

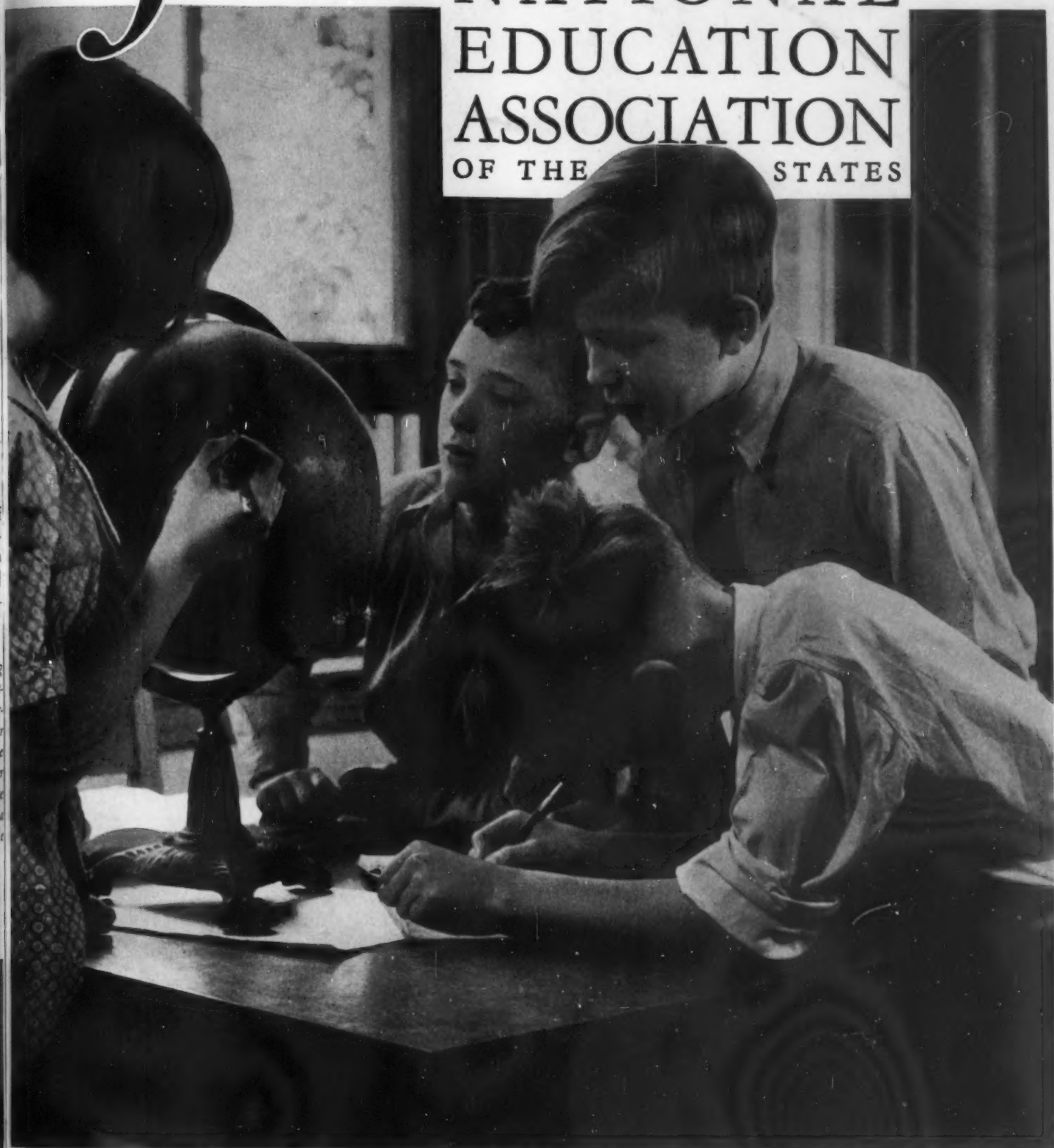
The

Journal

of the

NATIONAL
EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION
OF THE STATES

SEP 26 1937



Visit your schools American Education Week, November 7-13. See page 214.

October 1937

*Making the Constitution • American Education Week, 1937 • General Science and
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Between Editor and Reader

THE QUESTION often comes: Shall we advise young people to take up teaching as a profession? By all means, yes, if they have the natural fitness for it and a real purpose in their hearts to do good. Great questions like that are not decided on the basis of salary or material conditions at a particular time and place. Their roots go deeper. If the state of civilization improves, the position of the teacher will be one of greatest usefulness and happiness. If the collapse of civilization is not soon arrested and grows steadily worse, the need for teachers of purpose, character, and clear vision will be greater than ever. In either case, every teacher should unite in an open conspiracy to keep out of teaching those who would seek to enter it primarily for selfish reasons or because they are looking for an easy path in life. We must bring into teaching the young men and women of greatest promise and cultural excellence, who will find their greatest happiness in developing their talents of leadership. Teaching by its very nature is a great heroic calling or it is nothing. Among the values which teachers may daily exalt are:

- (1) The practice of mutual helpfulness.
- (2) Cultivation of kindness and goodwill.
- (3) Sincerity of manner and a love of truth.
- (4) The development of the voice and bearing as an expression of fineness of character.
- (5) The joy of family life.
- (6) The happiness of being friendly and of having worthy friends.
- (7) The beauty of nature—trees, birds, flowers, the sky, the clouds, the stars, and the changing seasons.
- (8) Satisfaction in reading materials selected with discrimination and the building up of a personal library of the best.
- (9) Joy in useful work well done—in the perfection of skill.
- (10) A sense of duty and responsibility which makes one desire to conserve all the good humanity has achieved and to add to it.

Why not talk with young people more about these things? Every child wants to make the most of his life.

The Journal goes to all members of the National Education Association

The payment of \$2 active membership dues entitles a member to attend all meetings of the Association and its departments, to vote for delegates to the Representative Assembly, to hold office, and to receive THE JOURNAL. The payment of \$5 instead of \$2 entitles an active member, in addition to the privileges of the \$2 membership, to receive the Research Bulletins and the Annual Volume of Addresses and Proceedings. The payment of \$100 gives the privileges of the \$5 active membership for life. Subscription to non-members is \$2 per year; single copies, 25 cents. Advertising rates on application. Please report at once any change of address, giving old as well as new address. THE JOURNAL is a member of the Educational Press Association of America. Published monthly, except June, July, and August, by the National Education Association of the United States, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Entered as second-class matter October 23, 1920, at the postoffice at Washington, D. C., under the act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in section 1103, act of October 3, 1917, authorized January 26, 1931.

The Journal

of the NATIONAL
EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES

JOY ELMER MORGAN, *Editor*
H. A. ALLAN, *Business Manager*

VOLUME 26
NUMBER 7

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*The articles herein printed are the expressions of the writers and
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American Education Week

NOVEMBER 7-13, 1937

EDUCATION AND OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Is the general theme of American Education Week 1937. During this observance millions of American citizens will consider the fundamental relationship of education to the future of our democracy. See article on p. 214.

Write at once for the supplies which you will need.

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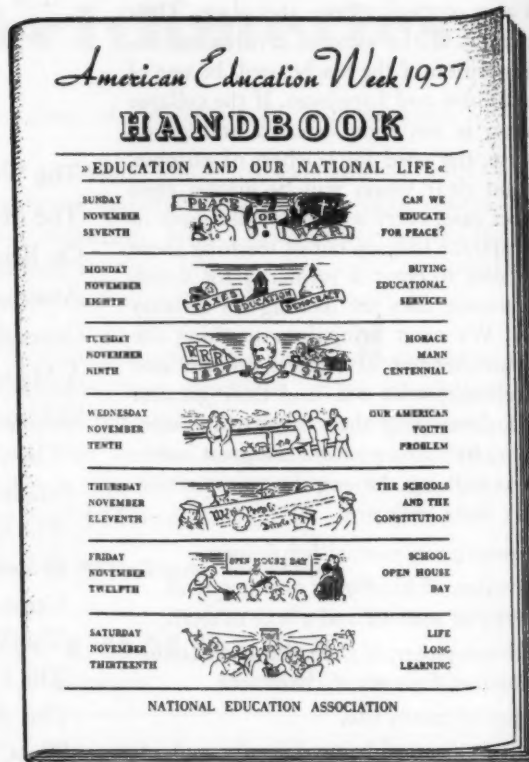
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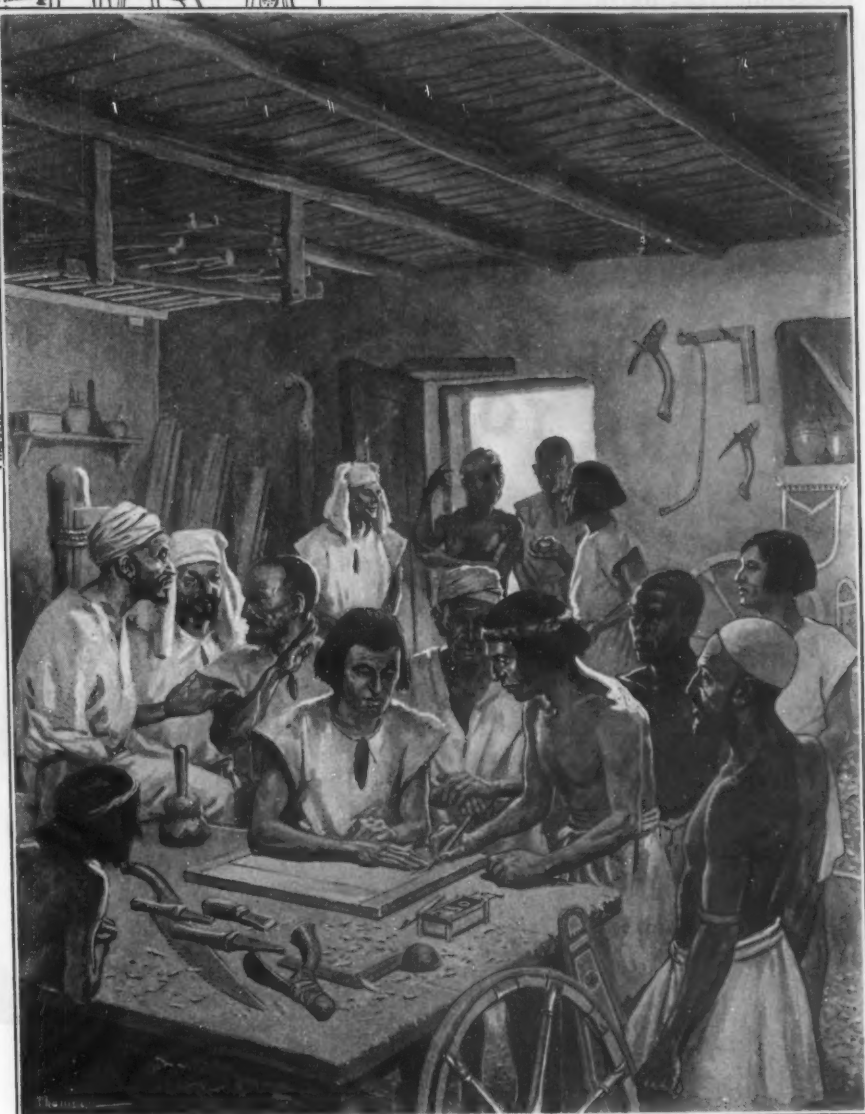
THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
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1/2

ON

[illegible]

Before the artist made the illustration shown below for Rugg and Krueger's "Man at Work: His Arts and Crafts" he spent hours in the Egyptian section of New York City's Metropolitan Museum making the preliminary sketches (shown at the left) of the tools and other objects to be shown in the picture.

**GINN**

[A-119]

[Cont. from page 242] best publications.

I am not one who believes in clothing stark realism with sentimentality, but it seems to me that there should be a limit to what is put in the hands of young people whose ideas and judgments are in the formative stage. And I believe that as counselor to youth we of the teaching profession should show our disapproval of such magazines as *American Mercury* and *Story*, both of which are on the subscription award list of *Scholastic*.

Also there have appeared in *Stage*, *Harpers*, *News Week*, and *Time* articles that border on or are frankly indecent. And certainly some of the new picture magazines are unfit to come off the press. The new *Life*, which started off so well, has gradually degenerated with each succeeding issue.

Isn't there something that we as an organization can do about it? Certainly there must be enough decent-minded members of our profession and of other professions, who, if concerted action were taken, could help to put the brakes on.

The battle is not only against material which is indecent and vulgar, but against that which is dishonest and anti-democratic. What stand does your school take?

According to a letter from Representative Jennings Randolph of West Virginia, the Randolph-Lee Bill to provide federal aid to the states for adult civic education thru public forums is being held in abeyance pending the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education. It is expected that the movement will go forward and become a permanent part of the public-school system.

For your personal library on Horace Mann—

[1] *Life of Horace Mann* by his wife. Committee on the Horace Mann Centennial, 1937. \$1 postpaid. Facsimile edition of a 600-page biography. "Readable—instructive—inspiring."

[2] *Horace Mann: His Ideas and Ideals* by Joy Elmer Morgan. Prepared especially for the Centennial; published by National Home Library Foundation, Washington, D. C. 1937. 150p. 25¢ a single copy plus 5¢ postage. "I wish every American could read this book and appreciate what this country is doing for the people thru our public schools."—Senator Arthur Capper.

[3] *Chautauqua Textbook on Horace Mann* by Wm. F. Phelps. Centennial Committee, 1937. Single copy 15¢, quantity discounts. "You have done a good work in making the text of such a rarity available to this generation."—J. Wyer, director, New York State Library.

[4] *Horace Mann, Educational Statesman* by E. I. F. Williams. Macmillan, N. Y. 1937. 367p. illus. \$2. "Ranks with the great biographies of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln—a book for every man who loves his country."

[5] *Educating for Democracy*. Antioch Press, Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1937. 148p. \$1. The Proceedings of the Horace Mann

Conference at Antioch College, opening event of the Centennial.

[6] *Horace Mann and Our Schools* by Payson Smith, A. E. Winship, and Wm. T. Harris. American Book Co., N. Y. 1937. 100p. \$1. Published especially for the Centennial.

[7] *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the U. S.* by B. A. Hinsdale. Scribner's, N. Y. 326p. \$2. A special Centennial reprint of a wellknown biography, long out-of-print.

[8] *Testament of Faith*, a new Horace Mann play by the Antioch College Faculty. Dramatists Play Service, 6 East 39th St., N. Y. 100p. 75¢ a copy. Royalty fee of \$10 a performance. Presented at the Antioch Conference in October 1936 and at the NEA Convention in Detroit, July 1, 1937.

[9] *Those Who Bear the Torch*, a pageant by the Horace Mann Schools of New York City, celebrating the contribution of Horace Mann to the story of education. Committee on the Horace Mann Centennial, 1937. 160p. illus. Clothbound, \$1 a single copy; paperbound, 50¢ a single copy; quantity discounts. Ideal for "Horace Mann Day," November 9, of American Education Week.

Canadian airways to be free of liquor broadcasts—On the first day of October the Canadian Broadcasting Cor-

WHAT DID THEY LEARN TODAY?

BESIDES THE 3 R'S ARE 4 FACTORS THAT HELP BUILD GOOD TEETH. THESE FACTORS, SO VITAL A PART OF HEALTH EDUCATION, ARE:
1, EAT THE PROPER FOOD; 2, EXERCISE THE TEETH;
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poration is putting into effect a new board of governors' order that bans all liquor-sponsored advertising thru the facilities of the corporation. Subtle forms of pro-liquor propaganda that have been "bootlegged in" are also outlawed.

Soldiers of Science, an educational health playlet, depicts the romantic and historical events which led to the discovery of Vitamins A, B, C, D, and G. Written for junior and senior highschool students, it offers teachers excellent material for classwork, school programs, and parent-teacher meetings. Free copies may be obtained from the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, Madison.

The strength of organized labor—William L. Green addressed his Labor Day message to 3,600,000 members of the AFL. John L. Lewis addressed his Labor Day message to the 3,718,000 workers enroled in the CIO.

The persistent caricature of school days as one of unpleasantness is a potent contributing factor to preventing school children from having the right attitude toward the opportunity which is theirs. Likewise, it has been contended with considerable propriety, is the summer vacation which once was expedient when this was primarily an agricultural country and the children were needed in the fields. Eventually the 12 or at least 11 or 10 months' school is coming. Then with educational methods reformed, the coming generation will be engaged the year round in profitable work beneficial to the community as well as to themselves.

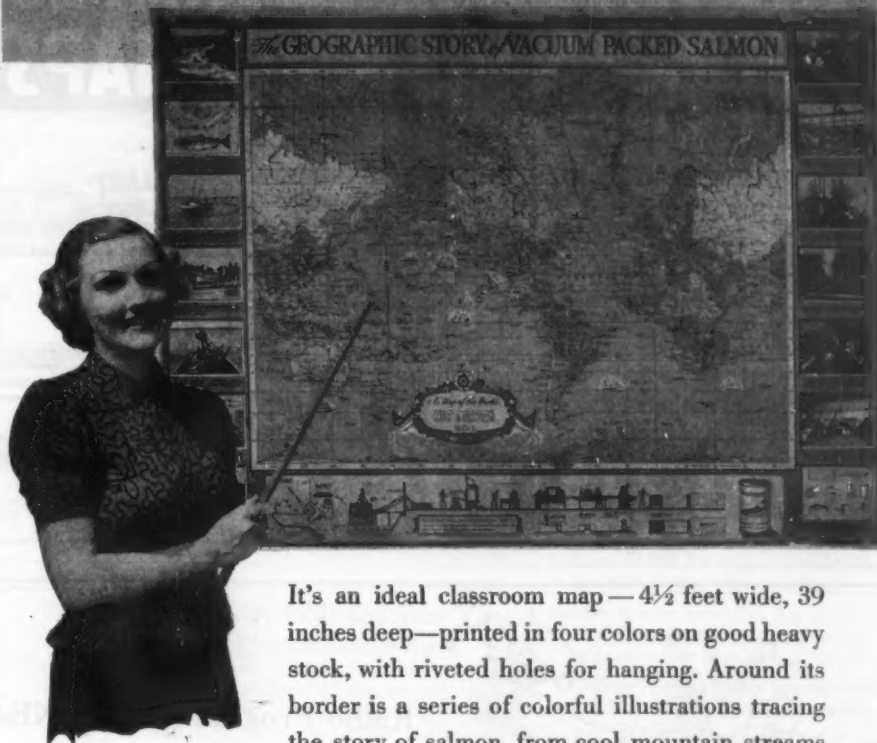
Until that happy day arrives the kids should have common sense enough to laugh at the cartoonists' efforts and to realize that school days are lived thru only once. Opportunities lost during them never can be obtained again.—Curtis D. MacDougall in the *Evanston, Ill., Daily News-Index*.

Have you ever considered becoming a Life Member of the National Education Association? Such a step has marked the turning point in many a professional life. It is a fine investment, both in your own future and America's.

