disability combined. It has been estimated that in the state of New York one person in twenty-two becomes a patient in a mental hospital during a single generation, and that of the 2,020,000 children in the public schools of the same state in 1927, about 95,500 would probably require treatment in a mental hospital at some time during their lives.³

Whether mental disease is on the increase is not known with certainty. We know that the proportion of our people in mental hospitals has been growing rapidly; between 1880 and 1923 it increased from 82 per 100,000 of population to 245 per 100,000, or more than 200 percent.⁴ This trend may have been due partly to the increase in number and accessibility of institutions for mental cases, and partly to a gradual removal of the stigma formerly attached to patients in such institutions. However, whether mental disease is actually increasing or not, its present seriousness cannot be doubted or ignored. Not only do its victims require a large share of our hospital facilities, but its less extreme forms also are a source of much unhappiness and personal inefficiency. Many people not in hospitals suffer from minor maladjustments which handicap them and their associates thruout life. Altho no comprehensive study of the situation has been made, experienced physicians have estimated that of the patients attending medical and surgical clinics or receiving treatment from private practitioners for supposed physical ills, from 30 to 70 percent are afflicted with mental and emotional disturbances rather than with genuine physical diseases.⁵ Since childhood offers the greatest opportunity for personality guidance, it behooves the elementary school to study the problems of child

¹ This statement, prepared by the Research Division of the National Education Association, takes the place of the "Résumé" which has usually appeared at this point in previous yearbooks. The contents of each chapter are reviewed briefly in the "Editorial Comment" at the beginning of the chapter.

² Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. "The Burden of Mental Disease." *Statistical Bulletin* 16: 6-8; February, 1935. New York: the Company.

³ Pollock, Horatio M., and Malzberg, Benjamin. "Expectation of Mental Disease." *Mental Hygiene* 13: 132-63; January, 1929.

⁴ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Diseases*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1923. p. 11.

⁵ Bassett, Clara. *Mental Hygiene in the Community*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. p. 20.

adjustment, and to do its share in an enlightened program of preventive and remedial treatment.

Another serious and difficult social problem is that of delinquency and crime. While we lack conclusive evidence that criminal activity is more widespread than in the past, we know that such activity is far too prevalent today.⁶ We know also that antisocial conduct is often associated with mental or emotional disturbances. Of 502 cases from the police courts of New York City who were given psychiatric examinations, 58 percent were suffering from some form of nervous or mental abnormality.⁷ Of 1000 municipal court cases in Boston, 10 percent were found to be psychopathic, 3 percent epileptic, 9 percent mentally diseased and deteriorated, and 46 percent afflicted with other mental abnormalities. There is reason to believe that the prevention and correction of mental and emotional disorders would help to reduce the frequency of delinquent and criminal behavior.

Meaning of "personality" and "adjustment"—For the purpose of this yearbook, "personality" may be defined as the composite of an individual's emotional tendencies, attitudes, and behavior patterns. It includes his habits of thought and feeling as well as his overt conduct. The term "adjustment," altho used somewhat differently by different writers, may be interpreted broadly to cover two related concepts: (1) the "inner" adjustment or mental and emotional health of the individual, and (2) the "outer" adjustment or harmony between the individual's needs and the demands of his environment. The first of these aspects of adjustment seems to depend in large measure upon the second; that is, mental and emotional health is fostered by harmonious relations, and impaired by prolonged and hopeless conflict, between the individual's basic urges and the requirements or restrictions of his environment. Mental and emotional health or illness in turn affects the individual's reactions toward society, helping to determine whether he is cooperative, antagonistic, shy, or apathetic. The child's basic urges cannot be changed, altho under favorable conditions they can usually be directed into desirable rather than undesirable activities. The environment can often be modified considerably in some ways, but little or not at all in others. In most cases some degree of mutual adjustment is needed; the child's environment should be adapted to his needs as far as possible, but he must adapt himself to his environment in many respects.

Personality adjustment should not be thought of as a static condition to be achieved once and for all time. Such a condition is clearly impos-

⁶ See: National Education Association, Research Division. "Crime Prevention thru Education." *Research Bulletin* 10: 133-201; September, 1932.

⁷ Anderson, V. V. "Mental Disease and Delinquency: A Report of a Special Committee of the New York State Commission on Prisons." *Mental Hygiene* 3: 177-98; April, 1919.

sible because both the individual and society are continually changing. Moreover, under present circumstances, it is doubtful whether *complete* adjustment of the individual to his environment would be desirable. Progress occurs when people are dissatisfied and strive to modify the environment in accordance with their needs and desires. Complete adjustment would mean the absence of effort and progress, a passive acceptance of things as they are. Yet every person must attain a certain degree of inner harmony and of conformity to environmental demands if he is to live successfully with himself and his fellows. This yearbook deals with some of the methods for helping children and teachers attain these goals of adjustment.

Mental hygiene and character education—The preceding paragraphs raise a question about the relation between mental hygiene and character education as approaches to personality development. Mental hygiene is concerned primarily with the individual's inner adjustment or mental health, and only secondarily with his conformity to social demands. Its principal methods are those of carefully studying the individual, attempting to understand his behavior, and producing such changes in his attitudes and his environment as are necessary for the satisfaction of his basic needs. Character education, on the other hand, has been traditionally concerned with bringing the individual into conformity with the ideals and behavior patterns of his social group. Its methods have been mainly those of precept and example, with emphasis on direct instruction of the child and on punishment for his failure to do as he was told. Until comparatively recent times, most teachers and parents had little knowledge of the true causes of misbehavior, and were little concerned about the possible presence of unwholesome conditions in the inner life of the individual as long as he behaved himself. The exceptions to this statement serve to emphasize its general truth.

Fortunately, with the increase in scientific knowledge of child nature, the procedures of mental hygiene and character education are coming to have more in common. Progressive educators and parents realize that adequate training for character must utilize the essential principles of mental hygiene, and they are attempting to adapt the child's environment to his needs. On the other hand, competent mental hygienists appreciate the values of reasonable social conformity, and are using sound educational methods for establishing desirable habits in children. On the whole, the contributors to this yearbook definitely reflect a tendency to utilize the best in both approaches to personality adjustment. That they stress mental and emotional health somewhat more than social conformity is justified by the fact that the latter has been greatly overemphasized in many schools and communities.

The attention given here to children's maladjustments should not be misunderstood. Most elementary-school pupils are not seriously maladjusted. The school's major contribution lies in promoting vigorous, healthy personality growth in so-called "normal" children, rather than in treating those with personality disorders. Yet the distinction between prevention and remedial treatment cannot be drawn sharply. Normal children have personality problems, and the correction of these lesser difficulties may mean the prevention of more serious maladjustments. In any event, the school must do its best for each pupil as it finds him, whether he requires only wise guidance by principal and teachers or careful diagnosis and treatment by specialists in child adjustment.

Organization of the yearbook—Each of the first eight chapters in this volume is composed of separate articles by different authors. The ninth and last chapter is a coordinated summary of selected research studies related to personality growth and adjustment. At the beginning of each chapter, except the last, is a page of editorial comment which states the scope of the chapter and the nature of each author's contribution. At the close of each chapter is a page of carefully selected references for further reading. Many of these references contain helpful material on more than one of the chapter topics.

Readers who are especially interested in certain topics or authors should consult the detailed table of contents at the front of the book, or the index at the back. Immediately preceding the index is a short glossary of the technical and semi-technical terms which appear occasionally in the text. Systematic use of these aids should enhance the yearbook's value for busy principals and teachers.

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND NEEDS OF THE CHILD

EDITORIAL COMMENT

BEFORE APPROPRIATE STEPS can be taken to prevent or correct pupil maladjustments, there must be an adequate understanding of child nature. Every child has certain fundamental needs which are essentially like those of every other child. He also has many characteristics which distinguish him from other children. Because of these differentiating characteristics, the basic needs which all children have in common cannot always be satisfied in the same ways. An environment which is quite satisfactory for one child may be much less suitable for another. The purpose of this chapter is to review some of the essential facts about child nature, and to indicate their general significance for those who would guide children wisely.

The chapter is composed of seven articles. In the first of these, Symonds discusses the basic drives which furnish the motive power for all behavior. He stresses the danger in any environment which consistently thwarts these drives. The second article, by Anderson, describes the dynamic nature of personality, and concludes that maximum personal growth requires conditions of spontaneity in the individual and of harmony in the group. In the next two articles, Gesell and Zachry remind us that the child's natural growth may be relied upon to bring certain changes in his behavior, and that little is gained by forcing a child beyond his present levels of mental, emotional, and social maturity.

Luckey's article reviews types of individual differences, including both the extreme variations and those found among so-called "normal" children. She points out that the effects of such differences upon personality adjustment depend largely upon the environment. Hollingworth discusses the special problems of adjustment which confront children of extremely high intelligence. While such children have many factors in their favor, they often suffer from lack of understanding and appreciation by other people.

In the last article, Knight outlines his conception of the school environment necessary to meet the physical, intellectual, and emotional needs of every child. He questions our ability to provide such an environment, but insists that we must ever strive in that direction.

For other points of view, and especially for more detailed discussions of the psychology of behavior, the reader should consult the references listed at the end of the chapter.—*Editorial Committee.*

FUNDAMENTAL DRIVES TO ACTION

PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS

*Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University,
New York, New York*

THE APPROACH to the personality adjustments of the elementary-school child should be based on a thoro understanding of the underlying psychology involved, for adjustment is essentially a psychological problem. A generation ago discussions of the foundations of behavior were expressed in terms of instinct.¹ Starting with William James, who followed the lead given by the evolutionary biologists, lists of instincts were drawn up which were supposed to be inborn tendencies to action and from which all behavior developed thru the normal processes of learning.² With the increased knowledge from experimental studies in animal learning and in the learning of human infants, the instinct theory was shown to be much too simple to explain the tremendous complexity of human learning. When an infant is only a day old his behavior becomes adaptive, and the set and rigid patterns of behavior which were believed to hold for lower animals cannot be observed.

Basic appetites and aversions—Tolman,³ an eminent psychologist, has proposed the theory of driving adjustment to describe the foundations of behavior, and this theory at present seems to fit the known facts of behavior very successfully. Tolman's theory, in brief, is based upon the alternation of organic disturbance and subsequent equilibrium following the reduction or elimination of the disturbance. It is a property of all organic matter to attempt to reduce disturbance produced by irritating environmental influences, and to bring the organ or part involved back to a state of equilibrium.⁴ In human beings such a disequilibrium is commonly experienced in a state of hunger. A hungry person is stimulated to various restless activities searching for food which will reduce the annoying disturbance. When food is found and delivered to the stomach, the irritating muscular contractions of the stomach cease and equilibrium is restored. Tolman gives us the following list of fundamental physiological drives, which he suggests serve as the bases of all behavior:

¹ See: Symonds, Percival M. "Human Drives." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 25: 681-94: December, 1934.

² James, William. *Psychology*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1890. Vol. 2, Chapter 24. ¶ Thorndike, Edward L. *Educational Psychology*. Vol. I. "Original Nature of Man." New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913. 327 p.

³ Tolman, Edward C. *Purposive Behavior in Animals and Men*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1932. 463 p.

⁴ Child, Charles M. *Physiological Foundations of Behavior*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1924. 330 p.

APPETITES

Food hunger
Sex hunger
Excretion hungers
Specific-contact hungers
Rest hunger
Sensory-motor hungers
(i.e., the esthetic and
play hunger)

AVERSIONS

Fright (injury-avoidance)
Pugnacity (interference-
avoidance)

The appetites in this list seem to be initiated by internal physiological disturbances, rhythmical in nature. When the rhythm reaches a certain part of its cycle the organism is irritated, becomes restless, and embarks upon exploratory movements until finally it comes, by chance or as a result of previously acquired adaptive responses, upon the appropriate stimulus which is capable of reducing the disturbance. Appetites lead to *seeking* activity. Aversions, on the other hand, are drives to get away from or to oppose external situations which cause such physiological disturbances as injury, pain, and physiological blocking. Aversions lead to *avoiding* behavior.

The drive toward success—There are three ways of describing these various kinds of seeking and avoiding behavior which are helpful in understanding children. The first of these ways is a general rule that any disturbance once set up carries with it a drive to eliminate it completely. In other words, once the person is hungry, the drive to relieve the hunger is persistent until the hunger is satisfied or until some other state such as fatigue intervenes. We find this tendency to complete an activity true not only for these basic physiological drives, but for any activity once initiated. We may call this the "drive toward success," a very potent force which may be counted upon as existing in every child. The particular form of success which is craved, however, varies according to previous experience and the estimated possibilities of achieving such success. Some children, for instance, have a strong drive toward success in school. They are strongly motivated by the work of the classroom. Success in school work becomes a strong incentive. Other children seek success in games and sports, and apparently are little or not at all motivated by desire to be successful academically. Frequently, when a child thru lack of native ability is unable to succeed in classroom work, his interests in athletics and sports may be a compensating tendency. The number of drives toward success in a group of children would make a long list. Some children seek success in their social relationships. Others have special talents or hobbies and strive for success in poster painting, playing the cornet, or figure skating.

The drive for success seems very frequently associated with the drive for approval or recognition of these successes from other people. It has been suggested that the desire for success is always associated with the desire for recognition of this success, and some psychologists even go so far as to maintain that approval or praise is the real incentive instead of success itself. To be sure, it is difficult to get clearcut examples of a person achieving success who is entirely oblivious of the approval of others. Possibly one may find such examples among hermits, but usually along with the thrill of catching a big fish comes the satisfaction of being photographed holding it, and of telling the story of the struggle with it to a group around the fireside during the next winter. It is a very unusual person who will play solitary golf day by day, trying to improve his own score, without some regard for what others think about the quality of his game. Failure to achieve success has been found to be one of the most potent factors in causing maladjustments among school pupils. Schools should be more alert to the effects of failure in school work upon the personalities of children, and should make every effort to prevent such failure.⁵

To understand a child who becomes a problem, one should inquire in what ways he is unsuccessful. Is he unsuccessful scholastically, in his social relationships, in his sports and games, in his ability to compete physically, or in his love life? The child who is prevented from experiencing success in socially approved channels is of necessity forced to seek success in socially disapproved ways. One may think of delinquency as the attempt of a boy or girl to gain success even at the cost of social approval.

The tendency toward familiar ways of acting—A second universal character of adjustment is the tendency toward the familiar. As the child learns to satisfy his fundamental drives, he acquires certain habits which lead to these satisfactions. Whenever a method of gaining one's wishes or satisfying one's purposes has been achieved, there is a tendency to repeat this method when the need comes around again. A little child who acquires familiarity with his cup and spoon, his place at the table, his bed, and his toys, will resist any attempt to make changes in these things. Likewise, when a child at school becomes used to a certain seat, a certain teacher, and a certain group of friends, he will resist a change in any of these. So far as satisfactory adjustment is reached, there is a conservative tendency in everyone, a tendency to repeat acts which in the past have relieved tensions or disturbances and have led to equilibrium.

⁵ See Chapter III of this yearbook especially for suggestions on adjusting the school program to the needs and abilities of children.

The tendency toward the familiar, when thwarted, will give rise to tendencies toward nostalgia (melancholy homesickness) in varying degrees, which in turn may produce severe forms of maladjustment. For many children, every new experience has a disturbing effect. There is a tendency to cling to the familiar and to be upset and anxious at the strange and unfamiliar. Every school principal and teacher knows the difficulties which a pupil experiences in being transferred to a new school, a new teacher, a new classroom, or a new group of teachers.

The urge to explore—The third characteristic of adjustment is the tendency toward exploration. Any organism which has not acquired satisfactory means of adjustment will initiate random trial-and-error activities seeking for some satisfactory resolution of the disturbance. This tendency to crave the new, the original, the unfamiliar, the strange, which may readily be perceived in young people, is related to the sense of security that a person may feel. Bertrand Russell in one of his writings spoke of how the security which the home may furnish makes possible the courage to adventure into the world outside. This drive toward the new and the unfamiliar is present in everyone. One sees it in school when children resist the tendency toward boredom and ennui, and strive for excitement, adventure, and zestful activity. Truancy may be thought of as an expression of this drive toward the unfamiliar. The enthusiasm which children feel toward undertaking new projects, reading new books, or taking excursions is an expression of this fundamental drive. Youth is the period for exploration and curiosity, and every teacher can depend upon this drive as being a powerful motivation in school work.

The repression of the tendency toward exploration is almost certain to have its repercussions. This is particularly true at adolescence, and many of the extreme needs for which the period of adolescence is noted may be attributed to the tremendous urge to seek new forms of emotional satisfaction at that time. Any child whose life is drab, dull, and monotonous may be expected to manifest characteristics of maladjustment as he seeks outlets, usually intrinsically unsatisfying and often socially disapproved, for his pent-up urges and wishes.

Some basic desires acquired thru experience—The list of fundamental drives given by Tolman serves as a description of fundamental tendencies in human behavior, but fails to give sufficient help to the teacher in understanding problems which commonly arise in the classroom. These fundamental drives find satisfaction thru forms of expression which are so universal that they may be thought of as being fundamental themselves, in a sense, even tho they are derived from more basic urges. For instance, if a child is accustomed to having his hunger satisfied by certain persons, in certain places, and with certain kinds

of food, then the desire for the presence of these persons and these places and these kinds of food becomes almost as pressing as the drive of hunger itself. Many years ago Woodworth^{*} made the distinction between "preparatory" reactions and "consummatory" reactions. Preparatory reactions, which pave the way for those reactions that give final physiological satisfaction, seem to acquire a driving power quite as real and persistent as the physiological needs themselves.

A few of these derived drives may profitably be mentioned. One of them is the desire to be with other persons, which corresponds closely with the gregarious instinct mentioned by the older psychologists. This drive has good reason for being considered fundamental, for the presence of other persons is soon discovered by every growing infant to be an almost essential concomitant of the satisfaction of all his other desires. We grow up in a social world and our personalities are fulfilled only thru its social undertakings. Little wonder, then, that children crave group activity and that in the later years of the elementary school the tendency to organize clubs, teams, and games becomes very pronounced. A very effective form of punishment is to remove a child from his social group even for a brief moment.

A second fundamental desire is for attention from other persons. The individual not only wants other persons to be about, but he also wishes to have them respond to him by looking at him, speaking to him, doing things with him, and the like. This desire for attention persists on thru life and is a potent driving force thruout the school years. It becomes so strong in most children that they will do the most unusual things to gain attention. Inexperienced teachers, to their sorrow, find that boys and girls often will create much trouble in class apparently for no other reason than to gain coveted attention. Wise teachers sense this urge and know how to use the craving for attention as an educational force. By noticing praiseworthy accomplishments and by ignoring, as far as possible, mistakes, errors, and unworthy behavior, the teacher can accomplish marvelous results in her teaching.

Not only do children want to be with other people and to receive attention from them, but they desire that this attention shall give them praise, approval, and recognition. The desire for recognition has already been mentioned in connection with the drive for success. This desire for praise becomes one of the strongest driving forces to which human beings respond, and it can be considered the basis for the teacher's strongest educational influence. Failure to receive sufficient recognition, or receiving constant criticism, is certain to cause grave personality maladjustments in any child.

^{*} Woodworth, Robert S. *Dynamic Psychology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1918. 210 p.

Another strong drive is the desire to maintain the self both in one's own eyes and in the eyes of one's comrades. Failure to maintain a sufficiently high regard for oneself results in feelings of inferiority, and where the child is not given sufficient recognition for his accomplishments, the resulting feeling of inferiority may lead him to adopt compensatory behavior. Many disagreeable and unliked traits in boys and girls may be traced to attempts to compensate for feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.

Still another fundamental urge is the desire for security, the feeling that one belongs to a group and that his security in the group is not threatened. Every child needs a stable and affectionate home life, with both a father and a mother who themselves are well adjusted and who can maintain a secure home. A child also needs to feel secure in his teacher's regard and in his school group, and to know that his position in school is not likely to be threatened. The fear of failure, of not being promoted, of not making the team, of not fitting into the clubs and sports, is an ever-present threat to a pupil's adjustment.

Conclusion—The drives discussed in the foregoing paragraphs are the springs of human action. When they are always satisfied in socially accepted ways, one finds a child who is stable, happy, busy, and a comfort and pride to both his home and his school. Where any one of these drives is continuously thwarted, the child is presented with a grave problem of adjustment. These urges cannot be completely ignored. If in any individual case they are not satisfied, the child must try whatever is in his repertoire of behavior to seek their satisfaction. All personality maladjustments can be traced wholly or in part to the frustration of one or more of these drives. The teacher who would understand her pupils should try to learn what drives or urges or desires her children have, and should be sensitive to the degree to which these are being satisfied. The wise teacher is alert to plan her work so as to lead to the maximum legitimate satisfaction of each of these drives. Perhaps most teachers do not quite realize to what extent they are responsible for giving the child recognition, helping him gain success in school work, and assuring his security in school relationships.

CONSULT THE INDEX at the back of this book for page references to particular topics and authors.—*Editorial Committee.*

THE DYNAMIC NATURE OF PERSONALITY

HAROLD H. ANDERSON

*Research Assistant Professor of Psychology, Iowa Child Welfare Research Station,
State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa*

THE CHILD is first of all a bundle of energy. He got this energy from the living cells which came together and multiplied at his creation. In some mysterious way when food or nourishment is supplied to these cells, energy is captured from this nourishment, stored, and expended.¹ In a sense this is all any human being ever does in life. Therefore, whether one is concerned with nourishment, with the building of muscles and bones, or with learning to walk, to solve arithmetic problems, or to get along with other human beings and "be a good citizen," one is concerned with the amount of energy that the individual captures and stores, with the direction or manner in which this energy is expended, and even with the temporal moment or the occasion at which it is expended.

Behavior is the purposive use of energy—When the newborn babe is hungry, bodily tensions or needs have developed. What does the infant do about it? Order a sandwich or a bottle of milk? No. He struggles with these tensions or needs with the best potentialities that at the moment he possesses. Scientific investigators find that the infant is more active when hungry than just after being fed. But this expenditure of energy is very general; the whole body of the child is in motion. This activity is only indirectly effective in relieving the infant's hunger tensions. The total activity of the newborn infant would get him nothing—he would starve, in fact—if he did not live in a social environment of other individuals who *respond* to him.

Fortunately, adults seem to have some insight as to the needs underlying the excessive waving of arms and legs, the crying, and the restlessness that accompany the physiological needs of hunger. They do not show the same insight as to the psychological needs that underlie the older child's restless behavior, the waving of adolescent arms, the kicking of preadolescent feet, the apparently aimless use of energy in lying, stealing, cheating, bullying, boasting, showing off, and other unacceptable attempts to relieve psychological tensions.

All uses of energy, whether in acceptable or unacceptable behavior, are called forth by needs—often not too clearly defined needs. The most negativistic, unpleasant child in the schoolroom is doing the best he can in a "situation" as it appears to him. The worst delinquent is in one respect exactly like the shy, timid, bashful child; each is using his

¹ Frank, Lawrence K. "The Management of Tensions." *American Journal of Sociology* 33: 705-36; March, 1928.

energies in behavior which is not only logical in view of his past experience, but the most nearly adequate thing he can do in the immediate changing situation. To this extent the delinquent and the timid child are no different from the teacher or principal who punishes, ridicules, exhorts, or encourages them. Each may be said to be conducting himself in the best way as the situation appears to *him*.

In attempting to understand child behavior, it is not sufficient for the teacher to rely alone upon her own interpretation of the situation confronting the child; she must consider what is being called forth in the child by the situation as the child sees it. Most behavior is logical to the individual whose behavior it is. Little behavior is logical to anyone else.

The environment is continually responding to the child—The environment about the child is continually changing. In certain respects it is changing independently of the child. But the presence of the child in an environment calls forth environmental responses. Setting a plate for a child at the table; putting up a lunch for him; greeting him in the morning; asking a question; giving an answer, a smile, a pat on the back, or an icy stare; giving an arithmetic assignment, a report card, a "flunk," or a gold star; seating him in the front row instead of in the back row, or even seating him in alphabetical order—all these are responses of the environment to the child.

To some extent the child is continually modifying or affecting the expenditure of energy (the behavior) of those about him. To say that the environment is responding to the child is another way of saying that the environment is changing *because* of the child. Thus it can be said that the child is constantly changing the environment about him.

The child is continually responding to his environment—The child, while changing continually irrespective of his environment, is at the same time being changed *by* his environment. Each is not only responding to the other but is responding to the very process itself. There is not space to discuss here the subtleties of this responding process. There is no simple stimulus and simple response. The process is dynamic; the individual responding is at the same instant modifying (that is, recreating) the stimulus to which he is responding.

Each individual is different from all others—Much has been written about individual differences.² The dynamic implications of the fact of individual differences are not yet generally appreciated, either in theory by psychologists or in practise by educators. The technics of human relations in the family, in the school, and in international affairs are still predominantly those of intolerance of individual differences, of

² See the articles by Luckey and by Hollingworth in this same chapter.

frustration of the optimal growth of individual differences, techniques that stifle spontaneity in the infant at home, in the child at school, and in the laborer or voter in his economic and political affairs.

The child is self-assertive—Self-assertion is the most powerful means that nature has devised to protect, to cultivate, and to make the most of individual differences. To be self-assertive is not only to recognize that one is different, but to insist on making a contribution that only he can make.

Individual differences need a new emphasis in educational psychology. They mean not only that a child may have a special ability or disability—usually a static, nothing-can-be-done-about-it concept—but also that the child can make decisions for himself based on his own experience. This is the dynamic meaning of individual differences in personality development. The right to be different means the right to disagree with others when the opinion of others is not consistent with one's own experience. As teachers would say, the right to be different means "the right to be wrong."

The child has a right to be different. When this right is challenged, the healthy-minded child will, within the limits of his own immature judgment and of his own energies, defend this right. Self-assertion implies and enforces the right to be different, the right to make one's own decisions, to act on the basis of one's own interpretation of his experience.

To set up as an ideal that each individual should be permitted to determine his own goals, to make his own choices, to use his own judgment, is to advance a philosophy of individualism that is easily misunderstood. It does not mean that children are to be permitted to grow up to be young anarchists, doing as they please, going as they will, in complete disregard of those about them. Such behavior cannot be beneficial to the environment or to the individual himself. It is contrary to the fundamentals of mental health and of personality development; it can produce only disharmony in human relations whether in the school, the family, the community, the nation, or in international affairs.

The right to assert oneself carries with it the social necessity of being responsible for one's own decisions and for one's own conduct. Obviously the child cannot develop responsibility where the teacher makes the decisions or where obedience has been commanded. Obedience is not responsible behavior; it is merely conformity. In fact, obedience as a habitual technic is the clearest evidence that the child has not developed responsibility for the behavior which the teacher regards as desirable. There can be no responsibility in the child for his own

behavior where he cannot himself help decide what this behavior shall be.

Growth comes from within—Growth is a process of change either in amount or in complexity of structure or function. Whether one is dealing with growth of the body, of the mind, or of the personality, certain characteristics are the same. In growth there is change or process and there is spontaneity. Growth is neither a phenomenon of inflation as in pumping up an automobile tire, nor a fact of addition as in building a house of blocks. Physical growth involves a complete change of structure in the total organism. Mental growth implies a complete change in the structure of concepts, ideas, powers of discrimination, and in the function of drawing meaning out of old and new experiences. Growth in personality, if we are to speak in such terms, involves a change in the structures or technics of the responding process which the individual has learned and is learning to use when confronting other persons.

If one is raising lilies, he is obliged to expend his energies in rather specific ways. To begin with, he selects bulbs from the best stock. After that, practically everything that is done is in the nature of modifying the environment about the plant. One gives the roots good soil and water, tills the ground, and provides fresh air and sunlight. He does not have a detailed preconceived notion as to what the plant will ultimately look like, nor does he place over the plant a plaster mold to which the flower must conform.

Growth is spontaneous behavior; it is motivated from within. It is also a process, dynamic, moving, changing, and, moreover, harmonious; it is always tending toward a condition of stability that in reality is never achieved. Growth is the spontaneous or voluntary abandoning of the organism's status quo. It is the negation of rigidity and fixity. Being spontaneous, growth does not depend upon external coercion, altho its extent and direction may be modified by coercion. Being harmonious, it involves a continual shifting and adjustment both of internal tensions and of tensions between the individual and his environment.

To change the environmental influences of soil, air, and sunlight about the lily is to change the responding process between the plant and its environment. Should one put a plaster cast over the bulb for the lily to grow into? Such external coercion would destroy the internal spontaneity—the freedom of the individual lily to be different from all other lilies ever created.

Bind the Chinese baby's foot, and the internal physiological spontaneity for growth, change, and self-assertion in the foot is stifled. To change the physical or psychological environment about the child is

to change the growth processes. Should one hold over the child psychological strait-jackets requiring meticulous perfectionism and rigid conformity to preconceived adult notions? Under such environmental domination, not only will the responding processes be correspondingly limited, but the spontaneity and originality of the child may disappear.³

Three ways of responding to differences—If all persons were exactly alike, no one could learn from another. Differences between human beings are necessary for personality growth and learning. When one person confronts another, he may learn from these differences, thus growing or changing himself, and thru his responding becoming something that never existed before. Or he may resist the differences, thus learning nothing, remaining rigid and inflexible as he was, and not growing as a result of his experience. Differences need not produce conflicts; they should be regarded as a means of growth, as the materials out of which new ideas and creative expressions in any form are produced.

When one individual differs from another there are three possible outcomes: (1) domination of one by the other, (2) compromise of differences, or (3) integration of differences. In either domination or compromise, energy is expended by each individual in directions opposed to the other. There is said to be resistance or tension between them.

The word "integration" comes from the same word as "integer," meaning *one*. In integrative behavior the two individuals have found a common direction in which they can expend energies so as to afford satisfactions to each. In integrative behavior two individuals with different desires, different likes and dislikes, different goals and purposes have found a common purpose among these differences.

Domination, compromise, and integrative behavior are names given to certain methods or technics of responding between human beings. They are rarely found unmixed with each other, but much of human responding shows a predominance of one of these three kinds of behavior.

Domination—The spontaneous act of a child, the working out of his own ideas, is something that comes uniquely from him. It is a contribution out of his own experience that he makes to the world and that no one else can make for him. To the extent that the activity of the child and of those about him is spontaneous and at the same time harmonious, the child is making his greatest contribution to others and at the same time is achieving the greatest development of his own individual capac-

³ See also the article by Gesell in this chapter.

ities. This is personality development, growth, learning, or integrative behavior at its best.

Any act of the environment that frustrates the individual's spontaneity is an act of coercion or domination. Acts of domination are all about us. They are the most common mode of responding between individuals. Under certain circumstances domination is entirely justifiable. Most domination, however, is not only unjustifiable but unnecessary and productive of strife, confusion, and unhappiness. Domination generally is only another word for intolerance of individual differences.

The most extreme illustrations of domination are found in capital punishment, murder, war, and threats against one's life. Corporal punishment or the use of physical force is an act of domination. It is an evidence that two individuals are working in opposition to each other and that one resorts to superior force in order to produce conformity in the other. Likewise, the use of fear in any form is an act of coercion and makes spontaneous behavior difficult. All threats of physical force or punishment or personal violence are evidences that two individuals are in conflict and that one of them is appealing to force to achieve his own goals without regard to the goals or desires of the other.

Every expression of behavior that attacks the personal status or the security of another individual is an attempt at domination. Every response that shows lack of respect for another person, or that denies him his right to be different, is an act of domination. Telling a child that he is a "naughty boy" or that he "ought to be ashamed of himself" makes no effort to reach a better understanding of the child's ideas. Such remarks merely set up one's own standards, and attempt to achieve conformity by attacking the child's self-respect or his right to be different. They offer him no help in understanding the reasons for difference or for conformity. The use of shame is an appeal to fear as a means of coercion.

Domination when most complete produces only conformity. This conformity may be accompanied by an attitude of submission or by one of resistance.

Submission—The submissive attitude is an expression of fear. It indicates fear of self-assertion, usually accompanied by the loss of self-confidence. The shy, timid, bashful child, the "goody-goody" child who never does anything wrong, is one who is dominated by someone else. He is afraid to assert himself, afraid voluntarily to abandon his status quo, afraid to grow and be different, afraid to make decisions. He does not accept responsibility for his own behavior because he expects someone else to decide for him or to approve before he acts.

There can be no more unhealthy state of mind developed in the child than the need to run to mother, or the need to depend on the teacher or other parent-substitute for approval of everything he does. Such a child, when confronted with a problem which he himself ought to solve, will become afraid to decide the matter for himself. This fear of making decisions for oneself is often referred to as "evading reality" or as "running away from life."

Resistance—The tendency to resist domination is a sign of mental health. It is an evidence that the spark of self-assertion is still alive. When a child resists his teacher, he either misunderstands the teacher or he feels that the teacher is unjust.

Forty thousand impartial judges may say that "father is right" or that "mother knows best"; or they may admonish the child to obey his teacher. But forty thousand judges cannot thru domination compel understanding in the child or force upon him a sense of fair treatment. Understanding, meaningful experience, a sense of fair play, and a feeling that one's individuality is respected are things that emerge from within the child only when they are allowed to grow out of his own interpretations of his own experience.

It is not the resistance against authority, but the confusion that needs to be treated. Resistance is a healthy symptom that something is wrong; confusion is the unhealthy condition. Punishment, the only remedy in the first-aid kits of some schools, is usually directed at the symptom; rarely does it touch the source of the difficulty.

When is domination justified?—This question strikes at the very heart of the problems of discipline, of taking responsibility, and of living together in the school and the family. It is no more simple to say when domination is justified than to say what things are important in life and what things are not.

The teacher's part in working out an art of living together at school consists largely in finding opportunities by which the child can make decisions in matters that bring satisfactions to him, and that are consistent with the rights of self-assertion of the other members of the group. One of the teacher's problems, then, is to bring the child more and more to participate in the student council, to offer him more and more opportunities to contribute from his own desires and experiences to the setting up of school routines and procedures. To the extent that the child can be brought to the school council and allowed to contribute, the need for adult domination, for adult decisions, decreases.

Domination is justified when the health or safety of the child or of another person is involved in the child's behavior. It is justified also when the child's behavior is contrary to the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number. The greatest good for the greatest number is not to be determined alone by the teacher for the schoolroom,

by the father for the family, or by a dictator for the nation. The greatest good for the greatest number must be continually redefined by the process of spontaneous "responding" among the members of the group. This is the truly "educative" process; this is the process of learning; this is the process of personality development.

Compromise—After all, most attempts at domination do not end up in the complete submerging of one individual by another. Much behavior, however, is the expression of energy directed in opposition to another person rather than in a common purpose. This opposition may be found among preschool children, school children, business associates or competitors, lovers, husband and wife, or between a person of one age and sex and any other individual regardless of age or sex.

Compromise is merely a form of less successful domination. It is the waving of a flag of truce, in which each person retains for the moment the ground he has won. The difference, the strain, the tension are still present. The common purpose is lacking.

The most common form of compromise is to be seen in ungracious concessions. The teacher says to Johnny, "Yes, you may leave the room, but for heaven's sake hurry back." If one listens to children on the playground one can find numerous illustrations of compromise where mistakes are grudgingly or ungraciously admitted: "Well, then, dumb-bell, take your old ball if it's yours!" Or, "All right, smarty, go tell her if you want to!"

Calling a truce or making a compromise never solves a conflict. It only postpones the battle or changes the ground on which it is to be resumed.

Teasing—Teasing is usually an effort to attack the personal status of another individual, to put another person on the defensive. It intensifies difference or conflict. When this form of social erosion gets a start, it quickly washes out the fertile topsoil, leaving dry gullies in which only weeds and dissension can grow. There are few activities in common between the teaser and the teased; there is little respect for the individuality of each other, little understanding or attempt at an understanding of each other. Energies are spent not in building up enriching experiences but in tearing down or undermining someone else. It is a tax on the ingenuity and the patience of a teacher to find some means of stopping the drain that teasing makes on the energies of children when it gets started in a group.

Integrative behavior—As pointed out earlier, if all persons were alike no one could learn from another. The basis of all learning is the confronting of differences. One important goal of education is to make the most of individual differences by developing each child to his maximum capacities. No one knows a child's capacities or how to

measure them except in a very crude way. Probably few persons, if any, ever perform at maximum capacity.

One reason why persons fail to perform at capacity is that they cannot be spontaneous; they are afraid to be spontaneous. Why cannot the average child stand up before an assembly and make a speech? The answer is not that he has nothing to say. The answer is that he is afraid to be himself. He is afraid someone will "laugh at him," or that he will "make a fool of himself." All these reasons indicate simply that he is afraid to be spontaneous.

If one is afraid when called upon to talk in public, he is unable to devote his full energies to the subject at hand. Part of his energies will be spent worrying about his personal status. Spending energy worrying about one's status is referred to in school as "failure to concentrate," "mind wandering," or sometimes as "day-dreaming." It is not only in school that human energies are thus wasted.

Human behavior is either spontaneous or it is something less than spontaneous. The person who is responding to his environment either loses himself with interest in the activity, or he fails to lose himself and is more or less self-conscious. Consciousness of oneself is something less than spontaneity.

Integrative behavior occurs when the individual can give himself up, abandon himself to the activity at hand. Not obliged to defend his status or to resist domination, he can thus see the situation from the greatest number of angles, and can bring his intelligence and experience to bear on the problem before him.

This concentration of mind, this abandoning of oneself to the activity, never occurs in the presence of others who do not respect the person as an individual having some contribution, however modest, to make to the group. Only when there is a oneness between the individual and his environment, a harmony with others, a common purpose among differences, an expenditure of energy with others and not against them, can integrative behavior take place.

By definition there can be no growth or development without a *yielding* of the structural or functional status quo; when a child grows, he becomes different from what he was before. Integrative behavior is behavior that is characterized by a yielding of the status quo, a yielding of concepts, values, goals or purposes for new concepts, new values, new goals and purposes that are in the process of becoming. Thus it may be said that when a child shows integrative behavior he is able to yield his desires or purposes for new desires or purposes that are satisfying to another as well as to himself. He is able to extend his energy *with* another instead of *against* another, and to do this spontaneously, without external pressure. In this sort of behavior there

is change, growth, emergence of goals and concepts that never existed before. There is also respect for individuals who differ from oneself. Herein is personality growth, creative experience.

It must be understood that *yielding* is a positive, spontaneous response. It is not to be confused with submission, which is a fear response that is not spontaneous.

One who can integrate experiences has the "scientific," objective approach to his problems; he can utilize new information, new data; he can change as the result of new experience. Integrative behavior is dynamic and changing. It is motivated by an open mind. There is no growth or change in prejudice or bigotry. Neither is there growth in one whose mind is closed to new data, new experience.

Conclusion—Growth, or the development of individual potentialities to their utmost, is the ideal in dealing with children. Optimum growth is achieved under conditions of spontaneity and harmony. Children learn from those about them that they are or are not respected as individuals. They know whether their teachers tolerate spontaneity or not, and under what circumstances spontaneity is tolerated or perhaps encouraged. They also know which teachers are themselves spontaneous and open-minded. They learn to meet aggression with aggression, and they give way before the tolerant yielding of a sympathetic, understanding adult.

That rare quality of *rapport*, which is essential for the work of the clinical psychologist or the visiting teacher, is simply a condition where an adult and a child are mutually tolerant of each other's differences, where each accepts the other as he is, respecting him and being respected. When a teacher secures rapport, the child is not afraid to be himself; he has no fear of being spontaneous. It is significant that spontaneous adults seem to secure rapport with children rather easily, while others do not. Wise principals and classroom teachers will strive, first of all, to attain this happy and constructive relationship with their pupils.

THE BOOKS and magazine articles listed at the end of each chapter are especially recommended for further study.—
Editorial Committee.

THE GROWTH FACTOR IN CHILD PERSONALITY

ARNOLD GESELL

*Director, The Clinic of Child Development, Yale University School of Medicine,
New Haven, Connecticut*

MODERN DISCUSSIONS of child guidance emphasize the danger of attacking behavior problems by old-fashioned methods of preaching and punishment. The only way in which we can really overcome that danger is to recognize the significance of natural growth processes in the life of the child. Teachers are somewhat too prone to believe that they can mold the child, as tho he were so much clay. But he isn't clay. Clay does not grow.

Need for understanding the child—Teachers may indeed assist the child in his growth; they may guide his growth, but he must do his own growing. The first and almost the last task of the teacher is to *understand* the child. The writer believes that the whole enterprise of education would gain enormously if we stressed the curriculum less and devoted more of our energies to interpreting the individuality of each pupil. No two personalities are alike. It takes genuine effort and not a little insight to perceive and to respect the emotional peculiarities which every child brings to school.

If we really focused on this difficult but fascinating problem of understanding individualities, a new atmosphere would seep into the schoolroom. There would be more tolerance, more kindness, and much more humor. More humor, because we cannot get a true estimate of ourselves or of others without that sense of proportion which is the sense of humor. More kindness, because if we appreciate the formativeness of the child's personality, sarcasm and other unnatural forms of punishment become impossible. More tolerance, because we would see the "faults" of children as symptoms of immaturity.

Growth a basic concept in education—Growth is a simple word, but it contains profound meaning. It is the key concept for a sound philosophy of education. We cannot understand children except in terms of the growth process. From one point of view, growth is very obvious and a matter of everyday observation. From another point of view, growth is subtle and concealed. Indeed, the actual process of growth has not yet been seen by the eye of man. So it is easy to forget the factors of growth that underlie child behavior. In most child-guidance situations we are prone to adopt rigorous ideas of right and wrong, of authority and obedience, of discipline and training, which make us blind to the almost axiomatic truth that the mind grows and that behavior can develop only in accordance with laws of growth which are as inescapable as the laws of gravity.

Appreciation of the significance of growth is of relatively recent origin. Primitive man must have had only the dimmest ideas of the nature of growth. Even in modern times, ideas of life have been governed by static concepts. In the field of social theory, the idea of progress or of the continual improvability of man's lot did not take definite form until the eighteenth century. A developmental view of problems of education dawned at the close of the same century.

Old and new ideas in child guidance—The beginnings of the genetic point of view in educational psychology are associated with the names of Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Madame Necker de Saussure. A genetic point of view with regard to problems of child guidance is by no means completely established, but we have made some advance beyond the outlook of Susannah Wesley, who died about two hundred years ago. She was the mother of the famous John Wesley, and altho she was ahead of her own times, she wrote as follows:

I insist upon conquering the will of children betimes, because this is the only strong and rational foundation of a religious education, without which both precept and example will be ineffectual. But when this is thoroly done, then a child is capable of being governed by the reason and piety of its parents, till its own understanding comes to maturity and the principles of religion have taken root in the mind.

Whenever a child is corrected, it must be conquered; and this will be no hard matter to do if it be not grown headstrong by too much indulgence. And when the will of a child is totally subdued, and it is brought to revere and stand in awe of the parents, then a great many childish follies and inadvertencies may be passed by. Some should be overlooked and taken no notice of, and others mildly reprov'd; but no willful transgression ought ever to be forgiven children, without chastisement, less or more, as the nature and circumstances of the offense require.¹

In order to form the minds of children, the first thing to be done is to conquer their will, and bring them to an obedient temper. To inform the understanding is a work of time, and must with children proceed by slow degrees as they are able to bear it; but the subjecting the will is a thing which must be done at once; and the sooner the better.²

Apparently Mrs. Wesley granted the significance of growth factors in the intellectual development of children, but did not grant the force of these factors in the field of personality. To this day it remains most difficult to recognize the operation of growth in guidance situations that involve emotional, moral, or personality problems.

A century later Madame Necker de Saussure voiced the more modern point of view when she wrote:

If it was the design of the Creator in respect to man that the immortal spirit should receive a strong impulse from the present life, the means of making him pursue the most extended course of development was to place him the lowest degree at its beginning. Hence his state of privation and ignorance in infancy.³

¹ Parker, Percy L. *The Heart of John Wesley's Journal*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1880. p. 96.

² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³ Madame Necker de Saussure. *Progressive Education, Commencing with the Infant*. Boston: William D. Ticknor, 1835. p. 317.

And the following paragraph is in striking contrast with the philosophy of Mrs. Wesley:

Preoccupied with considering what is wanting in the child, we forget the liberality of nature with respect to him. We do not observe that the order of development made necessary by his ignorance is the most advantageous to morality as well as to the progress of his reason.⁴

These statements show a profound genetic insight into the problems of child development. They are all the more creditable because they antedate the period of modern biological thought. In 1859 Darwin published his epoch-making book, *The Origin of Species*. Since then, modern biology has been systematically concerned with problems of growth and of evolution. The study of the laws and mechanisms of individual development has become a major enterprise in biological laboratories the world over. This systematic, scientific attack upon the phenomena of growth makes us realize that growth is more than a mystical concept, that it represents a lawful, living process which must be reckoned with in all of our human relationships.

Evidences of mental growth in young children—Mental growth is a process as real as nutrition or metabolism; the mind grows as well as the body. Indeed, from a biological standpoint, no rigid distinction should be made between physical and mental growth. Both mental and physical characteristics are the expressions of one underlying growth complex. The growth of the mind normally expresses itself in ordered patterns of behavior. These patterns have form and organization. We cannot directly see the mind grow, but we can systematically observe the progressive patterning of behavior, which is the outward manifestation of the growth process.

In our clinical laboratory at Yale, we have for some years been making systematic cinema records of the behavior patterns of the human infant. These objective records show that the patterns of behavior change in a lawful manner with the age and maturity of the child.

Evidence of growth in behavior may be observed in the advancing reactions of the normal infant to a small red block or one-inch cube. At eight weeks he will hold the cube for a short time if it is pressed into his palm. At twelve weeks he will transiently regard a cube placed before him on a table; and at sixteen weeks he will regard it prolongedly. At twenty weeks he may corral it with both hands while he is seated before the table; at twenty-four weeks he picks up the cube on sight; at twenty-eight weeks he bangs the cube on the table top. At thirty-two weeks he grasps it with increasing thumb opposition; at thirty-six, forty, and forty-four weeks he brings two cubes into more and more

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

elaborate combination. At forty-eight weeks he brings one cube above another in a sketchy manner which promises tower building at a later date, the behavior pattern of this more complicated performance being not yet fully mature. Incipient tower-building with rudimentary release of the block begins at one year, on the average. At eighteen months the child may complete a tower of four, five, or more cubes. At three years, he can look at a model and make a bridge of three cubes. He takes two cubes and separates them by less than an inch, then takes a third cube to bridge the gap. This bridge-building ability is a symptom of maturing intelligence.

Significantly enough, we have found that the eighteen-month-old child cannot, even with instruction, build such a simple bridge of three blocks. He must double his age before he is equal to the test. Superficially, it would seem more difficult to build a balanced tower of five cubes, which he may do at eighteen months. Building the tower does indeed demand a nicer degree of motor coordination, but the laying of the bridge requires more judgment. The mechanism of behavior growth is so complicated that it takes eighteen months of added neuromuscular development before the more complicated pattern of bridge-building finds expression.

These progressive and advancing reactions with building blocks reveal the orderliness of mental growth. The child stares at a cube before he perceptively regards it; he corrals a cube with his hands before he grasps it with his fingers; and he builds cube towers before he builds cube bridges.

Personality development a process of maturation—It seems reasonable to believe that the same growth laws which mold the child's behavior with cubes affect also the development of his personality. These laws must be reckoned with in problems of child guidance. How erroneous it would be to insist that the child build bridges before towers! How idle it would be to train him to do either before he has the requisite capacity! If we adapted Mrs. Wesley's quaint language we would say: "The guidance of personality is a work of time and must with children proceed by slow degrees as they are able to bear it." It is easy to overlook the immaturity of the child.⁵

It is also easy to overlook the fact that every child has a distinctive growth pattern. No two children (with the partial exception of identical twins) grow up in the same way. Each child has a tempo and a style of growth which are as much part of his make-up as the color of his eyes or the profile of his nose.

The organization of personality is importantly influenced by home experiences, by parent-child relationships, by teacher-child relation-

⁵ For further discussion of this point, see the next article in this chapter, by Zachry.

ships, by social surroundings. Other parts of this yearbook present ample evidence for such influences.⁶ But the hereditary basis of the child's constitution needs primary consideration. While environmental factors support, inflect, and modify, they do not generate the progressions of development. The growth characteristics of an individual are part of his native endowment, and as such, they are beyond the teacher's control. In our zeal to enhance the teaching process, we have overlooked the realities of the growth process and have somewhat exaggerated the influence of the teacher. Paradoxical as it may seem, the teacher's influence will actually be increased if the inborn growth characteristics of the child are fully recognized and respected. Each child has by birth-right a distinctive maturing process which does much to shape his personality. Therefore, the first and fundamental task of the teacher is to *understand* the child.

⁶ Especially Chapters II, III, IV, and VII.

THE PROBLEM of the school is to understand the characteristics and the background of each individual child, and to organize the work of the school so that each child gains most from his experiences. This implies not only an understanding of a child's mental development, but an understanding of him as a total, organic, functioning individual. It calls for answers to such questions as these: What does he seek for himself in his activities in school? How do his playmates respond to him? How does the teacher respond to him? When does he fail to gain what he is seeking? How can a way be provided for growth in terms of his individual, dynamic characteristics? For education of this type the teacher holds the key position.—Driscoll, Gertrude P., and Meek, Lois H., p. 302 of this yearbook.

EMOTIONAL NEEDS AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

CAROLINE B. ZACHRY

Director of Research, Progressive Education Association, New York, New York

IN OUR SOCIETY the child has two basic emotional needs: the need to achieve and the need for affection and social security.¹ In his growth from infancy to adulthood he manifests several phases of adjustment in satisfying these needs. There are no sharp distinctions between these phases; they merge into one another, providing the child with an ever-widening field for the satisfaction of his two basic emotional needs. His behavior is symptomatic of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction gained during his growth, and indicates how he is functioning.

There is individual variation in development. The child's basic emotional needs are dynamic. As he grows he enlarges his contacts, starting always from the basis of attained satisfaction and security. If, however, he meets obstacles in growth which are or seem to be insurmountable, he turns back or regresses to the old familiar ways in which he was successful in attaining satisfaction. His personality is the sum total of the ways in which he has learned to satisfy his needs.

MAJOR LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT

If the child's emotional needs are satisfied and he is well physically, he will mature into a healthy, stable member of society. From infancy he will pass into childhood, and from childhood into adolescence. We must, however, be careful to recognize these various stages of development, and not push the child's social behavior and social interests beyond his age. We should not ask him to face problems beyond his social and emotional level. The social level of the child is very important, because his social behavior must be fundamentally adjusted to it, and at one level we have no right to expect behavior in the child corresponding to a more mature level. Neither have we the right to demand a more rapid growth than the child can fundamentally manage. We must not place him in such situations or under such pressure that he is unable to realize to the full each stage of his development.

As indicated above, there are three great stages of human development on the road to adulthood: infancy, childhood, and adolescence. It is essential that teachers and principals understand the development of personality at all of these levels if they are to handle the problems of any level most intelligently. This article, however, is limited to the

¹ The importance of fundamental drives to action has been discussed at some length in the first article of this chapter.

first two levels, since the education of adolescents is not primarily the concern of the elementary school.²

In the following discussion, no attempt is made to show a strictly progressive order of development, since certain phases occur simultaneously and individuals differ widely. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that broad stages of development are not set off from one another by sharply defined behavior drives and patterns. Even in normal children, development may lag here and advance there. Growth is gradual and uneven. This fact does not invalidate the concept of *stages* or *levels* of social and emotional maturity.

INFANCY AND THE NURSERY-SCHOOL AGE

Characteristics and evidences of growth—During infancy emotional satisfaction consists in the experiencing of physical sensation—the heightening of tension, its release, and relaxation. The behavior accompanying this emotional satisfaction indicates either pleasure—in warmth, cuddling, sucking, excreting, stretching, kicking—or displeasure—crying at too great a tension, at hunger, or at coldness. The baby's first realization of himself as a person comes when he recognizes the parent or nurse as a source of gratification; his response is expressed by kicking, crowing, smiling at the adult, and crying when he is put down. The discovery of his own body and the realization that the parts of his body are his, strengthen his feeling of self. This feeling is further intensified when he finds pleasure in his body. We see indications of such pleasure in thumb-sucking, muscular movements, masturbation, and excretion.

At first the infant is completely self-centered, but soon his first love, which has been centered on himself, is turned to the parent or nurse who gratifies his desires. We now see indications of definitely affectionate behavior directed toward adults, and a demand on the baby's part for cuddling, caressing, and comforting attention. He has now added to the earlier realization of himself as an individual, his conscious awareness of definite desires and needs. When he reaches nursery school he makes this awareness explicit in his behavior. His emphasis is on "me," "my," "mine"; his conversation emphasizes *my* mama, *my* papa, *my* doggie, *my* house; he tends to grab things for himself and to be imperious in his demands. *I* want this, that, and so forth. At this period he also begins to learn restraint and control, to develop a sense of right and wrong. All this gives satisfaction, heightens his

² For discussion of emotional and social growth during adolescence, see such references as: Williams, Frankwood E. *Adolescence*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1930. 279 p. ¶ Richmond, Winifred V. *Adolescent Girl*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1925. 212 p. ¶ Richmond, Winifred V. *Adolescent Boy*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1933. 233 p.

feeling of himself as a person, and rightfully gives him a sense of power.

The development of the child as an individual is further satisfactorily attained thru the establishment of toilet habits, the mastery of certain technics, the knowledge of what not to touch, and so forth. He also takes pride in giving up certain things to parents and other individuals. He has a growing consciousness of dependency on his parents for security. He establishes and reenforces his sense of security by getting more and more parental attention and approval. The child takes a possessive pride in his parents; he imitates and accepts parental behavior and attitudes. As his field of emotional expression widens he acquires broader opportunities for satisfaction of his affectional and ego needs. He plays equally well at this age with both sexes, but is selfish, demanding, and dominating. At this time we notice an interest in group play emerging, as he finds it satisfying to bestow his toys and favors on others.

The child's discovery of self and his intense interest in self stimulate curiosity about the world of things and people immediately around him. As his contacts with others broaden, his interests also broaden. This is the *why* stage, and is recognized by all who deal with the young child as a period of questioning, not only because he wants to know, but also to demonstrate his ability to ask questions. In many instances he already thinks he knows the answer, but asks the question because he wants confirmation.

Need for careful treatment by adults—This stage of emotional and social development requires very careful handling on the part of adults. It is of utmost importance that adults should calmly accept the child's interest in his own body, his desire to play with it, to ask questions about it, and to show satisfaction in it. His self-centeredness and exhibitionistic behavior should be quietly recognized as a part of the growing-up process, and should not be condemned or treated from a moralistic angle.

Those dealing with children in the nursery school should be themselves emotionally able to accept the child's dependence on them, and to respond to the child's wish to make them parent substitutes—to look to them for security and for demonstration of affection. On the whole, nursery schools must work out a better balance in handling children in this respect than they now have. The tendency to rush the child into being "self-reliant" too soon is as devastating to his later personality development as the tendency to keep him a baby too long. For example, the establishment of toilet habits and habits of self-feeding are exceedingly important in the emotional development of the child. Too great insistence that such habits should be learned

rapidly creates dangerous tensions; in this attitude is found the earliest form of exploiting children.

It is most essential that parents should consider the source of a child's questions during this period and give him the reassurance he needs, especially when his question is asked to elicit confirmation. Questions should be answered in a tone and manner that will not discourage the asking of further questions.

In this early period of social adjustment the role played by the parents is paramount, and thus it is unfortunate that the child has so few chances for contact with his father. The boy has a slightly better prospect for later social adjustment because his first love object usually is his mother, a member of the opposite sex. This makes his adjustment easier than that of the girl who has her mother, a member of the same sex, as her first love object; in our society the girl's opportunities for contacts with her father are often postponed too long. The boy takes his father as a masculine ideal, and it is of tremendous importance to him also that he establish a relationship with his father at an early age.

CHILDHOOD: THE ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL AGE

Changes in attitudes and behavior—One of the most interesting points in the social growth of the child is the transition from intense interest in himself to an interest in a group of people most like himself. With this goes a marked change in behavior. The home ceases to be the center of authority and the parents no longer set the standard which the child tries to copy.

In the early years of the elementary school, we notice a growing interest in group activity. Increasingly there is a tendency for children to form themselves into cliques or gangs. Societies and clubs develop, and there is a carry-over into school of the various neighborhood gangs. To the parents the child seems to be changing, and changing rapidly for the worse; the manners which had been inculcated at home during the earlier period are replaced by manners approved by the child's own group. The earlier neatness in dress and behavior is discarded. The child finds any care of his person very boring, and with the boy, very feminine and useless. In a thousand ways the child is showing the parents that he conforms to the standards of his own age-group and not to those of his home. He has found a new seat for authority.

With this shift in authority comes a new attitude toward sex differences. In our society intense sex antagonism develops during these years, no matter how much we try to prevent it. Clubs and gangs exclude the opposite sex, and behavior toward the opposite sex is marked by a great deal of teasing. Whether this sex antagonism is a part of normal

psychological growth or a matter of cultural patterning is hard to determine.

At this period boys tend to choose for their friends other boys of about the same physique, weight, height, and intelligence, and are little influenced by school success. Girls seem to be less influenced by the physical make-up of their friends, and are more influenced by scholastic standing. They, too, tend to choose friends of about their own intelligence.

During the later terms of the elementary-school period, children begin to shift from such intense interest in the group to marked preoccupation with one person of the same sex. This attachment may take the form of a crush on an adult or an older child; it may be worked out thru hero worship accompanied by a great deal of fantasy; or it may be manifested in a very absorbing friendship with a child of the same age.

To be thoroly understood, any given period of social development must be viewed in relation to what has gone before and what will come after. Thus, to understand the social maturation of the child up to his entrance into the elementary school, we have first to understand infancy. And to appreciate his behavior during the late terms of the elementary school and to handle his current social development intelligently, we must bear in mind how the child will act during adolescence and even in adulthood. Before adolescence the child is not really capable of completely unselfish love for another person. During adolescence we find the young person admiring those qualities in the opposite sex which are least like his own. This is the beginning of the falling-in-love stage. At the same time that these deeper personal feelings are being stirred, the young person is also becoming more sensitive to social problems around him. He is ready to ally himself with causes, and is capable of unselfish emotions and actions for the benefit of other individuals or groups.

The socially mature adult has passed thru each of these stages successfully and has preserved in his mature personality some of the best characteristics of each stage.

A few suggestions to teachers—In summary, a few words to the elementary-school teacher may be helpful: Be willing to be a parent substitute to the young child to the degree that he as an individual needs it. Season this judiciously by constantly keeping in mind that as a result of the security so given, the child should grow up—not remain emotionally dependent. With the same purpose in mind, play this same role to the older child whose early emotional deprivation causes him to seek security on a more infantile basis.

At the gang stage, capitalize the tendency to organize groups and make use of these groups in classroom work. This is group behavior on the children's own level. Let the children take the lead here, for with tactful guidance distinctly socially useful behavior develops. Within the limits of safety and reasonable consideration for adults, permit the children to work out their own standards. Do not be finicky about details of appearance and manners. For your own comfort and that of the children remember that such details will be remedied naturally at a later stage by growing social interests.

Do not intensify sex antagonism by forcing boys and girls to work or play together, or by calling attention in any way to the fact that they are either cooperating or not cooperating. Use constructively the period in which crushes develop by stimulating interest in hero worship, by guiding friendships, or by being willing to play the role of the idol if the crush is directed toward you, the teacher.

Do not stress interest in broad social problems, for this will come later at adolescence. Do not exploit children emotionally by describing suffering that is outside their experience. Rather help them to establish their social behavior thru their daily experiences, and thus to become sensitive to immediate social needs.

Finally, and most important, bear in mind that only mature adults can educate children for social maturity.

MANY personality and behavior problems observed at school have a partial or sole source in family relationships. Frequently the unsuspected cause is jealousy. Let it be remembered here that what a child believes, is true for him, regardless of the facts. In case he feels that a brother or sister is loved more at home than he is, or is more admired by relatives and neighbors and playmates, jealousy will certainly ensue, altho the sufferer may be wholly unaware of what is happening. Often one child at home is less obedient, less cooperative, or less studious because a brother or sister gets so much more applause for excellence in these directions than he does.—Myers, Garry C., p. 307 of this yearbook.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN RELATION TO PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

BERTHA M. LUCKEY

Chief Examiner, Psychological Clinic, Board of Education, Cleveland, Ohio

A PERSONALITY in which successful adjustments have been made may be compared to a smooth-running watch. In watches there are variations in size, type of balance wheel, number of jewels, and other items. If these variations become too great, or if the parts are not built to correspond to one another and to external conditions, the watch no longer keeps good time, but becomes erratic and irregular, if it runs at all. The same sort of thing often happens when individual differences in human characteristics are too great or too obvious. There are, of course, many minor variations which apparently have little effect upon the total personality, or which at least do not prevent successful adjustment. It is difficult to say how extreme any type of variation must be in order to affect adversely the developing personality.

Each individual is a complex of many varying factors. When variations in one or more of these factors are extreme, the resultant individual is considered *atypical*. He may be mentally subnormal or extremely bright, crippled, feeble-minded, or blind. If, however, the variations are relatively slight, the resultant individual is considered *normal*. Within the so-called normal group are an infinite number of variations and combinations, all of which have some effect on the personality. Identical twins come the nearest to being alike in all factors, but here, too, are found differences in personal characteristics. Variations in personality have been reported even in the Dionne quintuplets, who are so nearly alike that they must be labeled to keep their identities clear.

Since volumes and even libraries have been written on individual differences, it will be possible in this article to mention only a few types of variation, and to indicate briefly how such variations may affect the personality adjustment of school children.

TYPES OF INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCE

Extreme variations—At the White House Conference in 1930, the committee on atypical children estimated the number of children in the United States whose differences from the normal group were extreme enough to warrant special training or education. In Table 1 these estimates are compared with figures from the United States Office of Education as to the number of such children taken care of in residential schools and in day classes or schools in the cities. The differences between these two sets of figures probably indicate that the majority of

atypical children are at present in supposedly normal groups under the guidance of regular teachers and principals.

TABLE 1—NUMBER OF ATYPICAL CHILDREN OF VARIOUS TYPES IN THE UNITED STATES

TYPES OF VARIATION	ESTIMATED TOTAL NUMBER IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1930	NUMBER IN SPECIAL SCHOOLS OR CLASSES IN 1932
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Blind children under twenty years of age.....	14,400	10,838
2. Partially seeing children who should be in sight-saving classes.....	50,000	
3. Hearing impaired in various degrees.....	3,000,000	19,325
4. Mentally retarded to such a degree that they require special education.....	450,000	88,885
5. Socially maladjusted (behavior problems): at least 3 percent of the elementary enrolment....	675,000	47,772
6. Delicate children: tuberculous, organic heart disease, malnourished.....	6,757,000	24,020
7. Crippled children in need of special education....	100,000	16,166
8. Children requiring remedial treatment and training in speech.....	1,000,000	22,735
9. Mentally gifted: an estimate of 6 percent of the total school population of 25,000,000.....	1,500,000	1,834

Read table: In 1930 there was an estimated total of 14,400 blind children under twenty years of age in the United States, and a total of 50,000 partially seeing children who should be in sight-saving classes; in 1932 the number of children in these two groups who were being cared for in special schools or classes was 10,838. Similarly read figures for other types of variation.

Sources of data: Column 2: White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. *Special Education—The Handicapped and the Gifted*. New York: Century Co., 1931. 604 p. Column 3: U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Education. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1930-1932*. Bulletin 1933, No. 2. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1933. Chapter VI, "The Education of Exceptional Children."

The most extreme variants, of course, are seen frequently in clinics and at school doors, but seldom in the classroom. A Mongolian imbecile may apply for school entrance but his difficulty is at once recognized. The blind or almost blind, and the deaf with his handicap, are quickly identified. There are other defects, however, which are not so easily noted. In fact, the slighter the variation the more difficult it is to identify, and the more frequently it occurs in the ordinary classroom.

Variations among "normal" children—Let us consider, then, the variations found in the "normal" group as seen by the principal or teacher. Even in the best classified schools the so-called homogeneous groups may have a variation of from one to three years in chronological age. There are variations in physical stature of ten inches to a foot or more, and in weight of from twenty-five to seventy pounds. In physiological development or in degree of ossification, a span of more than a year,

and perhaps even two or three years, will often be noted. In homogeneous groups where classification has been based upon intelligence quotients or mental ratings, we find a variation of at least fifteen to twenty points in I.Q., whereas in heterogeneous groups the variation may range from thirty to fifty points and still not include either the extremely retarded or the gifted child. Recent studies have shown that groupings on the basis of learning rates or intelligence quotients do not eliminate from the schoolroom all variations in educational success. According to Burr's investigation,

When groups are made non-overlapping in achievement in one subject, such as reading, they overlap greatly in other subjects, such as arithmetic. Even when groups are made non-overlapping in one phase of a subject, such as arithmetic reasoning, they overlap greatly in other phases of the same subject, such as arithmetic computation.¹

Not only are there variations in the educational achievement of children who have the same intelligence quotients, but there are also marked differences in the way such children respond to educational situations. John and Frank were two first-graders of exactly the same intelligence quotient and mental level. Whereas Frank lacked interest in the school situation, refused to attend and accomplished nothing, John, while slow and plodding, kept at his tasks and made a fairly satisfactory achievement by the end of the year. A bright youngster lacking interest in school frequently does little, while a duller brother who is interested succeeds in spite of his slowness. Emotionally, there may be in the same classroom children who are persistent bullies, cruel and quarrelsome, and others who seem shy, dreamy, and easily discouraged. One can go down the whole battery of emotional and behavior responses and find examples of each type in the average classroom. Children vary in the amount of aggression shown; some retreat and some attempt to change the situation by combat.

As noted above, when a difference stands out from the rest of the group it is easily identified by the teacher. It is only when the variation is slight or concealed by other qualities that the fundamental difficulty is not likely to be noted. Arthur and Mary illustrate this point. They were both referred to the clinic by a first-grade teacher with the following information: Neither of them had been able to master beginning reading. Arthur was going over the work for the second time, while it was Mary's third attempt. Since Mary was now long past seven, the teacher was worried by her lack of progress and was spending half an hour each noon giving her individual help in reading. Since Arthur was younger, only six and a half, she felt that she should

¹ Burr, Marvin Y. *A Study of Homogeneous Grouping*. Contributions to Education, No. 457. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931. p. 55.

spend the extra time on the older child, but was disappointed by the lack of progress shown even with individual help. The test indicated that altho Mary looked normal, her mental development was very much below what should be expected of the average seven-year-old. In fact, her mental level was only five years and two months, and her intelligence quotient below 70. Arthur, on the other hand, tested normal but was suffering from a serious vision handicap which was not evident to the casual observer. When he was given glasses and placed in a sight-saving class, his progress in reading became normal; in fact, he was able to finish the first-grade work during the year altho he had lost out the first semester because of his vision handicap. Mary was not ready for reading until more than a year later.

Children vary also in the amount of activity displayed. There is the child who is first to note the visitor or the disturbance in the room, who cannot concentrate more than a few seconds on a given task. Jack was such a child. His mother was constantly complaining about his poor school marks, and his teacher was worn out from trying to prevent him from disturbing the other pupils. He proved to be a child too tired to rest. He was boiling over with nervous energy, but it was the energy of fatigue rather than strength. Harold, on the other hand, was slow in his reactions. Under stimulation he reacted as well as the rest of the children, but the minute interest lagged he dropped back into his lethargic condition.

There are many other factors and combinations of factors which vary widely from one child to another. Just as educational achievement varies, even among children with the same intelligence quotients, intelligence itself varies among children with the same physical defects. For example, a study by the Cleveland Sight Saving Department in 1931-32 showed a range in the I.Q.'s of myopic pupils from 70 to 159, and of pupils with low vision from 70 to 119. In the case of crippled children, the intelligence quotients showed the same range as those in a similar school where no cripples were present, altho the averages of the two groups were slightly different.

In a group of six-year-olds just entering school, one can soon distinguish two general types, namely, the non-readers and those who have no difficulty with reading. The individual differences among the non-readers are various. There may be low mentality, poor vision, inability to grasp form and space relations, or confusion in eye movement. Often the maladjustment itself is obvious, as in the cases of Arthur and Mary, but the factor causing it is not clear.

Billy was referred as a behavior problem. At the time of reference he was in the fourth grade, doing satisfactory written work but poor oral work. The teacher reported that he did not pay attention and

that often when she called on him he did not respond. Individual study soon revealed that there was a hearing difficulty. Billy was a very clever and natural lip reader. When his face was turned towards the speaker he had phenomenal skill in telling what had been said, but his hearing had become so poor that once his eyes were fixed elsewhere he could not tell that he was being addressed. For over a year and a half he had concealed from the people in school his real difficulty.

EFFECT OF DIFFERENCES UPON PERSONALITY

The effect of such variations as have been mentioned upon the child's total personality are determined in large measure by other factors, such as the home, the school, playmates, and society in general. Since personality is the result of interplay between the inner drives and the outer forces, individual variations depend for their final effect upon the environment. A few years ago a study was made for the Special Class Department, of the adjustment to industry of boys who had attended special classes in Cleveland. After studying the record of those who had failed to make a good adjustment, the investigator concluded as follows:

Other factors being equal, a boy whose family were of the same mental level as he, stood a better chance of success than one who was a misfit in his home. If he had been coddled by an intelligent but over-anxious mother, or teased by brighter brothers and sisters; if he had been considered "different," his chances for adjustment to life were not as good as those of the boy with the same mental ability whose home was poorer according to social standards, but in which he was treated as an equal by the other members of the family. A normal, thrifty home where social and intellectual requirements are not great is the ideal environment for the boy of limited mentality.²

Following is an illustration from the same study:

Ralph had an intelligence quotient of 70, his conduct in school was very good, and his home environment was considered excellent. He was a satisfactory worker at first, having held two jobs for a period of a year each. His ambition, fostered by his mother's pride, led him to become discouraged about what he was able to do. He failed in an attempt to study electricity and mechanics at night school. Recently the family have moved to a better neighborhood. Ralph has shifted from one temporary job to another during the last year. There is every indication that his mother is not permitting him to adjust himself at his own level and that he is suffering from a sense of failure.³

Unusual ability often shows up more in one group than in another. Ray, a very bright boy, was first called to the attention of the clinic when he was in the fourth grade. At that time he was in a group of children of average or slightly below average intelligence. He talked

² Richmond, Rotha. *A Report on the Adjustment to Industry of Boys who attended Special Classes in Cleveland*. Cleveland: Board of Education, 1929. (Mimeographed.)

³ *Ibid.*

a language that only he and the teacher could grasp. He found it unnecessary to exert himself, since without much effort he could easily lead the group. When placed in one of our major work groups he came back to the school upset. He did not like it because for the first time in his life he had come up against real competition with boys and girls whose ability equaled or excelled his. Under the encouragement of his former principal he stuck it out and finally made an adjustment. At present he is in one of our senior high schools, having completed satisfactorily the work for gifted pupils in the junior high school. His junior high-school teacher reports, "He managed to hold his place in the major work group without, however, being in any way outstanding." Ray ranked toward the middle of the group of outstanding pupils. He is no longer unique. The indications are that, while he is still self-sufficient and shows a tendency not to exert himself unless interested, he has learned how to work in competition with children of his own capacity.

Like the very bright child who has little competition, a slow or dull child in a district containing few slow children has much more difficulty in making a satisfactory personality adjustment than if he were in a group composed largely of slow children. The case of Evelyn illustrates this point. Evelyn's development was slow. She was an only child and her family lived in a district where most of the children were bright or above normal. Evelyn had difficulty with school work from the time she entered, and never passed a grade without considerable extra tutoring. By the time she reached the sixth grade she was completely lost, and was discouraged by her inability to keep up with the rest of the pupils. At this point we suggested to the parents that she be placed in a school in another district, where the average ability more nearly corresponded to her own. We also suggested that the tutoring be eliminated, and that she be told that the work was fitted to her needs and we knew that she was able to carry on by herself. The result was an almost complete change of personality. For the first time she was successful thru her own efforts. The contrast between the work she produced and that of the children around her was not too great. She was happy and felt that she could do things without assistance.

Not only does the presence of an extremely bright or dull child in a class influence that pupil's own personality, but his presence or absence may change the personality development of other children in the class. In checking for unusually bright children in Cleveland, we had reason to reexamine a class of 6A's from which the brightest children had been removed two years before. The teacher said that she again had a group which was doing unusual work, children who had been in the class before but who had not been evident as long as the brightest group was present.

The tests indicated that these remaining children were not of the gifted type, but were having an opportunity to gain real success and approval since the removal from the class of those children with whom they could not compete.

CONCLUSION

Each child varies from other children with respect to a large number of physical, mental, and emotional characteristics. Moreover, these characteristics are not closely related to one another; a child may rank relatively high in one trait, and relatively low in another. While extreme deviations are readily detected by teachers and principals, many significant differences among so-called "normal" children are often overlooked and are not adequately cared for in the school program. It is important to meet each pupil's individual needs as far as possible, not only that he may succeed in his school work, but that his entire personality may become well adjusted to the requirements of healthful and useful living.

While individual differences do affect personality adjustment, their influence is not usually direct and independent of outside forces. Similar characteristics may produce different results in the individual, depending upon the social and other environmental factors involved. Thus, a dull child may become discouraged, unhappy, and antagonistic because he is given no opportunity to succeed on his own level, or he may develop optimistic, joyful, and cooperative attitudes, because his associates accept him and appreciate whatever contribution he can make to the group. No one knows with certainty how great a discrepancy must exist between an individual's characteristics and his environment in order to produce serious disturbances of personality. It seems clear, however, that the school can increase the likelihood of satisfactory adjustment by providing suitable opportunities for every child to succeed, by seeing that conditions of competition are fair and reasonable, by always giving due credit but not extravagant praise, by requiring adherence to standards which are reasonable for the individual as well as for the group—in short, by allowing and even encouraging children to differ from one another in many respects, rather than penalizing them for it.⁴ We must not forget that extreme variations are found among highly successful and well-adjusted personalities, and that an individual's shortcomings in some traits may be offset by marked superiority in other traits. Good adjustment is often achieved in spite of, and sometimes because of, wide differences among individuals.

⁴ For further discussion of how the school can help to meet the needs of individual children, see especially Chapters III and VII.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY IN HIGHLY INTELLIGENT CHILDREN

LETA S. HOLLINGWORTH

Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York

NEARLY ALL OF THE RELIABLE KNOWLEDGE that we have about intellectually gifted children has been accumulated during the past two decades. The inertia of the schools is perhaps most clearly indicated by the fact that teachers often do not recognize gifted pupils when they teach them. Varner¹ showed in 1922 that teachers could identify dull pupils much more reliably than they could identify the highly endowed. "Teachers can select 20 to 40 percent of the bright pupils in their grade, and from 50 to 60 percent of the dull."² This situation may have been slightly altered since 1922, by introducing into the training of teachers some of the new knowledge about gifted children, but it is still true that very little attention is given to the bright as compared with the dull. This is primarily because whatever annoys us engages our attention, to the neglect of that which proceeds in an orderly fashion.

Who are the "highly intelligent" children?—We shall refer in this discussion to children who reach the highest centile for general intelligence, when measured by means of standardized tests applied by a trained person. Such a child is thus, by definition, the most intelligent "one in a hundred," and he tests in the present generation at or above an intelligence quotient (I.Q.) of 130, on a scale as reliable and valid as the Stanford-Binet.³

The children included in this definition cover a very wide range of intellect, from an I.Q. of 130 (Stanford-Binet) to the topmost limit of human variation. This topmost limit seems to define itself at approximately 200 I.Q. The most extreme deviates reported in the literature as fully measured fall at or near this point.⁴ A considerable number falling above 180 I.Q. have been reported, many of them not fully measured by Stanford-Binet on account of the limitations of the test. It is therefore clear that children in the upper 1 percent are not all alike. On the contrary, the child at the top of this group exceeds the child who barely reaches the group by much more than the latter exceeds the average child. The most able in the upper 1 percent surpasses the least able in this group by as much as the average child

¹ Varner, G. F. "Can Teachers Select Bright and Dull Children?" *Journal of Educational Research* 6: 126-32; September, 1922.

² *Ibid.*

³ Terman, Lewis M. *The Measurement of Intelligence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916. 362 p.

⁴ Hollingworth, Leta S. *Gifted Children, Their Nature and Nurture*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1926. 374 p.

surpasses a moron (in terms of I.Q.). The really difficult problems of adjustment to life and to people come to those who test above 170 I.Q. As there are so very few of these children, parents and teachers are seldom called upon to consider their needs. Thus when one does appear, he or she is the more likely to be misunderstood.

What is meant by "personality"?—Having defined in terms of statistical frequency what we mean by "highly intelligent," it will tend to clarify the following discussion if we define also our concept of "personality." By "personality" is here meant the set of reaction-patterns which characterize an individual in his search for satisfactions, particularly those patterns which have to do with human relationships. This concept is admittedly vague and loosely stated, but the present writer is incapable of doing better in the present vague and loose state of knowledge of personality. As thus defined, personality is derived from a combination of the physical, the intellectual, and the emotional equipments of the organism ("emotional" being taken to include the whole area of desire and appetite). Personality is what the person looks like, what he knows, and what he wants, creating a total impression day by day upon his fellows by what, as a result of all these factors, *he does*.

Our question then is precisely this: As children testing above 130 I.Q. (Stanford-Binet) develop toward maturity, what do they look like? What do they know? What do they want? What do they do?

General considerations—Obviously, not every aspect of personality can be discussed in the limited space at disposal here. We shall confine ourselves to a few of the more important phases of development which are unique in the case of gifted children; and particularly to such as arise from the combination of immaturity and deviation, which lasts for approximately twenty-one years. This is the period when development is taking place, as distinguished from the period of maturity.

It should be stated clearly at the outset that children of very superior intelligence are not, as a group, socially annoying. The problems of personality adjustment are those of the child, not those of society as ordinarily understood. If the gifted child would annoy society, society would pay more attention to him. Society builds splendid institutions and provides expert care and guidance for vicious and feeble-minded children. That society does not pay such attention to the gifted is in itself evidence of social acceptability. The researches of Terman,⁵ of Hartshorne and May,⁶ and of Haggerty,⁷ among others, have shown

⁵ Terman, Lewis M., and others. *Mental and Physical Traits of a Thousand Gifted Children*. Genetic Studies of Genius, Vol. I. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1925. 648 p.

⁶ Hartshorne, Hugh, and May, Mark A. *Studies in Deceit*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. 720 p.

⁷ Haggerty, M. E. "The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public-School Children." *Journal of Educational Research* 12: 102-22; September, 1925.

that highly intelligent children are more stable emotionally than are children in general, are much more resistant to childish temptations, and exhibit far less of undesirable behavior than is exhibited by the dull (altho teachers report them for "restlessness" and "lack of interest" somewhat more often than they report children of 100 I.Q.). The researches of Burt⁸ and of Healy and Bronner⁹ show few children testing above 130 I.Q. among delinquents, in proportion to their frequency in the population as a whole.

With these facts as to generally superior adjustment before us, let us inquire whether there are, nevertheless, special perplexities in the life of a gifted child, and at what point in the range of intellect these perplexities begin. Is it possible that a child who varies as far *above* his contemporaries as an imbecile or an idiot varies *below* them, will find only advantages, and no special difficulties of development created for him by the fact of his wide deviation?

From the observation and measurement of gifted children as they have grown from early childhood to maturity,¹⁰ it is possible to formulate clearly some of the special problems of development which arise from being an extreme and infrequently occurring deviate. The more intelligent the child, the more likely he or she is to become involved in these puzzling difficulties. Let us consider some of these problems.

The part played by physique—The "looks" of a person has much to do with his social adjustment. If highly intelligent children really resembled the cartoonist's idea of them, there would be little chance of excellent development. Fortunately, the researches of the past twenty years have proved that the popular notions about the poor physiques of the gifted, and the weird ugliness of their physiognomies, are not only erroneous but are the exact opposite of the truth. These are superstitions, founded perhaps on the unconscious longing for "a just nature" which will distribute gifts somewhat equally instead of bestowing everything upon a few persons.

It has been amply proved, by measurements, that highly intelligent children are tall,¹¹ heavy,¹² strong,¹³ healthy,¹⁴ and fine looking¹⁵ as

⁸ Burt, Cyril L. *The Young Delinquent*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1925. 619 p.

⁹ Healy, William, and Bronner, A. F. *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1926. 317 p.

¹⁰ Hollingworth, Leta S., and Kaunitz, R. M. "The Centile Status of Gifted Children at Maturity." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 45: 106-20; September, 1934.

¹¹ Terman, Lewis M., and others. *Mental and Physical Traits of a Thousand Gifted Children*. Genetic Studies of Genius, Vol. I. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1925. 648 p. ¶ Hollingworth, Leta S. "Do Intellectually Gifted Children Grow Toward Mediocrity in Stature?" *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 37: 345-60; September, 1930.

¹² Terman, L. M., *op. cit.* ¶ Hollingworth, Leta S., and Taylor, Grace A. "Size and Strength of Children Who Test Above 135 I.Q." *The Education of Gifted Children*. Twenty-third Yearbook, Part I. National Society for the Study of Education. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1924. p. 221-37.

¹³ Hollingworth, Leta S., and Taylor, Grace A., *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Terman, Lewis M., *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Hollingworth, Leta S. "Comparative Beauty of the Faces of Highly Intelligent Adolescents." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 47: 268-81; December, 1935.

a group, exceeding children at large in all of these respects. This does not mean that every individual among the gifted is physically superior, but it does mean that a gifted child is more likely to have a fine body than is a child taken from the general population.

As for beauty of the face, in two separate series of photographs, in which the faces of highly intelligent adolescents were compared with the faces of adolescents of ordinary mentality, the faces of the former were found to be more beautiful. This was the impression made upon "naïve" judges, who knew nothing of the comparative intelligence of those judged.

Perhaps one reason why teachers do not identify gifted children any more accurately than they do, is that they are looking for pupils who correspond to the cartoonist's picture, and thus are led away from consideration of the beautiful and the well grown!

As gifted children approach and reach maturity, they reap the benefits of superior vitality, size, and beauty. However, many of them suffer while growing up from feelings of inferiority connected with size and strength, for typically they are somewhat accelerated in school status, and they choose older children as chums. Thus in physical competitions they work at a disadvantage. Observation shows that they tend to develop sedentary forms of play, or such forms of physical enjoyment as do not depend upon being included in a group, such as swimming, skating, horseback riding, and walking.

Also, in all matters pertaining to leadership, the competition with older classmates and friends exerts an influence, particularly during adolescence. The very young boy (or girl) in high school is not so likely to be elected to posts of leadership, because of his comparative size, his voice, and the juvenility of his clothes. Thus a feeling may be engendered in him that he cannot gain the confidence of contemporaries; and this, in turn, may impair his self-confidence.

If long continued, this state of affairs may lead to emotional straining after social recognition. In social gatherings, size and physical maturity are important as *absolute* quantities and qualities, and not in relation to age. Thus a child should not be placed too far out of his age-group. A very gifted boy, reaching at twenty years a stature of five feet nine inches, remarked, "It is very odd to be as large as the people you're with!" Being always the smallest member of a social group may develop attitudes which are hard to revise when finally the boy or girl achieves adult stature and is "as large as the people he or she is with."

This difficulty in assuming a normal place among more mature schoolmates arises especially in adolescence, when association with members of the opposite sex comes into play. Being in high school

or in college with much older classmates, the boy of thirteen to sixteen finds himself at a disadvantage with the girls whom he meets. The girls brought to parties by the older boys are "too old" for him, and he feels unable to claim their attention. Many of these young boys show sufficient insight and sufficient management of their disadvantage. They know that the trouble lies in being "too young," and that later they will achieve standing with the girls. In a few cases, however, this difficulty may lead to an unfortunate avoidance of girls, even in more mature years. In the case of girls, adjustment to the society of older boys in high school and college seems to present no special difficulties, since girls develop earlier than boys do, and are taken seriously by boys who are older than themselves.

The "inferiority complexes" of gifted persons have been little studied, but it is certain that many such persons do feel inferior and shy. Some of this may be due to the physical comparisons just discussed, arising from prolonged association with older persons.

Problems of adjustment to occupation—Where the gifted child drifts in the school unrecognized, working chronically far below his capacity (even tho young for grade), he receives daily practise in habits of idleness and day-dreaming. His abilities never receive the stimulus of genuine challenge, and the situation tends to form in him the expectation of an effortless existence. Children up to 150 I.Q. get along in the ordinary course of school life quite well, achieving excellent marks without serious effort. But above this mental status, children become almost intolerably bored with school work, if kept in lockstep with unselected pupils of their own age. Children who rise above 170 I.Q. are likely to regard the school with indifference or with positive dislike, for they find nothing there to absorb their interest. This condition of affairs, coupled with the supervision of unseeing and unsympathetic teachers, has sometimes led even to truancy on the part of such children.

On the other hand, if a very gifted child is placed in the regular grades as far ahead of his age as his learning capacity warrants, the evils of social dislocation may result, as described above. Experimental education is at present trying to solve the problem of how to secure right habits of work for the highly intelligent child, but there is as yet little or no agreement as to how this can be done.

Another problem of development with reference to occupation grows out of the versatility of these children. So far from being one-sided in ability and interest, they are typically capable of so many different kinds of success that they may have difficulty in confining themselves to a reasonable number of enterprises. Some of them are lost to usefulness thru spreading their available time and energy over such a wide array of projects that nothing can be finished or done perfectly. After

all, time and space are as limited for the gifted as for others, and the life-span is probably not much longer for them. A choice must be made among the numerous possibilities, since modern life calls for specialization.

The dangers in development with respect to work habits are, therefore, that the child may not develop any habits of sustained effort, and that he may fail of success as a worker thru being interested in too many things ever to accomplish very much at any one of them. His problem as he goes into adolescence is to make a definite choice, and to form the habit of effort.

Learning to "suffer fools gladly"—A lesson which many gifted persons never learn as long as they live is that human beings in general are very different from themselves in thought, in action, in general intention, and in interests. Many a reformer has died at the hands of a mob which he was trying to improve, in the belief that other human beings can and should enjoy what he enjoys. This is one of the most painful and difficult lessons that each gifted child must learn, if personal development is to proceed successfully. It is more necessary that this be learned than that any school subject be mastered. Failure to learn how to tolerate in a reasonable fashion the foolishness of others leads to bitterness, disillusionment, and misanthropy.

What is meant here may be illustrated from the behavior of a seven-year-old boy with an I.Q. of 178. He was not sent to school until the age of seven because of his advanced interest in reading. At seven, however, the compulsory attendance law took effect, and the child was placed in the third grade at school. After about four weeks of attendance, he came home from school weeping bitterly. "Oh, Grandmother! Grandmother!" he cried. "They don't know what's good! They just won't read!"

The story then came out, how he had taken book after book to school—all his favorites from his grandfather's library—and had tried to show the other third-grade pupils what treasures these were. But the other pupils only resisted his efforts, made fun of him, threw the treasures on the floor, and finally pulled his hair.

Such struggles as these, if they continue without the child's insight, may lead to complete alienation from his contemporaries in childhood, and to misanthropy in adolescence and adulthood. Particularly deplorable are the struggles against dull or otherwise unworthy adults in authority. The very gifted child or adolescent, perceiving the illogical conduct of those in charge of his affairs, may turn rebellious against all authority and fall into a condition of negative suggestibility—a most unfortunate trend of personality, since the person is then unable to take a cooperative attitude toward authority.

A person who is highly suggestible in a negative direction is as much in bondage to others around him as is the person who is positively suggestible. The social value of the person is seriously impaired in either case. The gifted are not likely to fall victims to positive suggestion, but many of them develop negativism to a conspicuous degree.

The highly intelligent child will be intellectually capable of self-determination, and his greatest value to society can be realized only if he is truly self-possessed and detached from the influences of both positive and negative suggestion. The more intelligent the child, the truer this statement is. It is especially unfortunate, therefore, that so many gifted children have in authority over them persons of no special fitness for the task, who cannot gain or keep the respect of these good thinkers. Such unworthy guardians arouse, by the process of "reintegration," contempt for authority wherever found, and the inability to yield gracefully to command.

Thus some gifted persons, mishandled in youth, become contentious, aggressive, and stubborn to an extent which renders them difficult and disagreeable in all human relationships involving subordination. Since subordination must precede posts of command in the ordinary course of life, this is an unfortunate trend of personality. Cynicism and negativism are likely to interfere seriously with a life career. Happily, gifted children are typically endowed with a keen sense of humor, and are apparently able to mature beyond cynicism in a majority of cases.

The tendency to become isolated—Yoder¹⁶ noticed in studying the boyhood of great men, that altho play interests were keen among them, the play was often of a solitary kind. The same is true of children who "test high." The majority of children testing above 160 I.Q. play little with other children, unless special conditions are provided, such as those found in a special class. The difficulties are too great, in the ordinary course of events, in finding playmates who are appropriate in size and congenial in mentality. This fact was noted some years ago by the present writer.¹⁷ Terman¹⁸ in 1930 made a special study of the play of those in his group of children who tested above 170 I.Q., and found them generally more solitary in work and play than children clustering around 140 I.Q.

These superior children are not unfriendly or ungregarious by nature. Typically they strive to play with others, but their efforts are defeated by the difficulties of the case. These difficulties are illustrated in the

¹⁶ Yoder, G. F. "A Study of the Boyhood of Great Men." *Pedagogical Seminary* 3: 134-56; October, 1894.

¹⁷ Hollingworth, Leta S. "The Child of Very Superior Intelligence as a Special Problem in Social Adjustment." *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, 1930*. New York: the Congress, 1930. Vol. II, p. 47-69. Reprinted in *Mental Hygiene* 15: 3-16; January, 1931.

¹⁸ Terman, Lewis M., and others. *The Promise of Youth. Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. III. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1930. 508 p.

efforts of the seven-year-old boy already mentioned. Other children do not share their interests, their vocabulary, or their desire to organize activities. They try to reform their contemporaries, but finally give up the struggle and play alone, since older children regard them as "babies," and adults seldom play during the hours when children are awake. As a result, forms of solitary play develop, and these, becoming fixed as habits, may explain the fact that many highly intellectual adults are shy, ungregarious, and unmindful of human relationships, or are even misanthropic and uncomfortable in ordinary social intercourse.

This difficulty of the gifted child in forming friendships¹⁹ is largely a result of the infrequency of persons who are like-minded. The more intelligent a person is, regardless of age, the less often can he find a truly congenial companion. The average child finds playmates in abundance who can think and act on a level congenial to him, because there are so many average children.

Adding to the conditions which make for isolation, is the fact that gifted children are often "only" children, or have brothers and sisters who differ widely from them in age. Thus playmates in the home are less numerous for them than for children generally.

The imaginary playmate as a solution of the problem of loneliness is fairly frequent. We know but little at present of the psychology of this invention of the unreal to fill real needs. Reasoning from the general principles of mental hygiene, one would say that the pattern of companionship represented in the imaginary playmate is less valuable for personal development than a pattern founded on reality, and that efforts should be made to fill the real need with genuine persons, if possible.

Also, the deep interest in reading which typifies the gifted child may further his isolation. Irwin²⁰ believes that reading should be deferred in the education of the highly intelligent. "I believe it is especially important that intellectual children get a grasp on reality thru real experiences in making and doing things before they are ever introduced to the wonders that lie within books."²¹ From this point of view, the development of the physical, social, and emotional aspects of personality would have first attention in the education of a gifted child, the intellectual being fostered last of all because it comes of itself, and is too likely to run away with the other three and lead to isolation.

This tendency to become isolated is one of the most important factors to be considered in guiding the development of personality in highly intelligent children, but it does not become a serious problem except at the very extreme degrees of intelligence. The majority of children

¹⁹ Hollingworth, Leta S. "Playmates for the Gifted Child." *Child Study* 8: 103-04; December, 1930.

²⁰ Irwin, Elisabeth. "The Public School and the Gifted Child." *Child Study* 5: 6-8; November, 1927.

²¹ *Ibid.*

between 130 and 150 I.Q. find fairly easy adjustment, because neighborhoods and schools are selective, so that like-minded children tend to be located in the same schools and districts. Furthermore, the gifted child, being large and strong for his age, is acceptable to playmates a year or two older. Great difficulty arises only when a young child is above 160 I.Q. At the extremely high levels of 180 and 190 I.Q., the problem of friendships is difficult indeed, and the younger the person, the more difficult it is. The trouble decreases with age because as persons become adult, they naturally seek and find on their own initiative groups who are like-minded, such as learned societies.

The concept of "optimum intelligence"—All things considered, the psychologist who has observed the development of gifted children over a long period of time from early childhood to maturity, evolves the idea that there is a certain restricted portion of the total range of intelligence which is most favorable to the development of successful and well-rounded personality in the world as it now exists. This limited range appears to be somewhere between 125 and 155 I.Q. Children and adolescents in this area are enough more intelligent than the average to win the confidence of large numbers of their fellows, which brings leadership, and to manage their lives with superior efficiency. Moreover, there are enough of them to afford mutual esteem and understanding. But those of 170 I.Q. and beyond are too intelligent to be understood by the general run of persons with whom they make contact. They are too infrequent to find many congenial companions. They have to contend with loneliness and with personal isolation from their contemporaries thruout the period of immaturity. To what extent these patterns become permanently fixed, we cannot yet tell.

There is thus an "optimum" intelligence, from the viewpoint of personal happiness and adjustment to society, which is well below the maximum. The exploration of this concept should yield truths of value for education, and for social science as well. The few children who test at the very top of the juvenile population have a unique value for society. On them depends in large measure the advancement of learning. If they fail of personal happiness and human contact, their work for society as a whole may be impaired or lost.

Conclusion—As far as observations go at present, intellectually gifted children between 130 and 150 I.Q. seem to find the world well suited to their development. As a group, they enjoy the advantages of superior size, strength, health, and beauty; they are emotionally well balanced and controlled; they are of good character; and they tend to win the confidence of their contemporaries, which gives them leadership. This is the "optimum" range of intelligence, if personal happiness is being considered. If a parent would want his child to enjoy "every advan-

tage," he could not do better than wish the child to be endowed with an I.Q. not lower than 130 or higher than 150.

Above this limit, however—surely above 160 I.Q.—the deviation is so great that it leads to special problems of development, which are correlated with personal isolation. As one boy with an I.Q. of 190 has said: "It isn't good to be in college so awfully young (twelve years of age). It produces a feeling of alienation."

How to provide against alienation from contemporaries of both sexes, and how to prevent the negativism that results from continuous living under inefficient or unreasonable authority, are two of the important problems for education in its attempt to insure good adjustment of personality for children of extremely high intelligence.

THAT WE VIEW the seclusive, unresponsive child with misgivings has several justifications. We do live in a world alive with people. For most of us, people are and must be the most important things in the world. Our very survival depends on them. Our relationships with human beings are usually most comfortable, moreover, when there is understanding, love, and tolerance. These latter must be learned, tho some individuals seem to learn them more easily than do others. This learning cannot be acquired from books or accomplished by viewing happenings from afar. Only participation in social activities will be effective. The unsocial child remains relatively unpractised in dealing with people, and in competition he must experience serious handicaps. But even this is not the most serious phase of the issue. Unsocialness in any but the very young usually represents an escape mechanism which, altho constructive at times, may have very grave consequences for the individual's mental health.—Koch, Helen L., p. 508 of this yearbook.

THE KIND OF SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT NEEDED

F. B. KNIGHT

Professor of Education, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

EVERY PART OF THE WHOLE CHILD contributes to his personality. By "personality" is meant the individual's own unique style, or system, or habitual strategy of presenting himself to his world and of interpreting his world to himself. The child's personality grows out of his inherited constitution as the latter matures by its own inner forces and is modified by myriad environmental influences. The continual interaction between the self and its world is not a glittering generality, as is often implied in writings about the environment. Rather, the environment is a stream of particular stimuli bombarding the person, who responds specifically to them when he is in a specific condition. *General* human nature and *the* environment exist only in books.

Whether the various aspects of a child's environment are good or harmful depends partly upon what stimuli his constitution needs, what it is capable of doing about the stimuli, what it wants to do about them, how previous experiences have helped to determine its attitude toward them, and how the given stimuli are related to the total environment and to the maturity of the constitution at the time. Let us consider briefly three phases of the child's constitution—the physical, the intellectual, and the emotional—with reference to the problem of providing a useful school environment for them.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHILD'S PHYSIQUE

Space permits only a few suggestions as to the importance of physical and physiological factors in personality growth. Among the most frequently overlooked are such characteristics as height, weight, and degree of neuromuscular coordination. A person tall for his group looks down into the eyes of his fellows. One noticeably short is forever looking up into the eyes of his fellows. The environments of these two individuals are fundamentally different, however identical they may seem to the ordinary observer. It is not suggested that pupils be grouped according to height, weight, or physical skill, except in the case of certain competitive physical activities. It is essential, however, that the school provide compensations for felt inferiorities, and that it cultivate an understanding of the problems created by extreme deviations from physical norms.

One of the most significant physical factors is the child's available energy. Constitutional differences in energy production are real and are hard to modify. It is better to be born with a long intestinal tract

than in close reach of a silver spoon (if such an alternative could be arranged). Well-managed energy commandeth the world—even in a cooperative society. And before it can be managed, the energy must be available. A school day may be a wholesome, busy experience to one child, and a totally exhausting one to another. A curriculum committee, ambitious to provide children with a good life, and impatient to get it all provided in the first eight grades, is prone to overload the child's energy system. The most energetic members of a teaching staff naturally gravitate to the curriculum committee. (Energy commandeth the world.) They estimate all teachers' ability to "dynamize" the classroom by their own ability. As a result, specifications for the year's work contain energy demands greater than can be met by either the average teacher or the average pupil. Often the committee's prescription for disappointing results is a demand for still greater efforts.

It is hoped that the admitted injustice and exaggeration of the foregoing statement will stimulate elementary-school principals to increase their insistence upon lighter curriculum loads and upon the definite shifting upward in grade location of many school topics. Just what is taught, for example, in Grade IV between 1:30 and 2:30 which would serve the child's purposes as effectively as an hour's nap? Fatigue, stress, strain, a sense of hurry, and pressure of work means that the constitution and its environment are out of kilter, that the environment is hindering, not helping, good personality development.

THE SCHOOL AND THE CHILD'S INTELLECT

Intelligence is another aspect of the child's constitution with which the environment carries on serious business. Substantial evidence exists to show that differentials in school environment cause significant and rather permanent changes in I.Q.¹ Whether we know with precision what the differentials are and how to operate them objectively, is another question. Evidence on the subject is mentioned here as an antidote to the fatalistic attitude toward intelligence, which came as a result of the early view of the fixity of I.Q.

Method and attitude of the teacher—The same environment affects different I.Q. levels in different ways. Thus the same teacher-explanation may bore one child, meet the needs of another, and be just too

¹ Brown, Ralph R. "The Time Interval Between Test and Re-Test in Its Relation to the Constancy of the Intelligence Quotient." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 24: 81-96; February, 1933. ¶ Hallowell, Dorothy K. "Stability of Mental Test Ratings for Pre-School Children." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 40: 406-21, June, 1932. ¶ Lincoln, Edward A., and Wadleigh, Verna L. "Change and Constancy in Group Test I.Q.'s." *School and Society* 35: 606-08; April 30, 1932. ¶ Wellman, Beth L. "The Effect of Pre-School Attendance upon the I.Q." *Journal of Experimental Education* 1: 48-95; December, 1932. ¶ Wellman, Beth L. "Growth in Intelligence under Differing School Environments." *Journal of Experimental Education* 3: 59-83; December, 1934. ¶ Wellman, Beth L. "Some New Bases for Interpretation of the I.Q." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 41: 116-26; September, 1932.

tough and rapid-fire for another. Many would agree that the teacher as a person is the most potent single factor in the child's school environment. Postponing for the moment reference to broader types of interaction than intellectual ones, emphasis is given here to possible effects on the personality of the child as his mind and its habits are influenced by the teacher.

The teacher contacts the child's mind somewhere along a scale roughly drawn thru these four points: (1) utter, overwhelming domination; (2) reasonably strong leadership; (3) cooperation as a partner; and (4) absence of influence which leaves the child to shift for himself. Which type of influence is preferable is a live question. Probably all degrees of domination are at times desirable for any individual pupil. And some pupils need more (some less) domination than others as a constant factor in their environment. In any case, the teacher should know what degree of domination she is exercising and should calculate the reverberations of this type of domination upon the child's inner life.

Many children quickly learn to use the teacher as a crutch, but learn slowly, if at all, to get along on their own intellectual feet when the teacher-support is withdrawn. Allowing overdependent mental habits to develop in the child thru a strong teacher's carrying the load may yield high scores on tests, but the cost is a reckless one. Of many adults today it can be truly said that the one thing they learned in the schools of yesterday was to abdicate their own intellectual freedom and self-sufficiency in favor of a too-dominating teacher. And such a lesson may never be unlearned.

Influence of fellow pupils—The child's second most potent environmental influence in the school is his fellow pupil. Ideally, his fellow pupils would be selected as carefully as his teachers. Only gross adjustments are usually feasible, however. The same classroom is a far different psychic environment to the bright child from what it is to the slow one. The bright child, so far as intellectual abilities are concerned, presents himself to a world which feeds his ego and can overfeed it. He sees a world full of those with whom he compares favorably—often too favorably. The slow child lives in a world in which attitudes of timidity, fear, humiliation, and general depression are all too easily cultivated.

Factors in a child's environment may easily "gang up" against him. The mind of a slow pupil of moderate energy, in a class of bright pupils of great energy, led by a dominating teacher, may learn what is in the curriculum, but his total personality is sure to learn to be apprehensive, anxious, and recessive. The chances are good that, with what courage his constitution possesses, he will make definite personality compensations as he adjusts to his school world. There is no guarantee that these

compensations will be either personally or socially creditable. We can easily see that what is really happening to the child as far as the education of his total self is concerned, under such circumstances, is a far cry from anything reported by scores on standard tests. It is not quite as easy to see that such "goings on" are as possible in an activity school as in the rightly abandoned lock-step school. Corresponding hazards exist for the bright child.²

The program of school work—There are assets and liabilities in the school environment common to the experience of all children, which echo thruout their whole personalities. If, to aid us in appraising the psychic life of the school, we had a psychiatric score-card similar to the architect's score-card for appraising the school building, the queries which follow would be among many receiving critical attention as far as the intellectual fraction of the whole child is concerned.

1. Are the intellectual demands of the work well leveled to the intellectual power and maturity of the child? Hardy plants do not develop in a hothouse of "easy" work. Too difficult work means that the youngster is attempting to nourish himself on a diet of failure. Such a diet leads to personality malnutrition. Solid food which can be digested is basic to health, strength, and growth. Responsible educational leaders are currently much concerned with the proper grade location of curriculum content.

2. Is mere memory, or genuine meaning and understanding, the warp and woof of school work? Here, the typical school day is surely standing in need of grace, for a basically "memory education" can be varnished over with brave and colorful pretense of understanding, as effectively as scrub pine can be made to look like mahogany. Of course we must not expect twelve-year-olds to understand in an adult way. And we know far too little at present about the nature of good twelve-year understanding.

3. What is the child learning in addition to the curriculum? Naturally, all children cannot learn the same set of intellectual habits. By constitution, hens make poor swimmers and ducks poor fliers. On the whole, however, the philosophy of learning via the teacher's explanation edges the pupil over to a position of intellectual dependence. If we knew as much about a pupil's rate of hearing and his hearing-comprehension as we do about his rate of reading and his reading-comprehension, we might be less optimistic in our present confidence in oral explanation by the teacher. The philosophy of learning via the pupil's own attack on properly prepared, focalized reading lessons edges the pupil over to a position of intellectual aggression in contrast with mental submission.

² See especially the article by Hollingworth in this chapter.

We can well afford to pay a good stiff price to gain a school in which the pupil experiences self-reliance and personal responsibility for his own learning. Few experiences will stand him in better stead.

TEMPERAMENTAL AND EMOTIONAL NEEDS

Temperament is a third phase of the whole child which is deeply affected by the school environment. The pupil's general emotional bias colors his vision of the world, and presents the colors in him which the world sees. How a child feels about his school is a potent selective factor helping to determine the kind of a school it is—for him. Temperament is somewhat a matter of constitutional inheritance, and it is difficult to gauge either the desirability or practicability of making over children's temperaments. That undesirable extremes should be softened is taken for granted.

It is natural to expand an interest in temperament into more or less systematic thinking about the emotional life of the child and the effect of the school environment upon it. It is the exceptional child who is a pure emotional type, but each child tends to be more one type than its opposite. How much of this tendency is due to inheritance and how much to experience is an unsolved problem. The position is well established, however, that early experiences, often unrecognized by observers, possess enormous potency. Thus, the school may begin to influence the child *after* the good or the damage has been done. Space forbids a full discussion of the school as an environment of the temperament or the emotional life of the child. The following paragraphs are but suggestive of a whole army of considerations.

The school must satisfy basic urges—The child's constitution is, among other things, a pattern or organization of urges, drives, wants, wishes, hungers.³ The job of growing up is to modify the relative strengths of some of these urges, and to learn to express them in socially useful or at least socially acceptable ways. The school must meet the needs of the whole child, not just his cortex, via geometry, or his back muscles, via athletics. Much of school work just barely contacts the inner vitals of a child, if at all. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that no price is too great to pay for a school life which absorbs and intrigues the child.

The school should recognize out-of-school influences—The child lives twenty-four hours a day and every experience affects every other one. It is easy for the five-hour school to overestimate its effect on the child. Everything matters in the life of the child, and of nothing which happens to him can a teacher truly say, "Well, that, at least, is none of my

³ See the first article in this chapter.

business." A teacher really should know a child far better than she possibly can know him, in order most helpfully to influence his inner, and to a great extent, his real self.

Personality maladjustments expressed in school are often caused by conditions outside school. Attempts to treat them as if they were school affairs alone may be not only futile but dangerous. John's dawdling in science class may be cleared up by teaching science better, or by teaching John something else, or by having John taught by a teacher who does not affect John as his present teacher does. But John's dawdling may be really due to the fact that his parents quarrel at the breakfast table, or to a thousand things of which a teacher of science, in contrast to a teacher of pupils, is sublimely unaware. Generally speaking, the American school has yet to appraise correctly the value of the visiting teacher and the behavior clinic.

The teacher must understand child nature—The teacher is really a parent and should be on confidential terms with pupils. But for her to be in such a relation to the pupil that she can be let into the child's mind and heart by the child himself is not enough. The teacher must know what to look for and the meaning of what she sees, if and when she does penetrate the protective psychological skin of the child. This calls for insight into personality structure and no small or shallow experience with various personality types. The present professional training of teachers does very little to prepare them for understanding and properly dealing with the emotional aspects of the child. The solution to this problem as it exists now is not clear. Perhaps a first requisite is for the elementary-school principal to become thoroly dissatisfied with the present situation. Whenever a teacher is observed doing a splendid job of personality guidance on the basis of her own common sense and intuition, let the principal consider how much better work could be done (and how much oftener) if that teacher had received sound, if modest amounts of training in psychiatry. What teachers need is not more devotion to their work, but better training for the most significant gifts of teacher to pupil.

The school should do its share to harden the child—The world will bring many bumps, bruises, burnings, freezings, cuts, and infections to most children. The world is not organized to suit the convenience of the citizen; neither is it a sanitarium or padded cell. The adult must be able to "take it," or fall by the wayside. In our anxiety to provide a good environment for the child, we must not overplay our hand and provide a soft one. Emotionally adequate and self-supporting personalities have learned to toughen themselves against the sharp corners of reality. Sooner or later (and better sooner) one must learn to do things for himself and to get along as best he can.

In the old days, the child had to adjust to the school or quit. This was both unnecessary and stupid. In our eagerness to adjust the school to the child we must not give in to our tenderness too much. The child should experience reasonable amounts of struggle, thwarting, opposition, failure, and criticism. In short, we must arrange the school environment to tan the skins of our children to prevent sunburning later on; we must build callouses to prevent blisters; we must teach pupils to knit mittens to protect their emotional fingers from the coldness of the world.

The school must encourage individual differences—The school should do more than merely allow for or tolerate the uniqueness of each individual; it should welcome it. On minimum intellectual and social matters, conformity is desirable. Beyond that, it is a disservice to the child to thwart him in his attempts to live out his own destiny. The teacher needs considerable self-insight in order to avoid trying to make pupils what she thinks they ought to be. What she thinks they should be is usually a series of little photographs of herself. The naïveté of this attitude is obvious. Eagles were not made to climb trees, but they get to the top just the same in their own way. Squirrels also reach the top, tho they do not fly.

The meaning of a bit of behavior is not always clear at first glance. When a pupil is resistive to a teacher, we have a bit of behavior deserving study. When a teacher finds herself resistive to a pupil, another important problem is present. Clashes of personality are often difficult to analyze and treat. One, but not the sole cause of such conflict between pupil and teacher, often appearing in a variety of disguises, is the dominant teacher trying, perhaps unconsciously, to make the pupil like herself, when nature intended no such identity.

The school should be a home—Children are weak and unstable because they are immature. They need the security, friendliness, understanding, and feeling of familiarity and belonging which are connoted by the word "home." A school which is psychologically an orphanage, or a reformatory, or army, or business office, or hospital, or simply a public place where strangers pass each other, will not be a good environment for the emotional aspects of personality. This "homeness" of school does not bespeak soft pedagogy. A home for children of school age does not need a nursery; it does not need baby bottles for milk or lessons; and wise parents are, at times, severe.

The school must foster courage and self-respect—Courage and self-respect are basic to emotional health and vitality. A teacher who lacks these attitudes will pass but little inner strength to her pupils. A school without hazards will do little for courage beyond perversely sidestep-

ping the issue. The teacher who can teach courage and self-respect will be rendering her greatest service. Schools, to be lifelike, must present, under careful supervision, situations calling for courage, and experiences which entail decisions affecting self-respect or disrespect in various ways. It is easy to provide a safe school or a quiet one, or a smoothly running one. But the school is thin and anemic which fails to put the child to the test on the child's own level. A citizenship may be well fed and warmly clothed and still perish from the earth. But a nation of courageous and self-respecting citizens is secure against all onslaughts. Teach courage and self-respect first.

CAN THE NECESSARY ENVIRONMENT BE PROVIDED?

We might as well look the situation squarely in the face, rather than out of the corner of our eye. Any reader of this paper, and of others in this yearbook, can quite properly ask: Where are there schools so well equipped, so well staffed that they can provide the school environment called for? Even a master teacher, with doctors, psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists at his beck and call, could hardly provide the environment specified in this volume.

What we actually have is a teacher with thirty, forty, or even fifty pupils—a teacher who, by necessity, can know but little about what is going on within the mind of any one pupil while at school, and practically nothing about what is happening to him during the rest of the day and night. This teacher has had, at best, but scant hours for a penetrating study of human nature. She has, to be sure, picked up some insight along the way. But she is harassed with her own problems. She is overworked, and saves herself from sheer exhaustion by putting from her mind many of the things she would like to do for her pupils. No sooner does she begin to understand her pupils than they hurry on, and she is assigned another group. Hour after hour, responsible for subjectmatter mastery, she contacts not one client at a time, as a doctor does, but rather, thirty. The energy cost of this is known only to those who do it. Would it not be better to drop the whole matter, rather than to tease and taunt the teacher with educational aims which require time, study, and emotional resilience which the average teacher does not possess? Are we not really deceiving ourselves in pretending to do any serious planning about personality education?

Of course it would be safer, superficially, to sidestep the issue. Surely we are overoptimistic of our ability to serve the inner life of our pupils. But what of it? The whole problem is an instance of *we cannot but we must!*

SUMMARY OF SUGGESTED PRINCIPLES

This paper will have served its modest purpose if it has called clearly to attention the following possibilities relative to the school as an environment useful to the child's whole personality. These possibilities are but few of many.⁴

1. It is not easy to know just what even the most carefully planned environment is doing to the child, but our assumption is that everything matters.

2. Children differ in their needs, and what is one man's meat may be another's poison.

3. We should not be oversolicitous; the child will and should, within reason, work things out for himself.

4. The reasonably useful school environment will not overtax the available energy of the child.

5. The school will present teachers who dominate the minds of pupils only in calculated ways and amounts. The child will be allowed to feel intellectual responsibility for his own learning.

6. The good school environment will give the pupil contact with other pupils who are neither too inferior nor too superior. The child will learn to live with his equals to facilitate intellectual confidence.

7. The school will provide the pupil with neither an invalid's diet of easy material, nor too much roughage in the form of tasks beyond his maturity, but rather, solid food which can be digested. Thus will intellectual virility be fostered.

8. The philosophy of teaching will be, not teacher-explanation, but pupil-striving. Thus will intellectual self-adequacy be given at least a chance.

9. Wide differences in temperament will be respected.

10. Children will not be forced to view teachers as prototypes.

11. The interrelations of all the child's life will be recognized, and the five-hour school will not promise too much.

12. The work of the school will be directly related to the child's deep constitutional demands. It will be a rugged, absorbing life, not a mere thin and pallid series of school exercises.

13. The teacher will be on confidential terms with the pupil.

14. The elementary-school principal will require teachers to know what to look for when, in confidence, they look deep into the inner life of the child.

15. The school will help to harden and toughen the child. The teacher will restrain her own tenderness and refuse to be the child's worst enemy—the soft, indulgent parent.

⁴For more detailed treatment of these points, see Chapters III and IV.

16. The child will be allowed to be himself. The eagle may fly and the squirrel climb to the top of the tree.

17. Personality clashes between pupil and teacher will be viewed as problems, not as evidence of the wilfulness of children.

18. The school will be the "other home" of the child. He will live in a secure world of those who love, understand, and at times, correct him.

19. Courage and self-respect will be the main outcomes of the year's work. And with the courage and self-respect, the child will be allowed to work out his own salvation.

THE BLACKSMITH is not necessarily unhappy because he is not a judge; the gas man is not necessarily downhearted because he is not a doctor. It is the inward sense of failure and ineffectiveness which wrecks human lives and which can be avoided by any and every degree of intelligence if family and school influences are shaped to that end. The dull normal boy can be just as serene about his inability to do bank discount, and should be, as you can be about your inability to write a play as good as Hamlet. But if someone were at your elbow day by day urging you to write a masterpiece and marking you down as a failure every week and month in which you did not perform the task, it would inevitably and completely break down your personal morale. The state of demoralization which is produced in the dull child by the goad of the curriculum is of this gratuitous nature.—Irwin, Elizabeth A., and Marks, Louis A., in *Fitting the School to the Child*, Macmillan Co., 1924, p. 273. (By permission of the publishers.)

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CHAPTER II

OUT-OF-SCHOOL FACTORS AFFECTING CHILD ADJUSTMENT

EDITORIAL COMMENT

WHOEVER would guide a child wisely must understand not only the nature of that child, but the setting in which he lives. Wise teachers and principals realize that the school is not the only important environmental influence in personality growth. Much has already happened to the child when he first enters school. Having entered, he seldom spends more than five or six hours a day in the classroom. In school or out, his life is a continuous stream of experiences which inevitably affect his health and his behavior. People like or dislike him; praise, ignore, or punish him; inspire fear or confidence in him; and set him good or bad examples of conduct. No guidance worker can afford to ignore these forces. No program of personality education can succeed unless it deals with the whole child in his total environment.

The five articles in this chapter are concerned with conditions which lie wholly or partly outside the school. In the first article, Driscoll and Meek review the child's development from birth until he enters school, showing how his natural growth affects his experiences, and how his experiences in turn influence his physical, mental, social, and emotional growth. Myers discusses home and family influences with special reference to children of elementary-school age. He attributes many personality difficulties to either excessive or insufficient restraint upon children in the home.

In the third article, Gruenberg deals with relationships between home and school. She points out certain differences between the viewpoints of parents and teachers, and urges that each group strive for a genuine appreciation of the other's contribution to child welfare, so that cooperation rather than conflict may prevail.

The last two articles present community problems and suggestions for their solution. Bursch summarizes a study of environmental factors associated with pupil maladjustment in a city school system. He concludes that community conditions are more in need of readjustment than are the children. Smith tells how schools and other agencies in his community have cooperated in improving or counteracting such conditions.

At several points in these articles the reader is referred to related discussions in other parts of the yearbook. A list of selected readings is given at the end of the chapter.—*Editorial Committee.*

THE INFLUENCE OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES
UPON PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENTGERTRUDE PORTER DRISCOLL, *Research Associate*

and

LOIS HAYDEN MEEK, *Director**Child Development Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York,
New York*

THE PRESCHOOL CHILD is a home child. He may leave his home for brief excursions into the world outside or for temporary visits to friends and relatives, but he soon returns to the familiar base. His early memories are developed from the milieu of family life around him, and basic standards and opinions are formulated from the mores of his social environment. As he grows older and makes longer and longer excursions from the home, he will evaluate his experiences in terms of the standards he has derived from his family life. Many of his values in life will be based upon these early memories even before they attain conscious expression.

Nature of the child's early development—From the moment that the interested family first peeps into the bassinet at the tiny, red, wrinkled newborn, this baby becomes an individual. He may look just like any other newborn to visiting friends, but to his family he is a real person, another human being in their midst whose presence makes a difference, whose existence must be taken into account. Month by month the family sees him grow and develop, taking on more and more characteristics that make him a distinct individual with his special place in the family group. This increasingly complex pattern of characteristics that distinguishes him from all others is his personality. A child's personality thus can be seen not only in the configuration of his behavior responses, but also thru the behavior of others—how they feel and react towards him. The growth and development of the personality of a child during the preschool years, both from the standpoint of his behavior and of the responses of others to him, is one of the most dramatic episodes in all education.

The preschool child grows at a rate never to be experienced again, and surpassed only by his rate of growth during prenatal life. During the first year of life, the average child will triple his birth weight; by three years of age his weight will be approximately five times his birth weight. In twelve months he will change from a helpless being to one who has some motor independence, tho this independence may be accomplished "on all fours." Between two and three years he will gain a mastery of upright progression, somewhat wobbly at times but adequate to take him into all kinds of forbidden and enticing spots. In language

his growth is no less startling. He can comprehend simple verbal directions and can say a few words by the end of the first year, but during the next two years rapid progress is made. When he is three he will be talking in sentences, using all parts of speech, with a vocabulary of approximately 900 words.

In all of his behavior we see steadily an increase in mental development. Most of his activity is a continuous exploration of his world: seeing, manipulating, tasting, hearing, feeling, poking in his finger, pulling, patting. Everything he can reach he exploits for his own purposes. In these ways he builds perceptions and concepts, begins to associate and to remember. Thus he learns to understand the world about him. Growth in understanding, development of motor control, and acquisition of language do not occur at the same rate or in exactly the same manner with all children. In spite of the fact that two-year-olds are somewhat alike, each child responds in different ways to his environment and the pattern of his behavior is not like the pattern of any other child.

Closely allied with growth but apart from it is the volatile, impressionable, sensitive nature of the preschool child. Few inhibitions have been set up, altho many which continue to function thruout life will be established during this early period. The emotional tone of the two-year-old child is so unpredictable and fluctuating that this period has been likened to that of adolescence. The child during this period is responding largely on the autonomic level characterized by exaggerations of response, lack of leverage, and frequent emotional stampedes. Order, control, and volition develop from these early undifferentiated experiences.

Effect of growth upon the child's experiences—Certain clearly marked stages in development during this period have a direct effect upon the child's experiences. The gradual recognition by the infant of members of the household and the appearance of the responsive smile serve to draw adults toward the infant, to enlarge his world of people. Again his world is changed when he begins to view it from the sitting position rather than the dorsal or prone position. Stimuli multiply rapidly, and the incentive to go toward these new sounds and objects grows apace. Soon the child has developed some means of locomotion and begins to experience at first-hand the things he has had to observe from a distance. Feeling, mouthing, smelling, hitting, and hearing comprise the repertoire of activity which he brings to his aid in learning more about the world. He is now no longer interested in being a mere recipient of the adult's social advances. It is true that he may withdraw from social aggression, but, on the other hand, he does not care to be ignored. Should no social advance be made to him from the people nearby, he

will assume the responsibility for making it. A "cough," a pull at the coat, or a cry if necessary serves to attract the attention of the adult to the small being in the room.

With the advent of the second year, the child's experiences multiply again, for walking has been added to his locomotor skills. Now, if he hears a noise in the kitchen that sounds like the friendly grocery boy, he can get there before the boy has left. He can go into the front room and keep track of his mother's activities, and still keep an eye on the cook by frequent excursions into the kitchen. He is busy as long as he is allowed to rove. A real test of self-control is given when mother says that it is time to take a nap. It seems impossible to close his eyes, his ears, and his nose to all the stimuli around him, to interrupt his experiences for an hour or two.

The acquisition of language contributes equally as much as the development of locomotion in enlarging the child's world. Another mode of receiving impressions has been added to his already versatile repertoire. He begins to hear about things that are not present to his senses: about the good time he had playing ball this morning, or daddy's trip on the boat. He can look at a book and point to the train; he can make the sound of the train; and he can understand when he is told how the wheels go around. The world of ideas has taken on new forms and associations.

While mental, physical, and social development are proceeding from year to year the child's personality is emerging. The factors of growth are inextricably interrelated with his developing personality. The child's personality and his stage of physiological development are so bound together during the preschool years that it is nearly impossible to separate them. During this period, the child is having his initial experiences in body control. All his energy is directed towards getting his body to do his bidding. Many of his problems come because of an advance in mental development without adequate motor control. He sees the bell, he knows what fun it is to play with it, but he can't reach it. He wants to go to the top of the stairs with his ball and doll and a block or two, but he cannot carry all of these and climb the stairs at the same time. Many of his early anger outbursts come because he hasn't the skill to accomplish the things he sets out to do.

Skills likewise seem to be related to a child's place in his own group. It is not unusual to find that a child who does not like to play with other children, who stays on the sidelines when a game of ball is going on, who likes to read or dig or build by himself, is also a child who does not know how to pitch a ball, cannot run fast, is afraid to climb a tree. He withdraws from his group because he cannot do well the things that they do. He is awkward and other children call him "dumb," or "fraid," or

"sissy"; they don't want him on their teams; he hasn't anything to contribute. A recent study¹ gives us some encouragement about such children. It showed that children who were the least aggressive in a nursery-school group showed a marked increase in aggressive behavior after they had been taught to do certain things that no one else in their group knew how to do. Thus may ability and skill influence one's effectiveness in a group.

Experiences contributing to physical development—Opportunities to develop skill in body control are not present equally for all children of preschool age. Many parents consider very carefully the child's physical needs and endeavor to meet these by careful planning. At the age when the child is interested in lifting himself to his feet, they provide a pen which has a secure rail of the proper height. When stair-climbing is the center of interest, they provide small stairs which may be used to climb into the crib. They are careful to have floor coverings which will not slip, so that the child can walk without fear of falling during the initial stages of upright locomotion. Frequently, the child is conditioned against experimentation in body skill because his efforts once resulted in fright due to improperly supported equipment. A child, for instance, may slip on a rug when learning to walk, or the chair may slip when he pulls on it for support in lifting himself to his feet, and thus he will be discouraged from repeating the act. Children differ markedly during the latter half of the first year in the zest and confidence with which they reach toward physical activity. For the less adventurous spirit, a fear of being hurt may prove devastating to activity. Caution or withdrawal will mark his reaction to motor stimuli rather than curiosity and adventure.

Children from two to six years develop motor controls best when they have had equipment that is stimulating and safe, when they have been given freedom to experiment, and when an adult has been ready to encourage, to show them how, and to protect them when necessary. Skill in climbing, in swinging from horizontal bars, in balancing, and in skating will not only develop greater coordination of the large muscles but will bring a feeling of assurance and physical power. Such activities as the manipulating of tricycles, pulling and pushing wagons, throwing and catching balls, and skating increase bodily coordination, add to understanding of materials, and give a basis for play with other children. Parents in the city have just begun to exploit the roof of the apartment house as a means of providing play space. Common observation impresses one with the fact that so frequently the child who can run easily and freely,

¹ Jack, Lois M., and others. *Behavior of the Preschool Child*. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. 9, No. 3. Iowa City: the University, 1934. 171 p.

who climbs fearlessly, is often a more spontaneous and dynamic personality than the child who is constricted in the use of his body.

Parents differ not only in the *opportunities* they provide for physical activity, but also in the *approval* they give to certain kinds of activity. Crawling or creeping is a very natural stage in the development of upright progression. Many times we see a child of eight or nine months who is sitting up "clean and sweet." "She has no interest in crawling." We see some children when they enter school who can cut the outline of pictures very well, but who are awkward in running and jumping. These differences are not nearly so pronounced at the preschool years, but we see the activity of particular children being molded by experience into certain forms. Adult approval or pressure is very effective in determining the behavior of the gentle little boy who can sit and draw by the hour but who knows nothing about throwing a ball, or the raucous girl who can stand on the top of the jungle gym and wave triumphantly to those below her.

Opportunities for intellectual growth—Perhaps there is even a greater variation among homes in providing intellectual experiences than in providing opportunity for physical development. During the preschool years, children are building a basis for the development of ideas. Accuracy and clarity in association of ideas are dependent upon quantity, accuracy, and variety of sensory impressions. Opportunity to experiment with colors, with materials, sounds and words, pitch and rhythm, surfaces and forms, contributes toward an enriched and versatile ideology. Many parents believe it advisable to provide an enriched intellectual environment. They seek to provide an explanation of natural phenomena, to read stories to the child as soon as he is able to listen, to give every opportunity for him to ask questions. In other homes experiences in sensory discrimination, in manipulation, in building and constructing are emphasized. In the first type of home, the conversationalist is being encouraged; in the second, the doer, the worker with raw materials is being trained. The personalities of children reared in "verbalistic" homes are likely to differ appreciably from the personalities of children reared in "activity" homes.

Opportunity to think thru one's own problems, whether at one year or six years of age, is basic to the development of ability to think and to understand relationships. The one-year-old is continually facing problems. His awkward body, plus his desire for physical activity, places him in many problem situations. He may want something while he is standing, and, in his effort to stoop, lose his balance and sit with a thump. Will the adult let him solve this situation or will she enter and solve it for him? Children soon learn which to expect, and adjust their behavior accordingly. We see one child struggle time after time,

and when success finally comes, he trudges off with his spoils, tho probably not on the same mission as originally. Another child may try until he sees an adult in the distance, and then the self-reliant, concentrated attack will give way to a whine or a forced cry. If help does not come as he had anticipated, his appeal may become more vigorous until help has been received. Other children may receive help before any effort has been made. An isolated incident of this type is of little consequence in building up a habit of response. However, such incidents seldom appear in isolation. So frequently the adult builds up a habit of response, and responds to the child in like manner time after time.

Factors influencing the child's social patterns—Social poise, interest in people, and conversational ability are so closely related to personality that they are often confused with it. The home provides the first experiences in social patterns, and in later years the child will reflect the example which his parents have given him. During the preschool years the child is interested more in adults than in children. It takes him some time to learn how to play with children of his own age. The relationship which the child establishes with his parents and with adult friends of the family will have a marked effect upon his subsequent social technics. Some children, before they are eighteen months old, establish a position among adults of being the center of attention, of having things move their way. These children force the attention of the adults upon them, either by affectionate advances or by recalcitrant behavior. It is impossible for the adults to carry on a conversation while they are around. Another child learns to meet mother's friends and then to play quietly with his toys. Another learns to stay away from the social situation unless asked particularly to be present. Whatever the experience may be, attitudes toward one's relationship with people are developed. When the child begins to make contacts with children of his own age, he will attempt to establish the relationship with them that he has had previously with adults.

Experiences affecting emotional responses—The emotional responses are conditioned more by the preschool experience, perhaps, than are any of the other three types, tho physical development runs a close second. The first few years of life are extremely significant in the conditioning of emotional patterns of response. The child reacts emotionally on the "all or none" principle; there are few gauges to temper the process. Thus, experience during the preschool years will determine to a great extent the pattern of control which the family will expect of him. Anger responses rise to a high level of frequency and intensity at two years of age. These responses may be kept at a minimum by planning the child's equipment so that use of it lies within his physical powers, by keeping his environment simplified to the extent that he can have some

success in controlling it. Frequently a two-year-old spends the greater part of his day in tears or in temper because of the many "don'ts" which thwart his curiosity, the many bumps caused by unsteady equipment, the many quarrels due to his playing with his older brother's toys. A few days of this will result in accentuating the anger response rather than in emphasizing its disuse and control.

Fear is the most insidious of the emotional responses which may gain a strong foothold in the child's behavior during the preschool years. During infancy and early childhood, the human and physical environments of the child are conducive to fostering fear. The very size of the child in relation to objects and people in his environment, his inadequacy in meeting situations, his lack of experience for interpreting situations, provide fertile soil for the development of a number of specific fears. Such specific fears as radiators, steam whistles, or dogs may disappear gradually as the child increases in understanding and in his ability to handle situations. But sometimes these experiences may be so intense or so widespread that life itself becomes suffused with dreaded happenings. A general feeling of inadequacy, of insecurity, of fearfulness may result that will permeate his responses in most situations.

Few children of preschool age show anxieties, or the more subtle types of fear, but an accumulation of specific fears may be the basis for the introverted, worrying, anxious child in the elementary grades.

Other influential factors in family life—The role which a particular child will play in the family drama is dependent upon many other factors. First might be listed his sibling position. The first-born child who has been awaited with eagerness and who is looked upon with wonder by both of his parents, will play an important and dynamic role in the family. On the other hand, a child who is only the fourth addition to an otherwise busy household will have to make a place for himself. Perhaps the sex of the child will help. A boy born after three girls, or vice versa, finds a place ready. Unless he has some such unique contribution to offer, the fourth child will have to make his way as best he can. He may find that life moves along happiest when he follows an older brother, or he may find that life holds more thrills if he combats everyone. During these first few years, he will find a role satisfying on some basis, either by trial and error or by the help of some person in the family circle.

In addition to the family constellation, the environment as determined by social and economic factors plays a significant part in determining the experiences which the child will have during his preschool years. The wide range in economic wealth which characterizes the present political system is reflected in a great diversity of living con-

ditions and social life. At one end of the scale we have a highly complex and frequently very artificial mode of daily life. The children of the family are isolated from the adult members; they are in the care of servants who are better trained in the physical care of children than in an understanding of children's mental and emotional needs. Consider the experiences of children brought up in this manner, as compared with children in the average American family. The latter face the rough-and-tumble of daily living with parents who are primed to their utmost to meet the competitive demands of the age. For them, life consists of moments of exhilaration over a success, of tense moments of uncertainty when the future looms foreboding, of righteous rage over a thoughtless childish prank, and of warmth and affection when a peaceful hour has been found. And in this America of ours there is another group whose problems are so intensely economic that the family milieu is a constant reflection of them. Here we find a bitter struggle for actual food; a constant series of evictions; a beaten father petulant and swearing or forgetting in drunkenness; an overworked mother worn out with child-bearing; and children unwanted, hungry, unhealthy—snatching what they can from a life that offers them only undernourishment, slum-culture, and distorted personalities.

The preschool years are going to be equally important for children reared under these diverse conditions. Behavior will be adopted which is effective in meeting the demands placed upon the child, and which at the same time brings to him some degree of satisfaction. The complex pattern of personality which emerges will be greatly influenced by the child's interaction with family life.

Conclusion—In this discussion we have tried to show that the personality of a child as it emerges during the first six years of life is influenced by a variety of factors: (1) the actual increase in physical size; (2) the development of sitting, creeping, and walking; (3) the increase in motor skills; (4) the increase in understanding due to the development of perceptions, concepts, memory, and reasoning; (5) the widening of his social understanding, and increasing interaction with adults and other children; and (6) the building of habitual emotional responses in relation to inhibitions of all kinds, strange and unknown people or situations, and difficulties encountered.

However, we repeat again that the preschool child is a home child. In the development of personality the place which the family milieu and home environment will play is of primary significance. The family milieu has much to teach the child and has a profound influence upon his behavior. The young child *feels* more than he understands. He *imitates* more than he reasons. Day by day, he sees his parents and his brothers and sisters acting in response to the demands of life. He

feels the anger, the tension, the happiness, and the fear that grip the individual members of the family. He reacts to these and incorporates many such responses into his own behavior. While the child's personality will be determined somewhat by his physical, mental, and social development, it will be essentially an expression of the interaction between his developing individualism and the environment of his family.

The problem of the school is to understand the characteristics and the background of each individual child, and to organize the work of the school so that each child gains most from his experiences. This implies not only an understanding of a child's mental development, but an understanding of him as a total, organic, functioning individual. It calls for answers to such questions as these: What does he seek for himself in his activities in school? How do his playmates respond to him? How does the teacher respond to him? When does he fail to gain what he is seeking? How can a way be provided for growth in terms of his individual, dynamic characteristics? For education of this type the teacher holds the key position. Only by close observation and intimate contact with the child, may a true understanding be obtained of the motives underlying his behavior.

THE NURSERY SCHOOL furnishes the child a widened experience with things as well as with people. It offers a greater variety of play materials than most homes can furnish. It provides more equipment fitted to the child's size than the average home can have. Rich tho a home may be in opportunities for contacts with music, pictures, stories, poems, flowers, birds, and animals, the nursery school is sure to open up experiences other than those available at home, and so to broaden the range of things about which the child knows.—Langdon, Grace, p. 378 of this yearbook.

HOW HOME AND FAMILY CONDITIONS AFFECT CHILD PERSONALITY

GARRY CLEVELAND MYERS

Head, Department of Parent Education, Cleveland College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio

ALL ELSE BEING EQUAL, that home is best for cultivating wholesome personality in the child which affords proper physical care and protection and promotes good mental health. Such a home is not overcrowded, has no other adults but the parents, as a rule, and has an atmosphere of sympathy and understanding, family affection, and emotional security. The parents in this home enjoy a mutual fellowship, a high regard for each other's personality and for the child's; and they aim to be as one in the child's up-bringing. In addition, the child in his immediate community has ample opportunity for fresh air, sunshine, and safe out-of-door play.

Importance of a sound and healthy body—A basic item in the building of personality is a sound and healthy body. Physical defects tend to foster personality defects. Even before the child is born, the well-being of the mother is of prime importance for the proper physical development of the unborn child, and for the mental and emotional poise of the mother following his birth. The healthier she can keep her infant during his earliest years, the better are his chances to be healthy thruout childhood. If, with the guidance of her doctor, she can select and provide proper nourishment for the child, and can cultivate in him a good appetite, good habits of daily routine, and good habits of self-control, she will have built in him a good groundwork for wholesome personality.

Every illness of the child makes it harder for the parents not to spoil him. What parent will not pamper the child who seems to be suffering? And should this child face death once or several times, or be often ill, how difficult it is for the most self-disciplined father or mother to require that he perform necessary routines, and not to waver in his management. Then suppose that this child is frail and sickly after entering school. Almost surely he will learn to feign illness, to malingering, which is one of the earliest patterns of escape. Practised in this art before school age, the child is prone to play sick in order to avoid a hard day ahead, or to stay at home to engage in activities he prefers, or just to be waited on.

Overdependent on his mother, this child tends to grow more fearful of physical injuries incident to playing with other children. The more readily, then, does he cry when bumped, the more surely he is avoided or laughed at by his playmates, and the less ready he is to stand up

for his own rights. He is, therefore, more disposed to quarrel with his playmates and to run to mother tattling when he cannot have his way; and she, in turn, is inclined to grow increasingly protective toward her child. "Mamma-boy" or "cry-baby" he hears from other children; and the more they tease him, the more fearful and dependent on his parents he becomes.

Soon this child finds it easy to avoid other children of his age. Either he spends most of his time alone, or with older children who protect him, or with younger children who let him have his way. In any of these instances, he does not learn the rough-and-tumble skills which others of his age are practising continually. When, occasionally, he does try to join in their fun, they ridicule him for his awkwardness or else intimidate him. Suffering, he stays away from them, and the more he is alone the more of a play laggard and misfit among his fellows he becomes. As he grows older he appears more queer to other children. He worries about this, feels dejected, and suffers ignominiously since he senses that they do not treat him as they treat one another.

The timid child who up to eight or ten years has been overmothered, may eventually be told by his mother that he should spend more time with other children, stand up for his own rights, and be more self-reliant. His father hounds him to be brave, even threatening him with punishment for not fighting in his own defense. But with so long practise at escape thru fear, how is this youngster to gain courage now? He may not gain it, but may only grow more fearful. Yearning, however, to seem brave, he fights from ambush and takes unfair advantage of his adversaries. He picks on weaker, younger children whom he is sure he can easily vanquish. He becomes the tattler, tease, and bully of the school playground—a constant source of trouble to the principal and teacher.

The extremely self-reliant child, on the contrary, stands up for his rights, defending them effectively with his own bare fists if necessary. He feels no reason to lord it over weaker, younger children, or to run to mother or the teacher tattling, or to leave the group at play when things do not go according to his liking. Rather, he strives hard to get along with his playmates and to exercise his wit and skill in the normal competition of the playground. Unfortunately, there are too few children of this type. Most children are somewhere between the two extremes.

If the timid child excels at books, he will on that account spend less time and effort at social adaptation, and devote more time to being alone. Yet he really suffers from his loneliness. Fundamentally, he does not want to remain alone; he would give almost anything to have many friends. How is this paradox of behavior to be explained?

The answer is that when the child chooses, for example, to stay in his room while his classmates go to the playground, his choice is made within the moment when it is easier for him to be alone than to seek companionship. In so choosing he finds more promise for pleasure in solitude than he thinks he could find at play with others. For the instant, he escapes being injured bodily or having his feelings hurt. . . . Also, during the many long hours before his next opportunity to play with others, he will often worry about his loneliness, worry about his missing something, or worry that others may think him queer. These painful feelings grow as he observes what other children say about his being alone so much, and as he hears his parents and other adults say he ought to have more fun with other children. . . .

How all these troubles come to pass, few of us realize; even his parents and teachers generally fail to understand his plight. If they understood, they would cease to hound him for his loneliness, cease telling him he ought to make himself more friendly. For nothing worse could be said to him. He already knows better than anybody else in the world, what he should do. What he does need is help to find the fortitude to do it. Who is there to show him how?¹

Influence of physical handicaps—There is also the child who, on account of some physical handicap or irregularity, feels queer and acts queerly with other children of his age. If undersized or underweight, he hardly can compete well in the physical contests. If dull of hearing, he does not "catch on," and some call him stupid. If near-sighted, his assailants can escape unpunished; he is handicapped, moreover, at such play skills as baseball. If undernourished, tubercular, or low in vim, he lags at play and appears to be a coward. And if he has a crippled heart, his way is especially hard. Children are uncharitable toward a comrade who looks strong and well, no matter what his ills may really be.

From some physical irregularity about which the child is sensitive—perhaps one described by a nickname such as "Red-head" or "Fatty"—he may have borne such incisive torment as to seem very odd to other children, who in turn tease and ridicule him, thus making him more miserable and queer.

It is obvious, therefore, that anything which makes parents conscious of the possible harm to the personality of the child from poor health and lack of physical soundness, ought to lead them to try harder to keep their youngsters strong and healthy. The school should encourage parents, moreover, to deal with the sickly and handicapped child more intelligently, to the end that personality problems may be prevented, lessened, or corrected. It is also obvious that many personality problems arising at school can best be solved by a study of the child in his family relationships and thru cooperation with his parents.

The emotionally dependent child—But even with a strong and healthy body, and without any physical defects or irregularities, a

¹ Myers, Garry C. *Learning to Be Likable*, Columbus, Ohio; School and College Service, 1934. p. 12-14.

boy or girl may become a miserable social misfit among his fellows. The trouble may be wholly psychological. Perhaps such a child has been overmothered. Maybe he was never weaned emotionally, whether he be five or ten or fifteen years of age. His parents may have considered him, when a tot or runabout, too good to play with other children of his age in the immediate neighborhood. In such an instance, not only does he lack playmates, but the children whom he is not allowed to play with tend to "take it out on him" and to get even with his parents. Or, if the parents interfere too much with the rough-and-tumble of the neighborhood playground and try to discipline other people's children, their own child loses out with the gang.

There is also the runabout who has many more playthings than other children of the neighborhood, more things to eat, more money to spend. He is inclined to buy himself temporarily into the good graces of playmates, thus missing the normal give-and-take experiences, and growing overbossy.

In any case the child who is socially maladjusted, whether in the kindergarten, third grade, or sixth grade, has lacked during his earlier years at home those play experiences favorable to cultivating social adaptations; and he probably still has like problems in his home neighborhood. The school can assist in preventing such problems by prevailing upon parents to help their children from the time that they can toddle, to enjoy abundant free-for-all fun with the other children near their homes. To this end parents should be encouraged to foster self-reliance and emotional independence in their children. To the extent that these attitudes are established, the tot of two or three learns not to cry for his mother, and the mother finds no urge to linger when she goes with him on his first day at school.

Yet there is an occasional child at school who always wants someone to help him do what he can do alone. Accustomed to having so much done for him, he lacks responsibility for materials and assignments. For instance, when all the other children are prepared to do a written exercise, he doesn't have his pencil, pen, or paper. Vexed is his teacher then; so also are his classmates; and the offending child is miserable too because he feels condemned. Nevertheless, unfortunately, the same thing may happen again the very next day. Why? The child has done likewise at home for years; he is used to having others take responsibility which he should have shouldered. Only thru weeks and months of patient efforts by the parents to train this child in habits of responsibility at home, is he likely to improve appreciably at school.

Speech difficulties as related to children's fears—The speech of many a child entering school is very infantile. His parents may have thought it "cute." Even his few selected playmates in the home may have re-

sponded to his speech in a matter-of-course fashion. But at school his classmates will make fun of him. Consequently he may grow exceedingly self-conscious when he tries to speak in class. And if he should stutter!

It is not enough for the teacher to give this speech-defective child sympathetic help, or even to obtain the cooperation and sympathy of his classmates toward him, too. His parents and their adult friends need also to be won over to a better understanding of the child and to a greater consideration for his feelings. The stutterer, in particular, needs the cooperation of every person who often comes in touch with him; so that he may feel secure and safe from ridicule. Teachers at school help to prevent or correct speech defects as they help to engender social courage and self-confidence in the child.

The most common classroom fears experienced by children have their beginnings in the home. In learning speech the little child must face prodigious difficulties. Inevitably he makes numerous mistakes with sounds and words and meanings. Some of his blunders, questions, and remarks cause undiscerning parents to smile or laugh at him. How can the little learner then escape incisive feelings of self-consciousness about his speech? Yet what parent has been wholly guiltless of this unforgivable sin against the child? Ridicule of children's questions and remarks at home continues thru their childhood and adolescence. When the youngster enters school his teacher often carries on this ridiculing practise, too.

But neither parents nor teachers turn the laugh on children with the purpose of humiliating them. They just do it, and about as automatically as the dog wags its tail. We must admit that when as parents or teachers we make fun of children, we express our feeling of superiority over them and, shall we say, our pleasure at the pain we are inflicting on them. When, therefore, we appreciate the problem of the suffering child, we set about to discipline ourselves so that henceforth we may sin less frequently and less flagrantly.

Jealousy—Many personality and behavior problems observed at school have a partial or sole source in family relationships. Frequently the unsuspected cause is jealousy. Let it be remembered here that what a child believes, is true for him, regardless of the facts. In case he feels that a brother or sister is loved more at home than he is, or is more admired by relatives and neighbors and playmates, jealousy will certainly ensue, altho the sufferer may be wholly unaware of what is happening. Often one child at home is less obedient, less cooperative, or less studious because a brother or sister gets so much more applause for excellence in these directions than he does. In case a pupil who lags at school has a brother or sister who is very bright or who overtakes

him in the grades, the consequent suffering and the behavior problems which result from jealousy may be catastrophic.

Now, jealousy may engender almost any sort of antisocial conduct. Also, it may cause the jealous child to feel dejected and to be unresponsive and shut-in.

Strange as it may seem, the normal, healthy child may suffer exceedingly from jealousy on account of having a brother or sister who is disabled or appreciably defective in some way. The latter inevitably wins more attention and more overtures of tenderness and affection from the parents and other adults than does the former. As a result, many serious personality and behavior problems may arise in the sound child.

Lack of adequate early restraints in the home—Many personality and behavior problems come from lack of adequate restraints cultivated in the child at home, especially in the early years. Whereas some problems arise from excessive and unreasonable inhibitions (restraints), more of them result from the want of inhibitions; certainly many problems involve parent-child vexations incident to ineffectual home control and guidance.

The child who has not early learned the unambiguous meaning of "No," who has not learned appropriate regard for the rights of others and respect for authority, is destined to encounter constant conflicts with other children, with his parents, and with other adults. He can hardly be very lovable and happy. It were easier for a camel to go thru the eye of a needle than for him to be or to become a good citizen.

The teacher wishing to promote the child's welfare will avoid telling parents of young children not to teach them inhibitions. Rather, she deliberately will entreat these parents to impress upon their children very early and effectively, that there are some things these youngsters must not have and some things they must not do. She will, moreover, help parents to grow interested in books, magazine articles, and courses of study which will help them guide their children in good citizenship within the family and in the neighborhood; she will recommend literature which will help parents arrive at these objectives with the least annoyance and the greatest satisfaction to all concerned.

The good teacher, furthermore, will induce parents to want to understand little children better, to get their children's point of view, seeing a little as they see, and feeling a little as they feel. Above all, teachers will attempt to prevail upon parents to respect the child's personality. Accordingly, the wise parent will balance restraints with love and kindness. Family affection, family comradeship, and family happiness will reign in the home where each member feels secure and strives to help every other member find a maximum of self-expression, satisfaction, and

enjoyment. Then *repression* and *restraint* will no longer be considered synonyms.

Some problems, furthermore, arise out of the inability of parents to evoke cooperation in the child, to get him to do what they want him to do—for instance, to care for his own things as soon as he is able to do so, to help about the home, or to do his school assignments at home.

Not a few problems of personality are caused by lack of proper training in good manners. Since it is a delicate matter to suggest to parents that they ought to help their children learn the social graces, teachers may properly find opportunities at school to instruct their pupils in those items of good manners which will prove useful at present and in later life, thus helping them to gain in social courage and self-confidence.

When teachers meet personality problems—In all the foregoing instances of personality problems, a common factor is fear—a feeling of inferiority or inadequacy. Let us examine this factor more closely as it appears in the school. A very timid child finds it hard to speak comfortably and effectively in class. He may hesitate, halt, back up often for a new start, employ many “uhs” or “ands,” or even stutter. Rarely can he be distinctly heard. Under these circumstances he is hardly able to think clearly because he is so self-conscious.

If we shout “louder!” to him, we shall only make his terrors still more terrible. He already is distraught with fear. This fear impairs his breathing and throws out of gear his whole speech machinery. If we really want to help him, we will work patiently for weeks, months, or even years, until we have created a more comfortable atmosphere in which he is able to feel entirely secure and safe from ridicule. Moreover, we will try to help him enjoy more achievement at work and play.

This child will be able to remove his feelings “from his sleeve” only gradually. He will learn to laugh and to be laughed at when treated on an equal footing with his fellows. He never would have worn his feelings there if he had always mingled freely in the rough-and-tumble of the neighborhood and school playground, and if he had continued to spend many leisure hours with other boys and girls in the halls, homeroom, and get-together places elsewhere. But rarely can the child of any age feel himself in fair competition with his parents or teacher when it comes to banter and wisecracks. We oldsters have the vantage ground. Why should we not assume more sportsmanship toward children? Certainly we should cease to lord it over them with ruthless ridicule and sarcasm.

We can readily see what the newer developments in teaching methods are contributing to the promotion of social courage in the child. When pupils work together in small groups and carry on cooperative activities

of all sorts, they normally converse with one another and with the teacher, and they lose themselves in what they have to say.

The wise teacher will not neglect the problems of the playground. It is there that she can help the timid child to make progress in learning play skills, in playing fair, and in cooperating for the enjoyment of the entire group. Her presence on the playground makes him feel less disposed to bully, tattle, quarrel, or fight from ambush. On the playground she can discover more causes of specific fears than she can in the classroom.

Most of all, the good teacher will seize every opportunity to help the timid child—every child, indeed—to find as many satisfactions as possible in achievements which he feels are worthy; and she will cooperate with his parents to this end. In other words, she will try to help each child feel that he amounts to something.

ANOTHER COMMON CAUSE of school maladjustment is over-ambition on the part of parents. A typical case of this type successfully handled by a child-guidance clinic is the following: Gerald was the terror of his teachers. He continually caused disturbances and refused to study in school. The problem became so grave that he was referred to a clinic. Psychological tests showed Gerald to be unable to do difficult academic work. His parents, in order to improve his grades, had hired tutors. Most of his time outside of school was filled with lessons of various kinds. Every possible means of preparing Gerald for a professional career was tried. He was being forced beyond his ability, and as a protest he refused to cooperate in school.—Snyder, Louise M., p. 548 of this year-book.

THE INFLUENCE OF TEACHER-PARENT RELATIONSHIPS UPON CHILD ADJUSTMENTS

SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG

*Director, Child Study Association of America, and Lecturer in Parent Education,
Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York*

THE TRADITIONAL REGARD for the teacher as an isolated torch-bearer in the community grew out of the necessities of a new nation, struggling to develop a common culture out of the unassimilated ideals of its several peoples. The pressure to Americanize great masses of children from diverse and alien backgrounds emphasized the vague but pervasive idea that teachers were somehow "different," and by so much superior. But today this attitude is changing; for more and more parents are graduates of at least the grammar schools, and as more young people go on to some form of higher education, increasing proportions of adults are becoming as well educated as the teachers themselves.

No longer strangers to school and school affairs, parents come to feel themselves on a more nearly equal footing with teachers in matters relating to the education of their children. This change is bound to affect not only the relation of parents and teachers to each other, but also, and still more importantly, the part which each plays in the personality development of children. For it brings into sharp relief the points at which parents and teachers must maintain distinct attitudes, as well as those points at which cooperation between the home and school must be definitely planned.

Parents and teachers must appreciate their differences in viewpoint— We have been satisfied to assume that, since parents and teachers are exerting themselves for the benefit of the same children, their interests and objectives are necessarily identical. This tradition has stood in the way of a full recognition of certain essential divergences and discrepancies between the home and the school point of view. If parents and teachers are to cooperate effectively, they must be clearer as to just why and where their demands upon the child and their expectations for him are different.

In accepting the principle of universal education, parents gradually surrendered certain of their ancient prerogatives and authorities. One of the consequences has been the setting up of the school's authority in opposition to that of the home. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this tendency is seen in the dissemination by the school of ideas pertaining to diet and health. It was necessary thru two generations of rapid immigration to acquaint a large part of the population with standard practise regarding diet, because it was impossible to maintain

Old World customs from a dozen or more different countries in the new settings. Moreover, the mounting volume of new ideas regarding suitable diet could be most quickly passed on to the homes thru school contact with children. Similarly, sanitary and hygienic practises had to be diffused, often in conflict with tenaciously held views and traditions. Circumstances thus placed the school in the position of teaching children a great many things about the conduct of daily life that were entirely beyond the ken of their parents. And much of the estrangement between the children of immigrants and their parents was the direct result of this effort to teach young people the ways of America—not only the ideals of our democracy, and the language and courtesies of a new land, but the many practical improvements in daily routine that our industrial and urban expansion made available. While all such teaching of the “new” and presumably useful is no doubt necessary, it has often involved emotional factors and disturbances of emotional relationships in the home, quite unrecognized by the schools.

But the school has gone much further in its relation to the children within its walls than merely to instruct them in the three R's, or even in matters of health or of “safety education” for crowded city streets. It deliberately sets out to uphold standards, inculcate ideals, mold personality, and teach certain principles which it considers basic to sound character development. Many parents do not fully understand or approve what the schools are trying to do in these respects.

Among the problems that parents discuss with each other both informally and in their various organizations, this conflict between school and home standards and expectations and authorities appears very frequently. One mother, for example, is perplexed about the school's inspection for cleanliness and neatness. She writes:

In my little girl's school they make a great point of personal neatness. Each morning there is regular inspection of hands and fingernails and shoes. My child is seven and washes and dresses herself without adult help, yet I do not expect her to make a perfect job of it. Several times she has been humiliated by being singled out of the line and reprimanded. Furthermore, there seem to be very limited facilities at the school for her to keep clean once she gets there. No matter how spick and span she may be when she leaves for school, she comes home with dirty hands and clothes. Why must she be clean for school but not for home? I don't approve of the whole proceeding, but what can one mere mother do about it?¹

This puzzled parent raises, of course, more than one question, altho the school-home conflict is evidently uppermost in her mind. It is no doubt desirable for the school to help in the cultivation of neatness and cleanliness; but in isolating this virtue there is danger of overlooking the absurdity of insisting upon a child's keeping himself and his

¹ Child Study Association of America. *Parents' Questions*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1936. p. 220.

clothes "clean" while he is absorbed in doing something that is to him worthwhile—like making mud pies or working in the school shop. There is raised also for both parents and teachers the issue of the public humiliation of a child for disciplinary purposes: Are we still living in the dunce-cap era of discipline? The child must learn to accept a degree of conformity. But is conformity to be purchased at the price of rebellion or repression or stultification?

Another question by a parent indicates uncertainty as to the relative responsibilities of the home and the school:

My nine-year-old has lately been dawdling with his dressing and breakfast until he is too late for the school bus. Twice it has been necessary to send him to school by taxi in order to get him there on time. Should I simply let him be late for school and take the consequences?²

This mother has to be helped to assume the responsibility—which is hers—to get the child to school on time. She cannot ask the teacher to meet the child's resistance or indifference, nor can she demand that the school accommodate itself to her convenience or the child's whims. The mother has, however, the right to expect of the school, which has had experience with so many children, some help toward a better grasp of her problem, so that she may, if possible, discover whether this particular child's difficulty is in the school situation or in the home relationships.

The teacher needs to know the forces affecting child personality—We have learned that in the schoolroom we have to address ourselves not to "average" children but to particular boys and girls. It is equally necessary to keep constantly in mind the fact that the individual child's classroom adjustments are often influenced by factors that never appear in conversation or in lessons. We know that children vary as to their intelligence, their special interests and capacities, and their temperaments. But they vary also as to their age-place in their respective families, as to the encouragements or repressions they experience in their homes, and in the degree to which they are involved in the struggles of their parents to maintain their homes and their mutual relations—or to escape from intolerable situations.

Altho it is impossible for the teacher to know all of her children in this detailed way, it is possible for her to be aware of the endless combinations of forces acting upon the growing personality, to be alert to manifestations of emotional conflict, and to understand where to look for further information or further guidance when needed. The questions she is prepared to ask will indicate the degree of her understanding: What other children are there in the family? What is the relation of

² Child Study Association of America, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

this child to his brothers and sisters? What are the effects upon this child's attitudes, of the father's discontents or the mother's frustrations? Is the rebellious spirit a reaction against the school or against a dominating parent or older brother or sister?

It is especially important that the teacher be on the alert for danger signals, for overt misbehavior is not the only way by which children may react to their difficulties. Even those things in the child's conduct that we approve, or that we take occasion to commend warmly, may sometimes point to conditions that call for further exploration. The "good" child is not always the emotionally well-adjusted child. A young boy's devotion to the study of steam engines and fire turned out to be the expression, not of a scientific urge, but of a powerful rivalry with an older brother who was getting all the attention, and who had to be shown that Edgar was not a "dumb-bell." The fine poster which a girl made for a school exhibit and contest, was completed at the expense of work in which her mother needed to be relieved, but which, because of certain home tensions, the girl was unwilling to do. In such cases we approve the results of the child's activities; we value the drive that makes him persist in carrying out his purpose. But we seldom recognize his activities as symptomatic of conditions that may easily manifest themselves in destructive ways.

The teacher needs, then, to be aware that many obstacles, even dynamic and antagonistic forces, may interfere with the smooth operation of her effort. But, while this awareness will affect her attitudes, it will not change substantially the goals of her striving. It still remains necessary to inculcate the virtues of decent social living, the ideals of patriotism, the practises that make for healthy routines, the appreciation of cleanliness and beauty, the desire for growth and achievement. It still remains necessary to maintain a program of regularity and punctuality, of restrictions in the interests of common safety or of administrative requirements.

The child spends more time at home than at school—Another difference between parents and teachers which both need to understand is in the duration and continuity of their relations to the individual child. The conscientious teacher has a fairly definite set of objectives and is successful in proportion as she manages to attain these with the particular pupils entrusted to her, within a prescribed period. The end of the term or the end of the year sees her task completed, so far as these particular children are concerned; and however well or poorly her task was done, further responsibility is largely waived with the change of classes. The eventual achievements of these children as personalities, however clearly envisioned, however ardently desired, must remain for most teachers largely academic. But the parent is concerned with an

individual child continuously, and with respect to all the fields of his activity. Year in and year out—summer and winter, work and play, whether the child is at home or at school—the mother is looking at the details of daily happenings and also looking ahead according to her imagination or aspirations.

It is true that the contribution of the teacher to the child's development may be entirely disproportionate to the time the two have spent together, largely because of the teacher's expertness and relative detachment, and because of her position as representative of the larger world of people and ideas and culture. But the teacher, as an expert, may be ever so competent or ever so well equipped; yet, however much interest she may have in her class or in the particular children before her, her concerns must of necessity be restricted, in contrast to even relatively incompetent or unimaginative parents. Many parents undoubtedly spoil their children by overindulgence and excessive solicitude. But the teacher must accept the fact that a particular child is the center of the mother's concern, without resenting her excessive eagerness or her disregard of the interests of all the other children.

Teachers and parents have different emotional attitudes toward the child—It should be possible, too, for the parent to appreciate the teacher's task in terms of thirty or forty darlings like her own making their several demands at the same time. An affectionate teacher is often more effective than a cold one; but it is futile—and would be undesirable—to ask of teachers that they love their pupils as do their respective parents. It is equally futile and equally undesirable to ask the parents to be as objective in their educational efforts as are good teachers. It is the nature of parents to be emotionally involved where their children are concerned; and it is in the nature of the good teacher to bring to her task a degree of objectivity that makes for balance and perspective. Precisely because the two are so different, parents and teachers can make their educational contributions in distinct yet complementary ways; but it is for this reason necessary that each be aware of the problems and functions of the other.

Both teachers and parents need insight into their own motives—An entente between teacher and parent demands of both not only an understanding of the child, but also some insight into their own drives. The teacher's patience may be tried by what she considers the amateur criticism of the mother; she feels that the mother appreciates neither the magnitude of her job nor the breadth of her experience. She knows the school system and she has taught hundreds of children. But this unspoken emphasis on her own professional status may be only a cloak for deeper and more fundamental feelings—the unmarried woman's unconscious jealousy of the woman who has a home and children of

her own. The mother, on her part, may resent with all her maternal fervor the presumption that anyone can know more about her child than she does; she may even feel a certain contempt for the spinster who knows children only in rows and acting under rules.

The greater the breach between parent and teacher, the more the child is compelled to choose between them. This is a choice that no child should be forced to make; he needs both home and school to round out his experience of living. If the home's opposition is so effective that it outweighs the school, the child is cut off from many of the expansions of experience which the school should offer him. If, as more often happens, the child rejects the home and throws the weight of his allegiance to the school and its society of other children, the deeper loyalties of the home will be seriously threatened. In any case, such mutual suspicions or jealousies almost invariably find their victims in the child whom both parent and teacher are trying to help.

The school must extend its own point of view—To the extent that the school has accomplished its purpose of raising the educational level of the entire population, it has made necessary a broadening and particularizing of its own point of view. The better educated the parents are, the more they will resent a form of teaching which seems to disregard the views of the home, and to remain unaware of the fundamental problems of family life in the present day. As parents become more articulate, such conduct of schools makes for problems that are not only wasteful and unnecessary, but often positively injurious to the children.

Moreover, as the economic and social status of the teacher has been rapidly advanced during the past generations, it becomes necessary for her to recognize some of the consequences of her changed position in relation to the attitudes of the parents. Wherever now or in the past the teacher has occupied an inferior position, children suffer in their development of appreciations and values; but where, as in many communities today, the teacher occupies a favored position, which many parents envy or resent, the children are equally the victims. This is illustrated by a community in which nearly every man is struggling desperately to keep his children clothed and fed and in school, and nearly all the mothers rise at six to a long day's work. Here the teachers recently began a vigorous campaign for the restoration of salary cuts. They were shocked when the local organization of parents opposed them bitterly. Yet as overburdened taxpayers, as parents fighting an almost hopeless battle for their families' subsistence, it was not strange that these people should think even the teachers' reduced salaries ample for "single women." This is not to argue that teachers should be underpaid; the point here is that we cannot afford to let either teachers or

parents project upon children the bitterness which inevitably results from a lack of mutual understanding between them.

The effect upon the children, even where the strains are not openly discussed, is that of further dividing their loyalties and their appreciations. It would of course be just as undesirable, so far as the effect upon the children is concerned, to have the teachers looked down upon as to have them, as now happens in many cases, envied. The sentiments resulting from such economic and social strains are unavoidable; but we should at least recognize their existence; and we should be prepared to face them, because they are just as important in their influence upon the children as balancing the school budget or maintaining educational standards.

School and home must cooperate in solving the child's problem—As the school extends its educational functions to meet the demands of cultural and social conditions, it will have to reach eventually the parents of the children who are its primary concern. There is a vast body of reliable and usable information that it is desirable for parents to get thru educational channels. There is, further, the increasing need for clarification, in the minds of parents and teachers, as to the operations of the human personality in its growth toward maturity, and in its adjustments to the various pressures and opportunities that constitute modern living. Here the school can very profitably undertake systematic studies thru which both parents and teachers may gain the benefit of skilled psychiatric guidance.

An illustrative case study—The following case study³ suggests how parent-teacher cooperation may become a constructive force in the child's adjustment. With the assistance of a well-trained counselor, the teacher, mother, and father were enabled to utilize the best professional knowledge and so to achieve a real understanding of the underlying problems:

When Mrs. Billings came for advice about the misbehavior of her ten-year-old boy, she felt completely mystified as to its cause. That he should, not only once, but twice, to her knowledge, have perpetrated deliberate hoaxes at school baffled her understanding.

Only by accident were these discovered. In September, just after the opening of school, she had happened to meet his teacher in a department store.

"I was so interested," said Miss Clifford, "that Dr. Billings kept Billy away from school during the first two weeks, on account of the paralysis epidemic. I had the feeling myself that the school should have been closed."

Mrs. Billings stared. "But I thought the school was closed!" she said. "Billy told me. . . ."

She had let it pass. Perhaps there had been a misunderstanding. But the second incident challenged her to action.

³ This case study by Anna W. M. Wolf of the Child Study Association's Consultation Service, is one of a series of Consultation Service Studies in *Parents' Questions*, the Association's book referred to above. (p. 231.)

The children had been asked if they would each contribute a trifle to a hospital fund. The other children, Billy said, were asked to bring pennies up to ten cents, but Miss Clifford asked Billy, privately, since his parents were better off than most of the neighborhood families, if he would bring a dollar. Mrs. Billings had been glad to comply, and had later mentioned to Miss Clifford that she had appreciated the suggestion. This time it was Miss Clifford who was thunderstruck. All the children had been asked for ten cents, so as to cause nobody embarrassment. She had never asked Billy for a dollar, but had been pleased when he had contributed so much, saying "his mother wanted to make up for what some of the others couldn't bring."

How to bring home to Billy a sense of his misdeeds? How to cultivate in him a greater regard for truth and honor? Should he be punished? If so, how? Should Mrs. Billings tell Billy's father? She dreaded to.

The mother went on to tell the counselor that Miss Clifford was interested, and with her approval the teacher was drawn into the consultations.

As to his life at school, Miss Clifford described his work and conduct as passable for his grade, the fifth. He was inclined to be something of a show-off, a little immature for his years. She did not believe he should skip a grade as his mother seemed to wish. Psychological tests showed him to have good average intellectual capacity. Altho not a leader, he was liked by the children; but he responded to teasing by a strained look and had less "come-back" than most boys. He lacked a sense of humor. Miss Clifford had never seen his father, tho Billy talked much of him. Since he was a physician, Billy set himself up as something of an authority on matters of hygiene and the body. His recent misdemeanors seemed to her particularly hard to explain, in view of the fact that he came from an outstandingly good home.

The facts of Billy's home life, as the mother gradually revealed them, were as follows: His father was an eminent member of the medical profession. He had two sons by a former marriage—the oldest already a medical interne, with a promising future; the second, in college, where he was making an excellent record in another field. Their mother had been a woman of attainments and the family standards were high. The second Mrs. Billings felt that her husband tended to ignore Billy and to concern himself almost entirely with his elder sons. There was a great deal of talk among relatives and friends about the abilities of these "promising young men," and a great fuss was always made over them when they came home to visit. The father's attitude toward Billy was kindly but aloof. He hardly seemed to think of the boy as more than a baby. Billy seemed to belong to his mother rather than his father. She admitted that she was ambitious for him—wanted to see him take his place in life on an equal footing with his half-brothers. She helped him with his school work, worked for his standing with relatives, and tried to arouse in him a desire to excel in his lessons, and an admiration for the cultural attainments of his father's family.

Mrs. Billings herself was a simple, modest woman whose life centered in this child, tho she tried honestly and successfully to make a comfortable background against which her husband could pursue his career. She told of how she had tried to "keep up" with his outside interests during the first years of her marriage, and of the strain and anguish which had resulted. Finally she had given up the effort with frank relief, but she still hoped to see Billy really established as "his father's son." Even while she talked she began to see that she might be imposing standards upon this child which for him were unattainable, and that his whole life was perhaps being lived under a sense of strain and a fear of defeat.

"I know how that feels," she said once. "Much better try your hand at what you can really do well. That's why I gave up 'taking courses' and stuck to house-keeping."

She began to see that Billy might be tempted to try to cut a dash at school in order to make up for being a nobody at home. She had unconsciously tried to compensate for her lacks thru her son; but her own experiences finally helped her

to see that he was being forced to do everything possible to shine by the reflected light of his father's professional and social standing. Changing her attitude came slowly, but it came.

After a time Dr. Billings himself voluntarily came for an interview. It was surprising how little he knew about his youngest son. He listened attentively and learned a great deal in an hour and a half. Once aware that there was a problem, he was willing to face the facts about what it seemed fair to expect of Billy in the way of a future career. He realized, he said, the unfairness to this child of the dominating position unconsciously assumed by himself and his older sons. Undoubtedly Billy was entitled to a father, too. He would try to study the child much more deeply and he promised to spend more time with him. Very little was said about the two school episodes. Their connection with the child's yearning for a position of eminence, which he feared was beyond him, was all too plain. There must be much less pressure on him to excel, much more satisfaction expressed by both his parents in what he was.

Later Miss Clifford reported that Billy's school work had improved and he seemed happier. He used fewer medical words of which he did not know the meaning, and talked directly of his father as a real person with whom he went to museums, read, walked, and had constructed a radio set. There had been no further episodes of lying or deceit.

Conclusion—It is becoming increasingly imperative that the teacher have some sympathetic insight into what is happening in various homes, and what effect these happenings may have upon the individual children who come to her from those homes. This does not mean that each teacher must visit the home of each of her pupils. That is increasingly impossible, even if any teacher had the desire to devote all her "free" time to so worthy an undertaking. It does mean, however, that she must make deliberate efforts to know what kind of people these parents are with whom her pupils are living, what their outlook is upon life, their difficulties, and their aspirations for themselves and their children. She must also do what she can to cooperate with parents in promoting desirable personality development in their children. If she is wise, however, she will not assume too much responsibility and authority in such matters, but will bear in mind that parents have their own distinctive contributions to make.

On the other hand, it is equally essential for parents to understand the broadening purposes and contributions of the school, as well as the special difficulties of handling many children at one time. While most teachers cannot visit every home, parents can usually become acquainted with their child's school. Both parents and teachers must realize that in all home-school conflicts the child himself is the greatest loser. An appreciation of the school should help parents recognize that the teacher is not trying to usurp their place in the child's life but, under favorable conditions, is in a position to supplement and enrich the outlook of both parents and children. The parent and the teacher have definite and exacting jobs. Neither can work for the best adjustment of the individual child without wholehearted mutual cooperation.

HOME AND COMMUNITY CONDITIONS RELATED TO PUPIL MALADJUSTMENT

JAMES F. BURSCH

Director of Research and Student Personnel, Sacramento City Schools, Sacramento, California

THE MODERN SCHOOL is interested in seeing the child as a whole and attempting to educate him wholly. Twenty-four-hour schools may not be feasible or desirable for most children, but twenty-four-hour education is an inescapable reality. An appreciation of this fact leads inevitably to the conclusion that the modern teacher and principal must be vividly aware of factors outside the schoolroom which touch the growing child's life, and that they must be prepared to make school adjustments in the light of these factors.

This article undertakes to summarize briefly the findings of a study made by the writer in 1934, dealing with some of the environmental factors associated with pupil maladjustment in the Sacramento city schools. The study was made for the purpose of informing teachers, principals, and citizens generally concerning the conditions under which children who are poorly adjusted to the school program live.

Living conditions associated with school maladjustment—To get a better understanding of how the physical environment of the home might bear on the problem of unstable school citizenship, an analysis was made of the number of maladjusted children coming from various areas of the city where different types of dwellings predominated. Following is a brief summary of the findings on this point:

1. In the approximately 1800 square city blocks devoted to residences of the single-family type, 86 maladjusted school children were found per thousand of school enrolment.
2. In the approximately 750 square city blocks of the multiple-family type of dwelling, such as rooming houses, apartments, and residence-hotels, 183 maladjusted school children were found per thousand of school enrolment.

It is neither necessary nor wise to draw hasty conclusions as to what is cause and what is effect in this situation. The critical reader will readily recognize the possibility that certain kinds of dwellings may attract the types of families that produce maladjustments in children, as well as the probability that certain types of dwellings contribute to these maladjustments. The facts, however, clearly indicate a significant relationship between crowded living conditions and maladjustment at school.

Low mentality alone not significantly related to school maladjustment—A study of some 3000 cases of school maladjustment with respect to levels of ability as measured by group mental tests, shows that

15 percent of the group are above average in mental ability, 40 percent are average, 27 percent dull, 9 percent very dull, and 9 percent feeble-minded. These figures suggest that factors other than lack of ability may be largely responsible for school maladjustment.

When does maladjustment in school begin?—In the past we have associated too frequently the beginning of maladjustment with the coming of the physical and mental changes in adolescence. An analysis of the age at which maladjustment on the part of school children is first noticed leads to the conclusion that children do not suddenly develop serious problems of behavior when they reach adolescence. Of 159 cases studied over a period of three years which had not been satisfactorily adjusted to school life, even with the aid of special schools and classes, more than half were reported as having exhibited special behavior problems before they had passed their twelfth birthdays. This analysis tends to show that maladjustment begins early and is learned by the same gradual process that governs any other sort of learning, in school or out.

At what economic level are the families of maladjusted children?—Possibly the occupations of the fathers of maladjusted children will throw some light on the problem indirectly. The records of the Student Personnel Office of the Sacramento city schools show that in the cases referred for various kinds of school maladjustment, 67 percent of the fathers are unskilled laborers, 6 percent semi-skilled laborers, 16 percent skilled laborers, 8 percent clerical and semi-professional workers, and 3 percent professional workers. Whether this distribution of the occupational status of the fathers is related in a causal way to the misbehavior of their children is not indicated. Possibly it has a bearing from the standpoint of insufficient income. It was found that 90 percent of the families in which maladjusted children were living had inadequate or irregular incomes, i.e., less than \$800 per year for two or more persons.

Do maladjusted children come from large or small families?—An analysis of the registration of minors in the Student Personnel Office reveals that there are 1.8 school children in the average Sacramento family, whereas the maladjusted children come from families averaging 2.5 pupils enrolled in school.

Do maladjusted children belong to organized groups?—Whereas the typical school child in Sacramento belongs to one or more juvenile organizations, such as Sunday-school classes, supervised playground groups, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Rangers, and others of similar character, it is a rarity to find a member of any known juvenile group among the maladjusted school children. Of the 159 cases referred to, there was only one Boy Scout and he was not in good

standing. The sense of being worthy of respect, belonging to something important, or being a part of an important movement seems almost totally lacking in the lives of these children.

What of the health factor?—Humiliation is not the only result of the low incomes received by many of the families from which maladjusted school children come. It is literally true that in most cases health can be bought. Careful examinations by the school physician showed that while only 5 percent of the total school enrolment were 10 percent or more underweight (a condition indicating rather serious malnourishment), 35 percent of the seriously maladjusted school children were in this group. That this undernourished condition has an effect on behavior is clearly indicated by the statements of teachers as to the greater happiness and better behavior of those in the maladjusted group for whom the school was able to supply milk or orange juice daily.

The importance of the health factor is illustrated by a recent occurrence. One hundred of the most seriously maladjusted school boys in Sacramento were taken to a mountain camp for three weeks of vacation thru the combined efforts of the school department, the city recreation department, and the community chest. These boys gained an average of eight pounds each during this outing, and during the first two months of the new school term not a single one of them came to the attention of the school authorities for serious problem behavior.

Mobility of families producing maladjusted children—Interviews with maladjusted children reveal a noticeable lack of the typical sentimental attachment for "home," either as a place to live or as an institution to which they belong. There are, of course, many factors which contribute to the lack of this normal sentiment. The fact that they move three times as often from place to place within the city as does the average Sacramento school child throws considerable light on their attitude toward home. Almost 5 percent of the 159 most seriously maladjusted children moved more than seven times within a single year. The reports from attendance workers, welfare workers, and counselors visiting the homes on behalf of the school reveal an almost total lack of any regular family life. There is no schedule for meals. There is no set time for being in off the street, for going to bed, for getting up, for going to school, for playing, or for helping with the household duties. Sixty-six percent of the homes were rated by these workers as being poor or very poor, both from the standpoint of physical environment and of organized living.

What is the marital status of the parents of maladjusted children?—Fifteen percent of the maladjusted school children were found to be living with neither of their own parents. Twenty percent were living

with one parent who had been divorced and remarried. Three percent had neither of their own parents living. Sixty-two percent were living with their mothers alone. That unstable and disorganized family life has a bearing on school adjustment is quite evident from these facts. The opinion of welfare workers, attendance supervisors, and others visiting these homes on behalf of the school further supports this point of view. They found that evening supervision of the activities of the group studied was lacking in 95 percent of the cases.

"So what?"—The writer, in dealing with individual children and with social workers who have daily contact with the homes of maladjusted children, has become increasingly convinced that the difficulties of these children are due partly to the fact that they are normal in many respects. In seeking normal human satisfactions for normal human wants, and being unable to satisfy these wants because of the inadequate social, moral, physical, and economic conditions under which he lives, the child becomes a rebel against society. He sincerely believes that organized society is deliberately fighting against him.

These children who are in difficulty with the schools are seeking to satisfy one or more of the following human wants and are having difficulty in doing so: food, clothing, shelter, protection, affection, attention, recognition, appreciation, buoyant health, and security. May it not be that the conditions and not the children are in need of adjustment? Would it not be abnormal and unethical for children to be happily adjusted to such circumstances as are indicated by the statistics quoted above?

What can the schools do?—If these factors are so vitally related to the growth and development of the whole child, it appears that school people generally must extend their interests and activities beyond the cloistered atmosphere of the schoolroom, and thru effective organization and cooperation with other constructive community agencies work intelligently and aggressively for the amelioration of the negative and destructive environmental factors associated with school maladjustment.¹

¹ For further suggestions as to how the schools can cooperate with other agencies in reducing pupil maladjustment, see the articles by Gruenberg and by Smith in this chapter, by Snyder in Chapter VII, and by Buckley and by Bassett in Chapter VIII.

THE COOPERATION OF COMMUNITY AGENCIES IN A PROGRAM OF CHILD GUIDANCE

F. B. SMITH

Principal, John Muir School, Sacramento, California

AS WE LEARN more about the out-of-school environments of children, we find exemplified the Scripture that says, "To him who hath shall be given and to him who hath not, it shall be taken away." In Sacramento a recent survey showed that the boys and girls who were being most influenced by the Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, Friendly Indians and Pioneers, and other similar organizations were from homes where the higher standards of living prevailed. The children who most needed the help of such outside influences were being least affected by them. This condition was in sharp contrast to the aims of the organizations concerned and was due largely to the fact that these organizations were expected to operate by themselves, with little cooperation from other agencies and without systematic efforts to evaluate the results of their work.

Need for coordinated effort—Many schools have failed to recognize the possibilities of cooperation with the so-called character-building agencies, and possibly some of these agencies have overlooked the values of cooperation with one another and with the schools. If we are to be of the greatest service to our children, we need to develop a coordinated program along the following general lines:

1. Assembling information about the children from all sources
2. Correlating and interpreting this information so that it can be used effectively
3. Deciding upon the procedures needed to bring about the desired results as indicated by the information at hand
4. Integrating the activities of agencies available in the community.

The development of allied charities, community chests, coordinating councils, and kindred organizations is bringing about better understanding and more effective handling of juvenile problems in many communities. Such all-inclusive organizations create a closer relationship between individual welfare agencies, and a greater appreciation of the work being done by each one. In Sacramento the Coordinating Council has enabled us to bring together more pertinent information concerning our children than has been obtained in any other way. This council is composed of representatives from fifty-three different organizations, including the schools, that have child welfare as a part of their programs.

A survey of community conditions—The Coordinating Council has done much more than bring about a better understanding and closer cooperation between the agencies interested in child welfare. It recently directed a comprehensive study of the juvenile population in Sacra-

mento. Among the many aspects studied were the location of the school population, behavior problems (kind and locality), reasons for these behavior problems, character-building agencies (location and personnel), and church-school groups (location and personnel). The character-building agencies were studied also as to purposes and possibilities.

The survey went into the homes, churches, character-building agencies, and recreational centers. Records were kept of behavior problems and delinquencies. The pooling of this information brought out the fact that most of the behavior problems in Sacramento were located in certain areas. These areas were in the less affluent sections of the city, and in places where large numbers of people were living in cheap apartments. Many cases of juvenile delinquency were found where dissension existed in the family. Most frequently the problem children came from large families. A close study of the behavior cases revealed a general lack of home or outside activities that would motivate good conduct. Thus there was made available to all the cooperating agencies, including the schools, much information that could be used not only for individuals but for groups of children. For example, the records revealed a close relationship between lack of playgrounds and delinquency areas.

Some results of cooperation—As a result of the survey just mentioned, three committees of the Coordinating Council have been set up: (1) a committee to encourage a wider use of recreational privileges; (2) a committee to extend the influences of religious education in Sacramento; and (3) a committee on parent education. These committees are now working out means by which the city can make better use of its present facilities for the welfare of the juvenile population.

Another committee was recently appointed by the council, under the chairmanship of an elementary-school principal, to study the way in which Hallowe'en had been observed and then to devise a different kind of celebration. The slogan "Fun but not destruction" was adopted and was discussed in practically every classroom in Sacramento. The city manager stated publicly that, owing to the work of this committee, Hallowe'en had never before caused so little destruction.

During the summer of 1934, a total of 400 windows in a certain school were broken by children of the community who were playing, without supervision, on the school grounds. In 1935, this school was used by the playground commission of the city during the summer vacation, and only two windows were broken during that period. Thru the cooperation of the different agencies concerned, the children were led to realize that the school building belonged to them, and their pride was aroused in caring for it.¹

¹ A more detailed statement of the organization and work of a coordinating council is given by Buckley in Chapter VIII.

The use of character-building agencies—The effective use of agencies interested in character building is further illustrated by an experiment carried out by the juvenile department of the Sacramento police system. A representative of this department, realizing the hopelessness of trying to deal with young delinquents by merely arresting them, giving them advice, and sending them out again to meet the same temptations, summoned a group of sixteen boys, fifteen to eighteen years of age, all of whom had appeared before him previously as law violators. When they responded to this summons, they supposed it was for some infraction of the law. Instead, the police officer began by telling them he thought they had been getting into trouble because they had no suitable place to spend their evenings. They agreed. He then asked them what they wanted to do. They told him that they wanted a place where they could meet, organize a club, and run it themselves. He helped them organize a club, and then asked the boys' director of the Y. M. C. A. if they could meet in the Y. M. C. A. building. This request was granted, and all the privileges of the Y. M. C. A. were given to these boys at certain hours.

At first the boys objected to going to the Y. M. C. A., but after a few meetings they discovered that observance of the organization's rules was easy, and that instead of interfering with their interests, it really made their club work more successful. A capable leader was found and the club prospered. Then other clubs were organized. On four evenings a week the Y. M. C. A. was open to these clubs. Who paid for these facilities? Since the Y. M. C. A. is sponsored by the community chest, the community as a whole really paid the cost of caring for these underprivileged boys.

Now, nearly two years later, there are 250 boys belonging to these clubs. They have named themselves "The Rangers," "Red Devils," and what not. The names mean nothing; the important thing is that they are clubs of boys and for boys. About 900 boys have been members at some time or other during these two years. The club activities are as varied as are the interests of the boys belonging. To obtain an adequate idea of the scope and value of these organizations, it is necessary to visit the Y. M. C. A. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday evenings and see them in operation.

In the writer's school, which cares for mentally retarded children, we felt that we were in no way affecting the lives of certain of our boys outside the school. To meet this lack, we organized a Junior Hi Y, because we wanted to accustom the boys to using a character-building agency, and because the Y. M. C. A. is conveniently located. We could have called it by any other name. Our purpose is to train these boys to use the Y. M. C. A. for wholesome recreation and for the formation of

desirable associations with other boys. There they have found a place where someone is interested in them, and where they can go and be welcome.

The solution of our problems must come largely thru the utilization of means already at hand. The Y. M. C. A. in our city stands in the center of the underprivileged area. It is not being used to capacity. It will be used much more when we come to realize that it is much cheaper and far more civilized to open wider the doors of such institutions, than it is to build more prisons and reformatories.

In Sacramento we need to organize other suitable clubs in the places where they are needed; we need to provide proper leadership and suitable recreational programs for the children of every social level in the city. Religious organizations must open centers where sympathetic contacts can be made. The beautiful churches attended by the better situated classes would not suit many residents in certain sections. Suitable religious training must be made accessible to people of all social and economic levels. Summer camps should be enlarged and made accessible to all juvenile residents of these underprivileged areas. School playgrounds should be utilized after school hours and thruout vacation periods, as well as during the regular school sessions.

Conclusion—A new attitude is needed in evaluating the work of character-building agencies in the community. The success of the Boy Scouts or of any similar organization can no longer be measured by the number of members it has; such organizations must show that they are really meeting the needs of young people of the particular age groups for which they are intended. It will be necessary to analyze the needs of children as revealed by careful community surveys, and then to make intelligent and complete use of available character-building agencies in accordance with these needs.

The school's contributions to a program of community cooperation are (1) to study other agencies in the community, (2) to help enlist the aid of all agencies devoted to the welfare of children, and (3) to pool its resources and work together with these other agencies to the end that all the boys and girls of the community may achieve a more satisfactory adjustment to life.²

²See also the articles by Snyder in Chapter VII, and Bassett in Chapter VIII.

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CHAPTER III

ADAPTING THE SCHOOL TO CHILDREN'S NEEDS

EDITORIAL COMMENT

THERE was a time when even the best school was a relatively inflexible institution. It did not adapt itself to the needs of children; on the contrary, the children either adapted themselves to the demands of the school or were stamped as educational failures. One course of study for all, a schoolhouse resembling a barn or a prison, classrooms with immovable seats, formal methods of teaching, a spuriously exact marking system, a rigid plan of promotion, and a harsh, unyielding code of discipline—these were factors to which all pupils were expected to adjust. That many pupils failed to do so may be regretted. That some of them did become adjusted to such conditions was probably a greater misfortune.

Not all schools have yet relinquished this one-sided view of school adjustment. Many, however, have made great strides toward providing a successful and happy school life for every child. Without resorting to "soft pedagogy," such schools are adapting their programs to individual pupil needs. This chapter discusses a variety of school policies and procedures intended to facilitate this adaptive process.

Mort opens the discussion with an article on administrative and supervisory policies in general. O'Reilly then describes the efforts of a city school system to foster wholesome adjustment by providing for individual differences. In the third article, Marshall outlines a plan used in her school for developing desirable attitudes thru emphasis on children's successes. The next two articles deal with measuring and reporting pupil progress. Symonds reviews the arguments for and against school marks, and concludes that marks and examinations may contribute to pupil adjustment if properly prepared and wisely used. Rossman reports a successful experiment with the "conference system" of reporting children's progress to parents.

Almack contributes two articles, one on the influence of teacher load upon health and achievement, and the other on the kind of school building and equipment which children should have. Langdon concludes the chapter with a discussion of the nursery school's contribution to personality education.

The reader may note the omission here of certain important aspects of the school environment. Some of these are treated in the references listed at the end of the chapter, while others are discussed in later chapters of this yearbook.—*Editorial Committee.*

ADMINISTRATIVE AND SUPERVISORY POLICIES FACILITATING PUPIL ADJUSTMENT

PAUL R. MORT

Director, Advanced School of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York

THE BEST ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM for correcting maladjustment is that which prevents it. As in the case of forest fires, the best time to fight maladjustment is prior to its occurrence. In the discussion that follows, the two functions of preventing and correcting maladjustment are treated as one.

As administrative procedures improve, the percent of time taken in the correction of maladjustment should steadily decrease. The removal of children from impossible educational situations, as, for example, children of junior and senior high-school age from the elementary school, is an important task in nearly every American school. It is obvious, however, that if these schools had been operating with continuous attention to the needs of all children, these overage pupils would not now be maladjusted.

Many maladjustments may be prevented by providing an adequate scope of school activities; an adequate understanding of children's needs; a continuous guidance of children that takes into consideration their abilities, interests, home background, and the opportunities afforded by the school; and the correction of administrative policies which carry maladjustment in their wake.

Extending the scope of educational opportunities—One of the outstanding handicaps often faced by those interested in bringing about proper adjustment of school children is a narrow conception of educational opportunity in the elementary school. The traditional school that operates on a set-course-of-study basis, with little variation in what is expected of children except in degree of mastery of the same materials, provides a minimum of opportunity for taking care of children who are atypical from one point of view or another. This is true also, altho perhaps in less degree, of the freer schools which depend more fully on the activity procedure, unless the greatest care is taken to see that individual activities have a wide range of appeal.

One responsibility of the school administration obviously is to remove from the regular elementary school those outstanding cases which cannot reasonably be cared for within the range of the school's normal program. Mentally retarded children should be placed in groups by themselves. The need for this provision increases with the narrowness of the normal program of the school. If there are sufficient children to warrant eyesight conservation classes, such classes should be organ-

ized. If there are not sufficient children for this purpose, those needing special treatment should be discovered; special care should be given to their seating; and special textbooks and writing materials should be provided. Similarly, administrative provision should be made for instruction in lip reading for those who are approaching deafness, and for therapeutic treatment of crippled children.¹

The class teacher is not usually trained either to locate pupils needing such treatment or to prescribe the treatment. A task for any school system, no matter how small, is to obtain proper diagnoses and to provide appropriate materials of instruction which can, if necessary, be administered by the class teacher.

There remain those children usually considered normal. Within this group may be all sorts of personality and educational maladjustments. Almost certainly the number of these maladjustments will vary inversely with the breadth and freedom of the curriculum. The broader the scope of opportunities, the more certain it is that each child will find a challenge to his abilities and interests in one or more things, and this challenge will be reflected in his attitude toward his entire school program.

Certainly a child talented in music but mediocre in other subjects will find little to inspire him in a reading-writing-arithmetic curriculum. Similarly, a child who craves an outlet thru manual work and who finds little interest in a bookish curriculum, will be less likely to become well adjusted in a school that provides no outlet for his talents or interests in handcraft. A child who has a bent for adventure thru wide reading will be maladjusted in a textbook school with subjects that are taught woodenly, leaving no spur to roamings abroad in an abundant library.

A child whose imagination cannot bridge the gap between ordinary living and textbook materials remote from his life is apt to be maladjusted in a schoolroom, the walls of which represent not only protection against the elements, but a sharp demarcation between the environment round about and the work of the school. The administration can play an important part in making the school walls transparent, in easing the flow of life from the immediate environment into the schoolroom. To children of average ability or less, this is of tremendous significance. In the mind of the writer, success in this area is one of the largest claims which the "activity school" can make.²

¹ Some idea of the expectancy in each of these fields in any school population may be obtained from: Hilleboe, Guy L. *Finding and Teaching Atypical Children*. Contributions to Education, No. 423. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1930. 177 p.

² For an excellent treatment of the problem of educating dull and dull-normal pupils, see: Featherstone, William B. *The Curriculum of the Special Class: Its Underlying Principles*. Contributions to Education, No. 544. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932. 157 p.

The school administration can do much in making the facilities of the entire school system potentially available to any child. No elementary school should be charged with the responsibility of educating children of junior and senior high-school age. These children should be lifted out of the elementary school and placed in a satisfactory working environment in a junior or senior high school. They should not be left to mark time with teachers who do not understand their problems, or who have only the limited facilities of the elementary school to meet their needs. School systems which have taken this step have found not only a considerable improvement in the atmosphere of the elementary school itself, but also a significant improvement in the children immediately concerned from the standpoint of both educational achievement and personality adjustment.

Providing for the diagnosis of children's needs—A school cannot be content merely with opportunities. Bringing the children in contact with broad opportunities doubtless in many instances brings about adjustment, but this is by no means universal. Children are no different from adults in their tendency still to seek the wishing gate when they are actually sitting on it. Perhaps the chief reason for the persistence of the old story of the hen that starved to death roosting on a basket of oats, is that it is so applicable to human beings.

We cannot leave adjustment to chance even in the richest environment. Children must be studied with all available instruments. Periodically, at least once a year, all of the data bearing on each child's educational and personal status should be drawn together and analyzed. Such an analysis will reveal the need for a surprising number of individual adjustments of program pattern and of program detail, even in the elementary school. The administrative officers will find themselves faced with the necessity of purchasing special books, special instructional materials, and in some instances, correspondence courses. Certain children will be sent to other schools for part of their work. Adjustments will be made in the home relationships of the children. Supervisors will be faced with the task of working out with teachers special treatments for children in individual subjects. In the judgment of the writer, it is in their failure to realize this necessity for a periodic check, utilizing all sorts of tests and rating devices, that many progressive schools have been most at fault. Some of them have tended to overlook the "wishing-gate" failing in human nature.

In diagnosing difficulties and in prescribing treatment, teachers and supervisory officers alike must avoid too great regard for the normal objectives of the school curriculum. In all too many cases adjustments made are merely insignificant changes in the normal pattern of the

school day—makeshifts like the starred problems and optional exercises found in textbooks. The writer of the textbook may perhaps be forgiven for seeing his subject as the universe, but those responsible for the education of Johnny Jones and Susie Smith may not be forgiven for such restricted adventures in adjustment. The following case of diagnosis and prescription is illustrative of the unrestricted point of view that is desirable. Note how, even with a primary-school pupil, the recommendation is that ordinary class work be entirely eliminated from the pupil's school program for a time.

Nine-year-old Johnny was referred to the Laboratory as a behavior problem. His mother was very much worried about him because he lied with such apparent sincerity about his school record. She felt he must have a serious weakness in his character to be able to tell stories so different from the actual state of affairs. An interview with his teacher revealed that this third-grade child simply could not seem to learn to read, in spite of a lot of individual help. Observation in the classroom showed that a great deal of pressure, both by exhortation and scorn, was being put on the boy in an effort to make him *want* to learn. On the other hand, the boy told at home large tales of his scholastic prowess, of how the other children came to him for help, etc.

The boy didn't superficially appear to be very bright. A Stanford-Binet administered in the Guidance Laboratory showed he was bright (I.Q. 118), but slow and deliberate. A very high score on a Reading Readiness Test showed he was entirely ready intellectually to learn to read. A test by means of the 2A Western Electric Audiometer showed that, while he probably heard acutely, it took him an unusually long time to react to sounds heard. The tests of eye functioning indicated good visual acuity but slowness, again, in reacting to visual stimuli. An expert in neuromuscular response confirmed the fact that the difficulty probably lay here. The recommendation was made that, insofar as possible, all *fine* neuromuscular activity be eliminated from his program, that the school release him from the usual third-grade requirements, let him run errands, erase blackboards, play with his third-grade companions, but have nothing said to him about reading and writing. In addition, certain large-muscle exercises were prescribed for him designed to improve his muscular coordination.

As the pressure for this boy to read is removed, and he is instead, let us say, exhorted to ride his bicycle skillfully, we anticipate that he will stop telling grandiose tales of his school accomplishments. As he improves in speed and accuracy of motor coordination, he should quickly learn the skill in subjectmatter that is quite beyond him now.³

The trend toward wiser promotion policies—In the second half of the nineteenth century the grade school was invented to facilitate mass instruction with poorly trained teachers. The theory involved was that of grouping children sufficiently homogeneously to make possible a set procedure for a group of children without the necessity of individual adjustment. Such schools had a purpose to serve. To appraise their fruits, however, the schools of the early part of the present century would have to be compared with the schools of a century before. Certainly, looked upon in the light of educational objectives as we see

³ A case reported by Professor Esther McD. Lloyd-Jones, director of the Guidance Laboratory operated by the Division of Individual Development and Guidance of Teachers College, Columbia University.

them today, the grade-school system gave but a poor return. It was not so different from the Lancastrian system, in which monitors were taught certain bits of subjectmatter which they in turn retailed to small groups. The teacher became the monitor whose task was to master a comparatively small range of subjectmatter and to retail it to groups who by one means or another had been brought into a state of readiness for it. The teacher was not supposed to know that which preceded or that which followed. She was expected to pass on the mastery of her own bit of subjectmatter to the monitor teacher in the next grade.

Obviously in this plan the course of study was inviolable. It was handed down by experts who presumably had selected from the storehouse of the ages and from the rich environment of current problems those things, and those only, which warranted the consideration of children. All the elements of the curriculum were of absolute importance. No bit of information or training rejected by the curriculum maker was of any importance. Under such a system dull children must of necessity spend more time than bright ones in each unit of this inviolable subjectmatter. Bright children, if their time was not to be wasted, must be allowed to pass over it as rapidly as possible, carefully fitted with blinders so that they might not discover the rich fields which the rejected parts of the cultural heritage and of modern living might have to offer them.

Semiannual promotions were introduced to facilitate this process of non-promotion and acceleration.⁴ Some cities not content with this plan introduced promotion and acceleration every five or six weeks. Others cut the curriculum into tiny bits, the full mastery of each of which was required before passing on to the next, providing a system of non-promotion and acceleration, as it were, at periods of a few days. To facilitate the operation of this plan, group instruction was largely denied, and individual instruction to slow-moving and rapid-moving individuals was allowed to run rampant.⁵ With the coming of better trained teachers, doubts as to the inviolableness of set curriculum materials were expressed. Questions were raised as to the advantage of limiting a child's entire educational career to the offerings of a few

⁴ For an extended treatment of this subject see: Lindsay, James A. *Annual and Semi-annual Promotion*. Contributions to Education, No. 570. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. 170 p.

⁵ It is interesting how many modern educators have overlooked this regressive aspect of individual instruction. Even in such a scholarly approach as H. C. Morrison's *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School* (University of Chicago Press, 1926), the dominating notion seems to be the inviolableness of the curriculum. Why otherwise complete mastery of every unit in the curriculum? The present writer is not attacking individual instruction. It is a splendid device if modern objectives are kept in mind. However, if allowed to operate without checks and balances, it is simply the idea of the Lancastrian school carried to its logical extreme. For a more complete appraisal see: Mort, Paul R. *The Individual Pupil in the Management of Class and School*. New York: American Book Co., 1928. Chapter X, "Adjustments in Organization Affecting all Pupils," p. 356-70.

elementary grades. Teachers became skeptical of the advantage to bright children of simply demonstrating their ability to pass over a narrow and barren curriculum in a short period of time. The tendency grew of considering a year of a child's life a year of growth, of bringing about adjustments to individual differences and ability by means of a varied curriculum or of varied selection by individuals in group activities of broad scope.

A cross-section of American education today would show a strange mixture of the vestigial remains of the old monitor system of education and the newer, more dynamic type. Few schools have made the complete transfer. When one inspects the records as to improvements in the training of teachers during the past thirty years, it seems strange indeed that this transformation should be so slow. It is even yet a matter for newspaper publicity of the man-bite-dog variety when a school system announces the adoption of a policy eliminating the use of retardation in the education of children.

However, it would be unfair not to say that the practise of retardation has suffered a tremendous blow in the last three decades. Schools are fewer and fewer that consider the end of the kindergarten a fit time to begin retardation. The savage use of retardation at the end of the first grade has suffered great inroads, so that no longer is it a typical thing to find 40 or 50 percent of first graders required to go back to the infantile beginnings of the reading process. Teachers are coming to realize that a youngster who cannot read at the end of a year of instruction may yet have made distinct advancement in the reading process—a fact which should have been realized as a result of the Bryan-Harter experiments in the learning of telegraphy in 1898.

Furthermore, there is a tendency to realize that worthwhile education is not limited to vicarious experiences obtained thru reading. There is, therefore, an increased tendency to make the first three years of a child's school life a rich educational experience, rather than a time wholly spent in the mastering of a device which will permit education to begin again at about the fourth-grade level. In our better schools the educational process that has gone on in the first half-dozen years of a child's life is allowed to continue richly.

Supervisory officers can perform a great service by assisting teachers and parents in clarifying policies with respect to the use of retardation and acceleration. Certainly the process of eliminating retardation is not that of elimination by fiat. It has far-reaching educational implications. The elimination of retardation will come naturally when the advancement of children is sympathetically appraised periodically, and a plan made for each child for the ensuing period based on his needs.

Out of thousands of cases analyzed from this angle by the writer and his students, only one has been discovered where a reasonable group of teachers or administrators would recommend repeating a grade. In every instance, save this one, some far less drastic correction of the pupil's difficulty was at hand, provided it could be assumed that teachers were not merely glorified monitors of the old Lancastrian type.⁶

With a proper analysis of educational conditions and a proper appraisal of objectives, the practise of retardation will disappear, whether such retardation now comes thru the periodic promotion process or thru the equally vicious process that accompanies a narrow program of individual instruction.

Improving home-school relationships—If the school is to assist each individual child in the development of abundant living, it cannot be satisfied to consider only that half of the child's life which goes on within the classroom. A pebble thrown into a calm pool sends out visible ripples in all directions. The school cannot be content with a knowledge of only that part of the ripples with which it has been traditionally concerned. Ways and means must be developed by which each child's home life comes to be understood. Ways must be developed for enlisting parents in the inspiring task of individual development. There is no single method to which we may turn for this. Some schools have teachers sufficiently alive to the problem and sufficiently relieved from intramural tasks to make possible a continuous contact with the home. Other schools utilize the services of visiting teachers and visiting nurses. Parent-teacher associations, when geared to such objectives, perform an important part in the education of parents for their part of the task. Classes in parent education and health clinics can perform an important function.⁷

But all or any of these services should be seen in relationship to the continuous process of centering the attention of the school on the needs of Johnny Jones and Susie Smith, and of adapting the forces playing upon them to the accepted ends.⁸

Developing an adequate system of records and reports—A major contribution which administration can make is the provision of adequate records on all pertinent aspects of the child's life. This should include intelligence test records, ability test records, health examinations, information on interests, home conditions, and ratings by teachers. All the records for an individual child should be available in a single place.

⁶ See various city school surveys carried on since 1924, by the Division of Field Studies of Teachers College, Columbia University.

⁷ See Baldwin, Sara E., and Osborne, Ernest G. *Home-School Relations*. New York: Progressive Education Association, 1935. 142 p.

⁸ For further discussion of parent-teacher relationships, see the article by Gruenberg in Chapter II of this yearbook.

The practise followed by some schools of having health records in one place, test records in another, and information on home conditions in the office of the visiting teacher interferes with effective utilization of the data.

Provision should be made for a periodic drawing off of important aspects of these records to be used in an analysis of the current needs of individual pupils. To expect teachers to go thru a great mass of material, much of which is not pertinent to the immediate situation, is to expect the improbable, to say the least. Near the end of each school term pertinent information should be taken off on a simple temporary record form. To the information drawn from the permanent cumulative records should be added information of current value only. In this category would fall data as to the student's present interests, family attitudes, and other factors that have a bearing on his immediate placement but which may not warrant recording in the permanent cumulative materials.

These abstracts of the more detailed and permanent records should be studied by teachers and supervisors as a basis for planning work for the succeeding school term. If this is done towards the end of one term, adequate time will be given for obtaining special instructional materials and for the planning of procedures in order that the new term may start with full preparation for the needed adjustments. It is the writer's belief that the attempt to make the permanent cumulative record a basis for this periodic checkup on the pupil accounts for a great deal of the failure to utilize available information in the education of children.⁹

The newer types of periodic reports to parents also have considerable to contribute in bringing about the good adjustment of pupils. The writer considers particularly commendable the present trend toward the type of report that appraises the pupil's progress in such terms that it guides the parents in carrying out their important part in the education and adjustment of their children. The section of a report form shown in Figure I, which is typical of many now in use, is obviously intended for this purpose. It suggests a cooperative spirit on the part of the school rather than the smug authoritarianism of the old-time report card.¹⁰

Selecting superior teachers—Obviously, the teachers demanded for a school that operates on the principles of individual pupil adjustment must be more than glorified monitors. If maladjustment is to be avoided, teachers must be broadly educated; they must have sufficient training

⁹ For examples of modern record forms used in elementary schools, see the articles by Cutright and by Van Alstyne in Chapter VI.

¹⁰ See also the articles on school marks and reports by Symonds and by Rossman in this chapter.

DESIRABLE HABITS: (Continued)	1st Sem.			2nd Sem.		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
WORK HABITS:						
1. Finds worthwhile work to do.						
2. Does not easily give up.						
3. Works well by himself.						
4. Is prompt in beginning work.						
5. Finishes work assigned.						
6. Is orderly and careful with material.						
7. Follows directions.						
INDEPENDENCE:						
1. Ability to care for himself without help in such things as: taking off, hanging up carefully, and putting on own coat, hat and rubbers, caring for own possessions; going to toilet and washing hands without help; picking up and putting things away he has used.						
2. Ability to select worthwhile activities and carry them on without help when others are busy.						
SELF EXPRESSION:						
1. Ease and ability to talk to others in sentences and with correct language forms.						
2. Expanding speaking vocabulary.						
3. Expresses ideas thru drawing, painting, construction, or modeling.						
4. Responds to rhythm.						
5. Expresses self thru singing.						
6. Expresses self thru dramatization.						
PROGRESS IN SCHOOL SUBJECTS:						
READING:						
1. Shows interest in books.						
2. Makes independent effort to read books for grade.						
3. Understands what he reads.						
4. Uses self-help methods to work out new words.						
5. Knows words and phrases for grade.						
6. Reads aloud with fluency and understands material of his ability level.						
FOR GRADE 2 ONLY						
ARITHMETIC:						
1. Brings into school accounts of his arithmetical experiences.						
2. Learns and retains the facts of his grade level.						
3. Solves arithmetic problems of his grade level.						
SPELLING:						
1. Learns the use and meaning of words.						
2. Retains the correct spelling of words.						
3. Spells words correctly in all written work.						
WRITING:						
1. Forms letters correctly.						
2. Writes numbers correctly.						
3. Writes own name well.						
4. Measures up to grade standards in all written work.						*

FIGURE I—SECTION OF REPORT TO PARENTS, KINDERGARTEN AND GRADES I-II,
NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY

to understand the significance of maladjustment phenomena; and they must themselves be persons who have learned to select, from the vast range of choices, individual life patterns recognized as good by the community and abundantly appreciated by the teacher herself. In other words, a teacher must not only be well trained, academically speaking, but she must be a person who has learned to live the abundant life in the intellectual realm at least. Those responsible for teacher selection have here a task of no mean proportions.¹¹

Extending staff responsibility—Altho the administrative and supervisory forces of a school perform an important function in all the activities mentioned above, the part they play is certainly of no greater importance than that played by the teachers. Certainly administrators are not independent of parents and community. A school that is to care for maladjustments which have occurred in the past, and which is to avoid as many maladjustments as possible in the future, is a school in which administrators, supervisors, teachers, and parents are working as a unit on a common task. The distinctive function of the administrative and supervisory staff is that of facilitation, of providing special services which will make the task of the teacher more effective in reaching the common ends accepted by the entire staff and the community. There is no set way by which such a unity of purpose and function can be realized. Such devices as frequent staff conferences are often useful if they are developed in the spirit of harmony and cooperation. But the time when the administrator and the supervisor were the sole holders of that authority which comes from knowledge, has passed from existence along with the glorified monitor and the coerced parent. If teachers are not of the type which we have discussed above, if they are still the narrowly-trained, monitor type, if the whole responsibility of operating the modern school must be placed upon the administrative and supervisory specialists, then most of that which we have been discussing is beyond realization.

¹¹ See Chapter IV for further discussion of the teacher's influence on pupil personality.

PREVENTING MALADJUSTMENT BY PROVIDING FOR
INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

E. P. O'REILLY

Principal, William Land School, Sacramento, California

LIFE is a never-ending process of making adjustments. From birth onward each individual adjusts as best he can to the world about him. Probably the most difficult adjustments are those required in the process of living and working with other people. Educators today generally agree that the most important function of the elementary school is to help children make such adjustments by studying their individual needs, interests, and capacities, and by adapting the school program to these individual characteristics. This article describes a number of ways in which the schools of Sacramento, California, are trying to prevent maladjustment and to foster good adjustment in all elementary-school pupils.¹

THE REGULAR INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

The curriculum—Improved courses of study have been adopted in all the elementary-school subjects. These courses have been developed by committees of teachers working in cooperation with supervisors, principals, superintendents, and special curriculum consultants. They have been revised from year to year in the light of changing conditions and classroom experience. Participation in this program of curriculum construction has given the teachers a better understanding of their problems and a more sympathetic attitude toward putting the program into operation. The curriculum now conforms more nearly to the abilities of the children in the respective grades, and formalized instruction in such subjects as arithmetic, writing, and spelling has been eliminated from the primary grades. Each course of study is now a unified program with duplications and gaps largely eliminated. More and better books and teaching equipment have been supplied to enable the teachers to work more efficiently.

Individual instruction—Perhaps the most significant single step taken to eliminate pupil failure has been the inauguration of a plan of individual instruction. This plan is now used with few exceptions by all teachers in library work, reading, spelling, arithmetic, and to a large extent in art, penmanship, and social studies. The very nature of an elementary program where each child is taking twelve or thirteen different subjects and is promoted or retarded in all these at once, means that a great many children will be permanently maladjusted in certain subjects unless the teacher adjusts the work of the class to meet the needs of individual children.

¹ Except where otherwise indicated, the facts presented in this article were obtained from various issues of the *Biennial Report of the Superintendent, Sacramento City Schools.*

Experience with ability grouping—Ability grouping has been advocated by many leading educators as a way of meeting individual needs. This device was given a very careful try-out during the years of 1928 to 1931. It has been our experience that ability grouping is not the major factor in making adequate provision for the needs of the individual child. Most elementary schools have no more than two classes in the same half-grade. This means that the most that can be done thru ability grouping is to give one teacher all the stronger children and the other teacher all the weaker ones. Another difficulty of such a plan in the elementary school is that once a child is grouped at a given level of ability, he is grouped there for all twelve subjects. It is evident that a child may be relatively slow or bright in a given subject without having the same capacity in all other subjects. Even after children are grouped, the significant fact remains that all those in a given classroom will differ markedly from one another, and that effective education will go on only when the teacher adjusts her teaching to meet the needs of each individual child. Our experience indicates that if each of two teachers has some of the slower children, each one is able to give her pupils more individual teaching than one teacher can give if she has all the slow children. In very large schools, however, the plan of grouping according to ability apparently has some advantages.

Caring for children of superior ability—A word perhaps should be said concerning provisions for the child of superior ability. There are two possible methods of providing for these children, and each method has its advocates. One method is to rush the brighter children thru school as rapidly as possible because of their ability to cover work at a greater rate than the average pupil. The other possibility is to try to provide a much more enriched program on each grade level. Under this system the most capable children are rewarded educationally not by making greater speed thru the schools, but by being given a richer educational experience as they progress normally from grade to grade. These experiences are made available not only by providing more extensive undertakings in reading, literature, and dramatics, but by giving pupils the opportunity to take part in school orchestras and glee clubs or to pursue at home under private instruction special work in music, dancing, dramatics, and other arts.

The school policy in Sacramento has been opposed to the rushing of bright children thru the grades, and has been favorable to the enriched course of study for them. It is our belief that children who are rushed thru the schools too rapidly not only fail to profit most by their education in high school or college because of their youth, but they also suffer from being socially maladjusted because they are constantly with children of considerably greater physical maturity. The

dubious records made by many of the child prodigies whose cases are recorded in educational literature, and who have been rushed into high school and college at a tender age, are not such as to inspire great confidence in this method of meeting their educational needs. Moreover, there is at present no satisfactory place either in the social or business life outside the school for a large number of young people who have been hurried thru high school and even thru college at the age of fifteen to eighteen, long before they have reached their physical maturity.

SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Special schools—Along with the problems of the regular school program for normal children, every school system faces the problem of educating certain children who because of physical, physiological, or intellectual handicaps are not able to pursue with profit the educational program in the regular classroom. Sacramento, like other cities, has for many years given special attention to these cases, and has sought to set up special types of training which would meet in an effective manner the needs of these special groups of children.

In providing special instruction for handicapped children, the important aim has been to keep these children from being socially marked as "queer." Many of them are capable of being restored to normal activities by special training to overcome their handicaps.

The opportunity school—This school was started in 1925 with an enrolment of 34 pupils. The number gradually increased until in 1934-35 there were more than 200 children between the ages of six and eighteen years enrolled, the majority being between ten and fourteen years. This school is primarily for the mentally retarded children. Attendance is not required of all children mentally retarded, however. At present about 50 percent of the children who are recommended are in attendance. There is no regular course of study. Each child is treated individually and given the type of work which best suits his needs. There are no grades and no report cards. Pupils advance as they are able to do so. Social interest is the most important factor in grouping the children in homerooms.

A great deal of freedom is allowed in the classrooms of this school. The idea is to have children working on things in which they are interested. An effort is made to enable every child to acquire as much proficiency in the tool subjects as his mental ability will permit. The home conditions of most of these children are deplorable. Practically 90 percent of their parents are dependent on government work or on state and county aid. Fifty percent do not have bathrooms in their

homes. This means that health and sanitation are among the most important things to be taught.

School for the physically handicapped—All the children who are handicapped physically to such a degree that they cannot function satisfactorily in the ordinary classroom are enrolled in the school for the physically handicapped. This school was started in 1927 and has maintained an enrolment of about twenty pupils. Some of these children are so handicapped that they can never hope to be restored to complete and effective social functioning. Others, however, will be able eventually to take their places in life and to have all the advantages of a higher education that are available to other children. This school is located in one of the elementary schools of the city. This arrangement is an advantage over an entirely separate school, because here the children associate to some extent with normal children, and they have all the advantages that normal children have in the way of school libraries, visual education, art, music, and other special facilities.

School for the deaf and hard of hearing—During the school year 1934-35 an audiometer was purchased by the city school department, and all children in Grades III to VI were tested. It was discovered that of the children tested, 104 had a hearing loss of nine units or more in one ear, and 51 had a similar loss in both ears. This much hearing loss is considered sufficient to be a handicap in doing regular school work. The parents of these children and of children who had any other serious ear conditions were notified. The school nurses are following up these cases, endeavoring to see that they are given medical advice or treatment. In the most severe cases parents are encouraged to send their children to the school for the deaf and hard of hearing.

This school also operates in connection with one of the regular elementary schools. It was started in 1919 and has maintained an enrolment of about twenty pupils. The loss of hearing represented in the group of children attending the school varies from perhaps 25 percent loss to total and permanent loss. In all cases the hearing loss is so great that these children are unable to hear ordinary conversation. The big problems are to teach them effective habits of lip reading as a substitute for hearing the spoken language, to teach them to speak so that other people can understand them, and finally to restore them to normal social activities.

Most of these children are capable of pursuing normal courses of study and of doing what other normal children do. It is, therefore, important to keep them associated with normal children in order that they may be rehabilitated more rapidly and may lose any sense of being different or "queer." Children have gone on from this school to the junior high school with the ability to pursue the work there in an

entirely satisfactory manner. The installation of the radio-ear is an important addition to the equipment in this school. Thru its use all children having some hearing are not only able to enjoy music and speeches, but are aided in the improvement of their own speaking voices.

Classes in speech correction—In every school system there are a number of children who suffer from more or less severe speech disorders. A speech survey conducted in the spring of 1930 revealed that there were 650 children in the kindergarten and first six grades in Sacramento who had definite speech handicaps. In about one-third of the cases the handicap was so severe as to hinder the child seriously in his school progress.

During the school year 1930-31, one teacher who was especially well qualified to do this type of work was released from regular classroom duties to carry on speech-correction work in five schools. During the year she enrolled 155 pupils. The number enrolled gradually increased from year to year until in 1934 two full-time teachers were working in fourteen schools and caring for 263 pupils. In the fall of 1935 three teachers were giving full time to this work and had 330 pupils enrolled, of whom 258 were in the kindergarten and first six grades.

In the five school years from September 1930 until June 1935, there were 699 different cases enrolled in speech classes. Of this number, 362 or 52 percent were declared completely cured and many others greatly improved before being transferred or otherwise removed from the speech classes. Children, parents, and teachers have been most complimentary to the work done in these classes. Special speech work has changed many a pupil's life from one of embarrassment and lack of confidence in himself to one of stability and happiness.

The Sunmount Preventorium—This school is operated by the Sacramento Tuberculosis Association, but the Sacramento Board of Education provides the teacher and the classroom supplies. The school provides for an average of about eighty different children a year. The children assigned to it are those who have suffered so much from malnutrition and are so underweight that they are regarded as likely to become immediate victims of tuberculosis. Within a few months even the most pronounced cases show so much improvement in weight and physical vigor that they can be returned home.

SPECIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENTS

The Student Personnel Department—There is no objective way of measuring the effectiveness of the work of the Student Personnel Department in eliminating maladjustments. The records of this department, however, indicate that many cases are cared for in the early

stages that would otherwise become serious. Altho many other functions are performed that have an indirect influence upon pupil adjustment, the activities that have a direct bearing on keeping pupils well adjusted socially are these:

1. Supervising the selection of children for the special schools
2. Supervising the maintenance and transfer of continuous scholastic records of pupils as they move from school to school or graduate
3. Enforcing the compulsory attendance law for all children between the ages of eight and eighteen
4. Working with child-labor-law officers in matters of illegal employment of school children
5. Investigating and remedying conditions which contribute to illegal school attendance.

Thru the activities of this department hundreds of children who are beginning to become maladjusted to the schools and to society are again brought into a proper relationship with their environment, and adjustments are worked out which contribute to their improved citizenship and character as well as to their educational achievement. Many potential juvenile criminals are retracted from lives of lawlessness and crime. While there is a financial significance to this work, its worth is to be judged primarily in terms of prevention and correction of broken and warped human life and of protection of children from unlawful exploitation. The mere fact that children are attending school more regularly than in former years seems to indicate that they are better adjusted socially. The following figures for Grades I to VIII in Sacramento show that much progress has been made along this line:²

Year	Enrolment	A.D.A.	Percent of A.D.A.
1927-28	11,318	9,548	84.4
1929-30	11,371	9,879	86.8
1931-32	9,976	8,629	86.5
1933-34	10,573	9,528	90.1

The Health Department—One of the most effective means of reducing maladjustment in the school is to keep children well physically. The Sacramento School Health Department has as its main functions the prevention of communicable diseases and the supervision of health education. The department gives health examinations, and has a nurse in each school at least three half-days each week to issue readmittance slips to pupils who have been ill and are well enough to return to school, and to visit the homes where children are sick. A complete physical examination is given to all first-grade and all low-fifth-grade children each school year. A complete physical examination is also given to any pupil (regardless of age or classification) whom the teacher,

² Figures taken from annual state reports in the City Research Office.

nurse, principal, or parent may deem in need of medical or surgical attention. Approximately 85 percent of the parents attend the first-grade and fifth-grade examinations, and they are very keenly interested in the results and recommendations. Many physical defects are taken care of as a result of these examinations.

By keeping in close touch with pupils who are ill, excluding them when the welfare of others demands it, and refusing to admit pupils who have been absent five consecutive days except with a nurse's or doctor's permit, epidemics have been controlled to such an extent that during the last ten years only one school has been closed, and that for only one-half day for the purpose of vaccination.

The Health Department also supervises the weighing and measuring of children in the elementary schools each year. All children are weighed and their heights measured in September, January, and June. Children found to be 10 percent or more below the standard weight are weighed every month. Milk lunches consisting of a half-pint of milk and two graham crackers are served at mid-morning and mid-afternoon. All children whose parents wish them to do so may take these lunches, and those who are found to be 10 percent or more below standard weight are especially encouraged to do so. The gain or loss in weight is tabulated at the end of the year.

OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE DEVICES

Report cards and school marks—Closely related to the promotion and retardation of children is the report-card and marking system. Many school systems in the last few years have attempted to obtain more satisfactory ways of marking elementary-school children and of reporting their work to parents. The Sacramento schools have adopted a report card which instead of using the marks A-B-C or 1-2-3-4 to denote quality of work, indicates for each subject merely whether the child is doing "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory" work. This change was made because under the old system a large percent of the children, even tho they were regular in attendance, diligent in their effort, and making satisfactory progress considering their abilities, were never able to secure a school mark above *C* or *D*. These marks were supposed to represent standards of accomplishment so that only "superior" students ever received good grades. The use of "satisfactory" and "unsatisfactory," on the other hand, is more closely related to the ability of most children. The child of superior ability is not given a satisfactory mark unless he is doing superior work. The child of lower ability is given "satisfactory" if he is making satisfactory progress and his work is up to his capacity. It is believed that the majority of parents are not so much interested in whether their children are better or poorer

than other children, but in whether their children are learning in accordance with their capacities. The adoption of this report card has eliminated much competition and has created a more wholesome, happy atmosphere for children, parents, and teachers.

The primary-school day—A word should be said concerning the primary-school day in Sacramento. The statutes of California fix the length of the school day for children under eight years of age at four hours. This is considerably less than the primary day in most cities of the United States. It is so short, in fact, that it places on teachers a severe handicap in their attempts to accomplish results comparable to those secured in other cities with a longer teaching day. An adjustment has been made, however, which lessens to some extent the pressure on teachers by dividing each primary teacher's class into two groups. One of these groups comes to school an hour earlier in the morning and is dismissed an hour earlier in the afternoon. While each child's school day remains at four hours, exclusive of recesses, the teacher's day is five hours. Under this arrangement the teacher has only one-half of her class to work with during two of her five hours of teaching. This gives her a much greater opportunity to work with individual children, and is particularly valuable in the case of children needing extra help. After trying this plan for several years, teachers indicate that it has many marked advantages.

CONCLUSION

Altho the influence of the provisions described in this article upon the personalities of children is difficult to measure objectively, there can be little doubt that such provisions are helpful in reducing and preventing maladjustments in the school. Curriculum materials closely related to life and properly graded, instruction geared to the needs and abilities of individual pupils, enriched programs of activity for gifted children, a variety of special schools and classes for handicapped children, special services in the fields of health and pupil personnel administration, and modern procedures in marking and reporting pupil progress to parents—all these factors are contributing to better pupil adjustment in Sacramento. It is not claimed that these are now operating in ideal fashion; efforts are constantly being made to extend and improve their influence. Moreover, it is not assumed that Sacramento is superior to many other city school systems in its provision for individual differences. The writer believes, however, that comparable services must somehow be made available in all school systems which do not have them—even in rural and village communities—if children generally are to achieve superior personality development.

PROCEDURES FOR DEVELOPING DESIRABLE PUPIL ATTITUDES

JESSICA MARSHALL

Principal, Newton School, Toledo, Ohio

A GROUP OF RELIEF WORKERS in the city were discussing the Taylor family. "It is almost impossible to get them to do anything to help themselves," remarked the one who was handling the case. "They seem to be actually paralyzed by discouragement."

"It is the hardest thing we have to combat," agreed the director. "A man will walk the streets for days looking for work, but if he once gives up, nothing seems to get him back on his feet again."

The Taylor family in school—I know the Taylor family well; the children attended our school. Discouragement was not confined to the parents in this case; the children were so steeped in it that they gave up almost before they began any task. They were very irregular in attendance, and when they did come to school they were out of step with the class, had no interest in the work, put forth little effort, and were rewarded only by failure.

At the age of twelve the oldest child, a girl, was four years retarded in school work, and her brother, aged eleven, was three years back of the grade in which he should have been. The younger ones were following in their footsteps. Little children tho they were, it seemed almost as if the story of their lives were already told—health not very good, little chance for an education, no ambition, and a set of disastrous habits. The very attitudes they brought from home largely determined what they got from their school work.

The teachers discussed the situation at length, and decided that the one thing which the school might do to benefit the Taylor children fundamentally would be to help change their attitudes and habits. For example, in everything that we had attempted in the past we had been hindered by their continued absences. The attendance department had done everything possible except to take the last step of having the parents brought into court and fined, and the poverty of the family made such a measure seem absurd. The only hope seemed to be in the direction of making the older children genuinely anxious to come to school. That, we realized, would be hard to accomplish, for both of the older ones were poor students, and were constantly surpassed in their work by the smaller girls and boys in their classes. Also, they were poorly dressed and were doubtless aware of this peculiarity in their appearance, which would add materially to their discomfort in school.

As a step toward the solution of this problem we decided to center our efforts on one thing, the development of an attitude of self-confi-

dence in the Taylor children. We began by getting them some attractive clothes; but that was the only easy thing in the whole attempt to redirect the lives of these unfortunate little folks. We planned to celebrate every success, however small, which they made in their school work, but the successes failed to materialize. They were poor in reading, writing, and arithmetic; they were poor in music, activities, and art; they were even poor in games. The only part of our program that we could carry out at first was that of expressing a tremendous delight when they came to school at all. Finally, Grover, the boy, began to show a genuine improvement in his work, and could be commended in all sincerity. But poor Mary, always more irregular in attendance because her mother kept her at home to help with the smaller children, seemed to be getting further and further behind.

One day I stepped into the third-grade room at noon and noticed a particularly attractive vase among many pretty ones which the children had made by decorating olive bottles or mustard jars. "Who made that one?" I inquired. "I'm not sure," remarked the teacher, "but I think it was Mary Taylor." We turned it over, and there was Mary's name on the bottom of the jar. When the children had returned in the afternoon, I went back and the little scene was enacted again in Mary's presence. Oh, what joy it brought! Mary then was called upon to make vases for her teacher, for her home, for the principal's office, and for the kindergarten. The coming of any visitor was made an occasion for Mary to display her vases. Possibly her work improved a little after that; certainly her attendance became much better, and quite obviously she was happier.

What might have been the result of longer effort along this line we can only conjecture, for at this time the house in which the Taylors lived was condemned by the fire marshal and the health board. Then, too, the social-service workers, hoping to get "father" away from his boon companions, persuaded the family to move to another part of the city.

Need for self-confidence in all pupils—The effect on our educational procedure was not lessened, however, by the loss of the Taylor children. While we were considering this case, we had been using the same psychology on other children, and had concluded that the development of an attitude of self-confidence would not only be desirable in the lives of our handicapped pupils, but that it should result in a greater release of energy on the part of all children and thus the benefit would be general.

"Self trust," said Emerson, "is the first secret of success." How to handle our everyday activities so as to build up each child's confidence in himself became our problem, and as an aid in its solution we

assembled a number of quotations which we used as a psychological basis for our work. For example:

The most common form of inhibition is characterized by a mental feeling of inferiority. . . . This sense of inferiority is one of the most serious factors in preventing normal activity. . . . Adler has shown by many illustrations how usually this sense of inferiority develops. Naturally if a child finds he is different in some respects from other children, especially if he finds he is unable to do certain things that they perform easily, he soon becomes especially conscious of this deficiency, thinks about it, worries over it, and finally exaggerates it until the mental inhibition that results becomes more serious than the physical defect itself. Much the same may be true of any mental defect as soon as a child becomes conscious of it. . . . Success is one of the simple conditions of mental health. . . . If a child believes he can do a thing, he is likely to attempt it, and if he begins, the amount of effort he puts forth depends largely on his belief in his powers to succeed. . . .

The great and essential condition, if pupils are to have success—real success as the psychologist understands the word—is the opportunity for doing things, for tasks worthwhile, purposeful activity, self activity, of the highest kind. Without opportunity for this, pupils cannot succeed. . . . It is true, and especially important for teachers to remember, that their pupils' lack of success is the cause of their indolence and stupidity. . . . A feeling of inferiority may do a vast deal of harm. . . . You know how the success of yesterday still warms your heart.¹

As we studied this matter of mental health and became more and more aware of the surpassing importance of the attitudes of children toward themselves and their work, we realized the great need for a constructive program along this line. The school can probably do as much or more than any other agency toward building up desirable mental sets that result in ultimate happiness and success. In developing confidence, we were anxious that it should be a matter of steady growth, resulting from work successfully accomplished and difficulties directly met.

Developing effective class procedures—Various teachers then made the following suggestions for translating our philosophy of success and encouragement into actual classroom procedure.

1. Never let a poor pupil begin a lesson. So much depends upon the start. If possible, launch each piece of school work with enthusiasm, for the desired attitude is an active, not a passive condition.

2. Say "do" instead of "don't." "The best way" to develop a permanent attitude or permanent interest is to do something. By attending to things, by doing things, interests and attitudes are inevitably developed; and among the strongest and most wholesome interests are those in our own work and our various tasks."²

3. Establish a habit of success with your slower pupils by giving them the easy questions you know they can answer. Have you ever noticed a group of boys practising high-jumping? They always start

¹ Burnham, William H. *The Normal Mind*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1924. p. 451-52, 471, 483.

² Burnham, William H., *op. cit.*, p. 286-87.

with the bar so low that even the poorest jumper can clear it. There are a number of reasons for this, but undoubtedly one is the gain in confidence that comes from starting with something that they find they can do easily. In the end they succeed in making jumps so high that they never would have attempted them had the bar been placed at that height at first.

4. Celebrate some success of each child in turn so that all may have the satisfaction of being looked up to by their associates. Children derive their sense of values from the effect that various things have upon others, especially adults. Therefore, a child who has been singled out by his teacher because he has done something worthwhile, puts a high value on the thing which he has done and has a feeling of self-satisfaction because he has done it. This very glow of success brings a renewed stimulus for better work.

The difficulty usually lies in finding something on which to commend the poor pupil. Those who most need the stimulus of success very rarely do anything that can be honestly praised. Even with the elastic assignment or the division of groups according to intelligence scores, there are always a number of children who rarely do anything well. Unless one keeps a record of their successes, these pupils are the very ones who are often overlooked.

Nothing requires more ingenuity on the part of the teacher than providing some lesson or activity that will give an unpromising pupil an opportunity to do something worthy of mention. Occasionally something not planned for plays directly into our hands. A very dull boy in the second grade never finished his arithmetic papers. Many times the answers were correct as far as they went, but because so few were completed the results were always poor. One day the boy brought a toy graphophone with two or three records to school. The teacher let him play the records, and then sent him up to the principal so that he might play them for her. She heard him play them, and in turn sent him into the sixth grade to play for the teacher and the children there. The boy returned, beaming, to his room. That afternoon he finished his arithmetic paper for the first time during the year. That, too, was made the occasion for a celebration. Two weeks later the teacher reported that the arithmetic lessons were being completed every day. Perhaps the original generous appreciation had vitalized all his activities and made his later successes possible.

5. If a pupil does not seem especially loyal or happy, get him to do something for the school, and gradually his attitude will change. If possible do not let the child know that you have noticed any unfavorable attitude. Never let him know that you have any special motive back of the requests for help.

6. Success is greatly aided by encouraging the child to improve his personal appearance and to keep his desk in order. Recently our insane hospitals have been introducing dressmaking establishments and beauty parlors as means of restoring the patients to mental health. Myers speaks of posture as a means of cultivating desired mental attitudes: "To hold up the head with snap is powerful. Do we not say of those who try to seem élite, 'They hold their heads high'? Confidence comes with a head so poised."³

7. An attractive, neat schoolroom has a decided effect on the mental attitude of all beholders, especially those who stay in the room.

8. Encourage each child to strive to surpass his own record. There is satisfaction for all in this, while only one person can be the best in the room. Do not make a good child's record the measuring rod for a poor child who cannot compete.

9. Choose children in turn as much as possible to do the little things that need to be done in the classroom. All children like to do them.

10. Associate the class work with something the children like to do, if possible.

11. In some concrete way systematize commendation and encouragement of continued individual improvement. Individual record charts have worked very well as a means of carrying out this suggestion.

12. Be firm but sympathetic. "Sympathy is feeling-in-common."

13. Commend a child for his effort even if his success be ever so small.

14. Let the children feel that you have confidence in their ability and willingness to do the thing you have asked them to do.

15. Show your faith in them by giving them positions of responsibility, such as group leadership, giving directions to others, making plans for others. A pupil often fails in his work because he has been led to believe that he is unable to do it, and often he succeeds because the faith of his teacher has given him self-confidence.

16. If possible, do not allow a failure to stand. Before leaving a situation try to have the child experience some degree of success, even if not to the extent desired. "Never let a child fail completely. If he fails, teach him to fall forward, to jump up and go on. Never emphasize the permanent effects of a mistake."⁴ "Education must avoid doing the spiritual injury of branding the child a failure. Instead it must cultivate the spirit of initiative and self-reliance, and the satisfaction and desire for further achievement which result from progress and the taste of success."⁵

³ Myers, Garry C. *The Learner and His Attitudes*. New York: Benj. H. Sanborn and Co., 1925. p. 299-300.

⁴ Morgan, John J. B. *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1926. p. 232.

⁵ Woodrow, Herbert. *Brightness and Dullness in Children*. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1919. p. 140.

Activities enjoyed most by children—As an aid in carrying out suggestion No. 10 in the preceding list—associating class work with things the children like to do—we asked the children to write down the things they enjoyed most in school. Many different answers were obtained. Some children mentioned school studies; some preferred other activities. Their preferences were as follows:

Number preferring studies		Number preferring other activities	
Spelling	39	Help the teachers	14
Reading	37	Play games	12
Arithmetic	35	Learn new things	7
Geography	27	History committee	6
Writing	17	Basket-ball	5
English	9	Making Christmas toys and vases	5
Music	5	Programs	5
Long division	3	Reading groups	4
Physical training	3	Making posters	4
About coal mines	1	Plays	4
Arithmetic tests	1	Mass meetings	3
Columbus	1	Trips to historic spots in Maumee valley	3
Division—short	1	Sand table	3
Fractions	1	Surprise reports	3
Health book	1	Writing poems	3
Maps	1	Assembly	2
Spelling tests	1	Committees that make reports	2
Tests	1		

We have made use of these preferences many times, usually with success. The group work in committees often produces greater enthusiasm over a difficult subject than any other procedure. Introducing long division thru blackboard work seems to make the children like it. Preparing work for assemblies is effective as a motive. Certainly anything that makes children happier in their work brings success nearer, and aids in developing the much-prized confidence for which we are striving.

Implications of the program—This plan for developing desirable attitudes has been in use at Newton School for several years. It permeates our daily program in all subjects—geography, arithmetic, spelling, English, and the many other branches of the modern curriculum. In following this plan, we have tried to apply the fundamental principle of learning by correct practise.

Obviously a child's personality is not a static or fixed thing; it is the continuously changing result of what he is practising and experiencing each day. Our purpose, then, is to apply in concrete situations the principles which we believe to be fundamental in guiding the children toward happiness and success. We believe that the subjects in our curriculum can be taught in such a manner that every child may have many opportunities for realizing his small ambitions and for building mental health.

How often does a teacher say, "John, the reason your spelling is so poor is that you have such poor habits of study," and after giving him this double dose of failure expects him to be inspired to greater effort! On the contrary, in planning the successful education of children, emphasis should be placed on positive achievements. The teacher should say: "John, yesterday you spelled more words correctly than you usually do. Can you remember how you studied them? What did you do first? What did you do after that? Was there any special way in which you tried to remember them?"

The ultimate aim of this "success program" is good mental adjustment, a vital factor in all life situations. It is an essential of good health, a sound basis for ethical character, and a decided advantage in making social contacts. Therefore, it is a distinct step forward when the teacher systematically arranges her everyday classroom procedure in such a manner as to provide children many opportunities for tasting the joy of earned success, thus developing that necessary attitude of self-confidence which opens the door to further achievement.

The education that breeds these qualities will be one which develops those capacities that the child does possess, which finds some work in which the child will not fail and which, by training in this work, guides the child into a life of maximal usefulness.*

* Woodrow, Herbert, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

THE TEACHER who is interested enough to plan and conduct a conference with the child will be quick to notice and comment on any evidence of his success. If other children in the group notice his improved behavior, the teacher has a powerful argument for convincing him of its value. However, failure on the part of the child to show any appreciable improvement should not result in a head-shaking resignation to his "incurability," but rather in a renewed effort to get at the roots of the difficulty and make better plans for clearing it up. After all, a social maladjustment which has been aggravated for years by failure, sense of inadequacy, disapproval of other children, punishment, and possible physical complications, can hardly be completely cured in a week, a month, or even a year.—Gillett, Norma, p. 539-40 of this yearbook.

MARKS AND EXAMINATIONS AS FACTORS IN
PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT

PERCIVAL M. SYMONDS

*Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York,
New York*

THE QUESTION of the value of pupil marks given by teachers to be sent home to parents is a perennial one. In recent years the criticism of school marks has been intensified; several plans for eliminating school marks have been broached; and school systems in several communities have actually abolished the use of marks. One writer, as a result of a survey of recent literature, concludes that "very few statements were found in defense of the traditional marking system. The trend of opinion is in favor of elimination of comparative marks in elementary and junior high schools."¹ It is the purpose of this article to consider school marks from the point of view of pupil adjustment and mental hygiene.

Values of school marks—There are two principal arguments in favor of school marks. First, marks of some sort are needed to inform pupils and parents concerning the progress of learning. That children go to school in order to learn is not questioned. It only stands to reason that both the children themselves and their parents should be informed as to the progress made. It would be a strange attitude if those concerned most were not interested in the results of education. From the mental hygiene point of view, accurate and detailed knowledge of progress in learning is one aspect of facing reality. To take the attitude that parents and children would be better off if information concerning such progress were withheld from them is indicative either that competition is stressed too much in certain forms of learning, or that pupils and parents are not sufficiently intelligent or interested to be informed as to the actual results. Certainly if a person were to undertake to learn to swim, he would want tangible evidence of his progress in swimming. To insist that he practise swimming blindfolded, with no knowledge of the form which he acquires, the distance he is able to make, or the speed that he attains, would be ridiculous. If school education is prized as valuable, certainly all concerned should be informed as fully as possible of the progress made in it.

A second value often claimed for school marks is that they are a motivating force. Many studies have proved experimentally that marks

¹ Brooks, Harold B. "What Can Be Done About Comparative Marks and Formal Report Cards?" *California Journal of Secondary Education* 10: 101-06; January, 1935.

and examinations motivate pupil learning,² but the desirability of this type of motivation has been questioned. It is generally admitted that motivation thru marks and awards is extrinsic, in the sense that the pupil is aiming not so much at mastery of the subject as at acquiring a certain mark or award. It is well known that pupils on passing their examinations often sell or destroy their textbooks, and that the usual marking system is one of the accouterments of a formalized system of education.

On the other hand, motivation thru such extrinsic devices as marks and awards actually does stimulate learning and frequently fosters interests which might otherwise never have been started. A pupil who studies Shakespeare's *As You Like It* or *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in order to pass certain examinations is often better able to appreciate and enjoy a performance of these plays than the pupil who has not had the opportunity to read or study them. We may decry the formality of an educational system which uses extrinsic devices for motivation, but if we think in terms of results, it is evident that in some cases learning takes place which would not have been possible otherwise. This is not to say that schools should not use every means to stimulate intrinsic interest in the activities of the school. On the other hand, we must adopt a realistic point of view toward children and recognize that some learning may require extrinsic motivation.

Disadvantages of marks—For the arguments against marks, the list given by Frederick Rand Rogers is presented:

1. As now used, and as appearing on most report cards, marks are unscientific.
2. Marks are misleading.
3. Traditional marks and report card systems promote spurious, superficial, and insincere scholarship.
4. Marks are a temptation to slipshod and downright poor teaching.
5. Marks stand as an almost immutable barrier between teachers and pupils.
6. Marks and report cards have become so completely the motivation to study that pupils lean on them . . . and the sense of independence is lost, self-reliance is not developed, and initiative is at a discount.
7. The publication of marks by means of report cards, honors, prizes, etc., tends to develop antisocial feelings of inferiority or superiority in pupils.
8. Marks promote competitive attitudes in pupils.
9. Marks and other prizes develop the acquisitive spirit.
10. Eliminating the harmful consequences of marks listed in the first nine points almost automatically promotes their opposites.³

² White, Hubert B. "Testing as an Aid to Learning." *Educational Administration and Supervision* 18: 41-46; January, 1932. ¶ Brown, Francis J. "Knowledge of Results as an Incentive in Schoolroom Practice." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 23: 532-52; October, 1932. ¶ Deputy, Erby C. "Knowledge of Success as a Motivating Influence in College Work." *Journal of Educational Research* 20: 327-34; December, 1929. ¶ Panlasigui, Isidoro, and Knight, F. B. "The Effect of Awareness of Success or Failure." *Report of the Society's Committee on Arithmetic*. Twenty-ninth Yearbook. National Society for the Study of Education. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1930. p. 611-19.

³ Rogers, Frederick R. "Education versus the Marking System: The Case for the Elimination of the Traditional Report Card." *Education* 54: 234-39; December, 1933.

H. B. Brooks⁴ in his summary of the arguments notes two other points, namely, that the domination of marks is an invitation to dishonesty, and that marks prevent pupils from finding the joy of successful work.

These strictures against marks reflect some of the newer points of view in elementary education. More and more, the responsibility of the school for the development of the personality of the child is being recognized. The emphasis of the elementary school of a generation ago on academic achievement in reading, writing, and other school subjects is being displaced by the responsibility for an integrated and well-adjusted personality. Marks are recognized as paraphernalia of the old system and accordingly their abolishment has been recommended. In recent years the competitive spirit engendered by school marks has been decried. There is a general trend away from the belief that progress in school is a badge of social status, and that in order to achieve a satisfactory place in society one must climb over his classmates by superior achievement as evidenced by school marks.

There is no doubt that school marks are in part responsible for some of the maladjustments of children which grow out of the school system. For those who cannot achieve the highest success, feelings of inferiority and inadequacy often develop, with all the unfortunate symptoms which follow in their train. The child who fails in terms of school marks loses confidence in himself, and this in itself may prevent him from achieving success in the future. In the writer's use of an adjustment questionnaire, he has found that there is a definite correlation between school marks and adjustment. "In general pupils who get high scores on the questionnaire tend to get the better school marks. This may be true because pupils who receive good marks tend to feel more successful and satisfied, or it may be true that a general feeling that things are well may contribute toward better class work and higher marks."⁵

Danger of removing the need for effort—The mental hygiene of school marks is complicated. On the one hand, specialists in mental hygiene have taken the position in connection with a number of human problems that adjustment is favored by removing obstacles and by creating a more favorable environment. Certainly if school marks tend to create feelings of inferiority on the part of school pupils, to abolish school marks would remove this obstacle to mental health. On the other hand, it should be recognized that life will always present challenges. Man has worked his way upward to civilization by learning to control the forces of nature and bend them to his will. May children not profit in school by learning to surmount obstacles no more severe than the

⁴ Brooks, Harold B., *op. cit.*

⁵ Symonds, Percival M., and Jackson, C. E. *Measurement of the Personality Adjustments of High School Pupils*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935. p. 19.

challenge that will be the lot of every man and woman in the economic endeavor of adult living? It is true that, just as rats in a maze seek the easiest way to their food box, so man has always attempted to ease the conditions of living. From this point of view, perhaps there is no justification for making the school a challenge and a struggle. It must be admitted, however, that the school becomes a part of real life only when it acknowledges that accomplishment is achieved by application and practise.

Marks of some kind necessary to evaluate progress—The newer conceptions of elementary education which emphasize the development of the whole personality are recognized as a permanent contribution to educational theory. Certainly the marking system should recognize these new objectives. The writer believes, however, that this should be done not by eliminating measures of scholastic attainment, but by incorporating in the school report measures of successful personality growth and by giving the marks in scholastic achievement a subordinate position if need be. When J. T. Worlton in describing the Utah plan of eliminating comparative marks on the report card said:

It is true that a pupil might receive a thoroly satisfactory report card and still be among the weakest pupils of the class scholastically if he is doing as well as his abilities give the teacher a right to expect. The report does not presume to show how much subjectmatter the pupil has mastered nor his standing in comparison with other pupils of his class.⁶

one may well wonder if he has not in his enthusiasm gone too far. No pupil under this system knows what progress in school he is making. It is as tho, in taking lessons in the playing of bridge, no check of progress was made in terms of ability to win games, but the instructor simply said that as much progress was being made as could be expected. In the writer's judgment, Cleland represents a sane position when he says:

Whether we evaluate the student's work by one method or another, the important point is that we distinguish between good work and poor work and that we convince parents and the public, as well as students, that those who do good work in their studies are likely to do good work thruout life.⁷

Garry Cleveland Myers presents the same point of view in a recent article, as follows:

Maybe some day we won't bother about the child's attaining skills and knowledges in subjectmatter at all. But so long as such requirements are still a large part of the school's purposes, I can't quite understand why the parents should not be given some definite information about the child's school success in those

⁶ Worlton, J. T. "Shall We Eliminate the Comparative Marking System from the Report Card?" *Elementary School Journal* 33: 176-84; November, 1932.

⁷ Cleland, John S. "Complacent Pupils and Indifferent Parents." *School and Society* 37: 558-59; April 29, 1933.

matters. Speaking for one parent at least, I should like to have such information, for I believe that it would help me to exercise intelligent parenthood.

I furthermore have enough faith in the intelligence of the rank and file of parents to believe that they can understand large unit school grades wisely assigned and can become better parents for receiving such grades on their school child's report card.⁸

Characteristics of a good marking system—The trouble with school marks, then, is not that they themselves are bad or vicious, but that they are often poorly made and wrongly used. To be satisfactory measures of achievement, marks in the first place should be reliable. This means principally that marks should be based upon tests or first-hand observations which are reliable. Second, if marks are to represent progress in school subjects, they should be based principally upon the results of objective tests. One great trouble with school marks is that they are based so often upon the teacher's judgment or even her wishes. Sally is given a high mark because she pleases the teacher, because she comes from a good family, because she is winsome and attractive, or because she has been sick. Edward is given low marks because he was absent a great deal, because he does disagreeable things in the classroom, or because he has offensive manners. When marks are a hodge-podge of actual evidence as to achievement and the personal likes and dislikes of teachers, they deserve severe condemnation.

Third, marks purporting to represent achievement and scholarship should not be mixed up with some conception of the degree to which the child is working up to capacity. Many years ago Franzen⁹ suggested that the degree to which a child is striving deserves as much right to be recorded on report cards as measures of actual achievement. This, however, should not have been interpreted as meaning that measures of the extent to which a child is working up to capacity should replace measures of achievement. Most parents and teachers would benefit from knowing both the actual achievement and the degree to which this achievement represents what the child is capable of. Of the two, however, evidence as to achievement itself is probably the more important.

Fourth, marks should be comparable from teacher to teacher, from class to class, and from school to school. Where teachers in a school hold different standards as to what a satisfactory mark is, it is little wonder that marks should suffer from lack of respect. Any step toward equating school marks will help to make them better respected.

Fifth, report cards to parents should contain more than a letter or percent mark. In addition they should carry brief characterizations of

⁸ Myers, Garry C. "Spare the Marks and—What?" *Journal of Education* 117: 479-80; November 5, 1934.

⁹ Franzen, Raymond H. *The Accomplishment Ratio*. Contributions to Education, No. 125. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1922. 59 p.

the pupil in terms of what he does, according to the teacher's own observation. These characterizations should reveal to a parent in more concrete terms the nature of a child's school behavior and progress. Goodwin Watson has made a splendid case for the "anecdotal" method, as follows:

Marks would be improved by giving more of them. Existing reports seldom give a fair picture of individual achievement. Many facts about John are much more important than an "average" of B in arithmetic. There is the fact that he stayed after school to help the teacher clean out some cupboards. There is the fact that he is the best baseball pitcher in his grade. There is the fact that he went thru a period of confusion about the figuring of discount on notes, tried a little, gave up, got angry and disgusted with the whole business, was led by a calm teacher to make another trial, and found success increasing, has now mastered that unit of work. There is the fact that he is jealous of the position achieved by the boy who was elected class president and so has made several slighting remarks about that boy. There is the fact that he got into a fight to avenge a smaller boy who was being taunted about his nationality, the same nationality as John's. There is the fact that he enjoyed a Victrola rendition of the Pilgrim's Chorus intensely, and was surprised to find that he liked music so well. So the story might continue. Clearly it is not going to be possible to record all of these many interesting observations about John. Nevertheless it would be possible to make a much more adequate and valuable report than is commonly given. The suggestion is that teachers be provided with blank 4 x 6 cards on which such observations may be noted as they come up. These could be sorted into folders, one for each pupil. Not every event or achievement or failure would be noted, but outstanding happenings should be thus recorded. If at any time it seemed desirable to report to John's parents or John's future employer or John's new teacher, or to discuss with John his educational progress, these cards would form the basis for the evaluation. The report would sound much more like a good case study than like most existing collections of letter or percent grades. The report would, to be sure, include results and interpretations of scores on any standard tests which had been given. But these would be viewed in their proper perspective as representing a small part of what was happening to John at school. It is possible that ability to note and report significant items of pupil growth in the fashion here suggested would be one of the best indications of the good teacher. Certainly the attempt to keep and interpret this sort of record promises to be a good teacher-training device. But the basic reason for its presentation in this chapter is its contribution to hygienic teaching methods. It might be expected to shift the attention of the school onto those features of growth which are most significant for the total life of the pupil.²⁰

Unwise uses of marks—Marks have fallen into discredit not only because they are poorly made but also because they are not properly used. Marks should not be used as badges of distinction, at least not to outweigh other equally valuable kinds of distinction. Probably any attainment that students value as highly as academic progress would receive the same competitive power as school marks. Overemphasis on the academic has warped our evaluation of the really desirable characteristics in a personality. If we find a boy or girl, for instance, who

²⁰ Watson, Goodwin B. "The Hygiene of Instruction," Section IV of *Mental Hygiene in Schools*, a report of the Sub-Committee of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. (Unpublished.) For a discussion of the anecdotal method in secondary and higher education, see: Wood, Ben D. "The Major Strategy of Guidance," *Educational Record* 15: 419-44; October, 1934.

excels in his social qualities, in his ability to construct things with his hands, in his motor control, coordination, and skill, we should recognize these things and give credit for them as being as important as success in spelling, arithmetic, and handwriting.

The competitive use of school marks is evidence that schools lack satisfactory guidance programs. If pupils could be guided in their progress thru school in the light of all available evidence, the overemphasis customarily given to school marks would recede. A pupil should progress in school according to his abilities, needs, and interests. It is the birth-right of every child to be able to record progress in his work thru the school year, no matter how slight it may be. School programs should be set up so that it is possible to give recognition of this progress. No child should be forced to repeat a grade or a subject. If a child has failed to make satisfactory progress (not "failed"), he should be placed in groups that make slower than normal progress or he should be given other kinds of activities in which he will be able to receive satisfaction. The well-planned guidance program in the school will survey each pupil's abilities, interests, and needs, and will plan his school progress in the light of all these factors. The child who is being wisely guided has less to fear when the time for evaluation comes around.

Interpretation of marks by parents—If marks are not wrongly used, they are not likely to lead to personality maladjustments. It should be recognized, however, that much of the misinterpretation of marks comes from the home. Is it wise to take the attitude that because some parents misinterpret the meaning of school marks or place too much emphasis on academic school progress, all information except the most general should be withheld from them as to their children's progress? A wiser point of view would seem to be that parents must be educated to an understanding of what the schools are trying to do, and of what their own children may gain from the school program. Parents often have wrong attitudes toward the school and toward the progress of their children thru school because they are not informed as to what the school is trying to do. The school should take the initiative in informing parents on these matters. Most parents, when given the facts and shown their significance, will fall in with the school's plans to help their children choose the most appropriate form of education.

Dangers and values of examinations—The foregoing discussion with regard to school marks applies almost as completely to the matter of examinations. One additional point, however, may be mentioned. Examinations frequently carry with them a great deal of mental stress and tension, sometimes giving rise to severe fears and anxieties. It has even been claimed, altho the evidence is lacking, that examinations injure the health. Most teachers can testify that examinations tend to emphasize

the nervousness of the nervous child. Luriiia, a Russian psychologist, was able to examine candidates for higher schools and universities just before they were to take certain competitive examinations. He states:

The general behavior of our subjects demands our attention and gives evidence that most of them are in a state of intense excitation. Fidgeting in the chair, and many agitated movements characteristic of a general excitability, marked excitability of attention, sometimes compensatory loud laughing—all of these creates a typical picture.

Here is a section of a typical behavior record:

Subject No. 26—Very excited, talking loudly, fidgeting in his chair, striking his hand on the table, continuously conversing in spite of being asked to keep quiet; scolding. He responds to the stimulus in fluctuating tones, sometimes in an ordinary voice and again very boisterously. Further investigations reveal a marked variability in the strength of the motor pressures; sometimes he strikes the dynamo-scope. Toward the end of the experiment he says he cannot continue the experiment as he must wait his turn in the line. The experiment stopped here.¹¹

As in the case of school marks, the trouble seems to lie not so much with the examinations as the way in which they are used. The same suggestions given for improving school marks may be repeated as applying generally to examinations. In the first place, the examinations themselves should be reliable and as far as possible objective, in the sense that there is a minimum of subjective interpretation needed in determining the pupil's score. As to the use of tests, the recommendations of the unpublished White House Conference report on *Mental Hygiene in Schools* are especially pertinent:

Tests should not be used—

1. To make pupils study something which is not intrinsically motivated
2. As threats, signifying failure, demotion, etc.
3. As climactic events, matters almost of life and death
4. As speed-forcers, suggesting by implication that it matters enormously whether the right answer emerges in half a second or in three seconds
5. As sole bases for evaluating the worth of an individual's contribution, the marks to be given him, the extent of his growth, the nature of his possibilities.

Tests may be used—

1. To help pupils understand how well they do the limited tasks covered by the test
2. To help pupils observe progress in the direction of goals which they have already purposed
3. To assist pupils and teachers in comparing the efficiency of certain methods of study and teaching
4. To suggest weak points needing further educational attention.¹²

¹¹ Luriiia, A. R. *The Nature of Human Conflicts*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1932. p. 49.

¹² Watson, Goodwin B., *op. cit.*

Conclusion—One of the sanest summaries of the present situation in regard to school marks is the following by Ayer:

The case for marks grants the misuses which have been made of them, but presents evidence of their essential value to our educational program. Experiments prove that learners make the best progress when they are aware of the rate of their improvement. Quantitative marks are essential for purposes of classification, educational guidance, and educational research. The elimination or debilitating of teachers' marks does not do away with failure; it merely covers up poor work. The thing to do is to change the type of work so that the pupil can secure satisfactory marks. In the meantime the marks themselves should be made more reliable, more specific, and more discriminating. They should be used as checks and guides, rather than as rewards and punishments.¹³

Marks and examinations, altho severely criticized in current discussions, originated because they provided practical solutions to problems in the academic type of education which was almost universal a generation ago. With newer points of emphasis coming into the schools, the strain on these administrative procedures (and upon the pupils) will probably grow less. At any rate it is well to remember that if marks and examinations have caused maladjustment problems in the school, the trouble has been due not so much to the fact that such devices were used, as to the fact that they were used poorly and their real educational values were overlooked.

¹³ Ayer, F. C. "Marks Have Value." *Journal of Education* 118:157; March 18, 1935.

INFORMATION concerning the status of the child in school subjects and in intelligence is essential for any diagnosis of personality maladjustment, since it is often true that discrepancies between the child's mental age and the mental ages of his fellows, between his mental age and his achievement in the tool subjects, or between his mental age and his educational age, may be a potent factor in causing behavior difficulties.—Van Alstyne, Dorothy, p. 477 of this yearbook.

AN EXPERIMENT IN REPORTING PUPIL PROGRESS
TO PARENTS

MABEL ROSSMAN

Principal, Washburn School, Duluth, Minnesota

IN SEPTEMBER of the school year 1930-31, Washburn School obtained permission from the superintendent of schools to deviate from the accepted, prevailing system of reporting children's progress to the home. Under that system, pupils were marked in scholastic achievement and in character development on a five-letter basis: A, B, C, D, and E. A denoted superior achievement and E denoted failure.

Objections to the old system of reporting—Both principal and teachers believed the five-point system to be detrimental rather than helpful. Teachers felt the impossibility of marking accurately a group of thirty to forty children in a large number of different subjects and character traits. The marks, when determined, revealed very little with regard to the child's progress. They failed to show whether the child was doing the work of which he was capable. If the marks were poor, they did not indicate the particular phase of the work wherein the failure lay.

What the marks did do was to give parents and pupils an unfair basis for comparing one child with another. In many instances, the child of less capacity who worked very hard was competing with a child of greater intelligence who was putting forth little effort. The latter child received the rewards—high marks, praise, and even dollars and cents. The slower but more ambitious child received condemnation and low marks. This situation caused unpleasant relationships between neighboring homes, between school and home, and between pupil and teacher.

Initiating the conference system—Washburn School proposed to try a conference system and to eliminate report cards entirely. This system was to begin with the first grade and to continue if the first year's trial proved satisfactory. Parents of the first-grade children were called to a meeting with the teachers of their children. The unsatisfactory conditions under which the school had been reporting were discussed, and the parents were asked for their cooperation in trying out the conference system. Most parents were eager to try. Some of them were a bit skeptical, but all agreed to see what might come of the experiment.

The teachers obligated themselves to reach every parent whose child was failing to make the progress of which he was capable, whether in scholastic achievement or in character development. This contact was made by means of the following mimeographed letter:

Washburn School
October 12

DEAR MRS. JONES:

Harold is not making satisfactory progress in arithmetic. Can you arrange to have a conference with me on Friday at four o'clock? If not, please phone.

Sincerely yours,

FLORENCE SMITH.

Please sign and return: _____

These notices were sent home whenever the teacher felt that the child was not making satisfactory progress. Otherwise the parent heard nothing from the school and was to assume that her child's progress was satisfactory.

Attitudes of parents and teachers—At the beginning of the second year, these same parents were called to a meeting to check up on results of the first year's experiment. The parents were so satisfied that they asked to have the conference system continued, not only thru the second, but on thru the third, the fourth, and the fifth years.

Each September the parents gathered to talk over results. When they came together in September 1934, it was found that there were five families new to the district. Of the remaining twenty-seven mothers, all except one expressed their desire to have the children continue without report cards thru the remaining fifth and sixth grades. The five parents who were new to the school entered wholeheartedly into the system.

At the beginning of each semester, of course, new groups of children entered the first grade. The conference system was used with each of these groups, and was continued on from year to year until, during the year 1934-35, only the sixth grade in our school was being given the regulation report cards. Each group of parents entered into the experiment with a fine spirit of cooperation and satisfaction.

Some of our teachers were doubtful at first, but they soon became thoroly converted to the conference system. The teachers now believe this system to be so satisfactory that they have expressed no enthusiasm over the adoption of the new reporting system that our city as a whole has begun to use this year.

We attribute the success of the experiment, both with parents and teachers, to the fact that the system was initiated gradually and enlarged upon year by year, with a checkup each year on the successes and the failures of the plan.

Results of the new plan—Out of the conference system has come much of merit. Both teachers and parents have been encouraged to study, more thoroly and scientifically, the child who presents a problem in scholastic progress or in behavior. The conference between parent and teacher has been a challenge to each one to observe and analyze

the child in terms of his characteristics and achievements, as well as to be able to state such findings clearly. To apply the findings to the child, and to watch his growth under modified treatment, have been a great satisfaction to both teacher and parent. In case of failure, such failure has been a spur to try again, to study and test more thoroly, until some degree of success is in evidence. This combined and cooperative study has brought the parent and teacher into a much more sympathetic and intelligent relationship.

School visitation by those parents whose children were not progressing satisfactorily has proved to be valuable. It has increased appreciation for the school by a group which otherwise was prone to be destructive in its criticism of presentday education. This increased interest is an important factor, especially at a time when school education is making such a great effort to survive the effects of economic depression.

Within the school, the teacher has found it much easier to adjust the curriculum to the needs of the individual child, to allow the less capable child to slow up without show of failure, and to facilitate increased progress by the brighter pupil. No emphasis has been placed upon passing from one grade to another. Thus the failure of one or more pupils to go on with his grade is not a much noted event. The failure of a pupil to progress to the best of his ability is the only shortcoming for which he is called to account. The teachers have found that the children work even more industriously than before, with broader and more worthy purposes than when working for marks.

Teachers have been released from excessive emphasis upon fact-learning drills designed to help pupils pass tests and pile up creditable marks. Emphasis has been shifted from such drills to other educational activities. Not alone *what* is being learned, but *how* it is being learned is given attention. From the latter we hope will come desirable attitudes, habits, and character traits which cannot be evaluated accurately and adequately in terms of letter grades.

Teachers have not been called upon to answer to parents for the "why's" of each mark. Formerly, some parents had not only demanded reasons for the marks of their own children, but for those of neighboring children as well.

Conclusion—Our school faculty has come to believe that if children are educated in a system that sets up no false and artificial goals, such as marks, most of them will reach high school ambitious to pursue a subject for the interest and value inherent in that subject. There will be fewer incentives to cheat, a practise in which unsupervised high-school pupils are too prone to engage when marks seem to be all that is required by many parents, many teachers, and many institutions of

higher education. Recently the writer heard a high-school student say, "I am not going to work any more now that I know I can't make the Honor Roll."

In the meantime other schools in our city have felt dissatisfaction with the old reporting system. They have carried on similar experiments, parents have become interested, and last year a new report card was developed for the entire city. We hope it will eliminate some of the weaknesses of the old report cards.

This year Washburn School is combining the conference system with the use of the new report cards which have been developed for the whole city system. We shall be interested in evaluating this combination of procedures after a full year's trial.

GREAT INTEREST has been shown during recent years in citizenship grading, or some form of personality rating used in addition to, or in place of, the academic grade. It would seem that here might be another danger similar to that in the awarding of academic grades. Overemphasis, at least, may cause the child to look outside of the satisfactions of living his daily life and to seek his satisfactions in extrinsic rewards. There is another defect, also, in that the technics of grading personality are more complicated and less valid, even, than those used for the objective measurement of academic achievement. In this regard it may be said that there is a value in reporting to the pupil and to the parents the actual difficulties of the child and in discussing frankly with them the personality problems of the child.—Heaton, Kenneth L., *The Character Emphasis in Education*, University of Chicago Press, 1933, p. 351-52.

THE TEACHER'S LOAD AS A FACTOR IN PHYSICAL AND MENTAL HYGIENE

JOHN C. ALMACK

Professor of Education, Stanford University, Stanford University, California

THE EFFECTS of the teacher's load upon the personality adjustment of pupil and teacher are often overlooked. Other articles in this yearbook emphasize the need of each individual for successful achievement, and the importance of studying and treating children as distinct individuals in the school. But obviously these desirable ends cannot be accomplished in the ordinary school unless classroom teachers are given reasonable loads. Incidentally, interviewing parents, keeping personality records, and conferring with specialists in regard to mal-adjusted pupils may be as much a part of the teacher's load as are her more traditional duties. The teacher who has too many homes to visit or too many records to keep can do herself and her pupils as much harm as can the teacher who has too large a class in the social studies, or too many extracurricular activities to supervise.

Timeliness of the topic—The size of classes, the number of activities, and the length of the working day have materially increased for many teachers during the depression. Prior to 1929, most of the progressive schools of the country had established a standard class size of thirty-five pupils in the elementary school and of twenty-five in the high school. A five-hour day, with one period free from teaching, was also an accepted standard. At the same time, many schools were looking forward to smaller classes.

On account of the pressure for economy in education, these standards have been practically abandoned. Elementary classes enrol from forty to sixty pupils; high-school classes, thirty to forty pupils. The average size of class for the entire country has gone up at least ten pupils, and is now about the same as in England, Italy, and France. Economy plans such as the platoon school have come in, with longer school days and double classes in certain subjects. The social activities program has grown greatly, and together with many relief and welfare duties, has added to the teacher's load.

Studies of class size and efficiency of instruction have indicated that small classes do not mean higher test scores. This conclusion has been seized upon to promote further the tendency toward economy. The first class-size studies were made over twenty years ago.¹ They compared the amount of retardation in small classes with the retardation in larger classes, and the results showed no difference of significance.

¹ For a review of class-size studies up to 1923, see: Almack, John C. "Class Size and Efficiency." *Journal of the National Education Association* 12: 107-09; March, 1923.