Cooperative medicine—Many people would like to find a practical, here-and-now solution to the problem of getting adequate medical care at reasonable cost, and the Cooperative League of the United States believes it has the right answer. The method is the formation of cooperative health associations. When one of these is set up, there are individual and family memberships and for a fixed monthly fee each member is entitled to as nearly complete medical service—including hospitalization—as the total assets of the group will permit. Some [Cont. on page A-122]

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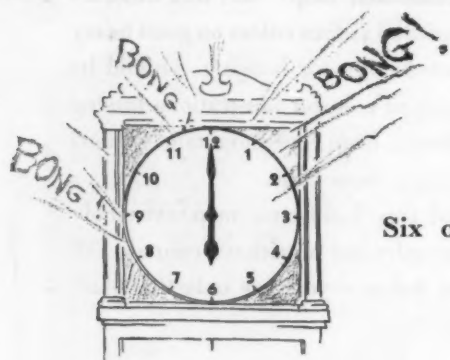
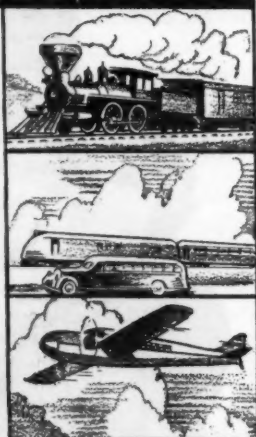


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WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Cont. from page A-121] advantages of the plan, in addition to its relatively low cost, are the stress laid upon periodic examinations and preventive medicine as well as group consultations of physicians in difficult cases. The Cooperative League has established a Bureau of Cooperative Medicine at 5 East 57th St., New York City, to assist consumers' cooperatives and other groups to form medical cooperatives. Already such medical groups are actively functioning in St. Louis; New York City; northern New Jersey; Elk City, Oklahoma; San Francisco; Milwaukee; and many other communities, large and small, throught the country.—*New Republic*, July 14, 1937.

Choral speaking at Ontario, Calif.
—Stuart McLaughlin, an Ontario teacher, has written to *THE JOURNAL* describing the progressive development in oral expression which is a part of the program of the Ontario Speech Arts Department. He reports that "the sterling character of choral speaking quickly demonstrates its worth by sudden and wide appeal to children once they have experienced it. Those who have native taste for poetry naturally like it. Shy pupils are encouraged to join in because they lose their identity in the group thru this social activity. It is found that even the most recalcitrant are caught by the spirit of rhythm and mingle eagerly with the other happy members."

Ten-point program for farmers—
L. J. Taber, master of the National Grange, proposes the following program:

- [1] Use larger proportions of tariff revenue in finding new uses for farm products, in finding new markets for farm crops, and equalizing market conditions and prices.
- [2] Place emphasis on the family-sized farm. Keep farm costs and supplies, including transportation, interest, and taxation within reason.
- [3] Develop cooperative marketing and collective bargaining so that the farmer can have a fair voice in determining the price of his products.
- [4] Develop national unity and oppose sectionalism and class warfare.
- [5] Ample support for education, extension, research, and youth activities.
- [6] Return to the farmer the American market "for those commodities which can be efficiently produced."
- [7] Emphasize rural organization and selfhelp agencies.
- [8] Continuation of the soil conservation program, "but place it more directly under farmer control."
- [9] Develop a longtime farm program, emphasizing "sound land use," and retire marginal land by increasing forestry.
- [10] Use the principles of the ever-normal granary and crop insurance.

Officials of the Tennessee Valley Authority announce that 787,460,000 kilowatt hours of electricity were generated at three TVA dams in the fiscal year ending July 1, for a gross revenue of \$1,650,-

000. The TVA is serving 33,569 customers in 17 municipalities, 14 farm cooperatives, and TVA communities in four states. It has in service 1100 miles of high voltage transmission lines, connecting Norris, Wheeler, and Pickwick landing dams.

The American Youth Congress held its fourth annual meeting July 2-5 at Milwaukee, Wis., meeting as a Model Congress of Youth. About 2000 were in attendance, representing all parts of the country and all types of youth organizations. The chief business of the Congress was done in six committees: Agriculture; Civil Liberties; Education; Labor; Peace; and Recreation, Leisure Time, Housing, and Cultural Opportunities. Among the 150 bills and resolutions passed were: an amended version of the Harrison-Black-Fletcher Bill; expansion of the CCC educational program; inclusion in the school curriculum of instruction in peace, labor movements, and consumer interests; increased vocational, adult, and extension education; and a federal Department of Education. Willard E. Givens, executive secretary of the National Education Association, was one of the leading speakers of the conference.

Nazi activities in the United States—According to a press dispatch of September 9, 1937, Senator Borah of Idaho advocates a Congressional investigation of the extent of Nazi activities in this country.

Students' day at Raymond, Kansas, Highschool—The first Wednesday in each month pupils are given charge of the school. Each class selects one of its members as teacher, and one pupil is selected from the student body to be principal. These responsibilities are distributed to as many pupils as possible. The teachers are free to visit classes and are treated as guests. H. E. Zimmerman, principal of Raymond Highschool, writes, "The student principal calls a meeting of the student teachers and the student council a few days prior to his taking over his administrative duties. Subjectmatter to be taught, methods of presentation, and other phases of teaching duties are discussed. Each student teacher chooses his own subjectmatter and makes his own assignment the day before he is to teach. The student council takes over the responsibility for discipline. Student teachers derive much benefit from these experiences and a better understanding is created between the entire student body and the faculty."

In China—Russia certainly has the drop on Japan. Nearly a decade and a half ago, Russia started her peaceful penetration of China, and today communists control an area with nearly 100 million population. The [Cont. on page A-124]

Who Will Pay

the Doctor
the Nurse
and the
Board Bill



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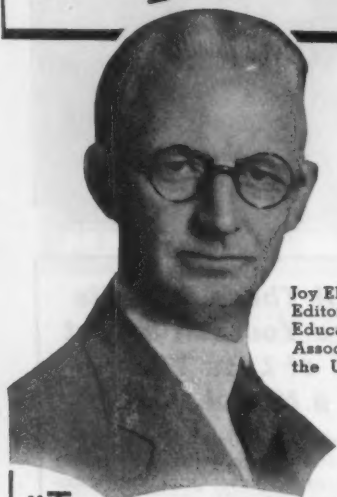
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Joy Elmer Morgan,
Editor, National
Education
Association of
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AMERICAN TYPE FOUNDERS

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[Cont. from page A-123] Communist army in China is welltrained.—*People's Lobby Bulletin*.

The public budget of the community should be studied in the school. It can be used in the classes in arithmetic or civics or as a topic of general current interest. This budget is often given on the back of local tax receipts.

A heavy overhead—According to figures given in the *People's Lobby Bulletin*, the total of mortgages on urban and farm real property, exclusive of mortgages on real estate of corporations, is approximately \$45,000,000,000. Is it any wonder that rural communities and some towns are going down under the load of absentee ownership?

Honorary degrees that are worthwhile—An honorary degree well awarded is the best degree in the world because it recognizes distinction in some difficult field of action or living. Reed College, Portland, Ore., has caught the significance of this fact as indicated by its 1937 commencement for which it sought out candidates whose great service had been rendered quietly and without ostentation. The degrees were given to Willard W. Beatty, formerly superintendent of schools of Bronxville, N. Y., now director of Education in the Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs; Ruth West, teacher of history in the Lewis and Clark Highschool, Spokane, Wash.; Louis Stark of the staff of the *New York Times*; Rudolph Forster of the White House staff, who was commended both by President Roosevelt and ex-president Hoover; and William Lewis Brewster, Portland lawyer and civic leader.

The Department of Elementary School Principals—The second annual Conference on Elementary Education sponsored by this Department, will be held at New York University immediately following the NEA convention in New York City, July 1938.

An 80-page annotated bibliography of the first fifteen yearbooks of the Department will be sent complimentary to every DESP member for the year 1937-38. This is an extra service to members this year, and only members will receive it.

Dates to be remembered—

October 20-23—Seventh Biennial Conference of the National Association for Nursery Education, Hermitage Hotel, Nashville, Tenn.

November 7-13—American Education Week. See page 214.

November 14-20—Book Week. For information address the National Association of Book Publishers, 347 Fifth Ave., New York.

November 29-December 1—Second National Conference on Educational Broadcasting at the Drake Hotel, Chicago.

February 26-March 3—Convention of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City. See page 239.

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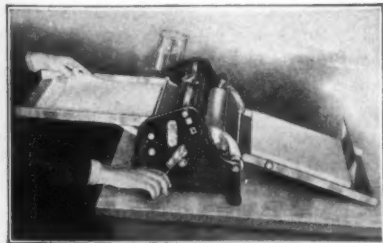
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NeuNEAPublications

Research Memorandum on Education in the Depression is the title of a bulletin recently prepared by the Educational Policies Commission and published by the Social Science Research Council (230 Park Ave., New York, N. Y., \$1). This monograph is one of a series of thirteen sponsored by the Council to stimulate the study of depression effects on various social institutions. The bulletin is accompanied by a bibliography of 1500 titles published separately by the Educational Policies Commission, 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C., 50¢.

The Changing Curriculum, Joint Yearbook of the NEA Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction and the Society for Curriculum Study, has just been published. This volume, prepared by a committee of nationally known educators under the chairmanship of Henry Harap, contains not only an up-to-date report of progress in curriculum development during the past ten years but also makes an original contribution to the discussion of curriculum planning which will be found invaluable to administrators, supervisors, and teachers. Copies bound in cloth matching earlier yearbooks are being supplied to the members of the Department of Supervisors as its *Tenth Yearbook*. Non-members may order this 340-page book from D. Appleton-Century, New York, \$2.

A handbook for local teachers organizations has been prepared and published by the NEA Department of Classroom Teachers and is being widely distributed. It is designed to serve as a guide to groups desiring to organize but it will also be helpful to those already organized. Copies may be obtained free by writing to the Department, 1201 16th St., Washington, D. C.

The Sixteenth Yearbook of the Department of Elementary School Principals, "Appraising the Elementary-School Program," has been sent to all members of the Department for 1937-38. Copies may be secured by nonmembers for \$2 each.

The Research Bulletin of the Research Division for September 1937 will present the gist of the Congressional hearings on the Harrison-Black-Fletcher bill for federal aid. The printed reports of the House and Senate committees totaled nearly a thousand pages and comprise one of the most complete presentations of the arguments for federal aid to education. It is expected that the *Research Bulletin* will be a useful handbook for study groups and others who believe that the federal government should assume its rightful place in the financial support of education.

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Publications of the N.E.A.

The National Education Association of the United States publishes many valuable books and pamphlets. They are the contribution of some of the best minds in the teaching profession, and are an authoritative source of information and help to teachers, principals, supervisors, superintendents, and members of departments of higher education.

Listed below are a few of the publications available. A complete list of publications will be sent on request.

Teacher Welfare

Minimum-Salary Laws for Teachers	
Report of the Committee on Tenure. January, 1937. 38 pp.....	.25
Court Decisions on Teacher Tenure Reported in 1936	
Report of the Committee on Tenure. April, 1937. 35pp...	.25
Court Decisions on Teacher Tenure in 1935	
This Tenure Report covers the calendar year 1935. 48 pp.	.25
A Handbook on Teacher Tenure	
A Report of the Committee on Tenure. June, 1936. 32 pp.	.25
Teachers' Contracts with Special Reference to Adverse Conditions of Employment	
A Report of the Committee on Tenure. June, 1936. 32 pp.	.15
Teacher Retirement Systems and Social Security	
Research Bulletin of the N.E.A. Vol. XV, No. 3, May, 1937. 64 pp.....	.50

Health Education

Health Education	
A program for public schools and teacher-training institutions. The Report of the Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education of the National Education Association and the American Medical Association. 1930. (Second edition.) 251 pp.	
Paper Bound.....	\$1.25
Cloth Bound.....	1.75
Home and School Cooperation for the Health of School Children	
1937. 32 pp.....	.20
School Health Policies	
A preliminary study of group opinions, 1934-35. 64 pp...	.20
Open Air Classrooms	
1937. 14 pp.....	.10
Athletics for Girls	
A Digest of Principles and Policies for Administrators and Teachers in Junior and Senior High Schools. (Department of Health and Physical Education.) 14 pp....	.10

Departmental Yearbooks

The Improvement of Education—Its Interpretation for Democracy	
Fifteenth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence, 1937. 328 pp.....	\$2.00
Appraising the Elementary-School Program	
Sixteenth Yearbook, Department of Elementary School Principals, 1937. 431 pp.....	2.00
Adjustments in Rural Education	
A bulletin of the Department of Rural Education. 1937. 120 pp.....	.50
Teacher and Public	
Eighth Yearbook, Department of Classroom Teachers, 1934. 240 pp.....	\$1.00
The Development of a Modern Program in English	
Ninth Yearbook, Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, 1936. 193 pp.....	2.00
The Role of Research in Educational Progress	
Official Report, American Educational Research Association, February, 1937. 256 pp.....	1.50

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

THE WORLD is now in the first stages of what is probably the greatest transition in human affairs since the dawn of history. This transition involves the uprising of the people who have been at the bottom of the human scale, and its corollary, the attempt to delay or thwart that uprising as in Italy, Germany, Japan, and parts of the United States. The uprising is overdue and we may well believe will eventually succeed.

There is a tendency in the press to oversimplify the struggle that is going on as a contest between fascism and communism. Conditions in every country are highly complex and confused, shifting now this way, now that. The words "fascism" and "communism" are themselves misleading, having been used so much in emotionalized propaganda as to be virtually useless for purposes of popular discussion.

This perversion of language is a part of the campaign of special privilege to confuse and mislead the people. It is better to pay more attention to actual conditions in the various countries and to rely less on confusing labels. After all, what is *is* whether we like it or not, and our hope of wise action either in private or public life is to try to understand the situation as it actually exists.

The present phase of history—a collapsing capitalism and a rising proletarian—takes different forms in different countries varying with political and cultural backgrounds and with the type of leadership that happens to spring up. We can see this in our own country where the dominant wish of the people is to be democratic, often with little idea as to what that means. We can see, also, how meaningless party labels have become. The words "Republican" and "Democrat" mean as little as fascist and communist. Even within groups like the New Deal or the CIO one does not expect to find unanimity.

Meanwhile there are certain things which the ordinary citizen can do to maintain his bearings and to make his influence count in the right direction.

First, he can insist on hearing all sides and on doing a little investigating of his own before making up his mind. Since ordinary sources of public information are so heavily dominated by special privilege, the citizen may well read one or two liberal weeklies like *The Nation* or *The New Republic*. How else can he understand his age? The citizen who reads the propaganda of but one political writer and who closes his mind to other sources of information is simply denying the sovereignty of his own intelligence. Never in my lifetime have reports out of Washington been so misleading as during the past summer. Dependable information is so essential to wise action that we dwell especially upon the use of farreaching agencies of press, radio, and movies to defeat the general welfare. Is it not plain that agencies which play upon the human mind in the United States are largely in the hands of people who have a stake in avoiding the reforms that are necessary to produce a livable social order for our people as a whole? What goes into the mind comes out in the life and it must be as clear as day that the stuff which radio, movies, and press are pouring into the human mind can produce nothing but chaos. Admitted that there is some good in them all, their total effect is to create anarchy of mind, to preserve into adult years the infantilisms that should be steadily outgrown. In the long run no agency can rise above its primary purpose. The primary purpose of press, movie, and radio as now organized is to make money. They can make more money by catering to the lower impulses rather than the higher. Thru advertising they fall into the control of the parasitic industries and the degradation of

body, mind, and spirit becomes a mass-production enterprise. Our political system cannot survive if our cultural system is destroyed.

Let us look at the great daily newspaper thru the eyes of a noted Italian critic, who had an opportunity to observe the destruction of culture by the press in Italy before Mussolini came into power, and who now lives in exile from his own country:

The third weak point in presentday democracy is the daily press. A century ago, when freedom of the press was one of the principal demands of liberals everywhere, any group of men with talent and a small sum of money could start a newspaper and acquire an influence in the country proportionate to their ability. This was a period of free competition between small daily papers. But during the past half century the daily newspaper has become a great capitalist enterprise requiring millions of dollars for its establishment. Hence whoever has the necessary millions is in a position to flood the country daily with tons of printed matter, altho his genius may consist solely in knowing how to find out what particular brand of crime and type of feminine legs most appeal to the sensibilities of the less educated section of the population. Many of these papers are the property of capitalist concerns, or are subservient to personal vanities, which too often do not promote the welfare of the community. The publisher of one of these newspapers can poison the mind of a whole country with mendacious stories or by the suppression of news. He is a despot who is not responsible to anyone for the manner in which he exercises his authority; he has liberty without responsibility. The press is now a dictatorship of a unique kind. Planted in the midst of free institutions, it insidiously disturbs and perverts them. The division of powers on which free government was originally based, has disappeared, and the Fourth Estate—the great daily press—having overcome all the other powers—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—reigns supreme in

their stead. The omnipotence of the press is perhaps the most dangerous disease which infects free institutions today. If the daily press were not so corrupt and stupid—probably more often stupid than corrupt—even the vote-catching system would not work so badly; and congressmen directed by an intelligent and honest press would be able to cut a better figure. [From an address by Professor Gaetano Salvemini, former professor of history at the University of Florence, Italy, before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Friday, April 5, 1935.]

Second, the citizen who wishes to play his part well can insist so far as he is able, that those who represent him in city, state, and national legislatures or in administrative offices shall be honest and able men, free from obligation to those powerful, predatory, corporate interests which seek constantly to corrupt and control government.

This implies the necessity not only of defeating undesirable candidates, but also of supporting desirable ones both during and after the elections. The task of the statesman who fights the people's battles is not easy and he is entitled to the support of an active public sentiment. There is inspiration in the way the state of Nebraska has kept George W.

Norris in the United States Congress thru the ups and downs of a long career. Fortunately an attractive biography of Norris is now available. [*Integrity: The Life of George W. Norris* by Richard L. Neuberger and Stephen B. Kahn. Published by the Vanguard Press, 1937.]

Third, the citizen can give particular attention to international affairs which have come to affect us all very closely.

The nations of the world today face a situation quite comparable to that which our American states faced under the Articles of Confederation. World relationships have grown and are growing rapidly—witness the problems in connection with fast spreading international aviation. There is no central authority or body of law adequate to deal with those relationships. The vicissitudes of the League of Nations show that it will not be easy to develop such an authority. It was not easy to draw up our Constitution and to obtain its adoption. But sooner or later the world must have organization and some means of substituting cooperation for war. Here is a field of study to which untold thousands of people might well give their leisure time.

Fourth, the citizen can put his own house in order, making the most of

himself in the sure knowledge that the age needs purpose, strength, and character. Here teachers and schools can be a mighty force. They can do more than anyone else to make sure that the changes which lie ahead shall come in the light of intelligence and in a spirit of goodwill and fair dealing. Our ultimate security is in the character of our people and in their purpose to govern themselves. They cannot govern their country if they do not assume sovereignty over their own lives. After all, what one eats, drinks, buys, does, reads, listens to over the radio, looks at, or occupies his mind with, is mostly within the field of his own choosing if he will to have it so and it is the task of education to make sure that the choice shall be enlightened. Never before in history has the human mind been so important and never before have the efforts to control and mislead it been so powerful. The future of civilized life is in the free school, maintained by and serving all the people impartially.

It is no accident that the organized profession of education is growing rapidly and moving forward to a new power. This growth is a response to the eternal need of the ages—the need of light.

—JOY ELMER MORGAN.