The next step in advance was taken when standardized test results were used in the place of grades; and further advance in the investigations came when groups were equated on the basis of intelligence, and demonstrations or trials were conducted over a period of time. Regardless of the method used, the conclusions were the same: that small classes had no superiority over large ones, in terms of the measuring instruments employed. Quite naturally, when hard times came on, administrators turned to larger classes, since it seemed there was no difference in results.

Need of a valid measure of teacher load—Few of these earlier studies gave any attention to the effect of class size upon the teacher's load or upon the total personality of the pupils. The lack of valid measures of teacher load and of pupil personality was one reason for this neglect. The customary rule in calculating load is to multiply the number of pupils taught in each class by the number of periods per week, and to add the sum of these various products. This has come to be recognized as an inadequate method, however, because (1) it does not take account of the extra-class work of teachers; (2) it omits the factor of difficulty, as due either to the nature of the tasks or to the nature of the pupils; (3) it ignores the additional demands made by a variety of subjects on the home time of teachers for preparation; (4) it fails to take account of emotional and other fatiguing features in school conditions; and (5) it does not allow for a fair relation between the load and the capacity of the individual teacher. While no satisfactory formula has been developed to take account of all these factors, the school administrator should keep them in mind when adjusting the loads of his teachers.

Estimating the teacher's capacity for work—As an essential to good teaching, the load should be adapted to the teacher's capacity. A human being can do work on three different levels. On the lowest level, his body produces energy as fast as it is used up; on the next highest, he draws upon his reserves, but only to the extent that replacement is possible in the usual sleep and rest periods; on the most severe level, he works to exhaustion or close to it.

Now, it is a condition of successful achievement and long life that work be kept on the first level. This gives one leisure and energy to enjoy it. In stern times of economic necessity, the second level may be adopted as standard, but even this reduces men to the level of working animals. The third stage is too high except when life and security are dependent upon activity.

Usually, when reference is made to "teacher abilities," so-called mental abilities are meant. This makes a distinction between mental and physical which does not exist in fact. The human organism re-

sponds as a unit. To assign work to a teacher which is only slightly beyond her capacity may mean inferior results. If it is markedly beyond her capacity, she may fail utterly, or may suffer a breakdown. A machine which is loaded too heavily soon wears out; usually a fair margin is maintained between the load the machine carries and what it can do at top load. This is the margin of safety. For teachers, this margin probably should be at least a fifth below what the teacher can do on the second working level.

There are three possible bases for estimating the working capacity of teachers. One is experience, another is authoritative judgment, and the third is individual judgment. The norms of class size (thirty-five and twenty-five pupils, respectively) are the result of combined judgment and experience. The five-hour day and the five-day week have a similar origin. Individuals may estimate their own capacity above or below these standards, but in their own interests and in the interests of pupils, they should not be allowed to carry a load more than 10 percent above the norms. Individuals who cannot work up to reasonable standards probably should not be trained for teaching.

*Size of class as a factor affecting teacher load and pupil adjustment—*Three conclusions have grown out of studies of class size and efficiency of instruction. The first, a direct one, is that class size and teaching results as measured by objective tests are not related; the second, implied, is that there is no relation between the size of the class and the energy demands upon the teacher; and the third, also implied, is that class size has no effect upon the personality adjustment of children. Unless the second and third conclusions are accepted, administrators cannot justify the larger classes which of late years have been established in all school grades.

With these two conclusions teachers have not agreed, nor is there any evidence to warrant such conclusions. On the other hand, the inference must be that the larger the class, the heavier the teacher's load and the less the likelihood of satisfactory pupil adjustment. Evidence of this is the fact that larger classes nearly always mean the overcrowding of classrooms, higher room temperatures, more noise, and more individual wants to be served. In the long run, even with careful selection of pupils, such a situation means more disciplinary problems. These factors add greatly to teacher fatigue, and to the adjustment problems of children.

There is, moreover, a wider spread of talent and achievement in larger classes. Most schools are small (the average city school has eight classes), and larger classes in small schools can mean nothing but heterogeneous grouping. More effort is required of the teacher to meet these wider differences. More pupils mean more time given to the

reading and correction of papers. If, with more pupils, the teacher has more sections, she has more class preparations to make. The work of the teacher increases in some proportion to the number of pupils, the number of sections, and the number of subjects she teaches.

The chief weakness of the available studies of class size, therefore, is that they do not take into account the influence of this factor upon the health of teachers and pupils, both physical and mental. It may be true that the average pupil's mastery of subjectmatter is affected very little by his being in a room with twenty others or with a thousand. Such learning is individual. Other factors than size of class probably have far more influence upon progress in school subjects. But this is not the whole story. Health and good adjustment are also important objectives of modern education; and there is ample reason to believe that the achievement of these objectives is conditioned in no small degree by class size and other factors in teacher load.

Not only the efficiency of education and the welfare of individual teachers, but the whole future of the teaching profession are seriously involved in all economy proposals for larger classes. The conclusions of the class-size studies put little value upon *teaching*, and even less upon specialized and individualized teaching. How long will competent persons continue to make a career of teaching under such conditions?

Still another important consideration lies before us. The birth rate is rapidly decreasing. The period of sharp decline dates from the hard times of 1922. Each succeeding class which has entered school since 1928 has tended to be smaller, and the loss in enrolment now shows itself in the fourth and fifth grades. The low birth rate will very likely continue, which means fewer children to educate. The writer believes that the time is ripe for the teaching profession to emphasize *higher quality* in education, which will inevitably lead to still more individualization of school work. Perhaps class instruction eventually should be dropped as without educational significance. From several points of view, more and smaller classes, more individual work and more teachers seem to represent a better policy than do large classes, fewer teachers, and little or no individualization of pupil activity.

Other factors which increase the teacher's load—The output of human energy is greatly increased by anything which arouses the emotions. It may tire a teacher more to give five minutes to discipline than to teach an hour under good conditions. When teachers are asked, "What tires you most?" they mention the following: (1) severe or sharp criticisms (oftenest by supervisor or principal); (2) interruptions in routine for announcements, drives, assemblies, and changes in the program; and (3) new assignments for which the teacher is

unprepared. Overwork also induces emotionality, which in turn adds to fatigue, thus setting up the well-known "vicious circle."

That haste makes waste is well known; it also makes for fatigue. Drives and campaigns, the preparation of showy programs for holidays, community entertainments, and the closing days of school make for emotionality and for increased load. It is unfair and therefore a cause of emotional excitement to judge a teacher by results alone, without taking into account the conditions under which the results were obtained. A classroom on a noisy street adds to the teacher's burden. Worry about tenure, salary, esteem of the principal, sharp comments of associates or supervisors, and long-sustained work at high pressure, as in curriculum development projects, may prove the final straw. One of the main causes of fatigue, and one to which teachers are oftenest blind, is high temperatures in the classroom.

Improving the working-load situation—The first essential in the improvement of conditions is to *standardize* the teacher's load as far as possible, taking account of all the school tasks she performs, and their relative difficulty. No teacher should carry a load more than 10 percent in excess of the standard; nor should she be expected or allowed to take any additional duties, such as correcting tests, revising the curriculum, or coaching plays, unless these duties are recognized as a part of her total load. Second, her work should be *stabilized* to the extent that she may know in advance what will be expected of her daily, and so be prepared for it. By these two measures loads will be *equalized* so that no teacher will feel that she is being treated unfairly.

Finally, special attention should be given to improving the conditions under which teachers work. No teacher should work more than two hours without rest; all teachers should take some light food, such as milk, fruit juice, or chocolate, at mid-forenoon and mid-afternoon. None should work without breakfast or without lunch. A rest period, the revival of the *siesta*, is desirable at the noon intermission. A week's vacation every quarter, and at least a month of vacation each year, add to the individual's working efficiency. These conclusions are not mere opinions; they are demonstrated lessons from fatigue studies.

The effect on children—Important as are the health and general welfare of teachers, the major significance of teacher load from the viewpoint of this yearbook is its effect upon pupil personality. These two aspects of the problem cannot, in fact, be separated. Available evidence indicates that teacher personality and pupil adjustment are definitely related.² And since the teacher herself is seriously affected by the load she has to carry, a reasonable load for every teacher is essential in any realistic program for improving pupil adjustment.

² See Chapter IV for further facts and opinions on the significance of the teacher's personality.

PLANNING THE SCHOOLHOUSE TO MEET PUPIL NEEDS

JOHN C. ALMACK

Professor of Education, Stanford University, Stanford University, California

THERE was a time when the schoolhouse was thought to be of slight educational importance. About a century ago, a report to the British Parliament stated, "Almost anything will do for a schoolhouse; a barn furnishes no bad model." Less than fifty years ago, a schoolhouse was defined as "a device for protecting children from the weather while they are being educated."

Such ideas are no longer held. The schoolhouse is now understood to be an important factor in the educational program. Like a mold for a bronze statue, it helps determine the pattern of the school. It is hard to keep the form of a modern school in an antiquated building. Like the giant Procrustes, an out-of-date schoolhouse lops off a limb here, and stretches out another part there; it distorts and destroys the symmetry of the school plan. Not alone does it affect the instruction; it also has a marked effect upon physical and mental health, child safety, comfort, and happiness.

Space demands of the modern school program—The first schoolhouses were of one room, or at the most, of two. Later on, when schools began to grow, the schoolhouses were simply aggregates of the old-time classrooms, connected by narrow halls. About 1870, building space took on a specialized nature, and laboratories, offices, and physical education rooms appeared. Since about 1900, specialized rooms have multiplied rapidly, until today as many as 200 or even 300 different space units may be found in the complete schoolhouse.

An authority on school architecture recently said that if he were forced to choose between regular classrooms and special rooms, he would take the special rooms first. By special rooms he meant studios, music rooms, little theaters, laboratories, shops, home economics rooms, and rooms for general school use such as auditoriums, gymnasiums, libraries, and cafeterias. This expert's choice was a good one, but the main thing it reveals is that all rooms are becoming special rooms, because all have some distinctive function to perform.

The major principle in school architecture today is this: Let the function of the building and of each part control the plan. The first step in planning a building, therefore, is to set up the educational specifications. These should be prepared by the teachers and the principal. After they are drawn up in detail, it becomes the duty of the architect to make his blueprints to fit the school and its program.

Variety is another advantage of the modern schoolhouse. From the outside, one has a pleasing view of spacious grounds and attractive

lawns, flowers, and shrubs. There are trees to climb and to play under. There are gardens, playgrounds, and sandpiles. There are brooks and wading pools. The central idea in modern school grounds is to bring child nature into close touch with universal nature.

Inside the modern building, children are no longer confined to seats in a single, drab classroom. They may walk down wide corridors and open arcades. They may spend one period in a homeroom, another in a theater with soft lights and richly-colored walls, and another in a library whose lighting, floors, furniture, and atmosphere suggest culture. The modern school also has centers of physical activity in laboratories, where real tests and experiments may be performed, and in informal "general" shops, where children may try out their own ideas and shape materials to their own needs. Museums, aquaria, and display rooms bring additional contacts with reality. Perhaps, from the point of view of mental satisfaction and adjustment, variety is the most important feature of the schoolhouse of today.

Planning the homeroom—The term "classroom" has gradually been changed to "homeroom." This is a wise change. The term "class," like the term "society," lacks those qualities which give vital satisfaction. This need is supplied by such a word as "individual." A home is planned or grows to suit the individuals who compose the family. This is the suggestion which "homeroom" should convey: one of comfort, convenience, informality, freedom, color, warmth, cooperation, and security.

The form of the room is not particularly important. Perhaps it is better to have two rooms, partly divided by a low partition or screens, than to have only one. An alcove for the library is desirable. Wardrobes that are easily opened are better for personal belongings than the old-time cloakrooms. French doors, opening directly to the garden or to a terrace, are desirable.

As to size, the old standard of 15 to 18 square feet of floor space per child is insufficient. Double that amount of space is better. This will allow for more cabinets and storage, for project tables, and for physical activities. A room 36 feet long and 24 feet wide, with a reading alcove 10 by 12 feet, and cloakrooms and storage space of the same size, will accommodate twenty-five to thirty-five children.

The basic method of planning a homeroom is this: Indicate the nature of the activities to be carried on, the kind of equipment to be used, and the number of children to be accommodated. Then show where the fixed equipment is to be located. The teacher is the proper person to specify the nature of activities and of needed equipment.

Equipment of the homeroom—In the old classroom, the central items of equipment were seats and desks. In the new, many other items appear. Two ideas should prevail in selecting equipment: (1) choose

equipment suited to the activities to be carried on; and (2) make the selection according to centers of work or activity. A reading table surrounded by low, comfortable chairs, a bookcase, and a magazine rack may be the central items in the library alcove; a piano, bench, and music rack, the main items in the music center. If there is no shop, a work bench, a tool rack, a cabinet for materials and completed articles, and a shelf for arithmetic texts, drawing paper, and other supplies may constitute the handwork center. There may be other centers for geography and history, story telling and literature, language, art, and science, each with its appropriate materials.

Most of the teaching equipment—desks, tables, chairs, and work centers—should be movable. One advantage in this is that equipment can quickly be arranged to fit the interests and aims of the moment. Free space can be provided for games and other activities. The mental hygiene value of *variety* can be obtained at intervals by rearrangements of the furniture and the equipment. This is another advantage that the new school has over the old, with its fixed and formal seating.

Blackboards are nearly eliminated in the newer type of homeroom. They absorb huge quantities of light, are dusty and unhygienic, and do not serve a very important educational purpose. Such blackboard as is needed is recessed in the wall, is of the sliding variety, or is made to fold as do some patent arrangements. The wall space formerly occupied by blackboards is filled with cork linoleum for pinning space, or with cabinets and cupboards.

The exclusion of noise should be one of the aims in locating and finishing homerooms. Such rooms should be secluded from busy streets and highways; their walls should be composed of plaster having a soft and sound-absorbent texture. Hard-finished walls, or walls of cement, reflect and echo sound, making corridors and rooms a veritable bedlam. If acoustical plaster is not available for wall finish, wood or some fiber material is perfectly satisfactory.

In planning new schoolhouses, the teaching force should consider the feasibility of a few "outdoor classrooms." It is true that they cannot be used the year round; yet there are many days in spring and fall when enclosed rooms may be left for the relief of an hour or so in the open. These open spaces may be located so that the walls of the building will afford some protection either from sun or wind; or they may be secluded with shrubs or low walls. They are not intended to take the place of regular rooms, but are to be looked upon as valuable adjuncts to the school. There is no climate where schools should be without them.

Natural and artificial lighting—Light is not only essential for school work; it is cheerful and health-giving. The first aim in lighting the school building should be to provide plenty of natural light for every

room; and direct sunlight should be supplied for homerooms. It may or may not be necessary, however, to have the light come from one side only. Owing to an error in translation from the German, the principle of unilateral lighting became universally accepted in this country, altho there was not sufficient evidence to support it. The essential thing is to furnish an abundance of well-diffused natural light. Contrary to custom, windows may be set low, that is, with the sill close to the floor. The glass should extend close to the ceiling, and its area should equal from one-fifth to one-fourth of the floor space. A window or a few panes of quartz glass to admit ultra-violet light may be included, altho an artificial source of such light is better. Windows should be equipped with translucent shades, hung so as to roll up and down from the center.

Provisions should be made for artificial light whenever possible. For reading, a quantity of light equal to three foot-candles on the book is standard; more light is desirable for drawing, sewing, and other types of fine work. Six to nine outlets should be installed in the typical classroom, so as to give good diffusion of the light. Fixtures in attractive design and color should be selected.

The degree of whiteness in wall finish has a powerful influence on room lighting. The ceiling should reflect about 75 or 80 percent of the light, which means that it should be white with a touch of cream to improve its appearance. The walls should reflect from 40 to 60 percent of the light. Light green, cream, and light neutral (light gray) are good. While children like pure colors, such as reds, blues, and yellows, these colors absorb too much light for general schoolroom use. They may, however, be used effectively for decoration in assemblies, libraries, studios, theaters, kindergartens, and other special rooms.

Heating and ventilation—Heating and ventilation are doubtless the most important factors in schoolroom health and comfort. Window ventilation is very satisfactory, tho drafts should be minimized by deflectors. The desirable elements in ventilation are these: (1) clean air (free from smoke and dust); (2) air in motion (a light "breeze" is standard); and (3) air at the right temperature. In homerooms the thermometer should not go above 68 or 70 degrees; in gymnasiums and activity rooms, the standard is between 55 and 60. These standards assume a humidity of 40 to 50 percent. If the humidity goes up, lower temperatures should be maintained.

Scientific studies indicate that high temperatures in schools are productive of many ills. Sore throat, colds, and a general list of pulmonary troubles are likely to occur if rooms are kept too warm. Under such conditions children are often absent from school; disciplinary troubles are augmented; nervousness, irritability, and restlessness are

developed; children cannot concentrate so well, and are disinclined to study. Many of the disorders which in the past have been attributed to bad ventilation probably have their origin in rooms too warm for comfort and health. In this connection, teachers should take special care to see that children are not dressed too warmly while in the house. The skin "breathes" as truly as do the lungs. In fact, it is the chief regulator of body temperature.

Conclusion—The place of modern school buildings, grounds, and equipment in a program of personality education is more important than is generally realized. Altho a school may be housed in an adequate building and still contribute little to pupil adjustment, such a building is essential to the school's greatest effectiveness in this field. Without rooms designed and equipped specifically for the varied activities of the modern school, no corps of administrators and teachers can expect to achieve the best results. Without variety and beauty of surroundings, considerable freedom of movement, a feeling of comfort and security, and facilities for pursuing special interests, no group of pupils can be expected to make satisfactory educational or social adjustments. With these various factors present, both teachers and children are in a position to make maximum progress toward the objectives of the school.

THE CARE and maintenance of the school plant are important factors in the total school environment. Habits of personal cleanliness and of respect for public property can scarcely be taught in an untidy, neglected building. Conversely, no amount of labor on the part of custodians and repairmen can keep a school plant in order unless the children are taught to do their part. A scrap of paper, a mark, a notch, a broken fixture—each invites another. Clean floors, clean walls, unmarred and sturdy fixtures command respect. Keeping the school plant in order provides both an incentive to good conduct and a laboratory for practising it.—*The Classroom Teacher and Character Education*, Seventh Yearbook, Department of Classroom Teachers, 1932, p. 207.

HOW THE NURSERY SCHOOL CONTRIBUTES TO PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT

GRACE LANGDON

*Specialist, Emergency Nursery Schools, Works Progress Administration,
Washington, D. C.*

EACH EXPERIENCE which a child has becomes a factor in making that child what he is. It may affect the way he does things. It may affect what he thinks. It may affect the way he feels. The nursery school offers a child early experiences, under controlled conditions, in a social group other than his own home group. It offers him an early opportunity to discover what different adults and other children do under various circumstances. It gives him the chance to experiment with his own behavior in relation to other people, and to find out how they react to what he does and says. Already, in the two or three years spent at home, he has done some experimenting and has discovered how mother, daddy, brother, sister, grandmother, or nurse acts under given conditions. He knows how they will take what he does. Even earlier than two years of age he knows what he may do and what he may not do. But on coming into the nursery school his field is broadened, and thru meeting new adults and new children the scope of his experimentation is extended.

The nursery school furnishes the child a widened experience with things as well as with people. It offers a greater variety of play materials than most homes can furnish. It provides more equipment fitted to the child's size than the average home can have. Rich tho a home may be in opportunities for contacts with music, pictures, stories, poems, flowers, birds, and animals, the nursery school is sure to open up experiences other than those available at home, and so to broaden the range of things about which the child knows.

The nursery school also offers opportunities for experiences in healthful living. Sometimes these are much the same as those experienced at home. Sometimes they are quite different. At any rate, like all other experiences they affect what a child thinks and feels and does. Because the nursery school gives the child this variety of new experience as early in life as he can profit from it, such a school exerts a strong influence upon the personality development of those participating in it.

Extent of the nursery-school movement—During the year 1934-35, nursery schools operated in forty-seven of the forty-eight states, in the District of Columbia, and in Puerto Rico. While they have been common in England and on the European continent for many years, the first one was opened in the United States about 1919. During the fourteen years between 1919 and 1933 some three hundred such schools

were organized in this country, enrolling principally children from more or less privileged homes. In October 1933 the opportunity which had heretofore been available to a relatively few children was suddenly extended to a much larger number. At that time the Federal Emergency Relief Administration authorized the expenditure of relief funds for the establishment of nursery schools for children from families in dire economic need. Under this authorization to date, some two thousand emergency nursery schools have been opened, serving each year about 75,000 children.

Thus the nursery school has come, in fifteen years' time, to include an increasingly large number of children. Unquestionably each of these children has been in some way affected by the experience. The purpose of the following paragraphs is to indicate briefly what these effects are.

Attitudes toward adults—Thru his experiences with specific people in the nursery school, a child's attitude toward people in general is modified in one way or another. Perhaps he finds that not all adults can be managed as easily as those whose ways he has learned at home. Perhaps he finds that these new adults are more considerate of his wishes and interests than are those he knows at home. Perhaps he finds that they, like the ones he knows at home, are friendly to him and considerate of him, but that they expect him to do more things for himself. Perhaps he finds that "No" always means "No" at nursery school, while at home it sometimes means "No," and sometimes "Well, maybe." Or he may find that the crying and screaming which never failed to get him what he wanted before, does not disturb the adults in this new situation at all. He may be more puzzled than ever over what to expect from them, or he may feel more secure with them. He may have more respect for them, or a former wholesome respect may be deepened. He may begin to look upon adults more as companions and less as willing slaves, or an already fine feeling of companionship may be strengthened. At any rate his attitude toward them is sure to be in some way affected by the widening of his experiences with them.

These changes in attitude bring with them changes in behavior. Sometimes old ways of behaving become more firmly fixed. If these are already desirable, then it is well that they be strengthened. Sometimes new ways are substituted when the child finds that old ways will not work. Out of new experiences and new feelings there grow new ways of reacting, and many a father or mother is astonished to find new behavior patterns developing because of these new social experiences.

Attitudes toward other children—Likewise, new behavior grows out of the contacts with other children. Most children of nursery-school age have had a very limited experience with other children, and that experience has usually been with those older than themselves, who

either "boss" them, use them as playthings, or cater to their every whim. Not so in the nursery school. There children meet as "man to man," often with surprising revelations. Many a nursery-school two-year-old has looked with blank amazement at another two-year-old who by virtue of greater brawn has taken a coveted plaything, nothing daunted by the first one's vise-like grip upon it. Many another has been equally astonished at meeting emphatic resistance, both physical and vocal, when making a similar attempt. By just such experiences children learn from each other things they never could find out in any other way. The ideas of give-and-take and rights of possession which come into a child's experience when he begins thus to mix with his peers, affects his whole attitude toward them. Gradually he builds up a wholesome respect for them. He discovers that he can do some things better with them than without them. He learns to carry on his enterprises taking them and their wishes into account. His whole social horizon is widened.

Attitude toward himself—Out of all these experiences with other people, a child's attitude toward himself is also in some way affected. To the one who has been the pivotal point around which an adoring family has revolved, it comes often as a great surprise to discover that in the nursery school he no longer occupies such a position. To the one who has seemed to be more or less in the way during the years before nursery school, it may come as an equal surprise to find a new evaluation of his worth as an individual. To the child whose relationship to other people has always been a well-balanced one, nursery-school experiences of similar nature serve further to deepen his idea of his rightful place in the world.

Understanding and enjoyment of the world about him—Participation in the activities of the nursery-school day affects in some measure a child's understanding of the world about him, depending both upon the nursery school and upon the child. The nurse looks at his throat. "What's that thing?" says he, and with her answer, "tongue depressor" becomes a part of his vocabulary. "Why do you wear a white apron all day every day?" queries another, and the nurse's uniform becomes a part of his experience. "Why's our dinner in them pans?" asks a third, and with the explanation that follows, double boilers or steam kettles are looked upon in the light of new knowledge. All sorts of different things happen every day—things that become meaningful as the ever-ready "What" or "Why" brings an answer which clarifies the little one's understanding. Ideas of time, space, quantity, distance—all begin to fall into their right relationships as the child hears the adults or other children using the words denoting them. Not that the nursery school offers the only experiences thru which such understanding can grow. No informed person would make such a claim. But such

a school plays its part. By the very fact that it takes a child out of the home into a different setting, it broadens his field of observation. Because it brings him into contact with other people, it extends the scope of his experiences, and in so doing in some measure enlarges his world and his understanding of that world.

With this widened vision, whole new fields of enjoyment are opened up, the nature of those enjoyments again depending upon the nursery school and the children in it. A visitor who knew how to play a violin for little children gradually drew wondering comments. "What is it she's got?" asked those who had never seen a violin before. "Why does she do it that way?" queried one, and "Make it do it again," demanded another, while others silently watched and listened. Every such experience affects in some way the things a child thinks or feels or does. Books, pictures, music, flowers, pets—each in its way has its own effect, and all are experiences which in one form or another the nursery school brings to a child.

Development of skills and habits—The experiences which a child has in the nursery school affect also the skill with which he handles materials or cares for himself. Fumbling fingers that cannot at first handle buttons or shoe laces become so skilful that their owners proudly proclaim, "See, I can do it my own self." Tricycles that at first zigzagged from side to side, bumping first this and then that, come to be steered with a steady hand and an unerring eye. Wash cloths that never did hit the right spot come to be handled with ease, albeit ends still may trail and water drip. Developing abilities within the child furnish the foundation for the growth of these skills, but the activities of the nursery-school day offer the opportunity for the practise that brings skill in the doing. The fact that in the nursery school there are adults whose sole business is to offer learning opportunities, makes it a place where one may rightly expect such effects.

Thru all of the experiences offered by the nursery school a child's characteristic ways of behaving are affected. He comes with certain behavior patterns well fixed. He has a characteristic way of making his social contacts. He meets difficulty or frustration with some characteristic reaction. He takes success or failure in his own particular way. As he comes into a group of children and meets new adults, his peculiar reactions are modified or strengthened by his experiences with them—by the things they do, the way they do them, by their gestures, tone, and general manner which reveal their feelings about the things they do.

Development of the child's philosophy—Out of such experiences a child's philosophy of living is built up. "I can fix it" is one three-year-old's philosophy, and it shines out from her every reaction, attesting

to a sublime faith in her ability to do something about any difficulty. "Everybody's a friend" shows forth from Teddy's responses to all who come near. "The world's a tough place" shows just as plainly in every one of Janet's behavior patterns. "The world owes me what I want" could not be proclaimed more surely in words than by all of Lloyd's ways of behaving. A two-year-old is building his philosophy of living, his outlook on life, and the nursery school may have been a vital part in determining what that outlook shall be, for it supplies experiences which turn that outlook one way or another, or encourage its existing direction.

Likewise, the nursery school affects a child's general health—mental as well as physical—by the food it offers, the rest it provides, the activities it offers, the habits it sets up, the feelings it stimulates. By all the varied experiences which it offers and by the way these are offered, it affects a child's total living—it becomes a vital factor in his personality and adjustment.

The nursery school and parents—But the nursery school goes even further in affecting personality adjustments. While it affects the child's personality directly and vitally, it influences the personality adjustments of the child's parents as well. Inherent in the philosophy underlying nursery-school procedures, is the fundamental belief that a child can be really understood only to the degree that he is known in his family relationships, and that any guidance to be desirably effective must be given in the light of those relationships. The good nursery school, then, becomes a part of the experience of parents as well as of the child. It gives them an opportunity to see their own child with other children. It permits them to see him in relation to other adults than themselves. It provides an opportunity for them to hear how other adults interpret the child's behavior. It gives them a chance to see his reactions to a physical environment different from that of the home.

These experiences affect different parents differently. The experience of seeing their own child with other children may open up new understandings of how children differ each from the other. To some it may open up new ways of enjoying their child. To some the nursery-school experience may bring a changed vision of themselves as parents. It may bring different ideas of their responsibilities as parents. To some it may open up a new vision of what these responsibilities are. To others it may bring a lessening of anxiety concerning a responsibility already fully recognized.

Conclusion—Nursery-school life affects a child's attitude toward other people—both adults and children—and his reactions to them. It affects a child's attitude toward himself, his understanding and enjoyment of the world about him, his ways of doing things and his skill

in doing them, his characteristic ways of behaving, his outlook on life, and his physical and mental health. For every child, and parent too, who participates in the nursery-school experience, that experience becomes a factor in personality adjustment. It remains for those who are responsible for any given nursery school to so plan together with the parents of the children concerned, that the experiences in that school shall lead to more abundant living and to the fundamental happiness which such living brings. One often hears it suggested that the provision of good nursery schools for all the children of all the people would contribute significantly to the development of wholesome personality, and by so doing prove to be a useful agency for social betterment.

FEAR is the most insidious of the emotional responses which may gain a strong foothold in the child's behavior during the preschool years. During infancy and early childhood, the human and physical environment of the child are conducive to fostering fear. The very size of the child in relation to objects and people in his environment, his inadequacy in meeting situations, his lack of experience for interpreting situations, provide fertile soil for the development of a number of specific fears. Such specific fears as radiators, steam whistles, or dogs may disappear gradually as the child increases in understanding and in his ability to handle situations. But sometimes these experiences may be so intense or so widespread that life itself becomes suffused with dreaded happenings. A general feeling of inadequacy, of insecurity, of fearfulness may result that will permeate his responses in most situations.—Driscoll, Gertrude P., and Meek, Lois H., p. 300 of this yearbook.

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CHAPTER IV

THE TEACHER'S INFLUENCE ON PUPIL PERSONALITY

EDITORIAL COMMENT

THE PRECEDING CHAPTER has touched only briefly on the role of the classroom teacher in the personality development of children. The teacher, however, is undoubtedly the most important factor in the school environment. A poor teacher can offset the advantages of the finest building, the most modern curriculum, or the soundest plan of pupil guidance. A competent teacher can accomplish much without all of these aids; with them, her contribution to pupil growth is probably greater than that of any other person except an equally well-qualified parent.

There are two major aspects of the teacher's influence upon children: (1) her own personality adjustment, including her health, outlook on life, and attitude toward children; and (2) her training and skill, not merely in teaching subjectmatter, but also in dealing with the social and emotional problems of pupils. These two aspects are closely related. The seven articles in this chapter discuss them in some detail.

The first article is Carrington's review of characteristics needed in teaching. LaRue then presents a study of the emotional tendencies of good and poor teachers, indicating that those teachers who are generally rated "good" also tend to exhibit superior mental health. In the third article, Rogers gives specific suggestions for maintaining and improving the teacher's physical health. Perkins tells how teacher participation in the administration of his school has contributed to the morale of the staff; he points out that children cannot be trained in democratic social living if autocratic relations prevail between principal and teachers.

The last three articles deal with methods of preparing teachers for child guidance. Rivlin writes about pre-service training, placing major emphasis upon the entire training-school program, and only minor emphasis on special courses in abnormal behavior. Retan describes a training school's efforts to study and treat the maladjustments of its student teachers; he believes every teachers college should undertake such a program. In the concluding article, Koch discusses a variety of procedures and devices for educating teachers in service, including lectures, reading, study groups, case conferences, demonstration teaching, and the preparation of pupil record forms.

Readers who are especially concerned with teacher health and adjustment will not overlook the selected references at the close of the chapter.—*Editorial Committee.*

TEACHER PERSONALITY AS A FACTOR IN CHILD ADJUSTMENT

EVELYN M. CARRINGTON

*Associate Professor of Education, Sam Houston State Teachers College,
Huntsville, Texas*

THE AVERAGE CHILD spends five hours or more, five days a week, for nine months a year in school. If we accept as true the statement that the child is affected by all he has met, it follows that the personality of his teachers will play no small part in the evolution of his attitudes and in his adjustments. However, in some states the only requirements for a teaching certificate are that the candidate be familiar with the subjectmatter of certain prescribed courses, and that she be at least a certain age, of good moral character, and a citizen of the United States of America. Nothing is said of the candidate's ability to face reality, to adjust to new situations, and to sublimate those of her cravings that are in conflict with social conventions and principles.

Few school administrators or teachers realize how great an opportunity is offered the latter to understand, and in some cases, to change the behavior patterns of their pupils. The attitudes and personal adjustments of teachers are undoubtedly reflected to some extent in the mental health of the children in their classes. Along with other environmental factors, teachers become "molders of destiny."

Some characteristics of the well-adjusted teacher—Jessie Taft writes, "If only one factor in a child's maladjustment at school can be changed, the attitude of the teacher will usually be found to be the most important, and its alteration most immediately effective in bringing about improvement."¹

Pupil habits and attitudes are probably more important than academic success, if one must choose between the two. To encourage good habits and attitudes, the teacher needs tact, wisdom, freedom from complexes, patience, and purposive flexibility. She needs to introspect impartially and yet be sensitive to other people. She must be neither extremely reserved nor unduly assertive, neither stubborn nor highly suggestible, neither an extrovert nor an introvert. In other words, there must be balance. Without balance, teachers become "dangerous guardians of the youth entrusted to their care."²

In addition to emotional balance there must be control. The child should not be used to satisfy the teacher's emotional need or to relieve

¹ Taft, Jessie. *The Relation of the School to the Mental Health of the Average Child*. Reprint No. 181. New York: National Committee for Mental Hygiene (50 W. 50th Street), 1932, p. 5.

² Lemmle, M. T. "A Study of Maladjustments in Women Teachers." *The Pi Lambda Theta Journal* 13: 18; May, 1935.

her personal feelings. Neither sentimentality nor hatred must be allowed to creep in. Hating harms the person manifesting it more than it hurts the individual hated. Psychiatrists have found that dislikes often are based on some quality in another person which the individual secretly fears in himself.

An excellent way to help maintain emotional balance is to have wholesome interests and hobbies. Objective interests permit neither projection nor overcompensation. The self is relegated to a place of secondary importance while the task itself is made the focus of attention.

A well-adjusted personality is one that possesses maturity. The mature adult will face his problems honestly. He will not be afraid of his own feelings or of his association with other people. He will respect institutions and conventions only so far as they deserve respect.

Not all teachers are mature individuals. Some fail in spite of their wishes to succeed and in spite of their efforts to "grow up." Such persons are entitled to our sympathy only less than the children who are their victims.

The teacher's health—Even the physical condition of the teacher may affect the personalities of her pupils. If the teacher has an infectious disorder, she is apt to infect the children under her guidance. Apart from the impairment of their health, sick children often exhibit personality quirks. They may become fearful of associating with other children. In some instances, they develop invalid complexes, infantile regressions, or even extreme aggressiveness.

The healthy teacher sets her pupils a good example with respect to habits of living. Mere preachment will not suffice. One living example is worth a dozen abstract cases. Little Mary's attitude toward carrots, which her mother has patiently built up during the preschool years, may be destroyed by one careless statement of a teacher who broadcasts her dislike of such vegetables and categorizes them as "rabbit-food."

The healthy teacher is seldom absent from school. The introduction of a substitute into any classroom interrupts the learning process, and regardless of how efficient the new teacher is, there is bound to be some confusion and a feeling of strangeness. Children in the primary grades particularly are disturbed by any change in their study environment.

The healthy teacher also has a better disposition than one who is ill. The Greeks considered sickness as a disturbance of perfect balance, and health as more than the absence of sickness, as "something positive, a fine and delicate unity of body and mind adjusted to a way

of life."³ Physical ills make the teacher emotionally unfit for her work. Irritability breaks the rapport between teacher and child, and misunderstandings easily arise.

The teacher who is sick cannot work most efficiently. One cannot expect enthusiasm in a teacher who has a cold that interferes with her breathing and hearing, and that makes her eyes water. The word "enthusiasm" is derived from two Greek words, *en* and *theos*, meaning a "god within." Even the most optimistic person cannot imagine the teacher just described as having a god within her. More than likely she will act as tho possessed of a devil, and the devil has never been accredited with accomplishing a constructive piece of work.

Everyone is familiar with the effect which proper food, sleep, cleanliness, and exercise have upon the teacher and indirectly upon her pupils. Yet very little importance has been attached to the teacher's recreation. Recreation should not be entirely of a passive nature. Will Durant says that action is the secret of health, and health is the secret of happiness.

Fatigue brings maladjustments. Psychologists list as the general sources of fatigue: poor emotional adjustment, too continuous activity, poor physical environment, and inefficient methods of work. Noise is a contributing factor. A number of years ago, John J. B. Morgan concluded from experimental data that loud noises force the body to use more energy, food, and oxygen. Loud noises produce fear reactions. When mental work is being done, noise not only makes a drain upon the energy of its victim but also is costly in terms of money.

The teacher who must talk against noise becomes tense, and the children who must listen to her become cross from the strain of listening.

Pleasant voice—Free⁴ states that some noises are "noisier" than others. He continues:

An engineer recently found that he could "take the noise out" of a well-known make of automobile engine simply by lowering the average pitch of the tones which the machine was singing. Actually it makes as much noise as ever, but the human ear is less sensitive to it.

The analogy between the noise of the engine and the pitch of the teacher's voice is apparent. A high or poorly modulated voice in a speaker has an unpleasant effect on the listener. The auditor grows more and more tense. The voice, and not what is being said, holds his attention.

In addition to the pitch of the voice, fluency and forceful expression are important. If the teacher speaks in a halting or hesitant manner,

³ Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. *The Health of the Teacher*. Health Bulletin for Teachers No. 32. June, 1934. p. 1.

⁴ Free, E. E. "The World Must Outlaw Noise." *Popular Science* 116: 19; January, 1930.

the children become restless. In some instances they adopt her method of speech. The writer's younger sister had as a language teacher a young woman who lisped. Without wilful intention, the former began to lisp at times, particularly in the pronunciation of words recently acquired.

Attractive personal appearance—Children are mimics. Just as they acquire the speech habits of their associates, so they may try consciously to look like their teacher. One morning a fifth-grade teacher appeared with her back hair knotted on her neck, her front hair being arranged in curly bangs. Within the week an epidemic of bangs appeared among the girls of the fifth grade. Those with short hair dripped bobby-pins everywhere in their efforts to have their hair drawn severely back.

Children in the primary grades report with interest to their parents any change in the teacher's dress. The sixth-grade boy must have a sweater exactly like the athletic coach wears, or life will not be worthwhile for him.

Clothes do not "make" the man, but they do have great influence upon personality. To some people clothes are merely a covering for nakedness. To such, a magenta sweater worn with a red and green plaid skirt and a canary-colored blouse gives no offense. However, to the sensitive ones a day spent in facing such a costume may bring on an attack of biliousness.

Pope gave shrewd advice when he wrote:

Be not the first by whom the new is tried,
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.

There should be modishness in the dress of teachers, the dress being adapted to the age and type of the individual wearing it. Frequently primary teachers continue their youthful dress long after their youth is passed.

In spite of the evidence presented by the neckties of some school principals, even the most impecunious of teachers can learn to buy colors that harmonize. They can learn the economy and esthetic value of buying fewer and better clothes. They can learn to put these clothes on carefully and can see that they are kept clean and pressed.

Perhaps too few women teaching in the elementary grades have fully appreciated this cosmetic age. They go to school with no faint glow of youth upon their cheeks. As the hours pass, they remain unconscious of their stringy hair, shining noses, and uncared for hands. Grimy hands, unpleasant breath, and flakes of powder or loose hair on their shoulders will not pass unnoticed. If children are to acquire habits of neatness and cleanliness, they must see them practised.

During recent years a definite effort has been made to discourage prospective teachers who are physically deformed or who have unsightly blemishes from specializing in either primary or middle-grade teaching. These unfortunates can succeed with older children better than with sensitive younger ones. To help them find a vocation where they would not have to be constantly before the public would be better for everyone concerned.

Sense of humor—Every elementary-school teacher needs a sense of humor. She needs to laugh with her pupils but never at them. Wit is often caustic, but the best humor is never sarcastic or cutting. Humor may be a genuine asset if it is properly directed. Children in the elementary grades often laugh at and consider funny occurrences that the adult would regard as silly or coarse. It is part of the teacher's task to discourage the cheaper type of humor and to encourage through her own sincere appreciation the higher forms of humor.

Promptness—Many elementary-school children move slowly because of poor muscular coordination or because their attention is diverted elsewhere. They must be taught that punctuality is necessary, that the failure of one person to be on time may inconvenience several other people, and that promptness is usually the result of careful planning. There is no better way to develop habits of punctuality in children than for the teacher to keep all of her appointments to the minute, and to penalize unnecessary delays. It is never too early to instill the lesson that

... today well lived
Makes every yesterday a dream of happiness
And every tomorrow a vision of hope.⁵

Industry and thrift—It is hardly necessary to say that elementary-school teachers should be industrious. An industrious person is one who steadily applies himself to the task before him. Efficient workers, however, remain at ease even under urgent and distracting conditions. If they feel themselves growing tense, they stop. They do this because they know that when they are high-strung or fatigued they cease to be efficient.

Many teachers consider themselves efficient if they work feverishly during intervals of inspiration or necessity. The hurry and flurry present during spasmodic periods of frantic endeavor is contagious. It passes from teacher to pupil. It increases irritability and prevents serenity of body or mind.

The teacher should also be thrifty, that is, she should husband her time, energy, and resources. Thrift means using wisely rather than

⁵ From the Sanskrit.

saving. If sixth-grade pupils see that their teacher is careless of school property, they are apt to assume the same attitude. One of the most important lessons the school must teach is the difference between "thine" and "mine," and a wholesome respect for each.

The teacher thru precept and practise should teach her pupils to budget their time. Such a budget should include provisions for work and for leisure. Andre Maurois believes that "because they are the grandsons of pioneers, Americans have not yet realized that the charm of life consists of periods of leisure." His criticism is not without justification.

Intelligence—The elementary-school teacher should have at least average intelligence. She should be mentally alert and responsive. She should love wisdom, be tolerant of other people's views, and possess intellectual curiosity. Intellectual geniuses often do not make good teachers, however. They are usually more interested in doing creative work than in working with young people. They are emotionally lonely and often lack that inner strength that stabilizes.

However, the elementary-school teacher must be interested in intellectual things. She should be able to say:

The flame of knowledge grew
A little brighter in the hands I taught.*

Like Solomon, she should exalt understanding and encourage those whom she teaches to "take fast hold of instruction." Like the late Justice Holmes, she must teach the young that

No man has earned the right to intellectual ambition until he has learned to lay his course by a star which he has never seen—to dig by the divining rod for springs which he may never reach. . . .⁷

Fairness—All teachers should be honest with themselves and with others. They must be sincere and scrupulous in keeping their word. They must see things as they are, try to understand the motives behind their own behavior and that of others, and avoid sentimentality.

On Armistice Day they should not arrange programs that will glorify war without mentioning the fact that the world is not yet safe for democracy. It is wrong to indoctrinate elementary-school boys and girls, who have no memories of the World War, with hatred of another nation and to fill them with that brand of emotional excitement mistakenly called patriotism. Such propaganda will never develop goodwill among nations.

In time of peace, the teacher may consciously or unconsciously pass on her intolerance to her pupils. Not infrequently the uncritical minds

* Woodward, L. B. "Why I Teach." *The Pi Lambda Theta Journal* 12: 1; March, 1933.

⁷ Oliver Wendell Holmes, in an address to Harvard Students, reported in *Time*.

of children fail to grasp the issues involved, and they placidly accept the teacher's statements. Out of this comes narrowness, bias, and misconception.

Interest in social problems—H. G. Wells has described civilization as a race between education and catastrophe. Real civilization can never be achieved if governments persist in inflicting static laws on a changing society, and if teachers persist in educating for social situations that no longer exist. For these reasons, teachers must understand the background of industry, trade, and finance.

The elementary-school teacher who keeps abreast of the times may fire her pupils' curiosity to find out the "how" and "why" of things. This attitude of inquisitiveness is healthy. Mary Roberts Rinehart⁸ states that there is energy in true discontent. The struggle toward a clearer understanding of conditions cannot help but bring better adjustment in everyday life and sounder planning for the future.

Appreciation of individual differences—The teacher must be keenly aware that no two children are alike. She must look deeply into the life of each child and try to guess at the prognostic significance of the personality traits she discovers there. It is her privilege to stir ambition, to stimulate ideals, and to help the child integrate his energies into a plan of living that will benefit society and bring him personal happiness.

Schoolboards are beginning to realize that not all teachers are emotionally fit to handle the personal problems of students. Terman recently said that "psychologists stand aghast at the self-assurance with which the professional school counselors in America diagnose the personality faults of little children and at the boldness with which they undertake the delicate task of adjustment."⁹ Smug assurance in handling such problems is unwarranted. However, the teacher can interest herself in the child, study him, discover something in him worthy of appreciation, and find something useful for him to do. The tasks given the child should be fitted to his stage of development. He needs the stimulus of success, and he also sometimes needs to fail. In order that the child may get a truer estimate of his potentialities, Burnham¹⁰ recommends occasional failure as an antidote for too intoxicating success.

Children begin early to think of the vocations they will follow when they are grown. Each individual needs to be vocationally competent and to have a genuine appreciation of those who labor. A favorite teacher's attitude toward a particular profession, industry, or trade is

⁸ Rinehart, Mary Roberts. "In Praise of Discontent." *Ladies' Home Journal* 46: 5; December, 1929.

⁹ Terman, Lewis M. "The Measurement of Personality." *Science* 80: 605-08; December 28, 1934.

¹⁰ Burnham, William H. *Success and Failure as Conditions of Mental Health*. Reprint No. 57. New York: National Committee for Mental Hygiene (50 W. 50th St.), p. 9.

often a potent factor in the child's choice of his life work. Since this is so, the teacher needs to study vocational opportunities in different geographical areas, and to stress more than the social and economic side of a vocation.

Ability to evaluate—The elementary-school teacher needs to have a background of high ideals, worthy living, and straight thinking so that she can analyze situations with respect to both their immediate and remote values. Fosdick says:

Some people treat life as a trade; others treat it as an art. The first exist for what they can take out of life; the second for what they can put into it. The first grow smaller and narrower; the second expand and grow.¹¹

The teacher who treats life as an art will inspire her pupils to do likewise. In the end, the things of the spirit transcend those of the flesh.

Love of the beautiful—Calvin Coolidge once wrote:

If we could surround ourselves with forms of beauty, the evil things of life would tend to disappear and our moral standards could be raised. Thru our contact with the beautiful we see more of the truth and are brought into closer contact with the infinite.¹²

The teacher who helps the child to see beauty in even simple things is helping him to lay up treasures that will grow in value as the years glide by. From a sincere love of the beautiful, refinement is evolved. A refined person is considerate of others, uses the mother tongue with correctness and precision, and is unwilling to accept second-rate things when those of better quality can be secured. He is modest and avoids placing people under obligations which they cannot fulfil. A teacher of gentle breeding has many opportunities to influence her pupils in the cultivation of true courtesy.

Serenity—No individual who is uncertain of his pay or his tenure, or whose salary is inadequate for his actual needs, can view life calmly. However, he should not allow himself to be overwhelmed, but should try to meet such unfortunate conditions with an optimistic and courageous spirit.

Fear and anxiety are contagious. The teacher who keeps her faith in herself, in her community, and in childhood becomes a veritable pillar of strength. If she can give her pupils an attitude of courage and self-confidence, her presence will be "as potent a factor in improving mental health as any the school can contribute."¹³

Reverence—Reverence is a strong sentiment of respect in which fear is minimized and esteem exalted. Reverence quickens life and gives spiritual strength. It recognizes as the supreme purpose of the

¹¹ Fosdick, H. E. "Building a Personality." *Reader's Digest* 19: 326-27; August, 1931.

¹² From an inscription in Forest Memorial Park, Los Angeles.

¹³ Taft, Jessie, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Creator, the development of the human soul. It does not accept the conception of life as merely a struggle against temptation, as a search for truth, or even as a quest for happiness.

A teacher with a deep feeling of reverence can steady a young person thru the years when he is working out his own philosophy of life. When doubt, fear, and cynicism would enter, she can quietly help to direct his thinking into channels that will lead ultimately to more wholesome and constructive attitudes.

Conclusion—The teachers who live healthy, gracious, and fine lives, who laugh often and love much, who appreciate beauty, and who deserve the respect of men and the love of children are truly molders of destiny because they are important factors in the lives of school children.

ONE IMPORTANT AVENUE of approach to any maladjusted child is that of raising the level of his school achievement. Even when the problem has its roots in an irremediable situation outside the school, an increase in the number of successful classroom experiences often offers the child compensations for the tribulations which he has not been able to avoid. What can the principal do to bring about these successful experiences? First, he can help the teacher to obtain pertinent data from all possible sources. Second, he can become an active agent himself in the rehabilitation campaign. But his most important contribution is to see that the teacher has the proper mental and emotional attitudes toward maladjustment in general and toward the individual maladjusted child in particular.—Hanna, Edith B., p. 521 of this yearbook.

EMOTIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SUPERIOR AND INFERIOR TEACHERS

DANIEL WOLFORD LARUE

Head, Department of Education, State Teachers College, East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania

PERSONALITY, according to the writer's view, is primarily feeling and emotion expressing itself thru the channels of general intelligence, special capacity, and bodily organization. "Feeling" means any such experience as mild fear, anger, and so on. "Emotion" is similar, but the total experience is more intense and complex. If a teacher is mildly irritated by some act of her principal, she has a *feeling* of anger and may merely reply curtly; but if she threatens retaliation and then slams the principal's office door, the anger has probably mounted to the grade of *emotion*. A feeling is, or may be, an incipient emotion. An emotion is a feeling "grown up."

Importance of feelings and emotions in personality—Psychiatry asserts, and psychology is slowly coming to believe, that these feelings and emotions "run" the other parts of the personality, that some one or more of them are back of all our thinking (general intelligence), all our exercise of special capacities (talents like those for music and art), and all our more significant bodily behavior. Love, for example, not only "finds a way," motivating the lover to think out a plan, but inspires his serenade and stirs all his striped muscles for elopement activities. But remove from his brain the centers for feeling, roughly so-called, or deaden them with disease, and he will straightway cease these and all other endeavors, continuing to sit in an unromantic droop.

In the feelings and emotions, then, lies the nucleus of personality and its adjustment; of mental health, disposition, attitude, and adaptability; of criminality and character building; of interest, attention, and motivation; of our complexes and the various "selves" we put on, wear out, and slough off; of the spirit in which we teach, and the load of unwelcome fear or anxiety which we must fight as we work; of our nervousness or poise; of our popularity and our practical job-holding power. Our pupil's scholarship is perhaps more highly correlated with a feeling of determination than it is with either mental age or intelligence quotient. Approximately 80 percent of loss of jobs is due, not to lack of intelligence, or the ability to think the right thought, but to what we may call the ability to feel the right feeling.

What are the primary feelings and emotions?—The essential, simple, primary feelings are those which nature has built into her animals, including ourselves, by having them respond to vital situations—the feelings that set off action which has resulted in survival. We are here

because our ancestors felt appetite and ate, thrilled with what is now called "romance" and mated, grew angry and attacked, feared the unconquerable and fled, felt a great tenderness toward their children and sacrificed for them, and so on. Those who lack the essential equipment of feeling-capacities lose out. Their kind does not survive so well.

For the purpose of the study described in this article, we adopted the inventory of primary feelings elaborated by William McDougall.¹ His list includes elation, subjection, tender feeling, fear, distress, anger, disgust, amusement, appetite, lust, ownership, lonesomeness, curiosity, and creativeness. Each is central in what is called, by various psychologists, a "propensity," "drive," "trend," or "instinct." Elation leads to self-display, determination, rivalry, the "superiority complex," and efforts toward domination. Subjection, or negative self-feeling, is basic in the "inferiority complex," and comes out as self-abasement, yielding, submission. Tender feeling is love, especially the parental kind, but does not include sex feeling, which is here designated as lust.

Fear, anger, appetite, and curiosity are familiar. Distress prompts an appeal for help, perhaps to the principal, or it may be to God. Disgust, the "take-it-away" feeling, rouses activities of repulsion. Amusement sets off laughter and encourages relaxation. Ownership makes for the acquisition and hoarding of property. Lonesomeness, the basis of homesickness, drives us to seek companions, especially familiar ones. Creativeness underlies constructive activity. A teacher who is merely curious, and so learns a great deal from books, may be far inferior to one whose creativeness is centered on building the personalities of her pupils.

None of these feelings is good in itself, none bad in itself, any more than the gasoline in our motor car is morally good or bad. If anger leads us to foil the villain, the act is good. If it flares so that we strike our neighbor dead with a heavy trunk of grapevine, as a certain college professor did, the result is bad. But we must guard against the error that these feelings, propensities, or instincts can be listed in two groups, one of which is to be extirpated and the other educated. All have their place in a well-rounded personality, but it is an unfortunate teacher who has them all in the same degree, especially if it is just a "normal," 50-percent degree.

Hence our question as to the feelings and emotions that characterize the superior and the inferior teacher. For these propensities are at the bottom of the attitudes that we take toward the people and things about us. A child who attempted to dart thru a doorway collided with a teacher who was advancing from the opposite direction. Now, anger

¹ For a full discussion, see: McDougall, William. *Outline of Psychology*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929. 456 p.

is typically roused by that which we regard as hindering us. The response is that of attack. This teacher not only indulged the primitive passion and gave the child a stinging "swat" on the cheek, but later showed a bad attitude toward the pupil. The superior teacher, as we shall see, is more likely to be characterized by an attitude of tender feeling, which naturally issues in protective behavior and encourages the same motive and manner in the pupil.

Any primary feeling, thru inheritance and training, may become chronically dominant, characteristic of the individual's disposition. So we find the habitual attitude of elation or subjection, of fear or distress, of anger or amusement.

How recognize and measure these feelings and emotions?—In the absence of satisfactory tests, we adopted another method approved by statisticians, that of combining the estimates of trained judges. A guide was prepared to aid the judges in identifying the various feelings and registering their degree. Below are behavior samples used in judging the teacher's equipment in—

ELATION

Examples: A spirited animal, strutting or prancing in the presence of others. Athletic contestant striving to the point of permanent impairment. President Wilson straining to the point of collapse and death for his cause.

Less intelligent: Swaggers and is overbearing or impudent. Makes extravagant movements, perhaps "jumps around." "Watch me, I'll show you." Shows eccentricity in clothes or manner. May show excessive neatness (pride in dress, etc.) or extreme carelessness (flouting convention).

Struts, brags, etc. Shows off, or talks much of, "crows over," his figure, clothes, possessions, achievement, position, friends. "By his tell," has best car, house, clothes, etc. Accepts unearned titles, honors, etc. Overrates himself. Overuses the pronoun "I." Lets "me" and "mine" dominate his talk. "Plays to the grandstand." Snubs "inferiors." Tries to be "first," "only," or "champion" in something, even something trifling or absurd. Maneuvers to get name in newspaper, etc. Vigorous, positive expression of opinion when uninhibited. Stretches the truth, perhaps without intending to, to make out a good case for himself. Readily accepts flattery. Welcomes compliments but may seldom give them. "Expansive" behavior, especially following a success. "Thin-skinned"—or perhaps too "big-headed" to recognize an obvious slight.

Dominates or disregards others. Bull-doggish. Stubborn or contra-suggestible (especially if lacking in subjection). Unreasonably refuses to yield place or give in. Sees everything as challenge to self. Eagerly "shows up" rival, points to others' errors, faults, weaknesses, etc. Argues with zest, sure he is right. Petty tyrant, martinet. Stares neighbor out of countenance. Talks, giggles, wisecracks, etc., during performances, as one of an audience. Creates nuisance, as by loud noises, in corridors, streets, etc., without regard for rights of others. Browbeats those who will submit. Resists authority.

More intelligent: Strives to excel. Competes with others in his field of endeavor, or against his own previous record. Tries to "make" a really significant honor list. Keeps clothing, tools, house, shop, etc., in condition for efficient action. Exhibits special talent with pleasure. Responds to praise by improving, as efficiency.

Disciplines himself. Self-controlled and self-confident. Gaze and movement steady. Action determinate and finished, not tremulous or abortive. "Keeps his head" under stress. Maintains consistent character, yet responds adaptively. Con-

centrates well. Shows by word and act that his ideas have been persistently thought thru, made clear and articulate.

Proceeds, and perhaps leads, with sanity and vigor. Warns his fellows against objectionable practises. Plans with care. Takes reasonable risks, faces danger, attacks incisively. Not easily deterred by difficulty or hardship, but faces it with an active, do-something attitude. Follows thru a decision, when reasonable, even at heavy cost. (General Grant: "fight it out on this line, etc.")

Estimates of each teacher's strength in the various primary feelings were set down on the form shown in Figure I, which is also used here to exhibit results. Each teacher was rated somewhere between zero and 100 on each of the fourteen feelings or emotions, and on emotional stability. If the world at large, or any big sample of it, were rated in this way, the resulting "curve," theoretically at least, would be a straight vertical line running down thru the 50's. In the curves shown in Figure I, each deviation from this 50-line presumably represents a special characteristic of the feelings, emotions, and attitudes exhibited, *on the average*, by the sixty-two superior teachers, or by the sixty-four inferior teachers who were rated in this study.

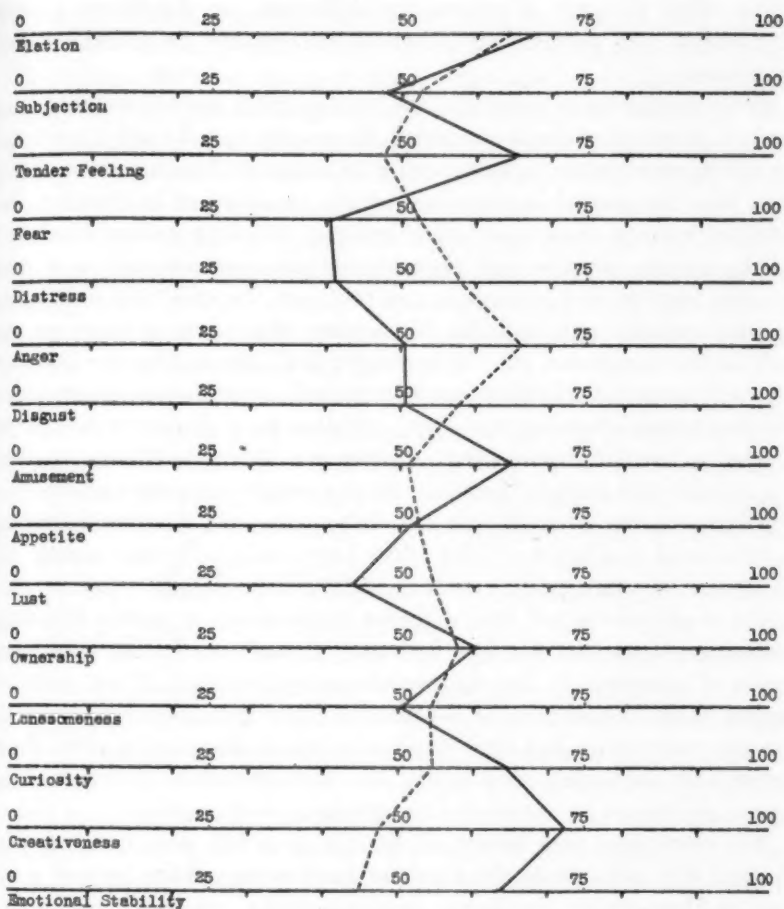
The teachers thus rated were those who, by common consent, both in school and community, were of notable excellence or inferiority as *teachers*. Thirty-three of the superior teachers and twenty-eight of the inferior ones were males.

Results of the study—Glancing along the curves in Figure I, we notice that the outstanding difference (in feeling) between the groups of good and poor teachers was that of creativeness—the tendency to make, create, build, be constructive. We are reminded of Professor Palmer's statement, in *The Ideal Teacher*, that while it is no doubt a good thing for a teacher to be a fair scholar, the chief thing is the "passion to make scholars," and that the fine scholar himself may have "no such passion whatever." Perhaps, from our present point of view, we may revise Professor Palmer's statement a bit and assert that the prime characteristic of the superior teacher is the creative desire to develop his pupil's personality along the lines of its individual native endowment.

"Emotional stability," which shows the second largest contrast between the good and the poor teachers, may be understood best from the directions given to our judges:

Rate somewhere on the left end of the line, as relatively unstable, one in whom different emotions, from time to time if not habitually, follow each other rapidly and with some vigor, either from no apparent cause, or played upon by the accidents of environment and of inward condition. Such a person may laugh hysterically, cry easily, get into a "huff" over a trifle, become suddenly elated or despairing over himself or his fortunes, pass quickly from timid flight to rash assault, etc.

Rate toward the right him who shows the opposite tendency, whose emotional responses are appropriate in kind and amount, and relatively well controlled. He



KEY

Superior teachers _____

Inferior teachers - - - - -

FIGURE I—COMPARISON OF NOTABLY SUPERIOR AND NOTABLY INFERIOR TEACHERS WITH RESPECT TO FIFTEEN PERSONALITY TRAITS

is likely to be about "the same" from day to day. Altho emotionally flexible, supple, and responsive to varying situations, perhaps—not merely stolid or insensitive—he shows a stable, consistent emotional constitution.

The effect of such a personality difference on discipline, lasting friendships, and permeating influence can readily be imagined and appreciated.

Altho our figures indicate that the average good and the average poor teacher do not vary much in elation, commonly called "self-assertion," the difference obtained by subtracting the measure of emotional stability from that for elation is very significant. In addition to teachers, we obtained ratings on several other groups, including college men and college women, popular and unpopular males, popular and unpopular females, happily and unhappily married men, happily and unhappily married women, and celibates. We assume that some of these groups such as the unpopular, are "ill favored"; that others, like the popular, are "well favored." In every case one can tell, from a single figure alone (elation minus emotional stability), whether he is dealing with a well-favored or an ill-favored group. Among our fortunate classes, such as the popular, the happily married, the successful teachers, and the college students, the average rating in elation exceeded the average rating in emotional stability by two to four points only; whereas among the unpopular, the unhappily married, and the unsuccessful teachers, this excess of elation ranged from eighteen to twenty-four points. The suggestion is strong that the less fortunate dispositions fail to turn their power of assertion to the achievement of self-control. They seem to neglect their "department of the interior," and impetuously attempt to conquer their tasks and their associates before disciplining their inner forces and mastering themselves. To any particular individual, of course, we cannot be sure that this statement will apply.

It is interesting that among all the groups rated, comprising a total of about 650 individuals, the superior teachers scored the highest averages on three traits: emotional stability (63.0), curiosity (65.4), and creativeness (71.9); and that they scored lowest in fear (40.4) and distress (41.4). The inferior teachers, on the other hand, made the highest average scores in distress (57.1) and disgust (57.7), and the lowest in curiosity (54.4).

Tender feeling, in which we discover our third largest contrast, is "mother love"; and so it is not surprising that our highest rating in this trait was registered by happily married women. (Should they be permitted to teach!) The parental propensity, some authorities have concluded, is our only native altruistic tendency, all the others being centered—but not necessarily in any immoral way—on the welfare of the self. Unintelligently expressed, this tendency may lead one to

pick up the slightly hurt child who might better pick itself up, to give illegitimate aid in examinations, or to take the side of the criminal against society. When guided by intelligence, it moves one to feed birds in a snowy winter, to relieve distress, to seek parenthood (not merely sexual gratification), and to "make the world a better place to live in."

The other affective traits in which the superior teachers scored notably higher than the inferior are amusement and curiosity. The feeling of amusement is basic in what is commonly known as the "sense of humor"—so valuable that if one is not blessed with Plato's "sixth sense" for ideas, this might serve as a very happy substitute. Curiosity is the desire to explore, to find the organizing pattern of a group of facts. It comes out unintelligently in the "gossip," more intelligently in the news man and the research worker. And so, altho the superior teacher's chief equipment may not be scholarship, he is likely to exhibit a very neat example of true student spirit.

The average inferior teacher, according to our findings, is not only comparatively low in creativeness, emotional stability, tender emotion, amusement, and curiosity, but he also carries a burden of feelings that conflict with these desirable tendencies. As contrasted with the better favored teacher, he is overloaded with anger, distress, fear, and disgust. Presumably, he must waste quite a fund of nervous energy subduing or repressing these tendencies, with resulting danger to inner and outer harmony and to mental health.

Implications for teacher selection and training—While it is not safe to generalize too freely from the results of this study, because of the relatively small groups of teachers whose emotional characteristics were rated, certain conclusions seem justified. The writer believes that the curve for the superior teachers (see Figure I) represents a disposition blessed with unusual mental health. Of course, it does not follow that every teacher, in order to be healthy-minded, must conform to that curve. But the personality-developing, character-forming influence of the superior teacher on her pupils, both consciously and unconsciously, must be tremendous.

Are these emotional propensities "inherited"? There is growing evidence which indicates that they are; but it would be strange indeed if they were not also subject to some measure of "conditioning," or education. Can we select candidates for teaching who are born with unusually fine dispositions? And, since training is more efficacious when applied to superior inheritance, can we thru careful selection and training see to it that "the best shall serve the state"? These, in the writer's judgment, are questions of vital concern to every school principal, every superintendent, and every teacher-training institution in America.

MAINTAINING THE PHYSICAL WELFARE OF TEACHERS

JAMES FREDERICK ROGERS

Consultant in Hygiene, United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

THERE are some happy specimens in the teaching profession who need not give much thought to their bodily condition. Many teachers, however, find that the task of teaching draws upon all the vitality they possess. This is especially true of those who are most conscientious (and sometimes too conscientious) in their work. Any lapse from the balance of physical power called health makes the handling of pupils more difficult and more exhausting; hence it is important to maintain this balance day by day. For such maintenance the teacher herself is chiefly responsible, but those who direct her school activities also may have great influence upon her physical well-being, and hence upon the quality of her professional work. We cannot obtain the best service from an animal or even a machine that is not well cared for. The human organism needs even better care; it is so nicely adjusted that it may be thrown out of balance by a word.

Many teacher-training institutions furnish their students with information on hygienic living. Some colleges and normal schools go further, and by medical examination and advice attempt to place the student in her best possible condition for work. She is also instructed in methods of keeping her school or classroom in a sanitary and healthful condition.

What is said to the teacher-in-training, however, not infrequently "goes in one ear and out the other." Even the efforts made for her welfare thru the college medical service are often repaid with indifference. Consequently the teacher needs, upon employment, to be warned again that the quality of her work and the ease with which she performs it will depend in large measure upon her physical and physiological condition. Furthermore, the school administration should make definite provisions for maintaining and improving the teacher's health after she has been employed.

Health examinations before employment—A number of states and many local communities have laws or regulations requiring a medical certificate of teachers before employment. The earlier of these requirements were not generally intended for the benefit of the teacher, but for the protection of pupils against tuberculosis and other diseases which the teacher might transmit to them. Hence the health examination was cursory with only this object in view. As now given, such an examination should be made by a physician employed by and responsible to the board of education. Moreover, the candidate should be informed that its purpose is not merely to protect children from a

teacher who has a disease, but also to provide them with a teacher who is physically capable of giving them the maximum educational stimulus and assistance.

At present it is not likely that a school medical officer will reject many applicants, because the training schools are weeding out the unfit, and in some cases medical examinations are made before the student leaves the high school. If an applicant is rejected, it is a good thing for the applicant as well as for the children.

It is neither wise nor humane to employ a teacher who, altho she may be able to do her work acceptably for a season, has some weakness which will be made worse by that work.

Many applicants present unwholesome physical conditions or habits of living which can be removed, and in not a few school systems these persons are rejected until their defects (often nothing more than decayed teeth) are remedied. In a considerable number of cities, teachers found to be faulty in physical condition are placed on probation until they have complied with the requirements of the examiners.

Health practises after employment—We have a plethora of advice these days concerning health and physical fitness, especially from those who have something to sell; but in greeting his teachers at the beginning of the year, the wise principal will have something tactful to say on this subject. He can refer to the preliminary medical examination as a means of determining whether the teacher is at her best. He can point out that the school expects and deserves the teacher's best; that this "best" includes physical fitness; and that such fitness can be maintained only by reasonable care on the part of the teacher. This does not mean that the teacher is to do nothing but teach, but that the earlier she learns her physical limitations, the better for all concerned.

While school work often requires more time than is available during the regular school day, the teacher should not allow her hours to be unnecessarily encroached upon by professional duties. There should be plenty of time for wholesome recreation. There should be some mind-absorbing pursuits, and such social engagements as will not be detrimental to health or efficiency. The moving-picture house, with its flow of continuously changing light, may not be most conducive to health, tho it will be better, on occasion, than no means of escaping from oneself. Change or variety is the spice of life, and many a teacher has been lacking in spice. The teacher who always does her work in the same routine way is like the musician who plays equally well on all occasions—uninspired.

Teachers are frequently advised to spend much time after school in exercise. While they should get into the open air and take such exercise as seems beneficial, it should be remembered that the exercise of stand-

ing is very fatiguing, and the outgo of nervous energy during a day's work may leave, in many persons, little residue for active muscular exertion. While giving the benefit of the doubt to outdoor exercise, the teacher should realize that she can do too much. Whatever exercise is chosen should be suited to the age and capacity of the person. It should be pleasurable, mind-absorbing, and preferably taken in good company. If it is to be a walk by oneself, some errand, or the company of a dog, will help to remove the curse of introspection.

During vacations the teacher should shed her school work as she would a coat, and turn her attention to her hobbies, to travel, or to whatever duties of another nature devolve upon her. There is such a thing, however, as wearing oneself out during a vacation. The test of real recreation is the vigor and freshness which is felt on returning to routine duties. This desirable result may be attained by observing, during the change of scene and of mental and physical activity, the few fundamental conditions which are essential to health at all times.

The advisability of doing additional teaching or other work out of school hours will depend on the strength and inclination of the teacher; but she has no business attempting anything which will impair her efficiency for her regular work.

Altho it is seldom done, the school regulations concerning sick leave should be explained to the teachers as a system of accident insurance made possible by its honest use. It should be stated, however, that while the privilege of sick leave is not to be abused, a perfect record of attendance is not always desirable; it is often wise to remain at home when it might be possible to be at work. It is better to keep to one's bed for a day or two with a cold, than to be ill for a month with pneumonia. Colds are the most common cause of absence, and during the first three days they may be communicated to pupils and to other teachers.

Schoolroom conditions—It is to be hoped that the newly employed teacher finds herself in a building which is well heated and ventilated, well lighted, and generally attractive. The sanitary condition of a school affects the physical well-being of both teachers and pupils. Given a model plant, the teacher is in part responsible for its healthfulness. She should know how to manage the ventilation and the lighting. Graduates of some training schools are not only informed but practised in keeping a healthful school, but whether or not they are so trained, the principal should make it clear that healthful conditions must be maintained for the welfare of teacher as well as pupil.

Few training schools prepare their students adequately to discover and remove cases of the dozen or so diseases (including skin affections) which children bring to school. Not only may the teacher herself catch

such a disease, but the absence of pupils due to illness may make her additional work. When it comes to gross physical defects, many cases of which escape detection by even the best organized medical inspections, the teacher may save herself much wear and tear by helping to obtain a sharpening of the tools of sight and hearing which every child needs. The pupil who is dull because he is ill-fed, or who is depressed by some other remediable cause, is likewise an unnecessary source of strain on the teacher.

Periodic health examinations—Besides the initial medical examination, subsequent examinations are offered to teachers in a growing number of cities, annually or oftener, without charge. This opportunity is not always used as it should be, because the teacher is fearful that she may be found in poor condition and consequently demoted or retired. The purpose of the examination is just the opposite, and the principal should make this fact clear both by precept and example. If the principal shows no interest in the matter, his teachers are likely to do the same. In a few cities an examination is *required* periodically, but this also is intended as much for the welfare of the teacher as for the benefit of her employer, or of the children.

In Philadelphia, where such examinations have been made since 1926, the following unhygienic practises were discovered and their correction advised:

Errors in personal hygiene	Percent of teachers
Rapid eating	3.7
Carbohydrate excess	9.2
Protein excess	1.1
Coffee-tea excess	1.2
Vitamin deficient	2.9
Water insufficient	23.1
Salt excess	1.8
Sleep insufficient	3.0
Sleep unsatisfactory	3.0
Mental hygiene poor	3.5
Tobacco users	12.3
Patent medicines habitual	9.5
Fresh air insufficient	9.2
Exercise insufficient	12.5
Recreation insufficient	5.3
Employment factors unsatisfactory	4.0

Among the hampering defects found were:

10.8	percent	needing	glasses
4.1	"	defective	hearing from collections of wax alone
4.7	"	decayed	teeth
2.2	"	insufficient	teeth
0.9	"	toxic	goiter
1.1	"	abnormal	lungs

Sick leave—Teachers are liable to sickness for which they may be in no way responsible. The absence rate of teachers on account of illness is less than that for any group of workers for which figures are available, and "strange as it may seem," the lowest rates for which we have statistics are from schools which are most liberal in their grants of sick leave with full pay. The allowance in these schools is the only amount which can possibly fit all cases, namely, unlimited leave. In one city this arrangement has been in effect for twenty-five years, and has created a morale which makes teachers desire to be on the job rather than to take advantage of the schoolboard. If this ideal plan is not adopted, there should be at least a liberal allowance of sick leave.

The floundering of school authorities in their efforts to provide an allowance for sickness that will seem liberal but will not be too liberal, is illustrated by the multitude of schemes which have been invented to meet a situation which is the same everywhere. The following are some of the plans for leave at full pay reported to the United States Office of Education by cities having a population of 10,000 to 30,000:

Sick leave at full pay	Number of cities
Unlimited leave	2
Discretion of superintendent	1
54 days	1
50 days	1
30 days	1
20 days	6
10 days	52
5 days at a time (may be repeated)	1
5 days per term	1
9 days	3
7½ days	3
6 days	1
5½ days	1
5 days, "plus consideration of board"	1
3 days each semester	1
5 days	53
4 days	3
3 days	5
2 days	3
Full pay cumulative	Number of cities
10 full days and 10 half days cumulative up to 100 days ...	1
10 days cumulative to 95 days	1
10 days " " 80 "	1
10 days " " 60 "	1
10 days " " 50 "	1
10 days " " 40 "	1
10 days " " 30 "	5
10 days (half of this cumulative to 30 days)	1
10 days cumulative, and half of the unused time for past 6 years	1
10 days cumulative, and half of unused time for past 2 years	1

Full pay cumulative (cont.)	Number of cities
7 days cumulative to 32 days.....	1
7 days " " 14 ".....	1
5 days cumulative unlimited.....	2
5 days cumulative to 100 days.....	1
5 days " " 35 ".....	1
5 days " " 25 ".....	1
5 days " " 20 ".....	6
5 days " " 15 ".....	3
5 days cumulative after 3 years of service to 15 days.....	1
5 days cumulative to 10 days.....	1
5 days cumulative, but only 10 days can be used in one year.....	1
5 days plus 1 day for every year of service.....	1
5 days plus 1 day for each year of service up to the tenth year.....	1
4 days cumulative for 2 years.....	2
3 days cumulative for 7 years.....	1

This is only a beginning, for the 475 cities studied present 111 more different schemes, or a total of over 200. These various arrangements will be found in a recent publication of the U. S. Office of Education.¹

Of the 175 cities represented in the above list of practises, fifty-two grant 10 days leave at full pay annually, and fifty-three allow 5 days. However, the fact that over two-thirds of the cities have adopted one or the other of these two plans does not signify that they are the most desirable. The very fact that one group of cities grants twice as much leave as the other suggests that probably neither has met the situation adequately. Of the two plans, however, that which grants the longer leave will fulfil the needs of more teachers, and will provide better for the longer illnesses that pull hardest upon the teacher's pocketbook and upon her physical well-being. Since the average absence of teachers on account of illness is less than three and one-half days per year, and since few cases of illness extend beyond two school weeks, the practise of granting 10 days each year and permitting any unused days to accumulate to the teacher's credit up to a maximum of 100 days, is possibly as satisfactory as any save the unlimited leave already mentioned.

Sabbatical leave—Few schools have offered their teachers the privilege of extended leaves of absence after a few years of service, for travel, study, rest, or recreation. Yet the practise has much to commend it, especially when the substitute teacher's salary is paid by the absent teacher, for there is then no cost to the school. Besides, more teachers are given employment. While this leave goes by the name of "sabbatical," it is granted in some schools after five years of service, and in others after ten years.

¹ Rogers, James F. *The Welfare of the Teacher*. U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Education. Bulletin, 1934, No. 4. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1934. 69 p.

Besides the benefit of change which goes with sabbatical leave, the fact that it is something to look forward to furnishes a subtle stimulus to physical and mental well-being which is important even tho it cannot be measured.

The variety of regulations and the amounts of salary paid during these extended periods of absence will be found in the government publication already mentioned.²

Sympathetic supervision—Probably none of the conditions previously mentioned as affecting the physical welfare of teachers is as important as the mental atmosphere of the schoolroom. Physical balance is inextricably associated with mental balance, and body is even more influenced by mind than is mind by body. So far as communicable diseases, especially colds, and digestive disturbances are concerned (and these make up the great bulk of disorders from physical causes), teachers are a relatively healthy group, but they seem especially subject to injuries from the causes we call "mental."

The art of teaching revolves about the art of handling pupils. As pointed out by Sir John Adams, this is a gift not possessed by some 3 percent of those who enter the profession, and in about 15 percent the faculty is poorly developed. Unfortunately, most training schools do not take this matter sufficiently into account, and many students who are gifted enough in other respects are sent into a professional life which, because of their weakness in dealing with children, will become a source of nervous wear and tear that may prove disastrous. Those who are not gifted in the control of classes especially need the sympathy and help of the principal. With his help they may become a source of pride rather than of worry and possibly of exasperation to him.

But it is not only this type of teacher that needs encouragement and assistance. All teachers are the better for receiving sympathy of a sort which stimulates and supports them in their work. Carrothers³ in his study in Cleveland observed that in one school there was an average of but 0.9 days absence on account of illness per teacher per year over a five-year period, in contrast to an average absence of 4.79 days in all schools. While the sanitary conditions in this school were carefully supervised, the major factor apparently was the principal's cooperation in reducing as much as possible the strain of teaching conditions. The mental atmosphere of sympathy and helpfulness which pervaded this school far outweighed in good effects its material provisions for comfort, which were probably no better than those in a score of other buildings. The physical welfare of the teacher depends even more on mental than on physical hygiene.

² Rogers, James F., *op. cit.*

³ Carrothers, George E. *The Physical Efficiency of Teachers*. Contributions to Education, No. 155. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1924. 80 p.

Conclusion—In general, the teacher who is in superior physical condition does her work more easily and effectively, and has more energy to spare for appropriate leisure-time activities. She must do her part if this condition is to be attained, but the board of education and the school principal also have their privileges and responsibilities in maintaining a state of teacher health from which the pupils, as well as the teacher herself, benefit.

NO TEACHER should carry a load more than 10 percent in excess of the standard; nor should she be expected or allowed to take any additional duties, such as correcting tests, revising the curriculum, or coaching plays, unless these duties are recognized as a part of her total load. Second, her work should be *stabilized* to the extent that she may know in advance what will be expected of her daily, and so be prepared for it. By these two measures loads will be *equalized* so that no teacher will feel that she is being treated unfairly.

Finally, special attention should be given to improving the conditions under which teachers work. No teacher should work more than two hours without rest; all teachers should take some light food, such as milk, fruit juice, or chocolate, at mid-forenoon and mid-afternoon. None should work without breakfast or without lunch. A rest period, the revival of the *siesta*, is desirable at the noon intermission. A week's vacation every quarter, and at least a month of vacation each year, add to the individual's working efficiency. These conclusions are not mere opinions; they are demonstrated lessons from fatigue studies.—Almack, John C., p. 372 of this yearbook.

TEACHER GROWTH THRU PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL CONTROL

HUGH V. PERKINS

Principal, Boulevard School, Cleveland Heights, Ohio

GOOD SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION cannot neglect the mental health of pupils. Neither can it ignore the personality development of teachers if it expects them to exert the most wholesome influence upon children. Of the many factors which affect the mental and emotional adjustments of teachers, perhaps one of the most potent is the extent and nature of teacher participation in school control. Recent educational literature, as well as current practise in many schools, emphasizes the importance of winning not merely teacher *tolerance* for proposed programs, but active teacher *cooperation* in planning, executing, and evaluating school procedures. Educational administrators must, of course, bear the major responsibility for getting things done efficiently. Yet many superintendents and principals are finding that thru intelligent participation in the study and solution of administrative problems, their teachers are contributing to school efficiency as well as developing greater professional pride and self-confidence. This article describes certain administrative and supervisory procedures involving teacher participation which the writer believes have contributed to the growth and adjustment of the teachers in the Boulevard School during the past five years.

ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES

Directing special projects—After the principal became acquainted with some of the interests and abilities of individual teachers, he called a faculty meeting at which teachers were appointed to carry out the following tasks:

Stage director—This teacher had a close acquaintance with the stage equipment in the local school and its potential uses. Thus, any group putting on a play could bring problems of stage setting and lighting to one who gave real help in finding solutions.

Scheduling assemblies—One teacher arranged the sequence of assemblies for the intermediate grades, and another for the primary grades and kindergarten. A third teacher led kindergarten and first-grade children in their singing assemblies.

Ways and means—A teacher designated as ways and means chairman was asked to advise the principal or other members of the faculty relative to proposed plans for raising money. She may and frequently does consult several members of the teaching corps to learn their opinions relative to money-making efforts.

Provision was thus made whereby teachers could share in guiding the activities and policies of the school. Assignments to the specific

duties indicated above have been changed from year to year so that more individuals might share responsibility for school successes.

A year ago two teachers saw possibilities in a small, well-lighted, vacant room of the building, where, with the principal's permission, they initiated the grouping of exhibits in a nature museum. Children brought collections or specimens from home for temporary displays. Classes in nature study mounted and labeled specimens for the museum. Thus the project challenged cooperative effort by special groups, and supplied concrete nature material of value to the whole school. Near the close of the year, home contributions were returned to their owners and exhibits made by pupils were stored.

Planning and presenting school programs—From time to time special programs presented by children are desirable. If well received, such a program builds school prestige and fosters justifiable pride in all concerned. An Armistice Day program for the whole school was presented by a teacher and her class to show the contribution of many peoples to our welfare. A Christmas program was planned by a committee of three teachers, who arranged for all details of decorating and stage setting. In cooperation with a flower-show meeting of the parent-teacher association, two teachers prepared children to present, under pupil direction, a program in which they described their work in the planting, summer care, and harvesting of the school garden. To show the work of the school to patrons and friends in anticipation of an extra-levy election, a committee of seven teachers representing all grades and including two subcommittees arranged the details for an evening program presenting every child in the school.

Guiding pupil participation in school management—A year ago the occasion for offering to pupils real experiences in helping solve school problems seemed opportune. The principal soon found three teachers who shared his convictions. After two conferences with this committee, a tentative program for organization was presented to the entire school faculty for criticism and suggestion. In the light of this preliminary thinking, the committee initiated a simple form of pupil organization which proved effective and won the loyal support of pupils and teachers. Pupil participation in solving school problems is most effective when it enjoys the wholehearted support and sympathy of every member of the teaching staff. To extend the intimate contacts between the pupil organization and the teachers, the membership of the sponsoring committee was completely changed for the current year. Learning by doing is effective equally for teacher and pupil. When the doing results in the satisfaction of witnessing the growing self-confidence of child leaders and the improved social effectiveness of child groups, teachers take commendable pride in the results.

SUPERVISORY PRACTISES

Interviews with teachers about their ratings—Teacher rating by principals and supervisors is generally regarded as a supervisory device. This is a misnomer, however, unless the rating contributes directly to teacher growth. Where the rating is kept from the teacher, thus becoming just one more item in the expanding archives of the system, the time so spent is rightly included in the hours allotted to administration. It may be conceded that every teacher has the *right* to know her rating. But when she must go to the superintendent's office to exercise that right, her principal is forfeiting a valuable opportunity for effective supervision. Furthermore, only a few of the hardier spirits in a group of teachers will regularly "go to the bother" thus to learn the status of their work in the opinions of their supervisors. Under these circumstances teachers easily mistake a principal's judgment of their work for his opinion of their worth individually. There is a difference.

Annually for the past four years the writer has enjoyed the stimulating experience of discussing their ratings with individual teachers. Each member of the staff has been invited to read her rating in the principal's office. Acceptance has been voluntary, with a majority of the teachers responding each year. Strange as it may seem, timidity in facing their ratings with the principal is shown by thoroly capable teachers. Yet it is the writer's opinion that these interviews have fostered a sympathetic understanding between teachers and principal. Twice he has questioned teacher colleagues as to the advisability of discontinuing the annual discussion of ratings, only to meet with the reply that teachers appreciate the opportunity offered.

Rating the principal—Rating teachers' work is either necessary as a result of tradition, or valuable for the teachers. If the latter, one might even admit the propriety of rating the principal. This type of rating came to the writer's attention a few years ago thru an article which contained a suggested form for teachers' use in rating a principal.¹ This form with a slight modification is shown in Figure I.

At a meeting with all teachers of the building, a copy of this form was handed to each. It was suggested that, since the principal had been rating the teachers, it was only fair that teachers have the opportunity to rate the principal. While these ratings were to be entirely voluntary, all were urged to submit them under the conditions described below.

A teacher was appointed to supervise the rating who was believed to enjoy the confidence of all in the group. She gave to each teacher an envelope addressed to herself, with directions to seal the marked, un-

¹ Atkinson, Carroll. "School Problems and Progress." *School Executives Magazine* 52: 20; September, 1932. Used by permission of the publishers.

TEACHER'S CHECKLIST OF THE PRINCIPAL

(Do not sign your name)

Please mark each quality with the following grades:

1. Superior
2. Above average
3. Average
4. Below average
5. Inferior

I. PHYSICAL VIGOR AND ENDURANCE	1 2 3 4 5
II. PERSONAL TRAITS	
Moral standards	1 2 3 4 5
Honesty	1 2 3 4 5
Courage	1 2 3 4 5
Frankness	1 2 3 4 5
III. EXECUTIVE ABILITY	
Leadership	1 2 3 4 5
Tact	1 2 3 4 5
Initiative	1 2 3 4 5
Judgment	1 2 3 4 5
IV. PROFESSIONAL ATTITUDE	
Cooperate	1 2 3 4 5
Evidences of continuous professional growth	1 2 3 4 5
Open-mindedness	1 2 3 4 5
Enthusiasm	1 2 3 4 5
V. PERSONALITY	
Appearance	1 2 3 4 5
Courtesy	1 2 3 4 5
Sympathy	1 2 3 4 5
Sense of humor	1 2 3 4 5
Poise	1 2 3 4 5
VI. PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION	
General (usable in any school situation)	1 2 3 4 5
Special (usable in present school situation)	1 2 3 4 5

Teacher's Comments: _____

FIGURE I—FORM FOR THE RATING OF PRINCIPALS BY TEACHERS

signed rating sheet in the envelope and place it in her office mailbox within two days. On an additional copy of the rating sheet this teacher drew the principal's profile by averaging the ratings submitted on each item. Accompanying this profile of ratings was a typed copy of all comments made by those who submitted the ratings. The principal has no way of knowing which or how many teachers shared in rating him, but he does affirm his keen interest in the final composite report. He found it suggestive and stimulating to effort toward better service. It has been said that a teacher is rated each day by her pupils. Equally constant is the teachers' rating of their principal. This rating is helpful only if it be made available in written form to stimulate growth toward better professional leadership. Such a rating of the building principal may afford teachers a better appreciation of his difficulties in rating them.

Self-appraisal by teachers—The teacher rating may be thought of as a periodic checkup on her work. Actually it is often a series of judgments, subjective in origin, having little or no value as a cross-section of the teacher's work. Many teachers do good work but find their serious efforts submerged by more obvious details. As a vehicle for a definite statement of teaching emphasis during the year, a teacher-appraisal plan was proposed. Sheets containing the following items were placed in teachers' hands. They were so spaced as to leave room for writing after each:

1. New activities attempted with my children this year
2. Some of the most worthwhile accomplishments this year
3. Ways in which I think my work might be improved
4. Some new things I should like to try next year
5. Activities that have tended to enrich and broaden my own interests.

The purpose of the appraisal sheet was explained, and a committee of three was appointed to report the criticisms and suggestions of all teachers in the building relative to its use. After consulting the opinions of all concerned, a form was prepared including only the first two items in the above list.

This teacher-appraisal form was used in the following manner: On her copy of the sheet each teacher listed the phases of her work belonging under each item. Having the sheet in her possession during the latter part of the second semester, she was able to make an unhurried résumé of specific efforts and activities completed during the year. In the same interval the principal prepared a copy of the form for each teacher, entering thereon under the respective headings those items of her work which he had noted. At opportune times during the last weeks of the school year each teacher came into the principal's office for a conference, at which teacher and principal each read the sheet

prepared by the other. This offered opportunity for commendation of good work, suggestions as to desirable changes in procedures, and questions to promote sympathetic appreciation of teaching difficulties and successes.

Studying problems of the school assembly—In the Boulevard School during the past year, teachers and principal alike have come to question the justification for certain emphases and practises in the school assemblies as presented. Particular concern is felt in regard to the frequency with which individual children may appear in an assembly program; in regard to plans that will vitalize the audience sharing in an assembly; and in regard to guiding principles, thus far possibly overlooked, which may indicate profitable changes in preparing and presenting assembly programs. A committee of the staff has been scanning current literature and recent books to acquire a clear understanding of fundamental principles and of best practises in assembly programs. It is planned to make these findings available to each teacher in the group, and with them as a basis, to develop assemblies yielding higher educational values. Realization of better practise promises to be a fruitful experience for every member of the school.

Informing teachers of supervisory observations—It has been the writer's observation that commendation of good teaching may be a more effective stimulus to improved procedures than is criticism. After every supervisory visit, he summarizes his observations on a 4 x 6 inch pad with a carbon paper, thus providing an original copy for the teacher and a duplicate copy for the office file. These summaries provide a record of visits, a medium for commendatory statements or suggestive questions, and a basis for supervisory conferences. In addition, they constitute a courtesy which is due the teacher observed. Visits that leave the teacher ignorant of the activities noted by the supervisor, and of his opinion of the classroom situation, may foster apprehension not conducive to effective teaching or contented living. Teachers who expect and receive a statement of the supervisor's observations have this tangible evidence of their share in a cooperative educational enterprise.

CONCLUSION

No school principal can share ultimate responsibility for the educational program resulting from his leadership. That responsibility is his alone. But this fact need not bar teachers from giving vital service and receiving valuable stimulation by contributing to the direction and content of the school program. In the writer's judgment, the opportunity to make such a contribution is essential to the best mental and emotional adjustment of teachers, and hence necessary if teachers are

to exercise the finest influence upon the personality development of children.

If pupil sharing in common efforts is valuable, teacher participation in solving the administrative problems of the school is equally important. A school cannot successfully train children in democratic social procedures and at the same time tolerate an autocratic relationship between principal and teachers. The teacher's growth in personality and in teaching power is stimulated thru her recognizing, analyzing, and solving problems that arise in the classroom and in the common professional life of the school staff. Just as children are stimulated by sharing in a successful group enterprise, so do teachers find pleasure and wholesome stimulation in the cooperative solution of professional problems.

Outcomes of the activities and devices described above are not measurable by any objective means known to the writer. The fine morale of the teachers is undoubtedly due in part to other causes. Its presence is indicated, however, by the large percent of the teachers who have voluntarily continued their professional training during the years of depression, by the absence of factional friction among them, by their frequently expressed loyalty to the school and to the system, by parents whose appreciation of teachers' service to their children is constantly in evidence, and by pupils who appear to be relatively well adjusted and successful in their school activities and relationships.

THE PRINCIPAL who forms policies and lays plans in the seclusion of his office, and announces these policies and plans in a dictatorial manner, will not secure the whole-hearted cooperation of his teachers. He ignores the tremendous possibilities of teacher participation. His attitude in the matter may result from the belief that he is saving his teachers, relieving them of a burden, which is a mistaken assumption, or it may result from a lack of appreciation of the abilities of his teachers and an exaggerated sense of his own intelligence and importance. The wise principal takes teachers into his confidence, listens to their advice and counsel, and guides as a master hand the united efforts of the entire faculty.—*Critical Problems in School Administration*, Twelfth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence, 1934, p. 159.

THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS IN PERSONALITY
ADJUSTMENT

HARRY N. RIVLIN

School of Education, College of the City of New York, New York, New York

THE PREPARATION of prospective teachers for their work in personality adjustment consists not so much of imparting knowledge of emotional abnormalities or of developing skill in dealing with personality deviations, as it does of building an attitude that regards the child's wholesome emotional development as a major aim of modern education.

The usual procedure of limiting the teacher's preparation for personality adjustment to a course in abnormal psychology or to one in the problems of child behavior is patently narrow because it assumes that the teacher discharges her responsibility for pupil adjustment when she detects and corrects emotional disabilities. She then becomes the amateur psychiatrist who sees signs of abnormality in apparently meaningless childish actions and who complicates the child's problems of behavior.

A survey conducted by Dr. Bruce B. Robinson for the National Committee for Mental Hygiene led to the challenging conclusion that "there are no complete programs of mental hygiene in teacher-training institutions in the United States. . . . The majority of teacher-training institutions have nothing that can be called a program of mental hygiene. . . . A few of those who do have programs have an interest only in mental abnormalities and not in the improvement of normal personality."¹

What constitutes a complete program for preparing teachers in this field? Before this question can be answered, we must consider the nature of the teacher's responsibility for the emotional development of her youngsters. Then the teachers college can formulate a program that will help its graduates to play their roles adequately.

The teacher's responsibility for pupil adjustment—Mental hygiene is not a discrete scheme of psychiatric procedures; nor is it a distinct body of fact. It is rather an attitude and a point of view that should influence everything the teacher does professionally: her method of asking questions as well as her manner when receiving answers; her procedures in administering tests and in directing activities on the playground; the appeals by which she stimulates pupil participation in classroom activities, and the measures she uses to bring the unruly into line; her attitudes toward the asocial child, such as the young thief or the bully, and toward the unsocial child whose timidity prevents him

¹ Quoted from a communication from Dr. Robinson.

from mingling with others. Far from being a distinct group of skills and facts, mental hygiene in the classroom becomes significant only when it is bound up so inextricably with all the teacher does, that only careful analysis can reveal its exact influence. There is no opposition between sound educational procedures and mental hygiene principles; both are concerned with the adjustment of the present child and of the adult he will become.

The teacher who hopes to improve the personality adjustments of elementary-school children has a fourfold responsibility: (1) she must be herself a well-adjusted individual; (2) she must evaluate all of the school's activities from the standpoint of their influence on the emotional development of normal youngsters; (3) she should be able to detect and to correct minor emotional deviations; and (4) she should know when and where to refer pupils for psychiatric study and treatment.

Improving the teacher's own personality adjustment—An emotionally maladjusted teacher is an undesirable influence in the classroom. Children should not be subjected to the teacher who compensates for defeat elsewhere by being domineering in the classroom. It is unfortunate that social customs deprive most teachers of some of the means of self-expression available to other people in the community. It is doubly unfortunate when this condition creates tensions that seek relief in bullying, nagging, and outbursts of temper, or in a paternalism that affords the child little opportunity to solve his own problems and to face the consequences of his mistakes.

The teacher-training institution must select its student body not merely by setting up standards of intellectual and scholastic ability, but by considering physical and emotional health as well. The unusually tense youth, the student who is suffering from a definite sense of persecution, and the person who is excessively moody and introspective are types which should not be permitted to continue preparation for teaching. In the absence of any single test for the detection of potentially maladjusted teachers, each instructor must see his students as individual personalities and must be attentive to traits which will interfere with a student's success as a teacher. The practise teaching can be regarded as a laboratory demonstration of the student's attitudes toward her pupils, and is an excellent means of revealing personality traits.

A central committee should gather the impressions of different instructors, study the student as an individual, and then decide which students should be advised against continuing their preparation for teaching. That this can be done tactfully and yet effectively is indicated by the experience of one institution which regularly bars a great

many students from its teacher-training classes, with only a rare complaint from the student body.

A series of lecture discussions can help the student to improve her own adjustment and to prepare herself for the emotional stresses of teaching. So much of the teacher's time is spent with children that she easily grows arrogant and domineering unless she is sensitive to changes in her personality. Within the four walls of her classroom, the traditional teacher is a despot whose word may not be questioned. Freed from the challenge of constant criticism, she is likely to develop points of view that are unjustifiable. Who has not met the English teacher who judges people by their ability to use "shall" and "will" correctly, or the elocution teacher whose speech is so meticulously overexact that the listener hears enunciation and pronunciation instead of ideas?

The newly appointed teacher finds herself one of the lesser members of a hierarchy that stresses conformity rather than initiative. She soon discovers that the community is ready to interfere with her freedom of thought and of living, even in such personal matters as choice of clothing and companions. The nervous strain of teaching and the constant repression to which the teacher is subjected may lead to undesirable classroom practises. An essential part of teacher training is the building of a personal sense of values that will aid the teacher in living a full life despite classroom pressures and community taboos.

A course on the physical and mental health of the teacher is helpful but inadequate, unless all of the activities of the teacher-training institution are viewed as means towards the development of mature, wholesome personalities. Such a course should be supplemented by informal personal conferences which help the student to solve his own problems wisely. The faculty-student relationship, health service, extracurricular activities, social affairs, the curriculum, and the methods of teaching must all be made to contribute to the satisfactory adjustment of the prospective teacher's personality.

Helping the teacher evaluate school practises—As a second duty in the preparation of teachers for work in personality development, the teacher-training institution must aid its graduates to evaluate school practises from the standpoint of pupils' emotional adjustments. The primary criterion for judging a procedure in classroom discipline or management is not whether it produces order and obedience, but whether it has a wholesome effect on children's personalities. Applying this criterion to one point in methodology, the student should learn how to use the Socratic quiz effectively, but she should employ it so that it does not lead to the humiliation of the dull child. The teacher must learn how to construct tests that are valid and reliable, but she must

also learn to administer them so that physical and emotional strain is minimized.

To most teachers, classroom discipline is an annoying problem to be solved as expeditiously as possible in order that the class may proceed with its work. The psychiatrist refuses to dismiss disciplinary procedures so lightly. He views classroom discipline not as a series of tricks to assure pupils' instant obedience, but as an educative process which regards the child's adjustment to the classroom as part of his adjustment to life. The young teacher must distinguish between acceptable classroom conduct that follows from an understanding of the necessity for cooperation, and conduct which is secured by force and maintained by fear. The concept of discipline must be broadened to include not only the correction of undesirable behavior, but also the improvement of personality patterns. Thus the teacher must appreciate that the timid youngster who rarely presents a disciplinary problem may nevertheless be sorely in need of the teacher's guidance and assistance.

This phase of teacher preparation cannot be conducted merely by adding a course on personality problems to a crowded training-school curriculum. It is preferable to have the mental hygiene approach to educational problems included in each of the professional courses. Thus, the course in methods of teaching the social studies should show its students how these subjects may be taught so as to give children the thrill of succeeding in a worthwhile undertaking. Altho the chief contribution that mental hygiene makes to education is a point of view, it need not be a nebulous one. It is given substance by being interpreted and applied in each of the varied courses of the training-school curriculum.

Training the teacher to deal with minor maladjustments—Only after the teacher-training institution has made certain that its students are well adjusted and that they know how to conduct their classes in a manner conducive to desirable personality adjustments, should it suggest procedures for dealing with the minor emotional deviations of normal children. Even when a school system has a competent child-guidance clinic, that agency will necessarily limit its attention to the seriously maladjusted pupils. For the vast majority of elementary-school youngsters, the teacher will be the only school worker who has the opportunity of observing and correcting the minor maladjustments which so often develop into more serious disorders.

Many unsatisfactory adjustments require not the professional treatment of a psychiatrist, but the sympathetic understanding of one who can see all the aspects of the child's problem and who can help him find a more satisfactory way out of his difficulties. Under ideal conditions the parent offers this guidance. However, the parent is often too blind,

too ignorant, or too busy to help, or he may be tied up so closely with the situation that he cannot view the youngster's problem objectively. Under these circumstances the teacher can furnish a rich interpretation of the child's status *in loco parentis*. Of course, the wise teacher will not interfere where the symptoms indicate a definite mental abnormality. But with milder maladjustments she can render invaluable aid without giving the child the impression that his condition is so serious as to require a psychiatrist.

The teacher must be diffident about her skill as a diagnostician. There is no single personality trait that indicates clearly whether an individual will later be psychotic. Not all timid children become schizophrenics, and most overactive youngsters do not have nervous breakdowns. As one retraces the childhood history of the insane, early signs of maladjustment come to light, but this is merely another instance where hindsight is easier than foresight. The teacher must help her normal pupils to employ desirable modes of adjustment—referring the definitely abnormal pupil to a psychiatrist—without implying potential disaster as the price for disobeying her suggestions.

The course on the personality adjustment of the school child should treat the problems of child behavior from the standpoint of the home and the school. The classroom and not the psychiatric clinic will be the major source of the case studies presented for discussion. Attention should not be restricted to childhood psychopathology, but should stress the psychology of the normal child, considering his emotional needs as well as his intellectual abilities. The class will draw liberally upon the available evidence in sociology, educational philosophy, psychology, psychiatry, and other related fields, and should discuss the social forces and the physical and psychological factors responsible for inadequate personal and social adjustment. This should be essentially a practical course, concerned more with the prevention and correction of such maladjustments as truancy, stealing, sex misconduct, and timidity, than with the evaluation of various theoretic explanations of problem behavior, such as Adlerian psychology and psychobiology. The class activities should stress the need for treating the fundamental causes of maladjustment, and not solely the surface manifestations of emotional disorders.

Showing the teacher when to seek specialized assistance—If the teacher is not to undertake the psychiatric treatment of her seriously maladjusted pupils, she must know when and where to refer youngsters who need such attention. It is easy enough to discover *where* to send such children, but it is exceedingly difficult to formulate a specific list of actions which will indicate *when* children are to be referred. It would be convenient for the teacher to have a list of symptoms which

demand psychiatric care. Such a summary cannot be prepared, however, without including types of behavior which sometimes have no diagnostic significance, or including reactions which are so serious or abnormal that they obviously require psychiatric study. The teachers college must therefore supply experiences that will suggest to the teacher more clearly than any definite list of symptoms can, which youngsters should be brought to the psychiatrist's attention.

Summary—The teacher-training institution which hopes to prepare its students for their roles in the personality adjustment of elementary-school pupils must select its students carefully, and must then organize all of its activities so that they contribute to the growth of the teacher's own personality. All of the professional courses will be regarded as part of the student's preparation for the wholesome conduct of her classroom. The courses that deal with the personality problems of childhood will help the students to appreciate the teacher's opportunities for improving the personality adjustments of her youngsters, without suggesting that the teacher preempt the position of the psychiatrist.

The elementary-school teacher can make a significant contribution to the pupil's mental health when she uses her energy and intelligence where they can do most good. Little is gained from the amateur attempt to read into the child's mind complexes and perversions that probably do not exist. It is the responsibility of the teachers college to show the prospective teacher that she can improve the emotional stability of her class most by being herself well adjusted to life, and by encouraging each of her youngsters to face the problems of the day with confidence, interest, and courage.

WHENEVER A TEACHER is observed doing a splendid job of personality guidance on the basis of her own common sense and intuition, let the principal consider how much better work could be done (and how much oftener) if that teacher had received sound, if modest amounts of training in psychiatry. What teachers need is not more devotion to their work, but better training for the most significant gifts of teacher to pupil.—Knight, F. B., p. 287 of this yearbook.

EMOTIONAL MALADJUSTMENTS OF PROSPECTIVE
TEACHERS

GEORGE A. RETAN

*Director, Training School, Mansfield State Teachers College,
Mansfield, Pennsylvania*

THERE are two reasons why the supervisory staff of a teacher-training institution should be interested in the emotional adjustment of teachers in training. The first reason is a concern for the health and economic welfare of the student teacher herself. Very frequently maladjusted teachers break down and give up college entirely. Moreover, there is often considerable financial sacrifice as well as loss of time involved in the attempt of an individual to prepare for a profession for which she is emotionally unsuited. Such individuals should be eliminated early in the course or refused admission altogether. This seldom happens, however, and the training-school director must deal with the situation as it confronts him.

The second reason for concern is that the welfare of children both in the training department and later in the public schools, demands that they be spared unpleasant experiences due to emotional maladjustments of their teachers. As Prescott says, "Teachers need to realize, too, that their own emotional tensions are reflected in the behavior of children, and that there is a continuous tho fluctuating interplay of emotional tensions among the pupils in their rooms."¹ The National Committee for Mental Hygiene has recently inaugurated a mental hygiene study of the selection and training of teachers,² in which the first step is a survey among educators and specialists in guidance to discover the types of teacher which have exerted a harmful influence upon the mental health and adjustment of their pupils. Zachry³ emphasizes the tendency of the child to substitute, in a measure, the teacher for the parent in his emotional patterns, and indicates the importance of this tendency with reference to the selection and preparation of teachers.

Facing the problem of maladjustment in the training school—The practical question, then, is whether there is any method of diagnosing emotional maladjustment which the training-school director or supervisor can use, assuming that he is not a specialist and has only elementary training in mental hygiene. The writer has faced this problem and

¹ Prescott, Daniel A. "Emotion: Neglected Factor in Education." *Progressive Education* 11: 459-62; December, 1934.

² "A Mental-Hygiene Study of the Selection and Training of Teachers." *Mental Hygiene* 19: 152-54; January, 1935.

³ Zachry, Caroline B. "Personality Adjustment of the School Teacher." *Proceedings*, 1934. Vol. 72. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1934. p. 730-36.

believes that enough progress has been made to warrant a description of the results.

In the campus training school at Mansfield there is an elementary school of twelve rooms. Some fifty student teachers ordinarily teach there each semester. Each year a few of these students are complete failures, while a few others are near-failures. Occasionally a teacher has a "nervous breakdown," or becomes so physically ill as to be unable to carry on her work. Such illnesses are usually associated either with failure or with worry over the possibility of failure, and there is often a record of earlier behavior troubles. Sometimes the teacher's worry is quite unjustified, but in every case the children suffer. The teacher fails to interest or attract the children. The children are inattentive, disorderly, and acquire bad habits. In short, the teacher-pupil relationship necessary for effective work and good pupil adjustment fails to develop.

The use of tests and personal interviews—In an attempt to find a predictive measure which might be reasonably satisfactory, two different tests were tried the first year. One proved altogether unsatisfactory, and in the second year the other one was used alone—the Pressey X-O Test.⁴ The writer does not claim that this test has given completely valid results, but merely that in using it with about 150 individuals he has found it sufficiently valid and reliable to be useful as a basis for personal interviews. The only check on its validity has been the response of student teachers to the question, "Was the use of this test sufficiently valuable to you to warrant its continued use?" The response in general has been very emphatically affirmative. There have been a few confidential statements to the effect that not all difficulties were located by the test, but this has been due in part to an avoidance of questions about sex. Unless trouble in this field was clearly indicated, it seemed best not to emphasize the subject.

After the test had been given and the results analyzed, a personal interview was held with each student who revealed symptoms of poor adjustment. This interview began with a statement like the following:

The test attempts to show any emotional maladjustment . . . (technic of test explained to teacher). Your sheet seems to indicate that you may have a slight . . . (difficulty explained). Do you feel that this is a correct conclusion, and if so, can you explain why this is true?

Then followed a series of questions designed to find the source of the trouble. Such questions dealt with family history, school history, type of home community, economic status, and other factors. The interviewer followed up any apparent lead, especially those suggested by the test.

⁴ Published by the Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois.

Amazement was frequently expressed by the teacher that the test had located the maladjustment as accurately as it had. On the other hand, an occasional teacher would deny the accuracy of the test and assert that there was no maladjustment. In one or two of these cases it was possible to check back and discover that the test was correct in spite of the teacher's denial. This seemed to indicate that in relatively few cases was the test clearly wrong in its indications.

The most common type of maladjustment discovered was undue self-consciousness, personal sensitiveness, or an inferiority feeling. There were only two cases with obvious paranoid tendencies, one of which is described in a later paragraph. The second most common maladjustment was fear of, or worry over illness. This difficulty was usually combined with a fear of not being able to finish the teaching requirement for graduation.

Illustrative cases among student teachers—One of the most interesting cases was that of M—. Her test responses revealed a large number of dislikes and worries, indicating self-consciousness, melancholia, and paranoid tendencies. Her supervisor reported some trouble with class discipline, and uncertainty in her approach to her work. In the interview the girl was very straightforward. Her parents were divorced when she was small. Both remarried. Her mother now has a son by the second marriage. Her father, with whom she lives, has two other children. She quarrels violently with her stepmother. She works in a "diner" on Saturday and Sunday to earn money to stay in school. There should be no necessity for this outside work, as her father and grandfather are financially able to give her an education, and she feels bitter about it. Her academic record has been excellent. The supervisor has been instructed to give M— all the encouragement she can, and to make her work as easy as possible. The director has taken a personal interest in the case with the hope of helping to solve the girl's financial difficulty. This student must be helped if she is to do a good teaching job and, even more important, if she is to retain her sanity under the strain. She now feels that no one cares for her, as both her parents have other children to whom they give their affection and interest. While we knew something of this case all along, we would not have realized its extreme seriousness without the aid of the test and interview.

Another case was that of J—, a quiet Italian boy, who seemed to be getting along nicely in his teaching. The test showed strong indications of self-feeling and paranoid worries—particularly the sequence involving conspiracy, influence, unfairness, persecution, and rivals. In the interview, attention was concentrated first on the self-feeling. Apparently this approach was not getting anywhere until the question was asked, "Were there other Italian boys in your high school?" This

was the key to the whole situation. J—— had been the only one. He believed he had been unfairly treated because of that fact, and this belief had followed him to college and into his teaching. His father is a miner who is out of work. He has some accent, tho he thinks in English, and his supervisor had spoken to him about this peculiarity. It is one of his sensitive points. He was shown that his first rating was within the upper quartile, that his supervisor is very well pleased with his work, and that he has no reason to feel that he is not doing splendidly. It is believed that the knowledge we have of this case will enable us to help him be more cheerful and better satisfied, and to outgrow his feeling that he is being unfairly treated.

A third case is that of G——, a girl who received a very low grade in her first semester of teaching. She had little control of the class situation, and was frequently in trouble with her supervisor because of her lack of responsibility. Her test showed clearly a neurotic condition. The interview was very revealing. Her mother had died the year before she entered college. Her two older sisters are married. Her father looks to her to keep the home going, and has apparently made her feel strongly his dependence upon her. This situation has intensified her feelings of loneliness and grief, and keeps her wrought up. She says she can't get over the shock of her mother's death. It is believed that if she can be induced to room in the dormitory while doing her second semester of teaching, the more normal living situation and the company of girls of her own age will do much to free her of this condition. It is unfortunate that we did not have her difficulty diagnosed before she did her first teaching. The children in her charge did not progress, developed bad habits, and were in general harmed as a result of her maladjustment.

Still another case was that of E——, who did not do well at first, but who afterward became a fairly strong teacher. Her test indicated a high degree of self-consciousness, and some melancholia. The interview revealed that she is an only child of a widow. Her mother has had to work, and consequently E—— has been much alone. Shortly before she began her teaching and before she took the test, her male friend, to whom she considered herself engaged, left suddenly, joined the army, and was sent to Panama. This occurrence accounted, she thought, for the most unfavorable indications in the test. She has gradually recovered from this shock, and the pleasant association with college mates is doing much to remedy her excessive self-consciousness. She will probably make a very strong teacher. Altho this student might have done as well without any help, it is interesting to note that her emotional stress had led to uncertainty in her approach to pupils and had

resulted in a lack of control. The children accurately reflected her mental state.

The cases presented thus far have been discussed as tho they all had been handled successfully. The next case is different, being that of a girl whose test showed marked emotional instability, with paranoid and neurotic tendencies. There was also marked sexual repression. This girl had failed in another school and had come to this school to finish. She was reported by her roommates as disagreeable and neurotic, with tendencies toward hysterics, and she finally had had to be given a room by herself. She was doing only average work in the classroom. In spite of all this, the interview proved absolutely unsatisfactory. The girl refused to admit the validity of the indications of the test, and denied that she had any special causes for worry. This case is typical of perhaps a half dozen where it appeared that for some reason the interviewer was not able to win the confidence of the student teacher.

Conclusion—These few cases are sufficient to indicate the method used, and its probable value. There is no doubt of the inadequacy of the test to discover all cases needing attention. It is also true that the interview frequently fails to elicit the whole story and thus makes it impossible to aid the teacher. When better instruments are available for measuring personality, and when trained psychiatrists are generally available in teacher-training colleges, it will doubtless be possible to do a better job of discovering and treating the maladjustments of student teachers.

But even if relatively few cases are helped, the writer believes that the method described above is justified. There is a real responsibility resting on the administration of teachers colleges to help each teacher achieve the best possible personality adjustment. This responsibility is quite as important as that of providing excellent supervision and a proper environment for training. Perhaps eventually we shall come to believe that it is the most significant responsibility of all.

IT IS NOT the theoretical knowledge that the teacher has, but the way in which she has faced the problems of her own life that reacts on the child for good or ill.—Campbell, Charles M., quoted in *Survey*, May, 1936, p. 129.

THE IN-SERVICE TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR
PERSONALITY GUIDANCE

HELEN L. KOCH

*Associate Professor of Child Psychology, University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois*

THE IN-SERVICE TRAINING of teachers for a more adequate understanding of the personalities and personality problems of their pupils has received scant formal treatment in the literature on education.¹ This fact is puzzling. Is it generally assumed that the teacher needs no such training, having been prepared adequately during her college or normal-school years? That this is probably not the usual belief becomes apparent when one examines some of the more recent treatises on guidance, and finds allocated to the classroom teacher relatively little responsibility in the total school-guidance program.² When the teacher is assigned a minor role, this is justified most frequently on the basis of allegations regarding her inadequate preparation and time as well as her probable dispositional lacks. In spite, however, of this rather recent tendency to glorify the desirable and all too rare counselor or personnel director, few writers fail to recite, and many sing with fervor,³ the familiar refrain that the classroom teacher is in a strategic position, and that the child-teacher relationship is a dynamic one. The teacher is exhorted to consider the child as an individual—his hopes, anxieties, special abilities, health, home, and experiences. However, the tendency to curtail the guidance activities of the classroom teacher and at the same time urge more individualization of education may not be so paradoxical as it seems. Some of the apparent inconsistency harks back to the concept of guidance that is held, as in the case of Koos and Kefauver,⁴ for example, who think of guidance in terms of rather highly specialized adjustive and distributive functions.

It is undoubtedly true that the courses in child psychology, child development, child guidance, behavior problems, educational philosophy, and vocational guidance and counseling which are, encouragingly enough, appearing with increasing frequency in our professional school

¹ For an exception to this tendency, see: Strang, Ruth. *The Role of the Teacher in Personnel Work*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935. 417 p.

² For example, see: Koos, Leonard V., and Kefauver, Grayson N. *Guidance in Secondary Schools*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1932. 640 p.

³ Adler, Alfred. *Individual Psychologie in der Schule*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1929. 114 p. ¶ Hildreth, Gertrude H. *Psychological Service for School Problems*. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Co., 1930. 317 p. ¶ Flemming, Cecile W. *Pupil Adjustment in the Modern School*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931. 94 p. ¶ Culbert, Jane F. *The Visiting Teacher at Work*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1929. 235 p. ¶ Charters, W. W., and Waples, Douglas. *The Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929. p. 506-22.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 15-22.

curriculum, can but begin the process of sensitizing the teacher to the problems of child adjustment. Human life is inconceivably complex. Any high degree of understanding of other people, as well as insight into the effect upon others of one's own procedures, remarks, and attitudes, is not to be acquired within the confines of a course or two. Teachers themselves readily admit they have much to learn.⁵ Moreover, the ability to diagnose others' difficulties is usually acquired much more readily than control over those self-attitudes and practises which interfere seriously with teacher-parent rapport and pupil stability. No, the tendency to comment little on the in-service training of teachers probably cannot be attributed to any widespread belief that such training is not needed. Perhaps, then, it is generally assumed that the usual in-service training procedures are adequate. This seems more reasonable; since, however, "transfer" is none too certain when situations are varied, some tying together of in-service training methods and the specific purpose and viewpoint of this yearbook seems worthwhile.

There is no one best method of helping teachers better to understand the personalities of their pupils. The organization and size of the school system; the talents, interests, and preparation of the school personnel; the community resources; the size and distribution of the school budget; the personnel of the schoolboard—these are but a few of the factors which condition the nature and extent of the in-service training that can profitably be provided. Hence, in this brief article there would be little point in an attempt to present any unified program of teacher guidance. More in order is a discussion of devices, problems, and schemes of organization worthy of consideration. This much, however, should be emphasized as a general principle: Just as younger pupils do, so the teacher will doubtless learn best under inspired, enthusiastic, and optimistic leadership—leadership which permits her to participate and believes her capable of growth; which places responsibility on her in accordance with her ability; which recognizes her as an individual with specific interests, needs, talents, and life experiences; and which sets for her such tasks as will permit her to reap a satisfying return.

Lectures—Altho the lecture as the chief method of education has long since been dethroned, few would dispense with it entirely. The lecturer may do much to stimulate thinking or give value to a new point of view. Especially is this likely if some personal interaction between lecturer and teacher is permitted, such as occurs in a discussion or conference following a lecture.

The sources from which competent lecturers may be drawn are legion, even when school funds available for honoraria are limited. Among

⁵ Gilchrist, Robert S. "Inadequacy of Training of Secondary-School Teachers and Principals." *School Review* 39: 140-46; February, 1931.

these sources are the school staff itself, the community, a nearby college, the state university, a federal bureau, the state mental hygiene association, various state departments, and staff members of traveling clinics. Within the school system, for example, the principal, the school counselor, the personnel director, the visiting teacher, the psychologist, the dean, the teacher with special training and interests, or the members of the child-guidance clinic (if, as in Minneapolis or in Winnetka, Illinois, the city system is fortunate enough to have one) may be looked to for aid. In the community, even tho it be small, may often be found those who have much to contribute with respect to the problems of child adjustment—a physician, a psychiatrist, a recreation director, a parent education leader, a welfare worker, a public health nurse, a judge, a truant officer, a social worker, or a psychologist. It is amazing, moreover, how responsive to requests for aid are the divisions of the federal government—the Children's Bureau, the Office of Education, and the Department of Agriculture, for example; the extension departments of state universities and the various departments of state governments, such as education and public welfare; the state mental hygiene association, or the child study, child welfare, and child guidance agencies of nearby cities.

Care in planning a series of lecture topics of vital concern to the teaching group, and a little ingenuity in locating competent speakers may bring a great wealth of ideas regarding pupil adjustment to teachers in even small and relatively isolated communities.

Reading materials—The printed output in the field of child adjustment and personality problems is enormous. The task of whisking the kernel from the chaff and bringing the former to the teacher is often difficult. If the school has abundant funds for a good library, deliberations regarding choice of volumes need not resemble sessions of the League of Nations. A faculty committee which keeps in touch with the major publishers and has access to both plain and annotated bibliographies may be charged with the responsibility of locating and importing the choicest seed.

Funds for a library being lacking, as they frequently are, a faculty book club may, without burdening any one, increase greatly the book facilities of the school. A request for a three-dollar outlay a year for professional reading is not unreasonable. Pamphlet material concerning child adjustment is available gratis or at a very small cost from such federal agencies as the Children's Bureau or the Office of Education. Reprints of the publications of clinics, child study and child welfare institutes, and mental hygiene associations, may usually be had for the asking. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene,⁶ the

⁶ National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Inc., 50 West Fiftieth Street, New York, New York.

American Social Hygiene Association,⁷ the Child Study Association of America,⁸ the American Association of University Women,⁹ the National Council of Parent Education,¹⁰ and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers,¹¹ all offer at nominal prices reprint material on the problems of child guidance and development. One good index, such as the *Education Index*, the *Psychological Index*, or the *Child Development Abstracts*, if effectively used by a faculty committee, may put a school in touch with a great wealth of material at very little cost.

Unfortunately, however, what is *available* for reading does not matter so much as what is *read*. Effective publicity regarding the reading material on hand is important. Bulletin board notices, and frequent and attractive exposure of newly acquired materials may whet the appetite of even the most diffident faculty member. The routing of reading material to the teacher by the principal, supervisor, or personnel director, who knows the teacher's immediate problems and counsels with her, tends to make the library a dynamic element in the school life. A library card system may make it possible to know the consumers of the pabulum supplied, and may furnish the basis for wise guidance in the matter of professional reading.

Study and conference groups—Since not how much is read, but the vigor of the reaction to what is read is of most significance in education, it is reasonable to expect more fruit from reading materials if they are discussed with others or are studied carefully by groups. The faculty study class, the discussions at teachers meetings, and the teacher-counselor or teacher-supervisor conferences may do much to weigh and reveal the possibilities of ideas acquired or provoked by reading.

Projects suitable for study groups are many. Discussion by the faculty at a regular teachers meeting, of materials assigned for study, especially if the discussion is well led, is usually thought-provoking. Prepared case material taken from printed sources,¹² or better still from the school files, frequently challenges when less concrete materials fail. The presentation by each teacher to a faculty or clinic-staff group, of a case report on the most perplexing, challenging, talented, interesting, or timid child in her room, often proves illuminating both to the one giving the report and to the school authorities.

⁷ American Social Hygiene Association, 50 West Fiftieth Street, New York, New York.

⁸ Child Study Association of America, 221 West 57th Street, New York, New York.

⁹ American Association of University Women, 1634 Eye Street, Washington, D. C.

¹⁰ National Council of Parent Education, 60 East Forty-second Street, New York, New York.

¹¹ National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

¹² For an excellent source see: Sayles, M. B. *Child Guidance Cases*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1932. 584 p.

Case conferences—If the school organization provides a clinic or an educational council as in San Bernardino,¹³ or the community has a Coordinating Council,¹⁴ or a visiting clinic serves the school system, these agencies may sometimes be persuaded to give a demonstration "staffing" of a series of more or less typical cases. In this event, the members of the consulting group, whoever they are—physician, counselor, psychiatrist, psychologist, truant officer, social worker, room teacher, principal, school nurse—contribute their share to the story of the adjustments of a particular child.

The value of these open case conferences will depend upon the skill and training of the participants. The conference experiences become more educating for the individual teacher, however, if she herself is given opportunity to participate in them with the specialists or other teachers. (It is assumed that the teacher has been given an understanding of the guidance organization in her school system, and of her relation and responsibility to it.) Often guidance divisions lose some of their best opportunities to educate, when they fail to call into conference on a case a child's former teachers or neglect to communicate to his present instructors the information gathered in the follow-up work. It is important for the teacher to see how often well-laid plans go astray, how unexpected difficulties arise, how interpretations change, and what procedures prove effective.

One limitation of the case-conference method is its emphasis upon the child with serious behavior problems. The contribution to the normal child's personality patterns and adjustment problems, made by the details of school policy or the curriculum, or by such countrywide social attitudes as competition, must never be lost from sight. The influences of these remoter and subtler social forces, because they are so ever-present that their existence is not realized, are often the least evident to the teacher's gaze. The sociologist and cultural anthropologist have much to show her here.

Demonstration teaching—Still another device for vitalizing the study of guidance methods and philosophy, as well as of personality patterns and their origins, is the Saturday morning or "institute" demonstration class. But here again, the gain often falls far short of its possibilities because the demonstration is not followed by a *microscopic* examination of the things said and done by both teacher and pupil. A stenographic report of such a session, when subjected to a searching analysis, is often nothing short of startling in its revelations.

¹³ Graves, Albert D., and Fenton, Norman. "The Educational Council in San Bernardino." *Journal of Juvenile Research* 7: 44-53; January, 1933. See also the article by the same authors in Chapter VIII of this yearbook.

¹⁴ Dickson, Virgil E. "The Berkeley Coordinating Council." *Educational Method* 13: 263-66; February, 1934.

Of course, in this sort of analysis of attitudes and their probable effects, very skilful leadership is necessary.

Participation in the preparation of records and record forms—Whether or not they possess any of the specialized formal guidance agencies mentioned earlier, most schools attempt to keep some sort of cumulative record of their pupils. Much can be done to stimulate the interest of teachers in child development by permitting them to help develop the record forms which they use—the social history blanks, the school records, the personality rating scales, the home interview sheets. At least, each item in such forms should be justified to the teachers. A “revisions committee,” furthermore, may profitably be appointed among the teachers to take heed of difficulties that arise in the use of the forms, the material that proves useless, and the constructive suggestions offered. It is useless to expect teachers enthusiastically and accurately to record data the significance of which for the pupils’ welfare they do not understand. If, furthermore, a teacher’s reports are discussed with her by her principal, supervisor, counselor, or other appropriate authority, more growth may be expected of her.

Surveys—The teacher assessment of school practises,¹⁵ of the curriculum, or of the extracurricular activities from the viewpoint of their probable effects upon the attitudes of the pupils, has demonstrated its value. So also has the project of surveying the community to discover resources of significance for child guidance.¹⁶ A canvass by the teacher of the possibilities in her own job for aiding the personality development of her pupils is stimulating. Room surveys of different kinds of behavior—antagonisms, deceptions, nervous habits, or cooperation—and especially the circumstances under which these patterns occur, often lead the teacher to generalizations and understandings which no reading or comment could accomplish. Revealing to the teacher, too, may be the autobiographies her pupils write or tell.

Courses—Extension courses and summer-school classes in mental hygiene, child development, child psychology, educational and vocational counseling, case work, and similar areas help to keep the teacher growing in her comprehension of human life and society, provided such studies are not heaped onto an already overburdened and jaded individual. Summer “internships” in child-guidance clinics can sometimes be arranged for the better prepared and more talented teacher. Exchange-teacher plans among schools operating under quite different guidance policies tend to facilitate an infusion of new ideas into each school involved. Conferences and short institutes doubtless have some

¹⁵ See: Laton, Anita D., and Harwell, E. J. “Health Aspects of Guidance.” *University High School Journal* 13: 212-21; December, 1934.

¹⁶ *Bulletin of Child Guidance*, Official Publication of Child Guidance Program, Districts 38 and 39, Brooklyn, N. Y., 1933. Vol. I.

value, altho, because of their concentration and brevity, the actual intake of the teacher is not usually great, unless some provision is made for preparation and follow-up. The nature of this provision is important.

Recognition—Appropriate recognition should be given teachers who contribute to changes in children in the direction of greater socialness, greater happiness, less deceit, more cooperativeness, more persistence, and other desirable types of behavior. Too frequently a teacher's value is judged only in terms of the subjectmatter gains of her pupils.

Teacher guidance—Thus far little formal mention has been made of such in-service guidance as may alter in a significant way the personality traits of the teacher herself. The problem of teacher guidance does not differ basically from that of pupil guidance. Relieving the teacher of staggering burdens of instruction, encouraging adequate recreation, helping her to respect herself and her job, and giving her economic security, appreciation, and understanding—these may yield more for her pupils than the whole instruction program just outlined. What and who will accomplish most for the teacher's mental health are questions that permit of no categorical answer, but this much is clear: that unless the school is guided by the same principles in its dealings with teachers, that it urges them to apply in their relations with pupils, no very fundamental advance can be expected.

A basic problem—one which precedes, in a sense, even that of teacher guidance—is that of the selection of teachers. There is undoubtedly an increasing realization among administrators of the need for considering more adequately than heretofore, the personal adjustment of the teacher at the time she is being employed. The uninterested, unstable, suspicious, resentful, or domineering person should not be selected to counsel and guide children. The technics used thus far for assaying the adjustment of applicants for teaching positions have, unfortunately, been rather unsatisfactory.

The extent of the mental ill health of teachers has been receiving some attention of late,¹⁷ but as yet no generalizations can be entertained. Mason's study, for instance, merely indicates that some teachers are found among asylum inmates, and that dementia præcox and manic-depressive insanity were relatively more frequent among the sample of insane teachers investigated than they were among certain other insane groups. The significance of Boynton's article, on the other hand, can be appreciated only after the value of the personal in-

¹⁷ See: Boynton, Paul L.; Dugger, Harriet; and Turner, Masal. "The Emotional Stability of Teachers and Pupils." *Journal of Juvenile Research* 18: 223-33; October, 1934. ¶ Mason, Frances V. "A Study of Seven Hundred Maladjusted School Teachers." *Mental Hygiene* 15: 576-99; July, 1931. ¶ The National Committee for Mental Hygiene also has a study in progress on the mental health of teachers.

ventory he used has been more accurately determined.¹⁸ Moreover, the disparaging attitude created by Wickman's report¹⁹ with respect to the average teacher's insight into the behavior problems of children is being tempered by such timely assessments of the study as those of Watson²⁰ and of Peck.²¹ Clearly, the nature and extent of the mental health needs of the teaching group are among the most challenging problems in education today.

¹⁸ For a critical evaluation of certain commonly used personal data sheets, see: Landis, Carney; Zubin, Joseph; and Katz, S. E. "Empirical Evaluation of Three Personality Adjustment Inventories." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 26: 321-30; May, 1935.

¹⁹ Wickman, E. K. *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1929. 247 p.

²⁰ Watson, Goodwin. "A Critical Note on Two Attitude Studies." *Mental Hygiene* 17: 59-64; January, 1933.

²¹ Peck, Leigh. "Teachers' Reports of the Problems of Unadjusted School Children." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 26: 123-38; February, 1935.

ONLY a very mature person can meet the responsibilities of the real teacher—a person free enough from emotional conflicts to be intelligently and constructively sensitive to the emotional needs of his, or her, pupils; a person with a guiding and wholesome philosophy of life, whose outlook and viewpoint are sane, sound, and essentially helpful to the growing child; a person who has grasped fully that fundamental principle of the new psychiatry and psychology, that to guide young people in the execution of their purposes, one's own life must show ample evidence of whole-hearted, purposeful, healthy, and socially worth-while living.—Anderson, V. V., and Kennedy, W. M., *Psychiatry in Education*, Harper and Bros., 1932, p. 294-95. (By permission of the publishers.)

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CHAPTER V

TYPES AND SYMPTOMS OF PUPIL MALADJUSTMENT

EDITORIAL COMMENT

TO MANAGE A SCHOOL or classroom so as to foster desirable personality growth is one thing. To recognize and appreciate the more or less serious maladjustments of some pupils is quite another. Some behavior problems are easily recognized by teachers and principals; others are more difficult to detect because the child's overt behavior does not conflict with the orderly progress of class work. What are the most common types of maladjustment in school children? What are their symptoms? Are the same symptoms always associated with the same causes? In this brief chapter three authors present a discussion of these questions as a background for the following chapters on diagnosis and treatment.

Kanner begins the chapter with a review of pupils' problems under three main headings: (1) undesirable habit formations, (2) undesirable relations to other people, and (3) unsatisfactory scholastic performances. He warns against classifying maladjusted children according to rigid categories of mental disease. Extreme cases of mental or emotional aberration are very rare in children before adolescence. Hence, altho the teacher should study the individual child and help in his treatment, she should not attempt to make a psychiatric diagnosis or to predict the outcome of the child's difficulty.