The Mental Aspect of Our Civilization

MENTAL ACTIVITIES are influenced by social environment as profoundly as by the fluids of the body. Like physiological activities, they improve with exercise. Driven by the ordinary necessities of life, organs, bones, and muscles work without interruption. Thus, they are compelled to develop. But, according to the mode of existence of the individual, they become more or less harmonious and strong. . . . Mind, on the contrary, does not unfold spontaneously. The son of a scholar inherits no knowledge from his father. If left alone on a desert island, he would be no better than Cro-Magnon men. The powers of the mind remain virtual in the absence of education and of an environment bearing the stamp of the intellectual, moral, esthetic, and religious accomplishments of our ancestors. The psychological state of the social group determines, in a large measure, the number, the quality,

and the intensity of the manifestations of individual consciousness. If the social environment is mediocre, intelligence and moral sense fail to develop. . . .

The education of the intelligence is relatively easy. But the formation of the moral, esthetic, and religious activities is very difficult. The influence of environment on these aspects of consciousness is much more subtle. No one can learn to distinguish right from wrong, and beauty from vulgarity, by taking a course of lectures. Morality, art, and religion are not taught like grammar, mathematics, and history. To feel and to know are two profoundly different mental states. Formal teaching reaches intelligence alone. Moral sense, beauty, and mysticism are learned only when present in our surroundings. . . .

Civilization has not succeeded, so far, in creating an environment suitable to mental activities. The low intellectual and spiritual value of most human

beings is due largely to deficiencies of their psychological atmosphere. The supremacy of matter and the dogmas of industrial religion have destroyed culture, beauty, and morals, as they were understood by the Christian civilization, mother of modern science. The small social groups, possessing their own individuality and traditions, have also been broken up by the changes in their habits. The intellectual classes have been debased by the immense spread of newspapers, cheap literature, radios, and cinemas. Unintelligence is becoming more and more general, in spite of the excellence of the courses given in schools, colleges, and universities. . . . School children and students form their minds on the silly programs of public entertainments. Social environment, instead of favoring the growth in intelligence, opposes it with all its might.—ALEXIS CARREL in *Man, the Unknown* [Harper & Brothers].

On Being in Two Places at Once

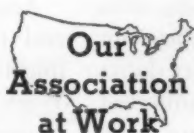
NO, THIS STORY doesn't have to do with Houdini. But it presents a problem that many members of the teaching profession fail

to understand. They find it difficult to visualize the returns from enrolment in professional organizations. They do not see that while they are on the giving end in paying the membership fee they are also on the receiving end of the services made available only thru professional organization.

This is due in part to the fact that the teaching profession is still exceedingly transitory. But leaving out of consideration, say 50 percent of the million teachers who may be in the field only temporarily, there remain 500,000 members of the profession who are in the field with some degree of permanency. This group of a half million professional persons certainly has enough at stake to warrant a \$2 annual investment in a national professional organization. To date only a few more than 200,000 have ever been enrolled in the NEA. Meanwhile the state education associations enrol a total of approximately 800,000 members. This is as it should be. Local and state needs will never cease to be vital.

But, with an increasing and inevitable tendency toward problems which can be met only thru national action, it is time for our national professional organization also to go forward with new impetus. And it will go forward if its meaning and services to teachers can be made clear.

The only way real growth can be achieved is thru the activity of those, already members, who appreciate the opportunity of helping themselves thru a national professional organization. Present members provide the nucleus for growth. At a distance from the headquarters in Washington where much of the actual work is carried on, even members find it difficult to keep up with Association activities. Hence, THE JOURNAL frequently carries articles describing them. During the coming year a number of such articles will be published. They will be recognized by the illustration above.



NEA services include:
DIRECT SERVICES: *The Journal*—This monthly professional periodical reaches every member monthly during the school year. It is the Association's most direct service to every member.

Other publications of the Association include the *Research Bulletin* and the *Annual Volume of Addresses and Proceedings*, which go to all five dollar and life members. Departments, committees, and the headquarters staff also prepare special publications.

Other direct services—Among these are [1] the annual conventions attended by thousands of persons each year and [2] handling a tremendous volume of requests for information and service.

INDIRECT SERVICES—These services are often intangible and unappreciated by members of the profession merely because they are unaware of them.

Teacher welfare—In this general field of endeavor are included projects in such fields as tenure, retirement, and salaries. A steady stream of literature is prepared by special committees and by the Research Division. Such studies serve local and state groups interested in securing legislation in these fields. When such action is secured, it is due of course to local efforts but usually with the indispensable assistance of information as to how similar problems have been solved elsewhere. Only thru the NEA is much of this information available.

National legislation—Due to well-known conditions the federal government is being called upon to act in an ever-widening circle which touches all sections of the country. Federal participation in the support of public education has come to be of vital, immediate importance to sections of the nation where economic resources are totally inadequate. Due to mobility of population and the interdependence of regions the need is hardly less urgent in all other sections of the country. Only thru a strong, national professional organization will federal support of education in general ever be achieved. When achieved it will strengthen the financial support of every state school system and

will eventually be reflected in various aspects of teacher welfare.

As another illustration, national organization was an essential factor in securing the repeal of the "Red Rider" which Congress imposed upon the teachers of the District of Columbia.

Public information—Many projects of the Association contribute to keeping the public informed about education. Take American Education Week, for example. [See next page.]

Or take radio. Nearly every significant group in the country has time on the air. So should the teaching profession, representing education—and it does under the auspices of the NEA. [See p. 240.]

Or take the stream of releases on education to nationwide press agencies.

Professional studies—Many special studies of a professional nature are conducted by the Association. Recent examples are the report of the Committee on Social-Economic Goals for America; the report of the Educational Policies Commission entitled *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*; studies by the Research Division such as "Better Reading Instruction," "Safety in Pupil Transportation," and "Financing Public Education" and the yearbooks and other publications of departments. Write for the free *List of Publications*.

Contact with other organizations—The Association thru a Field Division and thru contacts of officers and members of the headquarters staff maintains essential relationships with scores of lay and professional organizations friendly to education and stands ready to oppose those with unfriendly attitudes.

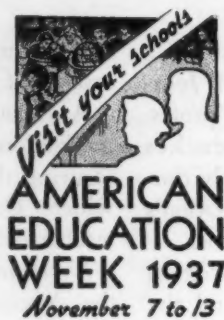
THE TWO PLACES—Every member of the Association helps to make the above and other services possible and helps himself when he does so. He stands at the giving end, yes. But he also stands at the receiving end. There are some—the non-members—who refuse to be on the giving end. But they remain on the receiving end, nevertheless. Indirect benefits are not limited to members. The non-member much receives but nothing gives. He is a professional hitchhiker, one of the few types of persons who still ride free.—LYLE W. ASHBY.

AMERICAN EDUCATION WEEK=

COULD Washington, Jefferson, and other early American leaders pay us a visit today we have reason to assume that they would heartily approve of American Education Week. As indicated in the quotations on the leaflet reproduced below, they clearly recognized the key place of education among a free people. Furthermore, they strove to keep before their fellowmen the realization that only thru an intelligent citizenry could the young republic survive.

In our times, the major purpose of American Education Week is to help keep public education and its meaning before the American people. With increasingly complex problems confronting the nation it is evident still that our democracy cannot endure without universal education directed by the desire to achieve the greatest good for the greatest number.

Most people recognize in a general



The three-color sticker for AEW. See p. A-116

way that public education is vital in a democracy. But in the midst of other duties they are often unmindful of the progress being made in the science of education and of new educational problems thrown to the surface by recent cataclysmic changes in the conditions under which men live. For this reason American Education Week is a movement in which every school thruout the entire country may well participate.

Since American Education Week is sponsored nationally, information concerning it will appear in the daily and weekly press and in magazines thruout the entire country from now until the close of the observance; nationwide radio hookups will be placed on the air just before and during the week; scores of national civic and social organizations have already stressed the observance of the week by their constituent groups; and special proclamations for the observance will probably be issued by over three-fourths of the governors of states.

Activities such as these on broad state and national fronts bring widespread impetus to the American Education Week movement in all sections of the country and to every local community.

In 1936 this great cooperative project resulted in about 7,000,000 school visitations by parents and citizens while millions of others were reached by American Education Week materials or messages of various kinds.

With still more schools participating and increased effectiveness on the part of those already sponsoring this project, the goal of 10,000,000 school visitations by parents and citizens can be achieved during the 1937 observance.

The general theme for 1937, "Education and Our National Life," is especially appropriate to the times. The daily topics are: Sunday, November 7—"Can We Educate for Peace?"; Monday, November 8—"Buying Educational Service"; Tuesday, November 9—"The Horace Mann Centennial"; Wednesday, November 10—"Our American Youth Problem"; Thursday, November 11—"Schools and the Constitution"; Friday, November 12—"School Open House Day"; Saturday, November 13—"Lifelong Learning."

Organizing your program—Among the American Education Week committees which should be appointed, de-

EDUCATION and OUR NATIONAL LIFE



As government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened.

WASHINGTON

If there ever was a cause, if ever there can be a cause, worthy to be upheld by all of toil or sacrifice that the human heart can endure, it is the cause of education.

D. WEBSTER



I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the human mind.

JEFFERSON

Without popular education no government which rests on popular action can long endure.

WILSON



A popular government without popular information . . . is but the prolog to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both.

MADISON



HORACE MANN

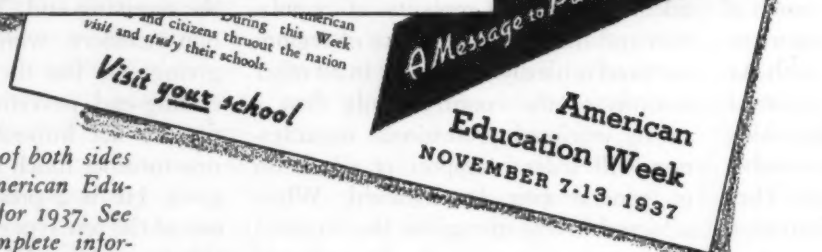
We have faith in education as the foundation of democratic government.

ROOSEVELT

TO FATHERS, MOTHERS, CITIZENS

Your child cannot rise above the country in which he lives. The power of self-government to survive and the success of the individual citizen alike depend upon the wise education of all the people.

A reduced facsimile of both sides of the two-color American Education Week leaflet for 1937. See page A-116 for complete information regarding size and cost.



The five cartoons reproduced here received Grand Honor awards in the Nationwide American Education Week Highschool Cartoon Project for 1937.



By Harry Easaman, student, Arsenal Technical Schools, Indianapolis, Ind.

1937

pending upon community needs and facilities, are:

[1] The *general committee* should consist of both school people and laymen. As many influential community organizations as possible should be represented.

[2] The *program committee* plans the day-by-day programs around the topics selected. The general theme and daily topics are only suggestive and should be revised and adapted as desired to meet local needs.

[3] The *research committee* provides data to be used during AEW. It works not only on local problems but it also secures state and national material.

[4] The *publicity committee* handles newspaper and other avenues of public information including radio, window dis-

plays, billboards, streetcar placards, and motion pictures.

[5] The *community organizations committee* will seek the support of community groups such as the parent-teacher association, churches, service clubs, and the American Legion. Many national organizations suggest participation of local units in the observance of American Education Week. An example of such cooperation is the sheet reproduced elsewhere on this page which was sent by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers to all local units thruout the country.

[6] The *publications committee* secures or prepares and distributes leaflets and other publications to the homes and to various community groups.

[7] The *school exhibits committee* supervises the preparation of exhibits of school work.

[8] The *individual school committee* is appointed to carry out the program for the week within each given school, including

classroom activities, assembly programs, parental visitation, and other activities.

Things to do—Here are a few suggested activities:

[1] Incorporate the daily topics for American Education Week into the program of studies wherever possible.

[2] Develop these topics as the basis for PTA programs as well as those of other community groups such as churches and civic and professional clubs.

[3] Develop a variety of activities and displays for the "open house" program.

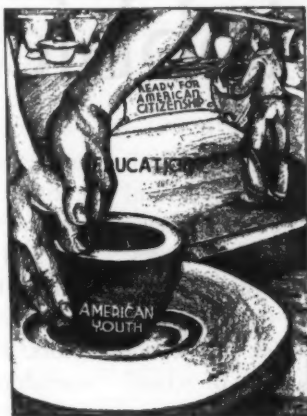
[4] Send a special invitation to the parents of your pupils to visit school.

[5] Plan a communitywide Horace Mann dinner for Horace Mann Centennial Day.

Materials available from the National Education Association contain scores of other suggestions. See page A-116.



By Edward Delbuch, student, Mission High school, San Francisco, Calif.



By Eugene Foss, student, Mission High school, San Francisco, Calif.



By Anna Williams, student, Balboa High school, San Francisco, Calif.



By Robert O'Neil, student, George Washington Highschool, San Francisco, Calif.

Mats of these and other cartoons are available from the NEA, some in single and some in double newspaper column width. Write for clipsheet showing 24 cartoons and other drawings. They will help to enliven your AEW publications. Mats are 25¢ each or 20¢ each when more than one is ordered.

AMERICAN EDUCATION WEEK

November 7-13, 1937

Theme: Education and Our National Life

SUNDAY—Can We Educate for Peace?

MONDAY—Buying Educational Service

TUESDAY—The Horace Mann Centennial

WEDNESDAY—Our American Youth Problem

THURSDAY—Schools and the Constitution

FRIDAY—School Open House Day

SATURDAY—Lifelong Learning

THE nationwide observance of American Education Week affords an opportunity to focus the attention of parents, teachers, and all citizens upon the importance of education to American democracy. Parents join with teachers in parent-teacher associations in furthering the observance through participation in school and community programs.

Suggested Activities for Parent-Teacher Associations

1. Acquaint the membership with the objects and program of American Education Week through:
 - a. Publicity—telephone calls, notices, news articles, displays, personal contacts
 - b. Participation in community or school program
 - c. Presentation through study and discussion of topics of particular local interest
 - d. Study and dissemination of facts concerning the cost of schools, and methods of raising and expending school funds
2. Visit the schools and participate in the programs presented through the week.
3. Cooperate with the school in observing School Open House Day.
 - a. Provide hospitality
 - b. Assist in conducting visitors through the school
 - c. Present a program for the day, if desired
4. Develop and enhance a reciprocally confident and happy relationship on the part of homes and schools.

Suggested Activities for Parent-Teacher Members

1. Become familiar with a day's program of school work as followed out by the child.
2. Ascertain what provision is made in the school program for the health, intellectual growth, social cooperation, and emotional stability of the pupil.
3. Discover how the individual home may contribute to the effectiveness of learning on the part of the child.
4. Learn how the home and school, working together, may function in relation to the community with reference to the welfare of children and youth.

Source Material—American Education Week Packet, National Education Association, 1201 16th St NW Washington DC.

Plateprint published by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1201 16th St N W Washington D C
Price 1c ea.; 100, 50¢; 1,000, \$1.50.

This plateprint was sent by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers to its state and local units. The NCPT is one of the national agencies cooperating in the observance of American Education Week.



Publishers' Photo Service, N. Y.

General Science and Children's Hobbies

IT WAS twenty minutes after four. I was anxious to go home, but Steve Tyler, absorbed in drawing on the blackboard a chalk picture of yellow and blue tropical fish swimming against a background of bright coral, was obviously in no hurry. "Do I really have to go now?" he asked. "Then can I come in early tomorrow and work on it?"

Steve had not always been anxious to stay after school or to come early. In fact he had skipped school at every opportunity, and on days when he happened to be present, had been a decided nuisance in my general science class. But, quite by accident, I discovered that he had a talent for drawing, and since then my blackboards and bulletin boards have been kept filled with Steve's contributions. The only suggestion made to him was that his drawings ought to deal with things the class is studying. So the class periods have become a time for hunting new suggestions in the lessons with the result that he has not only developed a leisuretime activity, but is also acquiring some of the scientific information contained in the day's work.

An interesting, welldeveloped science lesson stimulates children to do a variety of things. Some come back after school and talk it over. Others say little but go

to the library for further reading. Still others are fired with enthusiasm and inspiration and spend the next week's free hours at home making a model, trying an experiment, or carrying on some other activity which had its source in the general science class. These activities are carried on outside of school in the child's leisure time with no thought of getting credit, and serve not only to stimulate interest in the course, but also to lay the foundation for future enjoyment.

It is being recognized more and more that the way in which a child uses his leisure time is a definite factor in the process of his growth and development. This training for leisuretime activities cannot be to any great extent a direct one. It must come largely as the by-product of his everyday living experiences; and since most of his school day is spent in classes, much of it should come thru interests arising in the work being carried on there.

While many of the activities which develop out of the classroom work may well come to be hobbies, the child's interests shift so frequently that it would be difficult to predict the length of time he would follow any one particular type. No attempt is made here to estimate the

duration of interest. The purpose has been to record the leisuretime activities which have actually developed directly out of work in the writer's general science classes in grades 7B thru 9A. The activities fall into seven definite classes: construction of models, collecting, experimentation, gardening, drawing, caring for animals, miscellaneous. *Construction of models*—The construction of models of every conceivable sort is one of the most popular leisuretime activities developing out of science work. The study of birds was the inspiration for a series of wooden models of birds, natural size and beautifully colored. They were hand carved out of a soft wood with a jack knife and then painted with water colors. The bird was fastened to a perch resembling a branch of a tree. The delight with which the first was greeted by the class was an incentive to the boy to make three more. A discussion of animal tracks resulted in clay models of the tracks of a rabbit, a cat, and a dog. Tiny ships and airplanes were made by several boys during the course of the unit on transportation. A periscope, various types of water wheels, and a model of an ancient manuscript book were other contributions.

One of the most intricate models was an attempt to show the position and size of the planets with reference to the sun. This was made by a boy in a class which was extremely low mentally. Another enterprising boy undertook to make a model of the human eye with rubber bands representing the muscles. In operation it was not always successful, but the idea was excellent and it received due admiration when it did work.

These items were made by individuals. Other models were made by several children working together. A telegraph

By
Rosalind M. Zapf

sounder and receiving set made its appearance in the schoolroom weeks after the unit on communication had been completed. Three boys had worked on it Saturdays and Sundays. Other co-operative projects were the construction of a pin-hole camera, a model gas and oil well, a movie theater made out of a large carton, painted, decorated, and complete even to a curtain. As a result of the work on building materials four girls working together constructed models of homes in different lands. These were made of cardboard, clay, straw, twigs, and other materials to represent the different types of homes.

Collecting—Often only a word is needed to set whole groups at work joyfully collecting things. Shells, butterflies, moths, insects in general, building materials, stones, minerals, cocoons—all are collected as the result of the various units of work to which they apply. The study of trees brings collections of leaves, some of them waxed, some in scrapbooks with names and information about them. Still other pupils have spent time doing the lovely spatter work with leaves as their patterns. The pressed leaves are placed on a sheet of paper and a screen is held about a foot above the page. Over this a toothbrush, dipped in ink of any desired color, is brushed back and forth. When the page is quite dark with dots of ink, the leaves are lifted off leaving a clear space where they have been. A trip to another part of the country sometimes brings a pressed flower collection into being.

From bringing in a "queer-shaped stone" which turned out to be a fossil, a ninth-grade girl developed an intense interest in the subject, and a collection of fossils found in the locality was made. A seventh-grader became keenly interested in the study of glass manufacturing, especially the manufacture of colored glass. From all possible sources, but chiefly from the dump heap, he gathered odd shaped bits of colored glass. These he mounted carefully and artistically and brought to school. Collecting pictures and making scrapbooks is, of course, the most common example of leisuretime activity in the collecting field.

Experimenting—Another favorite activity which is carried out at the school is the repetition of simple experiments which have been done in the classroom, or attempting others that have been sug-

gested. Squares of concrete made with varying amounts of cement, sand, gravel, and water were made by a boy who didn't quite believe that it made any difference how much of each was used. An experiment to demonstrate the scientific principle that things which are lighter than air can float or rise in the air was worked out, then proudly exhibited to the class. Two boys became so interested in a few simple chemical experiments which were tried in class that they saved enough money between them for a miniature chemistry outfit.

Gardening—In every class there are always some children in whom an interest in gardening in some form or other can be aroused. The yearly flower show with its awards is a stimulus for growing plants which will bloom in the fall. Drawing for imaginary and also practical gardens has more than once resulted in a child's demand for a small plot of his own and in the care and improvement of the family garden. Growing a narcissus in its bowl of stones, ivy or wandering Jew in a wall pocket, and planting and caring for window boxes are other ways in which this urge for making things grow expresses itself.

Drawing—Children who have a talent for drawing can easily be led to make pictures which deal with the subjects being discussed in class. The plans for blackboard drawings are made outside of school. A set of drawings illustrating the history of transportation, others showing living conditions in other lands, and a pictorial history of light are only a few examples of what is brought in by such pupils. A snowy day served as an incentive for looking at snow flakes with a magnifying glass. One eighth-grader, especially adept with the pencil, tried to draw them. Out of this first attempt grew a great interest.

Caring for animals—It is difficult to say how many turtles and salamanders have had a more careful bringing up in homes rather than in stores or by the wayside after the study of these animals in science class. Many children also bought goldfish after they had studied how to keep a balanced aquarium. In the spring tadpoles are caught in the creeks, and the development of legs and loss of tail are watched with amazement. White rats were raised in the classroom one year and the young given to children to take home and raise. There was a

waiting list which could not possibly be filled. Rabbits, cats, dogs, and birds are other pets cared for by the children.

Miscellaneous—The microscope is always a source of great interest and with the advent of the small inexpensive type, more and more children are spending odd hours peering at things too small to be seen with the naked eye. When they can't see well enough with their own machines, they come after school and use the ones belonging to the school.

A phonograph record of bird calls was the beginning of a decided hobby of imitating birds. Other children spend their spare time writing poems and stories about birds and animals.

The completion of any activity such as these, done, not because he must, but because he wants to, brings a well-earned satisfaction and pleasure to the child. He brings the things he has made to school and shares them with the rest of the group and, for the moment at least, is savoring success and the approval of others. This frequently makes a place for a child in a group and gives him the sense of being a part of it which he did not have before. Very often, a child who has been a problem in class ceases to be so if his interest can be aroused in projects of this sort. The child who does this type of outside activity carries over a spirit of goodwill, cooperation, and eagerness into his regular class work.

The technics for stimulating interest in outside activities are too numerous to make a complete list. Every teacher has her own methods. Some of the simplest, however, are as follows:

[1] Perform as many simple experiments as possible and suggest others that might be done at home.

[2] Keep on the bulletin board lists of activities.

[3] In a place easily accessible to the children, keep books which suggest simple and interesting things to do.

[4] As much as possible, have children care for the plants and animals in the room.

[5] While the children are in the room, give any special attention to plants and animals which might be needed.

[6] If new equipment is brought in, set it up while the children watch.

[7] Give special attention to the things which are brought in by children, show them to the class, and discuss them. Always show appreciation of the child's effort.

[8] Make class discussions carry implications and suggestions of things that might be done.

A Matter of Life and Death

IVAN A. BOOKER

THE DEATH PENALTY is seldom meted out for mispronouncing or misspelling a word, for a bit of slovenly handwriting, for an error in arithmetic, or for a mistake in grammar! For failure to learn and apply correct principles of safety, however, a school pupil often pays with life or limb.

Nine-year-old Patrick Johnson had a small roll of movie film in his pocket. Drawing out one end of the film, he touched a match to it. He spent nearly a year in the hospital before his horrible burns were healed well enough for him to go home. He is disfigured for life. His parents have aged noticeably from shock and worry; they have been impoverished by the costly medical service. Such is the penalty when safety education does not function.

Safety instruction, therefore, is one of the most vital aspects of the modern school program. It must not be relegated to the background while major emphasis is given to academic and cultural pursuits, however important.

The price of accidents—The annual toll of accidents in the United States is appalling: 100,000 accidental deaths; 9,340,000 nonfatal injuries, leaving 360,000 persons permanently disabled; an economic loss estimated at \$3,450,000,000. On the average, each clock hour brings 11 accidental deaths and 1100 accidental injuries. Moreover, the accident rate has increased rather than diminished during the past fifteen years. The increasing tempo of modern life and the presence on every hand of large numbers of new mechanical appliances have introduced many new hazards. Against such hazards, and against those of longstanding, the educational program must wage continuous warfare.

A cooperative task—Adequate safety instruction has a definite place in classroom teaching; it is a significant problem in administrative planning and in supervision; it is a matter of first importance to school bus drivers, members of the health department, teachers of vocational subjects, and directors of physical education; it is a phase of education which requires an unusual degree of cooperation on the part of parents. Extra-school agencies, too, such as fire and police de-

partments, public libraries, the press, the radio, service clubs, and citizens' organizations, can make valuable contributions toward effective safety education.

A wellbalanced program—The program of safety instruction should give proportionate attention to all major accident hazards. The temptation is to deal with one phase of safety to the exclusion of others—e.g. to focus attention on fire prevention or on traffic accidents. Such a program, obviously, fails to meet the problem. Pupils must be taught to recognize and avoid the numerous dangers of home, playground, street, field, forest, and stream. Attention must be given to the prevention of falls, the principles and practices of first-aid, the proper use of tools and firearms, avoidance of falling objects, safety in the water, the control of gas and poisons.

An integrated program, with fixed responsibility—Nearly all departments of the school are in a position to give effectively certain types of safety instruction. The teaching of safety, like that of correct English usage, should be the concern of every teacher. Many safety lessons should be incidental, correlated with other regular class procedures. But safety instruction must not be left to chance; it must not be the sort of "everybody's business" which is "nobody's business." The program should be carefully planned and well integrated. Responsibility should be definitely fixed and fully assumed. There will be, in some school systems, special classes and special departments of safety education. These are splendid. The safety program will be relatively ineffective, however, if regular classroom teachers leave to special classes and departments the whole task of safety instruction.

Attention to problems of local significance—The safety program should be focused primarily on the hazards of greatest immediate significance. A few school systems are keeping careful records of all accidents occurring to school children to the end that special attention may be given to the most serious

and most frequent types of accidents in which their pupils are involved.

A program appropriate for every grade level—Safety instruction has a legitimate place in the school program at every grade level. In the lowest grades, much emphasis will be placed on how to cross streets in safety. A striking example of appropriate safety instruction at the highschool level has been the rapid introduction of courses in "Safe Driving."

A few teaching suggestions—Have you listed in your planbook the dangers which threaten your pupils? Have you sought out helpful materials which can be used in teaching safety? Have you considered the safety implications and opportunities for safety instruction that are sure to arise in connection with other planned activities? Do you teach safety lessons not only by means of precept and discussion but also by demonstrations and dramatizations? Have you examined the need for special periods set aside completely for safety education?

SOURCES OF MATERIAL

[1] National Safety Council, New York City, publishers of *Accident Facts*, the magazine *Safety Education*, and posters, plays, and other safety materials.

[2] American Junior Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

[3] National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, New York City.

[4] American Automobile Association, Washington, D. C.

[5] State departments of education, highway and traffic regulation, and public health.

USEFUL PUBLICATIONS

Beard, H. E. *Safety First for School and Home*. Macmillan [teaching manual].

Stevenson, Idabelle. *Safety Education*. A. S. Barnes and Co. [teaching manual].

Nelson, Florence and others. *Safety Through the Year*. McGraw-Hill [workbooks for elementary grades].

Whitney, Albert E. *Man and the Motor Car*. National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters. [Highschool text].

Fitzgerald, James A. and others. *Drive and Live*. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co. [Highschool text].

American Automobile Association. *Sportsmanlike Driving*. [Monographs for use in highschool classes].

MAKING *the* CONSTITUTION

By H. L. DONOVAN

EDITORIAL NOTE—*The Constitution, as a living, growing force, is one of the major factors in the life of each of us. It is fitting, therefore, that American Education Week join the U. S. Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission in promoting an understanding of the Constitution as one of the greatest documents of all history. ☆ The celebration of the Sesquicentennial began September 17, 1937, the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution, and will continue thru April 30, 1939, the anniversary of the inauguration of Washington. November 11, 1937, has been designated as Constitution Day of American Education Week; the theme will be "The Schools and the Constitution."* ☆ H. L. Donovan, president of the Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, is the author of this sixteen-page JOURNAL feature. THE JOURNAL is fortunate in having this admirable contribution from Dr. Donovan, who for many years has made a study of the Constitution his hobby.

I

The Colonies Face a Crisis

"THESE UNITED COLONIES are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." So stated the Declaration of Independence to the world in 1776. Previous to this time, the colonies had in no sense been united. A common grievance toward the mother country drove them reluctantly into the semblance of a union in the first Continental Congress. Fear, turmoil, and suffering held them together during the eight years of the Revolution. Even during this distressing period, there were many occasions when the colonies failed to keep faith with the union they had formed—a union prompted by fear of an impending disaster rather than a union built on mutual respect and devotion. As soon as their liberty had been won, the colonies began to think more of themselves as "independent states" than "united colonies."

The close of the Revolution found the colonies under the Articles of Confederation, which had been approved by the Congress of 1777, but not ratified by the colonies because of jealousies, until 1781. The Articles were little more than a "rope of sand" binding the colonies into a union. Under the Articles of Confederation each state had one vote. No law could be passed without the consent of nine states. The Articles could not be changed in any way unless the amendment was agreed to by all the states. Congress was given power to make treaties, to declare war, to establish post offices, to manage Indian affairs, to levy taxes, raise armies, or regulate trade. There was no executive to enforce the laws Congress enacted, and no system of federal courts. It was not surprising that the colonies fell to quarreling among themselves as soon as the war was over.

Each state had the power to levy taxes,

to coin its own money, to set up a tariff, to regulate its own commerce, to obey or not, as it chose, the laws enacted by Congress.

As a result of this lack of central government, the states gradually drifted in the direction of anarchy. Many states began to issue paper money with which to pay their debts. As a result paper money came to have no value. The only good money in circulation was foreign coin. Business came to a standstill. Commerce could not be carried on when the people had no money or credit with which to buy. Congress could not pay either the principal or interest on the national debt. "It's not worth a Continental" was a popular remark when referring to the notes which the government had given. Foreign powers began to disregard their treaties with the new republic because Congress could not meet its obligations. Many of our leading men refused election to Congress.

The rural people were especially oppressed by taxes and creditors. Homesteads were being sold for the payment of mortgages, and farmers were frequently sent to jail for debt. There was

an outburst of popular wrath in Massachusetts and in some of the other colonies. Armed men surrounded the courthouse at Concord; the court was not permitted to convene. There was a demand to wipe out all debts. Daniel Shays, a former captain in the Continental Army, led a rebellion to prevent the Supreme Court from sitting at Springfield, Massachusetts. Governor Bowdoin was compelled to call out an army of 4400 under General Lincoln to suppress the riots which followed.

Some historians have said that Daniel Shays did more to bring into being a Constitution than anyone else. Shays' rebellion did dramatically demonstrate to the leaders of that day that revolution

was just around the corner if something was not done and done quickly to alleviate conditions. There was social unrest from Massachusetts to Georgia. There were, in fact, thirteen little nations instead of one united nation. Anarchy was just ahead if matters were permitted to drift. The colonies faced a crisis.

It is only when a nation faces a great crisis or imminent danger that fundamental progress is made in government. Because of war or depression, people usually are willing to improve their social order. When there is peace and plenty, we are content to let matters drift.

The farsighted men in the colonies visioned the possibilities of disaster. Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin, and many others were deeply interested in saving this new nation from revolution and ruin. As a result of their leadership, a Constitutional Convention was called to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787. This was the answer of the colonies to the crisis they faced. Out of storm and stress, chaos and suffering, came the Constitution.

TO UNDERSTAND and appreciate fully our federal Constitution, one must know something of the character of the men who composed the Constitutional Convention. A great document can never come from men of small intellect or base motives. That the Constitution is a great instrument of government we need only to seek the testimony of the distinguished statesmen and students of government of the world for the past century and a half.



All photographs in this feature, except those on pages 226 and 231, are from the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film, "Servant of the People."

II

Makers of the Constitution

De Tocqueville, the eminent French critic, called it "the most perfect federal Constitution that ever existed." William Gladstone said: "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Lord Bryce wrote: "It ranks above every other written constitution for the intrinsic excellence of its scheme, its adaptation of the circumstances of the people, the simplicity, brevity, and the precision of its language, its judicious mixture of definiteness in principle with elasticity in details." Volumes of testimony regarding the greatness of the Constitution could be added to these brief excerpts. But what of the men who wrote it?

Twelve states appointed seventy-four delegates; Rhode Island alone failed to cooperate. Nine men refused to accept appointment and ten others never reported to Philadelphia. Fifty-five did attend for a time, but only forty-one delegates remained to finish the work. Thirty-nine signed the document. Edmund Randolph and George Mason of Virginia and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts refused to attach their signatures.

Of the fifty-five members of the Constitutional Convention, twenty-nine had been graduated in the universities of America, England, and Scotland. There

were in this company graduates of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, William and Mary, Pennsylvania, Oxford, Glasgow, and Edinburg. It would not be unusual for a Constitutional Convention meeting in our generation to have half of its delegates college graduates. Higher education today is easily available to those who desire it. But that twenty-nine members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 were college graduates was most significant. It was an assurance that the intellectual caliber of the Convention was of the first order.

The large number of young men in the Convention was another significant fact. The average age of the members was forty-four years. Eleven of the most effective members of the group were under thirty-four years of age. The oldest member was Benjamin Franklin, who was eighty-one years old, while Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey was but twenty-six. The two most profound thinkers and aggressive exponents in the assembly were James Madison, who was thirty-six, and Alexander Hamilton, whose age was thirty.

The composition of the membership was diversified and somewhat representative though not truly democratic. There were in the Convention congressmen, soldiers, merchants, planters, farmers, doctors, teachers, financiers, lawyers, and

judges. There was not in the Convention a single representative of labor, for labor was not organized in 1787. The underprivileged members of society were in fact without a representative in the Convention. There were many men in the Convention of great wealth for that day. It was on the whole an aristocratic assemblage.

By far the most prominent, as well as the greatest, man at the Convention was George Washington—unselfish, patriotic to the core, modest and

refined in his tastes, noble in character, just in his judgments. Not personally ambitious but deeply interested in the welfare of his country, he accepted public service as a call to duty, a sacred trust. The Constitutional Convention would probably not have assembled had he not used all his influence to have it called, and it certainly would have broken up in a bitter quarrel had he not reluctantly yielded to serve as a delegate from Virginia.

Washington was elected president of the Convention. The records show that he took no active part in the debates. Only twice did he speak, for less than a minute each time. But his quiet dignity, his patience, his prompt presence at each session of the Convention, and his faith in the outcome had a tremendous influence over every other man in the assembly. The Constitution could not have been written without his presence and it would not have been approved by the states without his influence.

Second in prominence was Benjamin Franklin, at this time president of Pennsylvania. His reputation for wit, wisdom, and sagacity was known throughout the world. He was devoted to his country. Too old and feeble to take part in debate, he wrote his speeches and had them read. His advice did not fall on deaf ears, and his presence lent color

and dignity to the Convention.

The most intriguing character in the Convention was James Madison—small of stature and unprepossessing in appearance, but a giant in intellect. A graduate of Princeton, he had been, from his youth up, a student of history and political science. No man of his day had a more profound knowledge of government. He was familiar with the governments of ancient Greece and acquainted with the history of English law and politics. His whole life had been a preparation for the work he was to do in the Constitutional Convention. No man in the Convention had as clear a vision of the kind of Constitution needed. He came to Philadelphia with a plan which he called the Virginia plan. Presented by Edmund Randolph, it was this plan, with modifications, that was eventually adopted. He has rightly been called "the father of the Constitution."

Alexander Hamilton is frequently credited with playing a major part in the Constitutional Convention. This is not altogether true. Brilliant and dashing, he possessed great personal magnetism and was as eloquent as Cicero. He was passionately interested in a new constitution that would make the central government supreme. Because he distrusted the masses and believed they were not able to govern themselves, his views of government were too aristocratic even for this aristocratic assemblage. His extreme position on the centralization of power was so pronounced that he did not greatly influence the Convention. Then, too, his colleagues from New York—Robert Yates and John Lansing, two of the weakest men in the Convention—voted New York against any measure he proposed. Yates and Lansing had been sent to the Convention to defeat any constitution that might be proposed. Hamilton left the Convention in disgust and did not return until Yates and Lansing withdrew when they saw they could not

checkmate the work of the Convention. Alexander Hamilton's great work in connection with the Constitution was his effort in behalf of its adoption by the states. Hamilton, with Madison and Jay, wrote a series of essays on the proposed Constitution called *The Federalist*. These essays, regarded as among the greatest treatises on government ever written, had a profound influence on the adoption of the new instrument of government.

James Wilson, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, and Franklin were among the strong men from Pennsylvania. South Carolina's delegation was very able—John Rutledge, Pierce Butler, and the gallant Pinckneys, Charles and Charles Cotesworth. From Massachusetts came Caleb Strong, afterward ten times governor of that state; Rufus King; and Elbridge Gerry, who refused to sign the Constitution. Connecticut was brilliantly represented by William Samuel Johnson, afterward president of Columbia University; Oliver Ellsworth, later chief justice of the United States; and Roger Sherman. On the whole, Virginia probably had the strongest delegation. From the Old Dominion came Washington, Madison, Randolph, Mason, Wythe, and McClurg. The man who spoke longest and opposed nearly every issue under consideration was Luther Martin of Maryland.

Jefferson, who was usually not given to flattery, once said the Constitutional Convention was "an assemblage of



Shays' rebellion, which dramatically demonstrated the need for alleviating social-economic conditions

demigods." This is an exaggeration. The Constitution makers were not demigods. They were men of flesh and blood even as you and I. They had their strengths and their weaknesses. Some of them possessed open minds and others were full of prejudices. There were statesmen in the assemblage—and politicians. Some were present for patriotic purposes, others to represent selfish interests. There were those who came to the Conven-

tion to build a new nation, and others were present to block any constructive move in that direction. There were big men and little men among the makers of the Constitution, but the men of superior intellect triumphed—and the result is the most profound document on government ever given to a nation. Take it all and all, we have not seen on the American soil another convention, congress, or legislative assembly its equal. James Madison, the man best qualified to evaluate the personnel of that Convention, said many years later at the close of his life, after all the other members had passed to their reward:

"Whatever may be the judgment pronounced on the competency of the architects of the Constitution, or whatever may be the destiny of the edifice prepared by them, I feel it a duty to express my profound and solemn conviction, derived from my intimate opportunity of observing and appreciating the views of the Convention, collectively and individually, that there never was an assembly of men, charged with a great and arduous trust, who were more pure in their motives, or more exclusively or anxiously devoted to the object committed to them, than were the members of the federal Convention of 1787, to the object of devising and proposing a constitutional system which would best supply the defects of that which it was to replace, and best secure the permanent liberty and happiness of their country."