In the second article, Frederiksen mentions some of the common symptoms of poor adjustment observed in a city school system, and indicates some of the contributing causes in specific cases. Undisciplined children, socially immature children, and children who lack security are among the types discussed. The writer concludes that no mere listing of a child's symptoms is sufficient. Different causes may underlie identical symptoms in different children.

The concluding article, by Inskeep, describes symptoms often associated with the child's physical condition. Bodily pain, inharmonious growth, malnutrition, poor eyesight, and certain other physical and nervous disorders may often be recognized by the teacher if she knows what to look for. Altho physical handicaps are important in themselves, this author believes that their greatest seriousness lies in their influence on the emotional and social reactions of the individual.

The complex relationship between symptoms and causes of maladjustment is further illuminated by other chapters of this yearbook, and by the additional references listed at the end of this chapter.—*Editorial Committee.*

TYPES OF MALADJUSTMENT IN CHILDREN

LEO KANNER

Associate Professor of Psychiatry, The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, Baltimore, Maryland

THE PERSONALITY DIFFICULTIES of elementary-school children are as manifold with regard to their manifestations as are their physical disorders. There was a time when physicians were accustomed to "diagnose" abnormal behavior by attaching to the patient one of a relatively small number of labels. They studied behavior deviations in terms of "mental disease" only. More recent advances in the field of psychiatry have taught us that even in adults it is neither possible nor desirable to have too rigid classifications of unhealthy personality reactions.

Every parent and every teacher knows that many children conduct themselves in a manner which gives rise to perplexities, complaints, and a desire for remedial measures. Yet the great majority of these children certainly do not suffer from "mental disease"; nor are they likely to develop "mental disease" in accordance with any of the dire psychiatric labels. In a small number of pupils, however, early psychopathological tendencies of a more serious nature call for especially cautious watchfulness and therapeutic endeavor. Because of the extraordinary multitude and variety of children's personality disorders, because of their wide range from mild, transient, easily removable difficulties to those of a severe and thoroly disturbing character, and because children are children and not merely miniature adults, no useful grouping or classification can possibly lean upon those found in textbooks of adult psychiatry or in manuals for use in psychopathic hospitals.

As a matter of fact, such is the nature of the study and treatment of children's personality difficulties, that the knowledge of the individual child who presents such a difficulty is of far greater significance than any preoccupation with types or categories. While physicians have certain rules which they must follow in the prevention and treatment of scarlet fever, malaria, or furunculosis, there can be no generic consideration of restlessness, temper tantrums, or persistent thumbsucking. Whatever may be said of these reactions in general terms, it will be of practical value only if we make ourselves acquainted with Johnnie Smith or Elsie Miller and examine the specific features of the difficulty, the attitudes of the child and the family, Johnnie's or Elsie's physical, intellectual, and emotional peculiarities, the biographical record, the domestic constellation, the school situation, and any other factors that may play a part in Johnnie's or Elsie's individual problem.

Nevertheless, as in all scientific work, it is well to take stock in an organized manner of the numerous forms in which personality diffi-

culties of children may manifest themselves. For the practical needs of elementary-school principals and teachers, one might best arrange the rank and file of the problems of their pupils under the following headings: (1) undesirable habit formations, (2) undesirable relations to other people, and (3) unsatisfactory scholastic performances.

Undesirable habit formations—Child training, in the first years of life, is concerned to a considerable extent with the establishment of regulated patterns in the discharge of the vital functions of the human organism. The child learns thru precept and example how to conform to the requirements of time and convention in connection with eating, sleeping, and elimination. Many of the personality difficulties which confront parents from the very beginning, and teachers from the moment when the child enters kindergarten, consist of faulty adjustments to the matters of *daily routine*.

Mothers and physicians the world over struggle constantly with the thousands of children who will not eat their meals; countless families are driven to distraction because youngsters refuse to take sufficient nourishment in spite of coaxing, punishing, bribing, telling stories, dangling toys, and many other procedures. Gagging and vomiting may become distressing byproducts, and undernourishment and nutritional anemia the serious results of improper eating habits. Some children refuse practically all food; others eat under certain conditions only, or too small amounts at a time ("get filled up too quickly"), or too slowly ("dawdle over their food"); still others are "choicy" in their selection of food, or make up between meals for the food refused at the regular meal time.

Sending children to bed may present a similar ordeal. Domestic scenes are often created in which the desired effect is reached only thru persuasion, scolding, promises, threats, keeping the light on in the bedroom, or lying down with the obstreperous child. Sleep itself may be disturbed or interrupted by general unrest, grating of the teeth, talking out loudly, nightmares, night terrors, or sleepwalking.

Regulation of bowel and bladder control may be delayed unduly. Enuresis (wetting) and much less frequently, encopresis (soiling) may occur both at night and during the day and, if present in the classroom, they constitute a decided challenge to the teacher's wisdom and skill. Chronic constipation on a psychogenic basis alarms anxious parents and provides large profits to the makers and advertisers of popular laxatives.

There are many other habits of daily routine which are not so vitally important as food intake, sleep, and the control of excretion, yet are highly significant for the natural progress of emancipation and socialization. Difficulties arise when the acquisition of desirable table man-

ners, self-dependence and skill in dressing and undressing, proper care of nasal and salivary secretions, and general attention to cleanliness and appearance are not established at a time when the average child has attained proficiency in these performances.

While most of these deviations from the development of adequate habits of daily routine are of greater concern to the home than to the school, there is another group of habitual misbehaviors that is apt to engage the attention of teachers as well as parents. We refer to the great variety of *motor habits*, partly voluntary and partly involuntary; they are often spoken of as "bad habits" or "nervous habits." Some children, in rare instances even in junior high school, are seen deriving pleasure from sucking their fingers placidly while they day-dream or listen to the teacher. Others bite their fingernails "to the quick." Still others keep playing with their earlobes, curling their hair around their fingers, jerking their shoulders, blinking their eyes incessantly, clearing their throats, or grimacing (making faces). Some of these acts are performed slowly and deliberately, and the children are fully aware of them. Others, the so-called *tics* or habit spasms, are carried out suddenly, jerkily, and involuntarily. One of the manipulations, because of its sexual implications, is sometimes condemned by the witnesses with especial fervor and indignation; yet masturbation, like all other habit disorders, calls not for punishment in disgust, but for an unemotional study of the child's personality and for judicious and understanding treatment.

Besides the more circumscribed and specific habitual motor performances, we find in some children a generalized and not less habitual motor *restlessness*; they are the pupils of whom it is said that they "never sit still," "are always on the go," "are on the verge of St. Vitus' dance," constantly talk when they should not talk, turn and twist about in their seats, and generally fail to keep their bodies under control.

Many dysfunctions of children may assume the proportions of habits continued over a long period of time. We wish especially to call attention to a type of habitual disorder which is not at all infrequent and often equally puzzling to parents, teachers, and physicians. We may speak of it as the *complaint habit*, or *hypochondriasis*. The patient meets difficult life situations by seeking the source of trouble not in his inability to face the disturbing realities, but in the organs of his own body. He watches himself constantly, exaggerates every least discomfort, and falls into the habit of complaining about various aches and pains. Headache, stomachache with or without vomiting, and heart palpitations are apt to come on before dreaded tests or any other events unpleasant to the child. One often may find such complaints in a pupil

thruout the school year, and then not hear a word about them during the whole vacation period. One must, however, be very careful to have the child examined physically, in order to make sure that no underlying actual illness has been overlooked. If not adequately treated, the hypochondriacal child may become so engrossed in his self-observation and self-commiseration, that he may gradually slide into a state of chronic invalidism.

Undesirable relations to other people—Early habit training is one of the first significant steps toward the adequate socialization of a child. As he emerges from the newborn and suckling stages of passivity and helplessness, he enters into increasingly complex relations to other people, at first the members of the household and casual visitors, then the neighborhood playmates, and later the teachers and classmates. The normal progress of maturation and preparation for stability in adult life depends to a large extent on the establishment of sound personal interrelationships. The child must learn not only how to eat, sleep, eliminate, and control the movements of his body properly, but also how to get along with people. This goal may be interfered with more or less severely by numerous and manifold difficulties.

Oral communication is one of the principal means of forming mutual relations. The normal development of speech may be disturbed in various ways. The formation of words and construction of sentences may be unduly delayed. The intelligibility of the child's utterances may suffer from the defective articulation of certain consonants (stammering), mispronunciations on the basis of "baby talk," or hesitation at the beginning of words or sentences with frequent repetitions of the initial sounds (stuttering).

By far the largest number of maladjustments of elementary-school children are based on *disturbances of emotional adaptation* to other people. One may distinguish between emotional habits and emotional attitudes or traits. The habits have usually been acquired before the child has entered school. Fear and anger reactions are especially apt to develop into stereotyped patterns. There are children who are afraid of the dark, loud noises, pet animals, policemen, certain teachers, or all teachers. There are children who respond to anything which evokes in them resentment or a feeling of frustration with temper tantrums or similar outbursts, in which they may run wildly about the classroom, run out into the hall, slam doors, stamp their feet, shout, or weep in rage.

Emotional attitudes of an undesirable nature are often even more disturbing than the dramatic flares of fear or anger. Every teacher is acquainted with the aggressive bully, the timid child who hardly dares to breathe or to speak above a whisper, the sensitive pupil who cries

at the slightest provocation, and the stubborn, uncooperative child who fails to respond to kindness and encouragement. There are pupils who stand out in their classes because of boastfulness, obtrusiveness, sulkiness, or because they have a tendency to withdraw as much as possible from contact with their teachers and classmates.

While such unhealthy emotional trends are of great significance as disturbers of the smooth process of maturation and socialization, there exists another group of maladjustments which assume an added importance because of their communal implications. These are the evidences of *antisocial behavior* in children. The commonest forms of this type of personality difficulty are disrespect of authority (disobedience), lying, stealing, destructiveness, cruelty, truancy from school, and running away from home. It is always unwise to deal with these forms of misconduct on a moral basis and to preach sermons or punish the child. They are reactions of maladjusted children who require the best that mental hygiene can offer.

Teachers sometimes are puzzled about one particular group of their pupils' relations to other children, in which the sexual factor plays a part to a greater or lesser extent. In the lower grades, unsatisfied curiosity with regard to anatomical features may lead to discussion of such matters, especially among boys, during recess or on the way to and from school, and may, in untrained and uninhibited children, result in mutual inspection and exploration. In the higher grades, roused interest, unchecked by proper information, may result in sex preoccupations, secret circulation of obscene notes and pictures, and the general behavior of children designated by their classmates as "boy crazy" or "girl crazy." Teachers should not shut their eyes prudishly or become unduly agitated when confronted with such problems. These sexual stirrings are personality difficulties to be treated with the same detachment and practical realism as all other maladjustments.

Unsatisfactory scholastic performances—Improper habit formations interfere with the establishment of conventional patterns which are indispensable in our civilization. Improper development of personal interrelationships interferes with the process of communal socialization, which is another highly important step in the preparation for adult life. Inadequate grade attainments, which are at the same time the results, expressions, and causes of personality difficulties, are decisive factors in determining vocational directions. The realization that poor marks, far from being equivalent to the verdict of an impersonal jurist, should rouse the teacher's curiosity about the unsuccessful pupil, constitutes the greatest progress of twentieth-century education. The efforts of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Maria Montessori, together with the principles of modern mental hygiene, have tended to

do away with the old attitude that education is a Procrustean bed and that the pupils must be stretched or cut off to make them fit its size exactly. Failure to conform to the requirements of the class is now looked upon rightly as an evidence of personality maladjustment based on physical, intellectual, emotional, or environmental factors, or on a combination of any of these factors.

A child's failure may be uniform or it may be restricted to certain subjects only. There are children whose main difficulty consists in being pushed up to grades the work of which is generally beyond their comprehension and capacity. There are others whose general abilities are well within the limits of the grade requirements, but who are handicapped by *specific disabilities*, particularly in reading or numerical work. These shortcomings can and must be ascertained, or else the teacher is in the same position as a physician who overlooks the essential ailments of the patients entrusted to his care.

Unsatisfactory work is not always largely a matter of ability. Capable pupils sometimes present similar problems which could be easily enumerated by any experienced teacher. The outstanding disorders are inattention, lack of concentration, day-dreaming, and preoccupation with extracurricular topics. In rare instances, pupils are beset by obsessive thinking, being forced against their will to give heed to ideas obtruding themselves irresistibly and distressingly upon their consciousness and interrupting the orderly sequence of thought and action.

Interpretation of the evidences of maladjustment—Undesirable habits, relations to other people, and scholastic performances are invariably indications that something is wrong with the pupil, his environment, or both, and they call for investigation and adjustment. A teacher, however, should never attempt to go beyond observing the pupil, obtaining the facts which will lead to an understanding of the problem, and helping with a logical remedial program. This is a very necessary warning, for it has been the experience of principals, parents, and mental hygienists that much harm is done by some teachers' assumption of prophetic propensities or their tendency to proclaim sweeping "psychiatric diagnoses." One of the commonest and most dangerous errors is the prediction that masturbation as such leads to insanity; this is a popular misconception which enlightened teachers should not share and, at all events, should not repeat to parents of masturbating children. Another common misinterpretation is that of restlessness as being a sign that the child is "on the verge of St. Vitus' dance"; wherever there is a suspicion of *chorea*, the school physician should be consulted, but under no circumstances is the teacher qualified to usurp the functions of a medical diagnostician.

Most parents are very sensitive about the term "mental." In the thinking of many people, this adjective has ominous implications and makes them envision a state hospital future for the child who is said to have a mental difficulty. For this reason, it is far better to refrain from the use of such alarming terminologies.

Whenever a teacher finds that a pupil presents any of the disorders enumerated above, she fulfils her duty if, without the use of diagnostic or prognostic terms, she communicates her observations to the child's family, tries to become better acquainted with the child himself, makes arrangements for adequate physical and psychological examinations, and helps to remedy the difficulty on the basis of the facts obtained in the course of the investigation.

Serious psychiatric disorders—The extremes and end-products of personality aberrations of the type that populates our hospitals for the insane are extremely rare before the age of adolescence. Elementary-school teachers, therefore, have very little opportunity to deal with schizophrenic disorganization, full-fledged manic-depressive mood swings, or major hysterical phenomena. They do not have to be concerned with imbecile or idiotic children, who have no place in any well-regulated public school system and should be trained in adequate private or state-supported institutions. Behavior problems which are due to organic brain disturbances, such as brain tumor, postencephalitic states, or juvenile paresis, are infrequent; when they have been diagnosed by a competent physician, the patients should be placed entirely in medical hands.

There are handicapped children who should best be taught in special schools or special classes, or in their homes by visiting teachers. This is especially true of pupils who are subject to epileptic convulsions. Many communities unfortunately do not provide such facilities. This lack of special care places a very heavy burden on the teachers who have such children in their classes, and requires of them a great deal of skill and understanding.

SEE THE GLOSSARY on page 667 for definitions of the technical or semi-technical terms used occasionally in this yearbook.—*Editorial Committee.*

COMMON EVIDENCES OF PUPIL MALADJUSTMENT IN A CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

ELSIE M. FREDERIKSEN

Psychologist, Gary Public Schools, Gary, Indiana

FOR THE PAST SIX YEARS the Gary public schools have had the part-time services of a psychiatrist in a child-guidance clinic for school children. From experience with the cases studied in this clinic and from studies of children referred to the school psychologist for interpretation, certain symptoms and types of behavior maladjustments have been found to be the most frequent among our pupils. In this article no extensive or exhaustive enumeration of the traits and characteristics of unadjusted children has been attempted. Emphasis is directed, rather, to some common symptoms and types of maladjustment, with contributing factors indicated in specific cases.

Undisciplined children—Untaught, untrained children show a lack of reasonable self-control, and an inability to direct their own activities. Such children usually come from homes of inadequate parents, from broken homes, or from homes of discord, altho there are exceptions. School people can materially help these children in their first years of school experience if they are willing to work patiently toward reconditioning the children's conduct and attitudes.

Experienced kindergarten and primary teachers know that the poorly controlled child is not a good listener; that he does not conform within his group; and that often he does not learn because he is not "biddable." One such child of six was a "smart aleck," a bully, and showed no interest in learning as other children did. This bright boy came from a home of culture, but for some reason his home teaching had not been effective with him. His teacher capitalized his desire for recognition when she set up within the group, one by one, commendable goals in conduct, industry, subject mastery, and school citizenship. By her praise of socially acceptable behavior, his attention was directed to praiseworthy conduct and toward genuine effort in learning. Because his teacher's guidance helped him to overcome his problems, this boy changed into a well-adjusted, self-motivating first-grader within one semester's time.

Individuals who as children missed being disciplined usually fail to discipline themselves. In adolescence such children readily become delinquent and incorrigible. A story illustrates this point: At twenty-two years of age, a physically fit and promising youth was paroled from his fourth term in a corrective institution. All of his commitments were for stealing. Since leaving school he had earned normal wages, but he had always wanted more luxuries than his income would permit.

Within three months after his last parole he again wanted more than his earnings would buy. As a child he had learned to make excuses for his conduct, because excuses eliminated punishment. When his father died he lost his only disciplining parent. With his mother he was successful in justifying his misconduct, and his stealing in particular; in consequence, as an adult he rationalized that he needed everything that he wanted. He wanted and bought a car; he stole gasoline which he could not pay for. Finally, in an attempt to escape the police he was killed. Had he been dealt with factually when a child, he probably would have learned to face realities frankly. Had his boyhood energies been directed into early earning, with thrifty spending and saving, his future might have been different.

Children of low mentality especially need consistent, patient, and persistent habit-training. Such children are much more creatures of habit and impulse than of forethought and judgment. Habits of industry, thoroughness, honesty, persistence, courtesy, and cleanliness are just as important as vocational training for these individuals, and enable them to succeed where other workers without such habits will fail.

Children who have missed social contacts—Unless helped, the child who has passed thru his first six years without free and natural contacts with other children may have great difficulty in getting adjusted to other children. Prolonged and continued illnesses may cause such isolation. Unadjusted parents, by their overprotective, worried attitudes, may shelter an only child from other children.

A certain seven-year-old boy provoked most of the playground fights at his school. Children large and small were attacked on the slightest provocation. Analysis of pertinent data revealed that he had come to believe that other children meant to injure him. Investigation showed him to be a foster child in the home of a middle-aged couple. To these parents he was a precious, lovely, and perfect child. They wanted to keep him to themselves. To do this, they characterized neighborhood children as "too rough" for their "little" boy.

This boy's social age was actually about two years, altho he had had seven years' experience as the center in his world of adults. Home life centered about him; entertainment was furnished; his every wish was anticipated and granted. He had a room full of toys that had never been shared. At school his stellar position was challenged by every child in his group. His defensive attitude, together with his desire for attention, led him to blame other children for imaginary grievances. From all this he sought prestige and adult protection. In the eyes of children of his own age he was a "bad boy"; to older children he was an interesting subject for group teasing.

The "only child" is often self-centered. To prevent this, adults need to plan natural contacts for him from an early age. Too often the only child finds his adult associates so satisfying that he seeks their company continually; in consequence, he becomes unadjusted to children of his own age. Sometimes parents, especially older parents, become upset at the blunt treatment that children mete out to each other. In such circumstances adults should remember that childish dealings are comprehensible to children. Children do teach each other. Parents set examples, but actually teach less than children do. The opinions of children, regardless of age, definitely influence the attitudes and behavior of their fellows. It is therefore wise to allow children to settle their own problems in play situations. If necessary, adults may give guidance, but they should not arbitrate. The successfully adjusted child is at ease with individuals of his own age-group.

Socially immature children—The term "socially immature" is usually used to designate those children whose retarded social development is due partly to their constitutional make-up. It includes the "playboy" and "playgirl" types whose lack of responsibility is so annoying to parents and teachers. Such children fail to hold themselves to their jobs; they intersperse brief working periods with pranks and fun. Often they do pretty well when their parents work with them individually, and the parents are puzzled by the lack of accomplishment in the classroom, when the pupils are on their own responsibility. Immature children may in time develop self-discipline, but they lag behind other children of the same chronological age in that development.

Obese, good-natured children, diagnosed by endocrinologists as having Frohlich's disease, show both physical and emotional immaturity. Always in good spirits, they view themselves and their tasks with unwarranted optimism, and speak with expansive statements. They show concern only when they are forced to cope with situations. One such child, when questioned about his slowness in getting at his tasks, answered helplessly, "I just get to thinking about all this mountain of work and I can't start."

Social immaturity may in some cases be but one symptom of all-round retardation, as shown in mentally dull, frail children. Smaller than others of their chronological age, such children seek playmates younger than themselves because they are unhappy with children of their own age. A frail seven-year-old boy in the first grade "skipped" school to play with a five-year-old who was not yet in school. It was learned that the first child was but five years old mentally, that he had no interest in first-grade tasks, and that he made little social adjustment to the other first-grade children. Since it was as natural for him to desire free play as for the normal five-year-old to do so, he sought

such activities. He needed more time to reach six-year maturity before his teacher could rightfully expect him to assume responsibility for doing first-grade work.

Social and emotional maturity should be the determining factor in double promotions. The bright and mature child can adjust to older children, and is not thrown out of adjustment when placed with them. The bright but immature child should be kept in a group of his own maturity level. It is more important to keep children socially and emotionally adjusted than to keep them "on their toes," if a choice must be made.

Children who lack energy—The economic depression has taught us a greater appreciation of the many maladjustments caused by malnutrition. Undernourished children lack energy. They are the last ones chosen on ball teams, and often they are not interested in play at all. Sometimes we label them as "lazy." We are apt to overlook them in the class because they remain in the background as obscure personalities, and make little or no contribution to group activities. They are scarcely able to keep pace with minimum requirements. If they show enthusiasm at all, they do so only in occasional spurts of short duration.

If a child with little energy suffers from malnutrition only, then supplementary feeding helps. One such child changed, after a month of supervised feeding, from a disinterested non-learner to an interested, active, learning child. Generally, however, we are not very optimistic about children of low energy drive, because we realize that so many of them are constitutionally frail in their physical make-up. Constitutional frailty is a handicap which apparently cannot be overcome. If medical science cannot improve these children, then school people and parents must adjust their expectations to the children's natural capacities. For his best effort the frail child should be given due credit. Also, demands on his energy may often be reduced to advantage; for instance, his school day may be shortened by being broken up into two shorter half-days, or he may be given rest periods in the place of physical training. When a child's school day is shortened, he has more time to live at his own energy level and at his own pace.

Associated with physical frailty, we find various personality traits which have developed as a result of the child's inability to compete on equal terms with hearty, healthy children. Children may be sensitive to real and imagined hurts. Sometimes they are beset by fears, real or anticipated, even in their dreams. Inability to compete and keep pace in childish activities may develop a spirit of revenge. Many frail children who are socially immature choose younger playmates and pro-

tected activities. Others are unable to fight their own battles and require protection from the rougher experiences. In defense they become tattlers and even antagonistic toward their fellows. Some, because of fatigue, become very restless or even irritable and hurtful to children in their group. All these attitudes are subject to control when parents and teachers understand the nature of the child's handicap and stop blaming him for the consequences of his frailty.

In adolescence these frail children need careful guidance in choosing a vocation, and training for a life work in which they can be successful. Otherwise they may become dependent on the community for maintenance. Within the protective atmosphere of understanding parents and teachers, success comes when expectations are kept attainable. Some unwholesome traits can be eliminated by indirect control; fears and sensitiveness are less apt to be dispelled completely.

Other handicapped children—Children whose intelligence is rated as "low dull-normal" or "borderline-deficient" are problems to themselves and to the schools. By the time they reach the seventh grade, in the ordinary school, they have repeated many semesters' work. Taller and larger than normally equipped children, and made sensitive by the taunts and jibes of classmates, they heartily dislike school. Evasive children of this group become truant; obedient, conscientious ones put forth so much effort that sympathetic teachers grade them for their industry; energetic ones, boys in particular, make or find diversions for their own entertainment and that of their fellows. Retarded pupils when referred for mental tests are described as "lazy," "indifferent," "not interested in class work," or "poor worker."

Physically handicapped children, if not guided, may readily adopt the cripple's philosophy: "Life must make up to me for the things I don't have." This feeling of deprivation may lead to self-pity, and to the seeking of leniency and special privileges. To prevent this philosophy a compensating skill should be developed. For instance, the parents of a boy with club feet taught him eye-hand coordination so that he could pitch a baseball better than the average child can do it.

If the child suffering either from a mental or physical lack develops a feeling of inadequacy, then he withdraws. He may escape from unpleasantness in his real-life experiences into a dream life of phantasy. On the other hand, the handicapped child may find ways and means of compensating for his lack. If his manner of compensating is profitable to himself and to society, his success is recognized and commended. If, on the other hand, resentment motivates the individual, he may show the world thru criminal activities that he "had nerve to do it." The bully, braggart, boaster, and grandstand performer all compensate for some felt inferiority.

Self-reliance is even more a virtue for handicapped individuals than it is for normal people. And, because children may unconsciously remain dependent upon adults, they should be placed with other children as soon as they can enter into play activities.

Children who steal—Court records seem to indicate that stealing is common among children from homes having a meager income. Society is apt to label the poor child who steals a "hoodlum." If, on the contrary, a child from a comfortable home in a select neighborhood fails to respect the property rights of others, he merely brings on himself social disapproval. In his case, because the family name is to be protected (and sometimes to the offender's detriment), the community favors leniency and tolerance instead of public reprimand.

School people can help boys from homes with marginal incomes. Most of them can be taught that stealing does not pay. They can help themselves if enabled to earn money to supplement the family earnings. Vocational guidance and vocational training are especially needed in order that earning may begin at as early an age as possible.

Frequently all members of an impoverished family steal, just as all may beg. Because of poverty they feel deprived, believing that life has cheated them. A certain high-school girl was caught stealing make-up in a ten-cent store. She had taken beautifully bound books from the school library. Crayons and water colors had disappeared from the art room. Investigation showed that she was recognized by her art teacher as having unusual creative ability. At home her father had refused her requests for money with which to buy art materials and a few pretty things. The father is known to have in his possession tools taken from the shops of the industry employing him, with which he does repair work about the home. The feeling of deprivation common to all members of this family began when the parents, as children in Poland, experienced hardship and persecution by the government in power. Years of hard labor in America have not brought desired comfort; consequently, the philosophy which their childhood experience taught these parents has not been dispelled.

If boys and girls with inadequate personalities cannot get companionship otherwise, they often resort to stealing in order to buy favor. A sixteen-year-old boy forged checks and pawned clothes and jewelry to buy the companionship of young men. Little children bargain with candy, pennies, and nickels for special privileges among their playmates.

Children who lack security—The desire for acceptance, for welcome at home, at school, and in the community, is the expression of a fundamental emotional need, the need for security. Sensitive children may become brokenhearted if they feel that they are rejected. A fourth-grade boy cried every day because he did not want to go to school. In

every way he expressed a real discouragement. Discouragement had been present to some extent during his whole school experience. He had disappointed his parents by doing only average work. Older brothers and sisters had been superior students. In spite of superior parentage he had only average ability, and could not attain his family's expectations. Urging, coaxing, and criticism were used in vain. Affectionate and sensitive, he regarded himself as a disappointment to his family, and therefore unwelcome and unloved. After his parents' expectations were lowered, the boy again became happy and comfortable in his home. Moreover, when pressure was relieved and happiness restored, his school work improved.

Another sensitive child slumped in his class work after the antagonism of his classmates had been incurred. His parents had located in a community where they were out of place among people observing strict moral codes. Other parents criticized the new residents. Their children imitated by criticizing and chiding the new child. Fights, revenge, and enmity followed. Classmates united against the newcomer until he was wholly alone without a companion.

In another case, a likable boy was brought to the principal's office for a series of misdemeanors. It was learned that his behavior took place because he accepted dares from older boys. Full of energy, he put himself wholeheartedly into everything he did. He was sociable and fun-loving, but poorly disciplined. His family had come to this country from Armenia and had made little adjustment to American standards and customs. They lived in an English-speaking community, where the mother felt inferior because of her inability to communicate with her neighbors. This oldest child shared his parent's feeling of non-acceptance and "apartness." He tried too hard to be accepted, became known as gullible, and was the subject of older boys' pranks. When it was learned that he desired recognition and acceptance, he was taught acceptable behavior and given credit for gains made. His auditorium teacher found him capable in dramatic activities, participation in which helped him to become established and at home in his group.

Conclusion—In order to plan appropriate treatment for a given individual's difficulties, it is necessary to go further than merely listing the symptoms or evidences of his maladjustment. An investigation of his history and background must be made. Usually it is found that the reasons why a given child is as he is are not the same as those explaining a similar type of behavior in another child. A variety of factors are at work in shaping personalities, achievements, and behavior.

Of the comparatively few children who require psychiatric guidance in Gary, about one-half appear to have a better future after careful study and treatment than they would have had without such help. If

the study reveals conditions which can in no way be modified or removed, there is still value from the effort, because then the child is not held responsible for his shortcomings. His tension is relieved. The parents' tension is relieved also, and a feeling of sympathy and understanding replaces any criticism that may have been felt toward the child by his teachers.

CHILD-GUIDANCE CLINICS have been remedial. They have come into action when cases have become too distressing or too difficult for the school to handle. Counselors and guidance bureaus have been featured especially on the secondary-school level, where if a child is maladjusted his readjustment can be accomplished only with great difficulty, if at all. All this attention to seriously maladjusted personalities causes one to believe that some if not many of these cases should have been observed in their beginnings. All children either are "problem" children now, or they may become "problem" children in the future. The extent to which they are problems runs the scale from the zero point to the maximum. Therefore, as far as possible, the first signs of maladjustment should be made easily discernible and steps should be taken toward early adjustment before serious maladjustment occurs.—Cutright, Prudence, p. 479 of this yearbook.

SYMPTOMS IN RELATION TO PHYSICAL CAUSES OF POOR ADJUSTMENT

ANNIE DOLMAN INSKEEP

Adjustment Work and Counseling, Berkeley Public Schools, Berkeley, California

TO OBSERVE THE SYMPTOMS or evidences of a malady is not by any means to pigeon-hole the causes or the remedies. In combating illness, physicians realize that the initial symptoms of several diseases may be the same. For example, the onset of the dread psittacosis (parrot fever) and that of pneumonia are so nearly alike as often to delay the true diagnosis. Yet, whatever may be the cause or the ultimate treatment in a particular case of maladjustment, it is of the highest importance for principals and teachers to know when all is not well with the child. From this point the search for causes may extend to the child's physical condition, his home situation, his playground environment, and the type of educational or social fare we are placing before him.¹

As education is changing to keep pace with socio-economic conditions, so also our conception of maladjustments is being revised. In the era when "children should be seen and not heard," whispering in the school-room was a major maladjustment; the quiet unsocial child was often the model held up for class inspection. Today in activity work and pupil-participation programs quite the reverse is true. Then, too, in those earlier days, as a rule, only those who were somewhat adjustable went to school, while today children of widely varying backgrounds and capacities for adjustment are knocking at the school doors. Thus, many of the symptoms and causes of maladjustment in the modern school are different from those observed a few decades ago.

To fit into our present civilization—in other words to be well adjusted—a child should have as abundant health as science can develop out of his particular heredity; he should be happily adjusted to the social life of his school and community; and he should be advancing at his individual academic pace in all of his studies. Anything less than this total adjustment constitutes a greater or less maladjustment. As indicated above, there is no single cause or group of causes which invariably produces a particular type of maladjustment. This article, however, is limited to a consideration of certain *physical factors* often associated with personality difficulties, and of some of the symptoms which should make the teacher or principal suspect their presence.

Bodily pain—Less than the optimum of health may give rise to many evidences of poor adjustment to the school environment. Pain of any sort, whether or not the child acknowledges it or complains about it,

¹ For discussion of procedures for discovering causes of maladjustment, see Chapter VI.

will lessen his interest in academic work and produce scattering attention. The new or unusual may hold such a child's attention for awhile, but it soon fades out. Indigestion, earache, toothache, or any similar condition can cause this lack of interest. If pain is long continued or of frequent occurrence, it may lead to querulousness, display of temper, striking back at other children, and premeditated hitting for seemingly no reason at all.

Inharmonious growth—In almost any classroom there are some children who are spoken of as restless. They slide down in their seats, slump over, shift their feet. They drop things they are carrying, hit against desks as they walk down the aisle—in truth living up to the sobriquet "clumsy." It is sometimes noticed that such children have not always acted that way; in fact, perhaps only the month before they were steady, alert, surefooted, and erect.

This change can often be traced to lack of harmonious growth of bones, muscles, nerves, and skin.² When bones grow faster than muscles, the muscles are stretched beyond their normal elasticity to keep up with the lengthening bones. Nerves, too, are unduly tensed, and the total result is a restlessness that the child cannot identify but which finds its only comfort in movement. The child is uncomfortable in any position and seeks comfort almost unconsciously by his so-called restless movements.

Inharmonious growth is most often noticed in children of neurotic inheritance. The child may grow by spurts, and during the quiescent period he may be normally adjusted. The danger in these cases is that the teacher, not recognizing the causes of the child's restlessness, may try to shame or blame him out of it and so produce in him an unfavorable attitude toward school.

When the opposite form of inharmonious growth occurs, and the muscles and skin grow faster than the bones, the child has a sense of lassitude. He wants to sit still, to stay in his seat at recess, and he frequently needs prodding during the physical education period. Reference to the yearly height-weight charts of each child suspected of inharmonious growth, coupled with close observation on the part of the teacher, will identify most cases. Understanding and tact will often save such a child from becoming a disciplinary problem.

Immature development of finer muscles—A minor problem of adjustment in relation to growth arises when children are required to hold pencils, pens, or small implements of any kind before the accessory muscles of the hand are well developed. In the earlier grades of the elementary school, handcraft work should be limited to large muscle

² Godwin, Paul. *Growth during School Age*. (Translated by Samuel L. Eby.) Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1920. Part II, Chapter I.

activities. Teachers should watch out for weariness, nervous strain, and frequent mistakes in the work of children using the accessory muscles.³ Poor handwriting is not always an evidence of lack of application; it may be a sign of too long or too early use of these finer muscles.

Abnormal weight—Being overweight or underweight does not always constitute an adjustment problem. Owing to differences in bony structure and height, not all children of a given age are expected to be a certain height and weight. The height-weight tables used in most schools show for each age a spread, between the extremes of which a child may be considered normal.

The overweight child, if healthily fat, is usually not an adjustment case unless he is very sensitive to the fun that is often made of him. He becomes maladjusted if his sensitiveness drives him within himself or into an antisocial attitude. The obese or unhealthily fat child, however, often has glandular disturbances. He cannot concentrate on his work for any length of time, and often seems not at all interested in his lessons. He is usually more sensitive than the healthily fat child about being made the butt of jokes. Sometimes both types of fat children trade on their excessive weight and become the clowns of the class, thus exhibiting maladjustment thru their extreme extraversion.

Malnutrition—Apathy of bearing, especially if the task at hand appears to be long or difficult, often characterizes the victim of malnutrition. In addition to being seriously underweight, such a child often displays pallor, flabby muscles, and lusterless eyes and hair. Unless there is an early diagnosis of this condition, the child is not only unable to progress as he should in his academic work, but is likely to find himself unfitted as an adult to cope with the task of making a living.

Neurasthenic conditions—Another child whom the teachers should recognize as not properly adjusted is the one who never finishes a task satisfactorily. Often such a child is interested in his school work, has native ability, and has had an adequate learning background. He does the first two or three examples in arithmetic correctly; the rest are unfinished or wrong. He knows the first part of the social studies assignment, but fails on the last part. His art work starts well but lacks the finishing touches. Such children begin almost anything with considerable enthusiasm. They are our *neurasthenics*; in other words, they are suffering from nerve tire. They have not as yet developed the inward push, as they may later in life, to hold themselves to a subject regardless of fatigue.

This matter of nerve tire has been made the basis of tests for identifying neurasthenic children.⁴ The neurasthenic child is sometimes wrongly

³ Inskeep, Annie Dolman. *Child Adjustment in Relation to Growth and Development*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1930. p. 98.

⁴ Burt, Cyril. "The Neurotic School Child." *Ungraded* 8: 137-41; March, 1923.

diagnosed as being merely a victim of malnutrition. But tho he is often underweight his trouble is deeper. "He has aches and pains all over, and is characterized especially by what is called an irritable eye. The eye, without noticeable defects, tires readily, is sensitive to glare, and yet sees well only in a strong light."⁵

Such children's energetic and sometimes boisterous play during the recreation periods would seem to belie the term "nerve tire," but close observation usually shows that they seldom if ever by choice play games that require them to hold one position for any length of time. They must always be on the go.

Defective eyesight—When a child of his own accord holds the book too far from his eyes, too close to his eyes, or to the right or left of the straight line of vision, it is always well to have an eye examination. The eye of the young child is not as yet developed so that it recognizes readily slight differences in small objects held at close range. Reading implies a ready recognition of such slight differences as those between *m* and *n* or between *c* and *e*. Unless the eyes are in perfect focus, normally strong, and neither farsighted nor nearsighted, the process of seeing print will not proceed normally.

Much care must be taken in the beginning grades to check on eye conditions. In addition to those already noted, it is well to observe whether the child tires readily when reading, whether he habitually desires to read in the darker parts of the room, scowls when studying his lessons, often miscalls simple words or letters, loses his place, fails to make a rapid and accurate eyesweep in going from one line to the next, or reads only parts of phrases at a time. These are among the symptoms that indicate a need for a complete and thoro examination of the child's eyes.

Often one or several of these symptoms will appear rather suddenly in a child whose reading habits have heretofore indicated normal eyesight. This may come when more advanced studies pile up the reading assignments; often it occurs at the onset of puberty or when there is a too early return to school after an acute illness.

Children who are rated by the casual school examination as having good eyesight may occasionally have some obscure eye difficulty which only the trained expert can locate. As the approaches to reading are made today in most schools, very few children of normal intelligence, eyesight, and hearing fail to be interested in learning to read or to become efficient readers.

Difficulties in hearing—When a child does not enjoy singing, does not pronounce words correctly when drilled on them, or does not speak

⁵ Inskeep, Annie Dolman, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

clearly and distinctly, he is not always recognized as a maladjustment problem; nevertheless he is headed toward what are often heartbreaking difficulties. In such cases, a careful examination of ears, throat, and nose will often reveal adenoids, diseased tonsils, sinus trouble, running ears, or susceptibility to colds.

In a class where phonics are being used as a reading tool, there will usually be found some children who cannot be taught to read by this system. These children may be merely tone blind, or they may be somewhat hard of hearing.

Intermittent hearing often leads to a rather serious type of maladjustment. Children subject to running ears have difficulty in hearing when the "gathering" in the ear is forming. At such times they seem inattentive, restless, and generally naughty, and are often unjustly blamed for their flighty or perhaps stupid attitudes. When the gathering bursts and the pressure is removed, some feeling of well-being returns and the hearing is better.

Other physical peculiarities—In the heterogeneous classes that fill many modern schoolrooms, there are often potential maladjustment problems in connection with children who are overage or underage, unusually tall or short, or noticeably deformed, and even among those who are lefthanded, have red hair, or wear glasses.

The overage pupil, tho not able to do more advanced work, is distinctly aware, because of his maturity, that the approach to subject-matter in his class is designed for younger children, and so his keen edge of interest is dulled. A child much taller than others of his age and grade may drift into an unsocial or antisocial attitude if made to feel out of place by seats, desks, or other equipment that is too small for him.

Today in most schools a scientific attitude toward lefthandedness prevails. No longer is this characteristic a deformity that must be concealed. Proper arrangements for seating, lighting, placing the writing paper, and holding the pen or pencil enable the lefthanded child to compete unobtrusively and successfully with the righthanded pupils.

Conclusion—The preceding pages have reviewed some of the most common physical causes of maladjustment and some of the symptoms often associated with them. While these factors are important in themselves, their greatest significance is in their possible effects upon the social and emotional adjustments of children. The child who is emotionally upset merits far more concern on the part of the home and the school than does the child who is merely not growing quite at the normal rate, or who is simply not progressing at the average rate thru the school grades. Nature has a way of compensating for physical maladjustments, and success is often achieved by the child who was rated a failure in his lessons. But marred and warped emotions, whether due

to physical or other causes, leave a blight on life that not only persists but often in times of stress and strain becomes worse. The life emotionally maimed is thwarted on its most vulnerable side; it is deprived of the understanding give-and-take that makes a person part of the great social fabric reared by civilization. The principal and the teacher, working together with the home and with the specialist in child guidance, will realize one of life's greatest joys if they are able to adjust growing, developing children to the fundamental task of social living.

THE TRANSFER of children who are physically unable to do the work of a regular grade to a class where they are in competition with others of similar capacity releases the tension and gives them an opportunity to advance as fast as they can. In such a class, extra food thruout the day, together with rest periods in the morning and afternoon, helps to build up a child's frail body without making him feel conspicuous. Moreover, the knowledge that he is making progress in his school work keeps up his morale. Given a reasonable feeling of success in his classroom, the rest which his body needs, and the food which at home he is often too busy to eat, the child can work happily and without excessive fatigue.—Ide, Gladys, p. 512 of this yearbook.

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CHAPTER VI

DISCOVERING AND EVALUATING CAUSES OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS

EDITORIAL COMMENT

THE CAUSES of a particular maladjustment can seldom if ever be determined by merely observing its manifestations. No single cause or set of causes is always associated with a certain kind of misbehavior. Hence, a careful study of the individual child and his environment is essential if his difficulties are to be corrected. Such a study requires time, skill, and patient cooperation. It involves not only the collection of pertinent information, but the keeping of part or all of this information for future reference. In addition, there must be a sound interpretation of facts as a basis for the remedial program. Often the principal or teacher can gather and interpret these facts adequately. In more difficult cases, it is advisable to obtain the assistance of child-guidance specialists.

This chapter deals with methods and devices for studying the maladjusted child. Kanner points out the essential steps in such a study. Van Alstyne describes a specific pupil record system, and discusses several fact-gathering techniques, including classroom observations, questionnaires, rating scales, and objective tests. Cutright tells how a cumulative pupil record card was developed and introduced in a large school system.

In each of these three articles, the author seems to favor the plan of collecting a large amount of information about each child, and keeping all of it in a permanent record. The fourth contributor, Everett, presents a different viewpoint. She believes in utilizing *essential* information, but not in collecting and keeping a mass of facts which have no immediate use. She contends that this is often a waste of time, and that the perusal of old records may predispose a teacher unfavorably toward a child. This viewpoint deserves careful consideration. On the other hand, intelligent teachers can be trained in the wise use of records. Moreover, it is difficult to tell when an apparently irrelevant fact about a child may throw light on his problems in the future.

In the last article, Baker describes a scale for evaluating the specific factors involved in individual cases of maladjustment.

Certain aspects of the case study are not treated in detail here. Some of these, including the use of personality tests, are discussed more fully in the references listed at the end of the chapter.—*Editorial Committee.*

ESSENTIAL STEPS IN STUDYING THE MALADJUSTED CHILD

LEO KANNER

Associate Professor of Psychiatry, The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, Baltimore, Maryland

THERE was a time when unsatisfactory behavior in the classroom was almost invariably laid at the door of abstract terms, such as "meanness," "badness," and "naughtiness." Poor scholastic achievements were explained on the basis of "laziness" or "lack of interest." Moral issues were made of these shortcomings, and the child was regarded as a culprit who should be punished for his failure to conform to set standards of conduct and progress.

Recent advances of psychology and psychiatry have taught us to understand and help the "problem child," instead of criticizing and berating him. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have given to physicians much needed information about the organs of the human body, their functions and diseases. Anthropologists have learned a great deal about skeletal development and the customs and manners of the various races and tribes. Jurists have made valuable additions to the treasury of legal knowledge. Educators have worked out suitable curriculums and modernized the methods of teaching. The twentieth century has begun to impart to physicians, anthropologists, jurists, and educators alike an interest in, and a growing knowledge of, the human being, *the person*, in his entirety. We have come to concern ourselves with the assets and difficulties of an individual as functions or performances of the total human organism.

If a child misbehaves or does not do his lessons properly, we must study him as a person and find the reasons for his maladjustment. "Meanness" and "laziness" are not reasons or explanations; they are someone else's evaluations of disorders which themselves call for explanation and treatment.

It is most naïve and useless, however, to ask, "What is the cause of this or that form of maladjustment?" It would be very simple indeed if one could consult a textbook and find there that such and such a factor is always the cause of thumbsucking, and that another specific factor is always responsible for inattention. But there is no one and only cause for any manifestation of personality difficulty. The question, therefore, should never be, "What is the cause of inattention?" but rather, "Why is Johnnie or Elsie inattentive?" Experience teaches us that various factors may be involved, separately or in combinations, in the formation of improper personality functions. In order to study the personality of a child, one must become acquainted with the physical, emotional, in-

tellectual, and environmental features that have entered into the development of that particular child.

How can the teacher acquire and contribute to such an acquaintance?

Observing and recording classroom behavior—The first step toward an understanding of the difficulty consists in an unemotional gathering of informative data. Classroom observation is apt to supply valuable clues. No person dealing with large numbers of children should take it upon himself to rely entirely on his memory. This would have two distinct disadvantages: in the first place, it is well-nigh impossible to keep in mind all the little signs and symptoms of twenty or thirty or more pupils; and secondly, the knowledge thus stored up in one person's memory cannot be transmitted to other people, once the teacher has taken over another class or left the school altogether. For this reason, it is advisable to keep individual records of all pupils, into which any observation of interest can be entered as soon as it is made. Teachers are in a better strategic position than parents or physicians and often have an opportunity to notice beginnings of physical and emotional difficulties long before anyone else becomes aware of them. The teacher's attention will be attracted at a relatively early date by the mouth-breather who keeps his mouth open thruout the instruction period. She will often be the first to observe early evidences of a visual defect if a child holds his book too closely to his face or strains his neck when trying to read from the blackboard. Repeated failure of a pupil to reply to remarks addressed to him will make her think of the possibility that his hearing has become impaired. Frequent scratching will suggest to her the possible existence of an irritating skin condition.

The same is true of the emotional difficulties of pupils. The teacher is in an ideal position to observe and record unusual or undesirable reactions to encouragement and criticism, to success and failure; the individual pupil's participation or lack of participation in the activities of the class; his expressions of fear, anger, or jealousy; his degree of sensitiveness or indifference; his sense of responsibility; his type of effort, ambition, and enthusiasm. It is often interesting and helpful to compare from time to time the notes of different teachers instructing the same class, and to see how some children react differently in the presence of different teachers.

Olson¹ has demonstrated how much can be accomplished by this simple method of classroom observation and recording. He watched school children during class hours and made notes of the occurrence of various motor habits within certain time limits. His study resulted in a significant contribution to the knowledge of motor habits in general, and in

¹ Olson, Willard C. *The Measurement of Nervous Habits in Normal Children*. Institute of Child Welfare, Monograph Series No. 3. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota, 1929. 97 p.

a better understanding of the pupils whom he observed. Similarly, Schneersohn² conducted original and illuminating observations of the spontaneous formation and dissolution of play groups during the recess period, permitting an insight into the social tendencies of individual pupils. He paid special attention to the type of children entering into a group, the type of game played, the part of each member within the group (leader, rival, follower), the interest in the game, the children who remained loyal to their group, those who remained at the periphery as onlookers, the drifters who changed their participation a number of times, and the lonely children who remained unattached during the entire recess period.

Such studies are of great importance, and teachers can undoubtedly contribute a lion's share to them. However, the main purpose of recording observations of pupils' performances is that of building up case studies of the day-by-day development of growing individuals. The practical value of the entries is enhanced by the registration of concrete facts rather than mere generalizations or qualifying adjectives. One often reads remarks that a child is irresponsible, indifferent, or shy, not illustrated by specific incidents telling how he has displayed his lack of responsibility, indifference, or shyness. It is, of course, quite true that a busy teacher, having many pupils in her class, cannot be expected to find time for keeping elaborate diaries on the behavior of each child. For this reason, only significant observations should be entered as they take place. In addition, a general impression of each child might be committed to paper at regular intervals.

These records, if kept up to date, furnish helpful information about the physical condition, habit formations, and emotional responses of each pupil, obtained from careful observations of his classroom behavior.

Measuring the child's intelligence—The child's intellectual capacity is estimated by means of standardized mental tests. A pupil's intelligence should never be inferred from his scholastic achievements. We know that many normal and even superior children do not make full use of their ability because of emotional and environmental difficulties, and that mildly retarded children often make up for their intellectual limitations by means of increased ambition and effort. There is nowadays no need or excuse for guessing a child's endowment, when for almost three decades psychologists and educators have joined forces in working out reliable methods of measuring intelligence and specific aptitudes. By means of psychometric rating we learn, in a general way, what the individual pupil can be expected to achieve at various stages of his development, and whether he is properly placed or misplaced in the grade which he attends.

² Schneersohn, F. "Sociability of Abnormal Children and Social Child Psychology." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 12: 1307-37; 1933.

There are two principal types of intelligence tests: group tests and individual tests. Group tests should be given to the whole class at stated intervals. Many schools have neither the personnel nor the time facilities for the individual testing of every pupil. But whenever a child is found to have marked difficulties in competing with his classmates, or falls down markedly in the group tests, he should by all means be submitted to individual testing. All results of such examinations should be entered in the pupil's case record.

It is not superfluous to state that the child's I.Q. or other test results should never be given out to parents. Much harm has been done by this procedure, for lay people cannot possibly interpret psychometric ratings in the constructive spirit and manner in which they should be interpreted. Parents often become disappointed with their children, or doubt the fairness of the test or the tester, or boast to mothers of less gifted pupils about the high ratings of their own offspring. It is furthermore not superfluous to emphasize that the I.Q. is only one of many features of the study of a pupil's personality, and should not be the sole guide in mapping out the remedial program for a maladjusted child, whose physical, emotional, and environmental assets and liabilities are of equal importance.

Gathering facts about home and community influences—While classroom observations and tests throw light on the child's own performances, intellectual equipment, and emotional reactions, a personality study is never complete without due consideration of his environmental background. It is much easier to observe and test a pupil at school than it is to gather information about the potent home and community influences. Extreme tactfulness is the first prerequisite in any such effort, and the teacher should definitely consider herself bound to professional secrecy with regard to any knowledge obtained about the family situation. She should under no circumstances communicate her information to anyone, except in the instance of cooperation with social agencies or psychiatrists who happen to be interested constructively in the case.

The knowledge of environmental influences can be acquired in many ways. The child's home address often furnishes a clue about neighborhood conditions. In very small communities, the teacher usually has a fair idea about the families of her pupils. In larger towns or cities, the location of the child's residence may provide her with a general notion as to whether he lives in a slum area, a comfortable residential section, or a crowded industrial district. The child's appearance, the clothes which he wears, his attention to cleanliness, and his state of nutrition are further significant determinants of the teacher's impression of the domestic influences. Sometimes the degree of parental cooperation with the school authorities and regulations also serves as an important lead.

Occasionally the parents themselves unwittingly permit an insight into their attitude by shielding their children ostensibly or even annoyingly, by blaming the school for poor marks or anything else that goes wrong, by running to the teachers with frequent hostile accusations made by their offspring, or by agitated interferences with the classroom arrangements. The spoiling mother is easily recognized by her attempts to suggest additional indulgence to the teacher, who is invited to place the youngster not too close to the window or radiator and not too far away from them; she is easily recognized by her reporting to the teacher in a state of consternation every little sneeze and cough and pimple of her child, who is kept at home and in bed frequently for many days for practically no reason at all.

Parental indifference may be inferred from continued failure to come to the school on visiting days, or even upon the teacher's special invitation to discuss with her the child's problems. No particular effort is needed to comprehend the home situation of the offspring of trouble-making parents, who flood the principal's mail with threats and protests against the teacher's treatment of their children, her methods of instruction, the modern principles of education in general, the trifling or imaginary wrong done their offspring by some classmate, or anything else that causes their displeasure.

Most parents, however, can be led to cooperate if they are given the impression that the teacher's tactful inquiries about home conditions are dictated by genuine interest and a sincere desire to help the maladjusted child. Their very reactions to polite questioning are helpful indications of their own personality traits. The questions should never go beyond the information needed for a better understanding of the pupil's behavior. The teacher should never assume, or appear to assume, the role of a detective or judge on the bench. She should never "draw out" the parents or, worst of all, the child himself, about family relationships. The average parent, when consulted sympathetically about his or her child's difficulties and the factors which might possibly contribute to their causation, will usually respond willingly and truthfully to the queries: "Do you think that there might be anything in the child's home life that could help you and us to explain his present difficulty? Do you have any reason for believing that he is not as happy at home as you would want him to be?" Parents' visiting days at school, parent-teacher association meetings, and in special cases particularly arranged individual interviews offer opportunities for a discussion of home conditions with the parents.

Whenever more detailed information and greater privacy are required, the services of a visiting teacher should be engaged in those communities which are fortunate enough to have visiting teachers. Some-

times the social service exchanges may be able to furnish an excellent summary of the family's social conditions and attitudes.

Keeping continuous and comprehensive records—All these data, consisting of recorded classroom observations, test results, and facts pertaining to domestic and communal influences, should be kept together in a separate folder for each individual pupil, together with references to his grade achievements and his proficiency in the different subjects, and with any reports coming from the school physician, school nurse, school psychologist, vocational counselor, or any other source of information. Ideally, the record should be begun when the child enters kindergarten and continued thruout his school career. Thus a continuous and comprehensive record system is created, which the principal and teachers may consult at any time. These notes should be kept up to date. They should be guarded carefully and treated confidentially as school secrets, and should never be made accessible to the public. They should not be burdened with irrelevant and inessential material but, on the other hand, no significant facts should be omitted. In the case of doubt, it is better to err on the side of saying too much than not enough.

If begun early and kept up religiously for the whole period of a child's elementary-school attendance, such records form human documents of great importance for the study of personality development. They supply objective criteria for the comparison of a pupil's health, behavior, and scholastic proficiency in the different grades, his modes of reaction to different subjects and different teachers, and his gradual progress in matters of maturation and socialization. They indicate the earliest symptoms of any kind of maladjustment, and equally the early evidences of improvement and readjustment.

Analyzing the information obtained—These records contain, as it were, the raw material, which must be sifted and analyzed. This analysis of the pertinent information is made easier if one subdivides the facts into the following groups or sets of factors, which in their entirety make up the most prominent features of an individual's personality:

1. *The physical factor* (health and disease, endurance and fatigability, nutrition, recreation)
2. *The emotional factor* (happiness, ambition, manner of getting along with other people)
3. *The intellectual factor* (original endowment, use of existing abilities, specific aptitudes or disabilities)
4. *The environmental factors* (home, school, church, neighborhood influences).

Conclusion—Regardless of the form in which a child's personality difficulties manifest themselves, it is essential to know just what is wrong with him or wherein he deviates from the healthy average physically, emotionally, intellectually, and environmentally. This knowledge logically leads to a therapeutic program which tends to cor-

rect all that which needs correction. It is relatively unimportant to be sure whether the child's bad teeth, infected tonsils, spoiled-child reaction, fear of the father's excessive sternness, inadequate intelligence quotient, or choice of undesirable companions is really the *major* cause of his poor conduct or poor quality of work. It is, however, highly important to be aware of all such factors and to try to remedy them, in order to establish or reestablish in the pupil that optimal condition of health, happiness, and composure which is indispensable for every individual's good mental health and smooth adjustment.

IF THE TEACHER is not to undertake the psychiatric treatment of her seriously maladjusted pupils, she must know when and where to refer youngsters who need such attention. It is easy enough to discover *where* to send such children, but it is exceedingly difficult to formulate a specific list of actions which will indicate *when* children are to be referred. It would be convenient for the teacher to have a list of symptoms which demand psychiatric care. Such a summary cannot be prepared, however, without including types of behavior which sometimes have no diagnostic significance, or including reactions which are so serious or abnormal that they obviously require psychiatric study. The teachers college must therefore supply experiences that will suggest to the teacher more clearly than any definite list of symptoms can, which youngsters should be brought to the psychiatrist's attention.—Rivlin, Harry N., p. 421-22 of this yearbook.

COLLECTING AND ORGANIZING INFORMATION ABOUT
THE CHILD

DOROTHY VAN ALSTYNE

Psychologist, Francis W. Parker School, Chicago, Illinois

THE CAUSES of personality maladjustments can be discovered only on the basis of essential information about the individual child and his environment. The teacher's and principal's knowledge of these necessary facts about each child is at least as important as the pupil's knowledge of the multiplication tables. Facts concerning the child's home, his special interests outside of school, and other pertinent factors constitute the "minimum essentials" of all good teaching, as well as important aids in diagnosing possible maladjustments.

Unless a systematic collection of facts is made concerning *every pupil*, the accumulation of knowledge about the home and other environmental influences becomes a haphazard procedure, often descending to the realm of gossip between teachers. Time consumed in hunting the information needed for particular cases of maladjustment could easily be applied to making available a variety of information concerning all pupils. Such a program not only enriches the teacher's knowledge of her pupils, but also helps to prevent maladjustments because of the resulting increased understanding. Such facts, for example, as the divorce of parents, the presence of grandparents in the home, many older brothers and sisters, and lack of outside interests can often throw much light on the child's behavior in school. Only as these facts are combined into a cumulative account of the child's whole school history, will a problem of maladjustment or behavior disorder be understood at a particular time. Cumulative records are desirable for giving a whole picture of a child, as well as being important aids in the prevention of delinquencies.

The collection of all necessary information should be under the direction of one person, whether he be the school psychologist, visiting teacher, school counselor, or dean. The function of this individual should be to integrate all of the information collected and to see that no essential aspect is omitted. He should collect his material from all possible sources, such as the parents, the physician, the physical training department, the psychologist, the principal, the teacher, and the child himself. With all of this material as a basis, continuous and comprehensive records should be made. Such records should contain only the most pertinent information, and should be in a form which may be easily and quickly understood.¹

¹ The philosophy of record-keeping expressed in this article should be compared with the opposite viewpoint as expressed by Everett in this same chapter.—*Editorial Committee.*

DETAILS OF A PARTICULAR RECORD SYSTEM

A description of the system of records with which the writer is most familiar will serve to illustrate these points.² In this system there are two individual folders for each child. One is called the *Source Folder*, and contains all of the original material indexed according to its source: child, parent, teacher, physician, principal, or psychologist. The second folder is the *Cumulative Record Folder*, which contains the "Cumulative Record Card" and the most recent reports from the teacher, namely, the "Teacher's Final Report" and the "Marks Analysis Sheet." On the outside of the cumulative folder is pasted a yearly snapshot of the child (taken from a class photograph). The contents of these folders are described here in detail.

The Source Folder—This folder is always kept in the psychologist's office. It contains the original data from which the "Cumulative Record Card" gathers its significant information (except the most recent reports from the teacher). The data sheets contained therein are explained in the following paragraphs according to the source from which they originate:

1. *Data from parents*—An "Entrance Questionnaire for Parents" is filled out by all parents at the time of the child's admittance to the school. Besides such factual data as birthplace, religion, education, occupation, and health of the parents, and the number, ages, and school grades of brothers and sisters, there are a number of questions concerning the relation of parents to the child, what the parents think the child's desirable and undesirable qualities are, and what problems the parents have had with the child, as well as questions concerning the child's school and physical history. The answers to this questionnaire are most helpful to both the teacher and the psychologist in diagnosing the part played by home influences and in dealing with the child's adjustment to the school. Any later correspondence with the parents would also be filed under this heading.

2. *Data from the child*—An "Application for Registration" and an "Interest Questionnaire" are filled out by all children above Grade IV at the time of admission. The former asks questions relative to the pupil's previous schooling (grade, names of schools, how much skipping was done, where the best and poorest work was done, difficulties, and other items), and the reason for coming to this school. The "Interest Questionnaire" is given to all pupils in the spring of the year and to new pupils entering in the fall. It asks questions relative to the pupil's interests in school; his extracurricular activities, such as hobbies, sports, and clubs; his attendance at movies; especially notable accomplishments during the past year, such as honors won in any field, offices held, and interesting experiences, such as camp, travel, and employment. The questionnaire also makes a yearly check on the number of brothers and sisters at home, others living in the home, and other data subject to yearly change.

3. *Data from the physician*—A yearly "Physical Record" is kept for each child. On one side of the card is the result of the yearly physical examination by the physician, and on the reverse side the results of the semiannual examinations of the physical training department, including such items as height, weight, pos-

² These records are in use at the Francis W. Parker School, Chicago, Illinois. The elementary school has approximately 250 pupils. Copies of all questionnaires may be obtained thru the writer.

ture, and lung capacity. (These records are copied on the reverse side of the "Physical Record," from the records kept in the physical training department.) Replies from parents to the physician's reports on defects are also filed under this heading.

4. *Data from the principal*—A record of all significant interviews between the principal and the pupil or his parents is filed under this heading. A special interview report-sheet is checked or filled in briefly for this purpose.

5. *Data from the psychologist*—A record of all significant interviews which the psychologist has had with pupil or parents is likewise filed, as well as any fuller records of tests given, such as an interpretive write-up of a Stanford-Binet Test or the actual sheets of any personality rating scales, diagnostic tests, or other measures.

6. *Data from the teacher*—Altho the most recent "Marks Analysis Sheet" and the most recent "Teacher's Final Report" are filed in the *Cumulative Record Folder*, those of previous teachers are filed in the *Source Folder*. The details of each are as follows:

a. *Marks Analysis Sheet*—This sheet, shown in Figure I, is made out twice a year for each pupil. The left one of the two center columns consists of marks in terms of +, N, —, or D, according to whether the pupil's work is above, equal to, or below his grade's average, the mark of "D" meaning that the pupil is deficient in his work. The right-hand column of the two uses these same marks to designate the pupil's achievement in relation to his own capacity or expected level of achievement, as judged by intelligence tests or the teacher's knowledge of the child. The large space to the left of the center columns is used to describe the type of superior achievement when the grade mark is +, and the space to the right is used to diagnose the child's greatest needs for improvement if the grade mark is —. Special teachers' marks are incorporated on this same sheet. It thus enables the grade teacher to be more fully aware of her pupils' strengths and weaknesses in other courses than her own, and in turn enables the next grade teacher to build on the diagnosis already made.

b. *Teacher's Final Report*—This report is made out by the teachers at the end of each year. It consists usually of one page summarizing the pupil's progress during the year and his status at the present time, and takes into consideration the whole personality of the child. The teachers write these summaries either in outline or in paragraph form, covering the points in the following list:

- I. Child's Attitude toward Himself
- II. Attitude toward Other People
- III. Attitude of Others toward Him
- IV. Emotional Control
- V. Mental Characteristics and Work Habits
- VI. Physical Adequacy
- VII. Breadth of Interests
- VIII. Special Talents or Abilities
- IX. Home Influences and Cooperation
- X. Possible Reasons for Discrepancy between Ability and Achievement, if any
- XI. Effective Technics of Encouragement or Control (Behavior and Achievement)
- XII. Special Work or Special Program (if a remedial case, describe work in detail and suggest next steps)
- XIII. Remarks:
 - Long Periods of Absence
 - Late Entrance
 - Traits Needing Most To Be Restrained or Cultivated, etc.

TEACHERS' ESTIMATE OF ACHIEVEMENT

SUBJECT	Name	SUPERIOR ACHIEVEMENT	Achievement in relation to Grade Individual		Teacher	Date	GREATEST NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT
			Average	Capacity			
READING COMPREHENSION							
ORAL READING							
COMPOSITION							
PERSONSHIP							
MATHEMATICS							
SOCIAL SCIENCE (History, Geog., etc.)							
SCIENCE							
ENGLISH (Grammar, Spelling)							
LANGUAGE (French, German)							
PHYSICAL TRAINING							
MUSIC							
ART (Clay, Painting)							
HANDWORK (Shop, Printing)							
HOMEMAKING							

FIGURE I—MARKS ANALYSIS SHEET FOR RECORDING ESTIMATES OF PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT, GRADES I-VIII, FRANCIS W. PARKER SCHOOL, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The summary contained in the "Teacher's Final Report" is based on "Progress Records" which are kept by the grade teacher and special teachers during the year. These records are made on 3" x 5" white cards when significant behavior occurs during the year, especially along the lines suggested by the outline for the "Teacher's Final Report." These notes are most valuable when in the form of directly observed behavior of pupils' actions. If summaries or interpretations of behavior are made, they are so labeled and examples are stated if possible. Special teachers make similar notes, using thin cards with pencil carbons for duplicate records. They keep one copy in their own file boxes, and send the duplicate to the grade teacher to be added to the teacher's cards in the class file.

The Cumulative Record Folder—Besides the most recent reports from the teacher, this folder contains the "Cumulative Record Card." This record is an adaptation of the one published by the Educational Records Bureau.³ Two cards are necessary to cover Grades I to VIII. On one side of this record (see Figure II) is the place for recording background statistics concerning the parents, brothers and sisters, and other items, and adequate space for listing the most significant information gleaned from the various source material already described. This is analyzed into seven separate divisions: (1) home influences and cooperation, (2) social and emotional, (3) mental characteristics and work habits, (4) physical and athletic, (5) extracurricular activities and interests, (6) notable accomplishments and experiences, and (7) remarks.

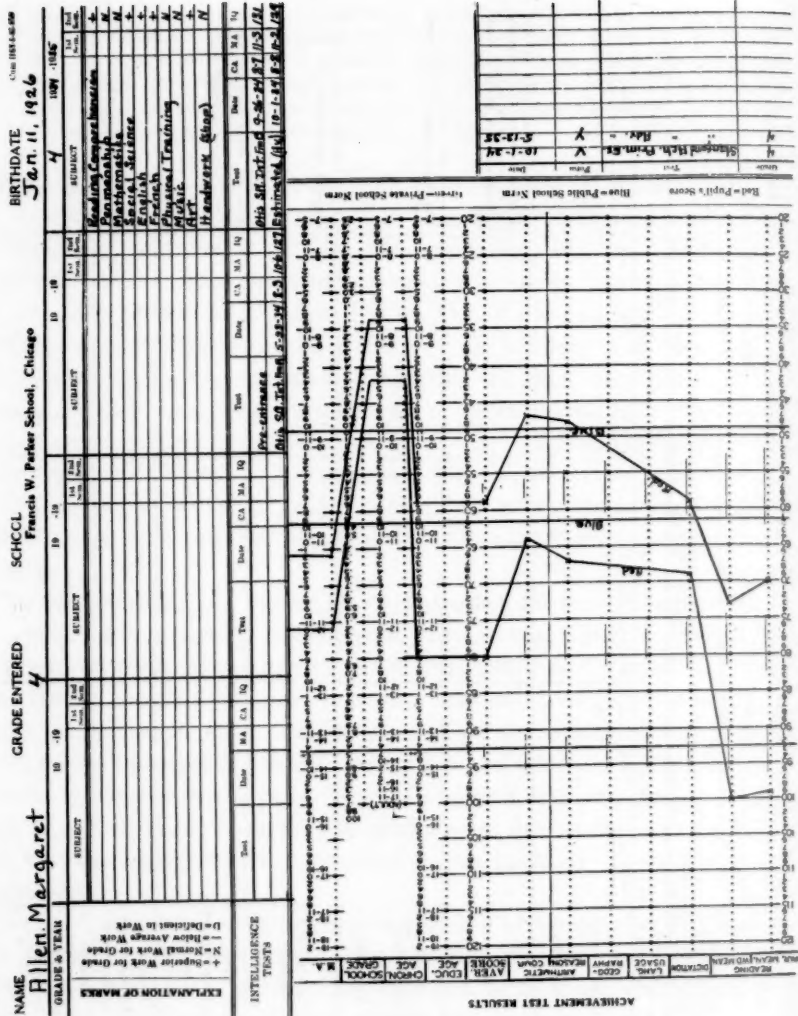
The reverse side (see Figure III) gives space for recording each year the pupil's grade marks, intelligence test scores, and the results of achievement tests. These achievement test results are plotted in graph form from year to year in such a way that relative progress may be clearly indicated in each subject, as well as the status of the pupil's achievement in terms of educational grade and educational age, and in relation to his own mental age. Thus at a glance may be seen where the pupil is strongest or weakest, the progress he has made since his last test, and his achievement in relation to his capacity as judged by a mental test.

Use of these records—These records are used by the teacher, psychologist, principal, and physician. The *Cumulative Record Folders* for each class are placed in a steel filing case just large enough to hold them. These cases are then distributed among the teachers for the first two months of the school year. After that time they are returned to the psychologist's office, where they are available at all times. The *Source Folder* is also available to all teachers but is kept permanently in the psychologist's office. Records are made easily available to teachers as

³ The Educational Records Bureau Cumulative Record Card may be obtained from the Educational Records Bureau, 437 W. 59th Street, New York City. The adaptation of this record may be obtained from the Francis W. Parker School, 330 Webster Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

NAME		BIRTHDATE		PLACE	GEN. HEALTH	RELIGION	RACE	NATIVITY	OCCUPATION	ADDRESS
Allen, Margaret		1904		Chicago	Good	Protestant	American			240 Grant Place
FATHER John		1874		St Paul, Minn.	Fair				Publisher-Writer	1000 W. N. Michigan Ave.
MOTHER Helen Stone		1874		Nashville, Tenn.	Good				Housewife	
STEP-PARENT OR GUARDIAN										
LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN HOME		English		TYPE OF COMMUNITY		Before 10		After 10		If parents separated give date
Type and Age		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9
Attendance		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9
Home Influence and Cooperation		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9
Social and Emotional		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9
Mental Characteristics and Work Habits		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9
Physical and Athletic		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9
Extra-Curricular Activities and Interests		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9
Notable Accomplishments and Experiences		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9
Remarks (Special Abilities, Remedial Work, Late Entrance, etc.)		After 10		Before 10		After 10		After 10		1904-35 9

FIGURE II—FRONT OF CUMULATIVE PUPIL RECORD CARD, GRADES I-VIII, FRANCIS W. PARKER SCHOOL



well as to the psychologist and principal on the ground that unless this is done, the greater part of their usefulness is lost.

OTHER METHODS OF COLLECTING INFORMATION

Altho the method described above for collecting essential information concerning a pupil is that used in one school, it probably represents the degree of objectivity attained in many schools. Methods which may yield more discriminating data are: more systematic observation, more objective questionnaires, rating scales, and tests.

Systematic observations—The so-called "time-sampling method"⁴ is a means of recording overt behavior in terms of time units, such as one observed action per minute. It enables the observer to record behavior of a fairly large group, such as a whole class, by observing each pupil systematically every minute, every five minutes, and so forth, recording whether the behavior in question is present. This method yields a quantitative statement for each type of behavior observed. It is an excellent method for such types of behavior as fighting, nervous habits, anger, and talkativeness. It requires an observer other than the teacher to make a record.

Questionnaires—Usually the more objective types of questionnaire and personality inventory have been confined to the high-school and adult levels. So far as questionnaires concern merely the state of the pupil's information in regard to matters of right and wrong, good citizenship, and so forth, they are not to be considered adequate for ascertaining maladjustment. Socially accepted answers may be known but not acted upon. However, knowledge of correct responses may be considered one force that integrates conduct. Questionnaires which reveal areas of maladjustment by means of questions indirectly phrased are the best. The "Woodworth-Matthews Personal Data Sheet"⁵ is an example of this type. An approach to the personality of a child by means of his reputation among other children is represented by the "Guess Who" test, devised by Hartshorne, May, and Maller.⁶ This test gives a series of descriptive statements opposite which the members of a class are asked to write the names of pupils whom they think the statements are describing. Play-interest questionnaires, such as those described by Lehman and Witty,⁷ are of value in helping to determine how far the pupil's maladjustment lies in the field of social relationships, as judged by his preference for solitary versus sociable games.

⁴ See: Olson, Willard C., and Cunningham, Elizabeth M. "Time-Sampling Technics." *Child Development* 5: 41-53; March, 1934.

⁵ Published by C. H. Stolting Company, Chicago, Illinois.

⁶ Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and Maller, Julius B. *Studies in Service and Self-Control*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929. 559 p.

⁷ Lehman, Harvey C., and Witty, Paul A. *Psychology of Play Activities*. New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1927. 242 p.

Rating scales—Scales for rating the personalities of school children are valuable for obtaining a fairly complete picture of the child by one who knows him best in school. Careful rating by a teacher who knows the interpretive background, or the whole context of the child's environment, and who sees him in all his relationships from day to day, is one of the best means of obtaining evidence concerning the child's personality.

The "Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules"^{*} have been in use for five years and have proved their usefulness in locating the more pronounced types of personality disorder. "Schedule A" lists a number of overt behavior problems to be scored according to the frequency of the behavior. "Schedule B" consists of thirty-six items or questions concerning personality traits to be rated by the teacher on a five-point scale, each point of which is defined. The child's assets and liabilities can be thus ascertained from this general survey. An example of a scale for one trait follows:

How does the child react to frustrations or unpleasant situations?

Very submissive	Tolerant	Generally	Impatient	Easily irritated
Long suffering	Rarely	self-	(4)	Hot-headed
(3)	blows up	controlled		Explosive
	(2)	(1)		(5)

The "Winnetka Scale for Rating School Behavior and Attitudes,"^{*} recently completed by the writer and the Winnetka public school faculty, is in terms of thirteen actual classroom situations. From five to eight possible response-levels follow each situation. These are checked by the teacher according to her judgment of what is most characteristic of a pupil. The scale is thus so specific that the teacher can more accurately make her ratings. An example of one situation and its response-levels follows:

**WHEN CHILD HAS OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR
A GROUP TASK**

- Directs task and carries it to completion for group benefit (10)
- Takes responsibility for a task without being reminded (9)
- Takes task but does not complete it (7)
- Takes responsibility for task only when especially asked by teacher (6)
- Takes responsibility for a task only when special interest is involved (4)
- Rarely wants to take charge of task (3)
- Cannot take responsibility for a group task (2).

A method is provided whereby the ratings from each of a number of items may be combined to give scores on more general traits, such as

^{*} Published by World Book Company, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York.

^{*} Published by the Winnetka Educational Press, Horace Mann School, Winnetka, Illinois.

cooperation, leadership, social consciousness, emotional control, and responsibility.) A profile drawn from the scores on these traits indicates not only a diagnosis of the pupil's strengths and weaknesses, but also his ranking in relation to that of 1100 children previously rated.

Tests—Tests in the field of personality are still very much in the experimental stage in the case of school-age children. There are two types of tests. One is the (pencil-and-paper type) which involves activity and attitude preferences, such as those devised by Weedon¹⁰ and by Furfey.¹¹ The former has devised a test technic for deriving a score for most preferred activities, such as "go to the movies," "go on a picnic," "play baseball," and "read a story." The tests by Furfey involve preferences for books, games, activities, and attitudes toward a variety of people and events. (They are combined in a scale for rating the "developmental age" of boys eight to sixteen years.) Tests involving knowledge and judgment of conduct, such as those described by Symonds,¹² are adequate for discovering the pupil's understanding of what is right, but are subject to the same criticisms as the questionnaires as a means for ascertaining true conduct.

Tests of (behavior in actual situations) would theoretically be the best type, provided the situations could be so controlled and so numerous as to provide a representative score.¹³ The tests provided by the Character Education Inquiry¹⁴ are the best examples of this type. A number of situations in which pupils actually carry on activities are used to test honesty, cooperation, and self-control. This type of test takes a large amount of time, much equipment, and skilled examiners.

No description of tests would be complete without mention of the (usual achievement and mental tests) Information concerning the status of the child in school subjects and in intelligence is essential for any diagnosis of personality maladjustment, since it is often true that discrepancies between the child's mental age and the mental ages of his fellows, between his mental age and his achievement in the tool subjects, or between his mental age and his educational age, may be a potent factor in causing behavior difficulties.

Evaluation of testing methods—For practical purposes of school administration, the questionnaire and rating methods will probably be the best. From the point of view of validity also, the rating scale has proved its worth. As Symonds concluded:

¹⁰ Weedon, Vivian F. "A Technic for Determining Interest." *Educational Research Bulletin* (Ohio State University) 13: 191-97, 231-34; November 4 and December 12, 1934.

¹¹ Furfey, Paul H. "The Measurement of Developmental Age." *Educational Research Bulletin* (The Catholic University of America) 2: 40; December, 1927.

¹² Symonds, Percival M. *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct*. New York: Century Co., 1931. Chapter VIII, p. 260-97.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Chapter IX, p. 298-300.

¹⁴ Hartshorne, Hugh; May, Mark A.; and others. *Studies in Deceit* (720 p.) and *Studies in Service and Self-Control* (559 p.). New York: Macmillan Co., 1928 and 1929.

Theoretically, a large battery of tests is necessary for the diagnosis of character; practically, almost as satisfactory results can be obtained simply with ratings and tests of knowledge and opinion about conduct. . . . However unreliable they may be, and however much they may be biased by halos of general impression, they (rating scales) emerge as one of the best methods of character diagnosis.¹⁵

Use of collected information—All of the information gathered from any source, (whether from written reports of teachers, questionnaires, tests, or rating scales, should be both integrated in form and finally assimilated by those actually working with the pupils.) Surely records should not be kept as ends in themselves, or even solely for the possibility of their use in a case of major maladjustment. Only as the significant parts of these records are incorporated into the teacher's handling of the pupil in daily classroom situations will they become justified as a permanent part of a school organization that attempts to deal adequately with the personality adjustments of children.

¹⁵ Symonds, Percival M., *op. cit.*, p. 566.

PROVISION should be made for a periodic drawing off of important aspects of these records to be used in an analysis of the current needs of individual pupils.) To expect teachers to go thru a great mass of material, much of which is not pertinent to the immediate situation, is to expect the improbable, to say the least. (Near the end of each school term pertinent information should be taken off on a simple temporary record form.) To the information drawn from the permanent cumulative records should be added information of current value only.) (In this category would fall data as to the student's present interests, family attitudes, and other factors that have a bearing on his immediate placement but which may not warrant recording in the permanent cumulative materials.)
Mort, Paul R., p. 337 of this yearbook.

A CUMULATIVE PUPIL RECORD CARD

PRUDENCE CUTRIGHT

Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Minneapolis, Minnesota

THE PROLONGED AND INTENSIVE STUDY which child-guidance clinics find it necessary to give many problem children indicates a need for greater activity on the part of all school agencies in making an earlier discovery of such children. Child-guidance clinics have been remedial. They have come into action when cases have become too distressing or too difficult for the school to handle. Counselors and guidance bureaus have been featured especially on the secondary-school level, where if a child is maladjusted his readjustment can be accomplished only with great difficulty, if at all. All this attention to seriously maladjusted personalities causes one to believe that some if not many of these cases should have been observed in their beginnings. All children either are "problem" children now, or they may become "problem" children in the future. The extent to which they are problems runs the scale from the zero point to the maximum. Therefore, as far as possible, the first signs of maladjustment should be made easily discernible and steps should be taken toward early adjustment before serious maladjustment occurs.

Revealing the need for comprehensive records—Conscious of the fact that the individual child and his problems need to be isolated early, and that this is difficult in the presentday organization of large instructional groups, Minneapolis in 1933 began a definite citywide program leading toward better personality adjustment for the individual child. One of the first steps in this program was to lay a background of understanding of the need and use of more comprehensive information regarding the growth of every child in the school system. This first step took the form of a series of discussions on a working philosophy of education. These forums were lead by the superintendent of schools, and all school principals took an active part in them. The majority of the principals in turn led forums in which teachers took part. From these discussions evolved a philosophy of education, stated by the superintendent and subscribed to by the educational staff, which placed major emphasis on child growth and on education as personality development.¹

The second step paralleled the first chronologically. It added interest and gave objective information relative to the problems discussed in the philosophy-of-education forums. This second step consisted of two surveys of maladjusted pupils on a case-study basis. One of these was a study of 2500 over-age-for-grade pupils to determine what modifi-

¹ Minneapolis Board of Education. *The Years of Depression, 1930-1935*. Report of the Superintendent of Schools. Minneapolis: the Board, 1935. 172 p.

cations in the school organization were necessary to meet the educational needs of this type of pupil, and what adjustments could be made immediately to meet their personality needs. These case studies were made the subjectmatter for discussion in a series of eighteen district meetings of the principals and counselors of the schools in which the overage pupils were located. The director of the child-guidance clinic took an active part in all of these discussions, as did the heads of the departments which should contribute to the better adjustment of the individual child. These conferences resulted in a consciousness on the part of those who attended, of the need for having more information about children and of the need for finding these retarded cases early.

The other study involved 150 pupils who were failures in first-grade reading. It resulted in definite attempts more adequately to adjust the curriculum to the needs of primary children. The results of these attempts are reported in two publications of the Minneapolis public schools.²

A survey of existing records—The outcomes of the forums on a philosophy of education, and the results of these research studies indicated the need of more information about each child if adjustments were to be made when and wherever needed. This led to a third major endeavor, that of introducing a system of pupil records that would make easier the consideration of personality adjustments in dealing with all pupils. A committee composed of the assistant superintendent in charge of instruction, the director of the health department, the supervisor of counselors, and principals of the elementary, junior, and senior high schools undertook a study of the existing record system with a view to recommending changes which would give to principals and classroom teachers the information needed for more adequate guidance of individual pupils.

This survey revealed not only considerable overlapping and duplication in records, but also the fact that a fairly adequate picture of the child's growth was available when the records of all departments were brought together. The different records needed for such a picture, however, were in the keeping of various departments of the school and therefore were not readily available to teachers and principals. The study also revealed that many records were periodic or not cumulative for the child's entire school progress, and were therefore inadequate for guidance purposes.

Developing the new record cards—The next step was that of determining by means of a questionnaire sent to principals and teachers, what information they believed they needed for the guidance of all

² *An Experiment in Adjusting the Curriculum to the First Four Years of School Life, and A Suggested Educational Program for the Primary School.*

children. A summary of these questionnaires indicated that the workers wished, besides identifying material and information on attendance, information about the child's family, his health, his school achievement, the results of school-ability and school-achievement tests, and a personality record for each of the thirteen years of the child's school life. A record was developed which brought together this needed information on one card for the first five years of the child's school life, and on a second card for the last eight years of his school life. These records were tried out in one district of the city, and were revised in the light of this experience. Figures I and II show the front and back sides of the first record form as it was finally revised and adopted.

This cumulative record system has been installed for all pupils in the elementary and junior high schools. In three years it will have worked its way thru the senior high school and thus will become available for every child in the school system. While this new system will be more economical than the old plan of several cards, its installation is primarily important in that it provides an instrument by which teachers and principals can gain a better understanding of the child and thus guide personality development, making needed adjustments before serious behavior difficulties occur. Only so far as it does this, will it fulfil the purpose for which it has been devised.

Explaining the records to principals and teachers—In order that it may be used in this way by teachers and principals, great care is being taken in introducing the record system in the schools. The committee has prepared a manual to be used with the records, a manual which stresses their value as an aid in putting into practise our belief in education as personality adjustment and guidance, while at the same time giving directions for keeping the records. The first page of the manual gives the following suggestive list of ways in which the records can be used by teachers:

Examine the records:

- of new pupils to help you get acquainted with them more quickly at the beginning of the term.
- of pupils not working up to class level for suggestions as to reason.
- of pupils not happy or not well to see if the reasons are apparent and aid can be given.
- of pupils of unusual ability to help you in finding extra work for them.
- of all pupils in a class before dividing them into small groups for instruction.
- of pupils who are absent frequently to find an explanation for their absence.
- of pupils who misbehave to discover reasons and suggestions as to how to handle them.
- of pupils for whom special aid such as lunches, clothing, or scholarship is being considered.
- before advising pupils concerning their electives in ninth grade in senior high school.
- before conferring with parents about their children.

- to discover pupils of exceptional talent in such special fields as art, music, athletics, or creative writing.
- to determine the capacity of pupils in your group.
- to determine the growth of pupils year by year.
- to help you in making out report cards.

As a further method of stimulating an understanding of the purposes of the cumulative record, a series of group meetings has been held at which this record has been explained to all the teachers and principals, and their cooperation enlisted. In these meetings attention has been focused upon the record as an aid to teachers in considering child growth and personality development. Their attention has been called to the fact that the record is cumulative, and that it will serve, therefore, as a means of indicating a pupil's development from year to year rather than simply of comparing his accomplishment with others in his class. Much has been made also of the fact that several aspects of the pupil's personality are recorded on this one record, thus making it a useful means of getting a picture of the pupil as a person, with less danger of overemphasis on school marks, or test results, or special disabilities, than when each of these aspects of a child's personality was placed on a separate record.

Conclusion—The value of such a record in counseling a child is obvious. It should be a very helpful instrument in training all educational workers—principals, teachers, and all others—to discover maladjustments before they reach serious proportions. Members of the child-guidance clinic will, from time to time, visit the different schools, canvass the cards, and call to the teacher's attention the cases which they believe to be in need of attention. Considerable progress should thus be made in making all educational workers conscious of the need for a continuous program of personality adjustment.

OUR PRESENT GENERATION differs from previous ones in that it shows a wholesome tendency to let the defendant's case be heard. The past was primarily interested in judging conduct. The present shows an increasing eagerness to try to interpret behavior.—Richards, Esther L., *Behavior Aspects of Child Conduct*, Macmillan Co., 1932, p. 13. (By permission of the publishers.)

INFORMATION NEEDED IN A CASE STUDY

EDITH M. EVERETT

Director, White-Williams Foundation, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

WHAT DO WE MEAN when we speak of a case study? What information do we need about a child to enable us to be of use to him in the development of a well-balanced, wholesome personality? If we were faced with the same questions with regard to the development of a strong, healthy body, we would turn at once to the pediatrician for help—the expert in child health and hygiene. In answering our first question, it would seem intelligent also for us to turn to the experts in the field of child guidance—to the clinics whose professional task is that of understanding the emotional needs of children, and of helping them to meet these needs in ways that are possible for them as individuals.

Clinical approach applicable to school situations—If we had gone to these psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers in the clinic five years ago, we might have been shown long typewritten pages of case histories giving detailed factual information about parents, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, full health and school histories of the child himself, and a record as complete as possible of his personality and behavior as reported by parents and teachers. But that situation has changed considerably. The clinic case-study of 1936 begins with the statement of the present situation as it appears to the adult who brings the child for study, usually the parent. In that statement—the words it uses, the feeling it expresses—if we are wise enough to understand its implication, and open-minded enough to accept it for what it is, may be found enough information to suggest at once the direction that treatment must take. More information of the same nature will come up in the course of longer contact. Clinics have learned that there is no value in collecting information in and for itself. The only essential information is that which can be put into use at once for the child's benefit.¹

In a case study made in the school, by either classroom teacher or school social worker, the same will hold true even more forcibly. It is assumed that the school office has in its files information on school progress, health history, intellectual ability, and similar items for all children enrolled. If it has not, this should be the first step taken toward providing essentials for a case study. This information should be available for consultation in case of concern about physical or educational disabilities as well as personality difficulties. To understand and help

¹ The reader should note that this viewpoint, as well as the entire philosophy of record-keeping stated in this article, differs markedly from that expressed by the other contributors to this chapter.—Editorial Committee.

with the latter, however, we must have (1) direct observation of behavior, (2) a trained sensitivity to what this behavior means, and (3) what is most important, a sufficiently adjusted personality on the part of the adult to enable him to give the child the feeling that he is understood and accepted as a person, even tho his behavior is not acceptable. Thru that understanding and acceptance, the child will experience a release from tension which will free him to grow comfortably. So far as the child and the problem of helping him are concerned, it makes little difference, in the writer's judgment, whether this information about him is written into a permanent record, kept in a temporary file of notes, or not recorded at all. The thing that is all-important is what actually happens between adult and child, and how they both feel about it.

The teacher's role in a case study—Because the number of elementary schools in the United States which have the specialized service of a school social worker or visiting teacher is so small, it seems more helpful to emphasize and illustrate the classroom teacher's use of the technic suggested. For even tho this procedure is based on plain common sense, it does involve a conscious skill which can be developed only thru living and feeling with many children, and thru studying constantly what lies back of their behavior. Perhaps an illustration may be helpful at this point:

Paul was described by the teacher as a charming boy with a fine sensitive face. However, he could be most disagreeable. Passing down the aisle one afternoon inspecting the children's writing, she had paused by Paul's side and casually asked if that were the best that he could do. When he replied that it was, Miss M. had remarked that really that writing was fit for nothing but the waste-paper basket. She knew he could do better. Whereupon Paul tore his paper up, and sat sulking until dismissal. As she thought it over, Miss M. recalled how a few weeks before, at the beginning of the school term, she had allowed the children to select their own seats so that they might sit near friends. Paul had chosen a seat in the front of the room where he was surrounded by girls. She thought that he might not be pleased with his seat, and recently had asked him if he would not like to take a vacant seat toward the back of the room. He had done so, but later had asked her why he had to change his seat, and when she told him that he didn't have to, he had said that he preferred to keep the seat he had at first selected. The contrast between this apparent timidity and need for protection, and the surly defiance of his attitude toward her criticism, struck her sharply.

Two very important items of information were in the teacher's hands at this moment. She realized that Paul was in special need of understanding and help, for the contrast between these two types of behavior must have had its source in some very disturbed state of mind, and that perhaps a casual talk alone with him would help her to understand more. The quality of all his work except handwork was superior

in an unusual degree. She therefore began at that point. We quote from her report:

Paul feels that his handwriting is very inferior to that of other children of his age, and he resents his mother's nightly insistence that he make his homework papers look well—it means that he often has had to copy one paper over several times. He feels, too, that all the other children draw better than he does. He spoke of the things his brother makes at shop, and said he would not have any idea as to how to go about making anything. He decided that he didn't really care for painting, either, except for painting things that need to be painted, like a fence, as it seems so difficult to reproduce the things that he feels he would like to paint. Again he talked about how inferior he feels to the other children because his writing is so poor. It worries him that he can't do better no matter how hard he tries. He spoke, too, of what a bad temper he has, but *he thinks he is not going to have so much trouble with it*, because he is learning a little self-control.

Here was important information which could be put to immediate use. The thing which struck the teacher most forcibly was that Paul was worried, so worried that he spread it over everything—his temper, his handwriting, his painting, his feeling about his brother's ability, his inferiority to other children of his age. In the very act of finding this out, Miss M. was able to start doing something about it. Her friendliness put him at ease with her, and her recognition of his really superior achievement in academic subjects reassured him so that he forgot for a little while his feeling of inferiority to the other children. The temper spell was accepted along with all the rest as a part of himself—a boy whom the teacher liked because there was something to be admired and liked about him.

The teacher recognized as a possible contributing factor to Paul's worry, that his mother was overanxious about his school work and that in making him recopy his homework papers she was taking a responsibility which should be placed upon *him*, a fact which he resented. This was something which, for the time being at least, the teacher could do nothing about, and she was wise enough to devote her attention to thinking of ways in which she could be of immediate help to him.

A record is inevitably as much—sometimes more—a record of the person who writes it, as of the person about whom it is written. Into its words and phrases creep the feeling of the writer, not only toward the individual child, but toward behavior in general. They reveal the personality which dictates them. One of the most essential items of information to know in seeking to understand the personality of an elementary-school child, is what attitudes he is daily meeting in his school, classroom, or home contacts. Charles, in kindergarten, is described by his teacher as "wilful and arrogant"—adjectives which tell us even more about the teacher than about the child. A second-grade teacher writes in a case study that Laura laughs with "diabolical glee"

over an accidental slip of the teacher. Helen, in the sixth grade of a departmentalized school, is described by her arithmetic teacher as "indolent and impertinent," while her teacher in social studies during the same term writes, "Helen is a delightful child, interested and original—a joy to teach." Frank's mother says bitterly that nine-year-old Frank is "sly and deceitful, just like his father," while Florence's mother speaks of her as "mercenary." Whether or not these statements are true in themselves, the negative attitudes they express are facts proved in the moment of saying them, and are of the greatest importance in affecting the personality adjustments of the children so described.

It was fortunate for Paul that Miss M.'s interest in him and her response to his need were so genuine, and that she was too well-balanced a person to feel any personal offense at his attack upon her. She set her mind to the problem of overcoming his fear and worry. She sensed his ability to take the responsibility for himself (he had said about his temper that he thought *he* was not going to have so much trouble with it), and she realized that a little reassurance and friendly backing might be all he needed. As the term went on, she decided that perhaps if he were challenged by more advanced academic work he might not have time to think and worry so much about himself. Mental measurement by the Binet-Simon Test was arranged, and on its findings (I. Q. 147) Paul was given an extra promotion in the middle of the term. Shortly after this his new teacher made the following report:

I have never believed in "mental promotions," for I have felt that a child should remain with his age group and be offered an enriched curriculum, but in Paul's case, it seems to be working all right. The class have just had a lesson in history and Paul, tho he has never been over that material in school, knew as much or more than any of the children. The first day he came into the new class, he had been in some trouble because of behavior in the hall. One of the class officers spoke to him about it, and I was impressed by the way in which he listened to her, and the simplicity with which he said, "Well, I'll just go and apologize to Mrs. P.," which he did.

The cumulative record—During the normal six or seven years of attendance at elementary school, there comes a period of very rapid growth and development. The child of this age, as we all know, is susceptible of very great change, of ready response to influence, particularly in the subtle, often unconscious field of the emotions. In a few months he may, under favorable conditions, pass thru and beyond a critical period and be quite a different person. Would there have been any value to Mrs. P., Paul's second teacher, even tho she too was full of sympathy and understanding, if the record of Miss M.'s experience with him had been written and passed on to her? Might it not have been a really hampering thing, since it would have made her look for possible trouble, fear a recurrence of his temper, protect him from inferiority,

or what not, when, at that point, the best thing possible for Paul was to be accepted as a normal boy, as like the others as possible.

Records of school progress, of medical examinations, and of test results should be permanent and cumulative, but records of personality or behavior, especially for elementary-school children, are of value only as they are used at the moment of their being a picture of things-as-they-are. After that usefulness is passed, they would far better be destroyed.

One reason for this has already been pointed out, namely, the fact that personality records so frequently—one might almost say inevitably—express the attitude of the person writing them, an attitude which, whether it is one of acceptance or rejection, is bound to affect the reaction of the person who will use them. Some teachers who have been most successful in establishing helpful relationships with children, have said that they avoided reading written records of the experience of former teachers with the children. Such knowledge often set up a predisposition which interfered with their own ability to see the child as he was, to them. Another equally potent reason is that such records express a more or less superficial part of the truth, depending upon the knowledge and understanding as well as the feeling of the observer. For any form of behavior, as we all know, may be chosen either deliberately or unconsciously by the child to cover up his real feeling. Overaggressiveness may be as much an indication of fear as are shyness and withdrawal. Lying and "deceitfulness" may be one person's way of protecting himself, temper-tantrums may be another's, while a third goes into action in a more wholesome if equally disturbing way, by fighting the person who threatens him. Stealing may be the expression of any one of a wide range of feelings, from the simple uninhibited desire to have the *thing*, to the deeper inner necessity of having something to make up for the more vital thing one is denied. What value, then, to record the fact, to pass it on, or to keep it in a permanent file, since, if the inner necessity is in some way satisfied, there is at least the possibility that, in contact with a different teacher's personality, it will take a different form of expression.

It is easier, of course, to record facts and impressions than to do something about them. But if the schools are to succeed in the task so many of them are undertaking—to bring about more satisfactory personality adjustment for children—their real effort must go into seeing that all children have the kinds of experience which make that adjustment possible. This will come largely thru the relationship with the teacher, on whom, as the adult, rests the responsibility for keeping the child from feeling himself rejected, even tho he is held firmly to a behavior which makes effective work of the whole group possible.

A very powerful factor in bringing about successful personality adjustment is the consciousness of real achievement. Every child needs the experience of success. Thru it he gains an essential confidence in himself. For this reason, a consistent testing program has been adopted in an increasing number of schools. Tests of achievement in all important elementary-school subjects are available, adapted to each grade. Results for each individual child should be kept as part of his permanent record. The professionally trained teacher is able to use the information she gains from a study of the test papers, to detect strong and weak spots, and to adapt her instruction accordingly. Thru a study of each child's test records term after term, she can judge what his progress has been, and can be guided as to whether further study—as of possible eye or ear defects, or of his general intelligence—are indicated. It should not be forgotten, however, that any form of test is merely a tool which has an indirect application to personality adjustment, since, as used by a skilful teacher, it helps to insure success, and it is the success which has a value for growth.

Information about home and community environment—So far we have said nothing about the nature and amount of the information which is desirable concerning the home and other environmental influences. Here again we must be governed by the use we are able to make of the information. If we know how the members of the family, especially father and mother, feel toward the child, and how he reacts to that feeling, we are able to understand better why he behaves as he does. The relationship built up thru this understanding takes away the irritation we may have felt toward his troublesome behavior, and so starts at once a feeling on his part of comfort and reassurance. He has a reason then to want to be his best self with the teacher and the group.

Facts about the family life, such as of a home crowded and uncomfortable with the presence of grandparents or other relatives, or of a home in which both parents work and the children are left largely to their own resources, or of a home broken by the death or desertion of one parent, or sometimes of a home where too much attention and concern are concentrated on a child—these often help us, too, to understand what anxiety and strain may be wearing upon the child. He is usually too full of sensitive feeling to want to talk of these things, but is all the more responsive to the friendly older person who makes up, to a certain degree during his hours at school, for what he misses at home.

It is the "feeling" environment, more than the material one, which has the greatest influence on the personality of any individual. It is not unusual to find in neighborhoods where vice as well as poverty are all about them, homes in which even standards of cleanliness are low,

but in which family relationships of love and understanding are so strong that children grow up with wholesome personalities, able to meet life with courage and self-confidence.

When it is possible for principal or teacher to have a talk with a parent whose attitude toward a child is negative, and therefore harmful, the former is sometimes able, by willing listening and an occasional skilful question, to bring out another side of the picture and send the parent away with quite a different feeling. This, for example, was true in the case of Mrs. M., who came to the school to ask for help in getting shoes for her two boys, Charles and Frank. Frank had just been in trouble with his teacher, and the principal took this opportunity to tell the mother about it, hoping for help from her. But she was tired and worried and ill; her husband had no work; and this was the last straw. She launched into a tirade against Frank. He was "devilish." She didn't know what to do with him. She never had any trouble with Charles. She was always telling Frank he should be more like his brother. Everybody at home—grandmother, father, and mother—was tired out talking to him and trying to change him. And so she went on, all her weariness and worry concentrated for the time being on Frank. Finally, when she paused, the principal asked if there wasn't something about the boy that was good, that they could work on. She began at once to tell how much more he helped her than Charles did; he washed the dishes and took care of the baby. Presently, with hardly a word from the principal, she was saying that he was a comfort to her, that probably she nagged him too much, that of course she wasn't being fair to him. Assured that the school didn't think he was a bad boy, but that he did need encouragement and appreciation, she left in a very different mood—which, judging from Frank's changed attitudes in school, was a sincere change on her part.

There are deeper and more permanent negative attitudes on the part of parents, or lacks in the home situation, about which the school can do nothing, and which it must therefore accept and try to counterbalance; or, if the effect is too damaging, the school must try to get expert help, such as that of a child-guidance clinic, if it is available.

Such factual information as that suggested about the size and condition of family and the nature of environment may, if it is not of a confidential nature, find a place in a permanent record, at least for as long as the child is in the school, since it may be of value to later teachers in carrying on the friendly understanding which means so much to the children who lack it at home. One must not forget that this is as important for the children who have too much attention and solicitude as for those who have too little.

As has already been said, these suggestions regarding the accumulation and use of information on special children have been written from the point of view of the school which lacks the service of a visiting teacher or school social worker. Unfortunately, the schools throughout the country which have this service are so few that their number can, at present, hardly count. When schools are fortunate enough to have members of their staffs adequately trained to help in the personality adjustment of children, it should really mean a difference in the *form* of treatment available to them, both directly and thru consultation with principal and teacher, rather than in the essential *nature* of this treatment. There may be reasons why records should be fuller during the treatment period, but the information they contain will still be of value only so far—and so long—as it can be used in helping the child to a better adjustment.

Summary—The essence of the preceding pages may be stated as follows:

1. The only information which is essential for personality adjustment is that which can be immediately put into service in helping the child.
2. The most important source of this information is direct observation of behavior, but this is of practical value only if it is enlightened by a developed understanding on the part of the observer, and applied in a relationship with a well-adjusted adult personality.
3. Cumulative records should contain only factual material, such as school progress, test results, medical records, and family information of a non-confidential nature.
4. Standardized tests, whether of achievement, special abilities, or general intelligence, should be recognized as limited in scope, and often fallible, especially as applied to children who are emotionally disturbed. These tests, as well as eye and ear examinations and other physical findings, have a direct relation to educational adjustment, and thru that, indirectly to personality adjustment.
5. Opinions about personality and most records of behavior should not be kept in a permanent file, since (a) they are inevitably subjective, (b) they express a temporary condition which it is the teacher's responsibility to try to change, and (c) teachers are often hampered in building their own relationships with their pupils by knowing of the experiences of past teachers with the same children.
6. The teacher's time for attention to individual difficulties being limited, it is better to devote it to helping the child than to record writing.
7. If it seems advisable to keep some record of interviews with parents, these should be limited to what the parent actually says. To pre-

vent inaccuracy, such notes should be written at once following the interview.

8. Schools which have the service of a social worker trained in helping unadjusted children, will be able not only to help a greater number of children more effectively, but will have better facilities for the accumulation and use of fuller information.

THE WORK of the visiting teacher or counselor consists of dealing with individual pupil problems and of giving the school staff an increased appreciation of the principles of mental hygiene. The counselor serves to interpret the school and the home to each other. She gathers all the pertinent material possible about the background and development of children who exhibit problems. Ordinarily she is called upon to do a great deal of therapeutic work both with children and with parents. But for all the help she gives with individual problems, her most valuable function is helping teachers to recognize and deal with the causes of maladjustment in their children. Frequently this includes helping teachers with their personal difficulties. Perhaps the very presence in the school system of a person who is attempting to get at the deeper causes of undesired behavior is the most potent factor of all. When teachers observe a worker deeply puzzled about behavior which they had taken for granted, they realize that the actions of a child are the result of a very complex play of forces.—Burling, Temple, p. 557 of this yearbook.

EVALUATING FACTS ABOUT THE MALADJUSTED CHILD

HARRY J. BAKER

Director, Psychological Clinic, Detroit Public Schools, Detroit, Michigan

IN ANY ATTEMPT to discover the causes of a specific maladjustment, it is necessary not only to collect and record a variety of information about the child, but also to evaluate and interpret this information so that its significance becomes clear. While such evaluation must depend to some extent on subjective judgment, it should be made as objective and scientific as possible. This article describes a specific method of analysis designed to obtain more accurate diagnosis than subjective opinion alone may provide—a method which attempts to supplement opinion by measurement.

*The Detroit Scale of Behavior Factors*¹—A scale has been devised which isolates specific factors in the usual type of case history and assigns them definite scores. This scale contains sixty-six such factors in five main divisions, as follows:

I. Health and physical factors

1. Child's early health
2. Child's present health
3. Children's diseases
4. Serious infectious diseases
5. Accidents
6. Degree of speech defect
7. Degree of vision defect
8. Degree of hearing defect
9. Degree of orthopedic defect
10. Size for age
11. Motor control and muscular coordination
12. Convulsions, seizures
13. Nervousness

II. Personal habits and recreational facilities

14. Personal hygiene and clothing
15. Looks or appearance
16. Early self-care
17. Present self-care
18. Home duties
19. Conditions of eating
20. Eating habits
21. Time of sleeping
22. Sleeping conditions
23. Dreams
24. Early recreational facilities
25. Later recreational facilities
26. Playmates or companions

III. Personality and social factors

27. Social type
28. Personality type

¹ Baker, Harry J., and Traphagen, Virginia. *The Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Problem Children*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1935. 393 p.

29. Anger, rage, revenge, etc.
30. Fear, dread, anxiety, etc.
31. Excitement, shock, uneasiness, etc.
32. Pity, sympathy, enthusiasm, etc.
33. Intelligence
34. Interests or hobbies
35. Initiative and ambition
36. Vocational interests
37. General behavior

IV. Parental and physical factors of the home

38. Father's intelligence
39. Mother's intelligence
40. Father's education
41. Mother's education
42. Father's age at birth of child
43. Mother's age at birth of child
44. Father's health
45. Mother's health
46. Father's personality
47. Mother's personality
48. Occupation
49. Economic status
50. Home language
51. Other adults in home
52. Number of and position of siblings
53. Adjustments to siblings
54. Legal status
55. Broken home

V. Home atmosphere and school factors

56. General home atmosphere
57. Ideals of home
58. Religion
59. Family recreation
60. Parents' social adjustment
61. Discipline
62. Attitude toward child
63. Child's attitude toward home
64. School attendance
65. Scholarship
66. Child's attitude toward school.

Each of these sixty-six factors is accompanied by appropriate questions to children and parents, together with additional observations. A five-point scoring plan has been prepared, with the score of 1 interpreted to mean *very poor*; 2, *poor*; 3, *fair*; 4, *good*; and 5, *excellent*.

The diagnostic plan illustrated—A sample of this plan of diagnosis is shown below for Factor No. 14, which deals with "Personal Hygiene and Clothing":

Questions to children—Do you think that you keep your clothing looking as neat as other children of your age do, about the same, or better? Do you keep your hands and face as clean as others do? How often do you get clean clothes?

Questions to parents—Is it easy or difficult to keep him as clean as other children of his age? Compare children of the same sex. Does he take responsibility for washing, changing to clean clothes, and washing his face and hands?

Additional Questions and Observations

Note the actual condition of his clothes today. Are they clean or dirty? Do they fit fairly well? Does he take any pride in his appearance?

Does he have regular habits of washing his hands? Does he have a regular place for a towel and a wash cloth of his own?

How often does he brush his teeth? Does he comb his hair regularly? Does he brush his shoes and his clothes?

Does he look better, poorer, or the same as the average of his neighborhood group?

With young children who are lax, suggest a chart of gold stars to be awarded at home by parents for improvement in these factors.

Scoring

Points

Factors

5. . . . Well dressed; neat and clean as to body and clothes.
4. . . . Has good clothes, but poorly cared for. Has rather poor clothes but very well cared for.
3. . . . Has fair clothes but keeps them in only fair condition. Is rather careless about personal cleanliness.
2. . . . Rather dirty clothes; wears clothes handed down from older children; no pride. Careless and rarely washes hands.
1. . . . Chronically dirty and ragged; no self-pride; no one in family takes any interest in his appearance.

After the facts on each of the sixty-six items have been gathered and evaluated according to the plan shown above, the items rated with only 1 or 2 points are considered to be the specific factors most closely related to the particular child's behavior maladjustments. For a discussion of the psychological and social significance of these sixty-six factors, together with various suggestions for the cure and amelioration of unfavorable conditions, the reader is referred to the publication already mentioned.²

Validity and reliability of the scale—Since each item in the scale ranges in score from 1 to 5 points, the minimum total score is 66 points and the maximum score is 330 points. Approximately 200 children of quite model behavior were analyzed by means of this scale, and were found to have a median score of 285 points. Another group of equal number was selected as having rather serious behavior difficulties altho enrolled in regular classes. The median score of this group was 220 points, or 65 points lower than the model group. A third group of 50 boys, somewhat more seriously maladjusted than the second group and enrolled in a behavior school, showed a median score of only 205 points.

The differences between these groups proved to be real differences statistically, and were not to be accounted for by mere chance.

² Baker, Harry J., and Traphagen, Virginia, *op. cit.*, Part III.

When the total scores on the odd-numbered items were compared with the total scores on the even-numbered items, a relatively high degree of consistency was found between the two parts of the scale.

Relationships between different factors in behavior—As a means of studying the relationship between different factors or causes of behavior, coefficients of correlation³ were computed between pairs of items for the 189 children of the principal behavior group. As an illustration of the results, item No. 64 on "School Attendance" was found to correlate as follows with five other items:

Coefficient of correlation	Item number	Item
.39	19	Conditions of eating
.39	24	Early recreational facilities
.39	63	Child's attitude toward home
.36	59	Family recreation
.36	25	Later recreational facilities

While these correlations (in the left-hand column) are not high, they indicate sufficient relationship between these factors to be significant in the diagnosis and treatment of behavior problems.

Of the entire sixty-six factors, "conditions of eating" and early recreational facilities" are the ones most closely associated with "school attendance." This fact may be interpreted to mean that the children who are poor in attendance at school tend to have undesirable conditions of eating, and vice versa. It will also be noted that both the child's early and later recreational facilities at home are among the five items most closely related to school attendance. In other words, as a child becomes truant from school, even late in his school career, his truancy may possibly be traced to the absence of desirable recreational facilities at home, leading to his playing with other children elsewhere, and finally to his finding environments more to his liking than either home or school. Thus, if we wish to remedy problems of school truancy, we should begin with children at a very early age and attempt to provide good conditions of eating and adequate recreational facilities in their homes.

Certain other interesting results come to light. For example, a low but reliable correlation (.27) was found between the nature of children's dreams and their mothers' ages at birth of the children. This result means that the more nearly normal are the child's dreams, the more likely is the mother to have been of the traditional age for childbirth, and that the more abnormal the dreams are, the more markedly young

³ The coefficient of correlation is a mathematical measure of relationship between two series of factors. The lowest possible correlation is 0.0, and the highest possible is 1.0. Correlations can be either *positive* or *negative*. A positive correlation indicates a tendency for the factors to increase or decrease together; a negative correlation indicates a tendency for one factor to increase as the other decreases. The correlations reported in this article are all *positive*, indicating that a high rating on one factor tends to be accompanied by a high rating on the others with which it is compared.

or old the mother probably was at the birth of the child. The practical significance of this fact is not clear. It should be noted, moreover, that nervousness, fear, and dread on the part of the child are about as closely related to his dreams as is the mother's age at childbirth. Another finding was that, contrary to the usual opinion, fathers seem to have slightly more influence upon children than do mothers in matters of behavior modification, altho the difference was too small to be very conclusive.

Illustrative cases—The average "model child" has 0.9 very poor items and 2.2 poor items in the entire list of 66. In contrast, the "behavior child" has an average of 6.4 very poor items and 11.3 poor items. Two rather extreme cases are presented for illustration:

The first case has no very poor or poor items. Three items are fair, 10 good, and 53 excellent. When these items are combined or weighted by their values, his score is 314 out of a possible 330 points. The three items rated "fair" are item 3 concerned with children's diseases, item 18 on home duties, and item 36 on vocational interests.

The second case has a total score of 190 points, approximately 15 points below the average of boys in the behavior school. In his case 11 items are very poor, 13 are poor, 25 fair, 7 good, and 10 excellent. His 11 attributes rated "very poor" are as follows: No. 18, home duties—he had no home duties; No. 27, social type—he was inclined to be antisocial and worldly wise; No. 28, personality type—he had a low emotional tone; No. 29—he was inclined to give way to fits of anger; No. 35—he had no initiative and ambition, he did not want to work, and he claimed he could feed himself by stealing food; No. 36—he had no vocational interests except that he wished to loaf around a brewery; No. 37, general behavior—he was defiant and cowardly and inclined to fight, steal, and lie; No. 40—he is the youngest of a family of six children; No. 64—his attendance at school was very poor, and he went to shows or loafed around the railroad tracks when he was not in school; No. 66—his attitude toward school had always been resistant; he believed that he was being discriminated against on account of his continued truancy.

In this same case the thirteen items marked "poor" are as follows: No. 6—slight speech defect; No. 15—unfavorable appearance; No. 23—too much emphasis on dreams; No. 25—merely played in the streets; No. 32—pitied animals but not people; No. 34—very poor interests or hobbies; No. 41—mother partly literate in Polish; No. 45—mother's health poor; No. 48—occupation that of millwright, but unemployed; No. 56—general home atmosphere poor; No. 61—discipline divided, father too strict, mother too easy; No. 62—parents believed he was going to be bad; No. 63—inclined to be indulged by his mother and attached very closely to her.

It is evident that the behavior scale shows definite and extreme differences between these two types of children. It is designed primarily, however, to aid in remedying specific factors so that each child's behavior may be improved.

Possible values of the scale in planning suitable treatment—This scale may eventually prove to have definite prognostic value, and thus may be helpful in making long-time plans for children who have become sadly out of adjustment. It may be learned, furthermore, which

factors are susceptible to change and improvement by study and supervision, and which ones seem to yield very little even under intensive treatment. While the writer hopes that there will not be developed too deterministic an attitude in regard to the prognosis of children's behavior as a result of specific behavior scores, it is to be recalled that the field of mental measurement has been greatly advanced, and the limitations of training in certain types of mental cases have been broadly established, by the development and use of better intelligence tests. In matters of behavior as well as intelligence, the positive and hopeful side should always be emphasized. However, the most certain way to reach sound conclusions on any problem is to study and face that problem as it actually exists. With these general points in mind, the behavior scale just described should be of considerable aid in the diagnosis and treatment of behavior problem children.

MUCH can be done to stimulate the interest of teachers in child development by permitting them to help develop the record forms which they use—the social history blanks, the school records, the personality rating scales, the home interview sheets. At least, each item in such forms should be justified to the teachers. A “revisions committee,” furthermore, may profitably be appointed among the teachers to take heed of difficulties that arise in the use of the forms, the material that proves useless, and the constructive suggestions offered. It is useless to expect teachers enthusiastically and accurately to record data the significance of which for the pupils' welfare they do not understand.—Koch, Helen L., p. 433 of this year-book.

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CHAPTER VII

APPLYING SPECIFIC REMEDIAL MEASURES

EDITORIAL COMMENT

THERE is no panacea for personality disturbances. Remedial measures may be as varied as the factors which produce maladjustments. Moreover, since it is unusual to find a serious behavior problem with only a single cause, it is seldom possible to solve such a problem by changing only one factor in the situation. Most maladjustments call for a remedial program involving several factors. In any case, it is desirable to improve *all* conditions in the individual and his environment which may have a bearing on his difficulty.

Some maladjustments, of course, are difficult to correct even when the contributing factors are known. The best child-guidance clinics report complete failure in some cases, and only partial success in others. Often the child's environment cannot be changed sufficiently to enable him to overcome his difficulties. Sometimes his emotional disturbance is so deeply entrenched that even a competent psychiatrist cannot remove it. There are, however, many maladjusted children who can be helped by teachers and principals working with the home and other agencies. This chapter describes methods which have been found helpful in treating some of the common types of maladjustment.

Koch begins the chapter with a review of research on readjusting the unsocial child. Ide discusses the reclassification of children who do not fit into the normal classroom situation. Hanna's article deals with remedial instruction for pupils whose personality difficulties are associated with failure in school work. Liveright is concerned with this same problem; her article describes the work of the "adjustment teacher" in a city school system.

In the next article, Gillett tells how the personal conference between teacher and pupil may be used effectively in the improvement of pupil attitudes. Mateer introduces a somewhat controversial subject in her discussion of glandular treatment in certain types of personality disorders. Snyder concludes the chapter with several examples of how changes in home and community influences have contributed to pupil readjustment.

None of these authors would contend that the remedial measures discussed here are equally useful in all cases, or that they are more important than certain other measures which are not reviewed in this chapter. For additional material in this field, the interested reader should consult the list of references at the close of the chapter.—
Editorial Committee.

READJUSTING THE UNSOCIAL CHILD

HELEN L. KOCH

Associate Professor of Child Psychology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

WHEN WE DESIGNATE a child as unsocial, we are merely indicating that he does not associate or participate with people as much as do other children. Such a description is actually not very illuminating, for the social contacts of the child may be practically nil, or they may be rather numerous but limited to those with one or two persons such as his parents or siblings.¹ He may associate largely with adults and avoid children, or vice versa. Or all persons may be shunned, except as they are met in a specific environment, such as the child's home. Superficial contacts only may be tolerated, and all intimate ones evaded.

The child's unsocialness may, moreover, show itself in many varieties of reaction to people. Some children—those whom Buehler terms the “socially blind”—seem oblivious of others, and go about their business paying virtually the same heed to the people around them that they do to the features of their physical environment. Others are more sensitive and flee from environments graced by persons; still others watch endlessly those on the social horizon, but never make a move for a contact that is more dynamic. Some children, after making clumsy advances and being rejected, resign themselves to life on the outskirts of the group. Some view most human beings as trespassers on their territory, and try to drive the latter off. With the attitudes and reaction patterns of unsocial children as varied as these, it is clear that “unsocialness” is not a separate entity with regard to its manifestation or cause. Its pattern in an individual tends to be somewhat stable,² altho the extent and circumstances of its variation in people at large are none too well established.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SOCIAL RESPONSIVENESS

That individual differences in social responsiveness appear at very early ages, Buehler,³ Gesell,⁴ and others have reminded us. Buehler, for instance, has noted striking differences in babies at the age of six months. It would be presumptuous to claim that we know the reasons for these individual differences. We suspect strongly that the amount

¹ Brothers or sisters.

² Jersild, Arthur T. “Constancy of Certain Behavior Patterns in Young Children.” *American Journal of Psychology* 45: 125-29; January, 1933. [Arrington, Ruth E. *Interrelations in the Behavior of Young Children*. Child Development Monograph No. 8. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, p. 130-40.

³ Buehler, C. “The Social Behavior of Children.” In the *Handbook of Child Psychology*, 2d ed. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1934, p. 394.

⁴ Gesell, Arnold. *Infancy and Human Growth*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928, p. 372.

and kind of handling received are determining factors. To what extent health and energy factors, or genetic influences, enter into the picture only painstaking research can reveal.

Parental characteristics—Careful observers, such as Shirley,⁵ have noted infant-parent resemblances in social reticence. Ridenour,⁶ moreover, found that the parents of a group of withdrawing children, selected from clinic cases, were described as unsocial much more frequently than were the parents of a control group of non-withdrawing clinic children of similar age. But Hoffeditz,⁷ studying adults by means of the Bernreuter Personality Inventory, discovered little parent-offspring similarity in self-sufficiency.

Whatever may have caused the disparity in these findings, the existence of family resemblances in a trait does not prove that heredity determines the differences in that trait among people in general. Unsocial parents, for example, may restrict the social opportunities of their children either by giving them little personal attention or by setting up a barrier to the entrance of others into the home. Moreover, since values may be subtly communicated thru daily association, parents for whom the doings and concerns of others are of little import may color the thinking of their offspring. Such parents may even create unfavorable attitudes toward people in general. In this connection, Ridenour⁸ found psychotic and neurotic individuals more often among the parents of withdrawing children than among the parents of socially responsive children. The shut-in children also came more frequently from broken homes.

Age and mental development of the child—Among the factors with which relative unsocialness is incontrovertibly associated is extreme youth. Children of less than two years, for example, tend to ignore each other more or less, whereas children of even four years are disposed to play in groups. Using as subjects a group of preschool children, Goodenough⁹ found a correlation of $+.74$ between age and an index of sociability based on careful observation of the children's social contacts. In truth, most workers who have studied the question of social development in the preschool years have emphasized the greater asocialness of the younger children. This fact needs to be kept in mind, for altho we would not view the average young child who holds himself aloof as any the

⁵ Shirley, Mary M. *The First Two Years: A Study of Twenty-five Babies*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933. Vol. III, p. 220.

⁶ Ridenour, Nina A. "A Study of the Background of Withdrawing Children." *Journal of Educational Research* 28: 132-43; October, 1934. This study suffers from sampling difficulties, the effect of which on the findings is not easy to estimate.

⁷ Hoffeditz, E. Louise. "Family Resemblances in Personality Traits." *Journal of Social Psychology* 5: 214-27; May, 1934.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 140-41.

⁹ Goodenough, Florence L. "Inter-relationships in the Behavior of Young Children." *Child Development* 1: 45; 1930.

less asocial, we would expect the normal course of events to transform him into a participating human being.

Just why these young children are as relatively unparticipating as they are, is not entirely obvious. Perhaps the needs which make them socially dependent, but which are primitive and few, can be met most satisfactorily by an adult or two. To the babe the activities of most individuals are too complex to seem meaningful. This lack of comprehension probably harks back not only to a deficiency in experience, but also to inadequate quantities of sufficiently mature "gray matter." As evidence of this, we note that the lowest-grade idiots remain as unsocial as three-month-old babes. There is little evidence, however, that the feeble-minded of higher levels, provided they are in appropriate environments, are unsocial as a class. Goldstein,¹⁰ for example, who studied high-grade defectives in an institution, concluded that the feeble-minded, on the average, are only slightly, if any, more introverted than normal children.

School placement of the child—Dull or feeble-minded children circulating among normals and being pressed into school work which they have not the ability to comprehend, however, seem often to compensate for their defects by encapsulating themselves.¹¹ Accurate school placement for the bright child is similarly a matter of importance. Hollingworth¹² cites a case which suggests that withdrawing reactions may appear when a very bright child is placed below his ability level. Either bored by the seemingly infantile activities of his associates, or rejected by the latter because his actions usually reflect discredit upon them, such a child attempts to solve his problems by restricting his associations.

These academically misplaced children often become more social when put in special classes, enrolled for work they can grasp, given remedial training, placed in an institution for defectives, protected from the demands of overambitious parents, or accelerated if they are bright. Since continued failure is the chief cause of their evasion of people, providing them with opportunities for success tends to bring them back into the fold. Long indulgence in unsocial living may, however, permanently scar them.

Since accurate placement of children in school seems to be conducive to wholesome social reactions, it is one way in which the school may help to safeguard the social development of its pupils. We must bear in

¹⁰ Goldstein, Hyman. "A Study of Introversion and Extroversion in a Group of Subnormal Children." *Journal of Social Psychology* 5: 238-44; May, 1934.

¹¹ See, for example: Sayles, Mary B. *Child Guidance Cases*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1932. p. 275-333. [Sayles, Mary B. *The Problem Child at School*. Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency. Publication No. 4. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1925. p. 93-98.

¹² Hollingworth, Leta S. *Gifted Children: Their Nature and Nurture*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1926. p. 132. See also the article by the same author in Chapter I of this yearbook.

mind, however, that entirely satisfactory placement is often not possible. For example, the greater academic success which a child may have in an opportunity room (known in the school community as the "nut house") may not compensate him for the loss in status brought about by enrolment in such a room.

Deviation from approved forms—That deviations from the prevailing or approved form may provoke unsocialness of a compensatory or defense type is the thesis Adler¹³ has done much to popularize. Physical, economic, or cultural lacks—in fact, any real or imagined inferiority—may, it is contended, undermine the child's security and activate mental defenses, of which withdrawal is one. Many clinicians believe that escape activities are usually the basis of unsocial behavior in older children. Conversely, success, power, and recognized superiority are viewed as the fountain head of social expansiveness. The gravity of particular lacks, it should be emphasized, is largely a matter of group tradition. It may be as serious to a seven-year-old to be unable to wear pink hair-bows, as it is to a businessman not to have an automobile.

How to help the immigrant child to respect his cultural heritage, or the small boy his stature, or how to develop in the ugly adolescent "Miss" a tolerance of her ungainliness, are problems the teacher may often assist in solving. Merely a friendly interest on her part may relieve tension; but the more difficult tasks are those of callousing the child to the jeers of the young "rabble" who haunt the school grounds, and of tempering the latter's brutality thru an alteration of fundamental attitudes. Of procedures for helping a child forge his way into a group we shall have more to say later.

Contacts with other children—That difficulty in adjusting to the less considerate ways of children, as contrasted with those of adults, may induce unsocialness is intimated by innumerable case studies. Such difficulties may also be responsible for such findings (1) as Beaver's¹⁴ and Koch's,¹⁵ of an inverse relationship ($r = -.44$; $r = -.57$) between the number of contacts made with children and the number made with adults; (2) as Ridenour's,¹⁶ that shut-in children tend to come from homes superior culturally to those of a socially more expansive group; and (3) as Hetzer's,¹⁷ that children from better homes do not enter into group and neighborhood games so readily as do children from poorer homes.

¹³ See: Adler, A. *A Study of Organ Inferiority and Its Psychological Compensation*. New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1917. 86 p. (Trans. by S. E. Jelliffe.) Also, *The Education of Children*. New York: Greenberg, 1930. 309 p. (Trans. by E. and F. Jensen.)

¹⁴ Beaver, Alma P. *The Initiation of Social Contacts by Preschool Children*. Child Development Monograph No. 7. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932. p. 65.

¹⁵ Koch, Helen L., Unpublished study.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 136-37.

¹⁷ H. Hetzer, *Kindheit und Armut*. (Psychol. d. Fursorge, I) Leipzig: Hirzel, 1929. Quoted from C. Buehler, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

It seems not unlikely that superior homes generally present the child with fewer opportunities for learning to take part in group activities because, among other things, the family size is smaller and the housing provides a certain degree of family isolation. The emotional dependence of parents upon the children, as well as of the children upon the parents, is another interpretation advanced by clinicians. This dependence they expect to be greater when the children in the family are relatively few in number. Surprising numbers of parents have been discovered who were so jealous of a child's affections that they found many reasons for scotching any interest he exhibited in others. These are necessarily cases for a psychiatrist to handle; but the school can often persuade misguided and overprotective parents to relax their vigilance and allow their children freedom to experiment with the social environment.

It is interesting in this connection that, while it has been repeatedly affirmed that the average "only child" is highly unsocial, recent investigations¹⁸ are not confirmatory. A study by Goodenough and Leahy¹⁹ suggests strongly that the only child tends to be distinctly social, while it is the oldest child in a family of several who is disposed to be seclusive and lack confidence. Ridenour,²⁰ likewise, found that seclusive children, much more frequently than non-seclusive children, were the older members of two-children families. If there is any consistency among the numerous studies of the relation between birth-order and personality traits, it indicates that the oldest child in a family of several has a tendency to be more introverted than the only child.²¹

To the "dethronement" struggle, largely, is accredited the oldest child's difficulties. In the case of sanely reared "only children" who never have had their security threatened by a brother or sister, unsocialness probably can be prevented by allowing amply for opportunities for social experience, i.e., by sending the children when young to a small nursery school, encouraging association with the neighborhood gang or with the sports groups at school, and so forth. In the case of dethroned children, on the other hand, the task is likely to be more formidable, for when an individual's status in his family is undermined, the rock on which his castle is built is blasted. Recovery from such a jolting is not assured. Even tho family attentions are distributed equally among the children, the oldest child may be unable to absorb the idea of sharing, for to him sharing of any kind may merely emphasize his loss.

¹⁸ See, for example: Fenton, Norman. "The Only Child." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 35: 546-56; 1928. Witty, Paul A. "The Only Child of Age Five." *Psychological Clinic* 22: 73-87; June, 1933.

¹⁹ Goodenough, Florence L., and Leahy, Alice M. "The Effect of Certain Family Relationships upon the Development of Personality." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 34: 45-71; March, 1927.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

²¹ Jones, H. E. "Order of Birth." *Handbook of Child Psychology*. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1935. p. 551-89.

The school sometimes appears to help the dethroned child by facing him with the task of establishing his status in a new group, and thus diverting him from the family struggle. If, however, the child transfers to the school the defense reactions he has developed in his struggles at home, and if he is not met by patience and understanding, his lot is doubly painful.

Physical and physiological factors—To what degree physical as well as social factors enter to produce unsocialness is not clear. Ridenour²² calls attention to the greater frequency of poor health among shut-ins than among other children. Kretschmer²³ has given attention to basically physiological mechanisms. He contends that constitutional factors which reflect themselves in body build, also affect the degree of social expansiveness. The shut-in victims of dementia præcox, he maintains, tend to be asthenic in build. Several studies,²⁴ however, have caused much skepticism regarding Kretschmer's viewpoint. The physical differences that apparently exist between the typical dementia-præcox patient and the typical manic-depressive patient may be largely due to the age difference between the two. Greater rotundity does develop with advancing years; and of these two insane groups in an institution, the manic-depressives average the older.

That frequency of social contact is probably not closely associated with physical activeness among young children is suggested by Goodenough's study.²⁵

Some implications—The preceding analysis of factors related to unsocialness has attempted to indicate the probable complexity of this trait. The guidance of a child can be intelligent only if due cognizance is taken of the influences that have contributed to his difficulty. This does not mean that if the initial cause is removed, the problem will inevitably disappear. Influences are not static, and new integrations are effected with the passage of time. Some causes, moreover, are not removable, while the dissipation of certain other causes might create a condition less healthy or tolerable than that represented by unsocialness.

THE OBJECTIVES OF SOCIALIZATION

Before proceeding to a discussion of the technic of developing companionships, it will be well to consider briefly the question of our objectives with respect to socialness in children. Do we want, for instance, to

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

²³ Kretschmer, Ernst. *Physique and Character*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1926. 266 p.

²⁴ Garvey, C. R. "Physiognomic and Other Morphologic Factors in the Differential Diagnosis of Manic-depressive and Schizophrenic Psychoses." *Psychological Bulletin* 30: 739; November, 1933. Klineberg, O.; Asch, S. E.; and Block, H. *An Experimental Study of Constitutional Types*. Genetic Psychology Monographs, Vol. 16, No. 3. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1934. p. 141-221.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 33, 35.

make handshakers of all our children? Shall we urge all pupils into socially complex environments? Can an individual contribute to the world's work only if fortified with social readiness and grace? The answer to these questions is certainly negative. The best balance of influences for the mental health of certain individuals may be attained in a socially barren environment. Social distractions and social demands have wrecked many a good man and prevented many a significant accomplishment. Not to be able to go on an errand alone, to amuse oneself, or to resist the invitations of the group, is a serious matter. The problem of how much to resist others is not an easy one. In the last analysis the best social adjustment is doubtless an individual matter. The most that parents and teachers can hope to do is to reduce the range of error by careful thought and experimentation.

Why desire socially responsive children?—That we view the seclusive, unresponsive child with misgivings has several justifications. We do live in a world alive with people. For most of us, people are and must be the most important things in the world. Our very survival depends on them. Our relationships with human beings are usually most comfortable, moreover, when there is understanding, love, and tolerance. These latter must be learned, tho some individuals seem to learn them more easily than do others. This learning cannot be acquired from books or accomplished by viewing happenings from afar. Only participation in social activities will be effective. The unsocial child remains relatively unpractised in dealing with people, and in competition he must experience serious handicaps. But even this is not the most serious phase of the issue. Unsocialness in any but the very young usually represents an escape mechanism which, altho constructive at times, may have very grave consequences for the individual's mental health. To the extent that it reflects a defeatist attitude, it tends to be accompanied by other unwholesome traits. Wickman,²⁶ for instance, found that the shy, withdrawing child tends also to be resentful, unhappy, fearful, cowardly, sensitive, and addicted to day-dreaming. Moreover, if failure to tolerate the realities of life becomes so extreme that progressive regressive adjustment is resorted to, we may eventually find our unsocial friend among the dementia-præcox patients at a mental hospital. Altho the interpretation of dementia præcox entirely in functional terms is not unassailable, we have fairly impressive evidence that dementia-præcox victims, as children, show more shut-in tendencies than do those who develop into normal adults.²⁷ Since the difficulties which characterize

²⁶ Wickman, E. Koster. *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928. p. 75.