III

The Constitutional Convention Convenes

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION was called to meet on May 14, 1787.

But that was before horse-and-buggy days. The delegates had no such luxury, or rapid means of transportation, as that afforded by the horse and buggy which came later. Roads were bad beyond belief—narrow, winding trails cut thru the wilderness. Over these rough and dangerous highways the traveler must journey. He had two choices—to ride horseback or to travel by stage-coach. John Fiske in his interesting *The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789* describes graphically the journey from Boston to New York. He says:

"The journey began at three o'clock in the morning. Horses were changed every twenty miles, and if the roads were in good condition, some forty miles would be made by ten o'clock in the evening. In bad weather, when the passengers had to get down and lift the clumsy wheels out of deep ruts, the progress was much slower. The loss of life from accidents, in proportion to the number of travelers, was much greater than it has ever been on the railway. . . . After a week or ten days of discomfort and danger, the jolted and jaded traveler reached New York. Such was a journey in the most highly civilized part of the United States. The case was still worse in the South."

Is there little wonder that a majority of the delegates failed to reach Philadelphia on the appointed day, May 14, 1787? But the poor roads and inadequate means of transportation were not the only reasons for a late beginning.

Those were days when men were not in vulgar haste. There was time for leisure. Men had not acquired the habit of speeding across the continent on an express train, or racing over the highways in a streamlined automobile, or flying thru the air at a speed that puts to shame the flight of the fastest bird. Delegates to the Convention reached Philadelphia when it was most convenient for them to arrive. And when they arrived they were in no great haste to rush the business thru and get back home to their families and their work. They took plenty of time to talk over the problems involved. Their actions were quite different from the way we respond today. They worked on the Constitution from the 25th of May until the 17th of Sep-

tember. During this time they produced a document of some ten or twelve pages. The members of such a Convention today would want to get thru in two or three weeks, or in a month at least. Leisurely, the Constitution makers attacked their work. Perhaps this thoughtful, deliberate, and calm approach can account for the excellent document that finally came from their deliberations.

Pennsylvania and Virginia were the only states whose representatives had arrived on May 14. There being no quorum present, it was decided to recess from day to day until the delegates from at least seven states had arrived. Representatives from nine states answered the roll call on the 25th of May. The Convention was assembled in that historic old building where the Declaration of Independence had been written, Independence Hall. Upon the motion of Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, George Washington was elected president of the Convention. He was escorted to the chair by Robert Morris and John Rutledge, whereupon he "thanked the delegates for the honor they had conferred on him, reminded them of the novelty of the scene of business in which he was to act, lamented his lack of qualifications, and asked their indulgence for any involuntary error which his inexperience might occasion."

Alexander Hamilton nominated Major Jackson for secretary, to which position he was elected.

The Convention was protected in every possible manner. No one was allowed to loiter near the Hall. The cobblestone street in front of the building was covered with dirt so that the noise from wagons passing by would not annoy or interrupt the delegates. The doors were locked and sentinels were placed outside to prohibit anyone from

entering who was not a representative of the body. The members of the Convention pledged the strictest secrecy with regard to what was transpiring. The public could not find out what was being said and done. This injunction to keep strictly confidential the proceedings of the Convention was enjoined not only for the duration of the Convention but so long as its members should live.

At the time of the meeting of the Convention, there was much criticism of its secret meetings. Even Thomas Jefferson, who was at this time representing the government in Paris, thought the meetings of the Convention should have been open. Probably no group of men ever guarded their secrets more closely. There appear to have been few, if any, leaks. No stenographic reports of the discussions were recorded. The final document as it was submitted was the only report given to the public.

But there was one man in the Convention who was the scholar of the assemblage, James Madison. Instead of spending his evenings enjoying the delightful social life of Philadelphia, as his colleagues did, he retired early to the privacy of his room to think over the events of the day and to reproduce as accurately as he could the debates and discussions that had transpired that day. His journal of proceedings is one of the most remarkable historic documents on record. He lived for fifty years after the Constitutional Convention; and, for many years before his death, he was importuned by his friends and leading statesmen of the times to publish his manuscript on the work of the Convention. Always he refused, holding that he had no right to reveal the proceedings of the Convention since the members were bound to secrecy. It was only after his death that these papers were published at the direction of Congress, after having been purchased from his widow, Dolly Madison, for \$30,000. After the lapse of a half-century, the public was to learn for the first time the true history of the proceedings of the Convention from day to day.

The Constitutional Convention, having assembled on May 25, 1787, and elected officers, proceeded to get down to business at once.

THE MAN WITH A PLAN usually wins. So it was in the Constitutional Convention. James Madison came to the Convention with a plan for a new constitution. It was a very carefully conceived plan which he had prepared with great diligence. No other man in the assembly was as able to write a plan, for Madison was undoubtedly the scholar on constitutional government in the Convention.

Madison was a modest man. He did not hold his plan back until the Convention met and then submit it. He was not interested in who should receive the credit for proposing the plan for a new order of government. His interest was motivated by a patriotic desire to find a way to save the colonies from disaster and anarchy.

Madison first submitted his plan to the Virginia delegation and convinced them of its virtues. When a quorum failed to appear at Philadelphia on May 14, the day set for the opening of the Convention, Madison suggested to the Virginians that they meet each day and talk informally about the problems to come before them when the Convention did assemble. In these informal meetings he convinced his colleagues of the merits of the plan he offered them. Governor Edmund Randolph was not enthusiastic about a federal union; there had been some doubt about the position he would take in the Convention. Madison adroitly suggested that Randolph be selected to present the Virginia plan. This proposal appealed to Randolph's pride and vanity, and doubtless won him over to the plan for a time, altho in the end he failed to sign the proposed Constitution that was adopted by the Convention.

Governor Randolph was an orator. His presentation of the Virginia plan was magnificent.



IV

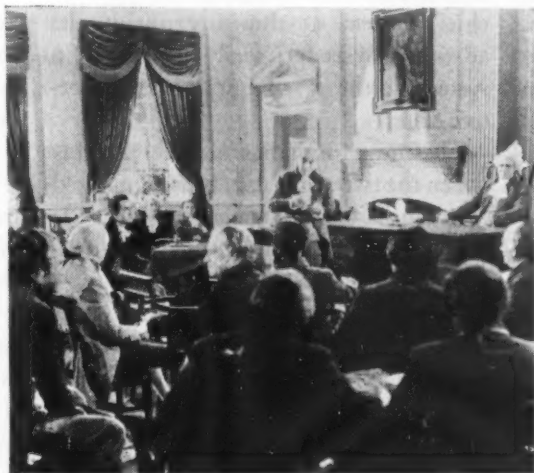
Proposed Plans

"The confederation," he said, "was made in the infancy of the science of constitutions, when the inefficiency of requisitions was unknown; when no commercial discord had arisen among states; when no rebellion like that in Massachusetts had broken out; when foreign debts were not urgent; when the havoc of paper money had not been foreseen; when treaties had not been violated; and when nothing better could have been conceded by states jealous of their sovereignty." He went on to point out that under the Articles of Confederation the Congress was powerless to protect the country from foreign invasion, to punish infraction of treaties, to

check quarrels between separate states, to suppress rebellions, to establish productive impost, to regulate commerce, or to do many other things essential to the establishment of a strong and stable government.

After his analysis of the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation and a discussion of the necessity for a new character of government, Randolph proceeded to introduce fifteen resolutions, explaining each one as he presented it. These resolutions constituted the Virginia plan for a new Constitution. The substance of these resolutions

may be summarized briefly as follows: A national legislature was proposed. It was to be made up of two houses like the legislatures of the states. The members of the lower house were to be chosen by the people. The members of the upper house, or Senate, were to be chosen by the lower house upon the nominations of the state legislatures. In both houses of this national legislature, the votes were to be the votes of individuals and not the votes of states as was the practice in the Continental Congress. Each state was to be entitled to a number of representatives proportionate either to its wealth or to the number of its free inhabitants. A majority of votes was to suffice to pass all measures. The plan proposed a national executive, to be elected by the national legislature for a short term and ineligible for a second term. There was to be a national judiciary to consist of a supreme court and such inferior courts as were necessary. The judges were to be chosen by the national legislature and to hold office during good behavior. Provisions were to be made to admit new states. It was also proposed that provisions be made to amend the articles of union when necessary. Governor Randolph concluded his exhorta-



tion to the delegates "not to suffer the present opportunity of establishing general peace, harmony, happiness, and liberty in the United States to pass away unimproved."

After Randolph had finished, Charles Pinckney from South Carolina, who was but twenty-nine years of age, introduced his plan. He confessed that his plan was quite similar to that proposed by Governor Randolph.

The plan advocated by Pinckney called for a legislature of two branches, an executive and judicial department, and a negative on the acts of the states. Pinckney's plan was never discussed before the Convention, but it is said to have had considerable influence in determining the content of the Constitution.

McLaughlin, the distinguished historian, in his book on *The Confederation and the Constitution* makes the following statement:

"It should be noticed that the plan commonly printed in the *Journal* of the Convention and in Madison's notes is not the real plan Pinckney presented; as it stands in the *Journal* it has deceived thousands of persons, who have been struck with the remarkable resemblance between the plan there printed and the finished Constitution, a resemblance accounted for by the fact that when the *Journal* was being printed in 1818, Pinckney sent in as a copy of his plan, not his original propositions at all, but a paper which marked an advanced stage of the Convention's work."

For a period of two weeks the Virginia plan met with little opposition. On practically all the essential features the delegates appeared to agree. It looked for a time as if a new Constitution would soon be written.

It is significant that the Convention at this time was in the hands of men from the larger states. Gradually, the men from the smaller states began to object to certain features, notably the proposal that called for representation in the national legislature on the basis of population or wealth. As time passed this opposition from the smaller states crystallized until it became so determined that the Convention came near breaking up in a row. The states aligned themselves into two camps according to size.

Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina,

and Georgia, for a part of the time, stood together. The smaller states—Connecticut, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, New York, and New Hampshire—finally united in a most formidable opposition to the Virginia plan. It is interesting to observe that New York was at this time regarded as a smaller state. Accordingly, on June 15, William Paterson, from New Jersey, introduced the New Jersey plan in the name of the smaller states.

It was a feeble plan; and, had it been approved, it would probably have proven fatal to the future development of the United States. One can scarcely conceive of a nation growing strong and powerful under such a weak and loose pattern of government as that outlined in the New Jersey plan.

The New Jersey plan called for the amendment of the Articles of Confederation. It provided for a federal legislature of one house, an executive composed of a council to be chosen by the Congress, and a federal judiciary with limited authority. The New Jersey plan gave Congress the power to regulate foreign and domestic commerce, to levy duties on imports, to raise revenue by means of a Stamp Act, to admit new states, to make laws for uniform naturalization and for the extradition of criminals fleeing from one state to another.

The two plans were totally unlike. One boldly advocated the wiping of the slate clean and the writing of a new Constitution under which a nation of united states could move forward to carve out its destiny in the galaxy of states.

The other plan insisted on adhering to the Articles of Confederation with amendments designed to correct the chief defects of that instrument. Its advocates were primarily interested in sustaining the sovereignty of the respective states.

The most fundamental difference between the two plans may be summarized by saying:

The New Jersey plan called for a federal legislature to represent the states—the votes in its legislature were the votes of states; whereas, the Virginia plan proposed a legislature in which the votes of its members represented individuals, not states. In the New Jersey plan all states were to be equal, while the Virginia plan

called for representation in proportion to the population. This new issue came near being the stumbling block of the Constitutional Convention.

The Virginia plan and the New Jersey plan were the only ones ever considered by the Convention. However, on June 18, Alexander Hamilton arose and spoke for five hours. In his address he sketched the character of government he thought should be proposed. Hamilton said he was opposed to both the New Jersey plan and the Virginia plan. His plan provided for a Senate and executive, elected to serve during good behavior. He would have had the state governors appointed by the general government. His plan also called for an Assembly to be elected by the people for a term of three years. The character of government proposed by Hamilton was an elective monarchy. His views were so extreme that Dr. William Samuel Johnson, from Connecticut, later president of Columbia University, said in replying to Hamilton: "The gentleman from New York is praised by all, but supported by no gentleman."

It is a good thing that dissension arose in the Constitutional Convention; that minds clashed; that men hurled challenges at each other; that debates were sometimes eloquent; that there were long and tedious speeches; that many diverse points of view were put forward; that there was a Virginia plan and a New Jersey plan representing totally different philosophies of government; that Hamilton spoke in favor of an autocratic government with supreme powers; for out of this conflict and confusion, under great stress and strain, conceptions of government greater than any man had when he entered the Convention came forth to be incorporated into the Constitution.

Had the Constitutional Convention been a love-feast, the delegates, in all probability, would have written a second-rate Constitution. Great contributions to society are usually the result of great labor and often much suffering.

Because the delegates to the Constitutional Convention wrestled long and desperately with the problems that arose is without doubt the reason they gave us such a superior document as the fundamental law of our land.



V

Great Compromises

OUR CONSTITUTION is a document of compromises. Many of the compromises were minor in character. There were, however, four major issues on which the delegates found it difficult to discover a common agreement. One of these problems came near wrecking the Convention, and at least two others menaced the success of the assemblage.

The greatest disagreement was a struggle between the large and small states over the question of representation in the Congress. The slavery issue made its first appearance as a national problem and the Convention was compelled to make two compromises on this subject. The most perplexing problem of the Convention was to find a method of electing a president and determining his powers and duties. This problem, however, did not engender the bitter antagonisms and passionate debates that the other three issues had done.

The Virginia plan, which was proposed by Governor Randolph, provided for representation in the national legislature in proportion to population or wealth. Under the Articles of Confederation, all states were equal regardless of their size. This made Rhode Island as important and powerful as Virginia in the Continental Congress. The small states were naturally reluctant to give

up this advantage. Furthermore, they were afraid that if they did not maintain equal representation in the legislative body, the large states would swallow them up. The delegates from the smaller states honestly believed that if they yielded to the proposal of Randolph, their states would be tyrannized over by their more powerful neighbors. On the other hand, the larger states could not see the justice of equal representation in the new national legislature. This question came before the Convention early in June, but it was over a month before it was settled. It was bitterly debated. Antagonisms developed that appeared irreconcilable. William Paterson, of New Jersey, led the fight for the small states. He was ably assisted by his colleague, David Brearley; by Luther Martin of

Maryland; by Gunning Bedford of Delaware; and by other delegates from the smaller states. The aggressive leaders representing the larger states were Hamilton, Madison, Wilson, and King.

In the annals of the making of constitutions there probably is not to be found a more brilliant record of debates than those which occurred in the Constitutional Convention during the month this question was under consideration. These debates were scholarly and profound. They are proof that the men who participated in them were intellectual giants.

On occasions during this period, "the convention," said Luther Martin, "was on the verge of dissolution, scarce held together by the strength of a hair." The situation became so serious that Franklin solemnly proposed "imploping the assistance of Heaven." "I have lived, Sir, a long time," he said, "and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men." He advocated the opening of the morning sessions with prayers, but this was never done. It has been said, however, that after Franklin's earnest solicitation the debates became less violent, and there was a more tolerant attitude observable in the Convention.

To the Connecticut delegation goes

the credit for the compromise that saved the Convention from disaster. It was proposed that the national principle prevail in the House of Representatives and the federal principle in the Senate. This meant that the number of representatives from each state would be determined by the population of the state, but that each state would be accorded equal representation in the Senate. It was a long time before this compromise was acceptable to the delegates of the larger states, but in the end it prevailed. The subsequent history of our country has proven that this compromise was a wise decision.

When it was decided that the number of representatives in the lower house of Congress was to be determined by the population of a state, the question arose regarding the propriety of counting slaves as a part of the population. This was the beginning of the pro-slavery and the anti-slavery struggle in our nation. Pierce Butler and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina insisted that slaves were a part of the population, and must be counted in ascertaining the basis of representation in Congress. Because it was not profitable, slavery was gradually disappearing in the North. Some of the Southern states would double their number of representatives if they could force slaves to be counted as a part of the population. Another bitter storm broke out in the Convention. Gouverneur Morris, of Pennsylvania, said, "I can never agree to give such encouragement to the slave trade as would be given by allowing the Southern states a representation for their negroes. . . . I would sooner submit to a tax for paying for all the negroes in the United States than saddle posterity with such a constitution."

The Virginians were the peacemakers on this issue. Washington, Madison, and Mason hoped to see their state free the slaves. They knew that if slaves were counted in determining representation in the Union that Virginia would never consent to the emancipation of her slaves. But South Carolina was obstinate. It was obvious to the delegates that if slaves were not counted South Carolina would refuse to adopt the Constitution, and Georgia and North Carolina would follow her. This fact led to the compromise proposed by Hugh Williamson of North Carolina that three-

fifths of the slaves be counted in determining the basis of representation. The second great compromise of the Convention proved to be disastrous to the future welfare of the nation. It is a pity the Constitution makers could not have provided for a gradual emancipation of slavery, and thus have helped to prevent the Civil War. James Madison with prophetic vision told the Convention that the future antagonisms would not be between the large and small states, but between the free and slave states. If there is anyone who believes that the Constitution is a perfect document, all he has to do is to reflect on this compromise and the one on slave trade to be disillusioned.

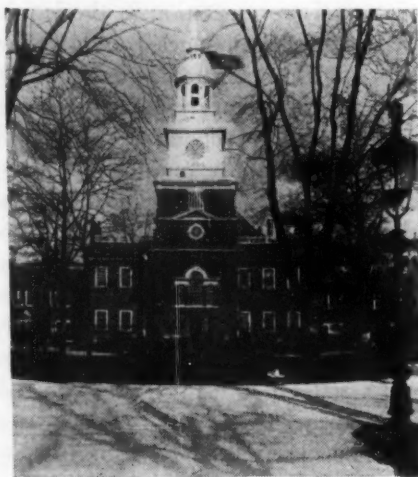
At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, slavery existed in all the states except Massachusetts, where it had only recently ceased to exist. But all the states except South Carolina and Georgia wished to stop the importation of slaves. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut wanted Congress to regulate trade. All the other states were opposed to this policy. These two issues were referred to a committee which reported a compromise forbidding the slave trade after the year 1808, and granting Congress complete control over commerce. On the motion of General Pinckney of South Carolina to extend slave trade for a period of twenty years, or until 1808, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut voted with Maryland, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina for the motion. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia voted against the motion. After this compromise, the question of granting

to Congress control over commerce was carried when South Carolina voted with the New England States.