²⁷ Bowman, K. M. "A Study of the Pre-Psychotic Personality in Certain Psychoses," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 4: 473-93; 1934. (The method of selecting and treating the control group in this study was not all that could be desired.)

this disease do not spring up overnight, we cannot afford to ignore ominous symptoms in any child or fail to bring to his aid our most intelligent support.

Teachers' attitudes toward unsocialness—When groups of teachers were asked by Wickman²⁸ to rank behavior problems in terms of their seriousness, they tended to rank unsocialness low, while thirty child-guidance clinicians tended to put it at the head of the list. If the teachers had been called upon to think in terms of specific children instead of abstract traits, the verdict might have been otherwise; but in the face of Wickman's findings, it seems important to be sure that the teaching group is conscious of the problem which the unsocial child presents. Teachers can doubtless do much to reduce his conflicts and to safeguard his mental health.

TECHNICS FOR DEVELOPING COMPANIONSHIPS

An approach to certain types of unsocial school children is found in an experiment recently conducted by Koch and Hodo.²⁹ These workers believe that we often overwhelm children by catapulting them into very complex social environments. When this is unavoidable—as it is, for instance, if the child must remain in school—his progress in social adjustment may be accelerated by giving him at least a limited amount of time each day to experiment with social relationships in a somewhat simplified environment. These investigators have, accordingly, attempted to facilitate the development of companionships between the members of pairs composed of one social and one unsocial child, by isolating the pairs from the school group daily for a short play period. Seven such pairs were taken singly to a playroom equipped with materials which it was thought would facilitate cooperative activities. For these young subjects, diminutive household equipment, and a fish pond in which two might fish, were among the materials most frequently stimulating cooperative effort. The children were made to feel that it was a special privilege to be taken to the playroom. When together, they were occasionally referred to as friends and were thrown back on each other for help and amusement. That the unsocial children tended to become relatively more dynamic in their relations to their social companions is indicated by the fact that during the last ten sessions, as contrasted with the first ten, the unsocial children tended to talk more, offer more play ideas, tender help more frequently, and volunteer more often to share toys. Moreover, the unsocial children, when returned to the school group, tended to be not only more social than they had been

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 117-30.

²⁹ Koch, Helen L., and Hodo, M. Only a preliminary report of this study has been made; a monograph is in process of preparation.

before receiving the special attention described, but also to gain more in number of social contacts than did a control group of unsocial children who were given neither more nor less help in making social adjustments than it was the usual policy of the nursery school to provide.

Tho the formal procedure used in this experiment may not be feasible in most public schools, it may be possible to arrange artfully to have selected children play together after school or to visit regularly at each other's homes.

What children make good companions?—The success of this technic doubtless depends largely upon the personality and attitude of the child chosen to be the companion. On the question of what children will make good companions, we doubt whether available evidence justifies any generalization; but we may get some suggestions from certain studies of children's friendships. Friendships tend to occur more frequently among children of the same sex, same socio-economic status, approximately the same chronological, social, and mental age, and from the same school grade and neighborhood.³⁰ It has also been noted that compliant children tend to be popular³¹—a finding which suggests that pairing an unsocial child at first with a social but relatively submissive individual may have some merit. Later, gradual exposure of the unsocial child to a wider range of personalities will probably be desirable. It seems likely, however, that the best type of companion for a particular child will vary with the kinds of social attitudes the child has, with his age, peculiar experiences, and stage of progress in socialization, and with the situations in which he is to function.

Giving children prestige thru special skills—From Jack's experiment³² comes another pertinent suggestion. It concerns a procedure which tends to make non-ascendant (submissive) children socially more dynamic. By deliberately teaching such children skills that gave prestige but which others in the group did not have, the investigator was able to increase the "ascendance" of certain preschool individuals. Her procedure, which in essence is not unfamiliar to teachers, would be expected to have substantial effects if carried thru systematically over a considerable period of time. Teachers, however, are likely to relax their efforts too soon. The effectiveness of the technic is contingent also

³⁰ See the following: Jenkins, Gladys G. "Factors Involved in Children's Friendships." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 22: 440-48; September, 1931. Hagman, Elizabeth P. *Companionships of Preschool Children*. University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. 7, No. 4. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1933. 69 p. Wellman, Beth. "The School Child's Choice of Companions." *Journal of Educational Research* 14: 126-32; September, 1926. Seagoe, May V. "Factors Influencing the Selection of Associates." *Journal of Educational Research* 27: 32-40; September, 1933. Furley, Paul H. "Some Factors Influencing the Selection of Boys' Chums." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 11: 47-51; February, 1927.

³¹ Koch, Helen L. "Popularity in Preschool Children: Some Related Factors and a Technique for Its Measurement." *Child Development* 4: 164-75; 1933.

³² Jack, Lois M. "An Experimental Study of Ascendant Behavior in Preschool Children." *Behavior of the Preschool Child*. (By L. M. Jack and others.) University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol. 9, No. 3. Iowa City: the University, 1934. p. 1-65.

on the discovery of skills which have a genuine prestige-giving value in the group with which the non-ascendant child is to find his place.

Future sources of help—In the preceding pages nothing has been said about the psychoanalytic technics for dealing with the unsocial child, because we do not look to the school for their application. The writer, believes, however, that in the future the school may expect more help from the psychoanalyst as well as from the child psychologist. The growing body of workers who are studying the problems of modifying children's social attitudes is one of the most encouraging signs in modern education.

REGARDLESS of the form in which a child's personality difficulties manifest themselves, it is essential to know just what is wrong with him or wherein he deviates from the healthy average physically, emotionally, intellectually, and environmentally. This knowledge logically leads to a therapeutic program which tends to correct all that which needs correction. It is relatively unimportant to be sure whether the child's bad teeth, infected tonsils, spoiled-child reaction, fear of the father's excessive sternness, inadequate intelligence quotient, or choice of undesirable companions is really the *major* cause of his poor conduct or poor quality of work. It is, however, highly important to be aware of all such factors and to try to remedy them, in order to establish or reestablish in the pupil that optimal condition of health, happiness, and composure which is indispensable for every individual's good mental health and smooth adjustment.—Kanner, Leo, p. 466-67 of this yearbook.

RECLASSIFYING PUPILS WHO ARE MISPLACED IN SCHOOL

GLADYS IDE

Director, Division of Special Education, Public Schools, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

THE CHILD who does not fit into the class in which he has been placed is always at a disadvantage. A study of the backgrounds of many children who are unhappy, forlorn, asocial, antisocial, or poor in school work shows that much of their maladjustment is due to their inability to function in the school situation in which they find themselves. This article discusses the problem of reclassifying and guiding pupils whose abnormalities interfere with their satisfactory adjustment in the normal classroom environment.

CHILDREN WITH PHYSICAL HANDICAPS

Lack of energy—A child who has reentered school after a period of illness, or who is ill-nourished or otherwise low in energy, is often assigned to a class with a group of boisterous, energetic children. Such a child is likely to be unhappy because he lacks the physical energy necessary to compete with the other children. Before the day is over he is completely worn out. Often before the morning is past, this child is unable to work with the others or even to hear what is being said. The harder he tries, the more fatigued he becomes. Added to the fatigue may be an emotional upset because of his desire to do what the others are doing and his feeling of frustration. Many a child of this type gives up and sits quietly, paying little or no attention to what is going on around him.

The transfer of children who are physically unable to do the work of a regular grade to a class where they are in competition with others of similar capacity releases the tension and gives them an opportunity to advance as fast as they can. In such a class, extra food thruout the day, together with rest periods in the morning and afternoon, helps to build up a child's frail body without making him feel conspicuous. Moreover, the knowledge that he is making progress in his school work keeps up his morale. Given a reasonable feeling of success in his classroom, the rest which his body needs, and the food which at home he is often too busy to eat, the child can work happily and without excessive fatigue.

Defective hearing—Children who have been deaf from birth or who have been deafened when very young come to school without language. They are usually fairly well adjusted and happy if placed with other children who are like themselves. In a regular grade, however, such a child would sit for years without making progress. Lacking language, he cannot learn by the ordinary classroom methods. Even if he were

only partially deaf and limited in vocabulary, he would suffer a tremendous handicap. The organization of classes for children of this type is imperative if they are to do school work. Also, they must have instruction in speech and in lip reading if they are to mingle with others and if they expect to work with hearing people. The only way in which such children can find satisfaction in school is to be associated with others suffering from the same handicap, and to be taught by specially trained teachers.

A number of children are deafened thru accident or disease after they have learned to speak. If they are in school at the time, they suffer especially from the emotional shock which comes with the sudden onset of deafness. They still have their knowledge of language and their school training, but if permitted to remain with hearing children they soon retrogress, partly because of their emotional attitude and partly because of their failure to advance in vocabulary and in language concepts. Special effort must be made to increase the vocabulary of such a child thru the reading of books, thru the use of hearing devices, and thru lip reading. With the background which he has, if he is of school age, his instruction can be carried to a higher level than is possible with the child who was born deaf or who acquired his deafness before entering school. In either case, however, the child needs a change in his educational program. He must be taught oral language, vocabulary, and lip reading as well as the regular school subjects. He needs to be placed in a small class with a teacher who has some understanding of his problems, so that she can help him to make the necessary adjustments gradually.

Defective vision—Defective vision in children often can be corrected by glasses or by special training of the eyes. A few pupils, however, have such defective vision that they cannot use any of the printed material in the regular classroom. These children need special books and other materials, and a teacher who is able to adapt teaching methods to their specific problems. It is impossible to care for such a child in a regular classroom, no matter how much individualization is attempted. But a small group of children with defective eyesight can be taught satisfactorily by a teacher who adapts the course of study to their needs.

Totally blind children are likewise unable to make adequate social adjustments in a regular classroom. The difficulty of getting up and down stairs, of placing garments in cloakrooms, and of performing other ordinary class routines is too great for them. They need special equipment, special materials, and well-trained teachers if their education is to be efficient. There is no possibility of success for blind children in the elementary school unless they are taught in classes for the blind.

It is sometimes assumed that children who are physically handicapped, especially those with defective vision and hearing, should be able to make a satisfactory adjustment with regular grade children of their social age. Unfortunately such a program cannot be carried out. This is not due to unwillingness on the part of those having defective vision or hearing. The real objection to teaching such children in the same classes as normal children is the general refusal of the latter to accept the defective children socially. The normal children often offer pity or service, but seldom real friendship.

Speech defects—Children with marked speech defects are usually not transferred from regular classes unless there is some other reason for a transfer. However, the normal child with a speech defect is very sensitive about his handicap, and may refuse to take part in the classroom exercises. Sometimes the teacher out of pity or impatience does not call upon him. The other children make fun of his poor speech and imitate it when groups are together. As a result, such a child tends to withdraw from social contacts, especially in the adolescent years. Children who stutter or stammer are more sensitive than those with other defects, which may not seem much different from the way the rest of the group talks. A girl with a slight lisp may be considered attractive by both her male and female friends. A boy with this difficulty, however, is thought to be "sissified."

The most satisfactory way to handle pupils with defective speech is not to separate them entirely from those who speak normally, but rather to give them special speech training at regular intervals. In many modern schools special teachers of speech are provided for this purpose. Such teachers, if skilful and sympathetic, can do much not only to correct the speech defects, but also to give the children new confidence and courage in social intercourse.

Physical deformities—Crippled children often do not fit in well with other children because they are emotionally in revolt against their crippled condition. When they are placed in orthopedic classes, their response is usually much better than when they are placed in regular grades. These children deeply resent the teasing and the patronizing or abhorrent attitudes of normal children. They are usually unable to make satisfactory social adjustments because they are embittered and unhappy.

A crippled child who had finished the eighth grade and was ready to leave school, was given some training in driving cars. This boy had never been able to make friends, even among his crippled associates, and while many sympathized with him, no one liked him. When he left school he secured a position as a chauffeur in an institution where he had a separate apartment over the garage, and where he was kept away

from the inmates. He made a better adjustment after leaving school than he had ever done in school.

Supernormal physical maturity—No one knows at what time the onset of adolescence and the development of maturity may completely upset a child so that he finds himself out of place in the school organization. A pair of large boys who caused behavior difficulties in the sixth grade were just fourteen years of age, but men in size. They were beginning to feel themselves a little too large to be associated with the "babies" in their class. They had begun to hang around the street corners and to learn about many things in which the rest of the children were not interested. These boys were slow and dull, and could really do no more than fifth-grade work. They were placed in a disciplinary school with a class of large boys like themselves, and have adjusted there very well.

Many girls in the upper elementary grades or junior high school, who have always been children in appearance and thoughts, suddenly become women, interested in the boys, "picking up dates," and most decidedly not interested in school. They cause a great deal of trouble because of their contempt for school regulations. They do not find conformity easy, often refuse to take part in the school exercises, are shy when they should be self-assured, and bold when modesty might be more to their advantage. As these girls near sixteen, many of them become a little better adjusted. Some of them have reached the "settled-down" stage by that time.

Some of these overmature children, if they are not disciplinary problems, may be placed in prevocational classes in the junior high school, where at least one-half of the time is given to training in kitchens and shops. Others, who are less well disciplined, may need to be placed in a so-called disciplinary class in a special class center. The work is about the same in both types of classes.* Usually the brighter children are placed in disciplinary classes, as they are more inclined to get into trouble than are the duller ones. Occasionally a child of marked infantile appearance betrays many of the same characteristics, and needs the same treatment, as do children who are obviously overmature.

MENTALLY RETARDED CHILDREN

Many dull children are not so defective that they cannot fit into a regular grade organization where the work has been simplified. Often, however, they find themselves in schools where there is but one class in each grade, and where children of widely varying mental abilities are placed in the same class. Entering the first grade, the duller ones do not know what the work is all about, are soon out-distanced by their more

able mates, and are left with practically nothing to do. The teacher may furnish paper and pencils, but because they are more like four-year-olds than six-year-olds, these children do not find a purpose in such implements.

A mentally retarded child may be one of the quiet kind who sits all day without causing any difficulty, or he may be of a more noisy make-up. If he makes his wants known, he is likely to be referred for special treatment very early in his school career. If he is shy and retiring, he may sit for two, three, or four years without doing anything but day-dreaming and carrying on a few quiet amusements of his own. In the latter case, the result is a child who reaches the fourth or fifth grade without learning to read, and who attracts the teacher's attention because of his lack of ability to get information from the printed page. This child has never had a chance to develop the habit of concentrating on school work, and even when he looks at the teacher, he is not listening to what is going on. If he is to become satisfactorily adjusted, he must be transferred to a class where the work is suited to his level of development and achievement. The teacher of this special class will not only have to help the child to overcome his deficiencies in subjectmatter, but she will also have to spend a great deal of time in teaching him good habits of attention before he can make significant progress.

On the other hand, the dull child who is noisy and boisterous, or aggressive and determined, will probably be transferred to a special class without delay. There he will find a place for the display of his aggressiveness, and will be given enough school work to satisfy his intellectual needs. If such a child is not placed in a special class, and if he succeeds in doing some of the regular grade work each term, he will probably be passed along until he reaches junior high school. He may, however, become so disgusted with the whole idea of school that he will begin a career of truancy, and this in turn may eventually land him in a residential school where there is a wider range of interests. Or, if he seems to fit into a prevocational class, he may be referred there. If his behavior is none too good, he may be sent to a disciplinary class, where an attempt will be made thru the shops and other attractive activities to help him gain confidence in his ability to do work.

A few brief illustrations will indicate the need and value of special provisions for children with mental handicaps. A girl who had been considered superior in the lower grades, apparently because of her personal charm, became very nervous and unstable in the fifth grade because of her inability to comprehend the work. Her intelligence quotient was found to be only 70. She could read a newspaper, but could get little or no information from it. Her family had impressed upon her that she should be trained for teaching, and they were by no means satisfied

when they learned that she would never really do the work of the elementary school. The girl was placed upon a special roster, which satisfied her for the time being. She should be placed in a home-making course if her family can be persuaded to permit the transfer.

In another case, a sweet, immature girl who wished to become a nurse became very much dissatisfied in school because she could not do the work in the upper grades. She was happy when transferred to a simplified home economics course which is preparatory to a course in child care. She will undoubtedly make a success as a child's nurse.

In a third case, a girl's glibness of speech, beauty, and good social qualities had so impressed her grade teachers, that she had been pushed on to high school without realizing that she had mental limitations which were unlikely to permit success there. She had good common sense, however, and when told that she was not equipped for high-school work, but that she should do well in the field of selling, she was glad to be referred to a course of training in that field.

CHILDREN WITH SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Subject disabilities—Children who, because of poor teaching or some other handicap, have had difficulty in learning arithmetic or reading as single subjects, may do very well if tutored by an adjustment teacher in the subjects in which they are weak. If a child is naturally slow or has poor visual imagery, he probably will not be able to make up his work entirely, but if he has merely been unable to learn the fundamentals of a subject because of absence, illness, or misunderstanding at the time the material was taught, the remedial work in a special class may enable him to catch up and go on in the regular grades without further difficulty.¹

Children who have had a great deal of difficulty with reading because of inability to recognize words are often helped by the training in phonics which is given in the speech class. Many children who received a smattering of phonics in the first grade have not bridged the gap between this work and the words in their reading lessons, many of which they could pronounce easily if they knew how to apply their training in phonics. Since the work in the speech class includes a great deal of detail in this field, an unexpected help is often found there for pupils who are weak in reading and spelling.

The return of children to regular grades after they have had two or three years of intensive individualized instruction is not likely to be successful unless their ability to comprehend language develops fast

¹ For further discussion of remedial teaching and the work of the adjustment teacher, see the next two articles in this chapter.

enough so that they are able to read for information at the higher levels. Special drill in the mechanics of reading in Grades I and II, or even in reading comprehension, does not always mean that the child will therefore be able to do fifth-grade work when the time comes. He may get the mechanics and be able to understand simple material, but it does not follow that he will be able to comprehend the material provided in the upper grades. If he cannot, then some other arrangement must be made to meet his difficulty.

Personality defects and poor school habits—Poor school habits are sometimes due to withdrawal of the personality from social contacts. Introversion makes the child asocial and unresponsive to his fellows. Often such a child does not want to do his work and finds other ways of amusing himself. He gradually learns not to pay attention, with the result that his habits of concentration are extremely poor. Teachers often note this condition and report that the child cannot concentrate, which is not the situation at all. He has poor habits of concentration, but he can learn to concentrate on school work if properly motivated.

Habits of work and of social conformity are much more easily taught when a child first enters school than later. Little children who find the school a place where one works, no matter at what level the work is done, soon develop a pride in working and an ability to work which make the classroom a workshop. If a child is busy at his own level, he has no time to develop habits of non-conformity. This is well illustrated by the children from first grades who are placed in classes for the educationally retarded. They have had no chance to learn poor habits, and they go to work as soon as they are placed in the new class because they are required to do so. They find pleasure in the work and appreciate the pleasant surroundings in which it is done. As they grow older they tend to continue their conformity in school. They behave themselves and help to keep the building in good order because the school has always expected that kind of performance. The result is a group of children who are well adjusted at adolescence because they have always been well adjusted.

The foregoing statements seem to be generally true for all children except those who are physically and mentally defective or who are psychopathic. Such children are often unable to conform satisfactorily because of inner urges which cannot be satisfied. Even the most careful placement and guidance do not produce wholly satisfactory adjustments in children of these types.

A few specific examples will indicate some of the possibilities in re-classifying pupils who have poor habits and uncooperative attitudes. In one case, a pair of twin girls in the first grade were giving considerable trouble and were making little progress in their school work. Their mis-

behavior was of the spoiled-child, kicking, biting variety. Apparently there was a mother fixation, and the girls had not liked to leave the home for the school. They were not especially bright, but were intelligent enough to do school work at the first-grade level if they could be held to it. At first they were placed in different rooms under two of the regular grade teachers. The teachers found, however, that they had to keep the children with them all the time; for example, each child would have to be held by the teacher while the latter was attempting to teach a lesson from the blackboard. The girls were then placed with a special-class teacher whose manner was very calm and soothing, and whose voice was very low. They began to learn their reading in her room, but even more important, they gradually learned to conform and acquired certain habits which should have been taught them much earlier in the home. They also began to approach the six-year level emotionally. After a year and a half of this treatment, these girls were sufficiently well trained to be placed back in their regular grade if kept in separate classrooms. They have made good progress since then.

In another case, a boy, very large physically but with peculiar mannerisms and great physical fear, was doing good work in school but had made no friends or social contacts among the pupils. One day he was arrested and sent to the house of detention. When this fact became known among the boys and girls of his school, they bedeviled him on the street until he began to play truant. He was then transferred to another school where his story was not known. Before his arrival at the new school, he was advised to refrain from making certain peculiar gestures, and to participate actively in games and other school affairs. He explained that he was extremely fearful and did not think he could play a rough game, but determined that he would try. This boy had very little chance to succeed in school unless he became more cooperative and tried to overcome his physical fear. The last report on him was that he was able to play basketball and other games in the gymnasium, but that the other children did not really accept him.

In a third case, certain boys were failing in junior high school because they could not read satisfactorily, and as a result they were becoming serious behavior problems. They were soon transferred to a trade school in the belief that they would like to learn a trade. While a few of these boys had interest in the work offered, most of them were just as difficult to handle in the trade school as they had been in the junior high school. They could not do the academic work required because they lacked the necessary background. When transferred to a disciplinary school, with shops where they could learn many of the same processes taught in the trade school, these boys were much better adjusted than they had been in any other organization. They were given reasonable freedom, a little

academic work at their own level, and shop work on an individualized basis. The results were fairly good. However, no adolescent child who has already formed many bad habits of attention and non-conformity in school, is likely to reform quickly or completely when sent to another school, even one in which he fits fairly well. Eight years of non-conformity cannot be wiped out so easily.

CONCLUSION

It is not to be supposed that merely reclassifying maladjusted or handicapped pupils will in itself solve most personality problems in the school. Many factors other than school or class placement affect the child's adjustment, and procedures other than reclassification may be necessary to promote his maximum personality growth. On the other hand, even slight changes in the class environment often help to give him new feelings of satisfaction and power. Differences among courses of study and types of classes may not be apparent to the child or to the casual observer; yet they may mean the difference between the child's being able to do something and his being able to do nothing. Successful achievement, even tho it be at a very modest level, is essential to satisfactory adjustment both in school and out.

Reclassification of the misplaced child should be made as easy as possible. Curriculums and courses of study need to be sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of different children. While it is unwise to change a child's environment without careful study of his problems, there should be no hesitancy in trying him in a promising new environment if he shows unmistakable signs of failure in the old.

THE LIFE emotionally maimed is thwarted on its most vulnerable side; it is deprived of the understanding give-and-take that makes a person part of the great social fabric reared by civilization. The principal and the teacher, working together with the home and with the specialist in child guidance, will realize one of life's greatest joys if they are able to adjust growing, developing children to the fundamental task of social living.—Inskeep, Annie D., p. 458 of this year-book.

REMEDIAL TEACHING AS A FACTOR IN READJUSTMENT

EDITH B. HANNA

Principal, Wright School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

IN EVERY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL there are children whose behavior interferes with class progress, and whose personalities appear to be at dangerous odds with those of their classmates. Usually the school progress of such children is at best erratic. Whether their poor school work is the cause of their maladjustments of personality, a direct result of it, or merely one aspect of an unfortunate general situation, is a problem which must be solved individually in each case.

In diagnosing a specific maladjustment, all situations which affect the child must be investigated. His physical condition in the past and at present; his mental ability in general; his home environment, including the emotional attitudes of his parents toward him, their general opinion concerning the values of education, their relations with the particular school which he attends, the economic history of the family, and the kind and quantity of food provided; the present level of the child's learning, with exact information as to his particular failures and successes; and his personal relations with his present teacher—all these factors need to be known before remedial measures can be planned intelligently. In most situations the classroom teacher and the school principal are the ones who must assemble such data and plan the procedures for readjustment.

One important avenue of approach to any maladjusted child is that of raising the level of his school achievement. Even when the problem has its roots in an irremediable situation outside the school, an increase in the number of successful classroom experiences often offers the child compensations for the tribulations which he has not been able to avoid. What can the principal do to bring about these successful experiences? First, he can help the teacher to obtain pertinent data from all possible sources. Second, he can become an active agent himself in the rehabilitation campaign. But his most important contribution is to see that the teacher has the proper mental and emotional attitudes toward maladjustment in general and toward the individual maladjusted child in particular.

The teacher's personal influence—The teacher can be one of the most powerful influences in the life of every child. Everything she feels about him, says or does to him, actively helps or hinders his development. Her opportunity is greatest because her contact with him is intimate, without interference, and continuous for a large

part of every day, and also because her contacts with his parents are apt to color their relationship with him. Her reactions determine the atmosphere of the classroom as well as the attitudes of the children toward her and each other. When a teacher realizes that the hours spent in a classroom are a part of life itself, her primary objective shifts from merely covering the course of study to helping children to adjust themselves to life.

What can a teacher do to prevent the failure and final unhappiness of a person who is at odds with his world? First she must make every effort to discover the sources of his behavior. Van Waters says:

In searching for causes of maladjustment in school, it should be understood that it is trifles which make children happy or unhappy. These trifles are so easily overlooked that only persons with genuine insight into child life can discover their existence and true role. Usually trifles are not slight or fortuitous sources of irritation, but they pierce back to some sensitive tap-root of feeling that arouses the entire personality to pain. The child is defenseless against this attack and responds in the only way it knows, by tantrums, running away, or other emotional release.¹

Providing opportunities for success in class work—It is no easy task for an adult, no matter how sympathetic, to remember the difficulties of childhood. Most older people have grown too far from that period to appreciate the motives of a child. It is, however, relatively easy for a sympathetic teacher to discover the important failures in classroom work, and the even more important successes. It is from what the child can do well that recovery starts. Perhaps his mental equipment has proved entirely inadequate to the tasks assigned. If a special class is available, where such a child need compete only with children who suffer from similar deficiencies, and where the group is small and the teacher especially selected, it may be well to remove him from the scene of his failures. If the organization of the school permits what might be called an adjustment class, he may be removed only from the particular classroom situations which give him difficulty, and placed in a situation which is more conducive to establishing confidence in himself.

But whether such removal is possible or whether the child must remain entirely in the regular classroom, the first step in rehabilitating him is to establish his confidence so that he can be successful in something, and so that by suitable behavior he can earn social approval. His self-respect and pride in his own ability must be restored to normal, or even perhaps expanded beyond the usual point. This is the first aim in the campaign to develop in him a desire to adopt the established pattern of life among the citizens of his group.

¹ Van Waters, Miriam. *Youth in Conflict*. New York: Republic Publishing Co. (now New Republic, Inc.), 1927. p. 95.

Without this desire and some satisfaction of it, no human being is entirely happy.

The exact remedial steps in such a campaign cannot be stated so as to cover all cases. Each problem child offers a new and peculiar pattern of maladjustment which must be treated individually. Yet one fact is generally true: His first successful experiences in application and effort bring to the child previously unimagined satisfactions. Many maladjusted children have seldom experienced approbation from adults; their only successes have come from the admiration of other children who would be defiant of constraint if they dared.

For providing initial experiences in successful achievement we have found arithmetic and oral English to offer the greatest opportunities. If the child has any ability in the solution of arithmetic problems, the desired results may often be most speedily obtained in this subject. After initial success, progress must be maintained until he is entirely confident of his achievement. However, if arithmetic offers too many difficulties, the child can usually learn to express at least one sentence clearly and easily to his class. Whatever the subject, the moment he feels that he has an ability that earns him public praise and his own self-respect, his rehabilitation has begun. The teacher's personal interest in his welfare, the shared rejoicings over each success, and her sympathetic advice after each failure are the keystones of continued improvement.

All of this obviously makes a great demand upon the time, the energy, and the personality of the teacher herself. She must constantly aim to have all the energies of such children directed into productive channels. If, unfortunately, she is determined at whatever cost to make her authority felt and acknowledged, she is likely to respond to trivial misdemeanors with an emotional intensity which increases an antagonism already well established in the pupils. Failure is the certain result in this situation. To be most successful, the teacher must maintain a completely objective and unbiased attitude, free from any prejudice from her own past experience. She must continually reappraise her procedures to make sure that she is offering patient, enduring, and sympathetic guidance thruout the varying manifestations of the problem.

Illustrative case reports—The case studies which follow were reported by classroom teachers who are convinced that the remedial teaching of school subjects has, in these instances, been the major factor in readjustment.

HARVEY

Harvey comes from a home environment which is highly emotional. His mother is overindulgent. His father always disciplines him under the stress of anger. His

parents regard him as a special problem, altho in most respects he resembles the average boy of his age.

Harvey knew he had been a disciplinary problem in the past, and he entered grade 5A prepared to continue his career. He made every effort to show how "bad" he really was. During the first week or so the class teacher completely ignored his misconduct, and never missed an opportunity to commend him. Then she learned that he loved the country and spent his summers on a farm. This gave her the key to his readjustment. She was able to build up Harvey as the class's principal source of knowledge about rural life, and at the same time to strengthen his confidence in his own powers. He now had a motive for better behavior. He showed special aptitude in arithmetic, which furnished another opportunity to commend him.

By the end of the fifth grade Harvey showed marked improvement in all of his studies. His pride in himself as the class "problem" had become submerged in his ambition to succeed in his work.

WILLIAM

William was a shy and awkward boy in grade 4A. He disliked to stand before his class, and when called upon to do so he would giggle or laugh and make queer contortions of his face and body. He read aloud very rapidly and without regard for meaning or punctuation. These practises disturbed the other pupils, and when William was corrected his attitude seemed antagonistic.

A diagnosis of William's difficulties revealed that altho his I.Q. was 105, he was markedly weak in several phases of reading. His eye movements were unrhythmical and too rapid; he moved his lips when reading silently; his speech was slovenly; he had trouble in pronouncing words; and he seemed unable to grasp units of thought. His study habits were likewise faulty; he was unable to follow directions, to glean facts, or to find the central thought in the material studied. His undesirable personality traits were uncertainty, lack of drive, poor power of concentration, and an uncooperative attitude. The teacher had a private conference with the boy, and concluded that his antagonistic attitude was a defense against the disapproval which his awkwardness, nervousness, and inability to read well brought upon him. He agreed to try to overcome his difficulties, and was placed in a special adjustment class for remedial work in reading.

In the adjustment class William was given easier material to read, and many opportunities to appear before his group. The easier material gave him confidence because he did not need help with words or thoughts. At first he read only one or two sentences at a time, but gradually the passages became longer. There was cooperation with the regular classroom teacher, who endeavored to have the boy read at least one sentence of the more difficult material each day. With his interest aroused, his attention was better and his work improved. In study reading he was given much material, with a variety of checks upon his progress. He remained in the adjustment class for three terms, and was dismissed at the beginning of grade 5B. Since then, his class work has been up to grade.

CHARLES

Charles was a small thin boy of ten years. His life, before his admission to a children's home, had been one of poverty and neglect. His father was killed early one morning while in the act of stealing food for his family. The mother had always been neglectful of her home and children, but the notoriety brought to her by the death of her husband made matters even worse. Sympathetic persons sent money, until she had in her possession almost five hundred dollars. All this money was squandered on parties and clothes, the children doing what housework was done, and the older children caring for the younger ones. Upon the complaint of neighbors the home was investigated, and upon order of the court the children were removed and placed in an orphanage.

Charles was quiet and shy with an attractive smile. He was unusually small and thin for his age. Adjustment to group life in the children's home did not come

easily to him. In school he attracted little attention of any kind. One day the superintendent of the home called to find out if there was any difficulty with Charles in school. At home he wasn't eating or sleeping properly and had begun to lose weight. They had withdrawn him from the dormitory to smaller quarters, thinking the excitement of group life was too great for him. However, matters had become worse, and the immediate cause of the superintendent's visit was the fact that Charles had begun to threaten suicide.

In school Charles had presented no unusual behavior problem. However, the principal sent for him and said, "Charles, I hear you aren't very happy these days." He smiled wanly and a few tears appeared as he confessed that he was not. Upon being asked the cause of his unhappiness he stated quite frankly, "I am dumb." Now, just a week before, Charles had led his class in a citywide reading test; his achievement was two grade scores above the grade norm, and fortunately the principal was acquainted with this fact. It was pointed out to Charles that no one who was dumb could achieve such a fine record. Upon further probing as to why he felt inadequate, he replied, "My mother says I'm dumb because I can't do arithmetic."

Conference with his teacher showed that Charles was incapable of doing fifth-grade arithmetic because he had little knowledge of the basic number facts. His record showed irregular attendance—most of it due to parental neglect. The principal attempted to persuade him that his reading achievement, and not his arithmetic, was a true measure of his ability. The superintendent of the home interviewed the mother and pointed out what harm her critical remarks were doing to her son. Then a plan to remove Charles from his regular grade and place him in a restoration class was discussed with him. He was told that he could get the background in arithmetic which he now lacked, and that eventually he would be returned to his regular grade. He readily agreed to the transfer.

Charles spent a little over five months in the special grade. He was happy, contented, and proud of his increasing ability to handle arithmetic. It was necessary for the special class teacher to go back to second-grade work in this subject. Charles had no idea of any number combinations; nor had he the faintest idea of the fundamental operations, altho he did his reading on the sixth-grade level. His supervisor at the home worked with him also, and as a result his progress in arithmetic was rapid. In approximately three and one-half months he had acquired a knowledge of all required number combinations, and elementary skill in the fundamental operations.

In the meantime, the authorities at the home continued to give him special sleeping accommodations, and to regulate carefully his diet. At the end of five months he was ready for the work in fractions required in grade 5A. There was also an improvement in his attitude toward himself and in his general health. His teacher had made a great deal of his rapid progress in arithmetic and of his ability in reading.

Charles has just been returned to the regular 5B grade. His return has been so recent that it is not possible to report his progress there at the time of writing this report. However, it seems reasonable to assume that his progress will be normal, since the cause of his extreme discouragement—his inability to handle the arithmetic of his grade—has now been removed.

It should be noted that in this case the school had not only the services of a special teacher, but also the close and intelligent cooperation of the authorities in the institution where Charles lived.

Conclusion—The preceding illustrations indicate how important remedial teaching may be in the solution of pupils' personality problems. A child's failure in any phase of school work tends to produce emotional and social maladjustments. This does not mean that such maladjustments are always due mainly to a lack of success in school

subjects. Often, perhaps usually, there are other complicating factors over which the school has little or no control. Sometimes poor school work is a result rather than a cause of maladjustment. But success in the classroom helps to compensate the maladjusted pupil for any lack of opportunities elsewhere. It gives him new confidence, self-respect, and courage to face other situations in which he is less fortunate and less successful. If other factors are primarily responsible for his difficulty, they must be remedied before complete recovery can be effected. In any case, however, direct efforts to remove the weak pupil's specific scholastic deficiencies are essential if he is to regain and maintain the most desirable personality adjustment.

HOW OFTEN does a teacher say, "John, the reason your spelling is so poor is that you have such poor habits of study," and after giving him this double dose of failure expects him to be inspired to greater effort! On the contrary, in planning the successful education of children, emphasis should be placed on positive achievements. The teacher should say: "John, yesterday you spelled more words correctly than you usually do. Can you remember how you studied them? What did you do first? What did you do after that? Was there any special way in which you tried to remember them?"—Marshall, Jessica, p. 354 of this yearbook.

THE ADJUSTMENT TEACHER IN A CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

ALICE K. LIVERIGHT

Principal, Logan Demonstration School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

FITTING THE SCHOOL to the child implies the arrangement of conditions so that every normal pupil may have a full opportunity both to develop mentally and to adjust healthfully to his school environment. For the vast majority of children, probably, normal healthful growth is attained in the modern classroom with its rather large group of children under the direction of an understanding teacher. On the other hand, an appreciable number of pupils of normal intelligence fail to profit by the regular class work. They exhibit blind spots, as it were, with respect to one or more subjects. Frequently their scholastic difficulties are accompanied or perhaps caused by emotional disturbances and overt behavior problems. To help bring about the well-rounded, normal development of these pupils with difficulties, the "adjustment teacher" was provided in the Philadelphia schools in September 1933.

Scope of the adjustment teacher's work—Since reading is so vital in the school curriculum, the adjustment teacher confines herself mostly to assisting pupils who exhibit marked reading difficulties, altho in some schools arithmetic has been added to her schedule. Wherever possible, she also reserves several periods each week for intensive individual work in whatever phase of the curriculum is needed by pupils who have lost much time thru absence, or who have moved from distant school districts. Because disabilities in reading occupy such a large proportion of her attention, this article deals primarily with her work in that field.

Pupils are sent from their classes to the adjustment teacher in groups of from six to twelve, for from two to five thirty-minute periods a week. They are classified in accordance with their reading level. Should there be too many children at a particular level to form only one group, further division is based on type of difficulty, intelligence, age, interests, and regular grade placement. Each pupil continues to receive assistance until he is able to profit unaided by his classroom work. It is obvious, therefore, that the period in the adjustment class varies from a few weeks, if a pupil's difficulty can be remedied easily, to several years if the weakness is deep-rooted, difficult to diagnose, and persistent.

The work of the adjustment teacher may be said to comprise five phases:

1. Finding the cause or causes of difficulty or disability (diagnosis).
2. Finding possible remedies by means of which the disabilities may be removed.

3. Assisting the pupil to apply the remedies (remedial teaching).
4. Recording and checking continually to note not only progress and the circumstances under which progress occurs, but also failure with its attendant circumstances. This procedure requires meticulous care.
5. Transmitting positive findings applicable to the classroom to the teaching group, in order that regular class technics may be modified to strengthen teaching and to avoid further failures.

Diagnosing pupils' difficulties—To find the cause of the difficulty, the adjustment teacher makes use of all available data. The regular teachers fill and send to the adjustment class for each candidate some such record as the "Teacher's Diagnostic Blank," shown in Figure I.

Each item on this record is important, since it can be used in understanding the child and guiding his reading development. The age, intelligence quotient, grade, and reading level (such as primer or first reader) aid in the classification of pupils into adjustment groups. "Reading Opportunities in the Home" gives the teacher a clue as to the desirability of stimulating the pupil to bring books from home to the class. It may suggest a conference with the parents. This conference sometimes shows the mother how she, in her very zeal to conquer a reading deficiency, is producing in her child a negative attitude toward reading. Frequently it points the way to what the teacher must do to overcome a meager home environment. "Language Used in the Home" is a guide to the need and means to be used for developing a larger vocabulary and more fluent English usage before much headway can be made in reading.

The "Record of Standard Tests" refers to any standard tests previously administered to the regular class. All pupils take the Philadelphia Reading Test; in addition, other more detailed diagnostic tests are given at times. Eight columns are provided for scores, so that there is provision for full recording of results in the case of tests which include many subtests, such as the Sangren-Woody, for instance.

"Specific Interests in School" gives the adjustment teacher a means of associating reading with a satisfying activity. Only this term our adjustment teacher has reached an overage boy who was antagonistic to reading thru his interest in art, and another thru baseball. "Specific Interests out of School" provides similar clues toward the development of reading interests.

As a guide to diagnosis of difficulties, each classroom teacher receives a checklist on which are designated various possible difficulties in reading as well as types of personality problems. It is true that both the reading difficulties and the personality problems indicated on the list are mere symptoms of maladjustment rather than basic causes. However, they present the picture of the child as he appears

Teacher's Diagnostic Blank

Last Name of Pupil _____ First _____ Date of Birth _____
 Mo. Day Year _____ I.Q. _____ Grade _____ Room No. _____

Date of Admission to _____ Date of Dismissal from _____
 Adjustment Class _____ Adjustment Class _____

Terms in Grade Section:

1A	1B	2A	2B	3A	3B	4A	4B	5A	5B	6A	6B
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Approximate Reading Level _____

Reading Opportunities in the Home: E _____ G _____ F _____ P _____ (Check)

Language Used in the Home _____

Reading Attitude: E _____ G _____ F _____ P _____ (Check)

Record of Standard Tests (Note Below)

NAME OF STUDENT		SCORES															
DATE	NAME OF TEST	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.	Sub.
		G*	1	G*	2	G*	3	G*	4	G*	5	G*	6	G*	7	G*	T

Specific Interests in School _____

Specific Interests out of School _____

* Grade Score

FIGURE 1—FORM FOR DIAGNOSING PUPIL DIFFICULTIES

to the class teacher, and thus point the way to beginning treatment. It is not difficult to realize that the use of these checklists aids the regular teacher in developing a more penetrating attitude toward her pupils. Other pertinent remarks sometimes reveal how the teacher has worked with the child, her degree of success, and sometimes her feelings about the pupil.

The adjustment teacher studies these records, confers with the classroom teacher, and makes rough preliminary groupings of the pupils assigned to her care. These groupings are of course extremely flexible. Changes are made whenever it is ascertained that a pupil would fit better in a different group. It is in accordance with modern procedure to begin where a need is recognized and to change procedures as further developments indicate.

The adjustment teacher also utilizes two other records which aid her in modifying her diagnosis continually. The first of these is the "Adjustment Teacher's Individual Cumulative Record." On this cumulative record she begins with the class teacher's findings, makes a rough estimate of the difficulties, and records these on a line marked "Diagnosis." In the spaces below, she registers the types of remedial work applied and the period of application. Mention is likewise made of informal tests used to provide practise in overcoming each difficulty and to note development. Under "Personality Description" is space for a brief record of how the adjustment teacher finds the child upon entrance to her group, and for a word or two concerning subsequent development. Such a statement obviously is inadequate when a real personality problem exists. Records under "Conference with Teacher" round out the picture of the pupil, showing whether or not he presents the same personality in his regular class as in his adjustment group, and to what extent he profits in regular class by the extra assistance.

An additional record provides space for noting the results of standard tests given in the adjustment group. Every child takes the Gray Oral Reading Test, because it reveals so much concerning overt reading difficulties as well as personality problems. Therefore, specific mention of the Gray Test is made in the record. We recognize that these record forms are far from perfect, and are attempting to arrange one record that will take the place of the two.

To assist in the diagnosis of pupils who present persistent, elusive difficulties, a further record is absolutely essential. It consists of descriptive running notes, showing minutely the behavior of the child. His progressive ability to use the new environment created by the adjustment teacher is indicated by a continuing record of his reactions to that environment. An example of several notations from

a previous record will serve to illustrate. This child was a seven-year-old non-reader, antagonistic toward learning in general:

October 15—Today Bertha's attention held for a few moments. It was when we were reading "Toots-in-School." She said he looked like her dog.

October 25—Animal characters continue to captivate her. Her interest lags when we attempt to find words, sounds, or do any form of practise exercises. I am helping her to make a circus and to label the animals with names and descriptive captions.

November 25—Bertha studies a little better. Her interest is always awake. She guesses at words rather than working them out, altho she knows beginning sounds. Possibly she will always use context as her most definite clue. She is beginning to enjoy the other children's reading.

Applying remedial measures—After the preliminary diagnosis and record-making, the adjustment teacher sets out to find and to apply remedies by which disabilities may be removed. Here she borrows a leaf from the notebook of the modern social case worker. When she has a composite picture of the child from the records, she accepts the child as she finds him. Before delving further into his past she provides immediate reading opportunities for him. Whatever the cause of his deficiency, she knows that she has before her one who reads not at all or with difficulty for his age and grade level. He may have failed because of continued absence from school, or because of frequent changing from school to school and the consequent change in reading methods. Perhaps a zealous parent, overly ambitious for his child's success, may have replaced a natural desire to learn with fear of failure, discouragement, and antagonism toward reading. However, the adjustment teacher, like the wise social worker, knows she cannot make the child over. All she can do is to provide opportunities so that he can utilize his environment; the change must come from the child himself. Whatever the cause of failure, then, the child has suffered from not having met success, from continual discouragement. The teacher therefore applies her first remedial measure by providing material at or even slightly below the child's present reading level. Thus perhaps the child will meet success in reading during his adjustment periods; he can use his reading environment with results pleasing to himself.

For a surprising number of pupils, this finding of the appropriate reading level and providing abundant opportunity to read there, is a beginning which leads to renewed assurance, gradual improvement, and eventual success. It was feared originally that the older pupils would resent simple material, such as experience charts based upon expressed interests and the paper-back pre-primers. Experience has proved that these materials can be adapted so that the children enjoy them. There is a therapeutic value for these pupils in successfully

reading many short stories, and in finishing many books with comparative ease. It is obvious that such a remedy must be applied with a sympathetic attitude, with an awareness of children's tastes, and with encouragement of the children to attempt material of increasing difficulty. When Bobby, who makes boats whenever the opportunity permits, brought a huge picture of the *Normandie*, for instance, the teacher used his interest as a stimulus to more difficult reading concerning boats.

As soon as the child meets some success, he can usually tolerate seeing himself objectively and noting his reading weaknesses. He then is ready to work with the teacher in planning cooperatively for his own improvement. At this point the teacher uses all her specialized knowledge about the technics of reading to guide the pupil further. She draws from the findings of experts on the one hand, and from her penetrating observation of her pupil at work on the other hand, to determine whether the next step is merely to present more difficult and extensive material, or whether certain reading habits need correction before success is attainable. She leads the pupil to understand his weakness and to make intensive effort to improve.

Until recently it was our practise when unsuccessful, to try one technic after another, hoping to make the child read almost in spite of himself. We have learned thru observation that this not only is wasteful but frequently intensifies antagonism toward reading after the cause of failure is revealed. We realize that if success is to be enduring, the pupil must wish to help himself. Therefore, when ten-year-old Charles evinced much fondness for drawing, but antagonism toward reading, the teacher interested him in illustrating experience-charts for her, and then in copying captions for his illustrations. As she herself is an artist, she showed him some of her paintings and asked his help in making picture puzzles. After several months of patient, sympathetic guidance, he is absorbed in "Art Stories," material more difficult than that with which his group is working. His difficulty apparently was based originally on an emotional maladjustment. When he felt that reading could intensify his pleasure in art, he gave himself to the task of learning to read, a result not to be achieved by diversified forms of driving.

Numerous other illustrations might be cited to show that patient study of the child, willingness to await his development, and the attempt to meet him on his own interest level are the first steps toward his emotional release and his positive effort to improve himself. Important as is the specialized study of technics to improve special reading defects, it is equally vital for adjustment to meet the child's

emotional needs in such a way that he himself *wills* to utilize his reading environment for his own benefit.

Thruout the term there is continual checking to note the forms of treatment which bring success and those which are attended by failure. Impressions of results are verified at frequent intervals by both informal and standard tests. Frequently the adjustment teacher and the class teacher confer to discuss their individual findings concerning the various pupils, and to plan together and change plans. Since 1933 the teaching in the classrooms has been modified by the adjustment teacher's findings and suggestions. To cite only one instance, the teachers of beginning reading advance to difficult material more slowly than formerly, and after vastly more practise with the simplest materials.

Qualifications of the adjustment teacher—What type of teacher should be selected to do this vitally important adjustment work? Since she studies emotional as well as mental difficulties, such a teacher must be not only mentally alert but also emotionally mature—able to study pupils with a completely detached, objective viewpoint. Her interest should penetrate beyond the immediate symptoms to a search for causes and possible remedies. Not only is it necessary that she be familiar with the work of the most modern leaders in the field of reading, but she should be prepared also to do original research with her pupil subjects.

As adjustment pupils require every reasonable form of stimulation, a teacher with a pleasing personality is a requisite. Her equipment must include not only the technics of a teacher, but the patience, objectivity, and willingness to await developments which characterize the effective case worker. Her success with difficult pupils will often depend upon her ability to meet each in his own field of interest. Therefore, her own interests and talents should be varied. The work brings her into professional contact with the other teachers of the staff. For satisfactory give and take, the adjustment teacher must both respect the viewpoints of her associates and in turn possess their wholesome respect. Thus, the requirements of the adjustment teacher are many and exacting; so, also, are the practises involved in her work, the wholesome adjustment of the child.

IMPROVING PUPIL ATTITUDES THRU THE PERSONAL CONFERENCE

NORMA GILLET

Instructor in Elementary Education, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska

AMONG THE MANY PRACTISES and devices used in the elementary school to promote the development of well-balanced, socially competent individuals is the personal interview or conference between teacher and pupil. There are perhaps as many types of personal interview as there are private contacts between teacher and individual pupil. For purposes of this discussion, however, the personal interview is defined as a systematic, planned conference, usually instigated by the teacher, and having for its purpose the improvement of the pupil's personal or scholastic responses as they affect his social adjustments. The personal conference does not mean a hasty admonition that "You will fail this course unless you spend more time on it," or "You must stay after school tonight because you disturbed the other children on the playground at recess time," or even a kindlier "Jack, I'll help you with those problems if you can come early in the morning." The personal conference implies a careful analysis of pupil difficulties, whether of personality or school adjustment, and a definite plan for amelioration.

OBSTACLES TO EFFECTIVE USE OF THE PERSONAL CONFERENCE BY TEACHERS

The successful personal interview is difficult for teachers to achieve for several reasons. First, teaching loads in many schools are so heavy that classroom teachers and principals have little time for special attention to the problems of individual pupils. The ordinary teacher with forty or fifty pupils has her hands full with class work during the day and clerical duties after school hours. A second and related factor is the lamentable but persistent overemphasis in many schools upon school marks and the mastery of facts, instead of upon growth in desirable ways of living. As long as teachers are considered valuable primarily in proportion to the measurable achievement of their pupils in school subjects, just so long will they tend to neglect the study and treatment of the individual child as a whole.

Inadequate teacher preparation is a third factor which often reduces the value of the personal interview in improving pupil adjustment. Most teachers colleges do not sufficiently stress the importance of getting at the basic causes of maladjustments, or of planning a remedial program for the child's personality as a whole. While courses

in mental hygiene and child psychology are steps in the right direction, we must face the fact that many teachers in service have not had the benefit of such training, and are therefore distinctly handicapped for the work of individual pupil guidance.

In addition to adequate training, a sort of psychological deftness is necessary for the successful use of the personal interview, and this is not every teacher's gift. It is easier for some teachers to force a child to conform, than it is to find out why he does not conform and to create in him a *desire* to do so. If the teacher feels that she is personally incapable of dealing with pupil difficulties in a conference, she should ask some better qualified person to handle the conference.

It is not to be assumed, of course, that by merely conferring individually with her pupils the teacher can eliminate all personality difficulties. Often a pupil's attitudes cannot be changed unless certain changes are made in his environment, and many environmental factors are beyond the control of either teacher or pupil.

There are, however, several sources of help to which the teacher can turn when planning and conducting conferences with children. Altho few schools are fortunate enough to have a trained school psychologist, a psychiatrist, or a regular school clinic, most of them have administrative records which are valuable in pupil guidance. Regular reports on a pupil's scholastic achievement, his citizenship, and his health are frequently kept on cumulative record cards which are available to the classroom teacher. The cooperation of the principal, of other teachers, and especially of parents may be of great assistance in identifying and treating the maladjustments of pupils. Current professional books and magazines contain many helpful and tangible suggestions for dealing with personality problems. By consulting all available sources of assistance, and by following certain principles such as those suggested in the following paragraphs, the interested classroom teacher will find that in spite of numerous difficulties the personal conference can be made a very effective factor in the improvement of pupil behavior.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SUCCESS OF PERSONAL CONFERENCES

A cooperative spirit—A friendly, cooperative spirit must characterize teacher-pupil relationships in the classroom before results can be achieved with individual children in private conference. The teacher who is fair and impartial, even-tempered and patient, enthusiastic, intellectually honest, and mentally alert will have much more opportunity to gain the confidence of even the problem child than one who is inconsistent, emotional, or slovenly in her teaching. Children

judge teachers by their own standards, where "playing fair" is the first rule of the game.

Analysis of conditions and causes—In a situation which calls for a private conference, careful analysis must be made of the conditions and causes of the problem. Study of the home conditions under which the child lives often offers a clue to his social behavior and emotional attitudes in school. The physical condition of the child may be so unsatisfactory that maladjustment is directly attributable to poor health. Faulty hearing, poor eyesight, and digestive disturbances have a direct bearing on the attitude and behavior of the child, tending to make him irritable and quarrelsome. Malnutrition is a common cause of low energy or indecision in the child.

The pupil's social education may have been inadequate, so that he does not respond normally in ordinary situations. If a boy bullies other children, there may be any number of causes underlying his behavior. For example, he may be so oppressed and bullied at home that he makes up for this condition by bothering smaller children at school. Or he may be so spoiled and petted at home that he feels it logical to dominate on the playground as he does at home. Not until the teacher has done all she can to identify the causes underlying unsocial behavior, should she attempt an interview with the child. This statement does not mean that the erring child should not be curbed by some direct means as soon as undesirable behavior is manifested. It is only fair to the other pupils in the group that they should be thus protected. The teacher should, however, bring all available information to bear upon the case before the conference takes place. The teacher's information is then supplemented by the child's story during the interview.

An objective attitude—The interview must be called for and conducted in a non-emotional fashion. Attempting to correct a child while the teacher is angry does not help the child to see the error of his ways. It is a mistake, too, for a teacher to interpret misbehavior as a personal affront, or to discuss misbehavior with a child while the teacher feels resentful. An emotional attitude toward a problem tends to obscure the issue in the teacher's mind and lessens the effectiveness of what she has to say.

Implied in the above statement is the recommendation that no interview should be conducted under time pressure. The interview should be scheduled at a time when both pupil and teacher can devote their entire attention to the problem at hand. Before school is probably a better time than after school, as the element of fatigue and consequent irritation is eliminated or greatly reduced in the before-school interview.

Sincere interest in the child—The factor of genuine interest on the part of the teacher conducting the interview is usually assured, as the teacher who does not have the pupil's interest at heart will not trouble to plan and conduct a personal interview. One who is not sincerely interested will merely insist on the appearance of conformance without getting at the root of the difficulty.

Fortunately, children usually discern and react favorably to any evidence of interest in them. The teacher who knows about Susan's new doll, the coming circus in Jack's barn, or the airplane ride which Billy took, has found one way of convincing children of her interest in them. When such an instructor asks Jack to come for a conference the next morning, Jack does not come with the feeling that he is going to "catch it" for something he has done. The teacher is his friend; she is interested in him; and he does not resent her asking him to come early. Needless to say, the interview is ruined at the start if any idea of punishment or unfair discrimination attends the making of the appointment. Jack should be approached quietly, and none of the other children need know of the planned conference. There is a social nicety about teacher-pupil conferences which can be achieved in much the same way as the doctor-patient relationship. None of the children should fear the teacher; nor will they, if she has convinced them of her interest in them and their affairs.

The question of whether the teacher should ever appeal for personal loyalty in order to effect improvement is a disputed one. It seems, on the whole, that the child's desire to improve should be based upon his realization of the inadequacies of his behavior, rather than upon his personal affection for the teacher. However, if the teacher's personal appeal is the only means of approaching a particular child, it may be permissible in his case.

Willingness to face the facts—It is psychologically sound and desirable that the interview be a fact-facing proposition for both the pupil and the teacher. The child himself is always aware of a social difficulty altho he may be miserably ignorant of its causes. If, for example, the other girls in the room refuse to play with Jane, Jane herself certainly is conscious that a difficulty exists somewhere. If Fred, in the third grade, gives up easily and cries over his failures, he is certainly aware that he is not happy and that something is wrong. Hence it is a good thing if the child himself can be led to state his problem, whether it be carelessness of the property of others, day-dreaming, cruelty, shirking of responsibility, or untidy habits of work. A clear-sighted acceptance of the problem on the child's part is the first step towards its solution. He should accept his share of

the blame for the situation, and should face frankly the question of what to do about it.

The pupil, as well as the teacher, should give careful consideration to the possible causes of the maladjustment. He may give the teacher some clue to the source of his behavior which will affect her procedure during the remainder of the interview.

Stimulation of child's desire to improve—Motivating the child to work for the solution of his own difficulties is doubtless a crucial factor in the successful conference. The teacher who has the confidence of the child can speak plainly, but without condemnation, of the social consequences of undesirable behavior. A third-grader should learn that altho a bully may get his own way for a time, he will gradually become more disliked until the other children will leave him out of their groups. A child who refuses to assume his share of responsibility for work in the schoolroom should be helped to realize the effect of his laxness on the attitude of his companions toward him, and his failure as a member of the social group. With children, as with adults, the affection, tolerance, and respect of their companions are essential to happily adjusted living. Fear of losing companionship is one of the most potent forces in motivating the child to improve his behavior, for society does bar offenders who transgress its laws. This fact is as evident in a game of baseball in the fourth grade as it is in legal courts of justice. The teacher is one of the chief interpreters of society to the child, and nowhere is this function more important than in the personal interview.

The antisocial child can be told how other children resent his acts, whether they be acts of cruelty, meanness, or lack of regard for others. The child who is diffident and self-effacing needs different treatment. A key to success in any conference, and especially with the shy child, is to find his particular interest or ability, and to use it as a basis for developing his confidence in social situations in which he has felt inadequate. Children who present social and personality problems because they have never succeeded in their school work must have their self-respect restored to them thru success in some worthy activity if they are to regain their personal integrity without becoming more seriously maladjusted socially.

Needless to say, the attitude of the teacher thruout the interview should be sympathetic but not sentimental, friendly but not condoning, and frank without being unnecessarily cruel. She should summarize with the child all the evidence on his problem, and should work out with him an attack on the difficulty.

Emphasis on the child's strong points—There are few, if any, children who do not possess some desirable characteristics. The boy who

lacks all sense of responsibility for school work may be unusually clean and neat about his personal appearance; the girl who is thoughtlessly discourteous may have a great deal of initiative and take responsibility well. It is most advantageous in the personal conference to discover and point out to the child any evidence of his strength, talent, or ability. This is helpful for several reasons:

1. It sets the tone of the conference as one of personality appraisal, rather than as a one-sided discussion of errors and wrong-doings.
2. It enables the teacher to make positive rather than negative suggestions.
3. It keeps the child from being totally discouraged about his situation.
4. It lays the foundation for confidence and gives the child a better attitude toward mapping out a program of improvement in lines of endeavor in which he has not been so successful.

Definite plans for improvement and appraisal—The analysis of difficulties by teacher and pupil, and a frank discussion of the personal and social implications of the types of behavior in question, should be followed at once by outlining procedures for improvement. These should be definite suggestions in terms of actual situations which the child will meet. Generalizations like "You must be more polite," must be interpreted and exemplified to mean, "Do not interrupt when your mother is speaking to someone else," or "Let older people enter the door first. Do not crowd thru ahead of them." Being more responsible must mean, "Bring back your library books before they are due," or "Make a list of two things you can do to save your mother work. Bring to school a list of those things you do to help her."

Some teachers find it helpful to list with the child definite suggestions to which he can refer. Occasionally a graph or chart may be found helpful as a tangible means of recording improvement. Other means of checking on improvement are reports to the teacher in brief follow-up conferences.

Appreciation of small successes—The teacher who is interested enough to plan and conduct a conference with the child will be quick to notice and comment on any evidence of his success. If other children in the group notice his improved behavior, the teacher has a powerful argument for convincing him of its value. However, failure on the part of the child to show any appreciable improvement should not result in a head-shaking resignation to his "incurability," but rather in a renewed effort to get at the roots of the difficulty and make better plans for clearing it up. After all, a social maladjustment which has been aggravated for years by failure, sense of inadequacy, disapproval of other children, punishment, and possible physical complications, can hardly be completely cured in a week,

a month, or even a year. Patience must characterize the teacher's follow-up procedure. If she can make the child conscious of the real difficulty, help him define and launch a plan for getting rid of the difficulty, and be patient while he makes even a little showing of improvement, the personal conference will be a success.¹

SUMMARY

Since for some time to come, in the majority of school situations, the elementary teacher must play the role of social doctor to the personality ills and social maladjustments of her pupils, several suggestions based on the experience of successful teachers are here offered by way of summary.

1. There is need for more and better training of elementary-school teachers in child psychology and personality development.

2. A successful rapport must be established between pupil and teacher before a successful conference can be held. Qualities of fairness, sympathy, tolerance, broad-mindedness, patience, even temper, enthusiasm, and intellectual honesty help a teacher to establish this rapport with her group.

3. A conference should be preceded by a careful teacher analysis of both manifestations and possible causes of maladjustment.

4. The conference itself should be characterized by a non-emotional, frank discussion of the problem and its personal implications, plus a definite procedure for effecting and recording improvement.

5. The follow-up observation by the teacher who works with the child is an essential factor if the conference is to result in improved behavior and more adequate personality adjustments within the social group.

¹See Chapter VIII for discussion of the types and sources of assistance which the teacher may obtain from specialists in child guidance.

TO MOST TEACHERS, classroom discipline is an annoying problem to be solved as expeditiously as possible in order that the class may proceed with its work. The psychiatrist refuses to dismiss disciplinary procedures so lightly. He views classroom discipline not as a series of tricks to assure pupils' instant obedience, but as an educative process which regards the child's adjustment to the classroom as part of his adjustment to life.—Rivlin, Harry N., p. 420 of this yearbook.

THE CORRECTION OF SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES THRU GLANDULAR THERAPY

FLORENCE MATEER

Director, Merryheart School and Clinic of the Efficient Child, Columbus, Ohio

NO MATTER HOW WE MAY GENERALIZE the problems of personality adjustment in children, when all theoretical remarks have been made and interpreted, the work with personality difficulties as it confronts the clinician or the teacher resolves itself into treating special problems in individual children. No one can successfully deal with timidity, fear, depressions, antagonisms, negativism, tantrums, or any other general characteristic in a uniform manner. Too many things may be involved, too many extraordinary factors may occur, to permit of such a simple course of procedure. In a general discussion of clinical experiences, therefore, the most one may hope to accomplish is a formulation of the more common tendencies as they have appeared and reappeared in child after child, with a word of warning that individual children may vary greatly and thus may need different treatments.

It is from this conservative angle that the following article is written. Nothing would be more foolish than to assert that glandular deficiencies are the cause of all personality problems; nothing more dangerous than to assume that glandular therapy is the only corrective approach to such problems. Nevertheless, enough has been learned in this relatively new field to warrant the serious attention of school physicians, principals, and teachers.¹ Appropriate medical treatment has been found, in certain types of cases, to produce improvements in the child's personality as well as in his physical condition. Needless to say, such treatment should be undertaken only under the immediate direction of a qualified physician.

CASES OF CALCIUM DEFICIENCY

Probably the most common complaint about a child that comes to parents and clinicians from the schoolroom is that "He doesn't concentrate," "He lacks ability to concentrate," or "He will not pay attention." So many of the more serious types of difficulty start with this characteristic that it seems well worth our consideration. The usual procedure of studying such a child by means of some well-established group of mental tests leaves much to be desired. First of all, the child usually tests up to at least a normal level. He almost always cooperates well during the examination period, enjoys the individual attention and the constantly changing test-demands made upon him, and shows but

¹ For a general treatment of the effect of endocrine glands, see: Cameron, A. T. *Recent Advances in Endocrinology*. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Sons and Co., 1935. 406 p. Timme, Walter. *Lectures on Endocrinology*. 2d ed. New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1932. 192 p.

little tendency to withhold the response demanded. As a result, not only is the clinical worker overimpressed by the child's ability, but he tends to become partisan and critical of a school or other agency which finds fault with such potentially good material. He is apt to advise placement in another school, participation in extracurricular activities, giving the child more "sense of accomplishment," or other well-sounding but hard-to-attach-to-reality suggestions.

If, however, this same child is taken into an observation group for two or three days, and given lessons in a purely scientific and impersonal fashion, the same personality problems as the regular grade teacher has reported will probably show up most emphatically. Indeed, in most instances one wonders how the teacher has restrained her criticism to such a moderate statement of the child's actual behavior! The tragedy in such a situation is revealed later when other disturbances develop out of the earlier case of distraction. Such children can often be helped at little expense and with great satisfaction, for a large proportion of them are deficient in calcium utilization. They may drink plenty of milk but be unable to make use of it, or they may be primarily deficient in the amount of calcium supplied by their ordinary diet.

Calcium deficiency leads to a general "overawareness" of one's environment. Noises are loud and distracting, movement that catches the corner of the eye imperatively demands attention, motion anywhere impels attention, and lessons are "attended from." But this state does not remain so simple and relatively innocuous. There usually develops a further state of overawareness in which the individual is distinctly irritable and negativistic. He may exhibit tantrums, become destructive, show irritating habits of pounding, kicking, and making faces, or in other equally disturbing ways compensate for his own unrealized discomfort.

These children are in many instances merely deficient in calcium itself, but in many others the calcium imbalance is but one factor in a disturbance which has as its basis the disturbed function of one of the ductless glands, or, as they are more properly called, the "endocrines." Correction may lie in drinking more milk, in sunbaths, in cod liver oil, in ultraviolet-ray treatments, in the use of calcium (perhaps in a combination of calcium with other substances), or it may necessitate the use of some type of endocrine feeding, such as pituitary, parathyroid, or thyroid.²

² In this connection see: Hoskins, R. G. *The Tides of Life*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1933. 352 p. ¶Marinus, C. J. "Retarded School Children Improved by Glandular Treatment." *Nation's Schools* 12: 11-15; August, 1933. ¶Mateer, Florence. *Glands and Efficient Behavior*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935. 243 p.

CASES OF GLANDULAR DEFICIENCY

Often it is said of a child, "He is bright but he will not apply himself." No modern clinic could find a more graphic phrase, and if we substitute just one word in the description and say, "He is bright but he *cannot* apply himself," we shall probably have a correct differentiation of the child's ability on the one hand, and his utilization of it functionally on the other. The contrast so observed is a very common one in gland cases. Many a child has sufficient intellectual endowment to be able to comprehend all that is required of him, but he does not have the energy, the reserve vitality, the "will power" to function up to the level at which he can comprehend. This is a very common characteristic in the milder forms of lowered thyroid and lowered pituitary functioning. Needless to say, the same lowered functioning might result from many other physical variations, such as the presence of a large amount of adenoid tissue impairing breathing, a toxic condition of any sort, or some acute condition such as diabetes, which in itself is a failure of glandular activity.

Lowered thyroid activity—Another obvious handicap at all ages and levels of childhood is also often to be attributed to a slight thyroid deficiency. Children are bright, capable of learning, interested, and co-operative, but in proportion to their ability they are shy, fearful, and timid, never take the initiative, and must often be urged to take their normal part in group activities with children of their own age. Usually these children are rather small for their age; often they are excused upon the basis of this relative inferiority in size, and the teacher as well as the parent rests contentedly upon the expectation of seeing them take their proper places in another year or two.

This inadequate social assertion is not only common in hypothyroid children, but in many instances it yields quickly to a very small amount of medication. Just recently the writer has seen a case of unusual interest, in which a bright six-year-old changed completely in certain social attitudes and reactions. This child, reared with the assistance of a pediatrician, properly handled by intelligent parents, and given an excellent environment, had been under preschool and kindergarten training for two years with no perceptible gain in self-reliance, initiative, or even normal social responses. Careful scrutiny of every phase of her life revealed only minute deviations of a physical nature that might be due to lowered thyroid activity. The personality traits, however, confirmed the possibility of subnormal glandular functioning. Entrance into first-grade work brought no better response, and after one month in that work a very small daily dose of thyroid extract was started. In three weeks the child was taking a normal and very active

part in all group activities, and within the next month she had asserted herself to the point of exercising leadership which was readily accepted by her group. This is not an isolated instance, altho it involved a much more rapid change than is usually experienced. Most cases have a more acute variation or other related factors which must be correlatively worked out to bring complete efficiency in social responses.

Lowered pituitary functioning—Pituitary cases, on the other hand, are far more apt to show variations which are antisocial or destructive to group projects. This condition is in no way related to any special level of intelligence. The most interesting pituitary variants are those who are very bright but so atypical that they will not fit into accepted group programs without a great deal of individual adjustment. These children are usually very stubborn, and unpredictable in their emotional variation from elation to depression, or from acquiescence to negative irritability. Within twenty-four hours it is not at all uncommon to have such a child rated "genius," "exasperating," "stubborn," "charming," "precocious," and "stupid." Medication, instead of a program limited to psychological handling, is often not only satisfactory but amazing in its effect upon these variations. If the diagnosis is correct and the treatment properly applied, the ambivalence of moods gradually decreases, potentialities all seem maximized, and wholesome childish tendencies begin to assert themselves.

Of course, the amount of change varies from child to child, as does the time required for such change. Often, too, the reliability of the home in giving medication must be questioned, as well as the potency of the drug given. Children with lowered I.Q.'s ordinarily do not show such spectacular gains as children of normal mental level in reaching desired forms of self-expression. But even with the child who is seriously retarded, appropriate glandular therapy brings marked personality modifications, as well as, frequently, accelerations of mental growth.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The ramifications of endocrine therapy are so far-reaching that it is almost impossible to list a group of traits which may not be affected by changing the endocrine functioning of the individual possessing them. The depressions, doubts, fears, social inertness, timidity, and inferiority complexes of the hypothyroid child tend to disappear when he is brought near to normal functioning by medication. His "forgetting" of dates, inability to make decisions, and inadequate use of language also show improvement. On the other hand, the extreme self-assertion and tantrums of the hypopituitary case also yield to therapy. The restless, hypertense, scatter-brained efforts of many calcium de-

ficients improve with similar medication or yield instead to parathyroid treatment.

These symptoms, of course, are not always due to mineral deficiencies or to malfunctioning of glands. Yet one who has seen such changes as those just described cannot but wonder what might be the future of the generation just now entering the first grade of school if it could have detailed physiological analysis and study during the first year and again each year thruout its twelve years in our educational system. Children behave as they do because they are what they are physically, as well as because of their training and education. Education is a poorly supported superstructure unless the physical units subjected to it are conditioned to a point of reasonable efficiency. Many of the conditioning factors are still beyond our understanding, but that is no excuse for not utilizing those we know. Until some definite clinical program is carried out, no one can estimate how many children might have their individual efficiency increased, and their social responses improved, by a conservative application of such therapies as are now available but utilized only for the child whose parents are both well informed and progressive.

UNDESIRABLE habits, relations to other people, and scholastic performances are invariably indications that something is wrong with the pupil, his environment, or both, and they call for investigation and adjustment. A teacher, however, should never attempt to go beyond observing the pupil, obtaining the facts which will lead to an understanding of the problem, and helping with a logical remedial program. This is a very necessary warning, for it has been the experience of principals, parents, and mental hygienists that much harm is done by some teachers' assumption of prophetic propensities or their tendency to proclaim sweeping "psychiatric diagnoses."—Kanner, Leo, p. 443 of this yearbook.

MODIFYING UNFAVORABLE INFLUENCES IN HOME AND COMMUNITY

LOUISE MAY SNYDER

Counselor, Los Angeles Junior College, Los Angeles, California

PUPIL MALADJUSTMENTS, as they reveal themselves in the classroom, usually have roots far back in the home and community environments. Thus the modification of these environmental influences is an important factor in treatment. Various methods for working with the family and community agencies have been initiated in many parts of the country. The visiting-teacher movement has demonstrated the feasibility of a tie-up directly between the school and the home. The child-guidance and adjustment clinics have developed new technics for solving behavior problems. Many attempts have been made to harness the community resources in programs of prevention and readjustment.¹ There appears to be widespread acceptance of the principle that the school must go into the community if it is to cope with the situation. No longer is it considered sufficient to treat problem tendencies in pupils as if they were limited in scope to the schoolroom.

The question of just how much initiative the schools can take in meeting problems of maladjustment is difficult to answer. Some of the simpler forms are easily within the range of many teachers' understanding. Parents are often more willing to cooperate with the school than with clinical authorities. Some parents still are prejudiced against clinics and believe that more or less stigma is attached to anyone referred to them. In such instances, school authorities who have the confidence of the public can be of inestimable value. In every case, increased understanding on the part of those directly connected with education is most important for the success of any program to decrease pupil maladjustment.

Reconciling cultural differences between home and school—Communities apparently differ in their tendencies to produce problem children, according to the social conditions which characterize them. School maladjustment shows a similar variation. In a study of problem children in eleven Jersey City elementary schools, the teachers in schools enrolling children preeminently of native extraction reported but 3.1 percent of their pupils as problems, while those in foreign-born sections reported from 7.6 to 8.7 percent of their pupils as problems.² This finding is consistent with the results of other surveys.³

¹ See especially the articles by Buckley and by Bassett in Chapter VIII of this yearbook.

² Snyder, Louise M. "The Problem Child in the Jersey City Elementary Schools." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 7: 343-52; February, 1934.

³ Miller, Joseph. "Foreign Born Parentage and Social Maladjustment." *Psychological Clinic* 19: 19-25; March, 1930.

Probably one cause of the high rates of maladjustment in some schools is the difference in cultural patterns between the community and the school. Teachers who have been surrounded by American traditions and mores all their lives do not always understand the viewpoint of foreign-born parents. Antagonism toward the school as the force which is turning their children from the cultures of the "old country" may be the basis of much of the difficulty. Misunderstandings concerning American standards are provocative of discord at times. The members of the younger generation find it hard to continue the traditions of their foreign parents.

This discrepancy in attitude as one of the underlying causes of maladjustment is illustrated in the case of an eighth-grade Greek girl. When the visiting teacher talked with the parents, she found that the girl was not allowed to go anywhere except to school unless she was accompanied by one of her parents. She was so handicapped in social relations that she seized the opportunity of enjoying some fun during the school day. This necessitated truancy, but saved her from the beatings which inevitably followed any recreation after school hours. When her parents were slowly and painstakingly shown that the girl should have some social life, and assured that it was not considered a "disgrace" in this country for girls to go out without their parents, her life became more normal. Since she no longer needed to escape during school hours, her truancy ceased.

The interpretation of American ways to foreign parents, so that the children are not handicapped by fitting into one pattern at school and another at home, is carried out on a large scale in many places. Classes in English, homemaking, and care of children are held in the schools. Different foreign groups are asked to interpret their cultures in programs given in the school buildings. All these attempts to increase the understanding between the various social patterns or mores are important in smoothing out the environment which breeds maladjustments, and in lessening those which already exist.

Another typical case is that of a boy who was brought to the principal's office because he used very poor grammar in class in spite of anything his teacher could do. Upon further inquiry, it was found that the boy's father was a very ignorant man who prided himself on his tough language. If he caught his son using what he considered "affected, silly" language, he would punish him. The boy was so afraid of his father that he schooled himself to use only talk which he knew would be acceptable at home.

The first attempt to improve this situation only made matters worse, for the father took out his vengeance on the son for what he considered "tattling" on him. However, psychiatric social work skilfully carried

out finally convinced the father that his son might be able to earn a better living if he spoke more like businessmen. The many antagonisms and much of the hatred upon which the prejudice was based were lessened by degrees, and today the father is more inclined to be proud than critical of his son's "larnin'." Thus what had appeared on the surface as merely a case of a boy who refused to learn in school, was traced back into the home environment, which had to be modified before any improvement was possible.

Changing the attitudes of overindulgent parents—Quite in contrast to the cause of maladjustment just discussed, is the overindulgent parent who keeps his child too dependent upon him. In order to modify this unhealthy home influence the "silver cords" must be broken in some way.

A good example of this is the case of a sixth-grade boy who failed to take any responsibility in school, showed no initiative, and had no friends. It was discovered that his mother accompanied him to school and back twice a day and even stayed on the grounds to defend him against other boys. He had no chance to "sprout his wings," but was entirely smothered by his mother's interest and protection. The best way to help this boy to take initiative and get along with those of his own age was to modify the home environment which was making him the way he was. No amount of work on the school situation could remove the difficulty. Improving his own insight into the problem might help, but surely the all-important influence which was playing havoc with his personality growth was the mother's treatment of him.

Tempering excessive parental ambition for children—Another common cause of school maladjustment is overambition on the part of parents. A typical case of this type successfully handled by a child-guidance clinic is the following: Gerald was the terror of his teachers. He continually caused disturbances and refused to study in school. The problem became so grave that he was referred to a clinic. Psychological tests showed Gerald to be unable to do difficult academic work. His parents, in order to improve his grades, had hired tutors. Most of his time outside of school was filled with lessons of various kinds. Every possible means of preparing Gerald for a professional career was tried. He was being forced beyond his ability, and as a protest he refused to cooperate in school.

With skilful treatment, the parents were led to realize that there were certain limits to their son's ability which must be accepted. They were shown that their attempts to supply coaching to make up the deficiency were worse than futile. These were probably at the basis of Gerald's refusal to do school work. It was explained to them that their son's self-respect demanded that he succeed in something. Since this was not pos-

sible in class work, he probably obtained a substitute satisfaction from being the "worst boy in school."

Slowly these parents began to understand the difficulty and to help Gerald find success in more social ways. They dropped their professional ambitions for him and accepted his own, which were more in line with his academic possibilities. This change in the psychological environment of the home accomplished good results. Gerald was no longer being held to an ambition beyond his capacities and thus doomed to failure. Soon he became an interested member of a group in which he could succeed, and the discipline problem ceased.

Educating parents thru organized classes—The fact that "the home goes to school with the child" is a very potent one and we cannot sidestep it. The movement to increase parental education has grown out of a very definite need. Many parents are eager for help in understanding the problems of their children. Schools are organizing classes conducted by educators, social workers, and psychologists, which attempt to do for groups of parents what the visiting teacher has tried to accomplish with them as individuals.

Not long ago the writer, attending one of these classes, was surprised to see the amount of emotion displayed by certain parents in discussing their children's problems. One mother became very antagonistic in explaining her disgust with the school, which had allowed her daughter to choose a subject which she preferred instead of mathematics. The mother had immediately forced her daughter to drop the chosen subject and take "math" because she "needed the discipline" which doing unpleasant tasks would bring. One could readily picture this shy child whose life was being cut out for her by her mother. Very objectively and calmly the class leader explained to the mother the reasons behind that school ruling, and questioned the doctrine that being required to do unpleasant tasks was the best type of training. Several other parents brought up illustrations to show that subjects which had been crammed down their throats had been avoided thruout the rest of their lives. As this mother felt the group opinion and heard intelligent discussion, she seemed to question the theory which had evidently been the basis for much of her attitude toward her daughter. Checking up with one of the teachers later, we found that some of the girl's maladjustment seemed to disappear as the mother's insight improved.

Difficulty of changing some home conditions—It is not always easy to change home influences which are causing a pupil's maladjustment. At times the teacher or visiting teacher can see what appears to be an easy solution only to find that it is difficult of attainment. This was true in the case of Jack, a fourteen-year-old boy who was constantly a truant. When his home conditions were uncovered, he was found to be

living alone with his father, who was very bitter in regard to life and women in particular. This dated back to the time when his wife had run off with another man. For years he had continually harped on the subject, so that Jack knew of no other attitude.

Naturally this had carried over into Jack's relationships, and in his own words he "steered clear of the female sex." In fact he was not able to adjust himself to anyone of his own age. He described his friends as six in number, their ages being thirty-six, fifty-four, forty-two, and eighty-six. What a life for an adolescent! No wonder he needed to escape from the uncomfortable experience of associating with those of his own age in the classroom.

Modifying these home conditions was a long task. The father was probably psychopathic and it was impossible to work with him directly. The school was helpless in this situation. The community had to interfere. Thru the auspices of a child-caring agency, Jack was finally taken from his father's home and put into a more normal environment. Altho the change in his attitude came about gradually, the more satisfying outlets for his energies displaced his need for truancy. Of course he was given more insight into his problem, but this alone could not have solved the difficulty. It was quite necessary to modify the home influences.

Supplementing the home thru community agencies—Sometimes, altho the home situation is not as serious as the one just narrated, it is not possible to effect much treatment thru the parents. Such deficiencies in the home environment must be compensated for by the community. The Big Brother and Big Sister movement, which has had rather wide use thruout the country, is an attempt to do just this. Boys and girls who are denied the understanding and interest of their own parents are supplied this lack thru a father or mother substitute. Men and women who appreciate the needs of these children for affection, emotional security, and a heroic ideal, can be of inestimable value to them. Of course, it must be admitted that this type of set-up has its dangers unless well organized and engineered.

The work of the Coordinating Councils of Los Angeles County is along these same lines. Problem cases in the community are discussed in a round table of interested citizens, and some plan is worked out to aid the youngster in adjustment. Perhaps it will be decided that the child needs a job along some line which especially interests him, in order to harness some of the surplus energy going into antisocial conduct. A member of the committee will take him in hand and, unknown to the boy, try to carry this out. The difficulty may be insufficient recreation; if so, a settlement worker is asked to interest him in a boy's club. Outdoor exercise may be provided thru a tie-up with some community agency. The whole theory back of these councils is to bring the malad-

justed youth in touch with those agencies in the community that can help him to live a more satisfying life.

A case in point is that of Mildred, who was older than most of those in the eighth grade and had no friends. Her school work suffered while she worried over her unpopularity. She felt inferior, and was so shy that her only satisfactions came from day-dreaming. It seemed impossible to help her in the school environment, which she had always associated with social failure. A member of the community became interested and helped her to make contacts with a group of young people who met regularly for discussions of current novels. Mildred had always been fond of reading, and could drop some of her self-consciousness when thoroly interested in the discussion. The very fact that she was able to succeed in some degree in this social venture gave her courage and increased her self-assurance. This reacted on her school attitude and in time helped to pull her out of the state of unhappy introversion which appeared to be smothering her life. Insight into her problem was a necessary phase of the treatment, but if it hadn't been for this community recreational opportunity, she probably could not have made the adjustment.

Conclusion—Many more examples of the important part played by the home and community in maladjustment will no doubt come to the mind of the reader.⁴ It is clear that the modification of undesirable home and community influences is an art and can be accomplished only with a great deal of cooperation from many sources. The more the school, home, and community unite on a philosophy of education to guide child development, the more maladjustment as a whole will decrease. When the child tries to live under one set of rules at home and a different philosophy in school, the usual outcome is maladjustment. Perhaps we can look forward to that utopian state of affairs in which principles of child development can be wholly agreed upon. When that time arrives, these three environments in which the pupil spends his twenty-four hours will be identical in purpose; no longer will one be pushing him one way while the other is holding him back. When the three agencies cooperate fully in furnishing an environment in which the pupil can grow physically, intellectually, and emotionally, school maladjustment, as well as all other types of maladjustment, will decrease materially.

⁴ A number of such examples are given in Chapter II.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE SERVICE OF SPECIALISTS IN CHILD CARE AND ADJUSTMENT

EDITORIAL COMMENT

EARLIER CHAPTERS have had much to say about the functions of teachers and school administrators in preventing and correcting pupil maladjustments. Only occasional references have been made to the contributions of child-guidance specialists. Altho specialized service is limited or entirely lacking in many elementary schools, principals and teachers should appreciate the value of such service, and should utilize it fully whenever it is available.

As already indicated, some behavior problems can be handled satisfactorily by a competent teacher in cooperation with the principal and the parents. Other cases require so much time and technical skill that only qualified specialists can handle them properly. What kinds of specialists are there, and how can they help? How can all the resources of school and community be mustered for the study of a difficult personality problem? Where and how can the teacher or principal obtain specialized assistance if it is not available in the school? The five articles in this chapter help to answer these questions.

In the opening article, Burling describes the functions of certain specialists within the school system, including the school physician, psychologist, visiting teacher, and psychiatrist. The next contribution, by Cornell, is a detailed review of the qualifications, viewpoint, duties, and methods of the school psychologist. This writer suggests the employment of a competent psychologist in school systems which can have only one specialist. In the third article, Fenton and Graves describe and evaluate the child-guidance conference, a device for coordinating the school personnel in the study of problem cases. This plan is designed for school systems which cannot afford to operate a child-guidance clinic.

The last two articles are concerned with the contributions of other community agencies, and with the opportunities for cooperation between them and the schools. Buckley reports on the organization and activities of a coordinating council, which brings together representatives of all child welfare and social agencies in a preventive and remedial program. Bassett reviews the types of specialized resources available in many communities, and suggests ways in which principals and teachers may utilize them.

Additional information on the nature and availability of specialized assistance in the field of personality problems will be found in the references mentioned at the end of this chapter.—*Editorial Committee.*

HOW SPECIALISTS IN THE SCHOOL MAY AID PRINCIPAL AND TEACHERS

TEMPLE BURLING

Psychiatrist, Winnetka Public Schools, Winnetka, Illinois

THE DISORDERS which are dealt with in the psychiatric field are largely the result of immature attitudes remaining in the patient at an age when they are no longer appropriate and therefore are crippling. In such cases, the goal of the psychotherapist is to help the patient to give up and outgrow his childish attitudes. Since the function of the teacher also is to help the child develop from a less mature to a more mature state, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the function of education is gradually to cure the child of being a child. To be sure, the teacher deals primarily with children whose development is appropriate to their ages and she simply helps them to make progress in an orderly manner, while the psychiatrist deals with those who display a serious discrepancy between age and development. Still, since a great many children fail to make a perfectly orderly development from infancy to adulthood, it is an open question as to when this failure is serious enough to call for psychiatric treatment, and when it is simply an educational problem to be dealt with by teachers and principals.

What are the mental hygienist's responsibilities?—A mental hygienist working in a school system is confronted with other problems about the extent of his responsibility. Some effort at parental education is now accepted as a school responsibility by many school people. The parents must at least know and understand the methods and principles of the school, if school and home are to work harmoniously together. Hence the mental hygienist who undertakes to win the cooperation of parents in dealing with an emotional problem has many precedents in parent-teacher relationships. But he recognizes that if adequate cooperation is to be obtained, prejudices and emotional blockings must usually be overcome. In other words, he must often employ psychotherapy with the parents.

Another problem arises from the fact that children are being subjected to a great many influences outside both the home and school which affect their emotional adjustment. A potentially delinquent boy may be in the hands of well-meaning but un-understanding policemen, and his potential delinquency may thereby be crystallized. Well-entrenched commercial amusements may be having a decidedly deleterious effect on the mental hygiene of school children. The group-work agencies may fail to meet their full opportunities and responsibilities in the community.¹

¹These three illustrations have been chosen definitely because they represent problems with which the present writer has not been confronted in Winnetka.

Faced with situations of this sort, the mental hygienist is decidedly puzzled about his responsibility, and in consequence practise differs from school to school. The entrance of the mental hygiene expert directly into the school situation is rather recent, and he is still exploring the territory which he is eventually to occupy there. The following paragraphs discuss the functions of several types of school specialists from the mental hygiene point of view.

How the school physician and nurse can help—In any attempt to understand the child's behavior, a knowledge of his physical condition is absolutely essential. There have been interesting swings in public attitude toward the relationship of physical conditions to behavior. As a rule, when a community begins to be interested in individual behavior problems, the importance of physical condition looms very large in the public consciousness. Feeble-mindedness is to be cured by the removal of adenoids; the tendency to steal is to be cut out along with a portion of the youngster's brain; and the magic of the endocrine glands is to be used to eliminate all other personality deviations. Following this naïve enthusiasm, partly because of disappointment and partly because of the appeal to the imagination of the more dramatic and subtle pictures painted by the psychologist and psychiatrist, teachers and parents tend to neglect physical conditions and to attribute all personality difficulties to purely psychological causes. Tho probably only a small proportion of classroom problems are due chiefly or entirely to physical defect, it is a grave mistake to become so engrossed in psychodynamics as to neglect a toxic goiter while searching for an oedipus complex.

If the school physician and school nurse did nothing more than give a balance of common sense, their work would be invaluable. But they do far more than this. Physical defects frequently contribute to children's behavior difficulties in school, and by discovering such defects and persuading reluctant parents to correct them, the school physician and nurse contribute directly to mental hygiene in the school. Particularly in the discovery of auditory and visual defects, these specialists are invaluable. Even in enlightened and economically comfortable communities, some children go to school for years without its being known that they are suffering from serious defects of the special senses. Even tho the child with poor eye-sight usually learns to read, too frequently the strain and waste of energy involved make a badly adjusted youngster of one who would otherwise be satisfactorily adjusted. Unfortunately, certain serious defects of vision are not demonstrable except thru dilation of the pupils and the use of trial lenses. The classroom teacher therefore should be on the alert to detect evidence of eyestrain in her children, even tho the routine physical examination does not reveal it.

Only by bringing to the attention of the school nurse or physician all cases in which the teacher suspects such difficulties, can the full benefit of these specialists in the school system be obtained. In fact, frequent conferences between the classroom teacher and the health officers would be of definite benefit from the mental hygiene viewpoint. Nurse and physician frequently have entrance to homes which are not open to the teacher, and even when the teacher has been in the home, a visit during illness may reveal family relationships not discoverable at other times. Moreover, nurse and physician can frequently modify the behavior and attitudes of parents where teacher or principal is powerless.

How the school psychologist can help—While the work of physical health officers is fairly uniform over the country, the functions of the school psychologist differ markedly from school to school. In some places he is almost purely a diagnostician. In others he may undertake remedial instruction. Again he may find his most important work in educating the classroom teachers, while occasionally his chief function is research in educational problems.

Psychological diagnosis is extremely important if children's classroom problems are to be met at all. Even where the problem appears to involve emotions and family relationships, many psychiatrists refuse to see the child until provided with a psychological diagnosis. Since academic ability is such a vital question in the classroom, the individual needs of the exceptional child can be met only if there is an objective evaluation of the nature and degree of his exceptional qualities. To overestimate or underestimate the child's potentialities may be disastrous. And the results obtained from the accepted standardized intelligence examinations are far more to be relied upon than the estimates of even the shrewdest classroom teacher.

In a certain child-guidance clinic a questionnaire to teachers about children who had been referred to the clinic included the question, "Could this child do better work?" At a conference of the clinic staff, the members were asked whether they could recall a single instance of a child doing poor school work in which the teacher had not replied to this question, "Yes, if he would work harder." No member of the staff could recall such a case; yet the records at this clinic show that the majority of children referred for poor school work are actually working up to their capacity. Accurate knowledge of what the child can reasonably be expected to do has a mental hygiene value not only for the student but for the teacher as well. Many a teacher who wrote, "Yes, if the child would work harder," really meant, "Yes, if I had only sufficient understanding to teach him properly." When she receives authoritative assurance that all that can be done for the child is being done, the teacher's feeling of inadequacy is frequently relieved.

Important as diagnosis is, however, the school psychologist can perform other equally important functions. In most instances his specialized training makes it unwise to employ his time directly in remedial instruction, but he can be very useful in supervising the remedial instruction program and in training teachers to do this work adequately. The education of the teaching staff may become his most important function. However, unless he does research into the results of teaching technics and has a voice in the shaping of general school policies, the school is not getting the full benefit of a psychologist on the staff.

How the visiting teacher or school counselor can help—It is the opinion of the writer that the visiting teacher, as she is called in some schools, or the educational counselor as she is called in others, should be a qualified psychiatric social worker. She should have a greater knowledge of school problems than is usually possessed by psychiatric social workers, but her duties are more closely allied to case work than to classroom teaching. Therefore, if a choice must be made between a case-work and a pedagogic background, the former should be selected.

The work of the visiting teacher or counselor consists of dealing with individual pupil problems and of giving the school staff an increased appreciation of the principles of mental hygiene. The counselor serves to interpret the school and the home to each other. She gathers all the pertinent material possible about the background and development of children who exhibit problems. Ordinarily she is called upon to do a great deal of therapeutic work both with children and with parents. But for all the help she gives with individual problems, her most valuable function is helping teachers to recognize and deal with the causes of maladjustment in their children. Frequently this includes helping teachers with their personal difficulties. Perhaps the very presence in the school system of a person who is attempting to get at the deeper causes of undesired behavior is the most potent factor of all. When teachers observe a worker deeply puzzled about behavior which they had taken for granted, they realize that the actions of a child are the result of a very complex play of forces.

How the school psychiatrist can help—The place of the psychiatrist in the public school is extremely variable. In some communities his work is scarcely distinguishable from that of the psychiatrist in any child-guidance clinic; the only distinguishing features are such administrative ones as financial support and type of case referred. There is a tendency, however, for the psychiatrist to have increasingly close relationship to the classroom situation. This is decidedly advanta-

geous because, altho the psychiatrist in a clinic may be able to determine rather accurately the causes of a child's misbehavior, it is only thru an intimate understanding of the daily classroom situation that he and the teacher can work out remedies which will benefit the maladjusted child without being more or less disruptive to the class. The psychiatrist may attempt to avoid this difficulty by confining himself to a diagnosis of the child's emotional needs, leaving it entirely to the ingenuity of the teacher to meet these needs. Teachers, however, do not long remain satisfied with this type of service. Best results are obtained when psychiatrist and classroom teacher both keep track of the child from week to week and modify his program as the situation changes.

This cooperative planning of the child's program is only one of the activities which the psychiatrist may undertake in the interest of better mental health. A certain number of children in any school system are so maladjusted that in addition to modification of the classroom situation, they need a very much simplified and carefully controlled social experience such as they can get thru psychotherapy. The proportion of his time which the psychiatrist can profitably spend in psychotherapy is difficult to determine. He could easily lose himself completely in such work and thereby surrender his other fields of usefulness. On the other hand, the intensive study of a few children will give him insights into the social complexes of the school which he can obtain in no other way. Unless he balances his broader enterprises with a few thoro studies, he is in danger of developing a superficial approach to the whole problem of mental health.

The mental hygienist is continually conscious of the fact that the child reacts to his entire environment, of which the classroom and playground are only a small part. In most cases it is the visiting teacher, or psychiatric social worker, who attempts to modify the home situation and the parental attitudes so as to give the child a better chance both in and out of school. But certain cases call for the intensive treatment that only the psychiatrist is prepared to give.

The psychiatrist's work with individual parents and children also gives him an insight into situations with which other children in the school system are faced. An important advantage in having the psychiatrist a part of the educational system is that the insights into community social forces which he obtains thru intensive psychotherapy are more readily available to the rest of the school than when he is working in a detached clinic.

Another function which the psychiatrist would like to perform more frequently is to share in the shaping of general school policies. He comes to this duty, however, with a spirit of genuine humbleness.

School policies are the result of generations of experience and should not be cast aside lightly. Nevertheless, when educators are reexamining all policies and insisting that each prove its worth, the psychiatrist welcomes an opportunity to share in this reexamination. While psychiatrist and progressive educator are gaining a greater appreciation of each other's viewpoints, certain basic beliefs remain which the two do not share. The psychiatrist in any educational clinic is not infrequently asked to change a child's behavior or attitude in ways which seem to him valueless. This difference in viewpoint is perhaps inevitable, since the psychiatrist approaches the group thru the study of individuals while the teacher becomes aware of individual differences because of their effect upon group situations. Conferences in which the two workers can see and criticize each other's basic beliefs will result in much better cooperative effort than has existed in the past.

There will be occasions, too, when the psychiatrist can help in the emotional adjustment of individual teachers. Mental hygiene in the classroom depends less on policies and rules, or even on a profound diagnosis of individual children, than it does on the mental health of the teacher.² There is much truth in the old Chinese proverb: "When the right man uses the wrong means, the wrong means work the right way; when the wrong man uses the right means, the right means work the wrong way."

Cooperation thru the case conference—The value of informal conferences between the teachers and the specialists within the school system has already been mentioned. In addition to these informal conferences, case conferences in which all those dealing with a particular child meet to share each other's insights are of great value. Items of information which different people have, and which by themselves appear meaningless, often fall into a highly significant pattern in the course of such a group discussion. It is well to have workers from outside the school attend these conferences. At one such conference it was discovered that in addition to the school, four other social agencies had been attempting to modify the character of a potentially delinquent boy, each ignorant of the efforts of the others. The fragmentary knowledge possessed by each of these agencies had resulted in very different interpretations of the boy's behavior and in remedial programs which were contradictory.³

In addition to its value for the individual child, the case conference is also one of the most effective ways in which teachers and

² For further discussion of this point, see Chapter IV.

³ The case-conference procedure is described in detail by Fenton and Graves later in this chapter.

mental hygienists can reach a fuller understanding of each other's methods and points of view.

Conclusion—As in the case of other health officers, the goal of the mental hygienist is to eliminate the need for his services. He looks forward to the time when an understanding of mental health needs will be so widespread in school and community, and so adequately acted upon, that the services of the specialist for the solution of individual problems will no longer be required. This day is far distant, however, not only because the elimination of all centers of mental infection is a staggering task, but also because our knowledge of the truly basic needs of human personality is just at its beginning. For many years to come, a close working relationship between school authorities and mental hygiene specialists will be increasingly important.⁴

⁴ Specific methods for helping to correct maladjustments of school children are discussed in Chapter VII.

THE EXTREMES and end-products of personality aberrations of the type that populates our hospitals for the insane are extremely rare before the age of adolescence. Elementary-school teachers, therefore, have very little opportunity to deal with schizophrenic disorganization, full-fledged manic-depressive mood swings, or major hysterical phenomena. They do not have to be concerned with imbecile or idiotic children, who have no place in any well-regulated public school system and should be trained in adequate private or state-supported institutions. Behavior problems which are due to organic brain disturbances, such as brain tumor, postencephalitic states, or juvenile paresis, are infrequent; when they have been diagnosed by a competent physician, the patients should be placed entirely in medical hands.—Kanner, Leo, p. 444 of this year-book.

THE SCHOOL PSYCHOLOGIST'S CONTRIBUTION

ETHEL L. CORNELL

*Psychologist, Educational Research Division, New York State Education
Department, Albany, New York*

THIS YEARBOOK has already considered important personal and environmental factors which contribute to the child's growth. The teacher's difficulty lies in knowing which of the innumerable factors in any particular case have produced or are likely to produce undesirable effects. At this point the specialist's help is sometimes necessary to diagnose the interrelation of many contributing factors, none of which in itself might have produced the effect observed. Among the specialists who can aid in child adjustment problems is the school psychologist, who makes a specific contribution in three ways: (1) thru a special point of view in his approach to adjustment problems; (2) thru his special technics of diagnosis and analysis; and (3) thru his possibilities as a *liaison* officer. If the maximum service in these three directions is to be secured, however, the school psychologist must have certain qualifications which distinguish him from the educational supervisor, on the one hand, and from the general clinical or academic psychologist, on the other.

Qualifications of a school psychologist—Certain minimum training and experience qualifications have been set up in certain places,¹ but training alone cannot insure all the attributes that will make a first-rate school psychologist. Personal qualifications are no less important. The psychologist in a school must not only have those intangible qualities that secure good *rapport* with the pupil; he (or usually she) must also understand the teacher's problem, be able to express psychological findings in non-technical terms, have insight into a wide range of social problems as well as problems of teaching technic, and be able to impart this insight to others without appearing dogmatic or superior. The school psychologist, to be effective, cannot remain aloof from the problems of the classroom or make diagnoses in glittering generalities; he must "come thru" with practical, specific, definite suggestions that can be applied, and that will prove effective in a large enough percent of cases to hold people's confidence. These are qualities that training alone cannot assure, altho they are developed by the right kind of training and experience.

Training can, however, assure a broad knowledge about mental development, types and causes of abnormal as well as normal be-

¹ The New York State Education Department issues a certificate for school psychologists, on a renewable basis, upon the satisfaction of certain training requirements, among which are a master's degree with a major in psychology, and a specified range of training amounting to fifty-two semester hours and including adequate supervised experience in clinical testing. Pennsylvania has a similar certificate.

havior, the theoretical and experimental approaches of psychology, the basic biological and neurological foundations of behavior, the principles of educational theory and method, the relation of the curriculum to learning, the statistical tools necessary for applying research to practise, and sufficient experience with the range of physical and mental disabilities to recognize the clinical symptoms that need investigation. Adequate training for this work cannot be obtained in two or three summer courses, or even in a year of graduate work unless a considerable part of the preparation has been pursued during the undergraduate period. On the other hand, the possession of a Ph.D. degree may be of less value for school psychological service than a few years of wide and well-supervised clinical experience. At present, therefore, no hard and fast standards can be set, altho probably the development of this work will eventually lead to the requirement of a doctor's degree.

The psychologist's point of view—One aspect of the psychologist's point of view toward maladjustments, like that of all specialists but unlike that of teachers generally, is that he sees the problem first with reference to the individual who is maladjusted rather than to the group in which the maladjustment occurs. This makes it easier for the specialist than for the teacher to explain the individual's difficulty, since he can more readily relate the many seemingly trivial incidents which together may affect a child's behavior. Frequently, after the school psychologist has studied a child he can say to himself: "I haven't added a single thing to the information already known about this child. The principal and the teacher have given me all that I have found out. My examination has merely corroborated what they have told me." Even in such cases, however, the psychologist is often able to give the teacher and principal a picture of the child which they did not have before, and therefore a better understanding of his problem.

Another aspect of the psychologist's approach is, or should be, that he sees the child not only as an individual but as a member of a group. He is aware of the kinds of groups, particularly school groups, in which children find themselves. He knows, if he is a good psychologist, the variability of these groups in maturity, achievement, interests, and abilities. He knows, therefore, where the maladjusted individual is located within the group—*how much* this individual deviates from the average behavior expected in the group. The psychologist thus tries to bridge the gap between the individual needs of the child and the possibilities of satisfying them in any of the school's social groups.

A considerable part of any child's problem of adjustment in school is concerned with his individual method of learning the things in

which he, as a member of a group, is instructed. Hence the psychologist's understanding of individual learning difficulties, and of the ways of getting children to overcome these, is one of his chief assets. The school psychologist not only diagnoses the learning difficulties of children, but is able to suggest an appropriate remedial program for each child. When remedial work is directed toward a specific, individual difficulty, it is usually successful. Most failures in remedial work are due to ignorance of the exact stumbling-blocks encountered by the pupil, and to the consequent misdirection of remedial teaching.

The psychologist's special technics—The unique contribution of psychology to school diagnosis is the concept of the standardized test. The first such test applied to school children was the Binet Test, which in its two chief American revisions (the Stanford-Binet and the Kuhlmann-Binet) is still the usual reference point for interpreting mental age and I.Q. Standardized group intelligence tests were a later contribution, differing from individual tests in at least two important respects: (1) the group test yields only quantitative results while the individual test yields much of a qualitative nature valuable for interpretation; and (2) group-testing technics are devised for use by anyone trained in their routine administration, while individual tests, to yield their qualitative values, should be given and interpreted only by persons with adequate psychological background. The technic of the psychologist lies not so much in the ability to give an individual test accurately, as in the skill with which he interprets the results for the teacher.

While testing is not the only technic utilized by the school psychologist, it is probably the core of his method. One essential of this method is to observe, without influencing, the child's reaction under certain conditions which are kept relatively constant. Keeping conditions constant requires more than merely following standardized verbal directions in giving and scoring test items. It involves the creation of a situation in which the child will respond freely, without tension, up to his full capacity—in other words, the establishment of that intangible relationship called *rapproch*.

Another important part of the psychologist's technic in testing is to discover, as the test proceeds, clues to explanations of the subject's behavior, and then to check these clues by supplementary methods. The supplementary methods used may be quite varied. For example, more abstract verbal tests may be given to determine how gifted an apparently bright child really is. Tests involving the handling of concrete materials may help to determine abnormalities of attention or cultural and linguistic handicaps. Informal "interview" technics may reveal social or

emotional blockings whose presence was suggested by a test response. Special perceptual or conceptual tests are frequently used to discover learning difficulties. The child may be observed in the classroom, on the playground, or in his mother's presence, with very revealing results. Some of these technics are used by social workers and psychiatrists also; in any case their purpose is to give added background for interpreting the child's behavior.

The psychologist deals not only with generalized maladjustments but also with special learning difficulties. In reading his technic appears to be particularly useful. Either thru formal diagnostic tests or by informal methods, he can frequently discover the specific obstacles that have stubbornly interfered with a child's learning to read. General remedial measures may have been used with much discouragement to both teacher and pupil, while a measure planned to remedy a specific difficulty may succeed. Spelling and arithmetic difficulties often yield to the same sort of approach.

The psychologist's case-load capacity—To obtain these values the psychological examining must be in competent hands and must not be done under excessive time pressure. The case load which a psychologist can carry needs to be better understood by administrative officers than it sometimes is. Frequently the amount of work expected of him prevents anything more than rapid routine testing. The writer is convinced that the school psychologist renders less service to the school, in the long run, by such testing than by a more intensive, diagnostic, and remedial type of work. The latter, if well done, not only gives the individuals tested greater benefits, but helps teachers to understand their own problems better and thus eventually to reduce the number of maladjusted pupils who need the specialist's attention. Such intensive work also prevents the psychologist from getting into the rut of reducing all problems to a few "types," a thing very likely to happen when rapid routine testing is the rule.

This is an important and difficult problem for schools employing a psychologist, since the demands are almost always beyond the time possibilities. A psychologist devoting full time to psychological testing could probably carry annually a case load of 300 to 400 individual tests. If he does remedial work with individual adjustment problems and learning difficulties, or is concerned with classification problems and group testing programs, this number is too large. Few schools, however, are staffed with psychologists enough to handle all maladjustment problems. If we should take 300 cases as the maximum desirable load, and assume that maladjustment problems constitute 10 percent of the school population, we would need one psychologist for every 3000 pupils. In New York state two small wealthy com-

munities reach this standard, while among the cities employing psychologists, the ratio varies from one psychologist for every 4000 pupils to one for more than 300,000 pupils. Probably few other states are better staffed.

The psychologist's liaison functions—The psychologist is in the best position to gain the confidence of pupils and to exercise advisory or counseling functions if he does not have administrative responsibility for the pupils with whom he works. Under such conditions he can more readily obtain the pupil's full confidence, since he can accept whatever the child tells him without the necessity of applying disciplinary measures or exercising authority. He can thus often discover the causes of pupil-teacher conflicts that would remain hidden to the teacher. Anyone in an advisory position has a similar advantage, and many conflicts of personnel are resolved by advisers who are not trained psychologists. The qualities valuable in this capacity are, however, qualities of psychological insight and are fostered by psychological training.

The psychologist's first *liaison* function, then, is in the field of relations between pupil and teacher. Likewise, if he has no administrative or supervisory authority over teachers, he has an advantage in discovering difficulties of personnel relationships among members of the staff. He can also see more objectively than either principal or teacher, tensions in the relations between principal and teachers. He may or may not be able to relieve such tensions, but he can sometimes make the situation easier for the pupils. If the psychologist is not limited to one school, he can also get an overview of factors that enter into various school situations, and can suggest readjustments, much as a supervisor may who has the necessary psychological insight. Not being responsible for supervisory functions, however, the psychologist has an opportunity to get under the surface more easily than the supervisor.

Besides these personnel services, the psychologist has an opportunity to perform a kind of *liaison* service in certain administrative relations, particularly in the matter of pupil classification. If pupils are classified on the basis of standardized tests, he can be of help in interpreting test results even if he does not administer the testing program. One of his important functions is to assist in finding the best group in which to place the border-line children, the misfits, those who never seem to be in quite the right group. If group tests are not used for classification, the psychologist can use achievement tests to make the problem pupil's status clearer to the teacher. As already pointed out, the psychologist's training should equip him to take cognizance of both the social and the individual potentialities of mal-adjusted children in recommending placement.

Summary—It is hoped that this survey of the school psychologist's work has made it clear that such a person, if properly qualified, can render a wide variety of services in relation to maladjustment in the school. It needs to be stated, however, that this variety of services could by no means be given by all the persons now employed in giving individual mental tests in schools. On the other hand, it is frequently not given because the psychologist is required to carry too heavy a testing load.

In school systems that are well staffed with research workers, visiting teachers, school advisers, vocational counselors, elementary supervisors, remedial teachers, and so forth, the psychologist's activities may be confined to the diagnostic psychological functions of discovering and *interpreting to teachers* the mental, emotional, and social causes of individual maladjustments. In a school system too small to have more than one specialist, the value of employing a psychologist to deal with a variety of problems might well be considered.

No single individual possesses all the abilities which are desirable in the school psychologist. Relatively untrained teachers sometimes give vital counseling to their pupils, while some trained psychologists are failures as counselors. Excellent diagnosticians cannot always do successful remedial work, and those most successful with children may not be the best organizers of research. The psychologist who is chosen for his skill in the fields most needed in any particular situation can be of significant value in fitting the school to the child.

IT SHOULD BE REPEATED that the personnel program in any school should evolve gradually. A ready-made plan cannot be clapped down upon a school or college. It is better to work with a few interested and cooperative teachers than to try to force a program of personnel work upon an entire staff, some members of which are indifferent or hostile to it. The influence of several teachers will in time permeate the school; and personnel work will spread if it renders effective service.—Strang, Ruth, *The Role of the Teacher in Personnel Work*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935, p. 38.

THE CHILD-GUIDANCE CONFERENCE FOR HANDLING PROBLEM CASES

NORMAN FENTON

Director, California Bureau of Juvenile Research, Claremont, California
and

ALBERT D. GRAVES

Superintendent, City Schools, San Bernardino, California

FEW SCHOOL SYSTEMS can afford to operate a child-guidance clinic composed of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a psychiatric social worker. On the other hand, cases of problem behavior often involve too many factors to be handled by the average classroom teacher or principal without some expert help or advice. This article describes an administrative technic, called the child-guidance conference, for the study and treatment of maladjusted pupils—a technic which can be used with very little, if any, additional expense to the schools.

In California the child-guidance conference has been tried from the nursery school to the junior college, and has awakened interest and enthusiasm in teachers and administrators. It has appealed to school officials as being good common sense as well as desirable educational practise. Of course, many other measures may and should be used to emphasize the mental hygiene viewpoint in the schools. With the child-guidance conference as the central, coordinating factor, the program is directed toward the heart of the problem—the cases of children who show signs of maladjustment, and the needs of teachers in achieving a better understanding of these children. Without the sincere cooperation of teachers, the most elaborate program of mental hygiene is likely to fail. For this reason the child-guidance conference has been developed so as to reach the classroom teacher in a direct and practical way.

In over two hundred communities in California the initial demonstration of the child-guidance conference has been directed by clinical psychologists of the California Bureau of Juvenile Research. Thereafter the schools have been able to continue the plan under the direction of a person in their own group, with occasional assistance from members of the Bureau's staff. To illustrate the organization and operation of the plan in a city of medium size, the set-up in San Bernardino, now in its fifth year, is outlined here.

THE CONFERENCE PLAN IN SAN BERNARDINO

Personnel—The conference staff is composed of the following persons:

1. A director (the assistant superintendent of schools was the first chosen, because he was trained in child psychology) to administer the work, to examine each case with regard to social adequacy, and to determine the presence or absence of abnormal mental symptoms or personality defects

2. A member of the research department, who gives the psychological examinations indicated by the nature of the case.

3. The elementary-school supervisor, who traces the school histories of the cases studied

4. The school doctor (a physician employed on a part-time basis in the city schools), who gives the physical examinations

5. The health supervisor (a nurse), who traces the health history from the school records and takes patients to specialists for laboratory examinations when needed

6. A representative of the County Probation Office, who traces juvenile court records when these are included

7. Three teachers (trained in social work), who develop the social histories of the children and their families.

This group is larger than the staff of the traditional clinic, because each person has a full-time job in addition to the conference work.

Collection of information—A wide variety of information is obtained for each child studied, as follows:

1. A social history is obtained from the parents of the child and others familiar with him. Its purpose is to provide biographical and other environmental data as a basis for other examinations.

2. A comprehensive psychological examination is given to determine the child's mental ability, to diagnose any educational difficulties in the various subjectmatter fields, to attempt an analysis of his behavior, and to discover his special abilities or disabilities.

3. A personal interview is held with the child to throw additional light upon his social adequacy and upon any mental defects or personality traits that interfere with his adjustment.

4. The child's school history is traced as far back as possible, in order to determine the degree of his success in school, where his difficulty started, his rate of progress, his possible conflicts with teachers and pupils, and his attitudes and adjustments to school situations.

5. The health history and physical examination are intended to give the staff as complete a picture as possible of the child's physical development and his physical condition at the time of the examination.

6. Agencies outside the school are often called upon to give special items of information. These agencies include the probation office, juvenile court, welfare agencies, and others.

The staff meeting—At the staff meeting each member who has gathered information or examined the pupil reports on his or her findings. As the reports are given, the case is discussed and recommendations are agreed upon. The responsibility for treatment is fixed and a program outlined. The classroom teachers directly concerned with the case, and the principal of the school from which the child comes, are invited to the staff meeting and often participate in the discussion.

Treatment of the case—Treatment of the maladjusted child depends upon the findings reported in the staff meeting. When an educational weakness is discovered, satisfactory results are generally obtained by showing the teacher the difficulty and giving her the necessary

instruction and remedial material to deal with the case. Progress is checked upon at regular intervals by the members of the staff most suited to give advice on the particular problem. If another agency is involved, the findings are turned over to its representatives with the recommendations of the conference staff. In all cases the social worker contacts the home and tries to work out a program with the parents to help overcome the child's difficulty.

As might be expected, many difficulties arise. Early in San Bernardino's experience with the conference plan the following suggestions to the staff were issued to help overcome these difficulties:

1. Remember that one of the goals of the conference is to educate the teacher and principal toward the clinical method of handling problem cases. This cannot be done unless the principal and teacher are first convinced of the value of this method. Each one of us should take the responsibility of "selling" the conference plan to each teacher and principal with whom we deal.

2. Always, in contacting cases in the school, work thru the principal's office, and embarrass the boy or girl as little as possible by making him conspicuous among his classmates because of extra attention.

3. Remember that the parents will in all cases be emotionally concerned with the results of these studies, and that they will wish to know in detail as soon as possible the findings and recommendations.

4. The studies of the conference will be of no value unless the recommendations are carried out. Let each one of us check carefully on those phases of the work for which we are directly responsible.

5. No study should be made unless the parent is fully aware of what is going to be done and is sold on the idea. This problem, of course, falls on the social worker. Some parents seem to feel that something is abnormal in the case. Everything possible should be done to overcome this idea.

6. It seems wise to have some member of the staff visit the family on the afternoon of the day of the staff meeting, tell them of the findings, as far as possible, and inform them of the further work to be done. It seems best to fix the responsibility for this on Wednesday morning before the meeting is adjourned.

7. In dealing with family relations we must remember that we are working with something that is very delicate and needs to be handled with utmost care, tact, and diplomacy.

Careful following of these suggestions has solved many problems. Each individual case has its peculiarities, however, and must be handled according to the specific factors involved. For example, teachers occasionally become antagonized by a pupil and do not overcome their feelings to the extent necessary for a wholesome treatment of his problem. In such cases a transfer of the child to another class or another school is desirable and often effective.

Follow-up reports are made at intervals after the case has been studied. Each report includes a summary of the original recommendations, the positive or negative results found, and the steps recommended by the person reporting for the further treatment of the case. These follow-up reports are always made by a member of the conference staff.

Types of cases studied—It is not possible to classify satisfactorily the cases handled by the conference staff; there are almost as many types as there are individual cases. Among the symptoms and problems mentioned when cases are referred to the staff are the following: social maladjustment and instability; inability to adjust to the school routine and discipline; various delinquencies, including forging checks, stealing, truancy, and so forth; stubbornness, annoying others, resentment of authority, insolence, and show-off behavior; queer attitudes toward girls; faulty eating habits; loss of interest in school; poor adjustment to the home; retardation and other difficulties in school subjects; emotional distress and excessive fear and timidity; queer actions; overactivity; and lack of concentration.

Results of the program—While positive results are not obtained in all cases, a majority of the children studied have made marked improvement. Many cases are closed as being fully adjusted. In some instances the files are kept open for several years before the desired results are accomplished. Occasionally a case shows great improvement after only two or three months of treatment, but most of them take much longer. Habits and attitudes in some families seem practically immune to treatment. Parents are sometimes reluctant to uncover certain "family secrets." A few teachers have not been sympathetic with the program, and the inexperience of the conference staff has made the work more difficult. On the whole, however, the conference plan in San Bernardino has achieved remarkable results in view of the fact that only cases of a rather serious nature have been referred to the staff.

FURTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR ADMINISTERING THE CONFERENCE PLAN

Selection of cases for study—There is no rule by which to measure the seriousness of a child's problem. Sometimes what seems to be a difficult case turns out to be rather easy to solve. Again, a child who seems to be only slightly maladjusted may prove, upon further analysis of his case, to present needs very difficult to meet. Probably the most satisfactory procedure is to have teachers suggest for study children whom they believe to be in need of help. These children should not, however, be of the serious chronic types—juvenile court cases, for example—who have been in difficulty for years and really need the services of specialists in a child-guidance clinic. Because of the inexperience of its members, the child-guidance conference should begin its work with the less serious cases. It is sometimes helpful to make a survey of the problem cases in the school, and then to choose one each week for study. When feasible, it is a good plan to

select the cases in rotation from the various classrooms, because teachers are naturally more interested and cooperative when they are helping with the treatment of children whom they themselves are teaching.

Obtaining essential information—The first objective of the child-guidance conference is to obtain as much information as possible about the child whose welfare is being considered. The social history may be taken by the person most readily available—the school nurse, teacher, principal, or attendance worker. Surprisingly good histories are compiled by these workers, who may be aided by a social history guide prepared especially for their use.¹ The physical examination should be reported by the family or school physician on a blank prepared for the purpose.² If the family cannot afford a physician and if there is no school doctor, local physicians will usually be found willing to donate their services. In California, when the program of the child-guidance conference was described to the local medical society or directly to practising physicians, in no instance was there a dearth of such volunteer service. The psychological and educational tests (the most generally used are the Stanford-Binet, the Arthur Performance Scale, the Stanford Achievement Tests, and, when indicated, the Marion Monroe Diagnostic Reading Examination) should be given by trained workers. The interview with the child should be conducted by a person familiar with this phase of guidance work. An outline giving suggestions regarding the conduct of the personal interview has been prepared for the use of workers in California.³ By these methods the conference group can and should obtain considerable information about the child's personality.

VALUES OF THE CHILD-GUIDANCE CONFERENCE

The child-guidance conference involves nothing really new except the administrative plan. It is essentially a means of doing effectively and systematically what is now done haphazardly. The plan provides for one fairly long conference at which there will be an orderly presentation of all the facts and viewpoints regarding the problem child, instead of a series of haphazard individual conferences with the parents and teachers of the child. The teachers receive adequate infor-

¹ For example, see: Brinker, Dorothy, and Fenton, Norman, *Social History Guide*. Bulletin No. 7. (New Series). California Bureau of Juvenile Research. Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1932. 16 p.

² The California Bureau of Juvenile Research has prepared such a form.

³ Fenton, Norman, *Guide to the Personal Interview with a Child*. Bulletin No. 10. (New Series). California Bureau of Juvenile Research. Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1933. 15 p. See also: Fenton, Norman, "The Personal Interview in Adjusting Emotional Problems." *Occupations* 12 (Part 2): 72-78; March, 1934. Also consult the article by Gillett in Chapter VII of this yearbook.

mation and a comprehensive program for the child, rather than hasty recommendations and snap judgments. Moreover, the program need not be too exacting of the time of school officials. Ordinarily one case is considered each week or fortnight. The conferences take place either early in the morning (at seven-thirty) or in the afternoon at the close of school, and each one lasts a little over an hour. Altho time is required for compiling the necessary information, it is time well spent and, from the standpoint of effectively adjusting the child, is an economy of energy in the long run.

The conference situation is a means of stimulating an objective and directed interest in the child. Teachers who enter the conference with a meticulous and somewhat irritated concern about the child's response to petty items of school routine become, before the hour is over, sympathetically interested in him as a personality and eager to find ways of helping him. The child-guidance conference is a practical educational device for giving instruction to teachers in the meaning and application of mental hygiene in the schoolroom. This is one of its most significant values.

The conference is a democratic occasion in which all present participate on an equal basis. The teachers are encouraged to ask questions about the child's personality as described in the conference. There is a pooling of information, a bringing together of varied points of view regarding the child, so that the final summary of his personality is a group description rather than the opinion of any one member of the conference. Each case is individual in regard to the amount of study given, the kinds of data obtained, the types of tests used, the amount of time involved, and the nature and extent of the discussion. With practise the group learns to make effective use of the available meeting time, the average case taking three-quarters of an hour. As only those teachers immediately concerned with the child are present, this expenditure of time does not prove to be a hardship. The conscientious teacher without the aid of the conference is likely to spend much more time trying to understand the child or conferring with the principal and others about him. In the child-guidance conference the teacher gets at least a tentative program with practical suggestions for the child's adjustment. Often the resulting change in the teacher's attitude toward the child is alone worth many times the amount of time and energy involved.

CONCLUSION

No brief statement such as this can answer the many questions which must arise in the mind of the reader. A forthcoming mono-

graph⁴ will deal in detail with the results of this work. However, the conclusion from years of experimentation in the introduction of mental hygiene in California communities is that this procedure will succeed when there is faithful support and goodwill among the school personnel.

In each building where the principal is alert to the problems presented by school children, a program such as this is possible. The amount of supervision, of central office assistance, needed to introduce the child-guidance conference depends upon local conditions. Standardization, except in bare administrative outlines, is impossible. The coordination of available resources and their effective use in the mental hygiene program of a school system is a matter of serious concern for the administrator, and he should seek such assistance as he can find in his state or county to help in the inauguration of the work. The conference procedure may be demonstrated initially by competent faculty members of colleges and universities, personnel of state departments of education, or other workers trained in psychiatric social work or in psychology. The person who accepts responsibility for the demonstration should plan, if possible, to present the conference in individual school buildings with the principal as chairman.

A few words of warning should be added in closing. First of all, it is desirable to avoid haste or pressure in starting the program. The school system has survived for many years without any specifically organized mental hygiene program. Another six months, a year, or even two years spent in study of the situation and in experimentation will often prevent the unfortunate effects of hasty action. Sometimes a summer should elapse between the decision to introduce the program and its actual beginning. This allows time for careful consideration of available resources, for special study at training centers by teachers and administrators, and for the development of a well-thought-out administrative set-up.

In the second place, publicity at the beginning of the work is dangerous. Publicity may come when the initial experimental period is over—when the school system is ready for the program and needs the interested support of patrons. All publicity must be carefully guarded against misinterpretation; for example, statements about vocational guidance as a feature of the work are better than references to the prevention of delinquency. Parents whose children have been studied may be antagonized by tactless publicity which gives them the im-

⁴Fenton, Norman, and Wallace, Ramona. *Child Guidance in California Communities*. (In preparation.)

pression that the child-guidance conference is concerned only with problem children or juvenile delinquents. Indeed, the ideal of the work is the careful consideration of all children; the child with special abilities who could profit by an extension of the ordinary program is as fit a subject for consideration as the child with some personality difficulty.

In connection with publicity, it is necessary to emphasize also the importance of professional attitudes toward the child-guidance conference. Gossip must be forbidden. If this injunction is not carried out, the child may be harmed and the school administration seriously embarrassed. At the beginning and close of every conference the chairman should remind those present of the confidential nature of the material discussed.

CHILDHOOD can suffer as much from specialized training without common sense, as it can from common sense without specialized training. The physician who assumes a proprietary attitude toward the mental health of childhood without a reasonable acquaintance with the educational, psychological, and psychiatric aspects of child health is in danger of doing as little justice to facts, as the psychologist who assumes similar prerogatives under the title of "clinical," and attempts to deal with matters for which he is insufficiently trained.—Richards, Esther L., *Behavior Aspects of Child Conduct*, Macmillan Co., 1932, p. 12. (By permission of the publishers.)

THE COORDINATING COUNCIL AS A FACTOR IN CHILD READJUSTMENT

LORENZO S. BUCKLEY

Assistant Probation Officer, Alameda County Juvenile Court, Oakland, California

THE COORDINATING-COUNCIL MOVEMENT began in Berkeley, California, about 1923. It was further developed in Los Angeles in 1932, and was intensively organized in Oakland in 1933. The movement was taken up by other California cities with such success that it is now spreading to other parts of the United States. The National Probation Officers' Association is making a survey so that communities desiring to adopt the council plan may be advised as to the best and most efficient method of organization. Wherever it has been tried under favorable conditions, the coordinating council has been of great value in adjusting the problem child in a community.

A coordinating council is just what the name implies—an organization for coordinating all child welfare and social agencies to meet the needs of every child. In any large city it is impossible for any one department of county or municipal government to know about all the activities of other agencies, altho some of these agencies may be engaged in similar work. There is usually little opportunity for the dissemination of information and the coordination of effort for the mutual benefit of all the agencies. In the field of juvenile work many agencies are interested in and working toward the same ends; yet in most cities they are working largely independently of one another. Surely the investigational work of one agency should not be lost to all other agencies which may be dealing with the same case. Child adjustments are best made when the reasons for the child's behavior are known. No agency can expect to adjust a problem child satisfactorily without first having all available information at its disposal.

Objectives and scope of the Oakland Coordinating Council—The Oakland Coordinating Council was organized to bring about such a relationship between agencies dealing with children's problems that the facilities of any member agency would be available to all. Following is a statement of the aims and purposes of the organization:

1. To coordinate, on a voluntary basis, the activities of all agencies in the city of Oakland which are interested in child welfare and the prevention of juvenile crime
2. To provide an organization whereby the combined resources and experience of all local child welfare agencies will be made available to any given agency responsible for the disposition or treatment of a particular problem case
3. To promote the interest of the citizens of Oakland in the moral, physical, and spiritual welfare in this city
4. To awaken the community to its responsibility for the juvenile delinquency problem.

The Coordinating Council does not do the work of any existing agency. It discerns the need, finds the agency best fitted to meet that need, and assists in obtaining community support. It is ready to assist in establishing new agencies if they are needed. It also studies the causes that contribute to delinquency and attempts to learn, thru surveys, of leisure-time activities which can be used in extending recreation and character-building work to areas needing them most. The Coordinating Council accepts the challenge of the problem child, faces the problem, and studies it carefully. Practical recommendations are made with community support strongly behind them. The agency to which a recommendation has been made is then fully responsible for the adjustment of the case. Awakened community consciousness acts as a stimulus to the agency in charge. The whole job can be done thoroly only when there is united effort on the part of all individuals and all organizations concerned, together with an intelligent program of action based on a knowledge of child psychology and community conditions.

Organization of the Council—The Oakland Coordinating Council is a pyramidal type of organization, with seven district councils constituting the base and the executive group forming the apex. The executive group is composed of the superintendent of schools, the chief probation officer, the district attorney, the chief of police, the director of recreation, and the police judges. This is the policy-forming and directing body. Its function is to supervise, to formulate programs, and to see that the coordinated activities of the Council do not infringe upon the legal rights and duties of the member agencies. It meets once a month for a round table discussion, at which the department heads submit their respective problems and secure the advice and cooperation of their fellow members.

A second body, and the most important for the purpose of this article, is the case-study group. It is composed of representatives from the school department, probation office, juvenile detail of the police department, district attorney's office, recreation department, health clinic, psychiatric clinic, charities commission, and religious organizations. Here is the actual working body of the Council. Each member is a specialist in child adjustment. Meetings are held weekly to discuss individual cases. The secretary of the group secures all available information from all agencies on each particular case in advance of the meeting. Thus a complete picture of the child under consideration is presented to the group as a basis for deciding on a course of action. Usually one agency is assigned the duty of attempting the adjustment, and this agency must make weekly reports of progress. Thus, duplica-

tion of work is eliminated, and the agency most directly concerned with the child is aided greatly by the information received from the group.

The community councils form the third body in the Coordinating Council. There is one of these in each of the seven high-school districts of the city. They are composed of representatives from public and private agencies—such as school teachers, Boy Scout leaders, Y.M.C.A. workers, and police officers—and the leading citizens in the respective council districts. Meetings are held at least monthly. The function of the community councils is to determine the needs of their districts, to make adjustments of individuals in the community, to seek solutions for community problems that influence children, and to assist the case-study group when called upon. These councils are more interested in broad programs of delinquency prevention than in individual cases. They also serve to awaken the entire community to its responsibility for the children in the community. Civic cooperation and coordination are thus accomplished, and the welfare agencies are no longer compelled to assume full responsibility for problem children.

Cases studied by the Council—Many interesting cases have been considered by the case-study group. Some of these have been successfully adjusted, while in others the attempted adjustment has failed. Results may best be shown by describing actual cases studied by the group. In each of the three cases that follow, the child involved was known to at least two agencies. In some cases the child or his family was known to every agency in the group. Prior to the advent of the Council, each of these agencies had been attempting an adjustment, generally without knowledge of the fact that the child was known to other agencies.

ERNEST

Ernest S— was a colored boy who had been giving the school department a great deal of trouble. Truancy and general misconduct in the classrooms were habitual. Particularly annoying was the fact that Ernest frequently fell asleep in his classes. The case was referred to the case-study group, and each member brought to the meeting all available information on Ernest and his family.

The Charities Commission had a long record of the family. The boy's father was in a state prison, and consequently the mother was receiving state aid for Ernest and the other children. She was a poor homemaker, exercised little or no supervision over the children, was suspected of having an affair with a man, and let Ernest go and come about as he pleased. The one bright spot in the family picture was an uncle of good reputation who was anxious to take Ernest into his own home.

The Juvenile Detail of the Police Department reported that Ernest had been frequently questioned because of petty thefts; that he sold magazines until a late hour nearly every evening, and then made it a practise to go to a moving picture show. He seldom arrived home before midnight, which accounted for his classroom naps. His offenses generally consisted of petty stealing from stores which he visited while selling his magazines. The Probation Office reported that on one occasion Ernest had been brought to the Detention Home with a group of older boys on a charge of theft. He was permitted to return home because it was obvious that his companions had led him into the affair. The Health Clinic stated that Ernest had

been under treatment for malnutrition, which was further evidence of poor home environment. The Recreation Department reported that Ernest was a fair athlete and showed some interest in running, but that he seldom made his appearance on the playgrounds. Thus nearly every agency had some knowledge of Ernest, and he was generally recognized as a problem child.

Was it too late to check this boy's delinquent tendencies? Certainly it was time that some concentrated effort be made to improve his adjustment. The summary of his situation showed poor home environment and supervision, lack of proper physical care at home, poor health, late hours, poor companions, stealing, truancy, and general misconduct. To balance this dark picture there were only two factors: an interested uncle, and the boy's half-hearted desire to participate in athletics. The future was not very bright.

The case-study group attacked the problem with all the resources at its disposal. The Charities Commission persuaded Ernest's mother to let the boy live with his uncle, where he would receive better supervision. The Police Department agreed to take Ernest to his home every time he was seen on the streets after dark. The Juvenile Detail explained the situation to the manager of the theater which had been frequented by Ernest, and he consented to prevent Ernest from entering the show whenever possible. The Recreation Department, thru its playground supervisor, put Ernest on the track team, secured a uniform for him, and gave him special attention, even having the supervisor meet Ernest after classes to make sure he would get to the playground each day. The School Department gave even closer individual attention, while the uncle took Ernest regularly to the Health Clinic. In short, all of the resources of the community were focused on this problem boy in an effort to make an adjustment.