The fourth major compromise of the Constitutional Convention is often not regarded as a compromise. It would probably be more appropriate to refer to it as a baffling question which proved very difficult to solve. The problem concerning the executive—how to elect him, the length of his term, and his powers—was the most perplexing issue presented to the Convention. This question did not arouse bitter antagonisms as the other issues we have already discussed, but it brought out more divergent views on the part of the delegates than any other question that came up for consideration. On twenty-one different days this subject was under discussion. On the single question of the method of election of a chief executive, thirty ballots were taken. Seven different ways of electing the chief magistrate were proposed from time to time: [1] by the people; [2] by the legislatures; [3] by the executives of the states; [4] by electors chosen by the people; [5] by electors chosen by lot; [6] by the legislature on the nomination of three candidates by each of the states; and [7] by the legislature on nomination of one candidate from each state.

In the closing days of the Convention it was finally decided that executive power should be vested in a "President of the United States, elected for a term of four years by a majority of electors appointed by the states."

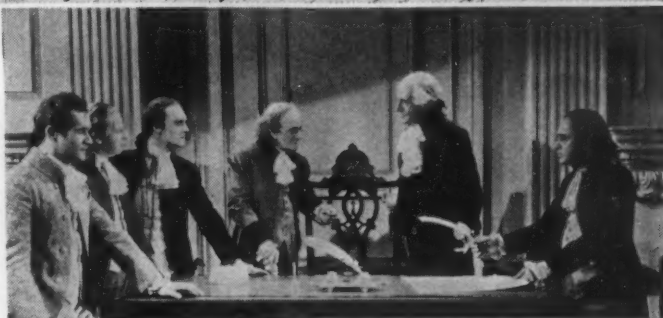
Of the four major compromises of the Convention at least two have proven satisfactory. The two compromises made on issues in which slavery was concerned were decidedly bad. They did much to pave the way which led to the Civil War. All the compromises had to be made, however, to get a Constitution at all. If the delegates had persisted in holding to their convictions, the Convention would have adjourned without a new constitution. Such action would undoubtedly have resulted in disaster to the states. Had the Constitutional Convention failed, our country probably would have been made up of small warring countries such as are now found on the continent of Europe. Let us thank our fathers for the compromises they made. The judgment of history has vindicated their actions.



Independence Hall, where the Constitutional Convention met

We the People

of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and to our Posterity.



VI

The Work Completed

GEORGE WASHINGTON is not often thought of as an orator; yet he probably delivered the most eloquent speech of the Constitutional Convention. Not as frequently quoted as Lincoln's famous Gettysburg address, this speech of Washington's is as great as Lincoln's immortal oration. John Fiske, the historian, said that Washington's address "ought to be blazoned in letters of gold, and posted on the wall of every American assembly that shall meet to nominate a candidate, or declare a policy, or pass a law, so long as the weakness of human nature shall endure."

When some of the delegates in the early days of the Convention began to weaken and talk of patching up the old Articles of Confederation; when they began to show a disposition to sidestep the responsibility of preparing a new constitution; when they started to play the game of the politician rather than the statesman, to display signs of moral cowardice—it was then that Washington rebuked them in one of the few speeches he made:

"It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God."

After this speech by Washington the delegates faced boldly the issues that arose, and there were no further attempts to evade responsibilities. In such an atmosphere of lofty motives and noble ideals, the work of the Convention was begun. How did it complete its work?

As the Constitutional Convention approached the completion of its work, after the perplexing problems which had held it in session all summer had been settled, a Committee on Style was appointed on September 8 to make a

final draft of the document. This committee consisted of Dr. William Samuel Johnson, later president of Columbia University; Alexander Hamilton; Gouverneur Morris; James Madison; and Rufus King. The excellence of the literary composition of our Constitution is due chiefly to Gouverneur Morris, who drafted the final form of this great document.

The Committee on Style made its report to the Convention on September 12. The next few days were spent in ironing out minor difficulties and disagreements over certain items in the proposed Constitution.

On the 17th of September the engrossed Constitution was read to the Convention. Then the venerable Benjamin Franklin rose with a speech in his hand, which, because of the weakness of his voice, James Wilson read. This speech should be taught all children in our American public schools. It should be read frequently to the members of our state legislatures, and it ought to be familiar to Congressmen. Franklin said:

"I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information, or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. . . . I agree to this Constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government, but what may be a blessing to the people if well-adminis-

tered; and because further, that this is likely to be well-administered for a course of years, and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. . . . I hope that for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this Constitution . . .

wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavors to the means of having it well-administered."

Franklin passionately desired that all the delegates sign the document. Alexander Hamilton also expressed his anxiety that every member should sign. He said that "no man's ideas were more remote from the plan than his own were known to be; but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and convulsion on one side, and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other?" Other delegates begged their colleagues for unanimous action. But Governor Randolph and George Mason of Virginia and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts refused to sign the Constitution. James Madison tells us:

"Whilst the last members were signing it, Doctor Franklin, looking toward the President's chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him that painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. 'I have,' said he, 'often and often in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.'"

The members were profoundly impressed with the results of their deliberations. The Constitution was a nobler work than any of them believed it was possible to devise. The Constitution makers on that day dined together, and bade each other a cordial farewell.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was directed to send the new Constitution to the Congress of the Confederation. The makers of the Constitution provided that this document should be considered in conventions called in each state to approve or reject it.

This was a bold procedure to pursue since the Articles of Confederation explicitly stated that no alteration could be made in the federal government unless agreed to by Congress and approved by the legislature of every state. The enemies of the Constitution called it revolution, and so it was. But it was a bloodless revolution that proved a blessing to the nation. The Constitution makers fully realized that if they submitted the new Constitution to the state legislatures it would be rejected, because it deprived state legislatures of much of their power. They did not trust the people; therefore, they dared not submit it to the people for popular approval. If the Constitution had been submitted to the people, there is not the slightest doubt that it would have been overwhelmingly rejected. But it was not the custom of the times to submit such issues to the people. The leaders of society did not believe the average man had the intelligence to vote on problems so momentous; and this was doubtless true, for the majority of adults were still illiterate, and popular education was unknown.

In 1787, the population of the states was approximately 3,200,000, exclusive of slaves. About 160,000, or 5 percent, of this number voted in the election of delegates to the state conventions to consider the Constitution. In many of the states the elections were very close, and there were many delegates in the



VII

The Fight for Adoption

state conventions who opposed ratification with all their influence. The new Constitution was adopted by the approval of not over 100,000, or 3 percent, of the free population.

No issue had ever come before the people up to that time that attracted such widespread interest as the question regarding the adoption of the Constitution. Pamphlets for and against the Constitution were prepared and circulated by the thousands. Stump speakers arrayed themselves against each other in every forum. Newspapers attacked and defended the proposed Constitution. It was the subject of heated and violent arguments in every tavern, blacksmith's shop, store, and gathering place of the people. The enemies and friends of the new Constitution lost their tempers. They called each other names. James Wilson of Pennsylvania was nominated an aristocrat, a snob, a patrician. Roger Sherman was a turncoat. Madison and Hamilton were mere boys, while Franklin was an old man in his dotage. Even Washington was referred to as a fool.

Out of this discussion the American party system came forth. Those who supported the adoption of the Constitution were known as Federalists while the opponents were called Anti-federalists. For the next decade this alignment

constituted the political parties of the day. From the many pamphlets that were prepared came a series of articles known as *The Federalist*, a classic that has come down to us as a monumental work on the nature of our government. Alexander Hamilton was the author of fifty-one articles; James Madison contributed twenty-nine; and John Jay wrote five.

The battle to adopt the Constitution has

been referred to as a contest between the debtor and creditor classes. For the most part, those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution were debtors, small farmers, backwoodsmen, mechanics, and men of small property, while the supporters were made up principally of creditors, planters, bankers, merchants, and men of wealth. But there were able men on both sides of the question, and some of those who most effectively opposed the adoption of the Constitution were men of wealth of whom Colonel George Mason of Virginia is illustrative. Mason's opposition was based on a love of freedom and liberty, and he honestly believed the Constitution would curtail the liberties of the people. That great patriot of the Revolution, Patrick Henry, who wanted liberty or death, was another bitter foe of the new order of government. Henry and Mason led the enemies of the Constitution in the Virginia convention and they proved to be worthy antagonists. It took the combined efforts of James Madison; Edmund Randolph, who had refused to sign the Constitution, but threw all his efforts behind its adoption by Virginia; John Marshall, who was later to become Chief Justice; and "Light Horse Harry" Lee, the father of Robert E. Lee—working together within the con-

vention and cooperating with Washington, who was not a delegate—to swing Virginia into line.

Other prominent opponents of the Constitution were Richard Henry Lee, who wrote and circulated thousands of articles entitled, *Letters from the Federal Farmer*; George Clinton of New York; and Luther Martin of Maryland. In Massachusetts John Hancock, who signed the Declaration of Independence, was thought to be opposed to the new Constitution; and Samuel Adams, that great apostle of the Revolution, was silent if not opposed. In the end Adams came around and lent his great influence for its adoption. It has been said that his hesitation in championing the new Constitution kept him from the presidency. Had he been ardent from the first for the Constitution, he might have been selected as vicepresident under Washington instead of John Adams, his cousin. This would have placed him in line to succeed Washington. Samuel Adams, altho a patriot, was somewhat of a politician. He took care to discover the direction popular opinion was moving.

The story is told that while the convention was in session in Massachusetts, a great meeting of working men representing all the trades was held at the Green Dragon Tavern in Boston. It appears that Paul Revere presided at this meeting, which passed resolutions demanding ratification of the Constitution. When Samuel Adams learned of this meeting, he asked Paul Revere how many mechanics were present.

Paul Revere replied, "More, sir,

than the Green Dragon could hold."

"And where were the rest?" Mr. Adams asked.

"In the streets, sir."

"How many were in the streets?"

"More, sir, than there are stars in the sky," answered Paul Revere. After this interview, it is said Samuel Adams supported the motion to adopt the new Constitution.

There were many objections put forth by the opponents of the Constitution. One of the chief criticisms was that the national legislature created by the Constitution provided that the vote was the vote of individuals and not the vote of states. Another objection was that the Constitution granted Congress unlimited power of taxation. It was claimed that the new government would be aristocratic and probably lead to a monarchy. Considerable objection was made to the provision that the Congressmen could fix their own salaries. Probably the most valid complaint against the Constitution was that it did not contain a bill of rights. Men like Colonel Mason; John Hancock; Samuel Adams; and Thomas Jefferson, who was in Paris at that time, pointed out most forcefully this glaring omission.

In approving the Constitution several of the states recommended that this instrument be amended at the first opportunity by the inclusion of a bill of rights. Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York were especially insistent. It is doubtful whether the Constitution would have been approved by these states if the delegates had not under-

stood that the bill of rights would be added to the fundamental document as soon as the machinery could be provided to pass the amendments.

The first state to ratify the Constitution was Delaware, on December 7, 1787. Pennsylvania approved it on December 12; next New Jersey, then Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, and South Carolina. New Hampshire was the ninth state. With the ratification of the Constitution by New Hampshire, it became effective in the nine states that had approved it. Virginia was the tenth state to accept it, and New York the eleventh. North Carolina and Rhode Island refused to act. Rhode Island would not even call a convention to consider the Constitution. It was not until after the new government had been organized and Washington was president that North Carolina and Rhode Island came into the Union. The new government was considering putting pressure on obstinate little Rhode Island by dealing with that state as with foreign nations. When this fact became apparent to the citizens of Rhode Island, they finally ratified the Constitution on May 29, 1790.

The fight to adopt the Constitution may well be regarded as one of the major political conflicts in the history of our country. The debates and discussions on the new government constituted our first great school of democracy which prepared the people for intelligent participation in the new government.



HAVE YOU EVER READ the fifth article of the Constitution?

It is one of the wisest provisions in the whole document. In substance, it provides that whenever two-thirds of the members of Congress shall propose an amendment to the Constitution, and when three-fourths of the states have ratified the amendment, it shall become a part of the Constitution.

The makers of the Constitution fully understood that the instrument of government which they prepared was not infallible, and that from time to time it would have to be changed. If no provision had been made for amending the Constitution, in all probability, it could not have withstood the stresses and strains to which it has been subjected in the century and a half since it was written. The march of time invariably changes the social, economic, cultural, and political aspects of a civilization, and government must likewise be altered to meet these changing conditions. If a constitution could not be amended, it would have to be abrogated sooner or later. Minority groups in our country should not attempt for their own selfish ends to block reasonable amendments because in so doing they endanger the total structure of government.

How many amendments to the Constitution do you suppose have been introduced in the Congress of the United States since our government was organized? People are always surprised and appalled when they learn of the enormous number of amendments that have been proposed by Congressmen. More than 3200 amendments to the Constitution have been offered since our government has been organized! Yet there are individuals, newspapers, magazines, and corporate organizations that today are



VIII

The Amendments

trying to convince the masses that it is a mark of treason on the part of anyone to suggest that the Constitution should be amended in any particular.

It is no new thing to suggest amendments to the Constitution. The state conventions that adopted the Constitution talked much of desirable amendments. It was generally understood in many of the states in 1788 that those amendments known as the "bill of rights" would be offered at the first meeting of Congress if the Constitution was adopted. James Madison promised the Virginia convention that this would be done. Accordingly, on June 8, 1789, Madison introduced these amendments. During this first session of Congress more than 120 amendments to the Constitution were submitted. The House of Representatives reduced the number to eighteen and sent them to the Senate. The Senate approved twelve. Ten of the twelve were ratified by the states. No later Congress has ever considered so many changes to the Constitution.

Presentday critics who attempt to place the stigma of disloyalty on anyone who proposes an amendment to the Constitution will discover, if they will but take the pains to investigate, that our founding fathers were not so conservative. They wrote and adopted an

absolutely new constitution and then amended it ten times within less than four years.

A selfgoverning people should not be stampeded into making sudden and radical changes which would alter the fundamental character of their government. On the other hand, the people should resist any movement by the standpoint, conservative, and special privileged interests that would make changes in the Constitution impossible and thereby fasten upon the

American people a static government which could be administered in favor of vested interests. Good government is evolutionary in character. Orderly change in the fundamental structure of government must always be possible when found desirable. The people themselves in each generation must determine the character and nature of such changes in their government as they in their common wisdom shall decree. The Constitution has been amended twenty-one times; it will be amended again and again as the evolutionary processes of civilization unfold.

The first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the "bill of rights," were ratified by the states in 1791. These amendments did not present anything new or novel in government. They were designed simply to guarantee rights and immunities which we had inherited from our ancestors. They are centuries old, and the fundamental concepts on which they are based are to be discovered in English common law. They guarantee freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of petition, the right to keep and bear arms, protection against quartering soldiers in private houses, and security against unreasonable searches and seizures. The individual is protected by

these amendments against unjust prosecutions, nor can he be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The "bill of rights" guarantees a speedy and public trial by jury, and protects the individual against excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel and unusual punishments. Fundamental rights not enumerated in the Constitution are retained by the people, and powers not delegated to the United States are reserved to the states.

The "bill of rights," guaranteeing the liberties of a people, is regarded as the most sacred part of the Constitution. Out of the dim past, thru the suffering and struggling of men, one by one these fundamental concepts of liberty and freedom have been seized upon and purchased at the price of blood for the benefit of succeeding generations. They may almost be regarded as the divine rights of a free people.

As one studies the evolutionary processes of government and the changing order of society, he can scarcely help contemplating what new rights of men may eventually be added to our "bill of rights" in the Constitution. If I were to venture a prediction on this intriguing subject, I would say that in the fullness of time there will be other rights extending the list of those commonly accepted. Among these I would suggest the right to a job (this should not be confused with the dole but regarded as a chance to work for a living), the right of medical protection against the ravages of disease, the right of social security in old age, and the right of education commensurate with capacity for mental development.

The eleventh amendment, to protect the sovereignty of the states, was declared to be a part of the Constitution in 1798. The twelfth, dealing with the manner of electing the President and Vicepresident, was ratified in 1804. After the adoption of the twelfth amendment, for a period of over sixty years the Constitution was not amended. Many intelligent people were beginning to believe it would never again be possible to change the Constitution. Then came the Civil War; and after this great catastrophe, three amendments were added in rapid succession. The thirteenth (1865) abolished slavery, the fourteenth (1868) was designed to protect the Negroes, and the fif-

teenth (1870) gave the Negro suffrage.

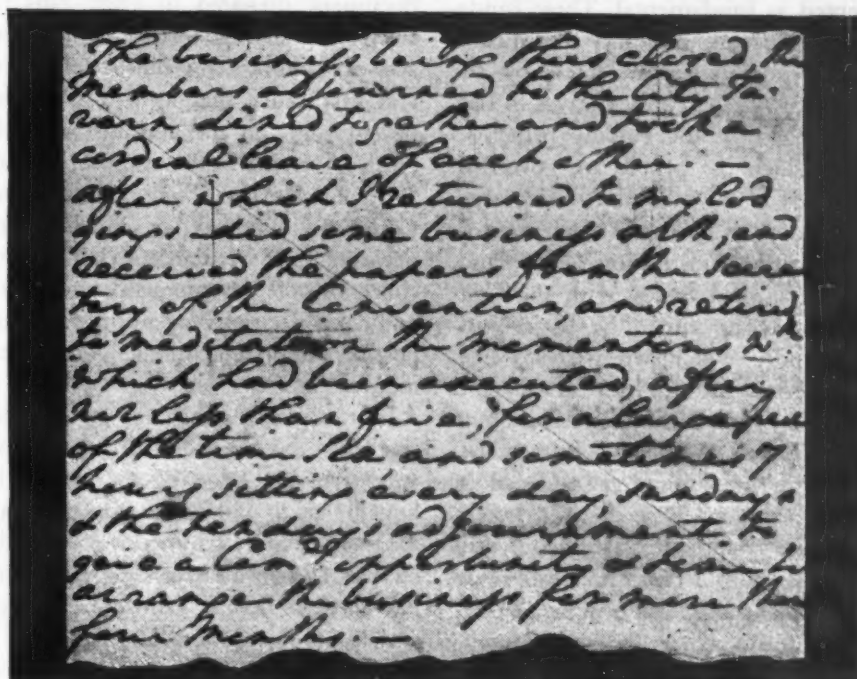
Again a long period of time was to elapse before another change was to be made in the fundamental law of the land. This time it was forty-three years before the advocates of change could alter the organic structure of our government. In 1894 the Supreme Court in one of its famous five-to-four decisions declared unconstitutional an act of Congress authorizing an income tax. It took the champions of this form of taxation nearly twenty years to consolidate public opinion on this issue sufficiently to secure the enactment of the sixteenth amendment (1913). Since the ratification of the income tax amendment, a more liberal point of view has prevailed. During the last twenty-five years, the Constitution has been altered six times. The seventeenth amendment providing for the election of United States Senators was passed in 1913 after many years of agitation. The famous eighteenth amendment was approved in 1919. Woman suffrage was provided for in 1920 by the nineteenth amendment. The twentieth abolished what has popularly been referred to as the "lame duck" ses-

sion of Congress. The last amendment repealed the eighteenth or prohibition.

The Congress of the United States has submitted to the states five proposed amendments that the states have refused to ratify. Two of these were submitted in 1789, one relating to the apportionment of representatives and the other to the compensation of members of Congress. In 1810 an amendment, of no consequence, with regard to titles of nobility was proposed. Just before the Civil War a futile attempt was made to prohibit the abolition of slavery by a constitutional amendment. The child labor amendment is still before the people and may yet be ratified.