Week-by-week reports of progress were made at the meetings of the case-study group. Improvement was quite evident. Ernest was more alert in his classes, he was no longer selling magazines, his general physical condition was improved, and he was getting to bed at a reasonable hour. Best of all, he "made" the track team and participated in one of the meets. The boy's future looked bright and the case-study group was about to congratulate itself when the blow fell. Ernest was arrested for burglary in company with his old associates and was committed to a state reform school. Evil companionship was the one thing that could not be controlled; his association with delinquents had gone too far. The case-study group was forced to mark the case a failure.

One wonders what could have been done with this boy if he had been discovered sooner. Could the community have saved him from a reform school if its resources had been used at the first evidence of delinquency? The members of the case-study group were of the unanimous opinion that this was a case of starting action a little too late. Ernest, while a "predelinquent" or problem child, could probably have been saved from a reformatory by united action of the agencies. Ernest as a delinquent had gone too far.

JACK

Jack B— was a fourteen-year-old boy who had been placed on juvenile court probation for burglary. He was referred to the case-study group by the Probation Office. That department explained that while Jack's delinquency seemed serious, he had in reality only acted as a lookout while an older boy committed the offense. The School Department reported Jack's behavior and scholarship as being fair, but pointed out a distinct slump in recent months. The Juvenile Detail reported several complaints about Jack's committing acts of malicious mischief in his neighborhood—breaking windows, making unnecessary noise, swearing, and so

forth. He had been admonished several times. The Recreation Department stated that Jack was somewhat troublesome on the playground but that he was not a particular problem.

The Charities Commission reported Jack's family as a permanent relief case. There were nine children, the father drank heavily and could not hold a job, the mother was feeble-minded and a wretched housekeeper, and the entire home set-up bordered on the unfit. Little attention was paid to Jack by his parents. However, the boy, having a normal intelligence, had a distinct sense of family pride and loyalty, and greatly resented any criticism of his parents. The Health Clinic brought out the fact that Jack was undernourished, and that his heart was in such a condition that exercise was dangerous. Here was a boy who, altho not yet delinquent, was showing delinquent tendencies and was greatly in need of concentrated effort in his behalf, both from the standpoint of behavior and of health.

The case-study group went into action. The probation officer carefully explained to the boy the serious condition of his heart, and made attendance at the Health Clinic a condition of probation. He was instructed to stay away from the companions who had led him into his difficulty. The School Department exercised more supervision over his physical education and prevented him from taking any exercise which would overtax his heart. The Recreation Department encouraged him to participate in playground activities of a less strenuous nature, and gave him tasks that were supervisory in character. Thru the efforts of the local community council, Jack joined a model airplane club in his neighborhood. The council also provided a citizen to take Jack to and from the Health Clinic, a duty his parents could not be depended upon to perform. In addition, an attempt was made to build up the morale of Jack's family. Regular visits to the home were made by the Charities Commission, and Jack's physical condition was so constantly emphasized that finally an impression was made and greater care was given him by the parents.

More than a year has passed and Jack has quite generally improved. His conduct at school is excellent. He has a better outlook on life, and there has not been a sign of delinquency. He has been discharged from probation as having made good, and the case-study group has marked the case as one where a problem child has been satisfactorily adjusted in the community.

This case is an excellent example of the use of many community resources thru the Coordinating Council. A "predelinquent" boy was studied and treated before reaching the delinquent stage. Too often we wait until a child is so delinquent as to need institutional training before we act. The Coordinating Council helps to meet this situation.

RALPH

Ralph M— was seventeen years old. He would not attend school with regularity. His widowed mother, who was a psychopath, constantly accused Ralph of stealing from her; some, but not all, of those accusations were true. He was inclined to be lazy, altho when given a task for which he was paid, he performed it well. The family was independent but in only moderate circumstances. Ralph's mother finally brought him before the Juvenile Court for stealing and pawning some jewelry, and for refusing to go to school. He was placed on juvenile court probation but the same trouble continued.

There was an older sister in the home that caused almost as much trouble as Ralph. The two constantly quarreled, with the poor psychopathic mother bearing the brunt of the attack as peacemaker and usually taking the girl's side of the dispute. Conditions rapidly became worse. Ralph was brought before the court on two occasions and admonished. Finally, as a last resort the case was referred to the case-study group. The problem was: Should a boy be sent to a state reformatory because of home difficulties?

Obviously the only solution to the trouble was to remove Ralph from the home. Yet where could he be placed? Jobs were scarce and Ralph needed a great deal of supervision. He was beginning to associate with bad companions, and it seemed to be only a question of time before the boy would become an institutional case. In fact, Ralph's probation officer at his last juvenile court hearing had recommended institutional training. His school conduct remained the same, including truancy and petty conduct difficulties, such as smoking.

Then the Coordinating Council started its machinery. The School Department agreed to excuse Ralph from his classes if he could secure a job. He was not eligible for the Navy, for he had not completed two years of high school. It was suggested that efforts be made to secure employment for Ralph on board ship, and the employment bureau of the Ship Owners' Association was contacted. At first the director of employment refused flatly, on the ground that the marine service was not in the business of reforming delinquent boys. The case-study group did not stop, however. All the member agencies sent letters asking that Ralph be given a trial. Finally the personnel director reluctantly decided to give the boy a chance.

Ralph sailed on his first cruise as a cabin boy. Two months later he was an ordinary seaman. Today, after nearly two years, he is an able-bodied seaman (at nineteen years), has been with the same line for a year, and is studying religiously to become an officer. He is proud of his work and has found his profession. He calls in to see the writer (his former probation officer) after every cruise, and joyfully relates his adventures.

In the course of studying the case, the Psychiatric Clinic visited Ralph's mother, secured a position for the older sister, and stabilized the whole family. Instead of a neurotic woman, who twice attempted suicide, we now have a fairly stable individual who is performing her household duties cheerfully and intelligently.

Conclusion—The three examples just given show how the Coordinating Council functions thru its case-study group in dealing with a problem child. So far, the Oakland Council has dealt only with the more serious problem cases. The work has been successful, on the whole, and the Council is generally recognized thruout the city as an important factor in adjusting the problem children of the community. However, its work has just begun. It must enter a greater and more important field—that of reaching and attempting to adjust the potential problem child, the "predelinquent." The member agencies must detect children with delinquent tendencies before they become serious problems.

Tendencies toward delinquency generally manifest themselves in the entire life of the individual. A boy who is becoming a problem in school will, in all probability, also show signs of becoming a problem in his association with some other agency. When we are able to detect and treat the predelinquent individual by putting all of the forces of the community to work in guarding against his future delinquency, then, and then only, can we say that we are making the most intelligent effort to adjust the problem child. If and when the coordinating council theory becomes a reality in every large city in the United States, we should begin to see a reduction in our high rate of delinquency.

UTILIZING SPECIALIZED ASSISTANCE OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

CLARA BASSETT

Consultant in Psychiatric Social Work, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, New York

THE PRINCIPAL OR TEACHER interested in the study and treatment of maladjusted children, or in affording wider opportunities for enriched experience to the more normal or talented children, will acquire not only an intimate knowledge of all the resources within the school system but a similar familiarity with the resources in the community. The number and variety of these resources usually depend somewhat upon the size of the community. Few communities, however, are so small or so unorganized that valuable services are not available to supplement those afforded in the schools.

PROCEDURES FOR UTILIZING COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Obtaining a knowledge of existing agencies—Perhaps the easiest way to learn about these additional resources is to secure copies of any available directories of social, health, family, or child welfare associations and institutions, and of recreational and cultural agencies functioning in the town, county, and state. If the community is large enough to have a council of social agencies, or a community chest, information regarding the types of directories available may be secured from this central agency. The social or welfare agencies may be privately supported thru contributions by interested individuals or groups, or thru appropriations from a community chest; or they may be public agencies, supported by taxation and operating under governmental control. If no such directories are available, considerable information may be obtained from the classified telephone directory, under such headings as "Associations," "Social Service Organizations," "Clinics," "Hospitals," "Schools," and "Social Settlements."

The next step may be to write or visit these agencies to secure copies of annual reports or other literature describing their organization, staff, and work. Printed annual reports of all the welfare services conducted by town, county, and state governments may also be obtained by applying to the appropriate authorities. With this general background, the principal or teacher can then make a more intensive study of individual agencies thru personal contacts with members of the agency staff. A thoro knowledge of the community will enable the school to utilize more fully the varied resources of agencies, institutions, and individuals in bringing to children the opportunities for treatment, for enriched experience, or for creative activities which they may need.

Obtaining help with individual problem children—Before taking any action or making any decisions regarding a child, it is necessary to gain as much understanding as possible of the child himself, of his parents, and of his home life. Such understanding should be sought thru careful observation, thru the study and analysis of school records, thru consultation with other teachers or school officers who may know the child or his family, and thru personal contacts and sympathetic interviews with the child and his parents. The knowledge thus gained may be supplemented by a friendly visit to the home.

When the principal or teacher is confronted with a problem child who requires more specialized or more intensive study and treatment than the school system can provide, one of her first steps should be to communicate with the local social service exchange, if such exists. In many communities some type of confidential exchange, clearing-house, or joint registration bureau provides a central index of the community's social case records. This exchange may serve only the town or city, or it may serve the county, and in some instances, the state. The majority of social agencies in the area served send to this bureau a simple report on all the families which they contact in their work: the parents' names and ages, the family address, any previous addresses known, the names and ages of the children, the name of the agency in contact with the family, and the date on which this contact began. The teacher may, by sending certain required information to the exchange, receive a list of the social agencies which have known the family in the past or which are in active contact with it at present, together with the dates on which these agencies first registered the case with the exchange.

A particular family may not be listed in the exchange, either because it has never been in contact with any of the agencies registering, or because its contacts with an agency have been so slight as not to appear to warrant registration. The teacher will find, however, that many problem families have long been known to one or more of these agencies. In working with such a family, the agencies often accumulate much information and experience which may greatly aid the teacher in understanding a child's problems and needs.

By telephoning or visiting each agency listed as having known the family, and thru contacts with the staff workers who have had the closest contact with the family, the teacher may learn whether the case is actively under care at present, whether it has been closed but may be reopened for further treatment, and how the agencies and the teacher may cooperate in the study, diagnosis, and treatment of the problems presented.

Altho the family may have previously been unknown to any social agency, it may now be in need of the skilled services which these agen-

cies provide. After the teacher has tactfully explored the situation to determine the outstanding needs, she may assist the family by referring it to the agency or agencies which seem best fitted to render the services needed. If a council of social agencies or a community chest is functioning in the community, the teacher may receive advice from this source as to the particular agency to which the family should be referred. When a case is referred to a "case-work" agency, this agency usually refers the family in turn to any other clinics, hospitals, or recreational agencies whose services may be required in treatment.

In referring a child or family to a social agency, certain procedures will help to make this contact more effective. The services of the agency may be described and discussed with the child or the family in such a way that they understand something of the type of assistance which they may expect to receive, and the relation this bears to their present needs. The teacher may telephone to the agency for an appointment, and may give the child or the family a note of introduction. In the meantime, it will be most helpful if the teacher gives the agency whatever information she has regarding the situation, what she believes to be the needs of the case, and what she hopes may be accomplished thru the assistance of the agency. The agency will then be prepared to cooperate more intelligently with the family and with the school. Further contacts with the agency worker may be made from time to time to exchange reports on progress, and to maintain the cooperative relationship until the desired results are achieved.

Availability of confidential information—The records which these agencies have concerning the family are confidential, and the information which they contain is often of an intimate nature. An agency is justified in imparting such information only when convinced that effective treatment of the problem requires a deeper and broader knowledge of the situation than the teacher has obtained thru her own efforts; that the teacher is a thoroly understanding, reliable person; that she will appreciate the confidential character of the information; and that she will use the additional information with the utmost discretion and wisdom. The teacher may meet some reluctance on the part of the agency to discuss the situation frankly, because of an unexpressed belief that the training and experience of many teachers have left them unprepared to take a sympathetic view of the more serious behavior and family problems. The agency may even know of school situations in which personal information gained by teachers has been unwisely used, or has deeply prejudiced the teacher against the child or the family. Only if the teacher, thru study and experience, has developed a genuine tolerance and sympathetic understanding of the less pleasant aspects of human behavior, can free exchange of information, frank discussion

of the underlying problems, and close cooperation in study and treatment be achieved.

TYPES OF HELPFUL AGENCIES

Agencies for family relief and rehabilitation—The family of a mal-adjusted child may be without sufficient means of support thru unemployment, illness, or some other misfortune, and the main problem may be one of financial relief. Such a problem might be referred, with the consent of the family, to a public relief agency. Other problems of family demoralization or disintegration would probably respond to the more intensive social case treatment which a private family case-work agency provides, and should be referred to such an agency. If the family involves a dependent widow or deserted mother with children, or one whose husband is seriously disabled or in a public penal or mental institution, relief and supervision may be secured thru the mothers' aid department of the juvenile court or public welfare department. The services of day nurseries, nursery schools, or employment agencies may also be needed to assist working mothers with young children. A teacher need not hesitate for fear of approaching the wrong agency. Agencies usually are prepared to give advice or to make necessary transfers.

Juvenile protective and case-work agencies—Children's case-work or protective agencies may be called upon for service when one or more children of the family are dependent, neglected, abused, illegitimate and uncared for, incorrigible, or delinquent, or when they have physical or mental handicaps which require special treatment and supervision. Every effort should be made to adjust the child in his own home, with his own parents, relatives, or friends, in his own neighborhood school, and in his own community. Not until all other school and community resources for diagnosis and treatment have been exhausted and have seriously failed, should steps be taken to place the child in an institution for dependent or delinquent children. This approach is especially essential for delinquent children. Teachers often become impatient or unduly discouraged if such a child does not show an immediate reformation in personality and behavior. Bringing a child into juvenile court or placing him in an institution is frequently resorted to very prematurely, before adequate study of the problem has been attempted.

Health agencies—Children suffering from physical defects or diseases, or requiring medical, surgical, or dental treatment, may be referred to public or private clinics, hospitals, public health nursing agencies, child health associations, or other more specialized health agencies or institutions. If possible, children should be referred to these agencies thru the school physician or school nurse. For individuals presenting special problems, such as the blind, the deaf, the hard-of-hearing, the crippled,

the tuberculous, the pre-tuberculous, the malnourished, the venereally diseased, the cardiopathic, the mentally defective or diseased, and the deformed or physically handicapped, various institutions in the community, county, or state may provide medical or surgical care, needed appliances, training, rehabilitation, employment, and recreational programs. Convalescent homes, health camps, and milk funds may also be used in the treatment of health problems. Where no such services are available, the question of procedure may be taken up with the president or secretary of the county medical society, or with the state department of health. The directory of the American Medical Association includes all physicians in the United States, whether they are members or not, and indicates their specialties.

Behavior clinics—In some communities there are psychological, psychiatric, mental-hygiene, child-guidance, or habit-training clinics, where children or their relatives may receive needed study and treatment for personality or behavior disorders. Special-class teachers are apt to be aware of special community resources of this sort. These clinics may be conducted by public or private agencies operating locally; or the service may be secured thru the traveling clinics or the public institutions operated by county or state governments. Information about these facilities for any locality may be obtained from the *Directory of Psychiatric Clinics in the United States*, published by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene,¹ or from the state mental hospital serving the district.

Every effort should be made to secure examinations and treatment as early as possible for children who show such symptoms as truancy, stealing, lying, precocious sexual interests or activities, excessive shyness, fears or withdrawal from social contacts, and other serious personality or behavior disorders. The teacher and principal can contribute by cooperating closely with such agencies in the study and treatment of the child, and by providing the understanding, the patience, the willingness to experiment, and the persistence of effort necessary in the readjustment of these children.

Educational and recreational agencies—An intimate knowledge of the recreational, "character-building," and cultural opportunities in the community is essential not only in the treatment of maladjusted children, but also in providing other children with opportunities for creative activities, for development of special interests and talents, and for enriched experience which they would otherwise not be likely to enjoy. Parents and relatives are often quite unfamiliar with the variety of opportunities thus offered. Recreational and creative activities may be conducted for groups of various ages by neighborhood churches or

¹ 50 W. 50th Street, New York, New York.

settlements, or in nearby parks and playgrounds. Interesting and varied programs may be in operation under the auspices of the Boy and Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and similar agencies. Summer recreational programs or camps for various age groups are often available, and parents and children may be referred to appropriate agencies in accordance with their needs for free, part-pay, or full-pay service.

Other associations and institutions may furnish special opportunities or intensive training in arts and crafts: in dancing, painting, sculpture, dramatics, creative writing, instrumental or vocal music, and various other creative fields. Many children may benefit thru contacts with these community groups and others organized to promote artistic, scientific, or avocational interests. Usually there are also a number of private studios, schools, or classes which offer special types of practical, industrial, commercial, or vocational training not available in the public schools, and which may be used in the guidance of certain children.

Skilled and interested individuals—If the community is small, less highly organized, and with few institutional resources which may be used in treatment, the teacher may discover many individuals with special knowledges, insights, skills, or interests, who will gladly advise or cooperate in the study and treatment of maladjusted children. Physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, nurses, and other specialists in private practise may be willing to serve individual cases on a free, part-pay, or full-pay basis. Individuals with special vocational or avocational interests may be delighted to have personal contacts with children having similar interests and needing this stimulus, even tho these interests may be only in the budding stage.

CONCLUSION

The effectiveness of the teacher and principal in utilizing all the resources, individual and social, which the community affords for the readjustment and enrichment of the lives of school children, will depend upon the sympathy and imagination which they bring to the study of children's problems and needs, their willingness to study the community, and their ingenuity in securing the happy cooperation of the child, the family, the social workers, and other individuals who may become involved in a particular case. The intimate knowledge of the community, the increased sensitivity to social problems, and the broader experience which the teacher may thus acquire will be of genuine value in teaching, which is, after all, her primary responsibility. Such knowledge and experience will help to make school work more vitally related to life as it exists outside the somewhat cloistered and academic confines of the typical school.

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CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY OF SELECTED RESEARCH STUDIES¹

WHILE EARLIER CHAPTERS have referred to research in the field of personality, most of the authors have not attempted to present research findings systematically. This chapter offers a concise and relatively non-technical summary of certain studies which have a bearing upon the general subject of this yearbook.

The literature of research in personality is enormous and varies greatly in quality. Even if space permitted, it would be inadvisable even to list all of the studies which have been published in recent years. In choosing a limited number for brief review in this chapter, the aim has been to include studies having important implications for principals and teachers, and representing various approaches to the problem.² The limitations of these investigations are recognized, however, and the reader is cautioned against drawing unwarranted conclusions from their results.

The manifestations and causes of personality adjustment or maladjustment are almost inconceivably complex. This fact not only makes the conduct of adequate research very difficult, but also interferes with the attempt to classify research studies in a clearcut fashion. The studies summarized here are grouped under the following main headings: (1) frequency of maladjustments and readjustments among children; (2) relative seriousness of behavior problems; (3) factors related to personality growth and adjustment; and (4) the mental health of teachers.

These studies do not deal exclusively with children of elementary-school age. Certain investigations of personality adjustment among preschool children, adolescents, and even adults have been included because of their bearing upon the philosophy and procedure of the elementary school.

FREQUENCY OF MALADJUSTMENTS AND READJUSTMENTS AMONG CHILDREN

In school systems—In a survey of ten midwestern cities with a total school enrolment of 55,995, Williams³ found that 1343 or 2.4 percent

¹ Prepared for the Editorial Committee by the Research Division of the National Education Association. Since this chapter is an integrated unit and contains its own introductory statement, the usual editorial comment is omitted.

² For comprehensive reviews in closely related fields, see: Baker, Harry J., chairman, "Psychological Tests." *Review of Educational Research* 5: 185-331; June, 1935. ¶ Heck, Arch O., chairman, "Pupil Personnel, Guidance, and Counseling." *Review of Educational Research* 6: 153-275; April, 1936. In addition, an issue of the *Review of Educational Research* on mental hygiene is planned for December, 1936.

³ Williams, Herbert D. "Survey of Predelinquent School Children of Ten Midwestern Cities." *Journal of Juvenile Research* 17: 163-74; July, 1933.

of these pupils were listed as problem or predelinquent children by their teachers. No uniform definition of the term "problem" or "predelinquent" was used, however, the teachers being told to use their own judgment. The percent of children thus selected as problems varied from 1.2 in one city to 5.3 in another, but there was practically no relationship between these percents and the size of the cities. Of the problem children reported, 80 percent were boys and 20 percent were girls, which is approximately the same ratio of boys to girls as found in the juvenile court statistics of the United States. Ages ten to fifteen inclusive accounted for 67 percent of the predelinquents, with more at age thirteen than at any other age. Sixteen percent were in Grade V, with Grades III, VI, IV, and II following closely. Social maladjustments were reported in 97 percent of the cases, while school maladjustments were almost as common. Among the symptoms listed most frequently were (1) annoying other children, (2) misconduct in school, (3) disobedience and disrespect for authority, (4) quarreling with other children, (5) indifference to the rights and opinions of others, (6) poor sportsmanship, (7) lying, (8) being easily led, (9) uncleanness of body and clothing, (10) trying to dominate other children, (11) associating with bad companions, and (12) abnormal desire for attention. The proportion of predelinquent boys reported for misconduct in school was twice as great as the proportion of predelinquent girls. The problem boys were much more likely to show disrespect for authority and to annoy other children, while the problem girls were more inclined to show timidity, inferiority feelings, and abnormal interest in sex.

Germane and Germane⁴ analyzed the reports of 915 teachers on cases of misbehavior or objectionable personality traits in children. The teachers reported eighty-four different kinds of maladjustment among the 2672 cases coming to their attention. About one-half of these cases involved either theft, lack of interest, disobedience, selfishness, poor sportsmanship, lying, or cheating. Selfishness and stubbornness were found more often in the early school grades than in the high school, while discourtesy, lack of self-control, mischievousness, cheating, and lack of interest were more common in the high school. Of special importance is the fact that after attempting to readjust these cases for one semester, the teachers reported complete success in about 19 percent, partial success in 80 percent, and complete failure in less than 1 percent. A longer period of study and treatment might have resulted in the complete readjustment of a larger proportion of the cases. On the other hand, the teachers may not always have been cor-

⁴ Germane, Charles E., and Germane, Edith G. *Character Education*. New York: Silver, Burdett and Co., 1929. Part I, p. 112-57.

rect in appraising the results of their efforts. In any event, the study indicated definite values in individual counseling by classroom teachers who have sufficient time and background for such work.

In child-guidance clinics—Ackerson⁵ reported a study of 5000 problem children who were given clinical examinations at the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research between 1923 and 1927. These children were suffering from one or more of 478 different kinds of personality difficulties. Among the most common symptoms reported were the following: (1) restlessness, irritable temperament, (2) disobedience, incorrigibility, (3) retardation in school, (4) temper display, "tantrums," (5) listlessness, lack of initiative or ambition, (6) stealing, (7) immature manner or judgment, impaired judgment, (8) fighting, quarrelsomeness, violence, (9) enuresis beyond third birthday, (10) lying, (11) poor work in school, (12) crying easily, (13) masturbation, (14) truancy from school, (15) truancy from home, (16) sensitiveness or worry, and (17) bashfulness, shyness. These seventeen items ranged in frequency among the children examined, from 41 percent for restlessness and irritable temperament to 17 percent for bashfulness and shyness. All of the cases had been referred to clinics by parents, teachers, social agencies, or the juvenile court.

Lee and others⁶ reported on the study and treatment of 591 problem children by the Bureau of Children's Guidance of the Commonwealth Fund. Types of conduct disorders found in 15 or more percent of these children were, in order of greatest frequency, lying, disobedience, misconduct in school, tantrums, quarreling, stealing, day-dreaming, truancy, defiance of authority, fighting, sullenness, overactivity, jealousy, shyness, irritability, and stubbornness. Problems occurring more frequently among boys than among girls were misconduct in school, stealing, truancy, fighting, and overactivity. Those occurring more often among the girls were disobedience, day-dreaming, jealousy, shyness, and stubbornness. The study showed that even specialists in child guidance cannot claim a high percent of success in handling clinical cases of maladjustment. Of 196 cases selected at random, 48 percent were reported as successfully treated, 31 percent as treated with partial success, and 21 percent as without success.

Glueck and Glueck⁷ made an intensive study of the behavior of 905 delinquent boys after they had been treated by an outstanding juvenile court (Boston Juvenile Court) and a leading child-guidance

⁵ Ackerson, Luton. *Children's Behavior Problems*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 268 p.

⁶ Lee, Porter R., and others. *Mental Hygiene and Social Work*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1929. 309 p.

⁷ Glueck, Sheldon, and Glueck, Eleanor T. *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934. 341 p.

clinic (Judge Baker Foundation). They found that 88 percent of the boys had continued their delinquencies after treatment. Two-thirds of them committed serious offenses, largely felonies. While the recommendations of the clinic in these cases were not always carried out in full, this apparently was not a highly important factor in the results. The authors concluded that the treatment actually carried out by the clinic, court, and associated facilities of the community had very little effect in preventing further delinquency. Evidently the assumption that crime and criminals can be "cured" with methods now available is open to grave doubt. Prevention seems to be a more promising approach to the problem.

RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS

Judgments of teachers and mental hygienists—Probably the best known study of adult attitudes with respect to the relative seriousness of children's behavior is that by Wickman.⁸ In this study fifty types of presumably undesirable conduct were rated for seriousness by 511 city school teachers, 30 mental hygienists, and 200 students of psychology in a teachers college. The city teachers tended to rate as most serious such positive behavior as stealing, heterosexual activity, untruthfulness, writing obscene notes and pictures, masturbation, destroying school materials, truancy, impertinence, disobedience, profanity, and smoking. The mental hygienists, on the other hand, gave highest average ratings to negative behavior such as unsocial withdrawing, unhappy attitude, fearfulness, sensitiveness, suspiciousness, shyness, and being overcritical of others. The college students agreed more closely with the mental hygienists than with the teachers. The investigator concluded that teachers are relatively too much concerned about pupil behavior which offends their moral sensitivities, challenges their authority, or interferes with their immediate teaching purposes. A weakness of this study was that the teachers and specialists were not asked to use the same standard of seriousness; the teachers were instructed to consider the offenses as *disciplinary violations*, while the mental hygienists were asked to consider their effect upon the individual's *future emotional adjustment*. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the criterion of inner emotional health is more important than that of reasonable social conformity and cooperation.

Yourman,⁹ in a study of 200 elementary-school children reported as behavior problems by their teachers, reached a conclusion similar to

⁸ Wickman, E. K. *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928. 247 p.

⁹ Yourman, Julius. "Children Identified By Their Teachers as Problems." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 5: 334-43; February, 1932.

that of Wickman. The teachers described in detail the behavior of these children, and also rated the behavior problems according to seriousness on the Wickman scale. The results showed that children were designated as problems mainly because of aggressive classroom behavior. No pupils with shy, evasive personality traits were so designated; nor were any mentally gifted children included in this category. Many of dull-normal intelligence, however, were listed as problem children. Of all behavior problems, the teachers rated violations of moral standards and of school regulations as the most serious. These results may be partly explained by the fact that the professional standing of most teachers depends upon the academic achievement and class discipline of their pupils. The attitudes of teachers toward children often reflect the ideas of administrators and supervisors as to how a classroom should be managed. Evidently both teachers and principals need a greater understanding of those personality problems which do not manifest themselves in aggressive or openly immoral conduct.

Bain¹⁰ used the Wickman scale in comparing teachers' attitudes toward children's problems in the years 1927 and 1932, and at the beginning and end of a semester's college work in educational subjects. In each year, groups of teachers in three different college classes were studied: (1) child development, (2) parent education, and (3) training school problems. Nearly all of these people were graduate students and had had some teaching experience. In 1927 the first two classes (those involving specific study of children) ranked problems of the unsocial, introverted, and recessive type more seriously after study than before. The ratings of the third class showed little change. In 1932 the raters agreed still more closely with the judgments of mental hygienists as shown in Wickman's study, and there was little difference between the ratings before and after study in any of the classes. The author concluded that sound instruction as to the nature and needs of children can do much to improve teachers' attitudes. Moreover, she believed that her data reflected a rather general shift toward new viewpoints in education during recent years.

Judgments of parents and college students—Stogdill¹¹ investigated the assumption that college students have more liberal attitudes toward children than do their elders. Seventy items of child behavior were rated according to seriousness or undesirability by 110 parents, 45 advanced college students of psychology, and 50 authorities in child guidance and mental hygiene. There was marked agreement between

¹⁰ Bain, Winifred E. "A Study of the Attitudes of Teachers toward Behavior Problems." *Child Development* 5: 19-35; March, 1934.

¹¹ Stogdill, Ralph M. "Attitudes of Parents, Students and Mental Hygienists toward Children's Behavior." *Journal of Social Psychology* 4: 486-80; November, 1933.

parents and students on sixty-five of the seventy items, but marked disagreement between each of these groups and the child-guidance experts on about one-half of the items. Fears, suspiciousness, excessive modesty, shyness, day-dreaming, and spending most of one's time reading were considered serious by the specialists but of little consequence by parents and students. The latter groups attached most weight to (1) violations of moral taboos, such as lying, stealing, and sex experience; (2) opposition to parental control, such as talking back and disrespect of elders; and (3) interruptions of household routine, such as carelessness and bad table manners. The specialists did not disregard antisocial behavior, but emphasized the importance of greater initiative and wider social participation on the part of children than their parents generally find convenient. It may be inferred from this study that parents and college students are no less in need of better insight into the nature and care of young children than are school teachers.

FACTORS RELATED TO PERSONALITY GROWTH AND ADJUSTMENT

Personality in General

Differences between problem and non-problem children—Fisher¹² compared problem and non-problem children with respect to mental, physical, social, and emotional characteristics. The children were selected by teachers from Grades I, III, V, VI, IX, and XII, 360 constituting the problem group and 360 the non-problem group. From each of these two groups a special subgroup was also selected, one consisting of 176 children who were considered the most serious behavior problems, and the other consisting of 159 who were considered the best adjusted children. No definition of "behavior problems" or "best adjusted" was given to the teachers. After selection, the children were given a variety of tests and ratings. For children in the lower grades there were available also certain ratings of emotional tendencies which had been given by kindergarten teachers from one to four years previously. The results showed some superiority of the non-problem group over the problem group in desirable mental and social traits, in emotional adjustment, in physical fitness, and in socio-economic status of the home. On the whole, the best adjusted group ranked first, the total non-problem group second, the total problem group third, and the most serious problem group fourth. The most significant differences were in social and emotional fields. Earlier ratings by kindergarten teachers were, in general, borne out by those of present grade teachers.

¹² Fisher, Mildred L. "Measured Differences Between Problem and Non-Problem Children in a Public-School System." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 7: 353-64; February, 1934.

The author observed a need for reappraisal and improvement of the social and emotional training which children receive in school, beginning with the earliest grades.

Moore¹³ attempted to discover whether "problem boys" possess characteristics of strength and masculinity to a greater degree than do non-problem boys. He tested a group of 150 boys at a public day school for problem boys in a large city, and compared the results with the findings of other investigators for both problem and non-problem boys. The tests included physical size and achievement, intelligence, school achievement, mechanical aptitude, emotional stability, and attitudes. The average problem boy was found to be inferior to the average normal boy in athletic abilities, intelligence, school achievement, and mechanical aptitude, altho two other studies disagreed on the last item. Other studies also indicated that physical defects are present to about the same extent in problem and non-problem groups. In the present study the problem boys gave more unfavorable responses on the tests of emotional stability, and indicated greater interest in questionable matters on the character tests than did the non-problem boys. The author concluded that the "problem boy" is usually a weakling in one or more respects, and that the causes of his antisocial behavior lie in the environment and in personal characteristics other than those involving strength.

Influence of the school on bright and dull children—Laycock¹⁴ undertook to compare effects of the educational system upon the behavior adjustments of mentally inferior and mentally superior pupils. The subjects of study were 102 children in a Canadian school system, one-half with I.Q.'s from 110 to 141, and the other half with I.Q.'s from 52 to 89. Both groups ranged in chronological age from seven years and five months to over fourteen years. They were located in a district of higher-than-average social status. The children were rated by both teachers and parents on 102 possible personality maladjustments according to the following scale: (1) not known, (2) slight tendency noted, (3) fairly strong tendency noted, and (4) very strong tendency noted. The teachers rated all pupils in their rooms and were unaware that a study of inferior and superior pupils was being made. The inferior group was rated significantly more unsocial, meddlesome, oversensitive, and lacking in group spirit by both parents and teachers. The parents and teachers agreed also upon the marked feelings of inferiority, self-consciousness, dependence, and lack of confidence displayed by the inferior children. The teachers alone rated the inferior

¹³ Moore, H. K. "Is the Problem Boy a Weakling?" *Journal of Juvenile Research* 18: 79-89; April, 1934.

¹⁴ Laycock, Samuel R. "Adjustments of Superior and Inferior School Children." *Journal of Social Psychology* 4: 353-66; August, 1933.

group as more given to bullying, tattling, teasing, quarreling, and fighting. The investigator concluded that the undesirable behavior of these pupils was due largely to their maladjustment to the school curriculum, and that the traditional system of a uniform curriculum and identical teaching methods for children of all degrees of ability should be modified.

Value of a mental hygiene program in the school—Tallman¹⁵ reported preliminary results in a study to determine the value of a mental hygiene program for school children, to develop a system for discovering and treating pupil maladjustments in the school, and to educate the local school staff in the principles and practises of mental hygiene. One hundred and five children in Grade III and sixty-two in Grade VII were selected for study. One-half of those in each grade will constitute experimental groups, and will be given special educational, vocational, and psychiatric guidance until they finish high school. The other children in each grade will be examined and their problems will be noted, but they will not receive special treatment. Brief psychiatric interviews, together with individual intelligence examinations, were given to both experimental and control groups. The psychiatric interview revealed a larger proportion of behavior disorders and personality deviations in Grade VII than in Grade III, altho the average intelligence scores of the two grades were practically equal. Problems were found more frequently in children of both inferior and superior intelligence than in those of average ability. A number of the children expressed a desire to leave school because they feared failure in one or more subjects. Altho incomplete, the results of this study indicated that so-called minor difficulties are not likely to decrease with increased age and school experience. The author recommended that such difficulties be adjusted early so as to avoid permanent and more serious maladjustments.

Feelings and emotions in relation to personal and social status—Jersild, Markey, and Jersild¹⁶ studied the desires, fears, and fancies of 400 school children in relation to sex, age, intelligence, and socioeconomic status. The group included twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls at each age level from five to twelve, inclusive. Three-fifths of each group were in a city public school, while the remainder were in a city private school. The I.Q.'s of the public school group averaged 105, and those of the private school children 124. Each child was interviewed and allowed to tell in his own way his fears, dreams, day-dreams, likes, dislikes, wishes, ambitions, happiest and most unpleasant

¹⁵ Tallman, Frank P. "Child Guidance in Schools." *Psychiatric Quarterly* 9: 436-57; July, 1935.

¹⁶ Jersild, Arthur T.; Markey, F. V.; and Jersild, C. L. *Children's Fears, Dreams, Wishes, Day-dreams, Likes, Dislikes, Pleasant and Unpleasant Memories*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933. 172 p.

experiences. The similarities between boys and girls were more outstanding than the differences, altho the boys were more concerned about objects and activities while the girls were more concerned about social relationships and clothes. The younger children emphasized specific objects and foods, and the older children were more concerned about social and family relations, activities, and accomplishments. The child of low intelligence was less likely to wish he might be brighter than was the child of above-average mentality. While the children generally were more alike in their aspirations than in their abilities and opportunities, those in poor circumstances revealed more modest ambitions than did those having a higher socio-economic status. Movies or stories of crime and horror were mentioned more often by the public school group. The private school children seemed to be enjoying school more than those in the public school. The younger ones seemed to like school better than did the older, which indicated that the school program in the lower grades was probably more appealing than that in the upper grades. Unpleasant dreams were reported more often than pleasant ones, and corresponded more to fears—vicious animals, criminals, ghosts, bogies, and supernatural creatures—than to real happenings. Fears were generally irrational, and differed little with changes in age. Among the authors' conclusions were these: (1) the child's mental processes and mode of thought apparently undergo no distinct qualitative change with age; (2) the dull child has little insight into his handicap; (3) children from lower-scale homes have more prosaic and restricted wishes, likes, and day-dreams, but more fantastic fears than do children reared in a richer environment; (4) in expressing wishes, children think more in terms of accomplished facts than in terms of resources and methods for accomplishing them; and (5) if abstract notions of world-improvement are to affect the child's conduct appreciably, he must be given a better understanding of human nature and of cause and effect relationships.

Personality growth in preschool children—Bott¹⁷ made an intensive study of personality growth in twenty-eight preschool children ranging in age from two years and three months to four years and eleven months. Nine of the group were girls. The children's behavior during periods of outdoor free play was recorded by trained observers, ten records of fifteen minutes each being made for each child. What the child said and did, and what others said and did to him, were recorded in detail. Traits or actions found to increase with chronological age were: playing with two or more children, conversation with children, social motor behavior, commands, requests, construc-

¹⁷ Bott, Helen M. *Personality Development in Young Children*. University of Toronto Studies, Child Development Series, No. 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1934. 139 p.

tive activity, and use of constructive material. Those decreasing with increase in age were: playing alone, watching, idle or aimless behavior, and use of manipulative materials. Traits uniform thruout the group were: playing with one child, routine use of material, total motor activity, and use of gymnastic and locomotor toys. Those peculiar to individual children were: relations with adults, talking to self, laughter, and ties. The study showed a steady increase in social behavior and in verbalization as children grow older.

Home experiences and play attitudes of young children—Verry¹⁸ observed the personalities of preschool children during periods of undirected play, and then interviewed their parents to discover whether differences in the social experiences of the children corresponded to their differences in personality. Intelligence tests were given to the children also. The findings indicated that the behavior and status of these children in their play groups were determined largely by their experiences in the family circle. Often a child found satisfaction in the play group by assuming the role denied him at home. In other cases the child first assumed the same place in the play group as he had in the home. If this proved satisfactory, he continued it; if it was not satisfactory, he adopted some other mode of behavior with which he was familiar. Children with more varied social contacts tended to shift back and forth from being a leader to being a follower, according to the demands of the situation. Intelligence scores and chronological ages were of little value as indicators of social adjustment; nor was sex a significant factor. In general, these children had rather limited interests and seemed to desire adult suggestion and direction, altho their intelligence scores were good and their parents were well educated and in moderate circumstances. The author suggested that homes and schools cannot, even if they so desire, limit their influence to fostering the "natural development" of children's personalities. Such social institutions inevitably exert a strong influence upon the child's individual interests and provide him with specific patterns of social behavior.

Habit problems of preschool children—Tilson¹⁹ investigated the habit problems and related conditions in a group of 110 boys and 115 girls of preschool age who had come to the attention of habit clinics. She found 903 problems of 53 different kinds, of which 14 kinds accounted for 665 problems. Of these 14 most common problems, all but three were more frequent among the children of average intelligence than among either the dull or the bright children—a finding

¹⁸ Verry, Ethel E. "Study of Personality in Preschool Play Groups." *Journal of Social Forces* 3: 645-48; May, 1925.

¹⁹ Tilson, Marie A. *Problems of Preschool Children*. Contributions to Education, No. 356. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929. 90 p.

which is in sharp contrast to that reported by Tallman (page 595). Problems considerably more common among the bright than among the dull were negativism, poor food habits, emotional dependence upon adults, poor nutrition, restlessness, too much attention and interference from adults, too little opportunity to play with children of the same age, thumb or finger sucking, fear, and need of medical care. Speech difficulties were the only type found more often in the dull than in the bright children. The most common problems in the dull group were defective speech, masturbation, poor nutrition, and enuresis, but none of these except defective speech was found oftener in this group than in the bright or average groups. Certain environmental factors seemed to be more closely related to some problems than to others. For example, the percent with parents of foreign birth was greater among children exhibiting temper tantrums and poor food habits. An unusually large proportion of children with temper tantrums had parents who had had no schooling beyond the eighth grade. The highest proportion of poor home ratings was found among the children with temper tantrums, and the lowest was found among those showing emotional dependence on adults, negativism, poor nutrition, and need of medical care. Disagreement by parents on discipline, and lax and inconsistent discipline, were relatively high among cases of temper tantrums, while "only" children were found most often among those exhibiting poor food habits, poor nutrition, and negativism. The study did not present comparable data to show the frequency of these conditioning factors among children without habit problems.

Personality development of "only" children—A large number of studies have dealt with the personality development of "only" children. The long-standing theory that the only child is distinctly handicapped seems to be supported by such studies as that of Busemann,²⁰ who obtained teachers' judgments on 400 German children of ten to seventeen years of age. His findings indicated that lack or fewness of other children in the family favors introversion, feelings of self-dissatisfaction, hyperactivity, unrest, and inferior school achievement; that children generally work harder and accomplish more at school the more siblings they have up to four; and that families of average size encourage average, effective forms of behavior in children. Most recent studies, however, have provided little basis for such conclusions; in fact they have suggested that in certain phases of personality adjustment the "only" child may have some advantage. Fenton,²¹

²⁰ Busemann, A. "Geschwisterschaft, Schultüchtigkeit und Charakter." (Sibling Status, School Ability and Character) *Zsch. f. kindersch.* 34: 1-52; 1928. Abstracted in *Psychological Abstracts* 2: 450; July, 1928.

²¹ Fenton, Norman. "The Only Child." *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* 35: 546-56; 1928.

studying 193 children in the elementary grades, found great overlapping between "only" and "not only" children in twelve traits of character as measured by teachers' ratings. There was a slight tendency for the only children to be more self-confident, aggressive, happy, optimistic, and original. The proportion of children showing any nervous symptoms was somewhat smaller for only children, altho among those exhibiting such symptoms, the average number of symptoms was higher among the only children than among the "not only" children. A study of 293 kindergarten children by Goodenough and Leahy²² yielded somewhat similar results. Apparently "onliness" in itself is not a crucial factor, but its true influence is difficult to determine apart from that of other factors.

Influence of physical and physiological factors—Several studies have indicated that personality has its foundation in physical and physiological conditions, altho such factors may not be dominant in determining specific behavior. Rich²³ correlated certain chemical factors in the body with ratings on good-naturedness, perseverance, leadership, aggressiveness, and emotional excitability, using as subjects 57 university students, and 303 children who had been referred to the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research. Altho nearly all the relationships were small, the investigator found high emotional excitability associated with low acidity of saliva and of urine, with low urine excretion, and with low creatinine content of the blood; a high degree of aggressiveness associated with low acidity as measured by formol titration, and with low alkali reserve of the blood; a high degree of good-naturedness associated with a large total excretion of phosphorus, and with a small amount of inorganic phosphorus in the blood; high intelligence associated with low phosphorus excretion; and high degrees of good-naturedness and leadership associated with high urine excretion.

In a study comparing normal adults with patients in hospitals for the insane, Proescher and Arkusch²⁴ found that persons having certain blood characteristics are four times as likely to develop psychoses as are persons having certain other characteristics of the blood. The authors emphasized that the character of a psychosis is neither directly determined nor indicated by the blood group, but that the individual's susceptibility to a specific psychosis is so indicated.

Rowe,²⁵ studying 650 hospital patients under seventeen years of age, found that about 18 percent of those suffering from disorders of the

²² Goodenough, Florence L., and Leahy, Alice M. "The Effect of Certain Family Relationships upon the Development of Personality." *Pedagogical Seminary* 34: 45-71; March, 1927.

²³ Rich, Gilbert J. "A Biochemical Approach to the Study of Personality." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 23: 158-75; July, 1928.

²⁴ Proescher, Frederick, and Arkusch, A. S. "Blood Groups in Mental Disease." *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 65: 569-84; June, 1927.

²⁵ Rowe, Allan W. "A Possible Endocrine Factor in the Behavior Problems of the Young." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 1: 451-75; October, 1931.

endocrine glands also had behavior problems, while only 13 percent of those with non-endocrine disorders had behavior problems. Among those with behavior problems, larger percents of the endocrine group were disobedient, asocial, and bullying, while larger percents of the non-endocrine group were vicious, thieving, vagrant, and lying. The investigator concluded that the mental condition giving rise to a behavior problem may be associated with the agencies which affect metabolic levels thru the hormone control of the endocrine glands, or thru the manifold intrinsic functions of the nervous system, altho such agencies or modifications may exist without producing a behavior problem. He mentioned cases in which successful medical treatment of the endocrine disorder has been accompanied by improvement in a behavior problem associated with the disorder.

Special feeding for nervous children—Laird, Levitan, and Wilson²⁶ studied the effects of special feeding upon nervousness in school children. Fifty-three nervous but otherwise apparently healthy children in Grades I, III, and V of three elementary schools were included in the experiment. All were rated by their teachers on a checklist of thirty-four nervous traits. The children were then divided into three groups: (1) a control group receiving no special feeding, (2) a group given special feedings of milk only, and (3) a group given milk plus a food concentrate containing calcium, phosphorus, maltose, lactose, vitamin D, and cocoa for flavoring. The feedings were given at 9:30 a.m., five days a week for two weeks. At the end of that period the children were rated again by the teachers. While the control group improved 2.3 percent in nervousness (due apparently to teachers' bias or personal attention), the group receiving milk alone improved 8.2 percent on the average, and those receiving both milk and the food concentrate showed an average improvement of 15.6 percent. Among the traits in which the latter group improved 25 percent or more were: less tendency to jump from one task to another, less sluggishness in thinking, less tendency to criticize others, more self-control in unpleasant situations, less apprehension and worry, and more emotional calmness. A supplementary experiment covering two months corroborated these findings as to the superior value of the milk and food concentrate in combination. In general, the boys improved somewhat more than the girls, and the children aged nine to twelve improved more than those aged six to eight. The authors concluded (1) that about one-half of the nervous children in Grades I to V can be improved in nervous condition by morning milk feedings; (2) that calcium metabolism should be carefully provided for in the daily diet;

²⁶ Laird, D. A.; Levitan, M.; and Wilson, V. A. "Nervousness in School Children as Related to Hunger and Diet." *Medical Journal and Record* 134: 494-99; November 18, 1931.

and (3) that school officers need to recognize the importance of school lunches for many children as means of fostering better personality adjustment as well as good physical health.

Habits of eating and related traits—Eliot²⁷ investigated the relation between eating habits and personality traits in nursery-school children. Thirty-two boys and thirty-seven girls were classified by teachers' judgments as finicky or non-finicky eaters. They were also rated, after two days of observation, on each of thirty-one personality traits by two teachers and the investigator. Parents were interviewed for supplementary information. Significant differences between the two groups of children were found in general health, moodiness, self-expression, emotional control, and adjustment, while probably significant differences appeared in anger, excitability, desire for attention, leadership, regard for the rights of others, regard for authority, intellectual control, and joy. Only about one-half of the non-finicky eaters exhibited problems involving constructiveness, anger, or self-assertion, while 91 percent of the finicky eaters exhibited problems involving one or more of these types of behavior. Of thirteen problem children who changed from being finicky to being non-finicky in their eating, nine exhibited no other problems after the eating difficulty was removed. Among the author's conclusions were these: (1) two- and three-year-old children who are finicky eaters seem to be less healthy, more emotional, more self-assertive, less well adjusted, and less happy than non-finicky eaters; (2) handling of the child's eating situation may affect such generalized traits as self-assertion and emotional control; and (3) finickiness in eating should not be regarded as an isolated problem or as entirely nutritional in cause, but rather as one of many associated problems in personality development.

Conditions associated with happiness in adults—Watson²⁸ studied the relations between the happiness of adults and a variety of factors assumed to have some bearing upon it. He obtained the responses of 388 graduate students in education to a detailed happiness questionnaire, and computed a total happiness score for each student. Three groups were selected for comparison: 50 with the highest happiness scores, 50 with the lowest scores, and 50 with scores nearest the median. Among the factors apparently related to happiness were the following: good health in childhood, popularity, enjoyment of and success in work, success in dealing with people, election to many offices, and love of nature. Major factors in unhappiness appeared to be fears, sensi-

²⁷ Eliot, Abigail A. *Eating Habits in Relation to Personality Development of Two- and Three-Year-Old Children*. Genetic Psychology Monographs, Vol. 13, No. 5. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1933. p. 399-481.

²⁸ Watson, Goodwin. "Happiness Among Adult Students of Education." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 21: 79-109; February, 1930.

tiveness, and shyness. Matters having little or no relation to happiness were intelligence, school marks, hobbies, wealth, highly educated parents, number of children in family, knowledge of academic subject-matter, participation in school athletics, and ability at dancing, cards, writing, music, or painting. Parents over forty years of age seemed as likely to raise happy children as did younger parents. Quarrelsome parents who were divorced hurt children's happiness less than did similar parents who remained together.

A similar study by Sailer²⁹ dealt with 500 men from seventeen to thirty-five years of age, including clerks, skilled technical workers, professional men, businessmen, and a few unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Data were obtained from these men by means of a questionnaire of about 300 items, including a request for the individual's own rating of his happiness or unhappiness. A striking relationship was found between general happiness and evenness of temperament. Other factors apparently favoring happiness were health, lack of physical handicaps, sex satisfaction, success in marriage, liking for associates, and interest in religion. Dislike of vocational associates was found to be due largely to the nature and attitudes of the men studied, rather than to the people with or under whom they worked. In general, marked unhappiness seemed to be due to a variety of associated causes, rather than to only one or two. The investigator concluded that people differ with regard to general happiness in a fairly consistent way, and that their happiness or unhappiness is intimately connected with many of their other traits as reported by themselves. He warned, however, against picturing the happy person as a composite of all the characteristics exhibited by a group of happy people, as contrasted to those exhibited by a group of unhappy people. There are many individual differences in both groups.

Difficulty of tasks in relation to mental health—Krasnogorski³⁰ studied the behavior of individual children in response to increasingly difficult laboratory situations. One child of six years, after establishing a conditioned reflex at 144 beats of a metronome, was required to make increasingly fine discriminations between different numbers of beats. He succeeded in discriminating between 144 and 120 beats, altho with difficulty and reduced speed. When differentiation between 144 and 132 beats was tried, the child began to yawn and grow sleepy, and after several inactive stimulations he went to sleep. During this experiment, which extended over considerable time, the child changed from a quiet, tractable boy to one who was nervous, cried easily, fought with

²⁹ Sailer, Randolph C. *Happiness Self-Estimates of Young Men*. Contributions to Education, No. 467. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931. 116 p.

³⁰ Krasnogorski, N. I. "The Conditioned Reflexes and Children's Neuroses." *American Journal of Diseases of Children* 30: 753-68; 1925.

other children, and wanted to leave the hospital. In another case, a conditioned reflex was established by giving a child food five seconds after the metronome started. When the giving of food was delayed thirty seconds and then sixty seconds, an intensive inhibition developed. The reflex disappeared, and the child began to sleep during experiments and then refused to enter the laboratory. These and similar experiments have indicated that a breakdown of personality is likely to occur in children if they are given too difficult a task and required to keep at it. Apparently such a situation disturbs the cortical balance between initiation and inhibition, and an intensive inhibition finally develops, resulting not only in lack of achievement but in unwholesome emotional attitudes and habits.

Modifying the traits of social ascendance and submission—McLaughlin³¹ conducted an experiment to determine whether the traits of ascendance and submission could be modified. Twenty-five university students, twenty women and five men, were selected by means of the Allport A-S Reaction Test and the ratings of from five to ten associates in each case. Twelve of the students were classified as extremely ascendant, and thirteen as extremely submissive. The program of diagnosis and remedial treatment included weekly interviews with each student, the giving of various personality tests, consultations with a psychiatrist, behavior charts containing suggestions for ascendant and for submissive personalities, the cooperation of instructors and friends, the reading of helpful material including analogous case studies, attempts to correct physical defects, and elimination of difficulties in the environment. This program was continued for five to seven months in each case. At the end of the period, new ratings were obtained and compared with the initial ones. This comparison revealed definite modification in the submissive group, twelve of the thirteen students changing favorably. Of the twelve ascendant students, only five became less ascendant and the changes were small. Apparently the tension created in the submissive students by their unsatisfactory adjustment made them more susceptible to retraining than the ascendant group. Most of the latter were slow in acquiring insight into their problem. Factors contributing to the submissive attitude appeared to be as follows: physical defects (real or imagined), comparison with persons supposed to be superior, emotional difficulties at onset of puberty, insecurity and friction in home life, ridicule of classmates, sense of shame in connection with sex experiences, lack of opportunity for initiative in the home, and unduly repressive instruction and dis-

³¹ McLaughlin, Sister Mary Aquinas. *The Genesis and Constancy of Ascendance and Submission as Personality Traits*. University of Iowa Studies in Education, Vol. 6, No. 5. Iowa City, Iowa: the University, 1931. 95 p.

cipline by parents. The probable factors contributing to ascendance were: responsibility assumed early in life, training in confidence and initiative by parents, many social contacts in earlier years, delicate health and consequent indulgence by family, success in athletics and other school activities, absence of discipline in the home, superior physical and mental abilities, and compensation for some recognized defect. Evidently ascendance and submission are usually due largely to forces arising from the child's early social relationships, altho occasionally some deep-seated temperamental factor may be responsible. The author concluded that these traits can often be modified, especially submissiveness, even after they have become rather well established, if remedial work is carried on systematically under wise guidance.

Treatment of shut-in personalities—Hartwell³² carried on intensive clinical study and treatment of twenty-five children, aged seven to eighteen years, who presented serious cases of withdrawn, shut-in personality. Complete personal and family histories were obtained, the children were studied psychologically, and possible causative factors were analyzed. Then the psychiatrist undertook to gain each child's understanding and friendship, to break thru his reserve, and to become a vital part of his environment. As soon as the child realized that his present responses were understood without ridicule or reproach, an effort was made to interpret his environment to him so that he would be willing to try out a somewhat altered emotional response to it. After treatment or observation for from eight to eighteen months, eight of these children were apparently readjusted to normal life, eleven showed considerable improvement, and six had improved little or not at all. The chief finding in the histories of these youngsters was that their parents, or parent substitutes, had failed to understand them. Neither heredity nor physical condition appeared to have any causal relationship to their difficulties. The investigator emphasized the importance of proceeding slowly with the child, working thru common interests, trying to feel the child's emotion, and gradually letting him know that he is understood. Only when the maladjusted child realizes and is glad that someone appreciates him, will he wish to be further understood and to be helped in solving his problems.

Factors contributing to delinquency—Burt³³ made a detailed comparative study of factors in the lives of 197 delinquent and 400 non-delinquent boys and girls of the same age and same social class in London. He found that a variety of conditions—hereditary, environmental, physical, and psychological—were more common among the

³² Hartwell, Samuel W. "Study of Twenty-Five Children Presenting the Withdrawal Attitude." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 2: 143-51; April, 1932.

³³ Burt, Cyril L. *The Young Delinquent*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1925. 619 p.

delinquent children than among the non-delinquent. Of sixteen types of factors studied, all but three occurred at least twice as often in the delinquent group as in the non-delinquent. Factors having the highest association with delinquency were defective home discipline, inborn emotional tendencies, acquired emotional interests and complexes, a hereditary history of temperamental difficulties with moral symptoms, the child's intellectual condition, and a vicious home. Factors least associated with delinquency were pathological physical conditions, poverty in the home, and poor physical heredity. Apparently social and psychological factors are more significant than physical or economic conditions, altho the latter may contribute to delinquency in many cases.

Shaw and others³⁴ made a survey of 55,998 delinquents in Chicago, including 5,159 school truants, 43,298 juvenile delinquents, and 7,541 adult offenders. These persons were classified into eight general groups according to sex, age, year, and agency handling the case, and each group was then studied as to its distribution among nine mile-zone areas, beginning with the Loop and working outward to the suburbs. In all except one of the eight groups the rate of delinquency represented was considerably higher in the Loop district than in any of the outlying districts. Moreover, the rate gradually decreased as the distance from the Loop increased, until in the furthest suburban area it was only one-eighth to one-fourth as high as in the Loop. Apparently these conditions were due largely to environmental factors in the several areas rather than to the native characteristics of different national groups. The investigators found that over the period of a generation the delinquency rates in certain areas had remained high and constant in spite of major changes in population from German, to Irish, to Polish, to Italian, to Negro, while the delinquency rates of these national groups had dropped markedly as they shifted into areas already having lower rates.

King³⁵ investigated the causal and remedial factors in the cases of forty-four delinquent girls who later became satisfactorily adjusted. These girls were about sixteen years old, had an average I.Q. of 87, came from broken homes in three-fourths of the cases, and had been referred to social agencies for such problems as incorrigibility, sex offenses, rebellion against authority, staying out nights, and associating with bad companions. Among the factors most often associated with the delinquency of these girls were: unsatisfied desire for affection, recognition, and praise; early knowledge of bad sex practises;

³⁴ Shaw, Clifford R., and others. *Delinquency Areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920. 214 p.

³⁵ King, Anna E. *Changing the Delinquent Attitude*. Cleveland, Ohio: School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, 1927. 80 p.

lack of home training; feelings of inferiority; repression or overindulgence in the home; lack of opportunity for suitable recreation; adolescent instabilities; and rebellion against unjust authority. Among the factors believed responsible for producing satisfactory adjustments were: change of environment in all cases, time averaging thirty-eight months; suitable companionship, approval, recognition in a new social group; substitute for lost parents; reasonable authority; satisfaction in jobs; and wholesome recreational interests.

Stevens³⁶ compared the early experiences and attitudes of 100 college freshman men with those of 100 male inmates of a state penitentiary, all but one of whom had served previous sentences. The crimes committed by the prison group ranged from "failure to provide" to "first degree murder." Both groups answered a questionnaire including items on their economic and religious background, home discipline, attitude toward parents, habit problems, antisocial conduct, and opinions concerning the parental upbringing received. Results showed the student group to have had a somewhat superior economic background, a less strict religious atmosphere in the home, slightly less strict discipline at home (strict discipline was reported frequently in both groups), less fear of the disciplinarian in the home, greater compatibility between parents, and more comradeship with and admiration of the father. Evidence of deviation from accepted social patterns in childhood was considerably greater in the prison group, such deviations having been due apparently to bad associates, childhood neglect, poor home training, and fear or dislike of step-parents. On the other hand, a larger proportion of the college students reported such habit problems as nail biting, thumb sucking, and temper tantrums in childhood. The students were much more inclined to advocate the type of parental upbringing they had received than were the prisoners. The investigator concluded that religious formalism of the type reported by the prisoners is of no value in building a sound philosophy of life, that harsh discipline often favors antisocial development, that there is a need for greater admiration of and companionship with the father, and that a large-family environment may improve the child's self-reliance, confidence, and ability to give and take in the group.

Influence of the movies—The Committee on Educational Research of the Payne Fund, under the chairmanship of Charters,³⁷ conducted a series of studies on the influence of motion pictures upon children and youth. These investigations were concerned with the effect of

³⁶ Stevens, George C. "Autobiographical Material Concerning the Childhood Environments and the Effects on the After-Adjustment of One Hundred Recidivists and One Hundred College Freshmen." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 2: 279-303; July, 1932.

³⁷ Charters, W. W. *Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. 66 p.

movies upon children's knowledge, social attitudes, emotional responses, conduct, reactions during sleep, and standards of morality. The procedures used were too numerous and complex to be described here; the interested reader should consult the reference cited above as well as the reports of the separate studies. The outstanding conclusions were as follows: (1) The motion picture is a powerful means of education, affecting the child's information, emotions, attitudes, sleep, and patterns of conduct; (2) the content of current commercial films is generally more harmful than helpful to children; and (3) the motion picture is only one of many factors influencing child personality, and its potency in relation to the influence of the home, school, church, street life, and community customs remains to be ascertained. Altho the investigators did not study possible solutions of the movie problem, they stressed the need for cooperative effort to solve it on the part of parents, producers, and general public. It was recommended, further, that the producers of pictures establish a children's department to study and experiment with various solutions until satisfactory ones are found.

Work and Achievement

School achievement and related factors—Gates³⁸ investigated the relationships between the educational achievement of pupils, their physical status, and their mental, physiological, social, and emotional maturity. The groups studied consisted of fifty-eight pupils in the junior-primary division and fifty-seven pupils in Grade IV of a university experimental school. Physical and physiological characteristics measured objectively were ossification of wrist bones, height, weight, chest girth, lung capacity, and rate of heartbeat. Stanford-Binet mental ages were obtained, and educational achievement was measured by means of reliable objective tests in Grade IV and by teachers' records in the junior primary. In addition, five teachers rated each child on physical, emotional, social, mental, and educational maturity. Analysis of results showed that measures of physical traits were of little or no value in predicting school achievement. No single physical trait correlated highly with physical vigor, mental age, or any other type of maturity. Moreover, no combination of physical characteristics was a satisfactory indicator of other phases of development. The best single predictor of general school achievement was the Stanford-Binet mental age. Various combinations of mental age with physical measurements increased the accuracy of prediction very little. Among the

³⁸ Gates, Arthur I. "The Nature and Educational Significance of Physical Status and of Mental, Physiological, Social, and Emotional Maturity." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 15: 329-58; September, 1924.

author's conclusions were these: (1) A child does not mature at a uniform rate in all traits or abilities; (2) while physically inferior children may be *able* to accomplish as much in school as those of similar mentality who are physically superior, such accomplishment may not always be best for their health and growth; (3) on the other hand, health can be improved by absorption in tasks adjusted closely to one's ability; (4) classification of pupils according to a single factor, such as physical status, will not result in a satisfactory grouping with reference to other factors; and (5) it would seem desirable for any group of children chosen on the basis of scholastic level, to be classified also with children of different scholastic levels but similar interests, for mechanical work, artistic endeavor, and physical activities.

St. John³⁹ compared the educational achievement of boys with that of girls, and tried to discover reasons for the observed differences between the sexes. He studied 500 boys and 450 girls in Grades I to VI of a city school system over a four-year period. These children had 180 teachers in sixteen different schools during that time. Boys and girls having similar I.Q.'s were compared with respect to grade repetition, retardation, and acceleration. Teachers' marks and achievement-test scores of the two groups were also compared by I.Q. groups and by grades. Results of the tests were correlated with teachers' marks and with intelligence scores for boys and girls separately. The study showed that the girls excelled the boys, on the average, in regularity of grade progress, in maintaining normal age-grade status, in teachers' marks, in achievement-test scores, and in the correlation between their achievement and their intelligence. However, the superiority of the girls was less in achievement scores than in teachers' marks, and less in the correlation between marks and I.Q.'s than in the correlation between test scores and I.Q.'s. The teachers' ratings of boys in school subjects showed a greater influence of marks in "conduct" and "effort," than did their ratings of girls in school subjects. The investigator concluded that (1) those behavior traits which teachers consider when rating pupils in conduct and effort have an important bearing upon pupil achievement and that this influence is greater for boys than for girls; (2) the consistent inferiority of the boys in achievement and school progress is due largely to a maladjustment between the boys and their teachers; and (3) this maladjustment is due to the failure of the teachers to adapt themselves and their school procedures to the interests, habits, and general behavior tendencies of boys as well as they do to those of girls.

³⁹ St. John, Charles W. "The Maladjustment of Boys in Certain Elementary Grades." *Educational Administration and Supervision* 18: 659-72; December, 1932.

Chauncey⁴⁰ investigated the relation between the socio-economic status of children's homes and their school achievement. He tested 113 pupils in Grade VIII and 130 pupils in Grade IX of a junior high school in a small city. Correlations were computed between the home status and the achievement scores, intelligence scores, and chronological ages of the pupils. With intelligence held constant, low but significant correlations were found between home status and school achievement ($r = .23$ and $.30$). Lower relationships were found between home status and intelligence, suggesting that home status is less important in determining mental level than in determining school achievement. There was also some tendency for the younger pupils in each grade to have superior homes, which led the investigator to conclude that inferior homes tend to retard, while superior homes help to accelerate, the progress of children thru school. Pupils with superior homes but mediocre or poor school accomplishment offer a special challenge to the school.

Hurlock⁴¹ conducted an experiment to determine the effectiveness of praise and reproof as incentives for school children. She used 210 boys and 198 girls from two experimental schools located in the same section of a large city. The children were in Grades III, V, and VIII, and a few in ungraded classes. About three-eighths of them were Negroes. Intelligence tests were given to all the children, and three equivalent groups in each grade were formed on the basis of I.Q., chronological age, and race. One week after the first testing, the same test was given again to each group separately. One group merely repeated the test without any special directions. The second group repeated it after being praised for their good work in the earlier test and urged to excel their previous performance. The third group took the second test after being told that they had all failed the first time and that their poor work was holding back the other pupils in the class. After the second testing a questionnaire was given to all the children to obtain their reactions to the testing procedure. Results of the experiment indicated that (1) both praise and reproof are effective incentives, and are of about equal value for an unselected group as a whole; (2) older children react more to both praise and reproof than do younger children; (3) praise is slightly more effective for older children, and reproof for the younger; (4) boys improve more than girls of similar ages following both praise and reproof; (5) girls respond better to praise and boys to reproof; (6) superior children are greatly

⁴⁰ Chauncey, Marlin R. "The Relation of the Home Factor to Achievement and Intelligence Test Scores." *Journal of Educational Research* 20: 88-90; September, 1929.

⁴¹ Hurlock, Elizabeth B. *The Value of Praise and Reproof as Incentives for Children*. Archives of Psychology, No. 71. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. 78 p.

influenced by praise and reproof, while inferior children are decidedly less affected; (7) dull children should be encouraged, and reproof should be reserved for those superior children who are satisfied with only mediocre work; and (8) children enjoy their work more after being praised than after being reproofed. The investigator recommended that, in spite of the apparent value of reproof, praise be largely substituted for it in order to increase interest in and enjoyment of school work.

Emotional condition and productivity of adult workers—Hersey⁴² carried on an intensive study of twelve adult male workers to discover the relation between their productivity and emotional status. The men were interviewed four times a day, and were observed during the entire day both at work and in their homes. Production was measured in terms of money return by jobs, the standard of production for each worker being set at 100 percent for each period, and his actual performance being expressed in appropriate percents. The data showed that the men were more productive when feeling happy, elated, hopeful, or cooperative than when they were feeling suspicious, angry, disgusted, or worried. Variations in the efficiency of an individual worker ranged from 2 to 22 percent. Differences tended to be especially pronounced if the work required concentrated mental effort. The author concluded that increased production, like happiness, is a by-product of superior adjustment between the individual and his work, home life, and play.

THE MENTAL HEALTH OF TEACHERS

Emotional stability of children and their teachers—Boynton and others⁴³ studied the emotional stability of children in relation to the emotional stability of their teachers. The investigation included 73 teachers and 1095 pupils in Grades V and VI of a city school system. At the time of testing, the teachers and pupils had been associated for from two to two and one-half months. An inventory questionnaire designed to reveal emotional instability was answered by each teacher and by fifteen of her pupils selected at random. The teachers were classified into four groups on the basis of their scores, and the pupils of the highest or most unstable fourth were compared with those of the lowest or most stable fourth. This comparison showed a consistent and significant difference in favor of the children associated with the most stable teachers. The authors' conclusion was that, while the assignment of causes is precarious, the hyper-emotional type of teacher

⁴² Hersey, Rex B. "Rate of Production and Emotional State." *Personnel Journal* 10: 355-64; February, 1932.

⁴³ Boynton, Paul L.; Dugger, Harriet; and Turner, Masal. "The Emotional Stability of Teachers and Pupils." *Journal of Juvenile Research* 18: 223-32; October, 1934.

tends to disturb her pupils emotionally, while the emotionally stable teacher tends to promote stability in her pupils. Such a conclusion, if sound, has important implications for teacher selection and guidance.

Extent of nervous instability among teachers—Hicks⁴⁴ undertook to determine the nature and degree of nervous stability or instability among a representative group of teachers. Six hundred teachers, including 124 men and 476 women from various parts of the United States, answered a questionnaire of sixty-one items covering such fields as enjoyment of work, use of leisure, hobbies, membership in local organizations, ambitions, exercise, and health. Thirty-five of the items were common to at least two well-known measures of psychoneurotic condition. Of the entire group of teachers, 44 percent were unusually stable, 39 percent were in the middle group, and 17 percent were unusually nervous. Psychoneurotic condition was twice as prevalent among the women as among the men, and the proportion who either had had, or had been threatened with a nervous breakdown was twice as great among the women as among the men. About 11 percent of the entire group had had such a breakdown, and about the same number had desired suicide. Hobbies, altho apparently not essential to mental health in all cases, were found more often in the most stable group than in the least stable group, and much more often among the men than among the women. Hobbies of the psychoneurotic group tended to be of an intellectual type, while those of the most stable group were more often swimming, golf, car driving, or hiking. More than half of all the teachers took no exercise other than going to and from school. The greatest ambition of the majority was to have a home and family, while to be an expert teacher ranked second. Factors apparently causing the greatest disturbance were worry about work, disturbed sleep, shyness, indecision, absent-mindedness, fatigue, and headache. Since only slight differences appeared between different localities, the investigator concluded that the health conditions revealed are probably general among teachers.

Comparison of teachers and other adults in mental hospitals—Mason⁴⁵ compared the records of 733 school teachers committed to mental hospitals with those of other patients in such institutions. The teachers represented all states and all types of teaching positions, 40 percent being elementary-school teachers. The group included those admitted to four hospitals from 1880 to 1930. The records indicated that the profession of teaching was not directly responsible for the teachers' psychoses in most cases; that the teachers had been com-

⁴⁴ Hicks, Frances R. *The Mental Health of Teachers*. Contributions to Education, No. 123. Nashville, Tenn.: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1934. 36 p.

⁴⁵ Mason, Frances V. "A Study of Seven Hundred Maladjusted School Teachers." *Mental Hygiene* 15: 576-99; July, 1931.

mitted to institutions at an earlier average age than had other psychopathic patients; that the most common psychoses were dementia præcox and manic-depressive types, with more paranoia among teachers than among other patients; that drug addiction and alcohol were negligible factors; that physical disorders and hereditary factors were contributing causes of maladjustment among the teachers; and that neither intellectual attainment nor educational training, altho of high order, was able to counteract the tendencies of these teachers toward maladjustment. The author recommended courses in mental hygiene for teachers in training institutions as well as for those in service, and stressed the need of more leisure and more physical activities for teachers.

Emotional health of prospective teachers—Hertzberg⁴⁶ studied the emotional stability of prospective teachers as a possible factor to be dealt with by teacher-training institutions. He examined two groups of students in a state teachers college—229 freshmen and 172 sophomores. Emotional stability was measured by means of a well-known personality schedule containing 223 questions. This schedule was given to both groups twice, the second testing being administered one-half year and one full year after the first. The scores for emotional stability were studied also in relation to intelligence scores and scholarship standings. The students' reactions showed the most common maladjustments to involve fear, timidity, and self-consciousness, with feelings of insecurity and inadequacy sufficiently frequent to be serious. Comparison of results of the first test with those of the retest revealed an improvement in emotional stability on the part of most students. The maladjusted students attained high scholarship at least as often as did the well-adjusted students; in fact, there seemed to be a slight tendency for greater maladjustment to accompany superior scholarship. The investigator concluded that training institutions should give serious attention to emotional factors as well as to intelligence and scholarship. He recommended that such factors be considered in the selection of students for admission, and that provision be made for the development of emotional stability thruout the entire college course.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From the studies reviewed here, and many others of similar character, it is apparent that research in personal and social adjustment thus far leaves much to be desired. Personality itself is extremely complex. The innumerable factors which may influence its development are difficult to isolate and to control. Tests of behavior and of emo-

⁴⁶ Hertzberg, Oscar E. "Emotional Stability as a Factor in a Teachers College Admission and Training Program." *Educational Administration and Supervision* 19: 141-48; February, 1933.

tional tendencies are subject to considerable error, and it is questionable whether many of them actually measure what they are intended to measure. In spite of these limitations, it is possible to draw certain tentative conclusions of a general nature from the mass of detail presented by these studies. Among the most important of these conclusions are the following:

1. Teachers ordinarily recognize from 1 to 5 percent of their pupils as being sufficiently maladjusted to need special treatment. More often than not the maladjustments so recognized are those which reveal themselves thru aggressive, annoying behavior or thru persistent failure in school work. The withdrawing, shut-in type of personality is less often recognized as a serious problem by most teachers.

2. Altho both the unduly withdrawing and the unduly aggressive types of behavior are undesirable and deserve careful attention, psychiatrists generally believe that the shy, fearful, and unsocial tendencies in children are more fraught with danger for the future mental health of the individual than are the overconfident, domineering, and attacking tendencies. Seriously antisocial conduct should not receive less attention, but markedly retiring, unsocial behavior deserves much more careful study and treatment than it has received in the past.

3. No individual or agency, however expert, can expect to achieve complete success in dealing with cases of serious maladjustment under present conditions. Even the best child-guidance clinics report failure or only partial success in a large proportion of their cases. The recent comprehensive study of 1000 juvenile delinquents in Boston showed that 88 percent of these youngsters continued their delinquencies after treatment by the juvenile court and by a reputable child-guidance clinic. Such facts indicate that major emphasis must be placed on the prevention, rather than on the cure, of individual maladjustment and delinquency. Homes, schools, and other social agencies must increase their efforts to guide all children in positive, individually satisfying, and socially acceptable personality growth.

4. Personality development is produced by a variety of factors within and outside the individual. Heredity plays its part by furnishing the child's capacities, growth tendencies, temperament, and fundamental drives to action. The environment contributes opportunities for the expression of these inborn characteristics, and encourages them to develop in certain ways rather than in others. While cause-and-effect relationships are not easily determined, environmental forces appear to be more influential than hereditary factors in fashioning the individual's reactions to specific situations. Most important of all, according to the evidence, are those social forces which touch the child most closely and continuously—his home and family relationships,

his immediate friends and associates, and the cultural patterns of his neighborhood and community. These forces exert their influence by giving or withholding opportunities for successful achievement, by inspiring courage and self-confidence or timidity and fear, and by furnishing example and approval for socially constructive conduct or for vicious, destructive behavior.

5. Wholesome influences in the school alone can seldom counteract opposing forces in a child's entire out-of-school environment. The school, however, can strive to make its direct influence as constructive as possible, and can exert leadership in improving other environmental conditions thru adult education, thru cooperation with other social welfare organizations, and thru exercise of the prerogatives of citizenship by teachers and principals. The larger the number of significant factors which are conducive to good adjustment, the greater will be the child's chances of developing an integrated, admirable personality.

6. Good mental health in teachers is particularly essential to the right kind of school influence. To foster successful achievement, courage, and responsible behavior, the teacher herself must be one who is successful, courageous, well-poised, and devoted to the best ideals of service and citizenship. As far as possible, the selection and guidance of prospective teachers with reference to adequate personality adjustment should be a major concern of institutions which train teachers, and this concern should be accompanied by appropriate programs of teacher selection and supervision in all school systems.

RESearch ON GUIDANCE in the elementary school is conspicuous by its absence. This dearth of research may be due to three causes: (a) the difficulty in evaluating guidance programs and procedures; (b) the essential nature of guidance which demands a utilization and synthesis of research in other more specialized fields; and (c) the integration of guidance and education in the elementary years. The principles underlying progressive education coincide with the principles of guidance, but neither the methods of progressive education nor the more specialized guidance functions in the elementary school have been subjected to scientific evaluation.—Strang, Ruth, in *Review of Educational Research*, April, 1936, p. 194.

RECORDS AND INFORMATION

The information in this section is of two types: (1) the names of officers of professional organizations in which elementary-school principals participate, and (2) the names and addresses of paid-up members of the national Department of Elementary School Principals. Following the plan used last year, the list of organizations is divided into three groups: (a) local principals organizations, (b) sectional principals associations, and (c) state principals associations. While these lists are not complete, they include every organization from which up-to-date information about its officers was received in time for publication. The Department hopes that all organizations of elementary-school principals or supervisors will supply such information regularly for inclusion in future yearbooks.

The trend of membership in the national Department has continued upward this year. The number of members as this yearbook went to press was 4136, including 142 life members. This represents an increase of 411 over the membership of a year ago. The increase reflects not only improved economic conditions, but a growing professional spirit and unity of purpose among the elementary-school principals of the nation. The Department wishes to serve every elementary principal in the United States, and hopes thereby to foster better education for children, to elevate the elementary-school principalship, and to improve conditions for teachers.

LOCAL PRINCIPALS ORGANIZATIONS

In the following roster the symbol (1) is used to indicate the person reported as president and (2) is used to indicate the secretary.

- ABERDEEN, S. DAK.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Esther Detjen, 107 Eighth Ave., S. E. (2) Maude Johnston, 414 11th Ave., S. E.
- AKRON, OHIO—WOMEN PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Harriet Callow, 24 N. Prospect St. (2) Bess Householder, 665 Hazel St.
- ALLENTOWN, PA.—SCHOOLMEN'S CLUB.** (1) George E. Thomas, 1230 Chew St. (2) Blair Dreisbach, 617 N. St. Elmo St.
- ATLANTA, GA.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Mrs. Fred S. Wilson, 870 St. Charles Ave., N. E. (2) May Taylor, 458 N. Highland Ave., N. E.
- BALTIMORE, MD.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Emma A. Schad, 2502 Poplar Dr., Larchmont. (2) Mattie Grace Schaut, 3312 W. North Ave., Baltimore.
- BATTLE CREEK, MICH.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Paul Rehmus, High School. (2) Mrs. Doris Davis Klaussen, Fremont School.
- BEAUMONT, TEXAS—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' CLUB.** (1) Mary Jo Popplewell, 2590 Victoria St. (2) Helen Pool, 1180 Liveoak.
- BELLINGHAM, WASH.—ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT.** (1) Bruce Hoof, 1121 Key St. (2) Carl L. Irish, 1200 E. Maplewood Ave.
- BERKELEY, CALIF.—PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) H. H. Glessner, Willard School. (2) Duane Young, Board of Education.
- BOSTON, MASS.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) William T. Miller, 111 Tyndale St., Roslindale. (2) Esther L. McNellis, 177 Howard St., Dorchester.
- BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Mary Foley, Staples School. (2) Elizabeth Roche, Garfield School.
- CAMDEN, N. J.—CITY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) C. Paul Nay, Mt. Vernon School. (2) M. Grace Fenstermaker, Dudley School.
- CANTON, OHIO—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Charles S. Miller, R. D. 7, North Canton. (2) Myrtle Sidle, 201 Newton Ave., N. W.
- CHARLESTON, S. C.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Andrew P. Magwood, Bennett School. (2) S. Arthur Lanham, Courtenay School.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—ELLA FLAGG YOUNG CLUB.** (1) Effie J. Wheeler, 7020 Jefferey Ave. (2) Marie Voy Brewster, Dundonald Lane, Flossmoor.
- CHICAGO, ILL.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) George E. Anspaugh, 5731 N. Artesian Ave. (2) Honora E. McGuire, 7300 Prairie Ave.
- CINCINNATI, OHIO—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) O. W. Renfrow, 840 Ludlow Ave. (2) May Warming, 4792 Rapid Run Pike.
- CLEVELAND, OHIO—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Alice Hanthorn, 2040 E. 96th St., Cleveland. (2) Q. Louise Bonfield, 1208 Melbourne Rd., East Cleveland.
- CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OHIO—PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) S. W. Davidson, Roxboro Junior High School. (2) Mrs. Dorothy Sloan, Board of Education.
- CLIFTON, N. J.—SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB.** (1) Harold J. Adams, School No. 10. (2) Charles W. Robinson, School No. 7.
- COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.—PUBLIC SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Rose Bland, 627 N. Nevada Ave. (2) Kathryn Morgan, 1101 N. Corona St.
- COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Clara Meyers, 401 Park Ave. (2) Minnie Clay, 622 Mynster St.
- DALLAS, TEXAS—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) C. W. Morris, J. L. Long Junior High School. (2) E. D. Walker, 3520 Stanford.
- DANVILLE, ILL.—CUBBERLEY CLUB.** (1) L. M. Erickson, 911 N. Franklin St. (2) R. G. Seitzinger, 102 S. Crawford St.
- DAYTON, OHIO—PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Maude L. Rupel, 21 N. Torrence St. (2) M. Mabel Davidson, 1316 Grand Ave.
- DEARBORN, MICH.—FORDSON SCHOOLMEN'S CLUB.** (1) Sumner Horton, Fordson High School. (2) Mark Stroebel, Fordson High School.
- DENVER, COLO.—PRINCIPALS' AND DIRECTORS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Peter Holm, Cole Junior High School. (2) Mayme Sweet, 24th Street School.
- DETROIT, MICH.—WOMEN PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Jennie Clow, 2924 Ferry Park Ave. (2) Helen J. Burk, 5116 S. Martindale Ave.
- DUBUQUE, IOWA—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Gussie M. Hagerly, 1461 Bluff St. (2) Stella F. Sheridan, 1491 Bluff St.
- DULUTH, MINN.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Marion Wiersch, 717 N. 19th Ave., E. (2) Philip M. Nelson, 426 N. 13th Ave., E.
- EAST SAINT LOUIS, ILL.—ADMINISTRATORS' COUNCIL.** (1) M. M. Benham, 618 N. 13th. (2) S. N. Nalbach, 3400 State.
- ELIZABETH, N. J.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Raymond Clarke, Cleveland Junior High School. (2) Anna Witteman, School No. 13.
- ERIE, PA.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Minnie C. Willis, 627 Parade St. (2) Alta Postance, 1013 Chestnut St.
- EVERETT, MASS.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Edith M. Stewart, 39 Pleasant St. (2) Mabel M. Gardner, 46 Forest Ave.
- EVERETT, WASH.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) E. O. Arnold, North Junior High School. (2) Lawrence Bohanan, Roosevelt School.
- FALL RIVER, MASS.—ELEMENTARY TEACHERS' CLUB.** (1) Lottie W. Wainwright, 533 Broadway. (2) Isadore M. F. Hathaway, 49 Stafford Rd.

- FORT WAYNE, IND.—PUBLIC SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Robert C. Harris, 440 Downing Ave. (2) Ceia C. Foley, 1012 N. Berry.
- FORT WORTH, TEXAS—PRINCIPALS' AND VICE-PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) W. O. DeWees, 409 E. Weatherford. (2) Ella Smith, 409 E. Weatherford.
- FRESNO, CALIF.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CONFERENCE.** (1) A. C. Young, 2225 Van Ness Blvd. (2) Sadie L. Irwin, Route 6, Box 55.
- GARY, IND.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) George Russell, Miller's School. (2) Mary G. Ballantyne, Franklin School.
- GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' EXCHANGE CLUB.** (1) Marguerite Knooihuizen, 322 Washington St., S. E. (2) Edna M. York, 1005 Madison Ave., S. E.
- HARTFORD, CONN.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Thomas J. Quirk, 51 Roxbury St. (2) Mrs. Elsie W. Wheelock, Vine Street School.
- HAVERHILL, MASS.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Helen M. Palmer, Fox School. (2) Marion E. Wiles, Wingate School.
- HOLYOKE, MASS.—WOMEN PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Katherine A. Mahoney, 72 Essex St. (2) Mary C. McTigue, 95 Linden St.
- HUTCHINSON, KANS.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Grace Eastman, 15 W. Seventh St. (2) Jane Hudson, 408 E. First.
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- JERSEY CITY, N. J.—WOMEN PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Adeline Pringle, 175 Harrison Ave. (2) Emily A. Burkhard, 305 Fairmont Ave.
- KANSAS CITY, KANS.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Ethel Sunter, Whitmore School. (2) Gladys Kinsey, 438 N. 18th.
- KANSAS CITY, MO.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) J. C. Bond, 1832 E. 49th St. (2) Selma Heglund, 3813 E. 62nd St.
- KANSAS CITY, MO.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Mary L. Watrous, 2640 Euclid Ave. (2) Daisy M. Trice, Booker T. Washington School.
- LANSING, MICH.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Margaret E. Schroeder, 222 Smith Ave. (2) Hilda Menger, Holt.
- LAWRENCE, MASS.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Lilian B. Havery, 297 S. Broadway. (2) Helen F. Gainey, 1 Kingston St.
- LAWRENCE, MASS.—GRAMMAR MASTERS' CLUB.** (1) Dennis E. Callahan, Tarbox School. (2) John A. MacGilvrey, Wetherbee School.
- LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—PRINCIPALS' ROUND TABLE.** (1) Maude Hayes, 1901 Broadway. (2) Emma Reiman, 5326 Sherwood.
- LONG BEACH, CALIF.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) C. C. Ockerman, 4203 E. Ninth St. (2) Etta H. Howell, 2223 Eucalyptus Ave.
- LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—COUNCIL OF DIRECTORS AND SUPERVISORS.** (1) C. L. Glenn, 820 Chamber of Commerce Bldg. (2) Mrs. Alice McNulty Horn, 867 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
- LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Paul Shafer, Ninth Street School. (2) Anne Shepard, Delevan Drive School.
- LOUISVILLE, KY.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Ethel Lowell, 546 S. First St. (2) Elsa Stutz, 2210 Sherwood Ave.
- LOWELL, MASS.—MASTERS' CLUB.** (1) William W. Dennett, Morey Junior High School. (2) John E. Barr, Washington Training School.
- MALDEN, MASS.—ELEMENTARY WOMEN PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Minnie G. Thompson, 108 Highland Ave., W., Melrose. (2) Signe L. Johnson, Bay St., North Easton.
- MARION, OHIO—SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB.** (1) Cecil Gabler, 263 Marion Ave. (2) Donald A. Lee, 894 Merkle Ave.
- MERIDIAN, MISS.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Alice Dempster, 1607 24th Ave. (2) Evelyn Gaston, 1615 24th Ave.
- MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—PRINCIPALS' FORUM.** (1) Harry Cooper, Marshall High School. (2) Julia A. Lommen, Van Cleve School.
- MOBILE, ALA.—CITY AND COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Mrs. Minnow M. Huntley, Coden. (2) E. Cranston Hamil, 22 Nacy St.
- MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.—PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' DISCUSSION CLUB.** (1) Mary T. Shugrue, 49 Elm Ave. (2) Clyde O. Thompson, 276 Bedford Ave.
- MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Luke C. Rhonds, 435 Union Ave. (2) Josephine W. Leighton, 10 Rich Ave.
- MUSKEGON, MICH.—PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' COUNCIL.** (1) Josie Robinson, 1985 Addison. (2) Ruth Lewis, 312 Merrill.
- NEWARK, N. J.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Henry Hulse, Jr., Burnett Street School. (2) Harold H. Phillips, Sussex Avenue School.
- NEWARK, N. J.—VICE-PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Mrs. Clara Cartwright, Garfield School. (2) Evelyn Neal, Avon Avenue School.
- NEWARK, N. J.—SCHOOLMEN'S CLUB.** (1) Stanley H. Rolfe, Board of Education. (2) Thomas F. McHugh, Wilson Avenue School.
- NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—PRIMARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Alice J. Lawrence, 786 Dartmouth St., South Dartmouth. (2) Helen F. Moore, 227 Pope St., New Bedford.

- NEW HAVEN, CONN.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Timothy E. Cuffan, 15 W. Rock Ave. (2) Millicent R. McDermott, Short Beach Rd., East Haven.
- NEW ORLEANS, LA.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Josephine Hildebrandt, Robert M. Lusher School. (2) Amy H. Hinrichs, Audubon School.
- NEW YORK, N. Y.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Ethel F. Huggard, Junior High School No. 162, Brooklyn. (2) Sara L. Rhodes, Public School No. 100, Brooklyn.
- NORFOLK, VA.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Lucy Mason Holt, Ocean View School. (2) A. P. S. Robinson, Madison School.
- OAKLAND, CALIF.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) James R. Sutton, San Leandro High School. (2) Patricia Moorshead, Fremont High School.
- OAKLAND, CALIF.—SUPERVISORS' AND DIRECTORS' CLUB.** (1) Henry W. Magnuson, 1025 Second Ave. (2) Marion Clark, 1025 Second Ave.
- OMAHA, NEBR.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Virginia Ellett, Washington School. (2) Margaret Hamilton, 519 N. 40th.
- OSHKOSH, WIS.—PRINCIPALS' CONFERENCE.** (1) Charles I. Yule, 110 Grand Ave. (2) D. H. Wright, 37 E. Irving St.
- PASADENA, CALIF.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Charles Howk, 344 Flower St. (2) Leah Crose, 1411 Monterey Rd., South Pasadena.
- PERTH AMBOY, N. J.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Royal Predmore, Fords. (2) Ingeborg Oksen, 67 Catalpa Ave., Perth Amboy.
- PHILADELPHIA, PA.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Jean B. Hagerty, Robert Morris School. (2) Jean M. Tweed, John F. Hartranft School.
- PITTSBURGH, PA.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Frank A. Finlay, Cowley School. (2) Irene A. Thompson, Rose School.
- PLAINFIELD, N. J.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) J. Wade Wimer, Jefferson School. (2) Walter Jacob, Jr., Emerson School.
- PONTIAC, MICH.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Mrs. Mable V. Roy, Bagley School. (2) Gertrude McVean, Webster School.
- PORTLAND, OREGON.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) H. A. Webb, Mount Tabor School. (2) P. H. Wymann, 4141 N. E. Alameda.
- PROVIDENCE, R. I.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Francesca DeSales Cosgrove, 258 Doyle Ave. (2) Margaret M. Blessing, 8 Blackstone Blvd.
- RACINE, WIS.—PRINCIPALS' SUB-COUNCIL.** (1) E. W. Ziebell, 1525 Arthur Ave. (2) R. C. Winger, 3208 Osborne Ave.
- RICHMOND, VA.—PRINCIPALS' LEAGUE.** (1) Crawford C. Crouch, 512 N. 24th St. (2) W. Carter Bleight, 1207 Wilmington Ave.
- ROCHESTER, N. Y.—COUNCIL OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS.** (1) R. Park Parkhill, 555 Plymouth Ave., N. (2) Albert H. Downey, 900 Meigs St.
- SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) B. W. Painter, 942 41st St. (2) F. B. Smith, 2717 Seventh Ave.
- SAINT LOUIS, MO.—CLUB OF WOMEN PRINCIPALS.** (1) Margery M. Griffin, 5557 Pershing Ave. (2) Susan S. Ryan, 5089 Washington Ave.
- SAINT LOUIS, MO.—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) E. A. Hood, 6031 Southwest Ave. (2) C. I. Fleming, 1169 Grattan St.
- SAINT LOUIS, MO.—SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB.** (1) L. I. Zimmerman, 6108 Washington Ave. (2) G. H. Hargitt, Board of Education Bldg.
- SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) J. H. Blanton, 315 W. Pyron Ave. (2) Susan J. Hall, 407 Garland Pl.
- SANTA MONICA, CALIF.—ADMINISTRATORS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Ethel M. Robinson, 229 21st St. (2) Josephine O'Leary, 59 Dudley Ave., Venice.
- SCRANTON, PA.—SCHOOLMEN'S CLUB.** (1) Wright B. Jones, 1221 Washburn St. (2) John T. Hughes, 1018 Delaware St.
- SEATTLE, WASH.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) E. L. McDonnell, 3214 17th Ave., S. (2) Grace Henderson, 3938 Corliss Ave.
- SIoux CITY, IOWA.—ADMINISTRATION CLUB.** (1) E. E. Bovee, Whittier School. (2) Florence Oien, 105 Woodrow Wilson.
- SIoux FALLS, S. DAK.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' CLUB.** (1) Dora Sell, Mark Twain School. (2) Regina Teigen, 123 N. 12th St.
- SOMERVILLE, MASS.—SCHOOLMEN'S CLUB.** (1) Arthur Peterson, 73 Lowell St. (2) Joseph B. Fitzgerald, 97 Pennsylvania Ave.
- SOUTH BEND, IND.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) O. M. Swihart, Perley School. (2) F. A. Hite, 1224 Lincoln Way, E.
- SPOKANE, WASH.—WOMEN PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Adelaide Strite, 207 23rd Ave. (2) Mary Lou Benson, 1219 Ninth Ave.
- SPRINGFIELD, MO.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.** (1) Mrs. H. L. Wallace, 494 E. Delmar. (2) Mrs. Cassie Moorman, 2334 N. Main.
- STOCKTON, CALIF.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Edward S. Esser, 1030 N. Baker St. (2) Albert W. Lynde, 820 N. Argonaut St.
- SYRACUSE, N. Y.—MEN PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) S. Clayton Sumner, Seymour School. (2) Ernest J. Baldwin, Charles Andrews School.
- SYRACUSE, N. Y.—SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB.** (1) Fred L. Pitts, Croton School. (2) George W. Fowler, 912 Lancaster Ave.
- SYRACUSE, N. Y.—WOMEN PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ASSOCIATION.** (1) Bertha L. Raynor, 1512 W. Colvin St. (2) Helen Hewitt, 106 Kirk Ave.
- TACOMA, WASH.—ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP.** (1) Howard M. Carr, 3816 N. 37th St. (2) Helen B. Morris, 1402 N. Fifth St.
- TACOMA, WASH.—FORTNIGHTLY STUDY CLUB.** (1) Herbert A. McKean, Longfellow School. (2) T. A. Lind, McCarver Intermediate School.
- TAMPA, FLA.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' COUNCIL.** (1) Mrs. Margaret Kent, 1013 E. Buffalo. (2) Mrs. Ethel Wolverton, 3012 Angeles.

TAMPA, FLA.—SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB. (1) T. R. Robinson, Ballast Point School. (2) D. W. Waters, Thomas Jefferson Junior High School.

TOLEDO, OHIO.—PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' CLUB. (1) Philo Dunsmore, Board of Education. (2) Elizabeth Morgan, Newbury School.

TOPEKA, KANSAS.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB. (1) C. R. Watson, 4507 W. 21st. (2) Nellie Langford, 1161 Garfield.

UTICA, N. Y.—PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' CLUB. (1) Rollin W. Thompson, Roscoe Conkling School. (2) Agnes M. Pryor, Seymour School.

WATERBURY, CONN.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Joseph P. Kennedy, 85 Crescent St. (2) Julia C. Reiley, 14 Fuller St.

WICHITA, KANS.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB. (1) O. P. Loevenguth, 815 Woodrow. (2) Ruth Barrett, 907 S. Broadway.

WILMINGTON, DEL.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Elizabeth Schulz, 1400 W. Sixth St. (2) Mrs. Nellie B. Taylor, 1509 W. Sixth St.

WORCESTER, MASS.—PRINCIPALS' CLUB. (1) George H. Boyden, Boylston. (2) Ethel M. Rankin, 18 Norton St., Worcester.

YONKERS, N. Y.—PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Mabel Haven, 274 S. Broadway. (2) Esther Chamberlin, 777 Warburton Ave.

SECTIONAL PRINCIPALS ASSOCIATIONS

These include organizations in counties, districts, zones, and similar divisions of the states.

In the following roster the symbol (1) is used to indicate the person reported as president and (2) is used to indicate the secretary.

ALABAMA—MONTGOMERY COUNTY PRINCIPALS' CLUB. (1) D. L. Taylor, Cloverdale School, Montgomery. (2) Elizabeth Holmes, 211 Cloverdale Rd., Montgomery.

ARIZONA—MARICOPA COUNTY ELEMENTARY SUPERINTENDENTS' AND PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Chester K. Davis, Osborn Schools, Phoenix. (2) A. N. Lindstrom, Kyrene School, Tempe.

CALIFORNIA—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

BAY SECTION. (1) Charlotte Estes, West Portal School, San Francisco. (2) Warren Natwick, San Mateo Park School, San Mateo.

CENTRAL COAST SECTION. (1) Trammel Moore, Atascadero. (2) Alton Scott, San Juan Bautista.

FRESNO COUNTY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Charles Carpenter, Reedley. (2) Ruth Schaffer, Selma.

IMPERIAL COUNTY PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Allen W. Mains, Calexico. (2) Mrs. Agnes B. Evans, Holtville.

MADERA COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Mrs. Alice Pitman, Madera. (2) Mary Diel, O'Neals.

MARIN COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB. (1) Henrietta Crawford, Lagunitas. (2) Mrs. Dorothy T. Olsen, Box 253, Corte Madera.

MONTEREY COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) H. H. Kreiger, San Ardo. (2) Evelyn Bonfantini, San Lucas.

ORANGE COUNTY RURAL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Hollis W. Fitz, Route 5, Santa Ana. (2) Alexander J. Barnes, Route 1, Placentia.

SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Glen T. Goodwill, Bloomington. (2) Mrs. Beatrice Sayles, 604 E. F St., Colton.

SAN MATEO COUNTY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) R. L. Liddicoat, Palo Alto. (2) Dorothy Jones, San Bruno.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Robert B. Kennedy, Willow Glen School, Willow Glen. (2) Roy Simpson, Gilroy High School, Gilroy.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB. (1) William Allman, Roosevelt Junior High School, San Jose. (2) A. H. Horrall, 408 Almaden Ave., San Jose.

SANTA CRUZ COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Vesta E. Vail, 356 Laurel St., Santa Cruz. (2) Elmer E. Bender, 294 E. Cliff Dr., Santa Cruz.

SONOMA COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Mrs. Gertrude McKinstrey, 194 Webster, Petaluma. (2) Edith Peterson, Office of County Superintendent, Santa Rosa.

STANISLAUS COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) H. F. Bowring, 133 High St., Modesto. (2) Alberta Bassett, Roosevelt School, Modesto.

TULARE-KINGS COUNTY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Francis J. White, Woodlake. (2) Thelma Dawes, 221 Park Ave., Visalia.

FLORIDA—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

DADE COUNTY PRINCIPALS' CLUB. (1) James T. Wilson, 1420 Drexel Ave., Miami Beach. (2) Verna Merritt, 2045 S. W. Sixth St., Miami.

DUVAL COUNTY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS. (1) Mrs. Edith B. Morris, 414 E. Sixth St., Jacksonville. (2) Mrs. Lola M. Culver, 2035 Silver St., Jacksonville.

PINELLAS COUNTY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Y. V. Fuguitt, 906 Pine St., Clearwater. (2) Natalie Sterling, 555 17th Ave., N. E., St. Petersburg.

GEORGIA—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) W. A. Graw, Colquitt. (2) Gladys McFarlene, Quitman.

KANSAS—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

FIRST DISTRICT. Chairman, M. J. Whitson, 713 Kenova, Topeka. (2) Mrs. Parks.

FIFTH DISTRICT. Chairman, C. E. Strange, Webster School, Wichita.

LOUISIANA—COUNTY PRINCIPALS' CLUB. (1) G. C. Koffman, Byrd High School, Shreveport. (2) Mrs. Alice Edwards, Jewella School, Shreveport.

MAINE—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

HANCOCK COUNTY SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB.
(1) Sherman S. Scammon, Franklin. (2) Howard S. Higgins, Ellsworth.

KENNEBEC VALLEY SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB. (1) Edwin M. Purinton, Pittsfield. (2) Lyndall T. Smith, Skowhegan.

OXFORD COUNTY SCHOOLMASTERS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Guy E. Rowe, Norway. (2) Winston E. Willey, South Paris.

PENOBSCOT VALLEY SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB.
(1) Robert L. Jacobs, Hampden. (2) John A. Snell, Hampden Highlands.

WASHINGTON COUNTY SCHOOLMEN'S CLUB.
(1) Ralph Brown, Jonesport. (2) Erle D. Merrill, Machias.

NEW YORK—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

MID-HUDSON VALLEY SCHOOLMASTERS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Victor H. Davis, Krieger School, Poughkeepsie. (2) J. L. L. Chisholm, 37 College Ave., Poughkeepsie.

NASSAU COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) George E. Graff, Junior-Senior High School, Hicksville, Long Island. (2) Hannah F. Hanway, Covert Avenue School, Elmont, Long Island.

ROCKLAND COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Harold McManus, Rockland Lake. (2) Kate L. Savery, Hillburn.

SOUTH EASTERN ZONE. (1) George E. Webster, District 3, Rye. (2) John L. Flores, District 2, Rye.

NORTH CAROLINA—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

NORTH CENTRAL DISTRICT. (1) Mary A. Page, Fred A. Olds Schools, Raleigh. (2) Clara Hearne, Roanoke Rapids City Schools, Roanoke Rapids.

NORTHEASTERN DISTRICT. (1) J. E. Miller, John Small School, Washington. (2) Bessie McDearman, Wilkinson School, Rocky Mount.

NORTHWESTERN DISTRICT. (1) Mrs. Kate Curring, Hanes School, Hanes. (2) Florence Reid, Robbins School, Lexington.

SOUTHEASTERN DISTRICT. (1) Mrs. Hannah McNeil Stack, 71st School, R. F. D. 3, Fayetteville. (2) C. J. Thomas, Rose Hill High School, Rose Hill.

SOUTH PIEDMONT DISTRICT. (1) C. E. Rankin, Lafayette School, Shelby. (2) Betty Coon, Asbury School, Lincolnton.

WESTERN DISTRICT. (1) L. Milton Houser, Mull School, R. F. D. 4, Morganton. (2) G. C. Brown, Vance School, Asheville.

OKLAHOMA—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

NORTHEAST DISTRICT. (1) Isabel Watson, 706 Jennings, Bartlesville. (2) Mary Shirley, 1114 Fremont St., Muskogee.

OREGON—CLACKAMAS COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Brenton Vedder, Sandy. (2) Ethel Lansdowne, Gresham.

PENNSYLVANIA—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

PRINCIPALS' ROUND TABLE OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY. (1) Gale F. Stroup, Stowe High School, McKees Rocks, Pa. (2) M. A. Steiner, 59 Danvers Ave., Ingram, Pittsburgh.

TIOGA COUNTY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) T. A. Williamnee, Liberty.

TEXAS—JEFFERSON COUNTY ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ASSOCIATION.

(1) Noel T. DuBoise, South Park School, Beaumont. (2) Lulu Greer, Pennsylvania School, Beaumont.

WASHINGTON—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

COUNTY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) J. Guy Rowland, Sedro-Wooley. (2) Elizabeth O'Hearn, Mount Vernon.

SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB. (1) E. R. Jinnett, Rogers High School. (2) George Werner, Garfield School.

WATCOM COUNTY PRINCIPALS' LEAGUE. (1) Clarence Westerlund, Route 1, Ferndale. (2) Alice C. Anderson, 1935 King St., Bellingham.

WEST VIRGINIA—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION.

BRAXTON COUNTY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL COUNCIL. (1) Holmes Skidmore, Sutton. (2) Mrs. Eulan Cozart, Gassaway.

CALHOUN PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Thomas Cain, Big Bend. (2) Mattie Starcher, Minnora.

DODDRIDGE COUNTY PRINCIPALS' CONFERENCE. (1) Harold Zinn, West Union. (2) William Rollins, West Union.

MARSHALL COUNTY SCHOOL EXECUTIVE ASSOCIATION. (1) Delas Miller, Glen Dale. (2) Pearl Chambers, Moundsville.

NICHOLAS COUNTY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Roy Matheny, Richwood. (2) Carl B. Hamrick, Richwood.

RANDOLPH COUNTY PRINCIPALS' AND TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Henry Hamilton, Elkins. (2) Charles Godwin, Montrose.

STATE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS ASSOCIATIONS

In the following roster the symbol (1) is used to indicate the person reported as president and (2) is used to indicate the secretary.

ALABAMA—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' CLUB.
(1) Mrs. Frances L. Sheffield, 10 N. Ann St., Mobile. (2) Glenn Barrow, Irondale.

ARKANSAS—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' SECTION.
(1) Henry Jenks, Hot Springs. (2) Ellie Tatum, Eldorado.

CALIFORNIA—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) William Burkhard, Coloma School, Sacramento. (2) Mrs. Blanche Lucas, Dos Palos.

COLORADO—SOUTHERN SECTION. (1) Olive Watson, Canon City. (2) M. N. Porter, Fairmount Apts., Pueblo.

CONNECTICUT—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Mrs. Harriet J. Darrow, Fairfield. (2) Margaret Hickey, 33 Goodwill Ave., Meriden.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Margaret Pepper, E. V. Brown School. (2) Mrs. L. R. Duganne, Truesdell School.

FLORIDA—STATE PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Mabel Kelso, 111 17th Ave., S., St. Petersburg. (2) Ernest W. Cason, Winter Park.

HAWAII—PRINCIPALS' CLUB. (1) Roy Lee Roberts, Hilo. (2) Harlan T. Kubo, Box 15, Opihikao.

INDIANA—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS. (1) Walter Kellam, Southport. (2) John Thornburgh, 5167 Guilford Ave., Indianapolis.

IOWA—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' SECTION. (1) Hugh H. Steele, Winterset. (2) J. Ella Baker, Phillips School, Des Moines.

KANSAS—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Paul C. Loveless, Scott City. (2) Fern Reynolds, Arkansas City.

KENTUCKY—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SUPERVISORS AND PRINCIPALS. (1) Mrs. Thelma Drinnon Bailey, 3471 Buckner Lane, Paducah. (2) Jewell Drewry, Jacob School, Louisville.

MASSACHUSETTS—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Alice L. Goodspeed, 24 Marion St., Dedham. (2) Mary E. Richardson, 50 Fairview St., East Dedham.

MICHIGAN—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS. (1) Arnold Gregory, Raupp School, Lincoln Park. (2) Georgia Worfel, Aberdeen School, Grand Rapids.

MISSISSIPPI—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS AND SUPERVISORS. (1) Laura Lester, Poindexter School, Jackson. (2) Mrs. Minnie B. Ford, Greenville.

NEBRASKA—ELEMENTARY STATE SCHOOL PRINCIPALS. (1) Mrs. May Morley, Prescott School, Lincoln. (2) Sadie Baird, Elliot School, Lincoln.

NEW JERSEY—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) George H. Cowie, Jr., Hurden-Looker School, Hillside. (2) Floyd A. Potter, Massachusetts Avenue School, Atlantic City.

NEW MEXICO—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' SECTION. Chairman, J. B. Linthicum, 1006 W. Tijeras, Albuquerque. (2) Carolina Schmidt, 601 W. Coal Ave., Albuquerque.

NEW YORK—STATE ASSOCIATION OF ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS. (1) Franklin A. Butts, Edward Elsworth School, Poughkeepsie. (2) Martha Peck Porter, Roslyn, Long Island.

NORTH CAROLINA—ASSOCIATION OF ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS. (1) Mrs. A. R. Wilson, Lakewood School, Durham. (2) Mrs. J. H. Barrington, Lumberton School, Lumberton.

NORTH DAKOTA—SUPERINTENDENTS' AND PRINCIPALS' SECTION. (1) I. E. Ottem, Langdon. (2) Robert Moffit, Heaton.

OHIO—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS. (1) Mrs. Leona W. Logue, Stewart Avenue School, Columbus. (2) Laura M. May, Marion School, Cleveland.

OKLAHOMA—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS. (1) Jess Hudson, 2823 E. Fifth St., Tulsa. (2) Pearl Head, Drumright.

OREGON—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS. (1) Charles H. Boyd, 5825 N. E. Rodney Ave., Portland. (2) C. E. Ferguson, 3833 N. E. 77th Ave., Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS. (1) Samuel Bertram, James R. Ludlow School, Philadelphia. (2) E. A. Dimmick, Osceola School, Pittsburgh.

SOUTH CAROLINA—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS. (1) O. L. Turner, Spartanburg. (2) L. F. Echols, Moore.

SOUTH CAROLINA—DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS OF THE PALMETTO TEACHERS STATE ASSOCIATION. (1) W. H. Grayson, Jr., Charleston. (2) C. C. Woodson, Spartanburg.

SOUTH DAKOTA—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ROUND TABLE. (1) Thora Sanger, Mitchell. (2) Mabel Venoss, General Beadle School, Sioux Falls.

TEXAS—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' AND SUPERVISORS' ASSOCIATION. (1) Elsie B. Jordt, 320 Maverick St., San Antonio. (2) Byron England, Travis School, Abilene.

UTAH—PRINCIPALS' SECTION. (1) Alma Crane, Murray. (2) Ellen Sampson, Jordan School District, Salt Lake City.

VIRGINIA—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) F. L. Fentress, Princess Ann. (2) Harriet L. Simpson, 635 Avon Rd., Roanoke.

WASHINGTON—PUGET SOUND SCHOOLMASTERS' CLUB, WESTERN WASHINGTON AREA. (1) O. K. Glover, 1811 Shelby St., Seattle. (2) Frank Fattar, 4703 11th Ave., N. E., Seattle.

WEST VIRGINIA—STATE ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' ASSOCIATION. (1) R. H. Richards, Ensign School, Huntington. (2) J. H. Reed, White Sulphur Springs.

WISCONSIN—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS' SECTION. Chairman, Ernst A. Rintelmann, 408 Carpenter Ave., Cudahy.

LIST OF MEMBERS

THE DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

FOR THE YEAR 1935-36, CORRECTED TO JUNE 10, 1936

Asterisk (*) indicates the Life Members of the Department

ALABAMA

Ansley, Foster, 2408 N. 12th Ave., Birmingham
Brown, Eura, 912 Walnut St., Gadsden
Bryant, Mrs. Fred B., 2025 Leighton Ave., Anniston
Couch, G. Malcolm, Parrish
Hanlin, J. Paul, Inglenook School, Birmingham
Head, L. D., Route 4, Birmingham
Hill, R. Voyt, Martin School, 1201 14th Ave., N., Birmingham
Holmes, Elizabeth, 211 Cloverdale Rd., Montgomery
Homa, J. L., N. Center Ave., Piedmont
Johnson, Harold B., Fairview School, Birmingham
Johnston, Robert C., 2030 Magnolia Ave., S., Birmingham
Jones, Lenore, 1606 Monterey Pl., Mobile
Lee, Farley, Teachers Training Library, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn
McLatchy, Gertrude E., Elyton School, 100 Tuscaloosa Ave., Birmingham
MacMillan, Emma, 120 Cramer Ave., Montgomery
Martin, Ralph, Kennedy School, 120 63rd St., Birmingham
Matzenger, Lena, 1058 Selma St., Mobile
Meigs, Mrs. Mary S., 1209 Glenwood Ter., Anniston
Mellette, W. E., Hurricane School, Gurley
Moore, Rosa E., 213 W. De Kalb St., Marion
Norton, H. B., Robinson School, 8400 First Ave., S., Birmingham
Orr, J. Clyde, Lakeview School, Birmingham
Ozier, W. C., Moore School, 1401 Ave. G, Ensley
Price, N. H., 300 N. Sixth St., S. W., Birmingham
Reynolds, Mrs. Nellie D., Box 74, Northport
Sapp, Ella F., 1511 Fourth Ave., Bessemer
*Sheffield, Mrs. Frances L., 10 N. Ann St., Mobile
Southerland, R. H., Livingston
Vaughan, Joseph T., 5521 First Ave., S., Birmingham
Wiener, Florence E., 252 S. Ann St., Mobile
*Williams, J. D., 5708 Sixth Ave., S., Birmingham
Woodall, Mrs. J. B., 308 S. Greene St., Huntsville

ARIZONA

Baldinch, Loy, 439 E. First St., Tucson
Carlisle, O. L., Grammar School, Somerton
Clark, Harold G., Solomonville Public School, Solomonville
Court, Grace, 2005 W. Washington, Phoenix
Dexter, Mata E., 113 N. Pleasant St., Prescott
Elde, Edna E., 203 S. Union St., Prescott
Holmes, Alta, 642 N. Third Ave., Phoenix
Keen, Julia C., 1905 E. Fourth St., Tucson
King, J. W., 358 N. 15th St., Phoenix

Kohn, Frederick A., Box 426, Casa Grande
Landry, P., 1430 E. Jefferson St., Phoenix
McKinney, Willie, 315 W. Fourth, Winslow
Meyers, George L., Klagetoh Area, Klagetoh
Morhouse, Portia, 524 E. McDowell, Phoenix
Smith, Lulu, 615 N. Fifth Ave., Phoenix
Soule, H. M., 3999 Cleveland Rd., Phoenix
Sullivan, W. R., Public Schools, Palo Verde
Thomas, John Q., Supt. of Schools, Flagstaff
Wickliffe, Chester, Balsz School, Route 10, Phoenix

ARKANSAS

Abbott, T. C., 2014 Schiller, Little Rock
Conte, Mrs. Lella M., Route 1, Hot Springs
Cordell, Thyra, Rogers School, Ft. Smith
Dabney, Mrs. Hazel, 221 N. Locust St., Fayetteville
Evans, Bessie, 1005 McGowan St., Little Rock
Haraway, Fannie, 626 McDonough, Helena
Jinske, Henry W., 124 Fox St., Hot Springs
Jones, Ralph B., Peabody School, Ft. Smith
Washington, Ruby, Duval School, N. 14th St., Ft. Smith
Webb, Victor L., 1514 W. 20th, Little Rock
Williams, Mollie, Belle Point School, Ft. Smith
Zehnder, Sister M., Petronilla, Route 1, Box 53, Center Ridge

CALIFORNIA

Abbott, Robert B., Sherman School, 3549 Jordan Rd., Oakland
Adams, Mrs. Ida James, 3516 Buena Vista, Glendale
Addicott, Irwin Oliver, 3408 Balch Ave., Fresno
Alexander, Mertie, Glenfeliz Boulevard School, Los Angeles
Alexander, Roxie E., 920 Virginia St., Vallejo
Allen, Robert H., Jefferson School, 1400 E. Lindsay St., Stockton
Allison, Warren A., Union School, Rio Linda
Anderson, Adda, 2511 E. First St., Long Beach
Anderson, Emma C., 7830 S. Harvard Blvd., Los Angeles
Andrews, Lella M., 204 Ave. C, Redondo Beach
Andrews, Mary A., 810 S. Ross St., Santa Ana
Andrews, William C., San Jacinto Elementary School, San Jacinto
Angelo, Ruth V., 1016 Tiverton Ave., West Los Angeles
Arnold, David Ray, 243 Descanso Ave., Avalon
Aultman, Mrs. Lela W., 6161 Barrows Dr., Los Angeles
Baillie, Mrs. Lorraine, 4316½ Los Feliz Blvd., Los Angeles
Baker, Ethel I., 1517 40th St., Sacramento

Baker, H. M., Route 4, Box 460, Bakersfield
 Banta, Mrs. Edythe R., Chabot School, 5834 Patton St., Oakland
 Barber, Mrs. M. Ellen C., 1156 22nd St., San Diego
 Barclay, Berthille, Wilson School, 2038 Bush, Santa Ana
 Bardarson, Otto W., Box 600, Carmel
 Bardenstein, Matilda A., 1256 W. Seventh St., Los Angeles
 Barnard, Nora Margaret, Malabar School, 3200 Malabar St., Los Angeles
 Barnes, Mrs. Agnes O., 2415 Hollister Ter., Glendale
 Barnes, Mrs. Jessie Baldwin, 407 E. State St., Long Beach
 Barrows, Jeanette, Hillside School, Buena Vista and Le Roy, Berkeley
 Bartlett, Mrs. Louise, Bret Harte School, Seventh Ave. and Franklin Blvd., Sacramento
 Bates, Elizabeth, 365 S. Highland Ave., Los Angeles
 Beach, Rachel Ann, Farmdale School, 2911 Eastern Ave., Los Angeles
 Beal, Vio Ross, Meyler Street School, 203 N. Meyler St., San Pedro
 Bedford, Rowena, San Timoteo Rd., Box 61, Redlands
 Benner, W. A., 1670 Grand Ave., Piedmont
 Berard, Elvina L., 434 Wawona St., San Francisco
 Bernard, Lloyd D., Chico State College, Chico
 Berry, Bertha Irene, 1261 S. Mariposa Ave., Glendale
 Bert, Reese E., 135 Hackberry Ave., Modesto
 Biffer, Mary C., 1253 W. Fifth St., Los Angeles
 Billups, Lillian H. B., 847 Levering Ave., West Los Angeles
 Birch, J. E., Elementary School, Willows
 Blakemore, Edith E., 1030 W. Second St., Pomona
 Bliss, George C., 417 29th St., Oakland
 Blodget, Mrs. Viola Garard, 2000 Baker St., Bakersfield
 Board, Mrs. Lorraine M., 1844 Belaire Dr., Glendale
 Boehncke, Frieda C., 1320 N. Wilton Pl., Hollywood
 Boettcher, Nita Toney, 8955 San Juan St., South Gate
 Borden, Mary Gray, 1219 Eye St., Modesto
 Borden, Nellie G., 2219 San Joaquin St., Fresno
 Borneman, Katherine H., Markham School, Hayward
 *Bowen, Wayne F., Box 455, Compton
 Bowman, Robert C., 1657 Beulah Pl., Oakland
 Bowman, Samuel H., 6917 Converse Ave., Los Angeles
 Bowring, H. F., 133 High St., Modesto
 Bradley, Anne M., 469 North St., Oakland
 Bragg, Mrs. Fanny M., Delhi School, 1143 S. Parton, Santa Ana
 Branson, Alice, Harrison School, Kingsburg
 Breen, Ellen R., 1067 Lincoln Ave., San Diego
 Brems, Edna M., 312 Laurel St., San Diego
 Brinn, Mrs. Vera L., 1476 E. California Ave., Glendale
 Brolliar, Emery, 2188 Third Ave., Sacramento
 Brown, Bessie Olive, 4053 Irving Pl., Culver City
 Brown, Evelyn K., 615 Solano Ave., Los Angeles

Brown, William Earl, Perry Elementary School, 180th St. and Prairie Ave., Redondo Beach
 Brubaker, David E., 2320 Greenfield Ave., West Los Angeles
 Buckalew, Harry L., 408 N. Fulton St., Fresno
 Burkhard, William J., Coloma School, Sacramento
 Burns, Jane B., Route 2, Box 317, Petaluma
 Burton, Katherine, 10341 Mountair, Tujunga
 Bushnell, Rose J., 545 Wheeling Way, Los Angeles
 Butzine, Fred C., 4210 40th St., San Diego
 Calder, Jessie, Burckhalter School, 3956 Burckhalter Ave., Oakland
 Callahan, Mrs. Stella M., 212 N. Alta Vista, Monrovia
 Campbell, Florilla, 825 N. Baker St., Stockton
 Carmichael, Bessie M., 348 Louisburg St., San Francisco
 Carmichael, J. A., 842 Virginia St., El Segundo
 Carter, C. C., Box 58, Calwa City
 Carver, Mary H., 3825 Sixth Ave., San Diego
 Catlin, Ruby, 816 Kern St., Kingsburg
 Chamberlain, Clarence W., 316 N. Murray St., Banning
 Chamberlain, Mary B., 1039 Atlantic Ave., Long Beach
 Chandler, Mrs. Myrtle B., 1234½ W. Fifth St., Los Angeles
 Chapin, Alice C., Speech Correction School, 733 Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles
 Chase, Ethel E., 912 S. Chevy Chase Dr., Glendale
 Christensen, Serena P., 661½ N. Berendo St., Los Angeles
 Clark, James W., 142 N. Ardmore Ave., Los Angeles
 Clayton, Mrs. Rose C., 1821 Pepper St., Alhambra
 Clements, K. F., Box 25, Wasco
 *Cobb, De Roy F., 1218 N. Chester Ave., Pasadena
 Coffey, Julia C., 240 Montalvo Ave., San Francisco
 *Cokeley, John Wesley, Jr., 505 E. Live Oak St., San Gabriel
 *Coleman, Mrs. Ida Fulton, 10334 Tennessee Ave., Los Angeles
 Colerick, Mrs. Mabel S., 1633 E. 103rd Pl., Los Angeles
 Colestock, Grace B., 133 S. Almont Dr., Los Angeles
 Collis, Alma A., 3741 Buell St., Oakland
 Compton, John L., Washington School, Bakersfield
 Conner, Jay Davis, 3427 Curtis St., San Diego
 Connor, Edith A., 5121 Brynhurst Ave., Los Angeles
 Connors, Anne B., Burnside Avenue School, 1515 Burnside Ave., Los Angeles
 Cookman, Mrs. Grace Olive, 618 W. 49th St., Los Angeles
 Cornwell, L. May, 135 N. Kenwood St., Glendale
 *Correll, Vincent I., 1838 McKenzie St., Long Beach
 Cotter, M. Elsie, Lazear School, 29th and Elmore Sts., Oakland
 Conchman, H. H., 717 W. 80th St., Los Angeles
 Cowan, Rose E., 200 N. Rampart Blvd., Los Angeles
 Cox, Arthur W., 775 Molino Ave., Long Beach
 Craig, Mary D. S., 1030 Washington Blvd., Venice

- Crane, Clarence B., Webster School, Oakland
- Crane, R. L., Jr., Dist. Supt. of Schools, 344 Santa Barbara Ave., Daly City
- Crapser, Jessamine, 1826 S. Mansfield Ave., Los Angeles
- Crase, Mrs. Drucie G., Piedmont Avenue School, 4314 Piedmont Ave., Oakland
- Crawford, Bertha T., 3027½ S. Hoover, Los Angeles
- *Crawford, Lawrence T., College Elementary School, State College, Chico
- Cross, Flora, 248 N. Towne Ave., Pomona
- Cross, Irvin N., 1520 Van Buren Ave., San Diego
- Crowley, Mrs. Viola W., Box 222, Canoga Park, Los Angeles
- Culver, Harriet E., 402 W. 51st St., Los Angeles
- Curley, Laura, 745 Cleveland Ave., Oakland
- Curtis, Lawrence C., 565 Chapman Court, Santa Clara
- Danielson, Eva, 2306 Edgewater Ter., Los Angeles
- Dannemann, Matie, 437 E. Maple Ave., Orange
- Davin, Mrs. Bernice, 3227 Goldsmith St., San Diego
- Davis, Barney J., Union School, Lakeport
- Davis, Burton Elsworth, 1848 Veteran Ave., Terminal Island
- Davis, N. Evelyn, 1152 E. First St., Long Beach
- Davis, Mrs. Vivian Klene, 233 Roswell Ave., Long Beach
- Day, Mrs. Mylitta Morris, 608 De La Vista Ave., Santa Barbara
- Dean, Ray B., David Lubin School, Sacramento
- Deering, E. R., Box 398, Dunsmuir
- Delmet, Don Thomas, 854 G St., Norwalk
- Des Roches, Pauline, 1323 Woolsey St., San Francisco
- Desmond, Lucile H., Pershing School, Madera
- Dodson, Mrs. Helen F. Clarke, 331½ N. Ogden, Los Angeles
- Dormeyer, Therese C., 512 W. Cressey St., Compton
- Douglass, Sherman, 6515 Middleton St., Huntington Park
- Dust, Gertrude, San Rafael School, 2803 Broadway, Los Angeles
- Eads, Evelyn, 11659 Foothill Blvd., San Fernando
- Edwards, Ernest F., 631 E. Mill, Santa Maria
- Egger, Walter A., 846 N. Van Ness St., Santa Ana
- Elledge, Mrs. Gladys Rodda, 1817 Holmby Ave., West Los Angeles
- Elwood, Roby T., 201 S. Chapel St., Alhambra
- Enfield, Celesta Gertrude, Fairburn Avenue School, 1403 Fairburn Ave., West Los Angeles
- Enfield, O. D., 433 S. Union Dr., Los Angeles
- Engvall, Willard R., Box 985, Corcoran
- Ensign, Olive Leona, 3736 Arlington Ave., Los Angeles
- Estes, Charlotte, West Portal School, San Francisco
- Farnham, N. H., Standard School, Oildale
- Farnum, Martha F., 520 Glorietta Blvd., San Diego
- Farrington, Mrs. Rae Lee, 1708 Beverly Dr., Pasadena
- *Field, Mrs. M. Elizabeth, 6017 Franklin Ave., Hollywood
- Fikes, Edith E., 472 Ocean St., Santa Cruz
- Flinchey, Katherine, Palm Springs
- Finney, Grace E., 1919 W. 21st St., Los Angeles
- Finney, J. J., Crystal School, Suisun
- *Floyd, Mrs. Mary L., 1018 Seward St., Los Angeles
- *Flynn, Mary C., Route 2, Box 679, El Monte
- Foster, Bertha Ellen, Lincoln Elementary School, Corona
- Fraser, Jessie M., 716 Columbia Ave., Los Angeles
- Fratris, Mrs. Sue L., Fruitvale School, 3200 Boston Ave., Oakland
- Fuller, Grace M., 581 Yosemite Ave., Fresno
- Fulwider, Alice Ethel, Playa Del Rey School, Venice
- *Gamble, Mrs. Leo May, 3838 S. Hobart Blvd., Los Angeles
- Gardner, Elizabeth M., 618 Paseo Del Mar, San Pedro
- Gearhardt, Jessie M., Loreto Street School, 3408 Arroyo Seco Ave., Los Angeles
- Geddis, Terence B., 2536 K St., San Diego
- Gibson, Robert E., Box 476, Walnut Creek
- Gist, Arthur S., Pres., Humboldt State College, Arcata
- Glenn, I. Maude, 55 N. Meredith Ave., Pasadena
- Glenn, Ray F., 824 18th St., San Bernardino
- Glissman, Henrietta M., 136 S. Commonwealth, Los Angeles
- Glover, Mrs. Percy F., Fremont School, Fourth and Termino Ave., Long Beach
- Graf, Louise, 811 S. Mariposa St., Los Angeles
- Granger, Roy T., 302 Magnolia Ave., Piedmont
- Gray, Avery J., 1205 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles
- Greene, Lucy B., 418 Jefferson Ave., Pomona
- Grimshaw, M. Alice, 112 W. Broadway, Anaheim
- Grimsley, V. H., 3730 Lincoln Ave., Oakland
- Grinnell, Frances G., 4755 Keniston, Los Angeles
- Grover, Charles C., 4215 La Cresta Ave., Oakland
- Hass, Nelle, Box 894, Lomita
- Hagenburger, Marion A., Box 14, Chatsworth
- Haigh, Anne B., 1431 15th Ave., San Francisco
- Hale, Mrs. Verne L., 4851 Carnegie St., Los Angeles
- Hall, Le Roy, 569 S. Michigan Blvd., Pasadena
- Hamilton, Nellie, 1344 Glenn Ave., Fresno
- Hamm, Max, 5961 Buena Vista Ave., Oakland
- Hammatt, Hattie May, 831 Thorne Ave., Fresno
- Hammel, Julius C., 842 E. 19th St., Oakland
- *Hammond, Mrs. Gertrude Best, 7316 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles
- Hammond, Ida M., 3004 Champion St., Oakland
- *Hanna, Paul R., Assoc. Prof. of Educ., Stanford University, Stanford University
- Hanson, Edith J., 1443 Martel Ave., Los Angeles
- Hanson, Velma, Box 64, Upper Lake
- Harding, Ruth Clarke, Roosevelt School, Bakersfield
- Hartman, Zafon A., Route 2, Box 196, Ventura
- Hartshorn, Edna, 1011 W. 70th St., Los Angeles

- Hauselt, Elisabeth E., 2199 California St., San Francisco
 *Haw, Harry Huber, 1413 Golden Gate Dr., San Diego
 Hayes, C. K., 931 Fresno Ave., Berkeley
 Hayward, Mrs. Lucy M., 3521 E. First St., Long Beach
 *Heacock, A. B., 709 E. Windsor Rd., Glendale
 Heche, Arthur, 1521 Union St., Alameda
 Helbach, Merle, 1610 E. 111th St., Los Angeles
 Helms, W. T., Supt. of Schools, Richmond
 Henderson, Adin D., 2533 39th St., Sacramento
 Hendrick, Orra Leta, 2129 S. Alsace Ave., Los Angeles
 Henley, Grace, Polytechnic Elementary School, Pasadena
 *Herrington, Katie A., 962 Lincoln Way, Auburn
 Hewitt, Mrs. Ida F., 1424 W. 46th St., Los Angeles
 *Hoffman, Mrs. Howardline G., 392 Riverside Dr., Chino
 Hollowell, Hazel, 5216 Longfellow St., Los Angeles
 *Holmes, Edith M., 1811 W. 41st Pl., Los Angeles
 Homan, Rose, 1633 College Ave., Fresno
 Hooker, Ora Whitley, 947 W. 30th Pl., Los Angeles
 Hopkins, Clarence G., 5139 Argus Dr., Los Angeles
 Hopler, Nettie M., Lincoln School, Fourth and Q Sts., Sacramento
 Horn, Henrietta, Logan School, 1330 N. Garnsey, Santa Ana
 Houston, Edith L., 3748 13th Ave., Oakland
 Howard, Mrs. Gertrude G., 312 W. Hillcrest Blvd., Inglewood
 Howell, Etta H., Roosevelt School, 16th and Linden, Long Beach
 *Howk, Charles D., 344 Flower St., Pasadena
 Huckaby, Mrs. Chloe Poynor, 516 S. Eucalyptus Ave., Inglewood
 Hughes, Mrs. Mary E., 847 Campus Way, San Bernardino
 *Hummel, Leonard G., Dist. Supt., Palos Verdes School Dist., Palos Verdes Estates
 Huntington, Henriette L., 1206 O St., Sacramento
 Huntoon, Mrs. Georgie K. Miller, 1017 Browning Blvd., Los Angeles
 Hurley, Morris E., 3144 Claremont Ave., Berkeley
 Hymr, Evangeline, Menlo Avenue School, 4170 S. Menlo Ave., Los Angeles
 Ireland, Frances, 1043 E. Broadway, Long Beach
 Irwin, Kathryn, 322 Seventh St., Antioch
 Irwin, Sue J., 1010 Delaware St., Berkeley
 *Iversen, Ida Christine, 349 N. Wilton Pl., Los Angeles
 Janes, Hattie E., 2439 Mariposa St., Fresno
 Jenkins, Letha F., Ross School, Ross
 Jensen, Elsie M., Glassell Park School, 2211 W. Ave. 30, Los Angeles
 Johns, Charles L., 11215 La Malda St., North Hollywood
 Johnson, Mrs. Ethel S., 600 37th St., Sacramento
 Johnson, Frank R., Dist. Supt. of Schools, Guadalupe
 Johnson, Henrietta, 285 Van Buren, Oakland
 Johnson, V. Bernard, Box 338, Pleasanton
 Johnston, J. F., Fifth and Maclay St., San Francisco
 Jones, Clara E., 5917 Lillian St., Los Angeles
 *Jones, Mrs. Onorinda, Pleasant Valley, Camarillo
 Jordan, Christine M., Box 73, Roscoe
 Joseph, Manuel T., 1201 Ninth St., Monterey
 Judkins, Frances, Pismo Grammar School, Pismo Beach
 Kaems, Lester, 841 W. 21st, Los Angeles
 Kahl, Minnie, Burbank School, Oakland
 Kaler, J. E., 3016 32nd St., Sacramento
 Kelly, Florence M., Fries Avenue School, 1301 Fries Ave., Wilmington
 Kelly, Mrs. Irene E., 1500 Sutter St., San Francisco
 Kelly, Julia M., 1801 New Jersey St., Los Angeles
 Kendig, William P., Box 94, Oro Grande
 Kilton, Inez G., John G. Whittier School, 17th and Walnut Ave., Long Beach
 *Kimes, William F., Box 176, Avenal
 Kleemeyer, Albert C., Grand Avenue School, South San Francisco
 Kottinger, E. W., Durant School, Oakland
 Krebs, Grace Edith, 3218 Palmer Dr., Eagle Rock
 Kretsinger, R. W., Lincoln School, Tenth and Alice Sts., Oakland
 Krous, George Taylor, 1823 White Ave., Fresno
 *Kyte, George C., Haviland Hall, University of California, Berkeley
 Lacy, Helen J., Melrose School, Oakland
 Lages, Dora, Jefferson School, Oakland
 Lander, Aga D., 1205 Ferry St., Martinez
 Langley, Robert W., Yucaipa
 Laurendeau, Mrs. Lulu B., 252 Cherry Ave., Long Beach
 Lawrence, Mabel M., 221 N. Ave. 52, Los Angeles
 Lawson, Oliver C., 1334 Birch St., Pittsburg
 Learned, Roy E., Box 274, Elk Grove
 Lee, Mrs. Iva Reeves, 477 N. Shaffer St., Orange
 Lenvig, Bessie C., 117 N. Ave. 55, Los Angeles
 Liddicoat, Roy L., 530 Laurel Ave., Palo Alto
 Lighton, Bertha B., Glen Alta School, 3410 Sierra St., Los Angeles
 Lindblom, Margaret F., Middletown
 Lindsay, Isabel F., 722 Halladay St., Santa Ana
 Link, Clarence W. B., 623 N. Ave. 64, Los Angeles
 Lofstedt, Christine, 157 S. Los Robles Ave., Pasadena
 Long, Mrs. Vivian, 4677 San Sebastian Ave., Oakland
 Lothrop, Mary, 667 S. Hoover, Los Angeles
 Lounsbury, Sophia M., 2713 McConnell Dr., Los Angeles
 Love, M. Lily, 15 Paloma Ave., Ingleside
 Terraces, San Francisco
 Lucas, Mrs. Blanche, Dos Palos Grammar School, Dos Palos
 *Lyon, Harley W., Pres., Dept. of Elem. Sch. Prin., 1935-36, Natl. Educ. Assn., 95 N. Sierra Bonita Ave., Pasadena
 McChesney, P. C., Newton Booth School, 26th and V Sts., Sacramento
 McCleery, Ella G., Crocker School, 17th and Vallejo Way, Sacramento
 McCleish, Nellie, 3722 Elmwood Court, Riverside
 McClure, Martha, Reseda School, Reseda
 McEachin, Mary W., Trinity Hotel, 851 S. Grand, Los Angeles
 McGivney, Genevieve, 1677 Dolores St., San Francisco
 McGorray, William E., 1301 W. 81st St., Los Angeles

- McGraw, Mrs. Margaret A. F., 1707 W. 56th St., Los Angeles
 McKenzie, Elbert, 16003 Ainsworth St., Gardena
 McMahon, Mrs. Minnie M., 928 W. Fifth Ave., Pomona
 McMaster, J. F., 347 W. Garfield Ave., Glendale
 McMurray, Vera Elena, 2111 Menlo, Los Angeles
 McNamara, Mrs. Clare, 1734 D St., Bakersfield
 MacMillan, Jean, Ramona School, 1100 N. Normandie Ave., Los Angeles
 Magaw, William J., 5365 Huntington Dr., Los Angeles
 Majorowicz, Della Marie, Jane Addams School, 364 E. Eighth St., Long Beach
 Maland, Mrs. Emma W., 769 Page St., San Francisco
 Manley, Edna T. H., 1049 S. Mansfield Ave., Los Angeles
 Mannatt, Earnestyne W., 4719 Ninth Ave., Los Angeles
 *Marbut, John W., 1140 Mahar St., Wilmington
 Marchant, Maud, 400 Mountclair, Oakland
 Martin, A. H., Burnett School, Atlantic and Hill Sts., Long Beach
 Martins, Victor L., 1721 W. 25th St., Los Angeles
 Mead, Mildred, 601 S. Ross St., Santa Ana
 Meeks, Ida V., 1252 14th St., San Diego
 Michaelis, Harriet, Don Hotel, Wilmington
 Miller, Douglas B., Lafayette School, Oakland
 Miller, Mrs. Elsie de K., 2850 Hawthorne, San Diego
 Miller, Laurence L., Admin. Prin., Turlock Elementary Schools, Turlock
 Mishler, Grace M., 577 E. Pasadena St., Pomona
 Mock, Thomas M., Horace Mann School, 128 S. Arnaz, Beverly Hills
 Molony, Mrs. Edith H., 232 N. Altmont Dr., Beverly Hills
 Morris, Perry S., 443 Barbara Ave., Azusa
 Morrison, Daisy P., 1409 W. 37th St., Los Angeles
 Morrison, Mrs. Isabelle W. C., 14615 Magnolia Blvd., Van Nuys
 Mount, Mrs. Florence D., 625 E. Lomita Ave., Glendale
 Munce, Tillie C., 14 Glenn Ave., Fresno
 Nagle, Mary I., Toland Way School, 4545 Toland Way, Los Angeles
 Nelson, Ada S., Dist. Supt. of Schools, Box 215, Los Nietos
 Newman, Mrs. Ethel B., 2214 Ocean View Ave., Los Angeles
 Newman, Laura J., 3125 Arrowhead Ave., San Bernardino
 Nichols, Roy T., Golden Gate Junior High School, Oakland
 O'Bannon, Mary B., 137 Ardmore Rd., Berkeley
 Olander, Mrs. Selma B., 108 N. Third St., San Jose
 Olson, Oscar H., 1452 Vancouver, Burlingame
 O'Reilly, E. P., William Land School, 11th and U Sts., Sacramento
 O'Rourke, E. V., Cotate Elementary School, Cotate
 Orr, Jane C., Ninety-second Street School, 9211 Grape St., Los Angeles
 *Orth, Fred W., 2031 Arlington Ave., Los Angeles
 Ott, Eva M., 61 Agnes St., Oakland
 Outcalt, Mrs. Adele M., 925 Robinson Ave., San Diego
 Owen, William E., Jefferson School, 1400 E. Lindsay St., Stockton
 Paine, Mae L., 131 W. Ave. 42, Los Angeles
 Palmer, J. H., Box 106, Placerville
 Palmer, Mabel, 86 N. Catalina Ave., Pasadena
 Palmer, Myrtle L., 417 29th St., Oakland
 Parker, Bertha Mae, 957-B Seventh St., Santa Monica
 Partridge, Mrs. Clara, 2413 Milvia St., Berkeley
 Patten, Mrs. Nina S., 905 Hickory St., Compton
 Peck, Mrs. Kathryn H., 957-B Seventh St., Santa Monica
 Peddle, Mrs. Gertrude W., 4725 Victoria Ave., Los Angeles
 Pennycook, Annie, 744 Ohio St., Vallejo
 Peters, W. J., Hester School, San Jose
 Philippi, Carl, 1549 Micheltorena St., Los Angeles
 Phoenix, Hattie B., 329 W. Micheltorena St., Santa Barbara
 Pitkin, Mrs. Virginia R., 411 S. Occidental Blvd., Los Angeles
 Plagemann, Dora E., 1369 Hyde St., San Francisco
 Pogson, Mrs. Viola L., 624 N. Rexford Dr., Beverly Hills
 Pollich, Raymond Elliott, Dir. of Instruction, 1055 N. Fairfax Ave., Los Angeles
 Poulsen, Esther R., 1823 Grand Ave., Santa Barbara
 Preston, C. W., Melrose Avenue School, 731 N. Detroit St., Los Angeles
 Pullis, Mrs. Jessica K., 712 Orange Grove Ave., South Pasadena
 Pursell, Arthur L., 738 E. King St., Tulare
 Putnam, Mabel C., 900 B St., Petaluma
 Quick, Cyrus F., 125 Claremont Ave., Long Beach
 Racek, Mrs. Josephine Wilkes, 1300 Brockton Ave., West Los Angeles
 Ransom, Mae, 1705 S. Sixth St., Alhambra
 Rector, W. G., 5957 Chabelyn Ter., Oakland
 Reid, John S., 8022 El Capitan Dr., La Mesa
 Rennick, Howard L., Lost Hills
 Rice, Mrs. Jenne W., 603 Ocean Ave., Santa Monica
 Richards, Marcella, 1125 Kipling Ave., Los Angeles
 Riddell, A. H., Logan School, San Diego
 Riecks, Eva A., 492 Larkin St., Monterey
 Riese, Ella L., 8628 San Gabriel Ave., South Gate, Los Angeles
 Ritchie, Georgina D., Corona Avenue School, 3825 Bell Ave., Bell
 Ritchie, Mary Levan, Hoover Street School, 867 S. Hoover St., Los Angeles
 Ritter, Mrs. Blanche P., 640 N. Normandie Ave., Los Angeles
 Robbins, S. P., 3430 Seventh St., Chico
 Roberts, Bertha, 2151 California St., San Francisco
 Roberts, Eulia S., 10325 Orton Ave., Los Angeles
 Roberts, Grace L., Morningside School, San Fernando
 Rose, Jennie, 1427 S. Mansfield Ave., Los Angeles
 Ross, Maurice B., 2939 Laurel St., San Diego
 Roth, Minnie J., 1625 O St., Sacramento
 Rowell, Mary Grace, 271 S. Oak Knoll, Pasadena
 *Rusling, Mrs. Cora S., 1123 Lincoln Blvd., Santa Monica
 Ruth, Clarence, Dist. Supt. of Schools, Lompoc
 *Rutherford, H. C., Dist. Supt. of Schools, Box 55, Orcutt
 Ryan, Jane, 575 Pierce St., San Francisco
 Sabrero, Florence, 2001 W. 84th St., Los Angeles

- Saxton, M. Emma, 1015½ Virginia Pl., Glendale
 Scalapino, William, 1315 Alta Vista Rd., Santa Barbara
 Scharf, Mrs. Eva Pearl, 834 Nowita Pl., Venice
 Schultz, Henriette M., 412 N. Granada, Alhambra
 Scudder, Agnes C., 6101 Rimpau Blvd., Los Angeles
 Seagoe, May V., 2333 Lemon Ave., Arcadia
 Seavey, Josephine, 2300 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco
 See, Elmer J., 216 S. Moorpark Ave., Moorpark
 Segbarth, Stella, 1459 Harding Ave., Altadena
 Shafer, Paul F., 2234 Hollister Ter., Glendale
 Sheldon, Mrs. Inez T., Nordhoff Union Grammar School, Ojai
 Shepard, Anne Loomis, 928 Eighth Pl., Los Angeles
 Shove, Kate, Oakhurst
 Sletten, Theresa C., 933 Lincoln Blvd., Santa Monica
 *Sloane, Boyd Lincoln, 1421 Dominion Ave., Pasadena
 Smith, Agnes L., 421 Ninth St., Huntington Beach
 Smith, Barbara G., Nightingale School, Ave. 33 and Pacific, Venice
 Smith, Effie E., Frank McCoppin School, Seventh Ave. and Balboa St., San Francisco
 Smith, F. B., John Muir School, 3215 Riverside Blvd., Sacramento
 Smith, Leslie G., 1640 22nd Ave., Oakland
 Smith, Lucile, 1118 W. 41st Pl., Los Angeles
 Smith, Margaret H., 546 W. 11th St., Corona
 Smith, Marion C., 540 28th St., Oakland
 Smith, Mollie A., 2274 Virginia St., Berkeley
 Smith, Rose M., 695 S. Ardmore, Los Angeles
 Snow, Irene, 2270 Main St., Napa
 Snyder, Peter H., 3844 Belmont Ave., San Diego
 Snyder, R. W., 1016 Alice St., Oakland
 Spencer, Mrs. Hattie A., Hotel Mt. Lassen, Susanville
 Spikes, John L., 904 S. Juanita Ave., Redondo Beach
 Spraul, Erna M., 850 N. Kenmore, Los Angeles
 Starr, A. G., 9860 Sunnyside St., Oakland
 Stearns, Oletha, 1524 Martel Ave., Hollywood
 *Steelhead, Bert Francis, 523 Clement Dr., Glendale
 Sterry, Nora, 2632 Ellendale Pl., Los Angeles
 *Stevens, Mrs. Kathleen H., 1285 Burnside Ave., Los Angeles
 *Stevenson, Gordon K., 4722 Bancroft St., San Diego
 Stewart, Hugh B., Box 26, Arcata
 Strand, Bernard J., 709 Oak St., Bellflower
 Stull, Helene M., 418 W. 14th St., Santa Monica
 Sweet, Lottie, 808 Bush St., Santa Ana
 *Sylvester, Helen Katherine, 3729 Indiana St., San Diego
 Tarbell, Mrs. Della R., 10268 La Tuna, Canyon Rd., Roscoe
 Tardelli, Agnes R., Sherman School, Union and Franklin Sts., San Francisco
 Thomas, Carl Dane, 1217 S. Genesee St., Los Angeles
 Thomas Carl I., 440 E. Palmyra Ave., Orange
 Thompson, Mrs. Rose V., 1616 Garth St., Los Angeles
 Thornquist, Mrs. Marie H., 339 N. Harvard Blvd., Los Angeles
 Tibbetts, Mrs. Alice B., 3355 Canfield Ave., Los Angeles
 Tillman, Florence, 2725 Prince St., Berkeley
 Tingley, Grace W., 220 S. Hobart, Los Angeles
 Tipton, Doty, 6915 Hawthorne Ave., Hollywood
 Troeger, Dorothy E., 201 S. Alexandria Ave., Los Angeles
 *Trott, Frederick L., Jr., 145 N. Teyunga Ave., Burbank
 Tudbury, Mrs. Ethel W., Washington School, Berkeley
 Turner, Grace M., Albion School, 220 S. Ave. 18, Los Angeles
 Upton, Anne Hale, 1675 Oakdale, Pasadena
 Van Loenen, C. Addison, 1640 Carmelita, Laguna Beach
 *Vans, Mrs. Oda Beardsley, 1051 Magnolia Ave., Gardena
 Vineyard, Julia Marie, 1933 Third Ave., Los Angeles
 Vogelsang, Dorothy, 1700 Vallejo St., San Francisco
 Volles, Mrs. Stephenia Hill, 1734½ N. Mariposa Ave., Hollywood
 Von Hatten, Emma A., 1017 30th St., Sacramento
 *Wacaser, Mrs. Helen D., 4962 Iowa, Fresno
 Wade, May C., 1607 Walnut St., Berkeley
 *Walter, Robert Bruce, 711 Domingo Dr., San Gabriel
 Ward, Susie A., 198 Hancock St., San Francisco
 Wassum, Clara, 608 W. Main St., Turlock
 Weakley, Guy A., 1200 Main St., El Centro
 Webster, Mrs. Barbara Miller, 716 Virginia Ter., Santa Paula
 Webster, Mrs. Mae V., 405 Mission Blvd., San Fernando
 Weeks, Mrs. Emma Firestone, 2917 E. 16th St., Long Beach
 Weiser, Anna E., Box 263, Bakersfield
 Welday, Samuel O., 2117 Chapala St., Santa Barbara
 *Weller, Louise E., 3607 Pershing Dr., San Diego
 Wells, Verna E., Roosevelt School, 924 Halladay, Santa Ana
 Welty, Benton, Auburn Hotel, Auburn
 Wemken, Nellie Opal, 633 Heliotrope Dr., Los Angeles
 Whedon, Mrs. Marion F., 533 N. Beachwood, Hollywood
 Whitaker, Forrest W., 2842½ Sunset Pl., Los Angeles
 Whitcomb, Mrs. Irene B., 267 Norwalk Blvd., Whittier
 Wickersham, Jessie B., 930 Valencia St., Los Angeles
 Widemann, Grace V., Box 134, Gonzales
 Wienke, Helen May, 3210 Huntington Blvd., Fresno
 Wilson, Mrs. Ethel C., 206 S. Third St., Alhambra
 Winters, Louise R. V., Elementary School, 647 W. 165th St., Gardena
 Wisler, Mrs. Emma C., 6542 Bella Vista Way, Los Angeles
 Witman, Ann M., 1936 Orchard Ave., Glendale
 Witman, Elizabeth H., South Park Avenue School, 455 E. Manchester Ave., Los Angeles
 Wonders, Winifred M., 1245 Appleton, Long Beach

Wood, Thomas P., 3028 Hill St., Hunting Park
 Wright, Helen R., 711 Third St., Santa Rosa
 Young, A. C., 2225 Van Ness Blvd., Fresno
 Young, D. M., 1449 Lincoln St., Kingsburg
 Young, George Arthur, 5722 Meridian St., Los Angeles
 *Young, Sarah L., 2451 Seminary Way, Oakland
 Zimmerman, Bruce L., Longfellow School, Berkeley
 *Zimmerman, F. B., 3245 Flagg Ave., Oakland

COLORADO

Abbott, Irene, 3260 S. Broadway, Englewood
 Barkley, Dell, Lake View School, Dist. No. 20, Pueblo
 Bennett, Aubrey, 1650 Locust St., Denver
 Bland, Rose, 627 N. Nevada Ave., Colorado Springs
 Brown, Ethel L., Ivywild School, Colorado Springs
 Buck, Nellie M., 133 W. Fourth St., Salida
 Chapman, James M., 402 N. Walnut St., Colorado Springs
 Combs, Ethel L., 2923 W. 28th Ave., Denver
 Cordingly, Elizabeth, Thatcher School, Denver
 Cornish, Lydia R., Evans School, W. 11th Ave. and Acoma, Denver
 Courtney, Katharine, 1120 N. Cedar St., Colorado Springs
 Doull, Frances, 1250 Logan, Denver
 Eagleton, William H., Eagleton School, 845 Hazel Court, Denver
 Erb, Edith M., 2870 Raleigh, Denver
 Evans, Dave D., 2538 Elm St., Denver
 Everett, Mary L., 1006 E. Platte Ave., Colorado Springs
 Eyer, Myrtle, 307 Abriente, Pueblo
 Feltner, Elizabeth, Teller School, Denver
 Fitzpatrick, Jessie K., 936 Mapleton Ave., Boulder
 Godsman, Mrs. Charlotte J., Montclair School, 13th and Quebec St., Denver
 Gormley, Celia, 2410 N. Nevada Ave., Colorado Springs
 Graham, Lulu D., 1117 Lake Ave., Pueblo
 Greear, H. L., Sargent Consolidated School, Monte Vista
 Hamilton, Dwight, 3618 S. Bannock St., Englewood
 Herrington, Eugene H., 4646 W. 31st Ave., Denver
 Hoddle, Ruth, Palace Hotel, Salida
 Holmes, Ethel, 2610 S. Sherman St., Denver
 Hook, Ethel A., 1242 Cleveland, Loveland
 Howard, Lester R., 119 E. San Miguel St., Colorado Springs
 Johnstone, Mrs. Clara F., Milton School, Denver
 Keller, Elizabeth M., 1410 Grant, Denver
 Ketner, Sarah P., Washington Park School, Mississippi Ave. and S. Race St., Denver
 Kirkwood, Helen G., 1413 Mesa Ave., Colorado Springs
 Klein, Louise, 712 Harrison St., Denver
 Lewis, Arthur V., Box 13, Eads
 *Lind, Nellie V., Stedman School, 29th and Dexter St., Denver
 McKay, Mrs. Edna A., 728 State St., Ft. Morgan
 McMeen, George M., Swansea School, 46th Ave. and Columbine St., Denver
 Malins, Edith, Valverde School, Denver
 Miles, Florence, 141 S. Third Ave., Brighton
 Morgan, Kathryn J., 1101 N. Corona, Colorado Springs
 Morton, Max D., Thatcher School, Pueblo

Nelson Monell V., 430 Lake St., Ft. Morgan
 Noar, Frances, Smedley School, Denver
 Noce, Lillian, Bryant-Webster School, Denver
 O'Boyle, Lila M., 829 Fillmore, Denver
 Partner, Nettie O., Washington School, Rocky Ford
 Peterson, Carrie, Berkeley School, Denver
 Queree, Pearl, 2914 W. 29th Ave., Denver
 Remick, Nellie A., Acacia Hotel, Colorado Springs
 Ricketts, Blanche, 522 Arapahoe Ave., Boulder
 Rishel, John B., Barnum School, Denver
 Romick, Nelle, Columbine School, Columbine and 28th, Denver
 Shute, William C., 2651 Vine St., Denver
 Simpson, Genevieve, 736 Race St., Denver
 Slavens, Leon E., 707 E. Tenth Ave., Denver
 Smith, Luna L., 1513 Ninth Ave., Greeley
 Smith, Mrs. Margaret M., Ebert School, Denver
 Strack, Caroline, 216 E. Routt, Pueblo
 Stryker, Mary M., 1622 18th St., Boulder
 Swanzy, Linah, Bessemer School, Pueblo
 Swinehart, Blanche L., 308 W. Grant, Pueblo
 Watts, Lillie E., Asbury School, S. Marion and Asbury, Denver
 Weymouth, Edith, Fairmont School, Denver
 Wheatly, George, Fairview School, Denver
 White, Mrs. Julia M., Steele School, S. Marion and Alameda Ave., Denver
 Willey, Gilbert S., 2140 S. Clayton St., Denver
 Williams, Mrs. Addie M., 1629 Walnut St.,

CONNECTICUT

Adams, Dorothy R., Long Lots Rd., Westport
 Allen, Elizabeth, 516 Columbus Ave., New Haven
 Anderson, May F., 396 Main St., Norwalk
 Baker, Frances E., South Grammar School, East Hartford
 Baldwin, Lillian T., Honeyspot and Lordship Schools, Stratford
 Barnes, Percival S., Supt. of Schools, East Hartford
 Barry, Lena F., 68 Hanover St., Bridgeport
 Bennett, Ada Gray, 186 Courtland Hill, Bridgeport
 Bestick, Grace V., 229 Wells St., Bridgeport
 Blackham, Florence E., 303 E. Main St., Bridgeport
 Blackmer, Victor A., 64 North St., Danbury
 Brennan, Katherine A., 182 Lloyd St., New Haven
 Bridgett, Alice E., Colony Street School, Wallingford
 Bowes, Lillian E., 550 Hamilton Ave., Waterbury
 Burnap, Richard S., Central Grammar School, Milford
 Carrington, Ralph W., Bunker Hill School, Waterbury
 Condon, Anna A., 74 Garden St., Stamford
 Craig, E. Reginald, Edison School, Trumbull
 Desmond, D. Giles, Box 94, Tariffville
 Fagan, Anna E., 1167 E. Main St., Waterbury
 Fanning, Mary A., Washington Rd., Woodbury
 Fish, Stanwood S., 23 Ansonia St., Hartford
 Fraser, George L., Byram School, Greenwich
 Freeman, Edward S., 34 Powell Pl., Stamford

French, Harold R., John J. Jennings School, Bristol
 Hart, Harry T., Stevens School, Stamford
 Hasbrook, Clinton F., 159 Wethersfield Ave., Hartford
 Hayes, Josephine A., 624 Orange St., New Haven
 Holroyd, Ida G., 33 Dora Circle, Bridgeport
 Johnson, William G., Naubuc School, Glastonbury
 Jourdan, Caroline C., 102 W. Main St., Branford
 Judd, Edwin B., Lawrence Street School, 85 Lawrence St., Hartford
 Kelley, Maude S., 317 Edgewood Ave., New Haven
 Knight, Elton E., 87 W. Elm St., New Haven
 Linn, Maynard W., Riverside School, Greenwich
 Lyon, Louisabelle, Ridgfield Rd., R. D. 36, Wilton
 McCall, Harold, 93 Glenbrook Rd., Stamford
 McDermott, Millicent R., Ferry Street School, New Haven
 McGrath, Elizabeth M., 1770 Park Ave., Bridgeport
 Madden, Grace E., New Street School, Danbury
 Malcolm, Elizabeth R., Cedar Street School, New Haven
 Mink, Emma Freda, 214 Palisade Ave., Bridgeport
 Monahan, Julia A., Washington School, 466 Howard Ave., New Haven
 Monroe, Marion E., 185 Jefferson St., Hartford
 Mooney, Mary J., 784 Elm St., New Haven
 Morehouse, Helen B., 84 Mansfield Ave., Darien
 Newton, Fred L., Jennings School, New London
 O'Connell, Clara T., Park Street School, Bristol
 O'Loughlin, Thomas F., 540 New Britain Ave., Hartford
 Patterson, Bernice R., Charter Oak School, West Hartford
 Patterson, Thomas H., Thomas H. Patterson School, First School Dist., Bristol
 Rawson, Sarah J., 79 Sargeant St., Hartford
 Riggs, F. B., Indian Mountain School, Lakeville
 Robie, Everett E., Rice School, Stamford
 Sherman, Anne K., 55 Rusling Pl., Bridgeport
 Sherman, Jeanette E., Quinniplac School, New Haven
 Smith, Minnie H., 201 Center St., West Haven
 Steele, Julia M., 45 Holbrook St., Ansonia
 Steele, Sarah M., 64 Filbert St., New Haven
 Tompkins, Harriett D., Pequot Rd., Southport
 Thompson, Audrey M., 14 Chester St., Stamford
 Weaver, Alice M., 139 Main St., Norwalk
 Wheelock, Elsie K., 279 Edgewood St., Hartford
 Whitman, Helen H., 48 N. Main St., West Hartford
 Young, Mrs. Ethel B., Newhall Street School, Hamden
 Young, George W., 269 Lyme St., Hartford

DELAWARE

Devine, Sarah S., 421 W. 22nd St., Wilmington
 Diviney, Anna V., 1129 W. Fourth St., Wilmington

Doherty, Frances G., 911 W. Eighth St., Wilmington
 Doud, Emma M., 1708 Pennsylvania Ave., Wilmington
 Dugan, Mrs. Elva M., 313 W. 35th St., Wilmington
 Riffin, M. Grace, 437 S. Union St., Wilmington
 Schulz, Elizabeth, 1400 W. Sixth St., Wilmington
 Stahl, H. E., Supt. of Schools, Claymont

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Ballenger, Lou E., 1801 Sixteenth St., N. W.
 Barnard, Caroline F., 1705 Lanier Pl., N. W.
 Bell, Anna D., 1852 Fifth St., N. W.
 Bishop, Mrs. Angella B., 1111 Columbia Rd., N. W.
 Brawner, Mary Virginia, 4504 Douglas St., N. E.
 Bush, Grace, 922 F St., N. E.
 Cornell, Mrs. Florence N., John Quincy Adams School, 19th and California Sts., N. W.
 Diger, Mary A., 3810 Warren St., N. W.
 Doonan, Katharine, The Ontario
 Draney, Mary E., John Burroughs School, 18th and Monroe Sts., N. E.
 Duganne, Mrs. L. R., Truesdell School, Eighth and Ingraham Sts., N. W.
 Dullin, Cecelia P., 110 Maryland Ave., N. E.
 Farrington, Ada M., 1700 Massachusetts Ave., S. E.
 Fawcett, Blanche L., 1804 Hoban Rd., N. W.
 Foster, Richard R., Assoc. Dir. of Research, Natl. Educ. Assn., 1201 16th St., N. W.
 Frank, Mary W., 3816 Warren St., N. W.
 Givens, Willard E., Exec. Secy., Natl. Educ. Assn., 1201 16th St., N. W.
 Goodykoontz, Bess, Asst. U. S. Commr. of Educ., Hurley Wright Bldg.
 Gray, Mrs. S. E., 1840 Vermont Ave., N. W.
 Green, Elsie E., Whittier School, Fifth and Sheridan Sts., N. W.
 Holland, Sarah B., 1851 Columbia Rd., N. W.
 *Hubbard, Frank W., Assoc. Dir. of Research, Natl. Educ. Assn., 1201 16th St., N. W.
 Hull, George Russell, 2919 Pennsylvania Ave., S. E.
 Leapley, Mrs. William T., 1500 Southern Ave., S. E.
 Lind, A. Grace, 4516 14th St., N. W.
 Lufrio, Mary H., 3213 Adams Mill Rd., N. W.
 Lockwood, Margaret M., Horace Mann School, 45th and New York Sts., N. W.
 Lyddane, Margaret R., The Cavalier Hotel, 3500 14th St., N. W.
 Mortimer, Florence C., 1141 New Hampshire Ave., N. W.
 Netherland, Mrs. Rosa Stokes, 613 Third St., N. E.
 O'Hara, Elizabeth, 5407 32nd St., N. W.
 Payne, John C., 654 L St., N. E.
 Pearson, M. Blanche, 1829 Monroe St., N. W.
 Perry, Leon L., 913 P St., N. W.
 Pimper, Cora H., Ludlow School, Sixth and G Sts., N. E.
 *Pinkston, Eva G., Exec. Secy., Dept. of Elem. Sch. Prin., Natl. Educ. Assn., 1201 16th St., N. W.
 Pullizzi, Blanche L., 3912 Harrison St., N. W.
 Renfro, D. I., 1516 12th St., N. W.

Ruediger, Mrs. Imogene I., 2836 28th St., N. W.
 Savoy, A. Kiger, 217 T St., N. W.
 Scrivener, Emily, 1012 Monroe St., N. E.
 Simmons, Edie P., 1317 R St., N. W.
 Smith, A. V., 1827 S St., N. W.
 Smith, Mary, 119 Eighth St., S. E.
 Syphax, John E., 1338 Q St., N. W.
 Taylor, Bertha E., 2426 19th St., N. W.
 Tolliver, R. E., 920 S St., N. W.
 Wallace, Florence C., 75 Randolph Pl., N. W.
 Wood, Bessie T., Peabody School, Fifth and C Sts., N. E.

FLORIDA

Arrington, Mrs. Stella P., 801 Magnolia Ave., Sanford
 Bainum, Mary I., 5420 First Ave., N. St., Petersburg
 *Bassett, Edna, Oak Park School, 30th and Tenth Ave., Tampa
 Beal, Beulah, 151 W. Ninth St., Jacksonville
 Beaman, Annie, 1668 Osceola St., Jacksonville
 Belcher, Frances, North Ward School, Clearwater
 Benson, Olga D., 1051 N. W. 29th Ter., Miami
 Bozart, Elizabeth M., 1412 Market St., Jacksonville
 Carrier, Mrs. Alice Bingham, 19 Sevilla St., St. Augustine
 Cason, Ernest W., Elementary School, Winter Park
 Chapman, Mrs. Virginia, 111 W. Chelsea St., Tampa
 Compton, Mrs. Ruth, Box 1824, Orlando
 Cone, Mrs. Elizabeth, 6020 Floravista Ave., Tampa
 Cooke, Nellie E., 123 E. First St., Jacksonville
 Cox, Carl S., High School, Lakeland
 Crawford, Mrs. W. H., P. K. Yonge School, Pensacola
 Culver, Mrs. Lola M., 2035 Silver St., Jacksonville
 Cunningham, Mrs. Maude H., Box 709, Lakeland
 Daugherty, Mrs. Blanche H., Bradenton
 Dean, Katie, 412 S. W. Fifth Ave., Miami
 Delaney, Mrs. Elsie R., Riverside Elementary School, 221 S. E. 12th Ave., Miami
 Fairlie, Margaret C., 1035 E. Bay St., Jacksonville
 Fleagle, Mrs. Luneta, 512 E. Frierson Ave., Tampa
 Foulks, Frank M., 404 E. Ross Ave., Tampa
 Garfunkel, Lorraine, 228 N. W. Tenth Ave., Miami
 *Gray, Mrs. Florence, 715 Louisiana Ave., Tampa
 Griffin, Edith, 222 E. Ft. King Ave., Ocala
 Gwin, Lillian, 2818 Nebraska Ave., Tampa
 Hammond, Mrs. Allie M., 508 S. Oregon Ave., Tampa
 *Hartman, Mrs. Anne, 4210 Barcelona Ave., Tampa
 Hughes, Florence L., 816 Oak St., Jacksonville
 Jordan, Mattie, 2307 Southview Ave., Tampa
 *Kent, Mrs. Mary, 1013 E. Buffalo Ave., Tampa
 King, Patti Batey, 609 S. E. Sixth St., Ft. Lauderdale
 Howell, Mrs. Myrtle Plumb, South Ward School, Clearwater
 Kelso, Mabel M., 111 17th Ave. S., St. Petersburg

Langston, Thomas Hill, Shore School, 19th St. and Second Ave., Tampa
 Leenhouts, Laura, 3083 N. W., Seventh St., Miami
 McDonald, Bertha, 113 W. Plymouth Ave., Tampa
 McIntosh, James L., V. M. Ybor School, 4012 Seminole Ave., Tampa
 *Moon, Robert C., Sealey Memorial School, Box 823, Tallahassee
 Morgan, Annie R., 919 Wolfe St., Jacksonville
 Mott, Marie Murphy, 554 Lomax St., Jacksonville
 Neighbors, Mrs. Annie W., 3576 Pine St., Jacksonville
 Nelson, La Verne, 820 S. Dakota Ave., Tampa
 Nelson, Mabel, 820 S. Dakota Ave., Tampa
 Nippert, Helen E., 1014 Third St., N., St. Petersburg
 Norris, Mrs. Edith B., 414 E. Sixth St., Jacksonville
 Parsons, Rhey Boyd, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee
 Smith, Guy F., Dundee School, Dundee
 Sproull, Katherine F., 1545 Hubbard St., Jacksonville
 Stafford, Mrs. Melissa, 909 W. Colonial Dr., Orlando
 Stanley Arleine, Babson Park School, Babson Park
 Upson, Ruth Newell, 828 Oak St., Jacksonville
 Weatherly, Hazel, Buena Vista Elementary School, 3039 N. W. Second Ave., Miami
 Williams, Bessie L., 209 W. Ashley St., Jacksonville
 Wolverton, Mrs. Ethel G., 3012 Angeles St., Tampa
 Yniestra, Allie, 229 N. Spring St., Pensacola

GEORGIA

Burnett, Emma, 472 E. Paces Ferry Rd., N. E., Atlanta
 Carreker, Mrs. H. B., 722 Clairmont Ave., Decatur
 Chamlee, Mrs. J. W., Elementary School, Canton
 Chapman, Annie, 345 Gordon Ave., N. E., Atlanta
 Collins, Nell, 121 Culver St., Macon
 Corrigan, Gertrude, Highland School, Atlanta
 Cox, Mrs. Winona S., Supvg. Prin. of Schools, Box 247, Moultrie
 Dunwoody, Bessie, 1299 W. Peachtree St., N. W., Atlanta
 Faver, Kate R., Route 1, Smyrna
 Flanagan, Mrs. W. I., Lumpkin Street School, Athens
 Floyd, Kate, Hill Street School, Lagrange
 Flynn, Lillian R., 156 Seventh St., N. E., Atlanta
 Gardner, Eva, 96 40th St., Columbus
 Goodman, Mrs. Fielder B., Pearl Stephens School, Macon
 Grow, W. A., Colquitt Elementary School, Colquitt
 Harris, Mabel H., 706 Napier Ave., Macon
 Hicks, Cleophas M., 1156 Rosedale Dr., N. E., Atlanta
 Holt, Mamie L., 728 Napier Ave., Macon
 Jarrell, Ira, 389 Altoona Pl., S. W., Atlanta
 Jeter, Carolyn V., 371 Tenth St., N. E., Atlanta
 Johnson, Lulu M., Key School, 811 Capitol Ave., Atlanta
 *Jones, Mrs. Richard P., 2579 Brookwood Dr., N. E., Atlanta

Kendrick, Margaret C., Jerome Jones School, Atlanta
 Keown, Ben D., West LaFayette School, LaFayette
 Landershine, Carrie A., R. F. D. 3, Savannah
 Lin, Mary, Mary Lin School, Atlanta
 Mann, Ailie, 858 Springdale Rd., N. E., Atlanta
 Mathews, C. B., Supt. of Schools, Newman Nolan, Lucile, 1872 Boulevard, Atlanta
 Osterhout, Mrs. R. D., 1056 Reeder Circle, N. E., Atlanta
 Pew, Mrs. B. H., 1020 Columbia Ave., N. E., Atlanta
 Pollard, Gertrude, Cox-Carlton Hotel, Peachtree St., Atlanta
 Purcell, B. D., 602 Linwood Ave., East Point
 Rainwater, Hattie, Couch School, Atlanta
 *Rhodes, Maude A., 185 Westminster Dr., N. E., Atlanta
 Roddey, Helen, 1230 Peachtree St., N. E., Atlanta
 Silvey, Elizabeth, 624 Cumberland Rd., Atlanta
 *Smith, Emma O., 335 College St., Macon
 Solomon, Maggie, 1068 W. Peachtree St., Atlanta
 Stallings, Lila, 1017 Egmont St., Brunswick
 Standard, Mary, 864 Courtney Dr., N. E., Atlanta
 Taylor, May, 458 N. Highland Ave., N. E., Atlanta
 Taylor, Rosa, 227 Bond St., Macon
 Thornton, Mrs. Eva L., 206 E. Virginia Ave., College Park
 Tuck, Sara E., 1010 McLynn Ave., N. E., Atlanta
 Twitty, J. D., 42 E. Spring St., Gainesville
 Wesley, Emma, 995 W. Peachtree St., Atlanta
 Wesley, Rusha, 995 W. Peachtree St., Atlanta
 *Whitworth, Mrs. R. B., Tenth Street School, Atlanta
 Wier, Mary Lou, 149 Cobb St., Athens
 Wilson, Mrs. Homer L., Bolton School, Bolton
 Woods, Mary E., 1071 Madison Ave., Athens
 Wurm, Lillie, Moreland School, 1083 Austin Ave., N. E., Atlanta

IDAHO

Baker, Noel I., Box 53, Avery
 Bell, O. E., Central Junior High School, Idaho Falls
 Johnson, Anna, Emerson Elementary School, Idaho Falls
 McSorley, M. Lillian, Lewis Clark Hotel, Lewiston
 Norton, Coral M., 1402 Franklin St., Boise

ILLINOIS

Alexander, E. L., 515 E. Franklin Ave., Edwardsville
 Allen, May C., 6859 S. Merrill Ave., Chicago
 Allin, Josephine T., 4805 Dorchester Ave., Chicago
 Andersen, Will D., 937 N. Harvey Ave., Oak Park
 Andrews, Ada M., 5507 Huron St., Chicago
 Anspaugh, George E., Bryant School, 1355 S. Kedvale Ave., Chicago
 Astrom, C. Elsie, 1222 Sixth Ave., Moline
 Bacon, Vivian, Jefferson School, Chicago Heights
 Baer, Alice Hogge, 10414 S. State St., Chicago

*Bartky, John A., 2860 E. 76th St., Chicago
 Bates, Carl E., 944 Warrington Rd., Deerfield
 Bauerle, Martha M., 10 S. Mason Ave., Chicago
 Beck, Paul H., 706 S. Lombard Ave., Oak Park
 Benham, Morton M., Jefferson School, 25th and Lincoln Ave., East St. Louis
 Bielenberg, Emma J., 3634 N. Avers Ave., Chicago
 Bjorkland, Alfred, 4813 Winthrop Ave., Chicago
 Blakeway, Herbert N., Keith School, 3400 S. Dearborn St., Chicago
 Blazier, Louise F., Logan School, Chicago
 Blish, Elizabeth M., 6935 Chappel Ave., Chicago
 Bolerjack, Hobart, Columbus School, Cicero
 Born, William T., 1041 Home Ave., Oak Park
 Borough, Mary G., 1519 E. 69th Pl., Chicago
 Bousfield, Maudelle B., 4548 Forestville Ave., Chicago
 Bowyer, Vernon, 1070 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago
 Boyd, Grace Marie, 417 Shenstone Rd., Riverside
 Bradshaw, Elizabeth G., Orville T. Bright School, 10740 S. Calhoun Ave., Chicago
 Brewster, Marie Voy, 7355 Jeffrey Ave., Chicago
 Bruner, Mrs. Olive P., 5435 Magnolia Ave., Chicago
 Byrne, Margaret H., 9312 Longwood Dr., Chicago
 Byrne, Martha A. E., 4220 Monroe St., Chicago
 Carlyon, Edward L., 328 N. Maple Ave., Oak Park
 Carroll, Nora M., Mt. Greenwood School, 11132 Central Park Ave., Chicago
 Chandler, Turner C., 7814 Cornell Ave., Chicago
 Clickener, Sarah H., 825 W. William St., Decatur
 Clinton, Catherine M., 6111 Eberhart Ave., Chicago
 Cloyd, Lura Ethel, Willard School, 2119 Sherman Ave., Evanston
 Cohler, Milton J., 6537 N. Ashland Ave., Chicago
 Colby, Evelyn F., Budlong School, 2701 W. Foster Ave., Chicago
 Cole, David S., 1840 W. Ohio, Chicago
 Collette, Ernest B., 4510 N. Kildare Ave., Chicago
 Conlan, Jettie, 1454 E. 67th Pl., Chicago
 Crisp, Iva J., Lincoln School, 16th and Elmwood, Berwyn
 Cronin, Anna L., 6930 Greenview Ave., Chicago
 Cross, Mrs. Maybelle, 6612 Minerva Ave., Chicago
 Cummings, Anna 909 Michigan Ave., Evanston
 Daggett, Daisy V., 279 W. William St., Decatur
 Dalln, Judith H., 910 Third Ave., Rockford
 Davis, Lois Margaret, 921 Sheridan Rd., Evanston
 Davis, Margaret M., 544 S. State St., Springfield
 Dexter, Mrs. Anna B., 1453 Andrews St., Rockford
 Dillon, Bessie O., Henry School, 4250 St. Louis Ave., Chicago
 Dimmett, W. S., Supt. of Schools, Forest Park
 Doniat, Thecla, 4129 Kenmore Ave., Chicago

- Donoghue, Mary M., 118 S. Chapel St., Elgin
 Drew, Elizabeth L., 4514 Lake Park Ave., Chicago
 Duffy, Agnes Dana, 3166 Pine Grove Ave., Chicago
 Duncan, Kenneth W., 5841 Nickerson Ave., Norwood Park, Chicago
 Duncan, Neal, 430 N. Waiola, La Grange
 Eddy, Bernice C., 6318 S. Maplewood Ave., Chicago
 Fahy, Mildred, 1101 Pratt Blvd., Chicago
 Ferreira-Franco, Mrs. E. C., 1340 Glenlake Ave., Chicago
 Fildes, Raymond E., Hay-Edwards School, Springfield
 Fitzgerald, Margaret Mary, 5349 Sheridan Rd., Chicago
 Flynn, Ella M., LeMoyné School, 851 Waveland Ave., Chicago
 Fowler, Oscar F., 1232 Elmdale Ave., Chicago
 Gabel, O. J., State Teachers College, De Kalb
 Gibson, Arthur R., 101 Logan Ave., Geneva
 Graham, Ray, Community High School, Mason City
 Grauten, Frances C., 704½ Hinman Ave., Evanston
 Green, Clinton C., 623 Main St., Casey
 Greve, Mabel C., 513 Third St., Savanna
 Hanlon, Mary R., McKay School, 6901 S. Fairfield Ave., Chicago
 *Hansen, Herbert C., 1045 N. Lockwood Ave., Chicago
 Hanson, Abel, Carrollton Public School, Carrollton
 Harding, Dorothy L., Lake Bluff School, Mundelein
 Harrington, Ethel K., 8053 Vernon Ave., Chicago
 Harvey, Mrs. Clare W., 247 Home Ave., Oak Park
 Hendricks, F. W., 525 E. Pine St., Springfield
 Herman, Irene E., 214 W. Jackson St., Woodstock
 Herr, Ross, 1600 Foster Ave., Chicago
 Hicks, Elvis L., 5644 N. Campbell Ave., Chicago
 Houghton, Mrs. Marie, Noyes School, Evanston
 Hovey, Russell W., Loves Park School, 344 Grand Ave., Rockford
 Hunter, Howard A., Franklin School, Peoria
 Humphreys, Phila., Lincoln School, Elmhurst
 Jackson, Ruth M., 6323 St. Lawrence Ave., Chicago
 Jenkinson, Jennie S., 1669 W. 104th Pl., Chicago
 Johnson, A. Milda, 1418 12th St., Moline
 Johnson, Edith Ingeborg, 901 Elmwood Ave., Kewanee
 Keenan, Robert C., Drake Public School, 2641 Calumet Ave., Chicago
 Keener, Edward E., 600 S. Madison Ave., La Grange
 Kell, Sherman L., 2121 N. Keeler Ave., Chicago
 Kent, Orla G., Nancy L. Hill School, Aurora
 Kimes, Myrtle E., Plumb School, Streator
 Kirkley, Sarah A., 3739 Wrightwood Ave., Chicago
 *Kline, Aaron, Pullman School, 521 E. 113th St., Chicago
 Knapp, C. E., 713 W. Grand Blvd., S., Springfield
 Koehler, Earl, 120 N. Columbia St., Naperville
 Kroeger, Florence R., 415 Anthony St., Glen Ellyn
 Kull, Helen, 2021 W. 21st St., Chicago
 Lillis, Mrs. Ida Nicely, 5445 Eastview Park, Chicago
 Liska, Josephine, Barry School, 2828 N. Kilbourne Ave., Chicago
 Loucks, Mabel R., 3718 N. Keeler Ave., Chicago
 Lowry, W. R., 1408 High St., Chester
 Luther, Jessie L., North Shore Hotel, Evanston
 Lyford, Aimee E., 406 Prospect St., Elgin
 Lynch, Adelaide L., 7934 Kimbark Ave., Chicago
 McCauley, Elizabeth S., 1635 Ridge Ave., Evanston
 McDonnell, Mary R., 4239 N. Hermitage Ave., Chicago
 McGlynn, J. J., Knights of Columbus Club, East St. Louis
 McGuire, Honora, 7300 Prairie Ave., Chicago
 McInerney, Julia, Parkside School, 6038 East End Ave., Chicago
 McMahon, Mrs. Edna T., 10431 S. Hamilton Ave., Chicago
 MacConkey, June H., 2610 Potwyne Pl., Chicago
 *Mack, Helen A., 417 Prospect St., Alton
 Maddock, Alice E., 9648 Vanderpoel Ave., Chicago
 Maddock, Rosa G., 9648 Vanderpoel Ave., Chicago
 Manning, Ada M., Lincoln School, Lombard
 Mason, Grace S., 640 Woodland Park, Chicago
 Mattocks, Marie M., 914 Lafayette Pkwy., Chicago
 Mendelshon, Henry, 906 Ainslie St., Chicago
 Meyers, Mrs. Edna R., 10224 Prospect Ave., Chicago
 Miller, Anna, 11 Prairie Ave., Danville
 Mirrelees, Ruchiel, 8930 Prospect Ave., Chicago
 Morstrom, Lois C., Ross School, 6059 Wabash Ave., Chicago
 Murphy, Joseph, 309 Fredonia, Peoria
 Mussehl, F. O., Palmer School, 5031 N. Kenneth Ave., Chicago
 Myers, Vinnie, 210 N. Walnut St., Danville
 Narum, Mrs. Inez Cross, 201 N. Grove Ave., Oak Park
 Nicholson, Eleanor G., 1504 Farwell Ave., Chicago
 Nyquist, Alice, 1720 11th Ave., Moline
 O'Brien, John L., 5868 N. Kolmar Ave., Chicago
 O'Connor, Mary A., 737 S. Float Ave., Freeport
 Owen, Clifford E., Supt. of Schools, Vienna
 Patrick, Mary L., 6030 Kimbark Ave., Chicago
 Paxton, Agnes M., 206½ E. State St., Jacksonville
 Pearsons, M. Evelyn, 1031 Dempster St., Evanston
 *Peters, Florentine, Garfield School Chicago Heights
 Phipps, George Carl, 8108 Eberhart Ave., Chicago
 Phipps, Madge, 4523 Dover St., Chicago
 Pierce, Mrs. Pearl, 248 S. 21st Ave., Maywood
 Pierson, Paul I., 6612 University Ave., Chicago
 Poore, William E., 6853 Cornell Ave., Chicago
 Poust, Roy M., 5116 W. 23rd Pl., Cicero
 Pratt, Clarence W., 608 Hamilton, Peoria
 Rape, Arthur O., 637 N. Kenilworth Ave., Oak Park

Reynolds, E. W., Dover Elementary School,
Dover
Reynolds, Mary E., 9810 Exchange Ave.,
Chicago
Reynolds, Mary Isabel, 1543 Glenlake Ave.,
Chicago
Rickard, Garrett E., 1315 Rosedale Ave.,
Chicago
Ritow, Herman, 1170 Hill St., Highland
Park
Roach, Mary Margaret, 125 N. Edward St.,
Decatur
Rohrer, Marie A., 6828 Palatine Ave.,
Chicago
Romborg, Hildegard, 1414 E. 59th St.,
Chicago
Rose, Myron, Glenwood
Rowley, Ruby Elizabeth, North Shore Ho-
tel, Evanston
Sanders, Ellen M., 2337 Albany Ave.,
Chicago
Sanford, Helen M., 1940 Sherman Ave.,
Evanston
Schimek, Cecelia B., Mason School, 1830
S. Keeler Ave., Chicago
Schmidt, Sophia L., Grant School, 2433
Wilcox, Chicago
Schwede, Charles W., 5527 Maryland Ave.,
Chicago
Serviss, Gladys H., 729 Galena Blvd.,
Aurora
Shield, Ruth, 912 N. Monroe St., Peoria
Smith, Anne L., 400 Whitley Ave., Joliet
Spangler, Charles A., Grade School, Wil-
lamsfield
Spurgin, William H., 7855 S. Shore Dr.,
Chicago
Stark, Mildred E., 6554 S. May St., Chi-
cago
Steinmetz, Kathryn, 8045 Drexel Ave.,
Chicago
Strange, W. J. B., 8145 N. Kildare Ave.,
Niles Center
Straw, Walter V., Washington School,
1000 W. Grand Ave., Chicago
Stullken, Edward H., 5464 W. Walton St.,
Chicago
Swane, Mrs. Alma, Mt. Vernon School,
10540 S. Morgan St., Chicago
*Swarthout, Walter E., Emerson School,
Maywood
Swing, Lillian M., Hedges School, 4735
Winchester Ave., Chicago
Tate, Harry L., Eli Whitney School, 2815
S. Komensky Ave., Chicago
Theis, Flora H., 701 W. Mulberry St.,
Bloomington
Tierney, Catherine, 1446 Garfield Blvd.,
Chicago
Todd, Henrietta M., North Shore Hotel,
Evanston
Uhlir, Arthur, 4221 N. Keeler Ave., Chi-
cago
Unnewehr, Charles A., 206 N. Lockwood
Ave., Chicago
Vayette, Kenneth E., 204 N. Perry Ave.,
Peoria
Vergowe, Clara S., 5322 Glenwood Ave.,
Chicago
Vigles, Maude E., 932 S. Webster St.,
Decatur
Voigt, Ida, 415 E. Pleasant St., Freeport
Walls, Mary H., 266 Du Page St., Elgin
Webster, Mrs. Frances, 819 Madison St.,
Evanston
Wells, Jennie E., 1495 W. Macon St., De-
catur
Wenger, Lillian, Grade School, Highland
Wetherbee, Ralph H., 11725 Perry Ave.,
Chicago
Wheeler, Effie J., 7020 Jeffery Ave., Chi-
cago
Wheelock, Alice H., 713-A 18th St., Moline
Whitaker, Ruth L., 10862 S. Irving Ave.,
Chicago

White, J. Kay, General Pershing School,
37th St. and East Ave., Berwyn
Williams, Claude L., 7830 Cornell Ave.,
Chicago
Williamson, Lillias M., 6622 University
Ave., Chicago
Wilson, Elizabeth C., Delano School, 3937
Wilcox St., Chicago
Wilson, Irvin, 437 S. Stone Ave., La
Grange
Winslow, Charles S., 4222 W. Polk St.,
Chicago
Young, May E., Cannady School, East St.
Louis

INDIANA

*Adams, Burton Q., Bloomingdale School,
Ft. Wayne
Alexander, Mrs. Margaret, 306 E. Ewing,
South Bend
Anderson, Lillian P., James Madison
School, South Bend
Banta, Fay M., 2620 N. Alabama, Indian-
apolis
Baugh, William E., 1235 W. 25th St., In-
dianapolis
Bedford, Anna Pearl, Public School No. 85,
338 S. Arlington Ave., Indianapolis
*Best, William E., Lincoln High School,
Evansville
Bingham, H. Beth, 215 E. Third St.,
Mishawaka
Black, Ernest J., 3749 Guilford Ave., In-
dianapolis
Black, Grace M., 615 N. Pennsylvania St.,
Indianapolis
Boram, Claude G., 314 George St., Aurora
Brooks, Ross, 1015 Taylor Ave., Evans-
ville
*Brown, Edythe J., Mar Main Arms, South
Bend
Burmaster, Rosa M., 219½ S. Jefferson
St., Muncie
Buscher, Gertrude, 2928 Park Ave., In-
dianapolis
Butcher, W. A., Nuner School, South Bend
Byers, Alfred S., Stanley Hall School,
Evansville
Byers, E. A., 1448 S. Ninth St., Terre
Haute
Carter, Charlotte, 6121 Haverford Ave.,
Indianapolis
Cary, Jeannette S., 2027 Boulevard Pl.,
Indianapolis
Chapman, Nellie, 5035 Kenwood Ave., In-
dianapolis
Clark, Albert W., 1238 Michigan St., Ham-
mond
Collins, W. F., Lincoln School, Hammond
Cottingham, Ordell, 703 W. Conwell St.,
Aurora
Deem, Estella, 506 S. Third St., Vincennes
Denzler, Verena, 5160 Pleasant Run Pkwy.,
Indianapolis
Diggs, E. W., 1908 Highland Pl., Indian-
apolis
Dougherty, Robert A., Whiting South Side
School, Whiting
Drake, Flora E., 2230 Brookside Ave., In-
dianapolis
Dunn, J. L., Route 2, Box 642, Indianapolis
Dyer, Lary Everett, Fairview Elementary
Schools, 719 W. Seventh St., Bloom-
ington
Echolds, E. Frank, 5635 Beechwood Ave.,
Indianapolis
Eller, Mrs. Lola Stuart, 2502 E. 58th St.,
Indianapolis
Eppert, Geraldine, 2828 N. Illinois St.,
Indianapolis
Fisher, George H., 402 N. Linwood Ave.,
Indianapolis
Foster, Nancy L., 5947 Hyslop Pl., Ham-
mond

- Funk, Olive K., Public School No. 45, 2301 Park Ave., Indianapolis
 Galvin, Cecella, School No. 3, 23 N. Rural St., Indianapolis
 Gibbard, Minnie, La Salle School, Mishawaka
 Goss, Mrs. Jeanne A., 3419 N. Pennsylvania St., Indianapolis
 Gossett, W. Harold, 630 E. 51st St., Indianapolis
 Granger, Mrs. Grace A., School No. 46, Indianapolis
 Hall, Edith B., 3253 N. Penn St., Indianapolis
 Hall, L. E., 1219 N. Tuxedo St., Indianapolis
 Hamilton, Otto T., Oaklandon
 Hanna, Laura E., 2038 Central Ave., Indianapolis
 Hansen, Otillia E., 126 W. Sixth St., Michigan City
 Hayes, George L., School No. 26, Indianapolis
 Hayward, O. B., 4727 Pine Ave., Hammond
 Helphinstine, Ida B., 2944 Cornell St., Indianapolis
 *Hendricks, Clyde W., 1209 Charlotte Ave., Ft. Wayne
 Herbst, Frieda, 966 N. Bellevue Pl., Indianapolis
 Hill, Adah, School No. 22, Indianapolis
 Horton, D. W., Supt. of Schools, 620 Ashland Ave., Muncie
 Howe, J. Edwin, 423 S. Grand Ave., Evansville
 Hudson, Mrs. Henrietta W., School No. 73, 4101 E. 30th St., Indianapolis
 Hyatt, Eliza, 304 E. Walnut St., Washington
 Ingleright, Allegra J., 228 S. St. Joe St., South Bend
 Ivey, Edna M., Franklin School, 4215 Alder St., East Chicago
 James, Emory C., 1306 Finley St., Indianapolis
 Jones, Rosa A., School No. 79, 4804 E. 30th St., Indianapolis
 Jones, Sara, 302 N. Van Rensselaer St., Rensselaer
 *Kapnick, George C., Hanna School, Ft. Wayne
 Keller, Mabel, 3237 N. Capitol Ave., Indianapolis
 Kelley, Harriet C., 1401 S. State St., Indianapolis
 Kern, Mrs. Huldah T., 2060 Winter Ave., Indianapolis
 Kimber, Mrs. Grace W., School No. 47, 1240 W. Ray St., Indianapolis
 Kirby, Elizabeth, 6021 Bellefontaine St., Indianapolis
 Kirk, M. R., Wheeler School, Evansville
 Knight, H. G., 226 Buckingham Dr., Indianapolis
 Knowles, Mrs. Jeannette B., 85 N. Holmes Ave., Indianapolis
 Krug, John C., 857 Bellemeade Ave., Evansville
 Kurtz, Mrs. Clio, 740 W. 26th St., Indianapolis
 Lacey, Mrs. Georgia H., 140 E. 36th St., Indianapolis
 Lee, Ruby Gray, 3231 Park Ave., Indianapolis
 Leeds, Elizabeth, 766 Jackson St., Gary
 Leedy, Ruth, 3602 E. Washington St., Indianapolis
 *Lemme, Carl W., 1820 Bayard Park Dr., Evansville
 Lemon, Mary Morgan, 22 S. 17th St., Richmond
 Lenon, E. M., Columbia School, Evansville
 Loeper, Helen, 1508 N. Alabama St., Indianapolis
 Lykins, Charles E., Riley Elementary School, Muncie
 McCarty, Adelaide, Grayland Hotel, Indianapolis
 McCoy, Marlin W., R. R. 2, Wheatland
 McGee, Mary, 224 E. Ninth St., Indianapolis
 MacArdle, Mary H., 5828 University Ave., Indianapolis
 Mahoney, Agnes, 4227 Broadway, Indianapolis
 Malone, Julia, Lincoln School, South Bend
 Mangrum, W. V., 764 S. Harlan Ave., Evansville
 Marbury, Mrs. Vivian W., School No. 87, 2402 Paris Ave., Indianapolis
 Moran, H. A., Box 333, Mishawaka
 Morgan, Mary E., 717 E. 48th St., Indianapolis
 *Morris, John M., South Wayne School, Ft. Wayne
 Morrison, E. L., 314 Sunnyside Ave., Aurora
 Moudy, Mrs. Maude, School No. 75, 1251 Bellevue Pl., Indianapolis
 Murray, M. C., Supt. of Schools, Michigan City
 Nessler, Augusta, 1034 N. Tacoma Ave., Indianapolis
 Nolcox, Matthias, 2866 Highland Pl., Indianapolis
 Norris, E. L., 3331 Guilford Ave., Indianapolis
 O'Mara, Elizabeth, 25 N. State Ave., Indianapolis
 Orr, Mrs. Mildred, 3765 N. Chester, Indianapolis
 Owen, John J., Woodrow Wilson School, 7544 Madison Ave., Hammond
 Pennington, Dorothy, 402 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis
 Pinkerton, Mildred, 712 S. Nebraska St., Marion
 Popp, Freda M., 1831 N. Alabama St., Indianapolis
 Price, Maude J., 4159 Guilford Ave., Indianapolis
 Ramey, Belle, 718 E. 34th St., Indianapolis
 Ray, Mrs. Mary, 3849 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis
 Reade, Anna R., 4360 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis
 Reimold, Crissie E., Henry Studebaker School, South Bend
 Rentschler, Mrs. Cora, 5158 N. Illinois St., Indianapolis
 Reynard, Mrs. May, Colfax School, South Bend
 Rielag, Corinne, 962 N. Pennsylvania, Indianapolis
 Riker, Jeanette, 1807 Ruckle St., Indianapolis
 Riley, Herman M., 4066 Boulevard Pl., Indianapolis
 *Robertson, O. Dale, Nebraska School, Ft. Wayne
 Rupp, Carrie B., Rea School, Terre Haute
 Russell, Jessie C., 5936 Forrest Lane, Indianapolis
 Seaton, Mary B., 201 E. Butler St., Ft. Wayne
 Schmidt, Mrs. Mabel, 212 E. 46th St., Indianapolis
 Scott, Elizabeth H., 4159 Guilford Ave., Indianapolis
 Sherwood, Hollace C., Marion Township Consolidated School, Mitchell
 *Shriner, Richard E., 4709 Indiana Ave., Ft. Wayne
 Stafford, Lawrence T., 245 W. Maple Rd., Indianapolis
 Steely, G. A., 1512 S. A St., Richmond
 Stout, Hazel V., P. W. Payne School, Franklin

Stump, Merlin B., School No. 35, 2201 Madison Ave., Indianapolis
 Suchanek, Minnie M., 117 N. St. Louis Blvd., South Bend
 Sunthlmer, Charles E., 3358 College Ave., Indianapolis
 Swihart, O. M., 309 Donnemoyer, South Bend
 Swope, Lena, 2101 N. New Jersey St., Indianapolis
 Thomas, Charlotte, School No. 25, Indianapolis
 *Thomas, E. Glenn, 2201 Pleasant Ave., Ft. Wayne
 Thompson, Rose H., 2824 Boulevard Pl., Indianapolis
 Thornburgh, John W., 5167 Guilford Ave., Indianapolis
 Walker, John S., 301 Queen St., Muncie
 Weld, Mildred A., 1508 N. Alabama St., Indianapolis
 Wiles, Eva Y., 1525 Park Ave., Indianapolis
 Williams, Mrs. Jeannette, School for Crippled Children, R. R. 2, Box 520, Indianapolis
 Witt, Elizabeth R., 610 Bosart Ave., Indianapolis
 Wittner, Ruth, 1620 Portage Ave., South Bend
 *Wolf, Floyd, John S. Irwin School, Ft. Wayne
 Wright, R. G., 1830 High St., South Bend
 Wright, Wendell W., School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington
 Wyrick, Adda, 2248 Broadway, Indianapolis

IOWA

Aarvig, Bertha O., 926 Third Ave., N., Ft. Dodge
 Baker, J. Ella, 1523 23rd St., Des Moines
 *Bovee, Earl E., 4315 Orleans Ave., Sioux City
 Bradshaw, 751 16th St., Des Moines
 Campbell, Isabelle J., 711 Second St., S. W., Cedar Rapids
 Chedester, June, Jefferson County Schools, Fairfield
 Davitt, Naomi, 410 Boone St., Boone
 Faint, Agness, 618 W. Third St., Waterloo
 FitzGerald, James E., 1821 Ross St., Sioux City
 Greenhow, Alice Jean, 439 Winona St., Dubuque
 Hays, Leslie M., Pierce School, Council Bluffs
 Henry, Hazel D., 218 Front St., Colfax
 Holtman, Edith C., 210 B Ave. E., Oskaloosa
 Ivory, Anna E., Anderson Court 2, Glen Ave., Council Bluffs
 Johnson, Bess R., 1241 40th St., Des Moines
 Kelley, D. J., Supt. of Schools, Tipton
 Kitch, R. L., 456 Burton Ave., Sioux City
 Lee, Nellie, Spirit Lake
 Lyon, Georgia, Grant-Joy Schools, Sioux City
 McBroom, Maude, University Elementary School, Iowa City
 Matthews, Laura P., 5115 Grand Ave., Des Moines
 Montillon, Adeline B., 1402 First Ave., N. W., Cedar Rapids
 Murphy, Gertrude, 2714 High St., Des Moines
 Newcomer, Mrs. Mabel, 123 S. Fourth St., Clear Lake
 Parr, Cora A., 1353 Ninth St., Des Moines
 Peters, I. L., Junior High School, Clarion
 Quigley, Georgia, 928 30th St., Des Moines
 Rownd, Nellie M., Edison School, Waterloo
 Tapper, Inga B., 348 Forest Dr., S. E., Cedar Rapids

Toohy, Blanche V., 3607 Ingersall Ave., Des Moines
 Umpleby, Frances, 2936 Brattleboro, Des Moines
 Walker, Minnie M., 1315 Maple St., Des Moines
 Walters, Marjorie, 1557 C Ave., N. E., Cedar Rapids
 Weber, Joseph Carl, 503 Fourth Ave., N., Clinton
 Zinn, D. D., Webster School, W. Fifth and Market Sts., Sioux City

KANSAS

Adams, Alice, 2122 State, Kansas City
 Adams, Lillie, 422 Parallel, Kansas City
 Anderson, Melonee, 2115 N. Fifth, Kansas City
 Barrett, Ruth, 907 S. Lawrence, Wichita
 Benscheldt, Ella, 227 W. 12th St., Hutchinson
 Bonwell, W. A., 645 N. Volutsia, Wichita
 Botkin, Ethel, 102 E. 17th St., Hutchinson
 Brown, Dora, Ingalls School, Kansas City
 Burright, Nina, 422 S. Millwood, Wichita
 Caldwell, L. H., 631 N. Erie, Wichita
 Carlton, Franklin S., 448 S. Roosevelt, Wichita
 Cheney, Miriam, Clara Barton School, Kansas City
 Comer, Mrs. Lena, Emerson School, Kansas City
 Conway, Agnes C., 1243 Coolidge, Wichita
 Crump, Lella, Kealing School, Kansas City
 Dowd, Gertrude, 424 S. Millwood, Wichita
 Drisko, Caroline, 2119 State St., Kansas City
 Easter, Bruce C., Dunbar School, Salina
 Eastman, Grace, 19 E. 11th St., Hutchinson
 Elliott, Virginia, Lincoln School, Kansas City
 Erickson, Anna, Major Hudson School, Kansas City
 Erikson, Etna Q., 959 Coolidge, Wichita
 Evans, Myrtle M., Abbott School, 15th and Troup Ave., Kansas City
 Foreman, Anna, Emerson Elementary School, Waco and Central, Wichita
 Glasgow, Mattie, 429 N. 17th St., Kansas City
 Gray, Maude, 236 N. 18th St., Kansas City
 Griffin, Helen, 12½ S. Lincoln St., Chanute
 Harris, A. H., 617 Stewart Ave., Kansas City
 Hartford, May, 108 E. 14th St., Hutchinson
 Haws, Nina, 721 S. Seneca, Wichita
 Heffelfinger, Lillie, 226 W. Second, Junction City
 Henry, Emma L., 323 S. Bluff Ave., Anthony
 Higgins, Harold H., 1449 Lieunett, Wichita
 Hosley, James L., Grade Principal, Cullison Public Schools, Cullison
 Hubanks, Estella, Harry Street Elementary School, Wichita
 Hudson, Jane, 408 E. First, Hutchinson
 Hunt, Ira E., 116 Iowa Ave., Holton
 Jarvis, Claire, 793 N. 32nd St., Kansas City
 Jones, Lucy, 622 Washington, Kansas City
 Kier, Hazel, Parker School, Kansas City
 Kinsey, Gladys, 438 N. 18th St., Kansas City
 Kiser, Florence, R. R. 4, Lawrence
 Kittell, Mrs. Martha, 1902 West St., Topeka
 Lamb, Clara S., Gould Hotel, Kansas City
 Lewis, Daniel W., 1204 Everett, Kansas City
 McConnell, Mabel, 35 N. Seventh St., Kansas City
 McCormick, Clyde, Zeandale

McKinley, Bertha, 3111 Parallel, Kansas City
 McNaughton, Lola, Frances Willard School, Kansas City
 Mahaffie, Ella M., Park School, Kansas City
 Mann, Harriet, 3920 Cambridge, Kansas City
 Martin, Minnie, 1118 Haskell, Kansas City
 Meeker, Mildred, Route 3, Thayer
 Meeks, Hazel, Snow School, Kansas City
 Miller, Elizabeth, Grund Hotel, Kansas City
 Miller, Elizabeth S., 4132 Rainbow Blvd., Kansas City
 Moore, Wilmie, 10 N. Elm St., Hutchinson
 Morrow, C. M., 1120 N. Monroe St., Topeka
 Nelson, Mary C., Bancroft School, Kansas City
 Nelson, Sarah, 3944 Cambridge, Kansas City
 Paynter, John A., 2116 S. Main St., Wichita
 Peed, Julia A., Winans School, Hutchinson
 Perkins, Josie, 205 W. 14th St., Hutchinson
 Pfefferkorn, Mary M., 744 Osage St., Leavenworth
 Ratzlaff, L. M., Plains Consolidated School, Plains
 Rebstein, Clara O., 511 N. Belmont, Wichita
 Rice, Pearl, McKinley School, Kansas City
 Rippey, Winifred, Box 214, Kansas City
 Roach, Herschel M., Grade School, Bluff City
 Roberts, Grace, 544 Everett, Kansas City
 Robinson, Ella V., 1216 Washington Blvd., Kansas City
 Saunders, Jessie M., B. T. Washington School, Kansas City
 Sheffer, W. E., Supt. of Schools, Manhattan
 Singer, Mrs. Mary J., 341 N. Topeka Ave., Wichita
 Smith, Aura, 2007 Sandusky, Kansas City
 Sparks, Elizabeth A., Central School, Kansas City
 Streeter, Helen, 400 N. 16th St., Kansas City
 Sunter, Ethel, 1603 Dodd, Kansas City
 Tebow, E. T., Supt. of Schools, Harper
 Thomas, Zoe, 202 N. 23rd St., Kansas City
 Thornburg, Mrs. Winnie C., 817 S. Spruce, Wichita
 Tribue, Leota, Phillips School, Kansas City
 Vogenitz, Mrs. May H., 420 E. 15th Ave., Hutchinson
 West, F. C., 1003 Indiana Ave., Wichita
 Wine, E. C., 1147 Perry, Wichita

KENTUCKY

Bligh, Anna M., 673 Cecil Ave., Louisville
 Boyd, Fred, Parkville School, Parkville
 Bradner, J. W., Supt. of Schools, Middlesboro
 Coons, Etta B., 173 Woodland Ave., Lexington
 Edmonds, Eva F., 710 Central Ave., Lexington
 Ewan, Mrs. I. V., 228 Irvine Rd., Lexington
 Gotherman, Edward E., Jefferson Davis School, Lexington
 Haney, Mrs. John F., Box 444, Catlettsburg
 Howard, Willis, Harlan City Elementary School, Harlan
 Kelley, Nora S., I. N. Bloom School, Lucia Ave., Louisville
 Lafferty, E. M., Canmer
 McClelland, Bertha L., 3204 Winchester Ave., Ashland
 McDaniel, Lottie, Virginia Street School, Hopkinsville
 Masner, Olle, 132 W. High St., Lexington

Reibert, Lydia, 1306 Highland Ave., Louisville
 Rippetoe, B. Elford, Box 494, Middlesboro
 Robertson, Louise, 1379 Tyler Park Dr., Louisville
 Smith, Jean L., 140 E. Maxwell St., Lexington
 Spurgin, Lucy, 1416 Brook St., Louisville
 Stutz, Elsa, 2210 Sherwood, Louisville
 Taylor, Mrs. Ellen L., 2329 W. Walnut St., Louisville
 Tate, Virginia, Prin. of Grades, Madisonville
 Toliver, Mrs. Edna L., 425 N. Third, Danville
 Von Donhoff, Ida, R. F. D. 2, Box 193, Louisville
 Weibel, Elise, 2210 Sherwood, Louisville
 Wellenvoss, Nora E., 1612 Beechwood Ave., Louisville
 Whittinghill, R. T., Hazard
 Worth, Mrs. Phoebe B., 322 W. Third St., Lexington

LOUISIANA

Abrams, Selma, 2735 Octavia St., New Orleans
 Alken, E. S., Rapides Parish School Board, Alexandria
 Armstrong, Maude E., 2738 Milan St., New Orleans
 Bailey, O. K., Sterlington
 Bains, Mary, Box 248, Shreveport
 Barrett, Ellen T., 1432 Fern St., New Orleans
 Bartholf, Harriet, 842 Prospect Ave., Shreveport
 Baudint, A. Leonie, 5418 Constance St., New Orleans
 Brandao, Eva A., McDonogh No. 9 School, 1651 N. Fonti, New Orleans
 Causey, J. P., Bastrop
 Collette, Mrs. Ida R., 704 Iris St., Lake Charles
 Dedeaux, Maude R., Johnson Lockett School, 3240 Law St., New Orleans
 Delaney, J. M., Pineville Grammar School, Pineville
 Dingle, Mary M., Alexander School, Shreveport
 *Dixon, Florence E., 2624 Verbena St., New Orleans
 *Doerr, Loretta R., 721 St. Philip, New Orleans
 Dudenhefer, Mary A., 3136 St. Claude, New Orleans
 Ferran, Rose, 930 N. Broad St., New Orleans
 Galloway, R. E., Lecompte High School, Lecompte
 Goldenberg, Rachel, 1128 Dalzell, Shreveport
 Hatcher, W. B., Supt. of Schools, Baton Rouge
 *Hinrichs, Amy H., 7336 Hurst St., New Orleans
 *Houston, G. O., Exec. Secy., Louisiana Teachers' Association, Baton Rouge
 Leverich, Fanny I., 1663 Sonlat St., New Orleans
 Littlejohn, Augusta Pugh, 1221 Leontine St., New Orleans
 Lum, J. L., Longstreet
 Magendie, Estelle L., 731 Dauphine St., New Orleans
 Nuttall, Mrs. D. J., 2949 Midway, Shreveport
 Perry, Ruby V., 5625 Loyola Ave., New Orleans
 Peterson, Ingree, Donner
 Poncet, Aimee J., 800 N. Rendon St., New Orleans
 Rives, Fanny V., Box 45, Mansfield

Schuster, Hattie L., 1538 Creswell St., Shreveport
 Short, Alice, 118 E. 73rd St., Shreveport.
 Stockley, Callie L., 1817 Calhoun St., New Orleans
 Sylvest, Murphy J., Franklinton Elementary School, Franklinton
 Thomas, Josephine, 4512 Baudin St., New Orleans
 Tubre, B., Rosenthal School, Alexandria
 White, Mariah D., 901 Cherokee St., New Orleans
 Williams, Fannie C., 1922 Louisiana Ave., New Orleans
 Wilson, Florence, Lafayette School, 2727 S. Carrollton Ave., New Orleans.

MAINE

Burke, Sarah T., 23 Pleasant St., Lewiston
 Cullen, William M., Jordan Platoon School, Lewiston
 Teague, Grace L., 137 College St., Lewiston

MARYLAND

Adams, Margaret, 5301 Bosworth Ave., Baltimore
 Barrett, Winefred E., 710 Gorsuch Ave., Baltimore
 Baskerville, Esther V., 2231 Madison Ave., Baltimore
 Beckenbaugh, Isabella, 2208 Virginia Ave., Hagerstown
 Bell, Mrs. Edna Correll, 2932 St. Paul St., Baltimore
 Blonskey, Lula M., 407 Valley St., Cumberland
 Botsford, Mrs. Jane E., 507 Hill Top Dr., Cumberland
 Bourke, Jessie S., East Linthicum Heights
 Boustead Jessie, 723 W. North Ave., Baltimore
 Brain, Earl, Hill Street School, Frostburg
 Braun, Mary S., 1733 N. Broadway, Baltimore
 Bricker, Kathryn M., Somerset School, Chevy Chase
 Broening, Mary L., 2 Millbrook Rd., Baltimore
 Brown, Mary, School No. 82, Harlem Ave. and Monroe St., Baltimore
 Bryant, Slater W., Jr., Public School, Pasadena
 Carroll, Agnes, 451 Henderson Blvd., Cumberland
 Carroll, James G., Hempstead Hill School No. 47, Eastern and Linwood Aves., Baltimore
 Cleaves, Frances M., 221 Howard St., Elkton
 Click, Rosalie R., Oakland Elementary School, Oakland
 Copes, Ella, 9138 Thornhill Rd., Silver Spring
 Coulbourne, Alice Mae, Elementary School, Princess Anne
 Crawford, Ethel, Elementary School, Thurmont
 Dellone, Augusta, Mt. Washington School No. 221, Baltimore
 Didler, Claudia B., 4 E. 30th., Baltimore
 Frush, Eleanor, School No. 61, Linden Ave. and Koenig St., Baltimore
 Fuller, Althea R., 830 Green St., Cumberland
 Gareis, Margaret, School No. 235, Glenmore and Glenmount Aves., Baltimore
 Glantz, Minnie M., 2002 Kennedy Ave., Baltimore
 Griffin, Edna Grooms, 1601 McCulloh St., Baltimore
 Griffin, Mrs. Helen Albright, Maryland Avenue School, Cumberland
 Harney, Margaret A., 1412 Reisterstown Rd., Pikesville
 Henderson, Elmer A., School No. 101, Caroline and Jefferson Sts., Baltimore
 Hill, Mary C., 400 Camden Ave., Salisbury
 Hoover, L. Mabel, 1771 Homestead St., Baltimore
 Hopkins, Mrs. Marguerite E. L., 586 Eastern Ave., Eastport, Annapolis
 Iden, Josie, Oakland
 Jones, Charles W., 1143 N. Carey St., Baltimore
 Jones, Rosa C., East Salisbury School, Pittsville
 Kerr, Mary C., 2130 Bolton St., Baltimore
 Krieg Ella V., Parkway School, Frederick
 Landon, Oscar B., Pine St., Crisfield
 Lerian, Helen, 206 S. Athol Ave., Baltimore
 McGeady, Loreto, Box 605, Cumberland
 McKnight, Sue, 101 Columbia St., Cumberland
 Magers, Ida R., 1801 Poplar Grove St., Baltimore
 Manning, Annie Lee, 3421 Mondawmin Ave., Baltimore
 Monred, Ravenell A., 18 Diamond Ave., Gaithersburg
 Morgan, Gertrude E., Grammar School, Centreville
 Muesse, Katherine F., 1248 N. Broadway, Baltimore
 Nowell, Margaret L., Tracy's School, Shady Side
 Powers, Leversia L., Takoma Park School, Philadelphia and Maple Aves., Takoma Park
 Puffinberger, Irene, 119 Fifth St., Cumberland
 Rawlings, Grace, School No. 232, Rokeby Rd. and Dryden Dr., Baltimore
 Reed, Catherine T., Mt. Rainier School, Mt. Rainier
 Riffin, Mrs. Irma Sterling, Jacksonville School, Crisfield
 Riffin, Mrs. Marion N., Crisfield
 Rose, Anna F., Chevy Chase Elementary School, Rosemary St., Chevy Chase
 Sanders, Grace S., 2111 St. Paul St., Baltimore
 Schaut, M. Grace, 3312 W. North Ave., Baltimore
 Schluderberg, George W., Public School, Dundalk
 Screen, Isabelle, Narrows Park, Cumberland
 Sessions, Ruth W., Kensington School, Kensington
 Simmons, Mary E., 523 E St., Sparrows Point
 Smithson, Clara E., 3306 Clifton Ave., Baltimore
 Stevenson, Mrs. Margaret C., 2733 N. Charles St., Baltimore
 Stieg, May L., Elementary School No. 88, Wildwood Pkwy. near Edmondson Ave., Baltimore
 Stromberg, Helen, 3505 Taney Rd., Baltimore
 Stromberg, Martha, 3505 Taney Rd., Baltimore
 Sultzer, Mary F., School No. 51, 34th and Frisby Sts., Baltimore
 Taliaferro, Sallie C., School No. 83, Lakewood Ave. and Fayette St., Baltimore
 Thompson, M. Caroline, Box 114, La Plata
 Tilghman, Helen G., School No. 97, Jackson Pl. and Fairmount Ave., Baltimore
 Turnbull, Josephine, 2102 Rosedale St., Baltimore
 Tyson, Mildred E., 2709 Hamilton Ave., Baltimore

Upham, Mrs. Margaret S., 211 Washington St., Cumberland
 Waesche, Mrs. Charlotte S., Mitchellville
 Watkins, Lida E., 626 Orpington Rd., Baltimore
 Weglein, David E., Supt. of Schools, Madison and Lafayette Aves., Baltimore
 Wenner, E. Virginia, Middletown Elementary School, Brunswick
 White, Sue B., Hampstead Hill School No. 47, Eastern and Linwood Aves., Baltimore
 Wiers, Mary M., School No. 48, Hollins and Monroe Sts., Baltimore
 Willison, Mildred E., 401 Decatur St., Cumberland

MASSACHUSETTS

Alderman, Etta L., 42 Bliss St., West Springfield
 Allen, Grace A., 25 Bacheller St., Lynn
 Atkins, Robert S., Thomas N. Hart School, South Boston
 Austin, W. Scott, 10 Pontiac Rd., Quincy
 Barrows, Howard F., Box 326, Falmouth
 Barry, Agnes E., 1961 Commonwealth Ave., Brighton
 Barry, Mary A., 58 Proctor St., Salem
 Barry, William J., 108 Warren St., Roxbury
 Bates, William Lester, Lowell School District, Jamaica Plain
 Baylies, Stella H., 80 Hanover St., Fall River
 Bemis, Fanny M., Robert O. Morris School, Springfield
 Billings, Catharina W., 32 Coolidge Rd., West Medford
 Bliss, Carrie W., 233 Arnold St., New Bedford
 Bowker, Rosa M., 161 High St., Springfield
 Brassil, Theresa N., Bright School, Waltham
 Brennan, Julia V., 90 Stanley St., Fall River
 Britt, Katherine M., 175 Highland St., Taunton
 Buckingham, B. R., 15 Ashburton Pl., Boston
 Bulkley, Fannie A., 21 Washington St., Gloucester
 Burnell, Martha M., 30 Maple Ave., Bridgewater
 Burrill, Mrs. Helen M., 118 Virginia Rd., Waltham
 Burt, Martha G., Pomeroy Lane, Box 126, South Amherst
 Carbee, Katharine L., Balch School, Norwood
 Caton, Anne J., 35 Converse St., Wakefield
 Chase, Sara E., Washington School, Springfield
 Cheney, Mrs. Bessie B., Priest Street School, Leominster
 Chevallier, Ada E., Pierce School, Brookline
 Clark, Katherine M., 108 Dudley St., Medford
 Clark, Linna E., 12 Arbella Rd., Dorchester
 Copland, Janet F., Dean School, Stoneham
 Corish, Gertrude L., 86 Mill St., New Bedford
 Cota, Ardell M., Cary School, Chelsea
 Cragin, S. Albert, 58 S. Main, Reading
 Crockwell, Winifred Mary, 11 Manning St., Medford
 Cronan, Mary H., Robinson-Valentine School, Chicopee
 Cunningham, Mary E., Tatnuck School, Worcester
 Currier, William G., 181 South St., Hyannis
 *Cushing, Lena, Jonathan Maynard School, Framingham
 Daniels, Laura A., Acushnet Avenue School, Springfield
 Daniels, Nellie F., 212 Newbury St., Brockton
 Davis, Bertha S., 43 E. Emerson St., Melrose
 Davison, Margaret J., Samuel Bowles School, 24 Bowles Park, Springfield
 Desmarais, Laura B., 206 Main St., Southbridge
 Dingley, Vivian A., 20 Ware St., Cambridge
 Dodge, Gertrude M., 28 Channing St., Worcester
 Doherty, Alice M., 4 Gilmore St., Everett
 Donovan, James A., 855 E. Fifth St., South Boston
 Doyle, Blanche E., 44 Crosman Ave., Beach Bluff
 Easton, Norman S., Davis School, Fall River
 Emerson, Edith W., Russell School, Arlington
 Enright, Helen A., Peirce School, Park Ave. N., Arlington
 Fales, Annie E., Eli Whitney School, Westborough
 Fisher, G. Milton, Woodland Street School, Worcester
 Flagg, Sadie E., 36 Temple St., Springfield
 Forbush, L. Mabel, 9 Alder St., Waltham
 Forster, Bertha E., Brooks School, West Medford
 Freeman, Willard G., Consolidated School, Boylston
 Fuller, Flora E., 107 Appleton St., Arlington
 Gainsman, Edith A., 2-A Marble St., Worcester
 Gartland, Emma L., 9 Washington St., New Bedford
 Gay, Florence I., Supvr. of Elem. Educ., Dept. of Educ., State House, Boston
 Goodnow, Mrs. Gladys L., 216 Davis St., Greenfield
 Goodspeed, Alice L., Capen School, Dedham
 Gorman, John F., 60 Bellevue Ave., Winthrop
 Graham, John H., 15 Huron Ave., Cambridge
 Harding, Elizabeth G., 23 Essex St., Beverly
 Hatch, Bertha C., 3 Mt. Vernon St., Melrose
 Hathaway, Bertha A. C., Isaac W., Benjamin School, New Bedford
 Hawkinson, Emma S., 29 Crosby St., Webster
 Hayes, Mary A., 64 Prichard St., Fitchburg
 Hedberg, Agnes H., West and Winslow Schools, Norwood
 Henderson, Grace H., Winslow School, Tyngsboro
 Henderson, Jennie M., 57 Birch St., Roslindale
 Hicks, Edith M., 479 Chestnut St., Lynn
 Higgins, Effie Grace, 27 Marianne Rd., Waltham
 Higgins, Ethel G., Hardy School, Arlington
 Hill, Benjamin J., 757 Highland Ave., Needham Heights
 Hogan, John J., John R. Rollins School, Lawrence
 Holman, Hilda, Annie F. Warren School, Wellesley Hills
 Howard, Stella M., Chapin School, Wilmansett
 Jenkins, Emma F., 56 Perry St., Brookline
 Jenkins, Florence S., 70 Maywood St., Worcester

Jenney, Charles A., Russell School, Brockton
 Johnson, Ethel M., 11 Burrill Ave., Lynn
 Jones, Helen P., 36 Curve St., Waltham
 Joyce, Helen M., 14 Maple St., Framingham
 Kanter, Marion R., R. W. Emerson School, Roxbury
 Keenan, Vincent A., 59 Bellevue Hill Rd., West Roxbury
 Kelley, Winnifred, 25 Third St., Pittsfield
 Kerrigan, Katharine E., 2 Clement St., Worcester
 La Flamme, Kenneth, F. F. Carr School, Newtonville
 Lahan, Anna F., 51 Birchwood Rd., Methuen
 Larrabee, Ernest A., Bruce Ave., Shrewsbury
 Latchford, 578 Pleasant St., Worcester
 Lawlor, Edward A., Gilbert E. Hood School, Lawrence
 Leach, Luther A., 42 Ellis St., Brockton
 Leach, Roland M., Still River Rd., Harvard
 Lewis, Mary E., 107 Paline St., Worcester
 Lusk, L. Elizabeth, 1802 Beacon St., Brookline
 McCarthy, Stella L., Jireh Swift School, New Bedford
 McGillicuddy, Ellen T., 4 Clement St., Worcester
 McIntire, Ralph A., 18 Park St., Florence
 McMullen, Charles B., Centerville Estates, Centerville
 Mathews, Maud A., 71 Phillips St., Fall River
 Metcalf, Lucie A., 9 Washburn Ter., Brookline
 Molloy, Mary G., 146 Veazie St., North Adams
 Moore, Kate, 105 Park St., New Bedford
 Morrissey, Ellen E., 246 Main St., Indian Orchard
 Nelson, Earl C., Francis School, Watertown
 Newell, Elizabeth T., 65 Spring St., Medford
 Niland, Anna M., 202 Byron St., East Boston
 O'Brien, Julia R., 4 Railroad Ave., Norwood
 Oliver, Grace E., 31 Millbrook H., Worcester
 O'Neil, Joseph A. F., 45 Pleasant St., Dorchester
 O'Rourke, Helen M., 23 Gardner St., Peabody
 Patterson, Wilhelmina, 266 Pleasant St., Marblehead
 Perkins, Mary I., 586 Eastern Ave., East Lynn
 Phemister, Alice G., 308 High St., West Medford
 Potter, Zulette, 101 Beach St., Revere
 Pottle, Annie C., 89 Adams St., Waltham
 Preston, Alice M., 292 Dodge St., Beverly
 Priest, Maud B., West Acton
 Rafter, Charlotte, 22 Gaylord St., Dorchester Center
 Ramsdell, Alice E., 94 Massachusetts Ave., Springfield
 Raymond, Ward, Weir Grammar School, Taunton
 Reid, Gertrude L., 50 Randall Ave., East Weymouth
 Remon, Ruth E., 13 Juniper Ave., Salem
 Richardson, Bertha, 56 Ft. Pleasant Ave., Springfield
 Richardson, Mary E., 50 Fairview St., East Dedham
 Riess, Helen M., Cornish School, Plymouth
 Ryan, Nellie A., 19 Pleasant St., Springfield
 Salmon, John J., 27 Blake St., Cambridge

Sauer, Edith, Kensington Avenue School, Springfield
 Sears, Louise B., 9 Williams St., Taunton
 Seward, Elsie P., Crosby School, Arlington
 Sherman, Lida F., No. County Rd., Osterville
 Silva, Theodore R., Adams School, Quincy
 Small, Lillian G., Lewis School, East Lynn
 Southmayd, Pearl A., 15 Armory St., Springfield
 Starkey, Netty A., 7 Moore Ave., Worcester
 Stott, Helen Maud, Box 282, Franklin
 Sullivan, Annie G., 349 Whipple St., Fall River
 Sullivan, Mary V., 2 Lucian St., Worcester
 Sullivan, Maude H., 29 Holbrook St., North Adams
 Swasey, Marion H., 58 Maple St., New Bedford
 Sweeney, Margaret E., Gridley Bryant School, West Quincy
 Sweet, Emily, 22 Hammond St., Waltham
 Towne, Lillian M., 15 Barrows St., Allston
 Reddy, Joseph A., William E. Endicott Dist., Glenway and Harvard Sts., Boston
 Taylor, Charles H., 345 Harvard St., Brookline
 Vose, Wilda L., Callahan School, Norwood
 Wainwright, Lottie W., 533 Broadway, Fall River
 Washburn, Anna C., 3 Mt. Vernon St., Melrose
 Wentworth, Florence A., 298 Elm St., Walpole
 Wheeler, Harriet E., 62 Sever St., Worcester
 Whitney, William I., 70 Sandwich St., Plymouth
 Willard, Addie I., Edward B. Newton School, Winthrop
 Williams, Winnie M., 2 Lefavour Ave., Beverly
 Wilson, Sara E., 25 Crandall St., Adams
 Wingate, Louise, State Teachers College, Fitchburg
 Wood, Francis O., 72 Whittier Rd., Medford
 Woodward, Mrs. Lovina H., Lawrence Street School, Framingham
 Yeomans, Rosanna, 118 Atlantic Ave., Revere
 Ziersch, Anna L., 55 Linden St., Allston

MICHIGAN

Alt, Mary A., 1120 S. Beaumont, Detroit
 Alward, Marian E., Vetal School, 14200 Westwood, Detroit
 Anderson, Jennie, Sylvester Manor, 224 E. Court St., Flint
 Arehart, Ira J., 11315 Rosemary Ave., Detroit
 Armstrong, Donald C., Higgenbotham School, 20119 Wisconsin, Detroit
 Atkinson, F. H., Ford School, Highland Park
 Bachmann, Sophie C., Majeske School, 2139 Trombly Ave., Detroit
 Baird, James, Lingemann School, 567 Montclair Ave., Detroit
 Baker, Helen T., 3522 Carter, Detroit
 Bates, Guy, Davison School, 2800 E. Davison Ave., Detroit
 Beattie, Grace E., Marxhausen School, 5082 Cadillac, Detroit
 Bechtold, R. H., Longfellow School, Flint
 Beck, Carl G., 8100 Curtis, Detroit
 Beier, Mildred M., 6420 McGraw Ave., Detroit
 Belisle, John H., Winterhalter School, 12121 Broad St., Detroit
 Bessolo, A. Donn, Ford School, 14735 Orangelawn, Detroit

- Birkam, George, Coolidge School, 4875 Greenway, Detroit
 Bolton, Frederick R., Moore School, 1000 Alger, Detroit
 Booth, Evelyn, Hamilton School, 70 Alger Ave., Detroit
 Boston, Fannie E., 15531 Linwood, Detroit
 Bott, Helen, 12027 Pinehurst, Detroit
 Bowles, Maude S., 2375 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit
 Bradley, Mrs. Fanny, Kearsley Street School, Flint
 Brewer, Jessie M., 18 Porter St., Pontiac
 Broehm, Clara, 4833 Ogden, Detroit
 *Browe, Herman, 1354 Broadway, Detroit
 Brown, Mary M., 5536 St. Antoine, Detroit
 Buckley, Dorothy, 1419 S. University Ave., Ann Arbor
 Burgwin, Mignon, 4045 29th St., Detroit
 Burk, Helen J., 5116 S. Martindale, Detroit
 Burns, Hortense E., 2202 Calvert, Detroit
 Bushnell, Nina M., 507 Thomson St., Flint
 Campbell, Charlotte, 634 Channing, Ferndale
 Carpenter, Ralph R., Van Zile School, 2915 Outer Dr., E. Detroit
 Carroll, Agnes, 1651 Atkinson, Detroit
 Carroll, Mae B., Guyton School, 1651 Atkinson Ave., Detroit
 Carter, Winifred J., 7479 Stockton, Detroit
 Caswell, Inez E., R. F. D. 2, Birmingham
 Charbonneau, Anna M., 1330 Abbott, Detroit
 Cleveland, J. Arlene, John P. Wilson School, Pontiac
 *Clow, Jennie M., 2924 Ferry Park Ave., Detroit
 Coates, Elizabeth M., 2705 Lapeer St., Flint
 Collins, Florence, 81½ S. Johnson Ave., Pontiac
 Cousins, Esther J., 3318 Whitney Ave., Detroit
 Cox, Agnes L., 61 Fairgrove Ave., Pontiac
 Crane, Mrs. Mary E., 1592 Fifth St., Muskegon
 Creswell, Grace, 2464 Lothrop St., Detroit
 Cross, Sydnie M., 5148 W. Chicago, Detroit
 Cryslar, Rose, Courville School, 144 Longwood Ave., W., Detroit
 Curtis, Eva M., 1030 Grand Traverse, Flint
 Curtiss, Dale, 14034 Abington St., Detroit
 Curtiss, Florence E., 205 Tuxedo, Detroit
 Davis, Irene C., 2332 Tuxedo, Detroit
 Davison, Ethel, Houghten School, 16745 Lamphere, Detroit
 Dawson, Edwin, 11112 Outer Dr., W., Detroit
 Dell, George, 5220 Spokane, Detroit
 De Manigold, Mary L. G., 1031 Wayburn Ave., Detroit
 Derr, Howard D., 854 Winchester Ave., Lincoln Park
 Dixon, Walter E., 4833 Ogden, Detroit
 Doherty, Mary C., 12744 Elmira, Detroit
 Drouillard, Mary G., 3518 W. Warren, Detroit
 Drouin, Alice, 1063 Beaconsfield, Grosse Pointe Park
 Eck, Ruth J., 112 Philadelphia, E., Detroit
 Egan, Nora L., 2672 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit
 Egeler, Ethel E., 35246 Park St., Wayne
 Elliott, Myrtle A., 1037 Ashmun St., Sault Ste. Marie
 Ellsworth, Bert B., Ives School, 1146 Philip St., Detroit
 Ellsworth, Mrs. Edith Shaw, 6533 16th St., Detroit
 Engle, Erma, White School, 5161 Charles, Detroit
 Erman, Lillie, 2431 Pingree Ave., Detroit
 Estabrook, Eudora P., Diamond School, Grand Rapids
 Fairbairn, Marion D., 2110 Park Ave., Detroit
 Farr, Helen, Robinson School, 17500 Grover, Detroit
 Feaheny, Adele, 8100 Curtis, Detroit
 Fee, Lena M., 712 S. Oakley, Saginaw, W. S.
 Fink, Stuart D., Central School, Ironwood
 Forner, Robert R., 3211 Hazlewood, Detroit
 Fouch, Mrs. Jennie B., 217 Burr Oak St., Kalamazoo
 Frederick, Magdalene, Quarton School, Birmingham
 Froelich, Dorothea E., 219 N. Center St., Royal Oak
 Geer, Florence E., 3006 Field, Detroit
 Gibbons, Jane Winifred, 421 Church St., Ann Arbor
 Gilday, Jane A., McFarlane School, 8919 N. Clarendon, Detroit
 Gonne, Edythe, 2281 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit
 Gordon, Grant W., 2525 Brooklyn, Detroit
 Grabman, Eunice J., 1406 Field Ave., Detroit
 Gragg, H. H., 12316 Ohio, Detroit
 Graham, Albert A., 901 Calvert, Detroit
 Green, Minnie Gow, 3348 Kipling, Berkley
 Greene, Myrtle, 730 Fifth St., Jackson
 Gregory, Arnold, Raupp School, Lincoln Park
 Guild, Ella M., 224 E. Court St., Flint
 Haley, Nelle, 920 Court St., Saginaw, W. S.
 Hall, Isabell, 288 Josephine Ave., Detroit
 Hamilton, Esther, 14615 Winthrop Ave., Detroit
 Hanlon, Eunice M., 15369 Gilchrist, Detroit
 Hardie, Frances S., 16250 La Salle Blvd., Detroit
 Hardie, Katherine, 1280 21st St., Detroit
 Hardy, Minnie C., 3420 Cass, Detroit
 Harrison, Mrs. Florence, 1016 Ann Arbor St., Flint
 *Hartung, Urban, Jr., 2205 Fischer Ave., Detroit
 Healy, Oliver B., 561 Brady, Detroit
 Herrig, Isabella W., 820 Adams St., Saginaw, W. S.
 Hilborn, Mrs. Clara M., 2005 Francis Ave., Flint
 Hodges, Duncan C., 906 Woodcrest Dr., Royal Oak
 Holland, Mary N., 4320 Cortland, Detroit
 Horton, Mrs. Jeannette, Garfield School, Wyandotte
 Hubbard, Evelyn B., 3020 Burns, Detroit
 Hungerford, Richard, 11730 Turner, Detroit
 Kellum, M. Effie, 1219 Bement St., Lansing
 Kelly, Mary M., 301 W. Third Ave., Flint
 Kemp, Maude E., 2111 Mullane, Detroit
 Keppertling, Inez, 12028 Wark, N. W., Detroit
 Kerwin, S. Theel, 19030 Wildemere, Detroit
 Kilander, Mrs. Pansy, 14149 Coyle Ave., Detroit
 *Knighton, Edward J., 9047 Beverly Court, Detroit
 Krug, Marguerite C., 2270 Leslie Ave., Detroit
 Kull, Charlotte A., 954 Nottingham Rd., Detroit
 *Laing, Earl R., 16265 Westmoreland Rd., Detroit
 Lair, Mrs. Annetta B., East Grand Rapids
 Elementary School, East Grand Rapids
 Lampport, Harold B., 12541 Second Ave., Highland Park
 Lang, Marion M., 533 E. Mt. Hope Ave., Lansing
 Lannin, Jean, 15721 Ashton Rd., Detroit

- Leavenworth, J. C., 334 W. Hudson, Royal Oak
 Lockwood, Glenn O., Ann Visger School, River Rouge
 Lown, Venna A., Arthur School, 4200 Bedford, Detroit
 McCallum, Jessie, 2694 Philadelphia, W., Detroit
 McCarthy, Julia M., 6914 St. Paul, Detroit
 McConnell, Clara E., 670 Pingree Ave., Detroit
 McGowan, Margaret C., 2535 Atkinson Ave., Detroit
 McGreevy, Genevieve, 1202 25th St., Detroit
 McGuinness, Mae E., 17211 Northlawn, Detroit
 McKenny, Laurence, 15600 State Fair, E., Detroit
 McKinney, Rachel, 5468 Stanton Ave., Detroit
 McLeod, Lena E., 204 Stone Apt., Flint
 McMahon, Rachael, 13185 Pinehurst Ave., Detroit
 McSweeney, Mary C., 4240 Buena Vista, Detroit
 McVean, Gertrude, 327 Perry St., Pontiac
 Marsh, Mrs. Lettie, Harrison Park School, Grand Rapids
 Menger, Hilda, High Street School, Lansing
 Messner, Clarence J., Richard School, 130 McKinley, Grosse Pointe
 Monroe, Thomas O., 14829 Stansbury, Detroit
 Montgomery, Rhoda, 4058 Clements St., Detroit
 Morley, Lillian C., Monnier School, 13600 Ward, Detroit
 Moss, Helen A., 919 Lapeer St., Flint
 Mulholland, Mary, 848 Reed St., Kalamazoo
 Murphy, Anna E., 2233 Clements Ave., Detroit
 Netzorg, Sadie, 12115 Griggs Ave., Detroit
 Nicholls, Mrs. Mabel, 2516 Leslie, Detroit
 Oliver, Jean, 2988 Columbus Ave., Detroit
 Osborne, Agnes W., 18685 Woodingham Dr., Detroit
 *Otto, Henry J., W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek
 Page, Florence, Mason School, 11870, Ohio, Detroit
 Parker, Claudia, 2141 Belvidere, Detroit
 Parker, Florence, 5474 Trumbull, Detroit
 Parker, Helen, Davison School, 2800 Davison, E., Detroit
 Parker, Howard L., Oxford Avenue School, Dearborn
 Pascoe, May F., 2222 Adams Ave., Flint
 Pearl, Norton H., 11624 Wisconsin, Detroit
 Pearson, Mrs. Carolyn A., 321 E. Newell St., Flint
 Peatling, Ella M., 1666 Atkinson Ave., Detroit
 Petry, Harriet, 14565 Hubbell, Detroit
 Pettitt, J. S., 21532 Curtis, Detroit
 Pickett, Mrs. Lillian H., 111 W. Baker St., Flint
 Pierce, V. P., Law School, 7120 Lantz, Detroit
 Popp, Mrs. Cleo E., 1101 Copeman Ave., Flint
 Quandt, Verna, Stellwagen School, 11450 Outer Dr., Detroit
 Randall, Leo M., 3952 Bewick, Detroit
 Rankin, Paul T., Supvg. Dir., Curriculum and Research, 1354 Broadway, Detroit
 Read, Mabel, 411 Pine St., Kalamazoo
 Reardon, Anna T., 306 N. Linn, Bay City
 Reaume, Rhoda, 6141 Stanton Ave., Detroit
 Redman, Mabel M., 75 Avalon Ave., Detroit
 Reekie, Clara B., 3310 Vinewood, Detroit
 Reynolds, O. D., 14909 Cleophas, Allen Park, Dearborn
 Rietzkat, Bertha Nell, 3379 Scovel Pl., Detroit
 Robison, Alice E., 103 Hazelwood Ave., Detroit
 Roethke, Louise, Clippert School, 4725 Martin Ave., Detroit
 Rogers, Alex R., 14317 Hubbell Ave., Detroit
 Rogers, Esca B., 121 Arbor St., Kalamazoo
 Rosenthal, Aimee A., 8821 Georgia St., Detroit
 Ross, Meta, R. F. D. 2, Rochester
 Rouse, Jessie H., 2503 S. Washington Ave., Saginaw, E. S.
 Rudduck, Lillian W., 5670 Missouri Ave., Detroit
 Ryan, Lenora M., 429 Eighth St., Escanaba
 Schoolcraft, Pearl T., 1430 Hillcrest Ave., Kalamazoo
 Scollay, Lois, 2281 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit
 Seebeck, Elizabeth, 1008 Harrison St., Bay City
 Shattuck, Alice B., Baldwin School, Pontiac
 Sheahan, Stella M., Hamilton School, 4311 Avery, Detroit
 Sheridan, Margaret E., 1727 Glynn Court, Detroit
 Shenstone, Anna H., 325 Burr Oak St., Kalamazoo
 Sherman, Ione, 16411 Curtis, Detroit
 Short, Mrs. Mabelle I., Washington School, Flint
 Smith, Anna F., 814 Washington St., Monroe
 Smith, Hattie, Longfellow School, Royal Oak
 Spinks, Grace C., 629 Webb, Detroit
 Spooner, Janet, Jacoby School, 13210 Main, Detroit
 Steele, Frank N., 615 West End, Detroit
 Stevens, Roy W., 18724 Gainsborough, Detroit
 Strickland, Rena M., 616 W. Fourth Ave., Flint
 Sullivan, Irene F., 2202 Bewick Ave., Detroit
 Sweeney, Angela, 13 Oakland Park Blvd., Pleasant Ridge
 Sweeney, Anne M., 8411 E. Forest, Detroit
 *Thomas, John S., 18295 Oak Dr., Detroit
 Thompson, Florence, 4546 Vancouver, Detroit
 Thompson, Paul, 163 McKinley Rd., Grosse Pointe Farms
 Trombly, R. C., 899 S. Lakepointe, Detroit
 Tucker, Ethel M., 52 Kerby Rd., Grosse Pointe Farms
 Tuomey, Margaret W., 1459 Lawrence Ave., Detroit
 Vandenberg, Ora H., Hutchinson School, 5221 Montclair, Detroit
 Voorhees, James H., 3801 Pasadena Ave., Detroit
 Walcott, E. Forrest, 340 Frazer Ave., River Rouge
 Warner, Frances L., The Wardell, Cor. Woodward and Kirby, Detroit
 Waterman, Wyla A., 224 E. Court St., Flint
 Waugh, Nellie A., 13538 Mendota, Detroit
 Weber, Ernest, Training School, Richland
 Welch, Edith, Pierce School, 6131 Iowa, Detroit
 Welch, Elizabeth, 1616 Ohio Ave., Flint
 Welte, Adeline K., 1203 Bement St., Lansing
 West, Thomas F., 6501 South St., Detroit
 Weter, Grace E., 513 S. Troy St., Royal Oak

Whistle, Mrs. Retha Clark, 613 Clifford St., Flint
 Willis, Charlotte A., 12164 Monica Ave., Detroit
 Wilson, Adelaide M., 524 W. Greendale, Detroit
 Wilson, Claudia V., 524 W. Greendale Ave., Detroit
 Wilson, Grace, Oak Street School, Flint
 Wingertszahn, Laura, 2610 14th St., Detroit
 Winslow, Catherine M., Tilden School, 1314 Kirby W., Detroit
 Woody, Clifford, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
 Woolfenden, Elizabeth, Leland School, 1395 Madison Ave., Detroit
 Woolfenden, Grace F., Oakman School, 12920 Wadsworth, Detroit
 Wuennecke, Laura, Ferry School, Grand Haven
 Yager, Gretchen J., 114 Oak St., Wyandotte
 Yokom, Merle C., 1471 Maple, Detroit
 Zimmerman, Katherine, 4734 W. Dunbar Rd., Monroe

MINNESOTA

Barber, Harold D., Mizpah
 *Becker, Elsa, 1732 E. Fourth St., Duluth
 Benson, Gudrun, 1900 Park Ave., Minneapolis
 Boysen, Mrs. Agness, 705 Kenwood Pkwy., Minneapolis
 Butler, Margaret F., Webster School, St. Albans and Holly Ave., St. Paul
 Cross, C. Willard, Supt. of Schools, Faribault
 Dossdall, Bertha A., 1332 Dayton Ave., St. Paul
 Dutton, Mrs. Jean U., 1222 W. 31st St., Minneapolis
 Edith, Sister Mary, St. John High School, Rochester
 Frank, Sigrid Marie, 319 N. 60th Ave., W., Duluth
 Frederickson, Mrs. Claire L., Howe School, 43rd Ave. S. and E. 38th St., Minneapolis
 Garrison, Harry A., Prescott School, Minneapolis
 Gundlach, Lucy, 1726 Lincoln Ave., St. Paul
 Hamilton, Katherine, Dept. of Education, City Hall, St. Paul
 *Hanson, Lillian C., Bryant School, Duluth
 Heinrichs, Evelyn K., 3152 37th Ave., S., Minneapolis
 Hellberg, Charles F., Seward School, Minneapolis
 Herrly, Dora J., Forest Lake School, Grand Rapids
 Holtz, Jennie F., Irving School, 17th Ave., S. and 28th, Minneapolis
 Jay, M. L., Hardwick
 Keckefoth, Ethel H., Washington School, Eighth Ave. and Sixth St., S., Minneapolis
 Kirk, A. W., Jackson School, Edmund and Arundel Sts., St. Paul
 Lichtenberger, James F., Windom School, Minneapolis
 Mallory, Blanche, 715 E. First St., Duluth
 Mather, Helen, 2011 Third Ave., S., Minneapolis
 Murray, Albert Sherman, 1242 W. Minnehaha St., St. Paul
 Neville, Mrs. Blanche C., 164 Montrose Pl., St. Paul
 Nyhus, Ellen, Clara Barton School, Minneapolis
 Peters, Leone E., 2809 Park Ave., Minneapolis
 Petrich, Selma, Cobb School, Duluth

Porcher, Maria R., 3549 Dupont Ave., S., Minneapolis
 Probst, Ella M., Calhoun School, Minneapolis
 Ralph, Mrs. Jessie Fawcett, 4405 Aldrich Ave., S., Minneapolis
 Ringdahl, N. Robert, 3220 Tenth Ave., S., Minneapolis
 *Rossman, Mabel A., Washburn School, Duluth
 Ruddy, Harriet E., Phalen Park School, 650 E. Rose St., St. Paul
 Sand, Anna, 103 W. 36th St., Minneapolis
 *Shove, Helen B., 3116 Clinton Ave., S., Minneapolis
 Stanley, Elizabeth A., 749 N. E. Madison St., Minneapolis
 Steffensrud, E. R., Washington and Lincoln Schools, Chisholm
 Strate, Nettie M., 3032 Colfax Ave., S., Minneapolis
 Taylor, Edith B., 1430 W. Minnehaha St., St. Paul
 Wallar, Beulah H., Greeley School, 20th St. and 12th Ave., S., Minneapolis
 Waulfe, Grace G., 131 N. Fairview Ave., St. Paul
 Weld, Paul A., Cobb-Cook School, Hibbing
 White, Zada A., 107 W. 52nd St., Minneapolis
 Wilkinson, Sarah H., 2618 Johnson St., N. E., Minneapolis

MISSISSIPPI

Archer, Ellie, Witherspoon School, Meridian
 Bourdeaux, Annie, Poplar Springs School, Meridian
 Brown, Virginia, South Side School, Meridian
 Callaway, R. M., Grammar School, Pocatonton
 Carter, Mrs. Laurie Mae, Oakland Heights School, Meridian
 *Clement, Bess Rogers, Eliza Clark School, Clarksdale
 Dempster, Alice, 1607 24th Ave., Meridian
 Dickens, Hattie, Grammar School, Leland
 Doolittle, Laurie, 44 Victoria Ave., Cleveland
 Duling, Lorena, 718 N. Congress St., Jackson
 Gaston, Evelyn, Tuxedo School, Meridian
 Horn, Lizzie, 404 College St., Grenada
 Houston, Gabriel, 111 W. Second St., Clarksdale
 James, A. W., Supt. of Schools, Okolona
 Lester, Laura R., Woodlawn Pl., R. F. D. 5, Jackson
 Majure, Ursula, Highland School, Meridian
 Milner, Bessie, 720 E. Beach, Gulfport
 Mounger, Lurline, Box 117, Clarksdale
 Smith, Irene, Chalk School, Meridian
 Stewart, E. B., The Consolidated School, State Line
 Stokes, Mary M., Box 344, Columbus
 Summerall, Mrs. J. T., Woodland
 Thornton, Mattie, Marion Park School, Meridian
 Varnado, Effie, 612 Washington St., Greenwood
 Varrado, Luella B., 313 North St., Jackson
 Whiddon, G. W., Purvis

MISSOURI

Andrews, F. E., 900 E. Argonne, Kirkwood
 Annin, Mrs. Anna W., 3815 McCausland Ave., St. Louis
 Aydelott, Clarence R., 4955 Fairview Ave., St. Louis
 Baker, Beulah N., Kennard School, 5031 Potomac St., St. Louis
 Baker, Linnie C., 209 Pine St., Liberty

- Baker, Olive, Arlington School, 1617 Burd Ave., St. Louis
 Barley, Ida L., 3700 Washington St., Kansas City
 Barnes, Ward E., Normandy Consolidated School Dist., 6701 Easton Ave., St. Louis
 Basilia, Sister M., Immaculate Conception School, Conception
 Bender, Ethel D., 5 Hillcrest, Kirkwood
 Benson, J. R., 8131 Magnolia Ave., St. Louis
 Betton, Florence, Askey School, 2630 Top-ping, Kansas City
 Beumer, Edward H., 646 N. Kirkwood Rd., Kirkwood
 Bick, Anna, Lowell School, 1409 Linton Ave., St. Louis
 Bird, Laura A., 4961 Laclede Ave., St. Louis
 Boggs, Judge, 335 Baker Ave., Webster Groves
 Boyd, Anna B., 5330 Pershing Ave., St. Louis
 Boyd, Sarah L., 5330 Pershing Ave., St. Louis
 Bracken, John L., Supt. of Schools, Clayton
 Brand, Mrs. Bessie, 1229 Amherst Pl., St. Louis
 Brooks, Fred E., 7313 Melrose Ave., University City
 Brossard, Julia E., 240 W. Argonne Dr., Kirkwood
 Brown, Charles H., Wheatley School, 4239 Papin, St. Louis
 Buchanan, William D., 5511 Vernon Ave., St. Louis
 Burgess, W. A., 3817 Cook Ave., St. Louis
 Burke, Mary J., 5321 Harrison St., Kansas City
 Campbell, Edith G., Forest Park Hotel, St. Louis
 Capp, Theresa I., 2531 Faraon St., St. Joseph
 Chiles, E. E., Harrison School Patron's Assn., 4163 Green Lea Ave., St. Louis
 Collins, Anne J., 4955 Highland Ave., St. Louis
 Cramer, Roscoe V., Switzer School, Kansas City
 Cullen, Blanche P., 5370 Pershing Ave., St. Louis
 Curry, A. R., Hale H. Cook School, Kansas City
 De Board, S. Lee, 2420 Woodson Rd., Overland
 Dee, N. B., 8441 Midland, St. Louis
 Deffendall, P. H., 8034 Madison St., St. Louis County
 Denham, Charles T., 810 S. Liberty, Independence
 Denny, Lillian V., 1049 S. Geyer Rd., Kirkwood
 Detwiler, O. L., Central School, Hannibal
 Dickey, H. B., Fremont School, 2840 Wisconsin Ave., St. Louis
 Dickson, Mamie A., 3045 Lambdin Ave., St. Louis
 Dimars, Thomas, 3802 E. 36th St., Kansas City
 Dolan, Elizabeth, 600 Huntington Rd., Kansas City
 Dougan, L. M., Field School, St. Louis
 Downs, Harold T., Lockwood School, Webster Groves
 Drayer, H. C., 6933 Columbia Ave., University City
 Drury, M. F., Jackson Park School, University City
 Edmiston, H. H., 6146 Westminster Pl., St. Louis
 Egan, Mrs. Anna H., 4111 Warwick Blvd., Kansas City
 Elliott, Mrs. Elsie M., 970 Prospect Ave., Springfield
 Evans, Virginia, 725 S. Main St., Independence
 Falke, Clara, William Rockhill Nelson School, 5228 Charlotte, Kansas City
 Farrar, George W., 3609 Marshall Ave., Overland
 Fleming, C. I., 3655 Humphrey St., St. Louis
 Foristel, Margaret S., Virginia Avenue School, 6134 Virginia Ave., St. Louis
 Gaeser, Lillian, Central School, R. F. D. 2, Clayton
 Gaines, I. A., 604 Bonita Ave., Webster Groves
 Garman, Catherine, 1016 E. Broadway, Sedalia
 Gartenbach, Margaret, 3196 Morgan Ford, St. Louis
 Gentry, Thomas F., Gratiot School, 1615 Hampton Ave., St. Louis
 Gidlinghagen, Walter, 6115 Swope Pkwy., Kansas City
 *Gilliam, M. J., 4369 W. Belle Pl., St. Louis
 Grant, Leonide M., Woodward School, 725 Bellerive Blvd., St. Louis
 Godbey, Walter A., 3825 Utah Pl., St. Louis
 Gooch, Emory L., 2303 Big Bend Blvd., Maplewood
 Goode, Lenna, Frances Willard School, 5010 Garfield, Kansas City
 Goslin, W. E., Supt. of Sch., High School Bldg., Webster Groves
 Green, G. H., 6189 Kingsbury Blvd., St. Louis
 Griffin, Margery M., Clay school, 3820 N. 14th St., St. Louis
 Halley, J. R., Avery School, Bompert and Marshall, Webster Groves
 Hamilton, Mrs. Alva R., Horace Mann School, Kansas City
 Hamilton, Edward D., 1118 Aubert Ave., St. Louis
 Hamilton, Mrs. Sarah T., 101 Tiffin Ave., Ferguson
 Hanson, G. W., 637 Yeddo Ave., Webster Groves
 Harris, Ralph S., 4201 Locust, Kansas City
 Henderson, Perry P., The Glenridge School, Clayton
 Hickey, P. J., Board of Education, 911 Locust St., St. Louis
 Hill, Stanley, 4038 Palm St., St. Louis
 Hoffman, Dora E., 5446 Harrison, Kansas City
 Holliday, Frances, 115 W. Ninth St., Maryville
 Holtzapple, Lily Jane, 1719 Bellevue Ave., Richmond
 Hood, E. A., 2504 Clifton Park Ter., St. Louis
 Hooker, Minnie L., Armour Plaza, 1216 E. Armour, Kansas City
 Hooss, Ida M., Meramec School, 2745 Meramec St., St. Louis
 Howard, J. E., De Mun School, 600 De Mun, St. Louis
 Igen, V. Carl, 6761 Bartmar St., University City
 Jackson, Eulis J., Cote Brillante School, 2616 Cora Avenue, St. Louis
 Johnson, W. H., 6839 E. 15th St., Kansas City
 Jones, Clara F., Samuel Cupples School, 4908 Cote Brillante Ave., St. Louis
 Kegelman, Lillian, 754 Westgate, St. Louis
 Kenefick, Jennie G., 5469 Maple Ave., St. Louis

- Kerr, James R., Shaw School, 5329 Columbia Ave., St. Louis
 Langston, John M., 2354 Michigan Ave., St. Louis
 Large, Grace M., 6236 Waterman Ave., St. Louis
 Lewis, Nellie K., 5252 Walsh, St. Louis
 *Longshore, W. T., Greenwood School, 3711 E. 27th St., Kansas City
 Lovelace, Abigail, 4026 S. Benton, Kansas City
 Lyon, Percy A., Scullin School, 4160 N. Kingshighway, St. Louis
 McCallister, Mabel, 3238 Marshall Ave., St. Louis
 McCarthy, Nellie, Taussig Open Air School, 1540 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis
 McCaslin, E. E., 5027 Washington Ave., St. Louis
 McClellan, George B., Bellefontaine Farms School, Florissant
 Mack, Inez L., E. C. White School, 11 Brookside Blvd., Kansas City
 MacKay, James L., 573 S. Clay Ave., Kirkwood
 Marston, C. E., 7012 Paseo, Kansas City
 Martin, George N., 5584 Maple Ave., St. Louis
 Martin, William H., James School, 5810 Scarritt Ave., Kansas City
 Mecker, H. H., 516 Loughborough, St. Louis
 Melcher, George, Supt. of Sch., 201 Library Bldg., Kansas City
 Milam, Fred S., 6352 Washington Ter., St. Louis
 Miller, Armand R., 3843 Cleveland, St. Louis
 Miller, Henry A., 809 Atlanta Ave., Webster Groves
 Milster, Ben C., 5428 Holly Hills Ave., St. Louis
 Moore, Mary, 2509 Sacramento St., St. Joseph
 Moreland, H. L., 6639 University Dr., St. Louis
 Morrison, A. F., Froebel School, 4133 Magnolia, St. Louis
 Morgan, Grace, 5917 Cherry St., Kansas City
 Morrow, Loyal C., Bates School, 1912 N. Prairie Ave., St. Louis
 Mumm, Emma O., 1027-A Felix St., St. Joseph
 Neville, Lucy B., Girls Parental Home, Independence
 Nicholson, Nell Grant, 6410 San Bonita Ave., St. Louis
 Nowlin, Egbert W., Bristol School, Webster Groves
 O'Brien, Kate E., 5306 Queens, St. Louis
 O'Connell, May, J. C. Nichols School, 69th and Oak, Kansas City
 Osborne, John F., Thacher School, 5008 Independence Ave., Kansas City
 Patterson, M. J., 319 Westover Rd., Kansas City
 Perkins, Bessie, 810 E. Tenth, Sedalia
 Peterman, May B., 1403 Edmond St., St. Joseph
 Peters, Alvina, Charless School, 2226 Shenandoah St., St. Louis
 Pletcher, Stephen L., 7144 Washington Ave., St. Louis
 Pittman, Alice, Phelps School, Springfield
 Purdon, Bessie F., 3657 Lafayette Ave., St. Louis
 *Purnell, John H., Marshall School, 4342 Aldine St., St. Louis
 Puyear, Hugh G., 735 W. Fifth St., Washington
 Rader, L. W., Sherman School, 3942 Flad Ave., St. Louis
 Reason, Arthur W., L'Onverture School, 2612 Papin, St. Louis
 Rennison, A. M., South Park School, 2019 Jule St., St. Joseph
 Reynolds, Leolia, 1109 Fulton Ave., Hannibal
 Rhetta, H., 4541 Garfield Ave., St. Louis
 Richmond, H. C., Faxon School, 3710 Paseo, Kansas City
 Riedel, Marcel T., 2313 Woodson Rd., Overland
 Robeson, James A., 4147 Montgall Ave., Kansas City
 Rush, Florence, Woodlawn Hotel, Kirkwood
 Ryan, Susan S., 1409 N. 15th St., St. Louis
 Sampson, C. L., 2516 S. Ninth, St. Louis
 Sanders, James A., Elementary School, Leadwood
 Schlueter, W. H., Oak Hill School, 4300 Morganford Rd., St. Louis
 Schmitz, Alvina, 1014 Felix St., St. Joseph
 Scott, James Armstrong, Turner School, 4235 W. Kennerly Ave., St. Louis
 Sellman, W. N., Wyman School, 1547 S. Theresa Ave., St. Louis
 Sexton, L. J., Baden School, 8724 Halls Ferry Rd., St. Louis
 Shackelford, B. G., Wade School, 2030 S. Vandeventer Ave., St. Louis
 Shewman, W. D., 853 Atlanta Ave., Webster Groves
 Shores, Roscoe V., Asst. Supt. of Sch., Public Library Bldg., Kansas City
 Sietz, R. E., Normandy Consolidated School Dist., 6701 Easton Ave., St. Louis
 Smith, Margaret J., Arnold School, Lexington
 Smoot, Lucy, 4011 Baltimore Ave., Kansas City
 Smoot, Viola, 2118 Byers Ave., Joplin
 Stephens, C. E., 5550 Page Ave., St. Louis
 Stephens, E. E., Normandy Consolidated School Dist., 6701 Easton Ave., St. Louis
 Steuber, F. J., Rose Fanning School, 3417 Grace Ave., St. Louis
 Strachan, Lexie, Public Library Bldg., Ninth and Locust Sts., Kansas City
 Strickler, R. E., 2748 Henrietta St., St. Louis
 Thomas, Miles C., Border Star School, 6321 Wornall Rd., Kansas City
 Thompson, Mary A., 1111 McCausland Ave., St. Louis
 Thompson, Stella, 1233 Amherst Pl., St. Louis
 Townsend, L. G., 421 Wabash Ave., Kansas City
 Trice, Daisy M., 1921 E. 24th St., Kansas City
 Trumbo, Mabel, 4042 Warwick, Kansas City
 *Tucker, Isabel, Shenandoah School, St. Louis
 Usher, James L., Jefferson School, 903 Wash St., St. Louis
 Vining, Frances L., Allen School, 706 W. 42nd St., Kansas City
 Wahlert, Jennie, 2918 Harper, St. Louis
 Watrous, Mary L., 2640 Euclid Ave., Kansas City
 Wells, Mrs. Annie L., 1 Summit Pl., St. Joseph
 Wells, Jessie O., 4233 Enright, St. Louis
 Whitney, Lucy G., 416 Garland, Kansas City
 Williams, Edward S., 1745 N. 12th St., St. Louis
 Williams, Walter, 2031 Alfred Ave., St. Louis
 Williamson, Ruby M., R. F. 5, Box 207, Independence

Wilson, Albert M., 3630-A Shaw Blvd., St. Louis
 Witter, Charles E., 5182 Maple Ave., St. Louis
 Wolfe, Inez M., 3415 Euclid Ave., Kansas City
 Young, Myrtle M., 3012 Bellefontaine, Kansas City
 Zimmerschied, Ada, 3000 De Groffway, Kansas City

MONTANA

Amundson, Minnie, Box 390, Bozeman
 Anderson, Katherine, Stukey Apts., Great Falls
 Calhoun, May M., 310 Yellowstone, Billings
 Chamison, Goldie, Tripp and Dragstedt Apts., Butte
 Flores, Mrs. Zella K., Box 412, Lewistown
 Goodson, Florence, Box 98, Livingston
 Lausted, Alice, 205 N. 26th St., Billings
 Lausted, Hulda, 205 N. 26th St., Billings
 Lewis, H. P., Supt. of Schools, Conrad
 Little, Ellen J., Hotel Bozeman, Bozeman
 Lyman, Mrs. Emily D., Box 454, Hamilton
 Miller, Ruby A., Supt. of Schools, Choteau
 Munson, Alma, Bozeman
 Neal, Russell LeRoy, Randall Apt., Missoula
 Rullen, Esther M., Box 28, Bozeman
 Schaefer, M. Louise, 120½ Tenth St., N., Great Falls
 Shea, Julia, Greeley School, Butte
 Stegner, W. E., Supt. of Schools, Plentywood
 Stevenson, Mrs. May E., 1206 Sixth Ave., N., Great Falls
 Thompson, Grace M., McKinley School, 1617 Sixth Ave., N., Great Falls
 Williams, Daniel S., Supt. of Schools, Bozeman

NEBRASKA

Austin, Mary N., Miller Park School, 27th and Ellison, Omaha
 Baker, Nina, Sheridan School, 30th and Wendover, Lincoln
 Beal, Mamie G., 2514 B St., Omaha
 Bedell, Bess C., 630 Park Ave., Omaha
 Benthack, Emil, Supt. of Schools, Broken Bow
 Blackmore, Ida, Park School, 29th and Woolworth Ave., Omaha
 Bracken, Angeline, Monmouth Park School, Omaha
 Bratton, Mrs. Anna M., 3200 Center St., Omaha
 Brooker, Florence, Hawthorne School, 18th St. and Missouri Ave., Omaha
 Burnham, Archer L., Supt. of Schools, Scottsbluff
 Carney, Julia, Corrigan School, 38th and X Sts., Omaha
 Chapman, Johannah, 5427 Lafayette Ave., Omaha
 Clark, Mrs. Mae T., 703 W. 15th St., Grand Island
 Compton, Maude, Highland School, 27th and Adams Sts., Omaha
 Craig, Nell, 3115 Creighton Ave., Omaha
 Dixon, Minnie E., 1519 K St., Aurora
 Eldridge, Ethel G., 2221 S. 32nd Ave., Omaha
 Ellett, Virginia, 4814 Webster St., Omaha
 Fay, Gaynelle, Monroe School, Omaha
 Ferguson, Grace L., 910 W. Second St., Grand Island
 Foster, Mary E., West Side School, 32nd and U Sts., Omaha
 Forsyth, Fannie, Windsor School, Omaha
 Galleher, Lillian G., 1908 First Ave., Scottsbluff
 Grant, Josephine, Rome Hotel, Omaha

Griest, Mary Ruth, 1509 S. Tenth St., Omaha
 Griffith, Grace, 5810 Rees St., Omaha
 Hamilton, Margaret, 519 N. 40th St., Omaha
 Healey, Anna T., Venetian Court, Omaha
 Holmes, Stella, Bancroft School, Riverview Blvd., Omaha
 Isakson, Edith, Central Grade School, 22nd and Dodge Sts., Omaha
 Longsdorf, Helen M., Beals School, 48th and Shirley Sts., Omaha
 Lund, Helen M., 828 Blackburn Ave., York
 Lynn, Ethel A., 3111 Davenport St., Omaha
 McCumber, Pearl, Clifton Hill School, 45th and Maple Sts., Omaha
 McGee, R. R. Supt. of Sch., Kramer High School, Columbus
 Mathews, Mrs. Lulu B., 602 N. 47th St., Omaha
 Matthews, Marie, Robbins School, 39th St. and Hillside Ave., Omaha
 Mills, Mrs. Clara S., Edward Rosewater School, 13th and Phelps Sts., Omaha
 Myers, Fannie, Mason School, 24th and Mason Sts., Omaha
 Newell, Ethel K., 2555 Ellison Ave., Omaha
 Newlean, Jeannette, 914 E. 36th St., Omaha
 O'Toole, Margaret K., Lothrop School, 22nd and Lothrop Sts., Omaha
 Partridge, Edith A., 301 S. 33rd St., Omaha
 Pearson, Emelia, Minnie Lusa School, 28th Ave. and Ida St., Omaha
 Peterson, Mrs. Alice C., 820 S. 58th St., Omaha
 Pickard, Anna B., 2922 Jackson, Omaha
 Pollock, Ruth, Colonial Hotel, Omaha
 Pyrtle, E. Ruth, Bancroft School, Lincoln
 Rasmussen, Maren, Madison School, Omaha
 Reap, Edna M., 3212 Marcy, Omaha
 Reed, Mabel L., 4229 Douglas St., Omaha
 Roys, Cassie F., 2609 Bristol St., Omaha
 Shepard, Catherine, Dir. of Teacher Training, Union College, Lincoln
 Slocum, June M., 4512 S. 22nd St., Omaha
 Smith, Mrs. Elsie M., 5612 Florence Blvd., Omaha
 Smith, Maud M., 4904 Underwood Ave., Omaha
 Waterman, Mrs. Edna H., Druid Hill School, Creighton Blvd. and Spaulding St., Omaha
 Weldon, Dossie D., 1703 W. Koenig St., Grand Island
 Wetzel, Marie C., 192 Drake Court, Omaha
 Wilson, Clara O., Teachers College, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Clark, Guy H., Box 112, Durham
 Davis, Violet M., School Street School, Rochester
 DeGross, Mary E., Haven School, Portsmouth
 Goodwin, Alice D., Public School, East Rochester
 Gray, Wayne Sherman, 92 Main St., Pittsfield
 Hicken, Blanche E., 81 Pennacook St., Manchester
 Janvrin, Charles F., South Junior High School, Seabrook
 Keir, Jean, 12 Front St., Rochester
 Lewis, Della L., 145 Clinton St., Concord

NEW JERSEY

Achenbach, Anne, 61 Hawthorne Ave., East Orange
 *Adams, Mrs. A. Virginia, E. Landis Ave., Vineland
 Atkinson, Bertha I., 103 Linden Ave., Pitman