Today we hear much discussion regarding constitutional changes in our government. This is but natural. There is always a demand for change in the social order after every major crisis, whether that crisis be war or depression. It is the duty of the average citizen to keep an open mind on all proposals to amend the Constitution, weigh the arguments for and against changes, and then vote on these issues as his intelligence and conscience dictate.

EXCERPTS FROM WASHINGTON'S DIARY AT PHILADELPHIA



Courtesy, Constitution Bicentennial Commission

Sunday, [May] 13th. . . . I proceeded to Philada.

Friday, [June] 1st. Attending in Convention and nothing being suffered to transpire, no minutes of the proceedings has been or will be inserted in this diary.

Monday, [September] 17th. Met in Convention, when the Constitution received the unanimous assent of 11 States and Colo. Hamilton's from New York. . . .

WHAT IS THE CONSTITUTION TODAY? Is it the original document and the twenty-one amendments that can be printed on twelve to fifteen pages, and may be read in five minutes? Well, that is what is commonly called the Constitution. But the Constitution is actually more than that today. The original document and the amendments are only the framework of our government.

The United States has the oldest written constitution of any nation in the world. We are celebrating its 150th anniversary. Many of the great nations do not have a written constitution; nevertheless, they have constitutional government. England is our best example of a country without a written constitution. Thru the centuries the English have been evolving principles of government which they have accepted as fundamental. These fundamental concepts of equity and justice and freedom when accepted by the people thru their representatives in Parliament become the guiding principles under which the people are governed. This body of laws, administrative practices, and court decisions is regarded as the unwritten constitution of England.

In the United States, with the Constitution setting forth the basic principles under which we wish to live, Congress has written, in a century and a half, thousands of laws governing our actions. The thirty-one presidents, working within the limitations outlined in the Constitution, have issued decrees and instituted practices that would fill thousands of volumes. The Supreme Court is constantly being asked to decide cases involving the constitutionality of laws. In rendering its decisions the Supreme Court has consistently in recent years enlarged the scope of the Constitution, and the decisions interpreting the meaning of that document may well be considered a part of the organic law of the land. Thus the United States actually has both a writ-



Printing paper money which was "not worth a Continental"

IX

The Constitution in the Life of Today

ten and an unwritten Constitution. The Constitution of our country today may properly be regarded as the original document prepared in 1787; plus the twenty-one amendments; plus those acts of Congress, for the past hundred and fifty years, that have not been repealed; plus all the administrative decrees, practices, and customs that prevail; plus the decisions of the Supreme Court and all other courts in which their decisions have been accepted. This total collection of laws, practices, customs, and court decisions for all practical purposes is our constitutional government today.

It is easy to see that our government has never been a static thing. It is always evolving, growing up. It is to be hoped that it will never stop growing, for then it would go into a period of decline and finally die as other governments like those of Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, and Rome have done. The old order is ever changing, giving place to the new. Change is written upon the face of the earth, on every mountain, plain, and river valley. Nations rise and fall; the archeologist today digs into the earth only to discover that these peoples perished because of their inability to adapt their cultures to a changing order of life.

A constitution may be drawn to meet the needs of a people at any given time, but it must be elastic enough to provide for healthy growth as civilization evolves. Our founding fathers thoroly understood this and provided a means for amending the Constitution. They demonstrated that they had the courage to alter their own handiwork by passing ten amendments immediately after organizing the government. Washington, Madison, Hamilton, and the other illustrious men of the Constitutional Convention understood thoroly—more so than any group of statesmen who have since piloted the fate of our nation—that it would be essential from time to time to amend the Constitution to meet the chang-

ing economic, political, social, and cultural development of our country.

Thomas Jefferson writing to a friend in 1816 said:

"I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with, because, when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their ill effects. *But I know also that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind.* As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regime of their barbarous ancestors . . . let us provide in our Constitution for its revision at stated periods. What these periods should be, nature herself indicates. By the European tables of mortality, of the adults living at any one moment of time, a majority will be dead in about nineteen years. At the end of that period, then, a new majority is come into place; or, in other words, a new generation.

"Each generation is as independent of

the one preceding as that was of all which had gone before. It has, then, like them, a right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently, to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors; and it is for the peace and good of mankind that a solemn opportunity of doing this every nineteen or twenty years should be provided by the constitution, so that it may be handed on, with periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time, if anything human can so long endure."

No statesman of today would take such an extreme position as the one advocated by Jefferson. But Jefferson was what was known as a "strict constructionist," and did not believe in the "doctrine of implied powers" which Alexander Hamilton advanced. Had Jefferson's doctrine of literal interpretation of the Constitution prevailed, undoubtedly the Constitution would have had to undergo major alterations periodically. But the philosophy of Hamilton and Marshall prevailed—the philosophy that the Constitution contains implied powers, a philosophy which even Jefferson followed when as President he made the Louisiana Purchase. This more elastic interpretation has permitted the Constitution to grow and develop without too much strain on the original structure. Recently a very able and distinguished United States Senator maintained that the Constitution contains latent powers that have not been used or even discovered, and that may be called into existence when a changing social order demands new machinery to enable it to function. This is what the historian, James Truslow Adams, calls the vital element in the Constitution.

This leads us to a consideration of what the Constitution actually means. It is written in simple, beautiful English. Is there any difficulty about its meaning? Language is always difficult to interpret. The Constitutional Convention had hardly adjourned before some of its members fell to disputing the meaning of various sections of this document. Thru the hundred and fifty years eminent and intelligent men have held totally different views of the meaning of certain passages. These divergent views have resulted in many suits in

the courts seeking to discover its true meaning. The Supreme Court of the United States is the final arbiter in any dispute relative to the meaning of the Constitution.

The members of the Supreme Court often disagree among themselves as to the actual meaning of the Constitution on different points. The Court frequently submits a majority and a minority opinion on the issues before it. Sometimes members are divided five to four on the question under consideration. Such decisions are always unfortunate for the country, and they usually are followed by much criticism of the Court.

In discussing the meaning of the Constitution, Jefferson wrote to his friend, Spencer Roane, in 1819: "The Constitution is a thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary which they may twist and shape into any form they please."

Chief Justice Hughes when Governor of New York said, "The Constitution is what the judges say it is."

Felix Frankfurter, distinguished professor of law at Harvard, says, "The Supreme Court is the Constitution."

On the Supreme Court there are usually men of both conservative and liberal viewpoints. This has been especially true in our times. The late Justice Holmes was celebrated for his dissenting opinions in which he advocated liberal interpretations of the organic law of our land. Justice Brandeis is credited with bringing a new philosophy of law, equity, and justice to the Court. He has ably and consistently advocated that in interpreting the Constitution, the Justices should not confine their judgments to the narrow facts set forth by the attorneys in their briefs, but that the Court should consider all the facts and social conditions bearing on the case and render decisions that would protect the basic interests of society with respect to its health, morals, safety, and general welfare.

From this discussion we can readily conclude that the Constitution is not a self-declaring document. It is what the honorable Judges of the Supreme Court in their wisdom decide it is. It is important to the nation that the Justices be men who possess a wholesome social philosophy with regard to the general welfare of all the people of our coun-

try. It is essential that they look backward for the purpose of reviewing our history and ascertaining precedent. It is even more important that they scan the future, penetrating into it as far as human eye can see to discover the direction civilization is moving. With a backward glance at history and a forward glimpse of the future, the Supreme Court should render decisions with a view to achieving a more perfect Union, establishing justice, insuring domestic tranquillity, providing for the common defense, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

In closing, I would say that the makers of the Constitution builded better than they knew. I can agree with De Tocqueville, the Frenchman, that it is "the most perfect federal constitution that ever existed." I am certain William Pitt was correct when he remarked: "It will be a pattern for all future Constitution building and the admiration of all future ages." Senator William E. Borah has said: "If it [the Constitution] should go—either by absolute rejection or by a transformation which would leave little of its former spirit and purpose—still it would have served the cause of human freedom and the advancement and the enlargement of human happiness as has no other document in the history of the world. Under it the average citizen emerged from a state of serfdom to that of a sovereign. Greater progress and more universal happiness has been the portion of the masses since the year 1789 than in all the 5000 years preceding it." The Constitution is its own best defense—a bulwark of strength, a veritable rock of Gibraltar in a troubled world. Those who respect it most and love it best are the plain, simple folk of our country. Its true defenders are the homes, the churches, and the schools of the great common people of America. Our loyalty and devotion to our country and our Constitution are best demonstrated when we do our simple duty day by day in the service of our fellowmen. The good neighbor is the good citizen. The good citizen is the patriot. The patriot defends the flag. *But in our devotion for the Constitution we should always remember that the Constitution was made for man and not man for the Constitution.*

"SCHOOLS AND THE CONSTITUTION" has been designated as the theme for Thursday, November 11, of American Education Week. Schools will thus have an opportunity to celebrate the Constitution Sesquicentennial during American Education Week.

Students may well consider such questions as: What does the Constitution mean to me? Would I exchange the rights, liberties, and institutions of our democracy for residence elsewhere? How has the Constitution "served the cause of human freedom and the advancement and the enlargement of human happiness as has no other document in the history of the world?"

Yet if the schools are to prepare citizens to take part intelligently in the eternal struggle toward government of the people, by the people, and for the people, boys and girls must not be content with merely paying tribute to the Constitution or even with studying and understanding its history. They must be led to see that foremost among our problems as a nation is the adapting of our democratic government to present-day needs with as much courage and devotion to all people as the founding fathers had 150 years ago.

There are those who contend that the Constitution is our authority, that it should remain unchanged, and that we should follow a strict interpretation of it. There are others who maintain that we should let the Constitution stand as written but give it a broad interpretation so that our government which operates under its authority can be adapted to presentday needs. There is still another group which maintains that the Constitution must be revised or materially amended. What should be the attitude of the schools toward this great document and all the issues that



X

Suggestions for Use

arise from its relationship with present-day life? Should not the schools teach all the facts, present all the viewpoints about civic issues, and then let young people make their own decisions?

Suggestions for broadening the scope of activities for Constitution Day, American Education Week, to cover the whole problem of education and citizenship may be found in the 1937 AEW manuals for highschools (page 20) and elementary schools (page 16). These may be secured from the National Education Association for 15¢ each.

"Making the Constitution," altho prepared with teachers in mind, has a strong appeal to laymen and to older pupils. Lend your copy of THE JOURNAL to interested citizens or ask the editor of the local paper to reprint the articles. Dr. Donovan suggests that teachers using this feature call to the special attention of their pupils *Building America*, Volume 2, Number 1, "Our Constitution," [to be obtained from the Society for Curriculum Study, 425 West 123rd St., New York, for 30¢].

The Nebraska State Teachers Association, 605 South Fourteenth Street, Lincoln, last year revised its Research Bulletin No. 6, "Vitalizing the Teaching of the Constitution." Write to the Nebraska Association for information concerning this excellent bulletin.

The United States Constitution Sesquicentennial Commission, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., has available an abundance of material use-

ful in this celebration. From the Commission may be secured suggestive study units on the Constitution, appropriate music, posters, tests on the Constitution, suggestive programs for parent-teachers associations and for assembly programs, pageants and plays, educational motion pictures with Constitutional themes, shrines and

facsimiles, suggestions for starting a Constitutional shelf in the school library, and information about essays and contests. The Commission proposes as appropriate activities: the holding of a Constitutional Convention; a tree planting ceremony in honor of the nation's early leaders; using the Constitutional theme in commencement programs.

Other highly worthwhile projects are the comparison of our Constitution with other written constitutions; debates on Constitutional issues; and keeping scrapbooks during the Sesquicentennial.

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[This page prepared by JOURNAL staff.]

New Activities of the Educational Policies Commission

EDITORIAL NOTE: Last month THE JOURNAL carried a brief article describing the three published pronouncements of the Educational Policies Commission; this month our attention is directed toward the major undertakings which are now being carried on. It is anticipated that a pronouncement in one or more of these fields will be published within the next few months.

ARE-THINKING of the purposes of education has seemed to the EPC to be an urgently needed activity. To advance this project the Commission has added to its staff Dr. Edgar W. Knight of the University of North Carolina. It is recognized, after nearly twenty years of experience with the "seven cardinal principles," that merely to identify "health" or "vocation" as desirable goals of education, is not enough. While these goals themselves will probably remain valid for many years, they need to be interpreted in terms of the complementary functions of home, school, and community. School people need to know where to place emphasis in planning the school program today. It is that type of interpretation which the educational leaders employed by the Commission are seeking to provide. In this project, they are tracing the evolution of educational objectives from the earliest recorded history of education, and from this background they are attempting to reveal the evolving goals of our own educational system.

The Commission also has in preparation a major pronouncement concerned with the economic foundations of education. This study is being carried on for the Commission by a student in educational economics, Dr. Harold F. Clark of Teachers College, Columbia University. In the approach to this problem first emphasis is given, not to the amount of funds necessary to provide what we think is a desirable educational program, but rather to the question of how much education must be supplied each individual in order to bring the greatest economic return to the nation. This involves three subordinate studies, two of

which are already under way; namely, [1] the economic effects of education, [2] the economic resources available for educational support, and [3] taxation for education in relation to other public functions which require public monies.

Thus far, the evidence appears to be quite clear that this country possesses the resources, the man power, and the potential productive capacity to do the educational job that needs to be done. While economists and engineers differ quite widely in their opinions as to the size of the margin of excess productive capacity, they agree that this margin is adequate to the needs now at hand. Furthermore, it is beginning to be clear that it would be a wholesome economic procedure for this country to divert an increasingly large part of its social income into those public activities, such as education, which minister to the human needs for enlightenment, recreation, and health. The Commission proposes to go cautiously and thoroly into this field. It has already gone far enough to catch a glimpse of some very interesting possibilities.

Another part of the structure of educational policy which the Commission is building is concerned with the nature and characteristics of the population with which the schools must deal. Administrators are faced not only with a changing school-age population, but also with a marked increase in the number of out-of-school youth and adults whom the schools must serve. The approach to this important problem is just now being made. In cooperation with a group of competent specialists in the study of population problems, a report is being prepared on the present conditions and probable future trends regarding the numbers, location, and characteristics of the future school and college population. With respect to the numbers involved, estimates will be sought indicating probable future trends in kindergarten, elementary-school, secondary-school, and college enrolments. With regard to location it is desirable

to obtain the best possible prediction (or series of alternative predictions) concerning the proportion of the future school population which will likely be found in rural as opposed to urban school systems, and in metropolitan as opposed to suburban, village, and farming areas. With regard to characteristics of the school population, the probable trends in enrolment in public schools as distinguished from private and parochial schools will be reviewed. The Commission will also examine the available evidence regarding the intellectual level of future school populations, their social and economic status, and other characteristics which underlie the provision of a suitable educational program for them. Most important of all, the Commission hopes that this study will suggest technics, sources of data, and methods of approach which can be used by state and local school systems in making intensive surveys of their probable future clientele.

Just recently work has been started in an area which promises to be fully as important as any of those previously mentioned. This is a study in which the entire educational structure from nursery school to university, and from the school district to the state department of education is being reconsidered and re-evaluated. This area encompasses the whole field of vocational education and its relation to general education as well as the places of the secondary school and junior college among the other units of the educational system. In developing this project the Commission is keeping in close touch with the President's Advisory Committee on Education.

One may readily envision from these descriptions the plan of attack that is being employed. The EPC regards its statement of *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy* [see Sept. 1937 JOURNAL, page 196] as the bed-rock upon which the future pronouncements of educational policy will be founded. Next, the Commission is working upon four major studies—the purposes of education, the economic foundations of education, the nature of the school population, and the structure of the educational system. These should become the cornerstones of an edifice which can be built by the concerted efforts of the profession and public over a period of years.

Report of the Conference on Elementary Education

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, July 5-16, 1937

THE ONE HUNDRED AND NINETY STUDENTS who attended the first annual Conference on Elementary Education, sponsored by the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, July 5-16, 1937, came from thirty-two states, and represented many types of school positions, altho most were principals of elementary schools.

The officers of the Department have long desired that an opportunity be provided for all leaders of elementary education to meet, discuss, and at least approach a solution of their problems by getting the viewpoint of other experts in their fields of work. The opportunity for this meeting was given by the School of Education, University of Michigan. The group is indebted to Dean J. B. Edmonson, L. W. Keeler of the School of Education, and their associates on the instructional staff, for providing a splendid program.

The conference was organized and directed by Dr. Keeler, assisted by twelve members of the summer session faculty, seven of whom were visiting members. The instructional staff gave seventeen lectures on elementary education.

Miss Agnes Samuelson, state superintendent of public instruction of Iowa, contributed four lectures, and made available a large amount of useful material which had been prepared for the state program of improvement of instruction in Iowa schools. Arrangements were made by Professor Willard C. Olson to enable students to visit the classes in the University Elementary School. As a special feature of the course, Miss Edith Thomas of the University Library arranged an exhibit of children's books, and also provided a list of recommended children's books for elementary-school libraries.

Professor Clifford Woody presented a list of interesting articles in books on reading problems. He lectured on types

of tests which could be used and the administration of testing programs. Professor S. A. Courtis gave much help by discussing the philosophy of administration and supervision. His second lecture was on the social responsibility of the teacher. Henry J. Otto, of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, discussed physical health in the elementary school. The current problems of financing elementary education were analyzed by William G. Carr, director, Research Division of the National Education Association. He made the group realize that the elementary schools are facing a new and entirely different series of problems. Those who have had experience in handling such problems have yet had little guidance.

The lecture by Arthur B. Moehlman on the principal in social interpretation clarified many angles of thought. He feels that social interpretation must be based upon the larger objectives of public education, that the process of institutional interpretation is cooperative and its success contingent on the active and intelligent participation of every institutional agent, and that the interpretation process can only become effective to the extent that all participating agents conceive of their responsibility as functional participation in a functional activity. Dr. Bessie Lee Gambrill of Yale University, delivered before the group an instructive and helpful lecture on how the elementary-school program of instruction should be organized. Paul Rankin, supervising director of curriculum and research in the Detroit Public Schools, showed how the State Department of Public Instruction of Michigan plans for curriculum improvement, and Dennis H. Cooke, George Peabody College, ably analyzed the problem of establishing morale among elementary-school teachers. Carl Lemme, principal, Evansville, Ind., summed up the courses of lectures by asking the question, "And what of the future?"

The course was completed by Dean J. B. Edmonson, who discussed the old versus the new in school discipline. He holds that the aim of education in a democracy should be to fit the individual to live with and for others, and that presentday leaders in public education believe the newer type of discipline will give boys and girls better preparation than the older type of discipline for effective citizenship.

The series of lectures by staff members was made thru class discussions in seven groups organized under the officers chosen by the class group from among their own members. Much of the discussion was concerned with subjects presented in the *Yearbooks* of the Department of Elementary School Principals, and special emphasis was placed on the *Fifteenth Yearbook*, "Personality Adjustment of the Elementary School Child," which was used as a text in the course. The chairmen of these seven groups were: Ross Brooks, Evansville, Ind.; George N. Fisher, Ft. Worth, Tex.; Thomas M. Gilland, California, Pa.; Nora Langford, Ft. Worth, Tex.; Grace Needham, Lakewood, Ohio; B. C. Shankland, Cadillac, Mich.; and Sarah L. Young, Oakland, Calif.

Another interesting feature of the conference was a series of informal round-table discussions, held each evening at the Michigan League. The group exchanged views on practical problems in elementary education.