- Atkinson, Viola E., Mt. Holly Rd., Burlington
 Ayres, Malcolm B., 319 E. Dudley Ave., Westfield
 Beck, Ferdinand L., School No. 3, Linden
 Bigelow, Merrill A., 115 Spruce St., Bloomfield
 Boney, C. DeWitt, Nassau School, 330 Central Ave., East Orange
 Bosshart, John H., Supt. of Schools, South Orange
 Bourlier, Mrs. Helen T., 93 Johnson Ave., Hackensack
 Brady, William, Washington School, 175 Sanford St., East Orange
 Bragg, Mrs. Martha H., Clifton Avenue Grade School, Lakewood
 *Brearley, Mrs. Helen C., 57 Princeton Ave., Princeton
 Brinkerhoff, George I., Webster Street School, Newark
 Brown, Gladys D., Lincoln School, Dunellen
 Bryan, H. Eloise, Cinnaminson Township Schools, Riverton
 Buchanan, Margaret, 53 S. Windsor Ave., Atlantic City
 Budd, Francis H., 36 Chapman Pl., Glen Ridge
 Rush, Fred S., Fairview School, Bloomfield
 Bustard, Joseph L., Chestnut Street School, Roselle
 Cadoo, Sarah Elizabeth, 5 Parmley Pl., Summit
 Cassel, Lloyd S., Supt. of Schools, Freehold
 Cassidy, Mabel M., 341 Union St., Jersey City
 Cline, Anne V. A., 115 Francisco Ave., Rutherford
 Cole, Alice K., 429 Grier Ave., Elizabeth
 Connors, Mary F., Mott School, Centre St., Trenton
 Consins, Esther M., Witherspoon School, Princeton
 Cowie, George H., Jr., Hurden-Looker School, Hillside
 Cownerthwait, Elizabeth R., 22 Branch St., Medford
 Crane, J. Ernest, Summer Avenue School, Newark
 Cressman, Alice M., 128 Chestnut St., Rutherford
 Curry, Mrs. Doris Kimball, Linden Avenue School, Glen Ridge
 Davie, Ethel M., Supvr. of Grammar Grades, School Administration Bldg., Atlantic City
 Dengler, C. F., 831 Parry Ave., Palmyra
 Dennis, Emma T., 30 Marion St., Trenton
 Dietz, Charles E., School No. 3, Main near Slater Sts., Paterson
 Dorsey, Belle E., School No. 1, State St., Perth Amboy
 Dowling, Verna, 114 S. Broad, Penns Grove
 Dransfield, J. Edgar, 78 Shaler Ave., Cliffside
 Duplak, Nellie P., Jefferson School, Lyndhurst
 Eddinger, Lester, Bangs Avenue School, Asbury Park
 Edwards, Elizabeth, Maywood School, Maywood
 Egan, Mary B., 719 Morgan Ave., Palmyra
 Fenimore, Mary A., 215 N. Fourth St., Camden
 Fielder, William G., Washington School, Union City
 Fingar, Mary H., Gregory School, Rutherford Ave., Trenton
 Fisher, Harriet M., Hamilton School, North Third Ave., Highland Park
 *Flower, Frank R., Albany Apts., Atlantic City
 Floyd, James R., 1231 Thornton Ave., Plainfield
 Francis, George B., 916 Bay Ave., Point Pleasant Beach
 Freeland, Grace A., 121 Summit Ave., Summit
 Gerlack, Luella, 110 N. Second St., Millville
 Gerow, Aline, Public School No. 10, Jersey City
 Goss, Charles A., Grove Street School, Irvington
 Gremont, Helen C., 370 South Ave., Bridgeton
 *Gronde, Franklin J., 218 Fourth Ave., Bradley Beach
 Haines, Jennie F., 59 Elmwood Ave., Union
 Hambright, John B., Maple Avenue School, Newark
 Hamilton, Ella J., Supvr. of Kindergarten and Primary Grades, School Administration Bldg., Atlantic City
 Hammell, Ethel C., Junior High School, Atlantic City
 Hammond, D. Stanton, 965 E. 23rd St., Paterson
 Hargrove, William B., Charlton Street School, Newark
 Hartman, A. L., 104 Haddon Pl., Upper Montclair
 Harvey, Mrs. Loretta, Woodrow Wilson School No. 19, Edgar Rd., Elizabeth
 Hegel, Lizzie C., 66 S. Tenth St., Newark
 Heller, Lillian, South Eighth Street School, Newark
 Hermann, Catherine B., 137 Roosevelt Ave., Carteret
 Herron, John S., Robert Treat Junior High School, Newark
 Hibbs, M. Gregg, Jr., Wanamassa School, Asbury Park
 Hice, Mae, 431 E. Second St., Plainfield
 Higgins, E. May, Whittier School, Dunellen
 Hinman, Stanley T., Columbus and McKinley Schools, Westfield
 Hollingshead, A. D., Ashland School, East Orange
 Horton, Ingeborg M., 426 Lippincott Ave., Riverton
 Howard, L. Frances, Virginia St., Hillside
 Howard, Margarette E., 119 Summit Ave., Summit
 Hulse, Henry S., Jr., 650 Parker St., Newark
 Jacob, Walter, Jr., Emerson School, Plainfield
 Jenkins, Albion U., 357 E. 37th St., Paterson
 Johnson, Alberta M., 8 N. Providence Ave., Atlantic City
 Johnson, Sara G., Rand School, Montclair
 Johnston, Ruth S., George Washington School, Ridgewood
 Jupp, Estelle S., Washington School, Rutherford
 Keller, Ethel M., 711 Glen Ave., Westfield
 Kelly, Ruth Bryan, West Creek School, West Creek
 Kincaid, Stella M., 88 Essex Ave., Glen Ridge
 Klein, Mrs. Anna L., Public School No. 1, Guttenberg
 Koerner, Grace E., Seth Boyden School, South Orange
 Krieble, Isaac R., 4656 Hudson Blvd., Union City
 Kurtz, Elizabeth H., 120 Mulberry St., Millville
 *Kurtz, Louise, 126 Kingsland Rd., Nutley
 La Vance, Laura F., 147 Hadley Ave., Clifton
 Lawler, Mary E., 675 Lincoln Ave., Glen Rock

Leahy, P. Joseph, Rushmore Ave., R. F. D. 2, Plainfield
 Lee, Eleanor R., 554 Bellevue Ave., Trenton
 Lee, Ethel M., 673 Fairview St., Camden
 Lehlbach, Emma, 394 S. Belmont Ave., Newark
 Levy, Harold, 875 Ave. C., Bayonne
 Lewis, Mildred A., 53 Early St., Morristown
 *McConnell, Ralph C., Texas Avenue School, Atlantic City
 McDonough, Marguerite F., Roosevelt School, South Plainfield
 Mackay, Jean F., 722 Montrose St., Vineland
 Mathews, Elizabeth A., Davis School, Camden
 Meade, Mary P., 108 Smith St., Perth Amboy
 Merchant, Mary E., Alexander Hamilton School, Morristown
 Michael, Raymond, Junior High School No. 3, W. State St., Trenton
 Miller, Mrs. Eva P., Spring Garden School, Nutley
 Miller, Paul S., Eastern School, East Orange
 Milligan, John P., 7 Darrow St., South River
 Miner, Benjamin C., Central Avenue School, Newark
 Miraglia, Alice G., Whittier School, West Englewood
 Mombert, Eleanor, School No. 14, Paterson
 Mosby, Rosa M., 231 Washington St., Mt. Holly
 Moulton, O. J., Neptune High School, Ocean Grove
 Mulford, Mrs. Clara T., Vine Street School, Bridgeton
 Munson, Ruth W., First Street School, South Orange
 Myers, Robert S., 17 Roosevelt Ave., East Orange
 Neulen, Lester N., 360 Warwick Ave., West Englewood
 Nickum, C. Edith, 311 Montgomery St., Highland Park
 Oakes, Grace S., 337 Bellevue Ave., Hammononton
 Partington, H. M., Lincoln School, Westfield Ave. and Everson Pl., Westfield
 Patz, Gustav, 2033 Balmoral Ave., Union
 Paulmann, Helen G., 54 Sayre St., Elizabeth
 Peffer, Ernest M., Maxson School, Plainfield
 Peters, Mrs. Mary V., 22 S. Baltimore Ave., Ventnor City
 Petty, Letitia, Washington School, Lyndhurst
 Pollard, Louise E., 1399 North Ave., Elizabeth
 *Potter, Floyd A., Massachusetts Avenue School, Atlantic City
 Powell, Mrs. Lou B., Roseland School, Roseland
 *Predmore, R. L., 79 Hornsby Ave., Fords
 Pringle, Adeline H., 175 Harrison Ave., Jersey City
 Pyle, Olga M., 4426 Cove Rd., Merchantville
 Quiz, Emily Hart, 1 Parmley Pl., Summit
 Quinn, Guy L., 115 S. Atkins Ave., Neptune
 Read, Helen P., 125 Bayard St., New Brunswick
 Reynolds, Emily C., Kuser School, 1812 Nottingham Way, Trenton
 Rich, Frank M., 94 Preakness Ave., Paterson
 Riley, Mrs. Georgia M., Grammar School, Hightstown

Roys, Lincoln J., Franklin School, 215 Dodd St., East Orange
 Salley, Mrs. Alice B., 1894 Brunswick Ave., Trenton
 St. Thomas, George E., 75 Catalpe Ave., Hackensack
 Savage, Sue E., 1280 Salem Ave., Hillside
 Schmidt, Karl G., Bragaw Avenue School, Newark
 Schmitz, E. Winifred, Memorial School, Passaic
 Schroeder, Helena, White Horse Pike, Egg Harbor City
 Scott, Bertha I., 35 W. Broad St., Hopewell
 Scott, Dorothea A., Midland School No. 1, Rochelle Park
 Serven, Edward J., McKinley School, Newark
 Serven, Isaac A., School No. 37, Jersey City
 Sexton, Wray E., 23 Hoffman St., Maplewood
 Shoe, John M., Middlesex County Vocational School No. 2, Perth Amboy
 Shotwell, Fred C., Supvg. Prin. of Public Schools, Franklin
 Sickler, Edna F., 61 Pitman Ave., Pitman
 Smith, Mrs. Flora H., Public School No. 5, Merseles and Fourth St., Jersey City
 Smith, W. Hibbard, Indiana Avenue School, Atlantic City
 Smith, Wesley E., 57 Kingsberry Ave., Westwood
 Smith, William R., 270 Highland Ave., Newark
 Southard, Mrs. Maud B., 425 Trinity Pl., Elizabeth
 Sozio, Pasquale, 99 Clifton Ave., Newark
 Stalter, Ethel, School No. 2, Montvale
 Stone, Mary E., 15 Clarke St., Jersey City
 *Stratton, Mason A., 272 Huron Ave., Absecon
 Stuart, Byron D., Grand and Franklin Schools, Westfield
 Stull, Anna G., Lafayette School, Highland Park, New Brunswick
 Summers, Mrs. Katherine S., William Livingston School, Union Ave., Elizabeth
 Tatum, Emma U., 70 Grandview Ave., Plainfield
 Traub, E. G., Public School, Gould Ave., North Caldwell
 Troxel, Emma, 909 McCullum Ave., Cape May
 *Troy, Ann A., 293 Chestnut St., Nutley
 Tufts, Mrs. Kathleen C., Essex Fells Public School, Essex Fells
 Van Auker, William D., 102 Bamford Ave., Hawthorne
 *Van Horn, F. C., 65 Sherman Ave., Morris Plains
 Van Syckle, Blanche, Public School No. 9, Lawrence St., Perth Amboy
 Ventres, Shailer W., Hamburg Turnpike, R. F. D. 1, Paterson
 Voorhees, Ada Y., 32 Ross St., Somerville
 Wade, Mrs. Edith Van G., Elmora School, Maple Ave., Elizabeth
 Walling, Mrs. Anna R., 39 Hill St., Rockaway
 Wamsley, Mrs. Jessie M., Walls School, Pitman
 Weekley, K. P., 600 Prospect Ave., Ridgewood
 Weldon, O. K., Tenakill School, Closter
 Wilde, Anna A., Union Street School, Ridgewood
 Wiley, Alice D., 43 Prospect St., Trenton
 Willey, Edith W., Public Schools, Westville
 Winkworth, Jessie L., 220 Ninth Ave., Haddon Heights
 Witterman, Anna M., 39 N. Reid St., Elizabeth

Worrall, Lillie, Box 72, Swedesboro
 Wright, Norman A., South Avenue School,
 Bridgeton
 Wright, Stella J., 90 Welton St., New
 Brunswick
 Wylie, Mary T., Oliver Street School,
 Newark

NEW MEXICO

Arledge, Ellen, 121 S. Ninth, Albuquerque
 Bobo, Mrs. Irma, 309 Buena Vista Ave.,
 Albuquerque
 Kiker, Stella, 240 S. Fifth St., Raton
 McCaw, Linna K., Box 653, Artesia
 McCollum, J. R., 1124 E. Silver Ave.,
 Albuquerque
 Schupp, Ona E., 223 N. High St., Albu-
 querque
 Watson, Dorothy, Elementary School, Han-
 over

NEW YORK

Adams, Norma A., 406 Turin St., Rome
 Alexander, Carter, Teachers College, Co-
 lumbia University, New York
 Alt, Florence M., John Van Duyn School,
 401 Loomis Ave., Syracuse
 Alter, Harvey E., Thomas Street School,
 Rome
 Anderson, Ellen R., 4 Cedar St., Potsdam
 Andrews, W. B., Van Hornesville
 Arnold, Mary L., 124 E. Court St., Ithaca
 Ayres, George R., Daniel Warren School,
 Mameroneck
 Baker, Harold V., Daniel Webster School,
 Glenmore Dr., New Rochelle
 Banker, Gilbert M., 17 Terrace Ave., Hill-
 burn
 Banta, Katherine A., 25 Marathon Pl., Port
 Chester
 Barber, E. Olive, 110 N. Main St., Glovers-
 ville
 Barber, Elon L., Monroe Street School,
 Little Falls
 Barnett, I. Irving, Public School No. 25,
 Manhattan, 330 E. Fifth St., New York
 Barth, Mark, 251 Stag St., Brooklyn
 Battershall, Minnie J., 1012 Albany St.,
 Schenectady
 Beaumont, Florence, 3316 85th St., Jack-
 son Heights, New York
 Becker, Helen L., Public School No. 26,
 The Bronx, New York
 Becker, Johanna L., Public School No. 233,
 Ave. B and E. 94th St., Brooklyn
 Benton, George W., 88 Lexington Ave.,
 New York
 Betts, O. A., Central New York School for
 Deaf, Rome
 Blair, Mary M., 19 E. 198th St., New York
 Blood, John L., Kemble School, 1604
 Kemble St., Utica
 Bloomfield, M. Elizabeth, 40 Whitfield Ter.,
 New Rochelle
 Bolen, John K., Asst. Supt. of Schools, 800
 Park Ave., New York
 Borrell, Victorine E., 148 Loring Ave.,
 Buffalo
 Bostick, E. Gibbs, Rochambeau School,
 White Plains
 Braine, Elizabeth M., 78 Cambridge Pl.,
 Brooklyn
 Brett, F. Henrietta, School No. 25, 196
 Morton Ave., Albany
 Brill, Edith V., 233 E. Main St., Malone
 Brogan, Helen A., 182 N. Broadway,
 Yonkers
 Brown, Mrs. Gertrude Frey, 324 Pierpont
 St., Rochester
 Brown, Vincent G., John F. Hughes School,
 Prospect St., Utica
 Brown, Zadie, Atlantic Avenue School,
 Lynbrook
 Brownell, Winifred E., Thomas Meachem
 School, Syracuse

Bruck, John P., 218 Potters Corners Rd.,
 Buffalo
 Bugbee, Mrs. Nellie A., R. D. 2, Oneonta
 Bullock, Caroline M., Cleveland Avenue
 School, Niagara Falls
 Burger, I. Victor, 160 Douglas Rd., Staple-
 ton, Staten Island
 Burns, Arthur D., School No. 4, Madison
 Ave. and Ontario St., Albany
 Butts, Franklin A., Edward Elsworth
 School, Poughkeepsie
 Carlson, Clara H., 90-42 206th St., Queens
 Village, Long Island
 Carney, Elizabeth T., Washington School,
 Oswego St., Utica
 Carroll, William L., Public School No. 156,
 Sutter Ave. and Grafton St., Brooklyn
 Carson, Charlotte, 172 Clark St., Canan-
 daigua
 Cassavant, Howe K., School No. 23, White-
 hall Rd., Albany
 Chatfield, Hazen, Public School No. 102,
 1827 Archer St., New York
 Clark, Giles D., School No. 20, N. Pearl
 and N. Second Sts., Albany
 Clark, Will Mosher, School No. 32, 342
 Clinton St., Buffalo
 Clarke, Bertha E., 24 Columbia Ave.,
 Binghamton
 Clarke, Martha H., 60 W. Broad St., Mt.
 Vernon
 Clifford, Mrs. Barbara M., Nathan Hale
 School, Mt. Vernon
 Cobb, Elmer J., School No. 60, 238 Ontario
 St., Buffalo
 Cochrane, Lyda S., 13 S. Main St., Batavia
 Coffin, Rebecca J., 509 W. 121st St., New
 York
 Cohen, Irving L., Public School No. 33,
 Queens Village, New York
 Coleman, Georgia Avis, Colonial School,
 Pelham
 Conroy, John F., 690 E. 183rd St., New
 York
 Conroy, Marie R., 75 Mountainside Rd.,
 Stapleton, Staten Island
 *Cooper, George W., 1305 Lyell Ave.,
 Rochester
 Corbin, Mrs. Jessie E., West Albany School,
 West Albany
 Cordes, Mrs. Edith B., School No. 5,
 Mt. Vernon
 Corey, Clara A., School No. 35, 156 Field
 St., Rochester
 Cort, Ambrose, 241 McDougal St., Brook-
 lyn
 Costello, Helen A., School No. 2, Troy
 Coulson, Austin R., Board of Education,
 City Hall, Albany
 Craig, Christine, 14 Elm St., Whitesboro
 Crawshaw, Ruth G., Wilson School, Rock-
 ville Centre
 Crittenden, Harold C., Public School,
 Armonk
 Crooker, Frederick F., Public School No.
 128, Brooklyn
 Crump, Grace L., Wolden Arms, Wolden
 Rd., Ossining
 Dalton, Kathryn H., School No. 13, Troy
 Dano, Anna M., 200 William St., Water-
 town
 Darmstadter, Charlotte, 562 Humboldt
 Pkwy., Buffalo
 Davidson, Flora T., 1565 New York Ave.,
 Brooklyn
 Davis, Grace L., Lincoln School, E. Lin-
 coln and Archer Aves., Mt. Vernon
 Davis, Victor H., 210 S. Grand Ave.,
 Poughkeepsie
 Delaney, Mary C., School No. 8, 157 Mad-
 ison Ave., Albany
 Delaney, Mary J., 266 Lincoln Rd., Brook-
 lyn

- Demmon, Ruby G., 21 Mechanic St., Ballston Spa
 Densmore, David W., Kodak Park School No. 41, Rochester
 Deveson, Addie E., Public School No. 32, Manhattan, 357 W. 35th St., New York
 Devine, Mary J., 19 Clinton St., Norwich
 De Vinney, Mabel A., Brighton School, 2200 S. Salina St., Syracuse
 Donlin, Margaret E., School No. 49, Buffalo
 Donnelly, Ella Marie, Hutchinson School, Pelham
 Donohue, John J., 4550 Carpenter Ave., New York
 Donovan, Esther, Cathedral Avenue School, Garden City
 Duffy, Fred H., Washington Elementary School, Delaware Ave. at Knowlton, Kenmore
 Dukeshire, Stanley C., Rockledge Manor, Yonkers
 Dunn, Rachel, 41 S. Pine Ave., Albany
 Dwyer, Mary M., Patterson
 Dyer, Nellie C., 509 E. Seventh St., Jamestown
 Eaton, Anne T., Lincoln School, Teachers College, 425 W. 123rd St., New York
 Ebeling, Elsa, Public School 208, Ave. D and E, 49th St., Brooklyn
 Ebert, Jessie D., 108 Union St., Schenectady
 Eckhardt, Florence, 45 Lake St., Hamburg
 Edgar, A. L., Aquebogue Elementary School, Aquebogue
 Ehrenfeld, Abraham, 251 W. 92nd St., New York
 Emmons, Anna, 394 New Scotland Ave., Albany
 English, Amy A., Public School No. 5, 122 Tillam St., Brooklyn
 Ernst, Christine C., 366 Quail St., Albany
 Evers, Catherine V., 626 Sterling Pl., Brooklyn
 Fay, Mamie, Public School No. 122, Long Island City
 Felicitas, Sister M., St. Ephrem School, 74th St. and Ft. Hamilton, Brooklyn
 Finkelstein, Mary E., Public School No. 42, 71 Hester St., New York
 Fitzell, Ruth T., Public School No. 5, Queens, Long Island City
 Flanders, Jesse K., 84 W. Seventh St., Oswego
 Fletcher, Mrs. Eudora, Homewood School No. 180, 56th St. and 16th Ave., Brooklyn
 Flynn, Margaret E., Fifth Street School, Niagara Falls
 Forsell, Alva E., 119 College Ave., Westerleigh, Staten Island
 Forsythe, Edmund M., 63 Glendale Pl., Port Chester
 Foster, Electa L., North Roslyn Elementary School, Roslyn
 Fox, Henry W., Public School No. 74, 189th St. and Crotona Ave., New York
 Frail, Jennie A., Theodore Roosevelt School, Johnson City
 French, Harold P., Londonville
 Friedman, Shirley, 157 W. 79th St., New York
 Gales, Walter H., Julius E. Rogers School, Conklin Rd., Binghamton
 Gallup, Jackson, School No. 17, 223 Orange St., Rochester
 Genske, Emma, No. 4 School, 752 Central Ave., Dunkirk
 Gewirtz, Max, Public School No. 230, Albemarle Rd. and Gravesend Ave., Brooklyn
 Goldin, Myron R., Public School No. 187, 65th St. and 12th Ave., Brooklyn
 Goldstein, Henry M., Public School No. 238, E. Eighth St. and Ave. P, Brooklyn
 Gorham, Mary E., 308 N. Brandywine Ave., Schenectady
 Gould, Clifford M., 25 Shepard Ave., Kenmore
 Gouldin, Henry C., Washington Irving School, Syracuse
 Graham, Minnie S., DeWitt Clinton School, Mt. Vernon
 Gravely, Mrs. Cora Louise, Greenacres Elementary School, Scarsdale
 *Greenberg, Joseph, 449 Second St., Brooklyn
 Guerry, G. Mercer, 85 Nassau Ave., Malverne, Long Island
 Guiney, John B., 2625 Sedgwick Ave., New York
 Haggerty, Marie, 430 Barry Ave., Mamaroneck
 Hakes, W. Gaylord, Grade School, Hyde Park
 Hall, Ava M., Center Street School, Oneonta
 Hall, Mrs. Margaret M., 205 Seventh Ave., N. Troy
 Halligan, Thomas C., Public School No. 164, Manhattan, 401 W. 164th St., New York
 Handley, Mrs. Myrtle C., 21 Trumbull Pkwy., Batavia
 Harris, Daisy M., Sumner School, Syracuse
 Hart, Elizabeth A., 568 Myrtle Ave., Albany
 Hathaway, Edna E., 12 Second Ave., Gloversville
 Haven, Mabel, 272 S. Broadway, Yonkers
 Hawks, Burt D., Wetmore School, 2645 Oneida St., Utica
 Hayden, Mrs. Rena C., John Lewis Childs School, Floral Park
 Healey, Gertrude M., Public School No. 26, The Bronx, 101 W. Burnside Ave., New York
 Hemstreet, A. Earle, School No. 54, Main St. at LeRoy, Buffalo
 Hickok, Mary K., 39 Montgomery St., Ilion
 Higgins, Gordon H., School No. 70, Buffum St., Buffalo
 Hill, Mark R., Central Park Junior High School, Elm and Bradley Sts., Schenectady
 Hinderland, Laura J., 14 Beach Rd., Great Neck, Long Island
 Hirschbeck, Loretta M., 365 Putnam Ave., Port Chester
 Hirsdansky, Simon, Public School No. 4, 1701 Fulton Ave., New York
 Hoffman, Josephine L., 371 Lake Ave., Rochester
 Hogan, A. Elizabeth, Public School No. 15, Cor. Herkimer and Franklin Sts., Albany
 Hogg, Elizabeth, 40 Floral Ave., Binghamton
 Holmes, William H., Supt. of Schools, Mt. Vernon
 Hopkins, Amelia M., 1169 Chrisler Ave., Schenectady
 Horn, Dorothy, Berkshire Industrial Farm, Canaan
 Horset, Antoinette, Pringle School, Batavia
 Hosie, James F., Teachers College, Columbia University, New York
 Houghton, Le Grand B., 189 Bryant St., North Tonawanda
 Huddle, Otto E., High School, Briarcliff Manor
 Huggard, Ethel F., Junior High School No. 162, Brooklyn
 Hughes, Mary C., School No. 17, 43 Second Ave., Albany
 Hughes, Rose I., Public School No. 10, Albany

- Hughson, Arthur, 35 Tennis Court, Brooklyn
 *January, E. L., Box 213, Elmsford
 Jenks, Elsie L., West End School, Lynbrook
 Jenkins, Harriet L., Public School No. 154, Hillcrest, Flushing
 Jenny, Orlo K., Roosevelt School, New Rochelle
 Johnson, Marguerite A., Kensington School, Great Neck, Long Island
 Johnson, Ward L., The Lawrence School, Hewlett, Long Island
 Johnston, Anna C., Public School No. 59, Bathgate Ave. and 182nd St., New York
 Johnston, Sara W., Maple Avenue School, Niagara Falls
 Joyce, Charles W., 223 Deerfield Dr., Rochester
 Kaplan, Michael, Public School No. 44, 420 Madison St., Brooklyn
 Kelly Elizabeth L., Public School No. 155, Queens, 115th Ave., South Ozone Park, New York
 Kennedy, Agnes R., Public School No. 148, Jackson Heights, Long Island
 Kenyon, Lillian B., Montgomery Street School, Johnstown
 Kildney, Glenn H., Park School, Ossining
 Kiley, Mary, Nedrow
 Kimber, Harold Le Roy, 114 Princeton Ave., Corning
 King, Mrs. Mary T., 48 W. Second St., Mt. Vernon
 Kinsley, Emma E., 660 N. Main St., Elmira
 Klein, Arthur, 1458 York Ave., New York
 Kline, Ira M., R. F. D. 1, White Plains
 Kornfeld, Louis, Public School No. 30, 165 Conover St., Brooklyn
 Krause, Arthur K., 185 Wadsworth Ave., New York
 Kuhl, Anna S., 184 Pike St., Port Jervis
 Kumpf, Carl H., 230 Hendricks Blvd., Eggertsville
 Lamb, Elizabeth B., 121 West St., Johnson City
 Lansing, Hugh H., School No. 1, Troy
 Larry, Eva M., Public School No. 78, Manhattan, 362 Pleasant Ave., New York
 Lawlor, Caroline E., 4217 167th St., Flushing
 Lawlor, Mary, Salem Hyde School, Syracuse
 Lawrence, Mrs. Sara W., Ridge Street School, Glens Falls
 Layman, Arthur E., 39 Tillinghast Ave., Menands
 Le Baron, Walter A., Franklin School, Schenectady
 Leidt, Edna J., 929 Peace St., Pelham Manor
 Leighton, Josephine W., Longfellow School, Mt. Vernon
 Lester, Florence G., 304 Bedford Ave., Buffalo
 Lewis, Carl E., 13 Eastman Ter., Poughkeepsie
 Lindquist, Margaret A., 2475 Fallsade Ave., Spuyten Duyvil, New York
 Lisle, Herbert, School No. 12, Troy
 Lodato, August, Public School No. 167, 1025 Eastern Pkwy., Brooklyn
 Lodge, Emma L., 126 Donaldson Rd., Buffalo
 Lortcher, Mrs. Dorothea K., 3309 Lake Ave., Rochester
 Lotz, Christine L., Lincoln Park School No. 44, Rochester
 Lyon, Julia E., Stephenson School, New Rochelle
 McCormick, Alice V., 1349 Lexington Ave., New York
 McKernan, Mary L., 1229 Kemble St., Utica
 McKiernan, Katherine A., 453 Morris St., Albany
 McLaughlin, Katherine, School No. 7, 165 Clinton Ave., Albany
 McNeill, George A., Andrews School No. 9, 261 Joseph Ave., Rochester
 McSwyny, Mary, 70 Ocean Pkwy., Brooklyn
 MacDonald, Donald B., Fairfax Hall, Woodmere, Long Island
 MacGregor, Helen V., George H. Nichols School, Endicott
 MacLachlan, E. Helen, School No. 34, 516 Lexington Ave., Rochester
 Mackay, Eleanor C., Public School No. 96, 650 Waring, New York
 Mackin, Mary, West End School, Port Jervis
 *Mackintosh, Margaret C., 1224 Dittman Ave., Brooklyn
 Maguire, Matilda E., Merrick School, Syracuse
 Maloney, Mary H., Public School No. 20, Troy
 Manhelm, Mrs. Sophie C., 610 E. 12th St., New York
 Martin, Earl F., Hogsansburg
 Maynard, Mabel A., Sunset School, Sunset Ave., Utica
 Meagher, Evelyn C., Public School No. 127, Seventh Ave. and 79th St., Brooklyn
 Merriam, Charlotte, 148 Main St., Port Washington
 Merritt, Mrs. Lillian H., Elem. Supvr. of Schools, 321 Turin St., Rome
 Minuse, John M., 501 Franklin St., Port Chester
 Montgomery, Alice M., 11 Livingston Park, Rochester
 Mooney, Martha H., 514 13th St., Watervliet
 Morey, Anna A., School No. 14, Troy
 Morey, Benjamin I., School No. 16, 41 N. Allen St., Albany
 Morrison, J. Cayce, Asst. Commr. for Elem. Educ., State Education Dept., Albany
 Moxie, Ella H., Henry B. Endicott School, Endicott
 Moyer, Ellena C., Sanford Street School, Glens Falls
 Murphy, Margaret M., 120 Oak St., Hudson Falls
 Murray, Mary A., 214 Partridge St., Albany
 Newton, Dorris, Morris School, Rockville Centre
 Nichols, May A., 110 W. Seneca St., Ithaca
 Nichols, Roy E., Brandegee School, Jay St., Utica
 Nickles, George F., Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry
 Nifenecker, Eugene A., Dir., Bureau of Reference, Research and Statistics, Board of Education, 500 Park Ave., New York
 Norris, Bessie, 410 E. Main St., Batavia
 Norton, Louise V., 103 Merrimac St., Buffalo
 Obermeyer, Minnie, Public School No. 101, Manhattan, 611 W. 156th St., New York
 O'Brien, Josephine G., 110 New York Ave., Brooklyn
 O'Keefe, Emma M., School No. 37, 853 Congress Ave., Rochester
 Olmstead, Helen M., 150 Oxford Ave., Buffalo
 O'Malley, Margaret, Public School No. 66, Tacoma and Parkside, Buffalo
 Orr, Mrs. Mabel L., 200 Lexington Ave., Rochester
 Orr, Marion C., John A. Nichols School, 269 North Ave., Syracuse

Owen, Reba E., 22 De Lancey Dr., Geneva
 Painter, Fred B., 523 E. Buffalo St., Ithaca
 Parkhill, R. Park, School No. 5, 555 Plymouth Ave., N., Rochester
 Paris, Florence E., 32 Linden Ave., Buffalo
 Parsons, Marion, 303 Cherry Rd., Syracuse
 Patterson, Charlotte, 270 Washington St., Hempstead, Long Island
 Patterson, George W., Public School No. 145, 100 Noll St., Brooklyn
 Paulsen, Gertrude M., 410-A Sackett St., Brooklyn
 Pearson, Georgia King, 6 Lewis Pkwy., Yonkers
 Pence, Amos C., Main Street School, Huntington, Long Island
 Penfold, Arthur, 332 Beard Ave., Buffalo
 Phillips, Ellen M., Public School No. 188, Manhattan, 131 Lewis St., New York
 Piper, Sarah M., 230 First Ave., Frankfort
 Plitts F. L., Croton School, Syracuse
 Plantz, Nina, Miller Rd., Hicksville, Long Island
 Pois, Cecelia, 2685 Grand Concourse, New York
 Powell, Mary E., 42 Attorney St., Hempstead
 Power, Leonard, 417 Riverside Dr., New York
 Powers, Katherine B., Horace Mann School No. 13, 81 Hickory St., Rochester
 Powlesland, Walter H., 101 Grant Ave., Syracuse
 Priddle, Milton R., School No. 11, 500 Webster Ave., Rochester
 Pugh, Sterling B., 217 Clinton Ave., New Rochelle
 Pugsley, Chester A., State Teachers College, Buffalo
 Pulling, Rowland J., 218 Glen Ave., Scotia
 Putnam, Lena M., 602 N. James St., Rome
 Quinlavin, Ivan, 399 Colvin St., Rochester
 Quirk, Florence J., Lincoln School Batavia
 Raben, Morris, Public School No. 90, The Bronx, 166th St. and Sheridan Ave., New York
 Rado, Alfred, Public School No. 89, The Bronx, 980 Mace Ave., New York
 Ramsdell, Florence R., Marion Street School, Lynbrook
 Randolph, Esle, Public School No. 13, 161 Hyland Blvd., Staten Island
 Raphael, Selma, 569 W. Chester St., Long Beach
 Ratcliff, Frank B., 112 Henry St., Kingston
 Reigart, John F., 31 Euclid Ave., Yonkers
 Reilly, Frederick J., 63 Hamilton Ter., New York
 Reiten, Mary S., School No. 3, Albany
 Reynolds, Maybelle P., 771 Madison Ave., Albany
 Rhoads, Luke C., Box 93, Mt. Vernon
 Riester, Lauretta F., 588 Linwood Ave., Buffalo
 Riley, Ruth V., Big Cross Street School, Glens Falls
 Robbins, Lovina M., 161 Union St., Ham-burg
 Robertson, John W., Bellerose School, Floral Park
 Roe, Jennette G., School No. 18, Bertha and Hurlbut St., Albany
 Ronnei, Herman L., Union Free School, Valhalla
 Ross, Lazarus D., Public School No. 141, 47 Leonard St., Brooklyn
 Rowley, Mary V., 94 Innis Ave., Pough-keepsie
 Rueggeger, Virgil, 121 Farm St., Ithaca
 Savery, Kate L., Hillburn Brook School, Box 255, Hillburn

Schaller, Amella, Public School No. 103, 49 E. 119th St., New York
 Schaefer, William O., Stephens Rd., Tappan
 Schatteles, Mrs. Ruth, 780 West End Ave., New York
 Schrader, Henry G., 33 Catlin Ave., Jamestown
 Schultz, Frederick, 346 N. Park Ave., Buffalo
 Scudder, Augustine L., Lincoln School, Huntington
 Seeberger, Statira, 533 Fifth Ave., Water-vliet
 Selby, Miriam F., 153 Ross Ave., New Dorp., Staten Island
 Shaw, Helen V., 94 South St., Auburn
 Shen, Mrs. Lillian M., Public School No. 131, 84th Ave. and 172nd St., Queens, Jamaica
 Shean, Mary C., Greenburgh No. 8 Schools, R. F. D. 1, White Plains
 Sherburne, M. Louise, 264 Beach, 139th St., Rockaway Beach
 Sherrard, John P., School No. 44, Broadway and Krupp, Buffalo
 Sherwood, Mae, 1502½ E. Main St., Endicott
 Sibley, Nita R., 2 Oakmont Ave., Yonkers
 Sicklick, Isabelle, Public School No. 94, The Bronx, King's College Pl., New York
 Silverman, Estelle L., Public School No. 25, The Bronx, 149th St. and Union Ave., New York
 Simmons, Harry S., 16 Bay View Ter., Newburgh
 Simpson, Mortimer L., Public School No. 170, 7109 Sixth Ave., Brooklyn
 Slade, Lillian A., 4 Tilley Ave., Oneonta
 Smallwood, Winifred, Pere Le Moyne School, 1500 Le Moyne St., Syracuse
 Smith, Dana H., 104 Leonard Ave., Freeport
 Smith, Kaia F., Lincoln School, Scotia
 Smith, Sim Joe, Asst. Supt. of Schools, New Rochelle
 Snapp, Jennie F., 204 Lincoln Ave., Endicott
 Snavelly, F. B., School No. 1, 349 Busti Ave., Buffalo
 Snyder, Charles A., School No. 24, Delaware and Dana Aves., Albany
 Snyder, Katherine R., 37 Midwood St., Brooklyn
 Spacht, Charles A., Henry Barnard School, New Rochelle
 Specht, Louise, 103 Quentin St., Kew Gardens, New York
 Spencer, Cecil F., West Islip Public School, Babylon
 Spillane, Katherine, 98 Brookfield Rd., Rochester
 Sporr, Mrs. Ella K., 140 Tacoma Ave., Buffalo
 Spurgeon, Mrs. Grace H., 112-29 175th St., St. Albans
 Stanbro, Mrs. Mabel A., 42 Glenwood Rd., Menands
 Stantial, Robert S., 328 E. 198th St., New York
 Stanton, Clifford A., 101 Barton Ave., Utica
 Stapleton, Josephine Frances, 1360 Merriam Ave., New York
 Stark, Clifford, Audubon School, No. 33, 250 Grand Ave., Rochester
 Stecher, Mrs. Elizabeth M., Public School No. 204, Brooklyn
 Steiner, Fredericka, 945 West End Ave., New York
 Stewart, Maude C., Board of Education, Syracuse
 Stewart, Ruth A., Chatsworth Avenue School, Larchmont

Stinebrickner, Reinald M., George Washington School, 70 Mayfair Ave., West Hempstead
 Sumner, Bertha E., 110 W. Main St., Batavia
 Sumner, S. Clayton, 356 Kennedy St., Syracuse
 Sweeney, Agnes L., Ashland Avenue School, Niagara Falls
 Swift, Charles B., 21 Chateau Ter., Snyder
 Tallent, Agnes J., Public School No. 132, 320 Manhattan Ave., Brooklyn
 Tatum, Helen Clare, 160 Ivy St., Oyster Bay
 Taylor, E. D., Typewriter Educational Research Bureau, 100 E. 42nd St., New York
 Terrell, Mrs. Madelaine H., 84 Cedar Ave., Patchogue
 Theobald, Jacob, 234 W. 109th St., New York
 Thomas, John B., 46 E. Second St., Riverhead
 Thomas, M. Josephine, Hope Farm School, Hope Farm, Dutchess Co.
 Thomas, Rufus G., 138 Hertford St., Syracuse
 Thomas, William, Lincoln School, New Rochelle
 Tiffany, Pearl M., Public School No. 13, Yonkers
 Tobin, Anna S., 225 W. 106th St., New York
 Trace, Adela M., Public School No. 23, Queens, Union and 35th Ave., Flushing
 Trace, Charles T., Public School No. 91, Albany Ave. and Maple St., Brooklyn
 Traphagen, M. H., 39 Parkway, E., Mt. Vernon
 Travis, Mrs. A. R., Lakeside School, Spring Valley
 Tripp, Mary E., 37 Sullivan Ave., Port Jervis
 Tucker, Maude M., Union Street School, Utica
 Tuger, Margaret E., Waverly Hotel, Herkimer
 Vail, May H., 739 Washington Ave., Brooklyn
 Van Arnum, Eugenia, School No. 15, Troy
 Van Arsdale, Mary M., 267 Elmwood Ave., Buffalo
 Viemeler, Edmund H., North Merrick, Long Island
 Vincent H. D., School No. 16, Troy
 Vlymen, Henry T., 25 Villa Court, Hempstead
 Waite, Edna A., 395 Clinton Ave., Brooklyn
 Wallstein, D. Daniel, Junior High School No. 142, 114th Ave. and 142nd St., Jamaica, Long Island
 Walsh, Mary A., 1287 Third Ave., Watervliet
 Warner, Stanley F., 352 Summit Ave., Cedarhurst, Long Island
 Watson, James E., 27 Neperan Rd., Tarrytown
 Webster, George E., School No. 3, Post Rd., Rye
 Weed, Leola D., School No. 16, Devonla Ave., Mt. Vernon
 Werner, Mrs. Edith F., Robert Fulton School, Mt. Vernon
 Weis, Helen, 77 Irving Ter., Kenmore
 West, Ralph G., 2 Spoor Ave., Poughkeepsie
 Weyant, Walter B., 330 Lionel Ave., Solvay
 Whalen, Frank D., Public School No. 3, The Bronx, 368 E. 157th St., New York
 White, Edith C., 73 De Sales Pl., Brooklyn
 Wikander, Elin, 350 Lincoln Pl., Brooklyn
 Wilcox, L. Dudley, Abelard Reynolds School No. 42, Rochester

Williams, Marvin C., 33 N. Washington Ave., Hartsdale
 Wilson, Helen, 738 St. Marks Ave., Brooklyn
 Wilson, Mrs. L. P., 8 Ridge Ave., Walden
 Wilson, Martha A., 528 W. 114th St., New York
 Wood, Clara E., Oneida Co., Clark Mills
 Woodward, DeWitt S., 507 S. Loder Ave., Endicott
 Wright, Mrs. Kathryn Ward, School No. 39, 145 Midland Ave., Rochester
 Wright, Mrs. Louise J., 54 Elmwood Ave., Geneva
 Wylie, Anna, 2223 Whitney Ave., Niagara Falls
 Yeager, Fern M., Nott Street School, Schenectady
 Young, Mrs. Elizabeth F., 130 Jefferson St., Salamanca
 Zuest, Mrs. Dorothea, Nicholas Street School, Hicksville, Long Island

NORTH CAROLINA

Anderson, Albert H., Columbian Heights School, Winston-Salem
 Beasley, Sallie, Virginia Dare Hotel, Elizabeth City
 Beavers, Sallie L., 601 S. Duke St., Durham
 Boylston, Mrs. Lucile C., 2715 Selwyn Ave., Charlotte
 Blakeney, Edmonia M., Route 1, Matthews
 Burch, Mrs. Eva H., 317 E. Boulevard, Charlotte
 Carson, Q. M., 19 Soco St., Asheville
 *Cox, Herbert R., Route 2, Ramseur
 DeBerry, Nena, Frank B. John School, Salisbury
 Doxey, Elsie, Colonial Drive School, Thomasville
 Fitzgerald, Ruth, The Woman's College, The University of North Carolina, Greensboro
 Graves, C. F., 601 S. Road St., Elizabeth City
 Harney, H. M., 400 W. Main St., Elizabeth City
 Hearne, Clara, Box 577, Roanoke Rapids
 Helms, H. A., Central Junior High School, Greensboro
 Hobgood, Scotia S., Harvey School, Kinston
 Jones, Lily N., 608 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham
 Kilpatrick N. O., Route 3, Morgantown
 McBrayer, Agnes L., 231 N. Lafayette St., Shelby
 McConnell, Mrs. Margaret, R. F. D. 9, Box 470, Charlotte
 McConnell, T. L., Aycock School, Asheville
 McDonald, Crummell Howe, 301 Queen St., Wilmington
 Miller, J. E., John H. Small School, Washington
 Nance, Lillian, Elementary School, Clinton
 Parker, Mrs. B. C., North St., Albemarle
 Paylor, Ivey, 1006 Johnson St., High Point
 Reid, Florence M., Box 299, Lexington
 Sherwood, Mrs. M. B., 214 E. Morgan St., Raleigh
 Stafford, Susie F., 604 E. Davis St., Burlington
 Whitmore, Mrs. W. H., Public School, Wilson
 *Wilson, Mrs. A. R., 202 S. Dillard St., Durham
 Wortham, Frances, 310 Corona St., Winston-Salem

NORTH DAKOTA

Brandt, Ivy, 914 Fifth Ave., S., Fargo
 Champine, Jennie L., Agassiz Platoon School, Fargo

Elninger, H. J., 341 Elmwood Ave., Fargo
 Grindstuen, Iver I., Supt. of Schools, Beach
 Hanson, Signe, Jefferson School, 16th St.,
 S., Fargo
 Hartney, Eleanor M., Roosevelt Platoon
 School, Fargo
 Hicks, Mrs. Nellie A., 704 Thrd Ave., N.,
 Fargo
 Hoag, Gertrude E., 224 Eighth St., N.,
 Fargo
 *Lobben, Clara H., 902 Eighth St., N.,
 Fargo
 Olsen, Gustava, 1126 Fourth St., N., Fargo
 Phillips, Adelaide, Clara Barton School,
 1415 Eighth Ave., S., Fargo
 Sinclair, Glynn, Box 297, Minot
 Walker, Mrs. Sadie A., 710 Tenth St., S.,
 Fargo
 Wilson, Seth, Turtle Mountain Consoli-
 dated Indian School, Belcourt

OHIO

Adams, Mrs. Jennie H., 87 Eber Ave.,
 Akron
 Adel, Mrs. Edna P., 25 N. 21st St., Co-
 lumbus
 Allen, Cora F., 872 S. Champion Ave.,
 Columbus
 Allen, W. Paul, 4840 Turney Rd., Garfield
 Heights, Cleveland
 Altamer, W. H., College Hill School, Cedar
 Ave., Cincinnati
 Andrew, Ellen B., 3600 Shaw Ave., Cin-
 cinnati
 Andrix, Edith, 1556 E. 82nd, Cleveland
 Arey, Essie, Hoffman School, Durrell and
 Merrimac, Cincinnati
 Armstrong, J. J., 2718 Hillman St., Youngs-
 town
 Bair, Sara A. F., 1523 E. Boulevard, Clevel-
 and
 Bell, Eula, 1237 Gomber Ave., Cambridge
 Bell, Maud M., 520 Park Ave., Miamis-
 burg
 Bess, Mrs. Ercell, 555 E. Cuyahoga Falls
 Ave., Akron
 Bishop, Bertha, 2008 Lagrange St., Toledo
 Bizantz, Cina L., 11311 Clifton Blvd.,
 Cleveland
 Boardman, Ruth, 550 W. Central Ave.,
 Delaware
 Boda, H. L., 3101 Kenmore Ave., Dayton
 Brabec, Corine, 106 E. Hudson Ave., Day-
 ton
 Brandt, Hazel M., 2636 Green Rd., South
 Euclid
 Brett, Charlotte J., 16001 Fernway Rd.,
 Shaker Heights, Cleveland
 Brookes, M. Emma, 1108 The Commodore,
 Euclid Ave. and Ford Dr., Cleveland
 Brown, Alice, Delason School, Youngstown
 Brown, Francis W., 3765 Berkeley Rd.,
 Cleveland Heights
 Brown, Winfred Q., Kennedy - Siverton
 School, Cincinnati
 Bruhn, Carrie C., 10602 Wade Park Ave.,
 Cleveland
 Burk, Ellice E., 7805 Franklin Ave., Clevel-
 and
 Campbell, Bess M., Parkland School, Toledo
 Case, Mary E., 21540 Detroit Rd., Rocky
 River
 Chapman, Howard J., Strongville
 Chidlaw, W. M., Sayler Park School, Cin-
 cinnati
 Cleland, Lillian A., 2444 Lee Rd., Clevel-
 and Heights
 Coleman, Nellie L., 1341 W. 59th St.,
 Cleveland
 Cook, Selda, 5810 Clinton Ave., Cleveland
 Cooperrider, L. K., Eleventh Avenue
 School, Columbus

Corlett, Bessie M., 8706 Tioga Ave., Clevel-
 and
 Covey, Cora L., 384 Grand Ave., Akron
 Crane, H. L., 5636 Bramble Ave., Cin-
 cinnati
 Cronin, John, Madisonville School, Cin-
 cinnati
 Curren, Edith L., Hayes School, Lakewood
 Dallas, Cecil M., 637 Willis Ave., Youngs-
 town
 Dalton, Bess, 1574 Clarence Ave., Lake-
 wood
 Daly, Margaret, Roosevelt School, Cin-
 cinnati
 Daugherty, Grace, 1446 Grace Ave., Lake-
 wood
 Davidson, M. Mabel, 1316 Grand Ave., Day-
 ton
 Davis, George, Lincoln School, Cincinnati
 Davis, H. E., Allison Street School, Nor-
 wood
 Deublin, Anna F., 11701 Ohlman Ave.,
 Cleveland
 Diggins, S. Grace, 1690 W. 31st Pl., Clevel-
 and
 Dolan, Edith A., 806 Blair, Cincinnati
 Dombaugh, Alice L., 283 N. State St.,
 Marion
 Downing, Georgiana, 2085 Cornell Rd.,
 Cleveland
 Eldridge, Amy, Bancroft School, Wychwood
 Lane, Youngstown
 Emig, George C., McKinley School, Eastern
 and Tennyson Ave., Cincinnati
 Evans, Elizabeth, Harding School, Youngs-
 town
 Eversole, Charles D., Route 1, Basll
 Ewan, Sylvia, Highlands School, Easterr
 Ave., Cincinnati
 Fennell, Bertha A., 3305 Tullamore Rd.,
 Cleveland Heights
 Flessa H. L., Taft School, Cincinnati
 Fox, Ralph L., Caledonia School, East
 Cleveland
 Franz, George F., 109 W. McMillan St.,
 Cincinnati
 Frederick, L. E., 1832 Auburn Ave., Day-
 ton
 Gabriel, Florence, 7338 Euclid Ave., Clevel-
 and
 Gantz, A. L., Route 2, Box 54, Akron
 Gericke, Meta, 3182 W. 14th St., Clevel-
 and
 Graham, E. B., 225 Crestview Rd., Colum-
 bus
 Grant, Bessie, 559 Liberty St., Conneaut
 Griffiths, Ethel, Franklin School, Lake-
 wood
 Grimes, Ruth, Hillman School, Youngs-
 town
 Haddow, Mary A., J. G. Butler School,
 Youngstown
 Haldane, Jean A., Miles School, 11918
 Miles Ave., Cleveland
 Hammond, L. Dalsy, 111 Oakwood Ave.,
 Oakwood Village, Dayton
 Hanthorn, Alice, 2040 E. 96th St., Clevel-
 and
 Harry, David P., Jr., Western Reserve Uni-
 versity, Cleveland
 Hart, Helen A., Chase School, Toledo
 Hasemeier, Margaret E., 3580 Epworth
 Ave., Westwood
 Hauer, John S., Sixth District School, Cin-
 cinnati
 Heiser, Bess M., 11 Wroe Ave., Dayton
 Henschen, Laura H., 3444 Marvin Ave.,
 Cleveland
 Hess, Henri L., 47 Mill St., Athens
 Howser, Elma B., 325 Franklin St., Marion
 Hoxter, Truman, 78 May Court, Chagrin
 Falls
 Hutt, Martha K., 3437 W. 123rd St., Clevel-
 and

- Irey, Ferne, 528 Warren Ave., Youngstown
 Jack, Mary E., 2493 Norfolk Rd., Cleveland Heights
 Jacobs, F. R., Carson School, Cincinnati
 Jahn, Anna M., 1222 Shorb Ave., N. W., Canton
 Judd, Harriet A., 51 Brighton Rd., Columbus
 Judd, Merrill E., R. F. D. 1, Milford
 Kaefer, William, 407 Ludlow Ave., Cincinnati
 Karp, Esther, 308 High Ave., N. W., Canton
 King, Dorothy, 81 N. Warren Ave., Columbus
 Kingsborough, Hazel, Taylor School, Cleveland Heights
 Kinker, Minnie L., 1242 Broadway St., Toledo
 Kleinsmith, Sylvia N., Madison School, Lakewood
 Kuehn, Nita E., 2708 Clark Ave., Cleveland
 Layland, Ethel E., 1264 Lincoln Rd., Columbus
 Logue, Leona W., Stewart Avenue School, Columbus
 Losch, Adela M., 3432 E. 110th St., Cleveland
 Loudon, Agnes V., Oxford School, 914 Oxford Rd., Cleveland Heights
 Lowary, O. H., Washington School, Youngstown
 McAstor, Alice N., 784 Wall St., Akron
 McFarlin, Edna, Lincoln School, 580 Wooster Rd., W., Barberton
 McGuire, Gertrude H., 1835 Belmont Rd., East Cleveland
 McNabb, Margaret, 25 W. Rayen Ave., Youngstown
 Manchester, Lulu, 40½ Virginia Ave., Dayton
 Markowitz, Martha B., 2600 Hampshire Rd., Cleveland
 Mason, H. O., 1528 W. Fifth St., Dayton
 May, Laura M., 1377 E. 112th St., Cleveland
 Meador, Mildred, Crippled Children's School, 335 Rockdale Ave., Cincinnati
 Meermans, Minnie, 2477 Overlook Rd., Euclid Heights
 Miller, C. L., 6237 Savannah Ave., Cincinnati
 Miller, Charles S., R. D. 7, North Canton
 Money, Ella B., Landon School, 1955 W. 96th St., Cleveland
 *Morgan, Edna, 2943 Berkshire Rd., Cleveland
 Morgan, Elizabeth, 2401 Hollywood Ave., Toledo
 Myers, Mary E., 85 S. Adolph Ave., Akron
 Offerman, Kate M., Asst. Co. Supt. of Schools, Bowling Green
 Park, Olive, 2040 E. 96th, Cleveland
 Parks, Mrs. Belle L., 1847 Knowles St., East Cleveland
 Peaslee, L. D., Hartwell School, Cincinnati
 Perkins, Hugh V., 3235 Euclid Heights Blvd., Cleveland Heights
 Peters, Edith C., 661 E. 123rd St., Cleveland
 Pettit, Joseph E., Mayfair School, 13916 Mayfair Ave., East Cleveland
 Phelps, Grace Clarke, 88 Linwood Ave., Columbus
 Pinhard, Estella M., 3706 Library Ave., Cleveland
 Pittenger, Winifred, Pickett School, Toledo
 Pluckebaum, Dorothy E., 347 Wood Ave., Cincinnati
 Preston, E. M., Prospect School, East Cleveland
 Quirk, W. A., Guilford School, Fourth and Ludlow Sts., Cincinnati
 Rebert, Ruth E., 255 E. Midlothian Blvd., Youngstown
 Renfrow, Omar W., Whittier School, Cincinnati
 Reszke, Felix E., Sands School, Cincinnati
 Reynolds, Sadie, 3930 Berkeley Dr., Toledo
 Rogers, Florence M., McKinley School, 1351 W. Clifton Blvd., Lakewood
 Roseborough, Linna, 615 Bellflower Ave., S. W., Canton
 Ross, Frances, Shafer Boulevard School, Dayton
 Rupel, Maude L., 21 N. Torrence St., Dayton
 Ryan, Mary G., 2959 Meadowbrook Blvd., Cleveland
 Sallsbury, Robert K., Elementary School, Terrace Park
 Scheuerman, Alfred A., North Fairmount School, Baltimore Ave., Cincinnati
 Schlotman, R. C., Heberle School, Cincinnati
 *Schroeder, Esther L., Raschig School, Parkway and Elm, Cincinnati
 Schuh, Belle, 2104 Brookdale Rd., Toledo
 Schullian, Augusta M., 1497 Mars Ave., Lakewood
 Schwartz, Albert, Cummins School, Cincinnati
 Sellers, Mrs. Hazel B., 25 Adelford Ave., Akron
 Shatzer, Owen M., R. D. 6, North Canton
 Shively, Arthur W., Painesville
 Sidle, Myrtle, 201 Newton Ave., N. W., Canton
 Siringer, Meta L., Walton School, Cleveland
 Smith, John, Pleasant Ridge School, Cincinnati
 Smith, Paul E., 1330 14th St., N. W., Canton
 Snodgrass, C. B., Crouse School, Akron
 Snyder, Belle, West Side School, Youngstown
 Snyder, John, Fairview School, Warner and Stratford Aves., Cincinnati
 Spence, A. Marie, 19315 Riverview Ave., Rocky River
 Spetka, Roy, Bushnell School, Mansfield
 Stauffer, Daisy R., 304 Irving Ave., Dayton
 Stewart, Ethelyn, 2255 Rexwood Rd., Cleveland Heights
 Stewart, Martha A., 1777 Carlyon Rd., East Cleveland
 Stough, Elizabeth, 2000 Cleveland Ave., N. W., Canton
 Taylor, Eva, 1252 E. 115th St., Cleveland
 Tefft, Edna, Watertown Rd., Marietta
 Terrill, Maymie L., 2130 Surrey Rd., Cleveland Heights
 Thornton, Charles A., 3662 Lynfield Rd., Cleveland
 Tole, Isabel, Jackson School, 317 Abbey Ave., Dayton
 Tracy, Kathleen, 532 Howell Ave., Cincinnati
 Treat, Mabel, 15106 Rosemary Ave., Cleveland
 Ulrich, Robert P., 309 N. Park St., Bellefontaine
 Vermillion, Kenneth R., 969 Brunswick Rd., Cleveland Heights
 Von Engeln, Dorothy, Lange School, 200 Dover St., Dayton
 Walker, Helen, 1330 E. Broad St., Columbus
 Warnking, May, Twenty-third District School, Cincinnati
 Watson, N. M., East School, Lancaster
 Watts, M. P., Daniel Worley School, Canton
 Waymire, Florence S., 244 Linden Ave., Dayton

Weaver, Juanita B., 1720 E. 116th Pl.,
Cleveland
Wells, Bessie F., 130 E. 207th St., Cleve-
land
Whitaker, Telford A., 1628 Bruce Ave.,
Cincinnati
Wiley, Alice, 13611 Thornhurst Ave., Cleve-
land
Williams, Ann Carol, 743 Lake Dr.,
Youngstown
Williams, M. Iola, Firestone Park School,
Akron
Willoughby, Mae Mary, 244 W. Third Ave.,
Columbus
Wilson, C. A., Avondale School, Cincinnati
Wilson, Isabel R., 384 Grand Ave., Akron
Woodside, J. Barnes, Mentor Village
School, Mentor
Wright, Pearl M., Clifton School, Clifton
and McAlpin Aves., Cincinnati
Yunker, J. C., Harding Platoon School,
6145 Harding Ave., Portsmouth
Zapf, Sophie, 1190 Carlyon Rd., East Cleve-
land

OKLAHOMA

Akin, Emma E., 118 S. Creek, Drumright
Albers, R. L., 301 N. Rock Island, El Reno
Bates, M. C., Lincoln School, El Reno
Benfer, Mabel C., 417 Osage Ave., Bartles-
ville
Berkey, Mildred, 602 E. Bridge, Blackwell
Birkhead, Mrs. Cecil N., 2936 N. W. 23rd
St., Oklahoma City
Bogan, L. E., Supt. of Consolidated
Schools, Okay
Bowles, A. G., Jefferson School, Tulsa
Brookes, Virginia Jane, Eugene Field
School, Oklahoma City
Calkins, May, Box 1655, Drumright
Chapman, Mrs. Lewel, 2735 N. W. 18th St.,
Oklahoma City
Claborn, E. W., Lincoln School, Norman
Coffman, George W., 225 E St., S. E., Ard-
more
Conner, J. Carl, 1200 N. W. 43rd, Okla-
homa City
Costley, C. E., 2713 N. W. 14th, Oklahoma
City
Couch, Mrs. Mary D., 1130 N. W. Tenth
St., Oklahoma City
Cushman, John W., 2725 N. W. 23rd St.,
Oklahoma City
Dale, Etta D., 505 S. Rock Island Ave.,
El Reno
Dean, Lillie, 1710½ N. Broadway, Okla-
homa City
*Denney, Earl C., Franklin School, Tulsa
Dolan, L. B., 2120 N. W. 22nd St., Okla-
homa City
Dyer, Charles E., 3320 N. W. 20th, Okla-
homa City
Evans, Charles, Putman Heights School,
36th and Georgia Sts., Oklahoma City
Franks, Mamie, McKinley School, 1120 N.
Harvey, Oklahoma City
Fritzson, Edith L., Willard School, 1401
W. Third St., Oklahoma City
*Giles, O. A., 1348 S. Florence Ave., Tulsa
Gilmer, Juliette, 1106 N. W. 14th, Okla-
homa City
Griggs, O. C., 43 N. Wheeling St., Tulsa
Grove, Edith, 2646 N. W. 12th, Oklahoma
City
Haynes, J. H., 3307 E. Easton, Tulsa
Head, Pearl, Broadmoor Apts., Drumright
Hellman, Paul L., 2540 E. 14th Pl., Tulsa
Hodges, J. H., Osage School, Tulsa
Hooper, George J., Board of Education
Bldg., Tulsa
Hudson, J. S., 2823 E. Fifth St., Tulsa
Jennings, R. V., 1919 N. W. 15th St., Okla-
homa City

Jester, C. L., 1412 E. 35th Pl., Tulsa
Kelly, Anna K., 506½ N. W. 25th St., Ok-
lahoma City
Kennedy, R. H., Pleasant Porter School,
Tulsa
Knight, R. W., 712 S. Knoxville, Tulsa
Koonce, B. E., 1415 S. Delaware Pl., Tulsa
La Mar, Esther, Roosevelt School, Okmul-
gee
Laughlin, Mrs. Blance, 1429 N. E. 23rd St.,
Oklahoma City
Leach, W. T., 125 N. W. Second St., Ok-
lahoma City
Liebhart, Ethel M., 1745 N. W. 15th, Okla-
homa City
Love, Mrs. Anna Burks, 1120½ N. W. 19th
St., Oklahoma City
McCallister, Wayne H., 417 N. E. 12th, Ok-
lahoma City
McCarrell, E., 1128 N. E. 16th St., Okla-
homa City
McCollum, R. E., 1427 N. Elwood, Tulsa
McMillan, Ethel, 31 W. 14th St., Oklahoma
City
Marker, Mrs. Pearle, 937 N. E. Park Pl.,
Oklahoma City
Marshall, Edward P., 2424 N. W. 20th St.,
Oklahoma City
Mason, C. C., Sidney Lanier School, 1715
S. Havard, Tulsa
Moore, Cecil, 613 N. Grand, Okmulgee
Moore, T. E., 1331 N. Elwood, Tulsa
Moorhouse, Mrs. Lulu D., 1120 W. Chero-
kee, Enid
Mosier, Lotta, 317 S. W. 26th St., Okla-
homa City
Norton, Mrs. Bonnie T., 508 N. W. 27th,
Oklahoma City
Nuzum, Lee M., Box Madison and Jordon,
Oklahoma City
Patman, Mrs. Carrie, 1021 S. Hoff, El Reno
Pauly, Frank R., Board of Education, Tulsa
Phillips, Evert J., 1900 N. W. Tenth St.,
Oklahoma City
Pitts, Lena, 408 Beaulclair Hotel, Okmulgee
Pugh, Elwood L., 416 N. Main St., Sand
Springs
Riechel, Adolphine, 422 E. 12th St., Okmul-
gee
Risher, Gladys, 1427 N. Market St., Shaw-
nee
Robertson, L. G., Turley
Scott, J. Otis, 421 S. W. 11th St., Okla-
homa City
Setzepfandt, A. O. H., 1547 S. Delaware
Pl., Tulsa
Sherrod, Hal B., Perry Elementary School,
Perry
Shipman, Mrs. Gearlean, 109 S. E. 31st,
Oklahoma City
Smiley, Eva M., 1405 S. Eighth St., Ponca
City
Smith, A. J., 1156 Wallace, Shawnee
Smith, Levie Meyers, 1509 E. 14th St.,
Oklahoma City
Walkup, Lydia, Emerson School, Okmulgee
Watson, Isabel, 706 Jennings, Bartlesville
Watts, Winifred, Webster School, Okmulgee
Widner, Guy L., 217 N. Rosedale, Tulsa
Wood, Linnie R., 223 W. 11th St., Bristow
Woods, Mrs. Blanche, 1307 W. 19th St.,
Oklahoma City
Wright, Mrs. Elizabeth E., 414 E. Elm St.,
Ponca City

OREGON

Ager, H. W., Hosford School, 2303 S. E.
28th Pl., Portland
Alexander, Mrs. Alevia, Campbell Court
Hotel, Portland
Ashcraft, Lyle J., Linnton School, Linnton
Bajema, Dingeman, 7933 N. Denver Ave.,
Portland

- Baker, N. A., Shattuck School, 1914 S. W. Park Ave., Portland
 Balch, A. C., Route 1, Box 87, Sherwood
 Blackler, R. C., Richmond School, 2276 S. E. 41st Ave., Portland
 Boyd, Charles H., 5825 N. E. Rodney Ave., Portland
 Brookhardt, Harry B., Multnomah School, Multnomah
 Brown, Elmer, Rose City Park School, 2334 N. E. 57th Ave., Portland
 Brown, Mrs. Nina, Murphy
 Campbell, A. A., Boise School, 620 N. E. Fremont St., Portland
 Christensen, Walter, John Jacob Astor School, Astoria
 Cram, W. A., Alnsworth School, 2425 S. W. Vista Ave., Portland
 Craske, Fred H., Capitol Hill School, Route 8, Box 941, Portland
 Cuning, Mrs. Etta F., 1120 California Ave., Klamath Falls
 Dickson, W. A., Ockley Green School, 1315 N. Alnsworth, Portland
 Dorman, Hugh B., Fernwood School, E. 33rd and Hancock Sts., Portland
 Ferguson, C. E., James John School, 7439 N. Charleston Ave., Portland
 Finnie, Mrs. Alice, North Bend
 Ford, W. I., 2645 N. E. 38th Ave., Portland
 Freel, A. O., 1042 Cleveland Ave., Portland
 Hall, E. S., 833 Military, Roseburg
 Hanna, Mrs. Blanche E., 941 S. E. 55th Ave., Portland
 Hays, O. W., Beech School, Concord and Humboldt Sts., Portland
 Hoskin, Elbert L., Holladay School, 1343 N. E. Ninth Ave., Portland
 Howard, C. A., State Supt. of Public Instruction, Salem
 Hull, Mrs. Gussie, 1108 Jackson St., Oregon City
 Kayser, Mrs. Helen, Route 3, Grants Pass
 Kiggins, C. M., Woodlawn School, 7200 N. E. 11th, Portland
 Lewis, Charles E., Alameda School, 2732 N. E. Fremont, Portland
 Long, Watt A., George School, Fessenden and Calhoun Sts., Portland
 McCollom, Ivan N., Vernonia Public Schools, Vernonia
 McCord, Jesse, John L. Vestal School, 161 N. E. 82nd Ave., Portland
 Mackenzie, Wilma, 502 N. Third St., Grants Pass
 Miller, E. A., 1530 S. High St., Salem
 Murray, Lyle, 121 Kingwood Ave., Salem
 Nelson, M. V., Sabin School, 4013 N. E. 18th Ave., Portland
 Painter, W. C., 425 S. E. 45th Ave., Portland
 Perry, C. E., 4263 S. E. Belmont St., Portland
 Petteys, W. A., 4007 S. E. 64th St., Portland
 Prideaux, A. J., 5915 S. E. Taylor St., Portland
 Quicksall, C. M., Lock Box 315, Gresham
 Reinhart, Earl E., R. R. 1, Linton
 Rinearson, L. E., Falling School, Portland
 Roberts, Cecil L., Route 3, Grants Pass
 Roberts, L. D., 2930 N. E. Bryce St., Portland
 Rush, Mabel E., 200 N. School St., Newberg
 Schnebly, William Buford, John Gumm School, St. Helens
 Sherwood, H. M., Arleta School, 5109 S. E. 66th Ave., Portland
 Shuey, Ada R., 1062 Adams St., Eugene
 Spencer, Cornelia J., Kennedy School, 5736 N. E. 33rd Ave., Portland
 Spooner, Judia A., Route 3, Box 592, Portland
 Swinney, Ruth, 435 Fowler St., Roseburg
 Tallman, H. C., Beaumont School, 4043 N. E. Fremont, Portland
 Tate, Roy M., Dunlway School, S. E. Reed Col. Pl. and Rex Ave., Portland
 Thaxter, B. A., Couch School, 2033 N. W. Glisan, Portland
 Thompson, Cecil T., Llewellyn School, 6301 S. E. 14th Ave., Portland
 Tracy, Verle, 436 S. Stephens, Roseburg
 Webb, Horton E., Mt. Tabor School, 231 S. E. 60th Ave., Portland
 Wyman, P. H., Laurelhurst School, 840 N. E. 41st Ave., Portland
 *Zook, Carl S., 7200 S. E. 60th Ave., Portland

PENNSYLVANIA

- Adee, J. N., Glenside
 Allen, Anna D., 909 Northhampton St., Easton
 Allen, Lillie E., 1750 N. 15th St., Philadelphia
 Askin, Bessie D., Madison School, Milwaukee and Orion Sts., Pittsburgh
 *Baker, Francis Montgomery, 5440 Florence Ave., Philadelphia
 Baldwin, Lillian O., 1848 N. 16th St., Philadelphia
 Bartine, Helen W., Ethan Allen School, Robbins and Battersby Sts., Philadelphia
 Beach, Gertrude S., Ellwood School, 12th St. and Oak Lane, Philadelphia
 Beacham, Mabel, 1110 Potter St., Chester
 Beatty, C. Evelyn, Beechwood School, Rockland and Sebring Ave., Pittsburgh
 *Berman, Samuel, 5336 N. Sydenham St., Philadelphia
 Best, Elizabeth M., 414 Richland Ave., Dravosburg
 Biswanger, Wilhelmina A., 1621 Harrison St., Philadelphia
 Bjork, Ellen L., 37 Belleview Ave., Bradford
 Blessing, Louise, 4837 Lytle St., Pittsburgh
 Bowers, Frances L., Wister School, Eighth and Parrish Sts., Philadelphia
 Bowman, Calvin, 325 Hiland Ave., Johnstown
 Breeze, Mary P., 325 N. Craig, Pittsburgh
 Breitwieser, William, 201 Summit Ave., Pittsburgh
 Bright, Nellie R., Joseph E. Hill Public School, Rittenhouse and McCallum Sts., Philadelphia
 Brinser, Ira S., Nether Providence Public Schools, Wallingford
 Brown, Wilbur J., Pennell School, Ogontz and Nedro Ave., Philadelphia
 Brunner, Frances C., R. D. 1, Box 132, Turtle Creek
 Burns, John J., Columbia Avenue School, Miners Hill, Wilkes-Barre
 Byers, Benjamin H., Supt. of Schools, Box 38, Elizabeth
 Chambers, Raymond L., 24 W. Logan St., Philadelphia
 Chew, Samuel L., Northwest School, 15th and Race Sts., Philadelphia
 Cober, E. W., 1419 Elm St., Wilkesburg
 Cochrane, George C., 225 E. Cliveden Ave., Philadelphia
 Collins, Bessie Eleanor, 4910 Larchwood Ave., Philadelphia
 Corey, Carolyn F., 673 Park Ave., Meadville
 Courtney, Grace A., 515 S. Alken Ave., Pittsburgh
 Craig, James C., Grant School, Bellevue

- Creys, Lavina E., Harding School, Lincoln Ave., Erie
 Crumrine, M. Ella, 917 Chislett St., Pittsburgh
 Dager, Mrs. Frances G., 158 Butler Ave., Ambler
 Dally, Benjamin W., State Teachers College, West Chester
 Dale, Ralph B., 1127 S. 52nd St., Philadelphia
 Davenport, Ralph F., 136 Drexel Rd., Ardmore
 Dobbins, Thomas J., 531 Hansbury St., Philadelphia
 Doyle, Florence A., Philadelphia Normal School, 13th and Spring Garden Sts., Philadelphia
 *Dunleavy, Joseph M., 418 Breck St., Scranton
 Eckard, Elizabeth T., Birney School, Ninth and Lindley, Philadelphia
 Edgar, Robert H., 531 Orchard Ave., Bellevue
 Edwards, Nellie E., 1434 Chew St., Allentown
 Emrey, J. Thornton, 6121 Columbia Ave., Philadelphia
 Emrey, Miles L., 6131 Columbia Ave., Philadelphia
 Enevoldsen, Anna E., Central School, Sayre
 Evans, Abel J., 5215 Chester Ave., Philadelphia
 Evans, Walter P., 7246 N. 21st St., Philadelphia
 Fels, Maurice, Garden Court, 47th and Pine Sts., Philadelphia
 Fleischman, Charlotte C., D. Newlin Fell School, Ninth and Oregon Ave., Philadelphia
 Flinn, May, 1025 McKean Ave., Donora
 Foulkrod, Emily, 3910 Walnut St., Philadelphia
 Frable, Adam Q., 402 E. Goepp St., Bethlehem
 Frank, T. Russell, 40 Susquehanna Rd., Abington
 Frankenfield, Ira M., 637 Center St., Bethlehem
 Frew, Margaret A., Thomas Wightman School, Solvay near Wightman, Pittsburgh
 Fromuth, Carl L., 459 E. Walnut Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia
 Fugett, Joseph R., 120 E. Miner St., West Chester
 Funk, M. Estelle, 6614 N. Smedley St., Philadelphia
 Galter, Israel, 3133 W. Columbia Ave., Philadelphia
 Geedy, Calder B., 310 S. Brown St., Lewistown
 Geiss, Newton W., Asst. Co. Supt. of Schools, Oley
 Gibbs, Mary S., 350 W. Duval St., Germantown, Philadelphia
 Gilland, Thomas M., Dir. of Training, State Teachers College, California
 Ginsburg, Morris B., Adaire School, Palmer and Thompson Sts., Philadelphia
 Goll, Reinhold W., 1830 W. Lindley Ave., Philadelphia
 Graham, Martha M., 633 Linden Ave., Johnstown
 Grasty, James H., 1708 W. Tenth St., Chester
 Greenwood, Ella L., 308 Washington Ave., Charleroi
 Grunizer, W. F., 159 Sell St., Johnstown
 Gustafson, Mrs. Inez, 2017 West St., Muncie
 Hagerty, Jean B., Robert Morris School, 26th and Thompson Sts., Philadelphia
 Hampton, Elsie D., 13th and Lindley Ave., Philadelphia
 Hanlon, Beatrice, 121 Lenowee Ave., Monessen
 Hanna, Edith B., Wright School, 11th and Venango Sts., Philadelphia
 Hardy, Marjorie, Germantown Friends School, Philadelphia
 Harrington, Gerald F., 323 Green St., Scranton
 Hart, Ida M., 5720 Thomas Ave., Philadelphia
 Hart, John C., 538 Carey Ave., Wilkes-Barre
 Hay, Charles K., Thomas McKean School, 82nd and Tincum Ave., Philadelphia
 Hazlett, William W., Benjamin West School, Fourth St. below Lehigh Ave., Philadelphia
 Heffernan, Elizabeth P., Fort Pitt School, Hillcrest St., Pittsburgh
 Heldinger, Blanche L., Shawmont School, Shawmont Ave. and Eva St., Philadelphia
 Hirth, Alice, Fifth Ward School, 317 E. Tenth Ave., Homestead
 Hood, Mrs. Vivian P., 529 Turner Ave., Drexel Hill
 Horan, Agnes M., Creighton School, Tabor Rd. and Foulkrod St., Philadelphia
 Hostetter, E. Juliet, 226 N. Franklin St., Hanover
 Hughes, John H., Mill and Winton Rds., Upper Darby
 Jackson, J. Roy, 2111 Seventh Ave., Beaver Falls
 Johnson, A. Bessie, 109 Wayne St., Warren
 Jones, Mary F., Highland Park School, Upper Darby
 Kaplan, William, H. J. Widener School, 13th and Thompson Sts., Philadelphia
 Katz, Samuel, Vaughan School, Marlborough north of Thompson Sts., Philadelphia
 Kell, Jane F., 622 Linden Ave., York
 Kelly, Robert J., Stowe School, 70th and Woodland Ave., Philadelphia
 Kemp, Grace K., 2020 S. 16th St., Philadelphia
 Kendall, Amy Marion, 449 E. Washington Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia
 Kerns, Morey V., 2526 S. Cleveland St., Philadelphia
 Kirk, Mabel E., 622 S. Allen St., State College
 Kirk, S. Elizabeth, Garrettford School, Drexel Hill
 Kiser, Leitha M., 48 Jerome Ave., Bradford
 Knipe, Chester S., Hatfield
 Krah, W. Edward, 346 Oak Rd., Glenside
 Krall, Helen, Boas School, Harrisburg
 Lafferty, Annie L., 6336 Jackson St., Pittsburgh
 Laing, Iva B., 1214 Macon Ave., Swissvale
 Laramy, William J., 2452 Merwood Lane, Upper Darby
 Law, Bertha V., 5318 Friendship Ave., Pittsburgh
 Leslie, R. G., 505 Moore Ave., New Castle
 Linn, Eva E., 829 N. 63rd St., Philadelphia
 Liveright, Alice K., The Drake, 1512 Spruce St., Philadelphia
 Long, Clarence M., Washington School, Mt. Lebanon, Pittsburgh
 Lowman, Margaret Jane, 468 S. 11th St., Indiana
 Lowry, Sarah N., 14 W. Jenkintown Rd., Glenside
 Lytle, Annie, 745 N. Negley Ave., Pittsburgh
 McBride, Russell W., 4000 Primrose Rd., Torresdale
 McClure, Eliza, 55 Hoodridge Dr., Pittsburgh

- McCracken, Mary A., 11 Brushton Ave., Pittsburgh
 McCutcheon, Lyda B., Kirkwood Hotel, Pittsburgh
 McDowell, Stella D., 112 Race St., Edgewood
 Mahoney, Anna B., 589 Baldwin St., Meadville
 Mann, Adda May, 120 Ruskin Ave., Pittsburgh
 Maris, Mrs. Edith C., R. D. 2, Oil City
 Martin, Jane B., 261 N. Dithridge St., Pittsburgh
 Mates, James W., Hazelwood School, Pittsburgh
 Miller, Madge E., 320 Laurel St., Edgewood
 Miller, Paul D., 7113 Boyer St., Philadelphia
 Moore, Everette E., 16 Murtland Ave., Washington
 Moore, J. F., 2346 Beaufort Ave., Pittsburgh
 Morley, Christine C., Cardington Stonehurst School, Upper Darby
 Morrison, Dora, 1802 Freemont St., McKeesport
 Morse, Melvin E., 507 W. 28th St., Erie
 Muellerstein, Minnie M., 721 E. 23rd St., Erie
 Myers, Edward T., 5143 Oakland St., Philadelphia
 Myers, Max, Supvr., Physical and Health Education, Board of Public Education, Philadelphia
 Neill, John A., 420 Electric Ave., Lewis-town
 Nelson, Mary F., J. M. Conroy School, Pittsburgh
 Noe, Elizabeth T., 3234 N. 16th St., Philadelphia
 Notz, Hulda M., 4331 Dakota St., Pittsburgh
 O'Connor, Mary, 501 Sassafras St., Erie
 Owen, Ralph D., Temple University, Broad and Montgomery Ave., Philadelphia
 Parker, Sarah J., 706 Sprout St., Chester
 Parry, Samuel D., Andrew J. Morrison School, Thirld and Duncannon Ave., Philadelphia
 Payne, Edna P., Turner School, Wilkinsburg
 Pearce, Milton O., Sheridan School, G and Ontario Sts., Philadelphia
 Phillips, Earle W., 428 Rural Ave., Williamsport
 Porter, Hugh L., Chatham School, 227 Bonvue St., Pittsburgh
 Price, A. W., Colver
 Raup, Zura E., 128 Hepburn St., Milton
 Reeves, Mrs. Harriet K., 7501 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Philadelphia
 Reiger, George W., Jr., James Russell Lowell School, Fifth and Nedro Ave., Philadelphia
 Reisse, George B., 5366 Wingohocking Ter., Germantown, Philadelphia
 Rial, D. W., Frick Training School, Pittsburgh
 Riegner, Rebecca W., Simon Muhr School, 12th and Allegheny Ave., Philadelphia
 Robson, William K., 6614 N. Seventh St., Philadelphia
 Rogers, William C., Heston School, 54th and Lansdowne Ave., Philadelphia
 Rohrer, Mary M., Hamilton Court, Ardmore
 Ross, Anna, 310 Washington Rd., Pittsburgh
 Russell, Mary L., Horace Mann School, Indiana
 *Sacks, Solomon, 4827 N. Tenth St., Philadelphia
 Sarver, Cyril C., Supvg. Prin., Hampton Twp. Schools, Allison Park
 Sauerbier, May M., 409 N. Fifth St., Reading
 Scheel, Elizabeth A., 242 W. Tabor Rd., Philadelphia
 Schillinger, Alberta, 1308½ Louise St., Munhall
 Scorer, Sadie Mae, Box 404, Homestead
 Sharlip, Lou N., 5058 N. Eighth St., Philadelphia
 Sharpe, Mildred J., 304 Birmingham Ave., Pittsburgh
 Sheaffer, C. C., 1512 Coursin St., McKeesport
 Simpson, Ethel N., Essington School, Essington
 Soffel, Catherine A., 16 Greenbush St., Pittsburgh
 Spangler, Thomas B. F., Jr., 6108 N. Seventh St., Philadelphia
 Staneruck, Bessie E., 654 E. Summit Ave., Philadelphia
 Steinberg, David L., 723 Glenview St., Philadelphia
 Stevenson, Martha C., W. F. Harrity School, 56th and Christin Sts., Philadelphia
 Stewart, Laura E., 123 E. Agnew Ave., Pittsburgh
 Storey, Bernice L., 5728 Baum Blvd., Pittsburgh
 Tennis, Marguerite, 38 N. Harwood Rd., Upper Darby
 Thomas, Alfred, Rockland Street School, Lancaster
 Thomas, Oscar D., 6160 Webster St., Philadelphia
 Thompson, Irene A., Rose School, Pittsburgh
 Thornley, Mary, 5 Somerton Ave., Philadelphia
 Tomb, Fannie B., 211 Walnut St., Latrobe
 Truby, Charlotte C., Humboldt School, 20th and Sarah St., Pittsburgh
 Veith, Charles F., 7034 Marsden St., Philadelphia
 Waldman, John L., H. C. Lea School of Practice, 47th and Locust Sts., Philadelphia
 Walker, Anna W., 5732 Spruce St., Philadelphia
 Walker, James, Jr., 6039 Washington Ave., West Philadelphia
 Walter, Cornelius J., 1122 S. Peach St., Philadelphia
 Warshaw, Harry A., 6626 N. 18th St., Philadelphia
 Watson, Jennie A., 3301 Walnut St., McKeesport
 Webb, Ella P., 1525 Christian St., Philadelphia
 Wetter, Allen H., 4324 Tyson St., Philadelphia
 Wickersham, Mrs. Lillian M., 106 W. Oakdale Ave., Glenside
 Williamson, Edith E., 22 Arbor St., Pittsburgh
 Willis, Minnie C., Emerson School, Tenth and Cascade, Erie
 Wolf, M. Elizabeth, 581 Moorhead Pl., Pittsburgh
 Yerkes, Helen K., 4957 Rubicam Ave., Philadelphia
 Zahn, D. Willard, Barry School, 59th and Race Sts., Philadelphia
 Ziegler, Florence L., Schuykill Avenue Building, Reading

RHODE ISLAND

- Barry, Ursula M., 60 E. Manning St., Providence
 Bray, Marion B., 248 Webster Ave., Providence

Casey, Katherine L., 27 Claremont Ave., Providence
 Dows, Arthur J., Veazie Street School, Providence
 Furlong, Theresa G., Ives Street School, Providence
 Gillespie, Isabelle, Richmond Junior High School, Carolina
 Hopkins, Henry, Box 78, Chepachet
 McNally, Wayne W., Kenyon Street School, Providence
 Murray, Katherine M., Old Webster Avenue Elementary School, Providence
 O'Connor, Margaret A. T., Roosevelt Street Elementary School, Providence
 Patt, Hermann George, John Clarke School, Newport
 Peabody, Robert W., Laurel Hill Avenue School, Providence
 Spurr, E. Blanche, 33 Washington St., Central Falls
 Taylor, Barbara C., 9 Pleasant St., Newport
 Thornton, Grace E., 11 Squanto St., Providence
 Williams, Mary, John Howland School, 120 Cole Ave., Providence

SOUTH CAROLINA

Alcorn, Maurice, Hyatt Park School, Columbia
 Crayton, Nan, Hamrick School, Columbia
 Davis, Miss Eddie L., 1317 N. Main St., Anderson
 Edwards, Katharine, Hartsville
 Fogarty, Simon, 151 Moultrie St., Charleston
 Goforth, Preston C., Mt. Pleasant Academy, Mt. Pleasant
 Nelson, R. O., McMaster School, Columbia
 Reeder, Gertrude, Newberry
 Schneider, S. P., 522 Capitol Pl., Columbia
 Varn, Guy L., Walterboro Grammar School, Walterboro
 Voigt, Caroline, Logan School, Columbia

SOUTH DAKOTA

Anderson, Laura B., 625 W. 21st St., Sioux Falls
 Bach, B. Harrietta, Lowell School, Sioux Falls
 Burchfield, Marion, 605 Nebraska Ave., S. W., Huron
 Carpenter, Harriet, Box 18, Aberdeen
 De Kraay, Henrietta, Box 18, Aberdeen
 Detjen, Esther, Box 803, Aberdeen
 Durland, Edna J., 202 S. State St., Aberdeen
 Fastenan, Anna J., Spearfish Normal Training School, Spearfish
 Flanagan, Maude, King Apts., Mitchell
 Haas, Grace, 1615 S. Minnesota Ave., Sioux Falls
 Hamilton, Isabelle, 121 Galena St., Lead
 Hinricks, Grace A., 816 Quincy St., Rapid City
 Johnston, Maude E., 414 11th Ave., S. E., Aberdeen
 Lelstikow, Lydia M., 204 Seventh Ave., S. E., Aberdeen
 Linter, Annamae, 730½ S. Spring, Sioux Falls
 Minard, Adah E., 141 Sixth St., N. E., Watertown
 Moore, Harriet C., Oglala Boarding School, Pine Ridge
 Newkirk, Rachel, Bancroft School, Sioux Falls
 Rasmussen, Maud C., 920 S. Jay St., Aberdeen

Rovhl, Ella M., 320 S. Prairie Ave., Sioux Falls
 Sell, Dora, 600 E. 21st St., Sioux Falls
 Stallman, Elsie, 203 Prairie Ave., Sioux Falls
 Stapleton, Mrs. B. T., 503 Oak Ave., S., Sioux Falls
 Thorpe, Cleata, 205 Colorado Ave., S. W., Huron
 Venosa, Mabel, General Beadle School, Sioux Falls
 Welker, Jean, Irving School, Sioux Falls
 Williams, Mary Ann, 619 N. Lincoln St., Aberdeen

TENNESSEE

Bailey, Carrie, 500 Walnut St., Paris
 Bell, Nellie, 616 E. Brow Rd., Lookout Mountain
 Buckner, J. L., 951 Texas St., Memphis
 Burke, Lottie C., 2715 Lombardy, Memphis
 Carpenter, Clara E., 564 W. Shadowlawn Dr., Chattanooga
 Cartwright, Priscilla, 1135 Radcliff, Memphis
 Dreyfus, Florence, 195 Angelus Pl., Memphis
 Dwyck, L. W., Giffin School, Knoxville
 Hickerson, Mrs. Jessie H., Sunnyside School, Chattanooga
 Johnston, Thomas N., Staub School, Rose Ave., Knoxville
 Leavell, Ullin W., George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville
 Loy, H. G., High School, Corryton
 Lynk, W. A., 503 Alston Ave., Memphis
 Markey, Pearl, 563 Mosby Ave., Memphis
 Melson, Inda, 3614 Mynders Ave., Memphis
 Pate, Florence, Lawler School, Memphis
 Powell, Mrs. Kathryn, Bethel Grove School, 17 S. Rembert, Memphis
 Powell, L. E., 116 N. Bellevue St., Memphis
 Seegraves, Hassie, Principal of School, Pleasant Hill
 Southall, Maycle, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville
 Sugg, Tom T., 307 Center Ave., Dickson
 Underwood, R. H., 720 Parkway Ave., Fountain City
 Wells, Word, Poplar Pike, R. F. D. 5, Memphis
 Willis, Claude E., Eidson

TEXAS

Arrington, Mrs. Empress, 3118 Douglas St., El Paso
 Austin, Frank D., Franklin School, Tenth and Mobile, Port Arthur
 Baskin, Mildred, 724 Baltimore Ave., San Antonio
 Bellamy, W. S., 801 Woodlawn, Dallas
 Berry, Esther, 1901 Filmore, Wichita Falls
 Boone, Mamie E., 132 E. 12th St., Dallas
 Brand, Florence, Bowle School, Houston
 Breeding, Alice, 310 Courtland Pl., San Antonio
 Bright, J. B., 211 Forest Ave., Cleburne
 Brightwell, Mamie, 3736 Lipscomb St., Ft. Worth
 Brusse, Bun Bates, 1220 Waugh Dr., Houston
 Buckley, J. L., 410 Kober St., Brenham
 Buckmaster, Stella, 4924 Bryan St., Dallas
 Budd, Harold, 6210 Reiger Ave., Dallas
 Burgess, Kate, 1208 Scott Ave., Wichita Falls
 Burke, Margaret E., 720 W. Poplar St., San Antonio
 Bush, A. S., 1550 W. Magnolia, San Antonio
 Buttery, Nellie, Lamar Annex Hotel, Houston

- Carpenter, Nette, 426 Rigsby, San Antonio
 Carraway, Alleen, 724 W. First Ave., Corsicana
 *Clifton, H. Lee, 604 E. Fourth St., Burkburnett
 Colding, Kate, 522 Fourth St., San Antonio
 Cox, J. Elmer, 3414 Burton St., Ft. Worth
 Cox, Jewell, 3000 N. W. 26th St., Ft. Worth
 Daniel, Maud, 2425 McFerrin, Waco
 *Darnell, W. L., 201 E. 34th St., Austin
 Davis, Eva Margaret, River Oaks Elementary School, Houston
 Davis, J. M., 2945 Seventh St., Port Arthur
 Davis, W. L., 2110 Hutchins St., Houston
 De Chaumes, Helen C., 2203 San Jacinto St., Houston
 Deffebach, Mrs. Amelia, 2614 Waits Ave., Ft. Worth
 Denson, Carrie, 617 Vernon, Taylor
 Dent, Charles, 919 Ogden, Dallas
 De Wees, W. O., 2412 Lipscomb St., Ft. Worth
 Douglass, Mrs. Louise W., 1918 Rosewood St., Houston
 Dunn, Susie, Lamar School, Port Arthur
 Eddins, A. W., 400 Kirk Pl., San Antonio
 Eppler, Mamie, 2220 College Ave., Ft. Worth
 *Fertsch, L. M., 606 Highland Ave., Austin
 Fisher, G. N., 1012 Annin St., Ft. Worth
 Foster, A. N., Baytown Elementary School, Baytown
 Garrett, Major T., Box 1081, Goose Creek
 Gehring, Elsa, 2201 Bissonnet, Houston
 Gideon, S. E., 1906 Bennett, Dallas
 Glasgow, B. W., 3600 Cedar Springs, Dallas
 Glass, Nina B., Overlook Heights, Waco
 Gorbitt, Catherine, 625 W. Yandell Blvd., El Paso
 Grady, Margaret, 5403 Gaston, Dallas
 Grafton, E. G., 3916 Worth St., Dallas
 Graves, Harold, 2654 Vickery Blvd., Ft. Worth
 Greer, Loula, 1351 Washington Blvd., Beaumont
 Grizzard, Mabel Youree, 711 W. Main St., Waxahachie
 Hamilton, William Anderson, City Park School, Dallas
 Harris, J. F., 711 Clermont St., Dallas
 Haynes, Ida, 301 E. Brown St., Ennis
 Heilig, Irma, School No. 28, San Antonio
 Herring, L. R., Box 605, Tyler
 Higgins, Gertrude, 1015 N. Florence St., El Paso
 Hirsch, Herman, 719 Ogden St., San Antonio
 Hobby, Louise, 2245 Neches St., Beaumont
 Hodge, L. P., Anson Jones Elementary School, Baytown
 Hoffman, H. G., 3223 Ave. H, Ft. Worth
 Holcomb, W. F., Joe Wright School, Jacksonville
 Holden, P. H., 1820 Live Oak St., Houston
 Hood, John H., Elliot School, Rouse and Laredo Sts., Houston
 Houston, Josephine, 2508 Nueces St., Austin
 Howard, Mrs. Lily, 700 W. Upson Ave., El Paso
 Jackson, W. R., Box 622, Donna
 *Jacobs, R. C. T., 6419 Velasco Ave., Dallas
 Jewell, Frances, 2632 Jeffries, Dallas
 Johnston, Minnie L., 1524 Buena Vista St., San Antonio
 Jordt, Elsie B., 320 Maverick St., San Antonio
 Keeney, Mabel, 1903 N. Raynor St., El Paso
 Kelly, J. F., 1134 N. Clinton, Dallas
 Lamb, H. L., Grim School, Texarkana
 Langford, Nora, 721 Dickson St., Ft. Worth
 Lantrip, Dora B., 4525 McKinney Ave., Houston
 Lauderdale, R. D., 685 Palm, Beaumont
 Lee, R. B., 1609 Seventh St., Brownwood
 Lester, S. J., Sam Houston School, Galveston
 Lipscomb, Mrs. Virginia C., 703 Lipscomb, Dallas
 Liston, Leslie C., 1104 N. Milam St., Sequin
 Lloyd, Jessica, 515 College Ave., Ft. Worth
 Lloyd, S. M., 6126 Goliad, Dallas
 McBride, Clara A., 611 Cypress St., Orange
 McCorkle, Nelle, 5017 Gaston Ave., Dallas
 McFarland, Adaline, 1313 Castle Court Blvd., Houston
 McGhee, Mildred, West Ward, Box 1464, Borger
 McNeill, Bessie, 725 Ogden St., San Antonio
 MacMunn, Fannie, 723 Seventh St., Beaumont
 Martin, Howard H., 1328 Kings Highway, Dallas
 Mathis, Franklin M., 212 Lindsey Lane, Tyler
 Meek, Mrs. Florence A., Robert E. Lee School, Port Arthur
 Melear, Grace, 1618 N. 15th St., Waco
 Middleton, Effie, 323 E. Elm St., Hillsboro
 Miller, Gladys, 2001 Western, Ft. Worth
 Mitchell, Q. B., 947 Culebra Ave., San Antonio
 *Montgomery, Florence, 1530 Sul Ross Ave., Houston
 Moore, W. M., 1421 Washington Ave., Ft. Worth
 Morris, C. W., J. L. Long School, Dallas
 Morris, Maman H., 4127 Travis St., Dallas
 Muse, E. W., 124 N. Edgefield, Dallas
 Namendorf, Lavina, 1508 Kane St., Houston
 Nash, Mrs. J. B., Lamar School, San Antonio
 Neal, Elma A., 510 E. Dewey Pl., San Antonio
 Newby, W. B., Box 545, Temple
 Oehler, J. C., Jr., Cumberland School, Dallas
 O'Neil, Anne, 1610½ Dennis Ave., Houston
 Parker, Lulu, 1420 W. Humboldt St., Ft. Worth
 Pass, S. E., 1141 Amarillo St., Abilene
 Payne, Mrs. Eunice R., 211 W. Rio Grande St., El Paso
 Phillips, Lillian, 1155 Elm St., El Paso
 Pierce, Thomas E., Dir. of Elem. Education, High School Bldg., Big Spring
 Piland, Effie, 3396 Highland Ave., Beaumont
 Pool, Helen, Junker School, Beaumont
 Pugh, L. L., Route 1, Box 207, Houston
 Reagan, G. H., Lida Hooe School, Dallas
 Reed, H. D., Box 185, Sweetwater
 Reilly, Margaret, 502 E. Eighth St., Austin
 Rice, Clifford, Hilton Hotel, El Paso
 Rich, Allye, 2104 Hillcrest, Ft. Worth
 Riddle, Marie Sue, 1210 Washington, Waco
 Roberts, G. M., Box 803, Lamesa
 Schaper, Mamie Elsa, 1615 Washington Ave., Waco
 Smart, Mrs. C. K., Magnolia School, Beaumont
 Smith, Ella J., 1316 Clover Lane, Ft. Worth
 Standish, Ella, 3320 Broadway, Houston
 Stearns, Ellen K., Route 3, Box 17, Houston
 Steel, Mary, Box 311, Alice
 Steele, Helen C., 1511 Hyde Park Blvd., Houston
 Stephens, A. R., Amelia School, Route 1, Beaumont
 Stewart, Bessie L., Austin School, Wichita Falls
 Stewart, Mrs. Emaline O., Woodrow Wilson School, Houston
 Stollerfoht, Beatrice, 622 S. Carancahua, Corpus Christi

Stone, Grace, 1600 N. 17th St., Waco
 Stovall, Fanjane, 2212 Irwin St., Ft. Worth
 Stuart, Mrs. Amy E., 3313 Knight St.,
 Dallas
 Swann, Alicia, 2931 Aurora St., El Paso
 Tate, Willis, Alamo Heights Elementary
 School, San Antonio
 *Tatum, Robert Theophilus, 711 Poplar
 St., Beaumont
 Thomas, Lilla, R. F. D. 2, Box 61, El Paso
 Thorne, Carl, 5929 Hudson, Dallas
 Utley, Marguerite, 800 Missouri Ave., Ft.
 Worth
 Walker, E. D., 3520 Stanford, Dallas
 Walton, Ralph, 1107 Cordell, Houston
 Whitmire, Mrs. Ruth, Route 3, Box 408-A,
 Houston
 Willis, S. T., 615 Missouri Ave., Ft. Worth
 Wilson, Mrs. Olga, 2852 Pershing Dr., El
 Paso
 Wilson, Mrs. W. F., 215 Hawthorne Ave.,
 Houston
 Winniford, Mrs. May, 4909 Harrisburg,
 Houston
 Wood, Edna Erle, Box 144, Olney
 Woods, Mrs. Mabel T., 1610 Harold St.,
 Houston
 *Wright, Mrs. Edith D., Hawthorne School,
 1417 Houston Ave., Houston
 *Young, Wayne, 2010 14th St., Port Arthur

UTAH

Anderson, Lois, 1238 Bryan Ave., Salt Lake
 City
 Brewer, Eva M., Hotel Utah, Salt Lake
 City
 Bridgland, L. A., 1348 Princeton Ave., Salt
 Lake City
 Brown, Florence G., Polk School, Ogden
 Craven, Ina E., Box 783, Ogden
 Ferris, Olive, 813 Belvedere Apts., Salt
 Lake City
 Fitzgerald, Gertrude, Box 783, Ogden
 Folsom, H. B., R. F. D., Farmington
 Forrester, Katherine S., 411 Belvedere
 Apts., Salt Lake City
 Harris, J. J., 1550 Yale Ave., Salt Lake
 City
 Harris, Marion L., 1337 McClelland, Salt
 Lake City
 Kelsey, Ella, 656 S. Fourth E., Salt Lake
 City
 Kendall, Edith E., Forest School, Salt Lake
 City
 Kesler, A. B., 1155 Yale Ave., Salt Lake
 City
 Layton, Margaret, Lowell School, Salt
 Lake City
 Light, Edith M., 548 23rd St., Ogden
 McCoy, Mrs. Evelyn R., Wasatch School,
 1115 E. South Temple, Salt Lake City
 Morgan, Margaret E., 3 Clifton Apts., Salt
 Lake City
 Morris, Zeta, 223 W. North Temple, Salt
 Lake City
 Peirce, M. June, Box 566, Ogden
 Poulson, Frank G., 1521 S. Ninth, E., Salt
 Lake City
 Poulson, Fred N., Hawthorne School, 1632
 S. Seventh, E., Salt Lake City
 Ryberg, Edith, Onequa School, 513 N.
 Tenth, W., Salt Lake City
 Stearns, Harold J., Roosevelt Junior High
 School, 843 Lincoln St., Salt Lake City
 Steele, Jesse F., High and Junior High
 School, Toole
 Stewart, I. Daniel, 740 E. Third S., Salt
 Lake City
 Strate, F. C., 733 N. University Ave.,
 Provo
 Whelan, Lillian H., 411 Belvedere Apts.,
 Salt Lake City
 Young, Sara H., 431 Ninth Ave., Salt Lake
 City

VIRGINIA

*Adair, Cornelia S., 3208 Hawthorne, Rich-
 mond
 Akers, R. V., 166 High St., Salem
 Barbour, James W., Jr., R. F. D. 4, Box
 316, Hampton
 Blackwell, Lessie, Route 2, Richmond
 Bleight, W. Carter, Chimborazo School,
 33rd and Marshall Sts., Richmond
 Bremm, Hazel, George Washington School,
 321 Lynwood St., Bristol
 Brewbaker, J. J., 422 Westover Ave., Nor-
 folk
 Brown, Mrs. John S., Robert E. Lee School,
 1017 Highland Ave., Bristol
 Bryant, Alice G., Hampton Institute,
 Hampton
 Buford, Florence, 1021 W. Maine St., Char-
 lottesville
 Burnley, Carrie C., 920 E. High St., Char-
 lottesville
 Carmichael, Omer, 1101 Court St., Lynch-
 burg
 *Clark, Norris B., Booker T. Washington
 School, Newport News
 Dinwiddie, Sarah, Consolidated Rural
 School, Mitchells
 Dunaway, C. H., John B. Cary School, Rich-
 mond
 Dunlap, Henrietta C., 24 Edmonson Ave.,
 Lexington
 Eaves, Robert W., 2815 Key Blvd., Lyon
 Village
 Edgerton, R. O., Thomas Jefferson School,
 Portsmouth
 Frayne, Mrs. Lucy B., 1112 Wise St.,
 Lynchburg
 Givens, C. B., Helen Dickinson School,
 Richmond
 Goodwin, Mary A., Patrick Henry School,
 3411 Semmes Ave., Richmond
 Harris, Viola B., Virginia State College,
 Ettrick
 Harrison, Lucille, 406-A N. Sheppard St.,
 Richmond
 Harvey, M. Lizzie, Garland-Rodes School,
 Lynchburg
 Holt, Lucy Mason, Ocean View School, Nor-
 folk
 Hurt, Jemima C., 512 Campbell Ave., Roan-
 oke
 Jameson, Margaret, R. F. D. 5, Danville
 *Johnson, Lillian M., 404 Chestnut St.,
 Norfolk
 Johnson, Lou Anna, 121 Mars St., Peters-
 burg
 *Joynes, Mrs. Edith B., 410 W. 14th St.,
 Norfolk
 Keeling, Lucy G., 310 W. Bute St., Nor-
 folk
 Kellam, Mary R., Virginia Beach School,
 Virginia Beach
 Lawson, Lena E., 906 Campbell Ave., S. W.,
 Roanoke
 Lewis, Mrs. Virginia S., Dupont School,
 Hopewell
 Lohman, Mrs. Florence Minor, 425 N. 31st
 St., Richmond
 Malloy, Mrs. Florence B., 118 Mt. Pleasant
 Ave., Norfolk
 Marx, Mrs. E. M., Brentwood Apt., Norfolk
 Massey, Mabel C., 405 Lincoln Ave., Roan-
 oke
 Moran, Sarepta A., Venable School, Char-
 lottesville
 Nixon, John L., 609 E. Leigh St., Richmond
 Ober, Merrill J., James Monroe School,
 29th and Newport Ave., Norfolk
 Robertson A. Zuleime, Nathaniel Bacon
 School, 35th and O Sts., Richmond
 Scott, Katherine K., Oak Grove School,
 2200 Ingram Ave., Richmond
 Scott, Lannie V., Stonewall Jackson School,
 Petersburg

Shelton, Nollie W., Jr., Grammar School, Birds Nest
 Sheppe, Mrs. A. L., 519 Lee St., Bristol
 Simpson, Harriet L., New Castle
 Smith, Emma A., Wasena School, Roanoke
 Smith, R. L., Harrison School, Roanoke
 Spies, Robina W., 2709 Floyd Ave., Richmond
 Starritt, Bertha W., 1320 Chapman Ave., Roanoke
 Taylor, Ethel L., Box 463, Newport News
 Thomas, Nicholas B., Route 2, Box 8, Midland
 Thompson, Ethel, 1000 W. Marshall St., Richmond
 Urquhart, Helen D., 1119 Wise St., Lynchburg
 Vaughn, Eva, Jefferson School, Pulaski
 Wilton, Mrs. Lily F., 206 W. Main St., Danville
 Wilson, Elsie E., Magruder School, Newport News
 Woodward, Mrs. Louis P., Lee School, Alexandria
 Wray, Charlotte D., 1106 W. Grace St., Richmond
 Wynn, Nettie F., John L. Berkley School, Danville

WASHINGTON

Allen, Nell B., Box 35, Hoquiam
 Allen, Zella E., Magnolia School, 28th W. and W. McGraw, Seattle
 Bay, W. D., 202 N. Sixth St., Mt. Vernon
 Beardsley, Albert R., 529 W. 25th St., Vancouver
 Blauert, Arthur, Columbia School, Spokane
 Bowsher, Arthur E., Roeder School, Belingham
 Boyington, Jo Mae, Wilson School, Spokane
 Bradley, Florence, Lincoln School, W. 25 Third Ave., Spokane
 Budde, Charles A., 3049 E. 94th, Seattle
 Cassidy, H. A., Alki School, Seattle
 Caughlan, J. C., Grade School Principal, Enumclaw
 Dimmitt, Benlah, Brighton School, Seattle
 Donaldson, Jeannette, Supvr., Upper Grades and Junior High School, Dept. of Education, Olympia
 Durham, M. E., Leschi School, Seattle
 Elder, Raymond, Maple School, Seattle
 English, Elsie, Lincoln Grade School, Tacoma
 Evans, E. H., Lincoln School, Everett
 Farnsworth, Mabel V., W. 738 Park Pl., Spokane
 Farrar, Frank, 4703 11th Ave., N. E., Seattle
 Fitzgerald, Marie, 901 Plateau Rd., Spokane
 Forsyth, Lydia E., Dunlap School, Seattle
 Fowler, Ivan A., 620 N. Alder, Aberdeen
 Glover, O. K., 1811 Shelby St., Seattle
 Gray, Charles C., North Queen Anne School, Seattle
 Griffin, Roy M., Route 3, Kent
 Guthrie, Viletta H., Stevens School, 418 Fifth St., Wenatchee
 Hanawalt, P. B., Supt. of Schools, Box 327, Puyallup
 Hanson, Orlando M., Lowell School, Seattle
 Hart, Emma C., 1205 Spring St., Seattle
 Heaton, O. E., Logan School, Spokane
 Hebler, Amanda, Dir. of Training, Washington State Normal School, Ellensburg
 Heller, Anna E., S. 180 Cannon St., Spokane
 Henderson, Frank D., Central School, Seattle
 Henderson, Grace Clara, Loyal Heights School, Seattle
 Herren, Dora S., Montlake School, Seattle
 Horrall, Pansy, 3612 Grand Blvd., Spokane

Johnson, Elsie Marian, 415 W. 13th St., Vancouver
 Kelly, L. Maxine, 326 Queen Anne Ave., Seattle
 Knaack, R. H., Bemiss School, Bridgeport and Stone, Spokane
 Knutson, K. J., T. T. Minor School, Seattle
 Lacy, Susan M., 204 Euclid Ave., Spokane
 Langley, Rosa A., Sheridan School, Spokane
 Larabee, Emma D., F. A. McDonald School, Latona Ave. and E. 54th, Seattle
 Lewellen, Brooks, Issaquah Elementary School, Issaquah
 Lockwood, Jessie M., John Muir School, 33rd S. and Horton Sts., Seattle
 McClincy, Eleanor, E. 1116 Fifth Ave., Spokane
 McClure, Worth, Supt. of Schools, Seattle
 McDonnell, E. L., Jefferson School, Seattle
 McIlravy, Frank D., 1433 38th Ave., Seattle
 Mackintosh, John J., Webster School, Seattle
 Mahon, Ada J., 942 27th Ave., Seattle
 Marquette, Elizabeth, Latona School, E. 42nd and Fourth, N. E., Seattle
 Martin, Sarah A., 1920 Broadway, Vancouver
 Melvin, Belle, Box 481, Everett
 Nelswender, J. A., Route 8, Box 636, Seattle
 Nettleton, Lullie, 2815 Boylston, N., Seattle
 Norby, Theo. J., Harney School, Vancouver
 Oliver, Fred L., Wallace School, Kelso
 O'Neill, Helen C., Webster School, Sharp and Standard Sts., Spokane
 Palmer, J. Lee, 1415 E. 14th Ave., Spokane
 Parker, Isabelle C., S. 180 Cannon St., Spokane
 Perry, Bella, Youngstown School, Seattle
 Petite, J. Edward, University Heights School, University Way and E. 50th St., Seattle
 Pinckney, Paul W., Columbia School, Bellingham
 Pratt, Orville C., Supt. of Schools, Spokane
 Purinton, Estelle, Holmes School, Cochrane and Sharp Sts., Spokane
 Radcliffe, W. O. E., 437 21st St., Bellingham
 Reeves, Lester L., 3843 Ashworth Ave., Seattle
 Richardson, Margaret, S. 180 Cannon St., Spokane
 Selby, Kenneth, Stevens School, Seattle
 Smith, Byron B., 9021 View Ave., Seattle
 Smith, Gerald, Franklin School, Vancouver
 Smith, Lila, Whitman School, Spokane
 Stanton, Edgar A., 3302 E. Mercer St., Seattle
 Stoecker, Mamie B., McGilvra School, Seattle
 Strite, Adelaide, W. 207 23rd Ave., Spokane
 Stroud, Clara H., Pasco
 Swedine, Elmer, 4235 Brooklyn Ave., Seattle
 Thomson, John A., 130 Garden Ave., Renton
 Thorlakson, R. G., Cathlamet
 Thune, Elmer T., 3115 N. 29th, Tacoma
 Towner, Earl M., 2029 Perkins Rd., Lake Forest Park, Seattle
 Travis, Ivan, Box 757, Kirkland
 Turnbull, F. A., 1812 W. Sixth St., Aberdeen
 Vetting, Ida F., 305 Bellevue Ave., N., Seattle
 Warren, J. S., Garfield School, Spokane
 Welsman, Frances, S. 726 Jefferson St., Spokane
 Welsman, Sara E., S. 726 Jefferson St., Spokane

Welden, Carrie R., 3317 N. Audubon, Spokane
 Wilson, Mabel V., Laurelhurst School, E. 45th and 46th St., N. E., Seattle
 Witt, Lena E., 328 Eighth Ave., Spokane

WEST VIRGINIA

Bailey, Dallas C., 820 Hood Ave., Shinnston
 Boster, J. M., Lower Greenbottom School, Le Sage
 Brooks, R. F., 2142 Ninth Ave., Huntington
 Brown, Stanley, 155 Camden Ave., Buckhannon
 Carmichael, H. E., 1305 Sixth St., Moundsville
 Chapman, Guy M., 928 23rd St., Huntington
 Christian, Walter V., 2714 Highlawn Ave., Huntington
 Cox, Minnie, 201 Summers St., Hinton
 Dent, Mrs. Geraldine S., Prin., Grades and Junior High, Spencer
 Faulkner, Lawson, Mora Grade School, McComas
 Fette, Bertha M., Washington School, 501 Main St., Wheeling
 Filson, Mrs. Bertha S., 1010 Vland St., Point Pleasant
 Glover, Gertrude, 306 Washington St., Charleston
 *Grose, Mary V., Craigsville
 Huffman, Walter B., 619 Lewis Ave., Vienna
 James, E. W., Lawton
 Johnson, LeRoy, Barnett School, Huntington
 Lambert, F. B., Ousley's Gap School, Barboursville
 Licklider, Bessie B., Mercer School, Charleston
 Lilly, Franklin, Grandview Grade School, Grandview
 Lohse, Minnie K., 2143 Market St., Wheeling
 McCue, E. B., Thorpe
 McKinney, C. S., Box 303, Beckley
 McKisson, Elsie A., Main Street School, Sistersville
 Moore, Iva L., 2751 First Ave., Huntington
 Morris, F. E., Barboursville
 Mowry, Hazel S., 9 Riverside Dr., South Charleston
 Newman, Winifred, 1546 Jackson St., Charleston
 Odgers, H. E., Asst. Supt., Marion County Schools, Fairmont
 Plants, Wilbur E., Montcoal
 Porter, Sarah, 210 Ash Ave., Moundsville
 *Richards, R. H., 1201 Third St., W., Huntington
 Robinson, Lucy A., Towers School, Clarksburg
 Sanford, Alice W., 1111 Fifth St., Moundsville
 Scarff, Dora W., 425 11th St., Huntington
 Scharf, Estella M., 37 Greenwood Ave., Wheeling
 Smith, Rex M., 834 College Ave., Morgantown
 Thompson, Merlin Dale, Ft. Gay
 Wilson, Grace, Gallaher School, Huntington
 Wright, J. Leo, 1814 Sixth Ave., Huntington
 Zeiler, Melissa, Box 67, Vivian

WISCONSIN

Almy, Shirley D., Lapham School, Madison
 Anderson, William V., Seventh Ward School, Fifth Ave., Eau Claire
 Armstrong, Nano E., Lee School, Milwaukee
 Atwood, Abbie A., Wilson School, 465 Western Ave., Janesville
 *Axtell, Annie D., 229 Clifford Court, Madison
 *Ballou, Ethel L., 2338 Ogden Ave., Superior
 Becher, William O., 2219 S. Fifth St., Milwaukee
 *Benson, Josephine E., 202 E. Eighth St., Superior
 Best, Margaret M., 209 Wisconsin St., Port Washington
 Bickler, Peter, 615 N. 28th St., Milwaukee
 Billups, Cecil W., Supt., Boone County Schools, Madison
 Birong, V. T., 2222 N. 71st St., Wauwatosa
 Birr, O. A., North Ninth Street School, N. Ninth at W. Vine St., Milwaukee
 *Boyce, Thomas W., Cass Street Rotary School, 1647 N. Cass St., Milwaukee
 Boyington, Georgiana, 407 Third Ave., N., Hurley
 Brill, Laura, Silver Spring School, 5073 N. Green Bay Ave., Milwaukee
 Buboltz, William F., North Fifth Street School, Milwaukee
 Campbell, Sue, Hogan School, La Crosse
 Chapin, Daisy W., Cunningham School, Beloit
 Clark, John A., 4504 W. Montana St., Milwaukee
 Cleary, Margaret E., Washington School, West Allis
 Clock, Lucile, Dudgeon School, Madison
 Colbert, Cecilia A., 2325 N. 50th St., Milwaukee
 Corcoran, Dan W., Robert M. LaFollette School, 3239 N. Ninth St., Milwaukee
 Dawson, Daisy, Box 5, Marinette
 Derse, Robert M., Victor L. Berger School, Milwaukee
 Dougherty, Ruth M., 440 Chippewa St., Eau Claire
 Edwards, H. R., 915 W. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee
 Ehler, Edward, McKinley Elementary School, Manitowoc
 Fleming, Vera A., 931 Wisconsin Ave., Beloit
 Fritschel, Max C., Jr., 1516 W. Forest Home Ave., Milwaukee
 Gardner, Ethel M., 816-A S. 21st St., Milwaukee
 Gell, Phillip H., 2941 S. Wentworth Ave., Milwaukee
 Hagen, Marie E., 325 W. Main St., Madison
 Hahn, William H., Thirty-eighth Street School, 38th and Clarke Sts., Milwaukee
 Heffernan, Jesse E., 2112 S. Ninth St., Sheboygan
 Hickman, Donald D., 1225 Bluff Ave., Sheboygan
 Hoole, Patricia, 932 S. 60th St., West Allis
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 Howard, Virgie M., 8509 Stickney Ave., Wauwatosa
 Jones, Renette, 410 W. Wilson St., Madison
 Kappelman, Mary, 1312 N. 27th St., Milwaukee
 Kaross, Ella B., North Fratney Street School, 3255 N. Fratney St., Milwaukee
 Karst, Walter F., 7414 W. Wright St., Wauwatosa
 Kavanaugh, Katherine, 3950 N. Farwell Ave., Milwaukee
 Kellar, Laura E., 1918 E. Menlo Blvd., Milwaukee
 Knoelk, William C., 1111 N. Tenth St., Milwaukee

Koepke, William C., 2919 N. 49th St., Milwaukee
 Kolb, Philip A., 1850 N. 73rd St., Wauwatosa
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 La Budde, Frank, 1535 N. 40th St., Milwaukee
 Lahr, B. G., 1540 Deane Blvd., Racine
 Lantry, Alice F., H. W. Longfellow School, 1021 21st St., Milwaukee
 Leard, Margaret, North Bartlett Avenue School, Milwaukee
 Leiser, Else, 1242 N. 16th St., Milwaukee
 Leistikow, G., High School, Winneconne
 Loveland, Lepa, Wright Street School, 5522 W. Wright St., Milwaukee
 Lowe, O. H., 502 Bluff Ave., Sheboygan
 Luening, Edwin G., 2160 N. 60th St., Milwaukee
 Lutz, Charles F., 801 S. 15th St., Sheboygan
 McCabe, Amber, 721 Oakland Ave., Waukesha
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 Millman, Anna, 1336 W. Washington St., Milwaukee
 Milnitz, Lillie, Tippecanoe School, Milwaukee
 Morse, Alice C., Dover Street School, 619 E. Dover St., Milwaukee
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 Osterberg, Lydia S., 856 N. 11th St., Manitowoc
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 Parrott, Jessie, Route 4, Box 49, Merrill
 Parsons, Emily R., 15 N. Webster St., Madison
 Payne, Florence I., 1741 N. Seventh St., Milwaukee
 Peck, Adelbert W., Clarke Street School, 2816 W. Clarke St., Milwaukee
 Pierce, A. K., 2227 S. 82nd St., West Allis
 Powell, Harley J., Mt. Horeb
 Pranke, Helen M., Garden Holmes School, 4456 N. Teutonia, Milwaukee
 Pratt, Velmer D., 2303 E. Washington Ave., Madison
 Ralph, H., Thoburn, Washington School, 2166 N. 68th St., Wauwatosa
 Regan, Julia A., 2209 N. 26th St., Milwaukee
 Reichert, C. Lorena, 2134 Keyes Ave., Madison
 Rood, Mrs. Alice E., 1438 Morrison St., Madison
 Schleck, Leo P., Emerson School, Madison
 Schnell, Fred S., 2722 Highland Ter., Sheboygan
 Schnell, Henry S., Mitchell School, 1728 S. 23rd St., Milwaukee
 Schwartz, Carrie E., 3230 S. Adams Ave., Milwaukee
 *Shaw, George E., 1605 John Ave., Superior
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 Sperling, Hugo E., 1311 Maryland Ave., Sheboygan
 Swartz, David L., 3620 W. Rohr Ave., Milwaukee

Tabert, Anna H., Mary Hill School, 529 N. 27th St., Milwaukee
 Thies, Lillian C., 2500 N. Stowell Ave., Milwaukee
 Tower, Ethel F., 622 S. Seventh St., La Crosse
 Ulrich, Louis E., Sherman School, 5110 W. Locust St., Milwaukee
 Weltzien, Lena M., 1548 S. Second St., Milwaukee
 Wiesler, H. E., 2035 N. Seventh St., Sheboygan
 Zeller, Edward J., 5070 N. Hollywood Ave., Milwaukee
 Ziebell, E. W., 1525 Arthur Ave., Racine

WYOMING

Chambers, Margaret J., Grant School, Casper
 *Dean, Blanca, Box 330, Rawlins
 Dunlap, Mrs. Nona Udell, Willard School, Casper
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 England, Mrs. Martha Shelby, Lincoln and Roosevelt Schools, Casper
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ALASKA

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 Karnes, Anthony E., Commissioner of Education, Juneau

CANADA

Stafford, Harold D., Box 24, Kimberly, British Columbia
 Wheable, G. A., Board of Education, London, Ontario

HAWAII

Angus, Myra W., Pohukaina School, Pohukaina and Keawe Sts., Honolulu
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 Clower, Malcolm W., Molokai Intermediate School, Hoolehua, Molokai
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 Engle, Mary Ella, 2391 Koa Ave., Honolulu
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 Giugni, Mrs. Kealoha H., Pearl City School, Pearl City, Oahu
 Hendry, Mrs. Robert, 3015 Kalahaua Ave., Honolulu
 Hobby, Mrs. Eleanor C., Elele School, Box 255, Elele, Kauai

Holtberg, Myrtle H., Walluku Elementary School, Walluku, Maui
 Inaba, Albert, Kilohana School, Pukoo, Molokai
 Kekapa, William K., 1219 Center St., Honolulu
 Howell, Mrs. Edith, Molokai Standard School, Kaunakakai, Molokai
 Hugelen, Reinhart L., Paaulo School, Paaulo
 Kellogg, Eleanor A., Ewa School, Ewa, Oahu
 Kaupu, Edward, Halawa School, Halawa, Molokai
 *Lacy, Mabel V., 3440 Leahi Ave., Honolulu
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 Larsgaard, Herman, Laupahoehoe Intermediate School, Laupahoehoe
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GLOSSARY

The following list of definitions is limited to terms used in this yearbook which are probably unfamiliar to many principals and teachers. Terms belonging primarily to the vocabulary of psychoanalysis are indicated by the abbreviation, *psychoan.*, in parentheses.

- ASCENDANCE:** a mode of behavior in face-to-face relations with other people, characterized by the tendency to dominate or take the leading role.
- ASTHENIA:** lack of general strength, or impairment of vitality. Asthenic: referring to a condition of asthenia.
- ATYPICAL:** literally, varying from type; a loose term generally used to indicate marked deviation of an individual from the characteristics of a class or category.
- AUTONOMIC:** literally, self-regulating; applied to a division of the nervous system formerly supposed to be self-regulating, but now known to be only relatively independent.
- CENTILE:** a statistical term referring to percentile rank; a value which for a given score gives the percentage of all the scores falling below the given score; thus, the highest or 99th centile in any distribution of scores is the score below which 99 percent of the cases fall, and above which 1 percent of them fall.
- CHOREA:** a disorder of the motor-control centers characterized by irregular, jerky, or spasmodic involuntary movements. *St. Vitus' dance* is a form of chorea.
- CLINIC:** a place or organization for the examination, diagnosis, and treatment of physical or mental disorders. Clinician: one who conducts or assists in the work of a clinic.
- COMPLEX (*psychoan.*):** a system of emotionally toned ideas which have been repressed and which give rise to morbid feelings.
- CONDITIONED REFLEX:** an acquired simple response which was originally initiated by a certain stimulus, but which is now initiated by another stimulus that has occurred earlier in connection with the first.
- CORRELATION COEFFICIENT:** a mathematical expression of the degree of relationship between two factors.
- CORTEX:** the layer of gray matter which forms the outer coating of the brain. Cortical: referring to the cortex.
- DELINQUENCY:** violation of law, usually by persons of juvenile court age, or conduct so seriously antisocial as to endanger the welfare of the individual and the community.
- DEMENTIA PRÆCOX:** a group of mental diseases occurring more frequently in persons between the ages of fifteen and fifty, and characterized by mental deterioration and "split" personality; because of the latter, it is also known as *schizophrenia*.
- DIAGNOSIS:** the procedure by which the nature of a disease or disorder is determined thru study of its origin, evolution, and symptoms.
- ENDOCRINE:** ductless gland or organ of secretion which forms a specific chemical substance having a profound effect on the growth and functioning of the body; this substance is generally poured directly into the body fluids.
- EPILEPSY:** a nervous disorder, usually chronic, characterized by sudden convulsions. Epileptic: pertaining to epilepsy; a victim of the disease.
- EXTROVERSION:** an attitude or type of behavior in which the individual's attention is directed chiefly toward other persons or objects, rather than toward himself.
- FIXATION (*psychoan.*):** the establishment in childhood of a strong attachment for someone or something, and the undue persistence of this attachment in childish form during adult life.
- GENETIC:** pertaining to origin or source; for example, *genetic psychology* is the study of mental phenomena and behavior in terms of their origin or development.
- HETEROGENEITY:** difference in quality, kind, or sort among the members of any group.
- HETEROSEXUAL:** referring to the attraction on the part of an individual for or toward individuals of the opposite sex.
- HOMOGENEITY:** similarity among the members of any group with respect to quality, kind, or sort.
- HORMONE:** a chemical substance formed by one organ which evokes excitatory changes in other organs.
- HYPPOCHONDRIASIS:** a morbid condition in which the individual is abnormally concerned about his health, with a consequent tendency to exaggerate trifling symptoms.
- HYPOPITUITARY:** pertaining to the underfunctioning of the pituitary gland, which in some instances causes dwarfishness; in contrast to *hyperpituitary*, which refers to overfunctioning of the same gland, a condition sometimes causing gigantism. There are also other profound results from each.
- HYPOTHYROID:** pertaining to the underfunctioning of the thyroid gland; a condition resulting from insufficient secretion of the thyroid gland.
- HYSTERIA:** a condition of emotional instability often characterized by hallucinations, sleepwalking, paralysis, etc. Organic disorders may or may not be apparent.
- INHIBITION:** act of restraining a process from beginning or continuing; state of being restrained or inhibited.
- INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT (I. Q.):** a measure of intelligence or relative brightness obtained by dividing an individual's mental age by his age in years. *See* Mental age.
- INTROVERSION:** an attitude or type of behavior in which the individual's attention is directed chiefly toward himself and his own affairs, rather than toward other people.
- LASSITUDE:** a condition of nerve and muscular relaxation not due to immediate overexertion, and accompanied by disinclination to activity.
- LETHARGY:** a condition characterized by sluggishness and languor. Lethargic: pertaining to a state of lethargy.
- MALNUTRITION:** a condition in which the body is poorly nourished.
- MANIC-DEPRESSIVE PSYCHOSIS:** a condition of personality characterized by emotional cycles varying from extreme excitement and activity to extreme depression and stupor.

- MATURATION:** attainment of, or progress toward, the state of complete development.
- MELANCHOLIA:** a condition of extreme sadness and depression. In abnormal cases the reasons given for the depression by the person afflicted are either not apparent or not adequate.
- MENTAL AGE:** a measure of mental ability obtained by comparing an individual's performance on a mental test with the average performance of many other individuals at different chronological ages.
- METABOLISM:** the composite of physical and chemical changes which take place in the body of a living organism, including both the constructive and destructive processes.
- MONGOLIAN IMBECILE:** a person afflicted with a type of feeble-mindedness which gives the face a peculiar Mongolian-like appearance.
- MYOPIA:** nearsightedness. Myopic: pertaining or relating to myopia.
- NEGATIVISM:** refusal to carry out suggested acts; contrary reactions. In abnormal mental cases the patient may resist suggestion even to the extent of doing the opposite of what is suggested.
- NEURASTHENIA:** a condition characterized by lack of physical and mental vigor, by abnormal fatigability, and often by the presence of groundless fears; sometimes called "nervous exhaustion."
- NEUROLOGICAL:** referring to the structure and function of the nervous system, or to the branch of biology which investigates them.
- NEUROMUSCULAR:** pertaining to the structure or functions of nerve and muscle in relation to each other.
- NEUROTIC:** pertaining to a condition bordering on a "nervous breakdown" or neurosis; sometimes used to designate an individual afflicted with minor nervous disorders.
- OEDIPUS COMPLEX (psychoan.):** the desire (usually unconscious) of the son to possess the mother; an excessive erotic attachment of the son to the mother.
- OPTIMUM:** the best value in a given series (generally not the maximum or minimum) for the purpose at hand.
- OSSIFICATION:** the process by which body tissue changes to bone.
- OVERT RESPONSE:** any response which involves bodily changes or movements which can be observed by another person.
- PARANOID:** pertaining to a condition of personality termed *paranoia*, which is characterized by systematized delusions, often delusions of grandeur or persecution, or both.
- PARATHYROID:** referring to small glands at either side of the thyroid gland which exercise control over the calcium metabolism of the body.
- PARESIS:** a syphilitic infection of the brain resulting in a form of paralysis.
- PATHOLOGICAL:** referring to diseases and disorders of the organism, as distinguished from its normal conditions.
- PEDIATRICIAN:** a specialist in children's diseases.
- PERVERSION:** degeneration of any of the organism's fundamental instincts or tendencies; a term often used with reference to abnormal gratification of sexual desire.
- PITUITARY GLAND:** a ductless gland at the base of the brain which secretes substances affecting growth, fat distribution, blood pressure, and other important functions of the body.
- POST-ENCEPHALITIC:** relating to changes in personality which accompany *lethargic encephalitis*, an infectious disease characterized by inflammation of parts of the brain, fever, headache, and lethargy.
- PROGNOSIS:** prediction of the duration and outcome of a disorder.
- PSYCHIATRIST:** a physician who specializes in mental and nervous diseases.
- PSYCHIATRY:** the practice of treating mental diseases by a licensed physician.
- PSYCHOANALYSIS:** a technique used by Freudian psychologists for investigating the mental and emotional life of an individual by such means as analyzing his dreams and blunders, and by free association tests. Not to be confused with *psychological analysis*, which generally utilizes standardized tests of intelligence, aptitudes, and other personal characteristics.
- PSYCHODYNAMICS:** a field of psychological study which is especially concerned with the changes in, and development of, mental processes.
- PSYCHOGENIC:** having source or origin in psychological factors; refers to mental or emotional disorders which are not attributed to physiological changes, and in which mental conflicts, suggestions, and preoccupations appear as underlying causes. All mental diseases were at one time considered *psychogenic*.
- PSYCHOMETRICS:** the quantitative measurement of personality traits and mental abilities.
- PSYCHONEUROTIC:** referring to the functional disorders of the nervous system so far as they involve or are caused by mental factors or functions.
- PSYCHOPATHIC:** relating to mental or emotional disorders.
- PSYCHOPATHOLOGY:** the systematic study of mental factors, functions, and processes in pathology or disease. *Psychopathological:* pertaining to psychopathology.
- PSYCHOSIS:** any abnormal or pathological mental condition which tends to constitute a disease-entity.
- PSYCHOTHERAPY:** the treatment of maladjustment or disease by psychological methods, as contrasted to physical or physiological methods. *Psychotherapist:* one who practices psychotherapy.
- PSYCHOTIC:** referring to severe mental or emotional disturbances.
- RAPPORT:** a sympathetic relationship between individuals.
- REGRESSIVE:** moving back or returning to an earlier condition of development.
- REPRESSION (psychoan.):** the mental process by which ideas painful to consciousness are forced into the unconscious system, while still remaining active.
- SCHIZOPHRENIA:** See *Dementia praecox*.
- SIBLING:** one of two or more offspring born at different times of the same parents; a brother or sister.
- THERAPEUTIC:** relating to *therapy*, which is treatment intended to cure or alleviate a disordered condition.
- TIC:** an involuntary nervous twitching or movement of muscles.
- TOXIC:** pertaining to poisons or poisoning.
- VARIANT:** a thing that differs from another in form only, being the same in essence or substance; an individual deviation.

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