This Conference on Elementary Education was designated by the University as Education B151S, and those who wished credit were given two points by taking the final examination. Each student who attended has now in his possession a monograph on "Selected Problems in Elementary Education," which was the theme of the course. For the preparation of this monograph the group is indebted to Dean Edmonson, Dr. Keeler, and Mr. Good. The group is also indebted to the University for the get-together party, arranged by Ethel A. McCormick, social director of women, which took place in the gardens of the Michigan League, during the early part of the course. Miss McCormick also made arrangements for the tea on Thursday at the Michigan League.

This first conference was history-making and its effects will be far-reaching.

—EVA G. PINKSTON.

Alcohol in Youth's World

W. Roy Breg

IS ALCOHOLIC INDULGENCE a youth problem? Is there a good deal of alcohol in youth's world?

Doctor Studenski of New York University in a study among all classes of young people in New York State thru a recent ten-month period, discovered that 83 percent of the 2379 persons consulted reported that they drank occasionally or regularly either hard liquor, beer, or wine. Only 17 percent are complete abstainers. No marked difference was found in the percentages of drinking among young men and young women.

A larger survey, reaching 11,000 young people in an eastern state, showed 54 percent using alcoholic beverages, while nearly all non-users indicated that they did not object to the use of alcohol by other youths.

According to the uniform crime reports, Federal Bureau of Investigation, more than one-fifth of the crime in America (in the first quarter, 1937) was directly involved with liquor—the breaking of liquor laws, driving while intoxicated, drunkenness. Thirty-eight percent of those breaking the liquor laws are under thirty years of age, as are 35 percent of intoxicated drivers, and 30 percent of those arrested for drunkenness.

Allied Youth's own survey, in which more than 2000 highschool youths were consulted, shows that fewer than 250 are receiving instruction in schools on the nature and effects of alcohol. To be sure, the laws of 46 states and the District of Columbia require such teaching. It is imparted in varying degrees and sometimes without integration with other school courses. One state requires a two-hour program once a year on "temperance."

A number of texts and curriculums, to be sure, are modern and practical. But then there comes the realization that, after all, classroom teaching will not provide many students with the answer to the social situation, when the girl friend's father or a good chum says, "Come on, have a drink!"

"Hating to say no," "Drinking with friends," "Conforming to the crowd's custom," were phrases by which 600 of

the 2000 young people lately consulted by Allied Youth describe the chief motive for their use of intoxicants.

At just that point, the Allied Youth localized program, closely related to highschools of numerous leading cities, takes hold. Since Allied Youth Posts, affiliated to schools, major in programs that seek local facts to supplement (usually strongly confirming) classroom instruction and textbooks, the community and its problems are tied in with the school's custom-made program of alcohol education. Abstinence becomes a group venture.

Such a Post also demonstrates the year-round, alcohol-free recreation. The national movement has had specialized counsel in forming good times programs, such as the Post uses in its semi-monthly meetings and also in the growing number of Allied Youth events that are open to an entire school body.

The attitude of Allied Youth to beverage alcohol for young people is succinctly stated in the platform that youth itself wrote: "We stand for the liberation thru education of the individual and society from the handicaps of beverage alcohol." The handicaps that the movement has in mind are not solely physical and mental, and by no means confined to the predictable results from so-called excessive and habitual drinking. For the psychological effects of relying on the narcotic let-down or "worry-preventer," the effects on choice of companionships, vocational possibilities, are all to be considered in any modern, realistic approach to youth's choices for or against the use of intoxicants.

Typical of the experience of many a school and school system is the successful two-year test of Allied Youth in one Western city. The writer was welcomed to a highschool to present the Allied Youth story—how a youth-led Post, an interest group or activity club within the school program, can acquire facts, discuss them, compare the texts with local social conditions, act effectively in highschool recreation. Questions were permitted. Following assembly, as many young people as could find places at the

front of the auditorium came forward to declare their interest, examine the Allied Youth pin and charter, and ask even more questions.

Then thirty of their number promptly met with the principal, to perfect organization of an Allied Youth Post for that school. A capable science teacher became sponsor and counselor of the Post—the one adult position. The meetings were permitted in school hours. Activities were geared in at a number of points.

A year later, a youth officer of the Post told us: "This school has gone Allied-Youth-conscious." You could feel it in the air: For 75 new members were initiated in one day. With this added enrolment, this Post in a year had received into membership one student in every six of its school.

The seniors' breakfast of another school has been held annually in a nearby city. Not under school control, the event has been marred by some drinking. But last June, a few hours after the group departed, the manager of the city restaurant phoned to the principal to say that this time there had been no drinking, no rowdiness. The manager had never seen a finer crowd of young people. The principal gives credit to the influence of Allied Youth. The seniors made their own rules for the occasion—and the class officers were also leaders in the Allied Youth Post. The incident is typical, not exceptional.

Nationally, Allied Youth, Inc., produces an interesting and authoritative monthly, *The Allied Youth*, and an educational service for teachers and school libraries, as well as pamphlets, program helps, and other materials. Its representatives frequently address high-school assemblies and teachers' gatherings. Allied Youth's headquarters are in the National Education Association building, Washington, D. C. The board of trustees includes A. J. Stoddard, Homer P. Rainey, John R. Mott, Daniel A. Poling, Mrs. Roberta Campbell Lawson, Frank E. Gannett, Elon H. Hooker, J. Roscoe Drummond, and Ernest Stacey Griffith. It receives the cooperation of educators, club women, PTA leaders, adults generally, and youth.

ONE OF THE serious problems confronting the American people is the preservation of their democracy. Art may be made a great power to that end, for art is by nature and in its functions essentially democratic.

I base this generalization on the following grounds:

[1] Personality is a fundamental ideal of democracy. Someone has defined personality as emotion expressing itself thru the intellect, thru bodily functions, and thru special capacities. Complete expression is the main avenue to the development of personality. Art is essentially emotional. To many people it is an important special capacity. Art, therefore, is an important avenue of personal expression to all people and the supremely important avenue to those of esthetic capacity. But art is important to personality from the side of impression as well as from that of expression. Anyone who has looked into the face of the statue of Abraham Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial at Washington, or into the eyes of the figures in the *Syndics* by Rembrandt, cannot help getting an impression of the strength of the individual personality.

[2] Art tells the realistic truth. It always goes to the root of things; hence art is always radical. If democracy is to be perpetuated, the people must see the truth about all phases of life. Art portrays the realities of life—the brutalities of war, the wretchedness of poverty, the baseness of crime, the vulgarity and nobility of the extremes of human nature, and the debilitating effect of both poverty and luxury.

[3] Art expresses the ideals of equality and the brotherhood of man. Art knows no race, no class, no creed. It paints the high and the low, the noble and the degraded, the beautiful and the ugly, in realistic forms and colors. It portrays the Jew and the gentile, the white and the black, the arrogant and the humble—all on the same canvas.

[4] Art broadens the standards of excellence in our common culture. The culture of the Western world is narrow because it measures all things by the standard of scientific excellence. We have neglected and almost wholly forgotten esthetic standards. But beauty is



ART *and* Democracy

Frank E. Baker

just as valuable a standard of human excellence as scientific truth and it would be a great gain to human progress if our culture could be broadened to include beauty in its standards of excellence.

[5] Art deals with the imperishables of life and hence provides one great avenue for leading our culture out of its greatest weakness, materialism. Western civilization has made the production of things the supreme test of success, but our capacity to use things is limited and hence our achievements are limited by our very ideals. Art is beyond the measure of price; hence is not amenable to the profit system. It is not subject to competition. There can never be any over-supply of beauty. Art always produces the demand for more art. The production of a great masterpiece, instead of satisfying the consumer's market, enlarges the demand for beauty and increases the consumer's market.

[6] Art demands freedom. It brooks no censorship, no limitation, no restriction either on expression or impression. In speaking of freedom, I am referring here to the spiritual freedom that de-

mands for human personality the right to do those things necessary for its complete development.

The realization of the ideal of freedom may explain the supreme development of art among the ancient Greeks. The free men of Greece were probably as completely free as any people have ever been. They had no sacred book that bound their ideals. They were not inhibited by a fear of the other world. They had few conventions and restrictive customs. They were not plagued by the inhibitions of sex. They had no political tyrannies or religious hierarchies. Hence, the Greek personality was free to express its inner ideals thru all the avenues of human spirit. Art became one of the most important of these avenues.

[7] Art broadens the base of opportunity and hence becomes one of the great economic avenues for the cure of permanent unemployment. By the use of multiplied power and improved technology, the Western world can constantly increase the production of material things with less human labor. If we are to offer every individual in our democracy the opportunity for useful and expressive employment, we must take advantage of every type of production. The only type of production that is not subject to limitation is in the field of imperishables. As already pointed out, art recognizes neither competition nor a surfeit of production. Art, therefore, offers one of the great avenues for the employment of almost unlimited numbers of people. The number of personalities that are capable of great achievement in the field of art is much greater than we sometimes think.

If American democracy means anything, it means equality of opportunity and so long as there are seven or eight millions of people who are denied the opportunity of useful employment, American democracy is to that extent dead. If we are to perpetuate democracy, the permanent unemployment that now plagues us must be remedied, and art—dealing as it does with the imperishables of life—offers one broad avenue for the employment of thousands of people.—Statement before the Department of Art Education, Detroit convention, NEA.

ATLANTIC CITY MEETING

American Association of SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS

February 26 to March 3,
1938

A DEPARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION



Above: Convention press room in action.
Right: The exhibit will be a center of much interest and activity at Atlantic City next February.



Below: Convention officials on the Boardwalk.
H. A. Allan, C. B. Glenn, A. S. Chenoweth, A. H. Skean, S. D. Shankland

Some Features

Ceremonial Opening of Exhibits—Saturday afternoon, February 26—Auditorium Exhibit Hall

Music and short addresses

Opening Vesper Service—Sunday afternoon, February 27, 3:30 o'clock—Auditorium Ballroom

Inspirational speaking and music

Nine General Sessions—ending Thursday afternoon, March 3
Stimulating and varied programs, presenting many new speakers and new ideas

Eighteen Group Meetings—six on each of the afternoons of Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday

Carefully planned discussions covering current problems in many fields

Youth Problems—Sixteenth Yearbook ready for distribution at the registration desk

Presentation of yearbook at Tuesday morning general session, with further discussion of youth problems at three group meetings

Friendship Dinner of the American Association of School Administrators—Wednesday evening, March 2—Auditorium
Entertainment and speaking

College Dinners—Wednesday evening, March 2
Planned by the respective colleges, as usual



Ice Carnival—following the dinners

Skating acts by professional entertainers, followed by skating and dancing for all

Twelve Allied Organizations—specialized programs

Discussions in fields of research, kindergarten, primary, elementary, secondary, rural, vocational, college education

The Exhibit—open Saturday morning, February 26, thru Thursday afternoon, March 3, during the day

Rich in offerings of practical help in every phase of school equipment and classroom aids

Sleeping Room Reservations—Address A. S. Chenoweth, Chairman, Housing Bureau, 16 Central Pier, Atlantic City, New Jersey.

A New Service to Teachers

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION enters a new field in radio broadcasting as it begins its seventh year on the air in October 1937 with the sponsorship of *Exits and Entrances*—stories from the great drama that moves across the stage of time—a current events program that reports high spots in the world's news, describes their historical background, and interprets their significance.

The new program will be broadcast every Monday afternoon from 2:30 to 3:00 o'clock EST, in cooperation with the Columbia Broadcasting System and over its network as a feature of Columbia's School of the Air. *Exits and Entrances* is planned for reception in the classroom as an aid to teachers of the social studies. Because selections will be made on the basis of their importance, and the news vividly and accurately related, the program will be of interest to patrons and other citizens as well as to students. It may be used by teachers to tie home and school together in an educational project in which parents participate with pupils.

The Association will continue *Our American Schools* during 1937-1938, on the red network of the National Broadcasting Company. *Our American Schools* will begin its Saturday morning schedule, October 16, at 11 o'clock EST, when Florence Hale, past president of the NEA and present member of the Board of Trustees, presents the first in a series of programs planned to promote better understanding and closer cooperation between home and school. On Wednesday evening, October 13, at 6 o'clock EST, the program of *Our American Schools* devoted to interpreting schools and education will begin under the direction of Belmont Farley.

These radio programs are part of the Association's general program of helping citizens to understand and appreciate the problems of teachers and the schools. The broadcasts will describe new school subjects, new methods of instruction, new types of school organization and administration. They will present the financial needs of the schools and proposed revisions of the tax program to meet these needs. They

will advocate better salaries for teachers, adequate retirement provisions, sound tenure laws. They will show why freedom of learning is important in democratic selfgovernment.

The effectiveness of this service of the National Education Association will be in relation to the extent of the audience. Teachers and school officers may help by writing to local radio stations representing the coast-to-coast networks to make certain that the programs will be broadcast locally. They may request local editors to list these

programs in their daily radio schedules. They may announce these broadcasts at PTA and faculty meetings and school assemblies.

To aid teachers in calling the attention of their patrons and other citizens to these programs, the NEA has prepared attractive announcement leaflets which are available free for local distribution in report card envelopes, at community meetings, and in other ways. As long as the supply lasts they may be obtained in quantity by writing to the NEA. Enough copies will be provided so that each home in the community may have one.

Our Affiliated State and Local Associations

THERE ARE 658 groups affiliated with the National Education Association. These include all state associations, a number of district and regional associations, and more than 500 local associations. Under the bylaws an organized group of teachers may apply for affiliation and if accepted be granted a charter upon the payment of the first year's dues. The annual dues for state associations are \$10; for local associations having an NEA membership of 200 or more, \$10, those having fewer than 200 members, \$5. Affiliation is continuous so long as annual dues are paid.

Affiliation entitles the state or local association to name delegates to the Representative Assembly. Affiliated local associations are entitled to one delegate and one alternate for each 100 NEA members or major fraction thereof. This means that the local association must have at least 51 NEA members to be entitled to one delegate.

Local groups with a *potential* membership of 51 or more are urged to affiliate and to work toward increasing their enrolment so that they may send a delegate to the Representative Assembly, which is the policy-making body of the Association.

Affiliated state associations are entitled to one delegate and one alternate for each 100 NEA members or major fraction thereof up to 500 such members and thereafter one delegate and one alternate for each 500 NEA members

or major fraction thereof. All state and territorial associations are affiliated.

Among the advantages which affiliation brings to a local organization are:

[1] Participation in the work of the Representative Assembly.

[2] Receiving the publications of the Association, including *THE JOURNAL*, *Research Bulletin*, *Proceedings*, and the *News Bulletin* of the Department of Classroom Teachers.

[3] The development of national professional consciousness among members of the local association.

[4] Special help in planning activities and working out problems as provided by the division of classroom service at headquarters.

Every effort is made at NEA headquarters to keep a complete and up-to-date record of affiliated associations. Local groups are urged to cooperate in keeping these records by replying promptly to inquiries and to notices concerning annual dues. Notices concerning delegates' credentials are sent only to those groups whose dues are paid prior to the annual meeting.

The National Education Association aims to keep in close touch with its local affiliated groups and earnestly desires to assist them with their problems. The officers are urged to write to headquarters for aid on questions pertaining to teacher welfare, public relations, and other problems.

—AGNES WINN.

The interests of farmers in different sections are not the same; in fact, they may even be in direct opposition. Preferential freight rates to Chicago for Idaho potatoes are surely no help to Colorado growers. In the case of teachers, however, the interests are not competitive and are nearly the same the world over. Why can we not get together, then? I believe that any lack of ability we may have to solve our problems cooperatively must be due to our own indifference. We fail to see our part in the whole scheme. We say of our state and national organizations, "They are trying to do this," when it should be, "We are working on this project." We have organized to get things done not only for teachers themselves but for education in general. One hundred percent membership in our organizations, including our state and national associations, would help. If in addition, we could get 100 percent interest and 100 percent participation, no group would be more effective.—Kart Winchell, president, Wyoming Education Association.

New Life Enlistments

THE TOTAL NUMBER of Life Members enrolled in the National Education Association prior to May 1 was 5763. The following Life Members have been reported since the list was published in the May JOURNAL.

ALABAMA—Arthur H. Parker, L. R. Stone
ALASKA—Norman E. Young
ARIZONA—Donn M. Freasier
CALIFORNIA—Clarence R. Briggs, Henry C. Hall, Mrs. Laurel O. Knezevich, Bernard H. O'Neill, Gladys L. Potter
COLORADO—L. Denzil Keigley
CONNECTICUT—Hans Sievers
CUBA—Dr. Consuelo Serra de G. Veranes
FLORIDA—Myrtle Anderson
GEORGIA—Andrew Avery
HAWAII—Ross W. Bachman
INDIANA—Rose E. Boggs, Lee L. Caldwell
KANSAS—F. E. Eberwein
KENTUCKY—Emily Peel
LOUISIANA—Arthur J. Scott

ROSALIND M. ZAPF [216] teaches in the Cleveland Intermediate School, Detroit.

☆

IVAN A. BOOKER [218] is assistant director of the Research Division, NEA. Dr. Booker recently prepared a *Research Bulletin* on "Safety in Pupil Transportation."

☆

H. L. DONOVAN [219-34], president of the Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky, is a past president of the American Association of Teachers Colleges and a Life Member of the National Education Association.



MASSACHUSETTS—Katherine L. Baker
MICHIGAN—Ray H. Bechtold, Harold C. Hunt, Elmer R. Kissack, D. G. Van Orden
MISSOURI—Charles T. Denham
NEW JERSEY—Anne V. A. Cline, Hazel F. Facht
NEW YORK—Pearl Loomis, Mary E. Meade
OHIO—Ethel Carter Innis, Hulda Wenner
OREGON—Anne Mooney
PENNSYLVANIA—Karl M. Brewer, N. A. Danowsky, Joseph F. Meister, Mrs. Ruth B. Rundell, Ethel E. Watters
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS—Leandro Lumba
SOUTH CAROLINA—Frank A. DeCosta
TEXAS—R. B. Fisher, A. C. Fry, J. D. Osborne, Jr.
VIRGINIA—J. H. T. Sutherland

Completed Enrolments

THE FOLLOWING SCHOOLS have completed their 100 percent enrolments in the National Education Association for 1937-38.

EIGHTEEN YEARS

MISSOURI—St. Louis, Simmons

TWELVE YEARS

MISSOURI—St. Louis, Roe, Wyman

EIGHT YEARS

MISSOURI—St. Louis, Mallinckrodt

SEVEN YEARS

MISSOURI—St. Louis, Dumas, Eliot, Gundlach, Hamilton, Herzog, Madison, Meramec, Pestalozzi, Shendoah, Washington, Wilkinson
UTAH—Salt Lake City, McKinley

SIX YEARS

MISSOURI—St. Louis, Carondelet, Carr Lane, Clay, Clinton, Delany, Dewey, Humboldt, Lincoln, Longfellow, Oak Hill, Resident Open Air, Rock Spring, Scruggs, Wheatley

FIVE YEARS

KENTUCKY—Paris, Paris City Public, Elem., Jr. High, Sr. High; Lexington, Arlington
MISSOURI—St. Louis, Ames, Central, Cole, Cottage Avenue, Grant, Harrison, Jefferson, Marquette, Meramec Hills, Mullanphy, Riddick, Stix, Turner, Walbridge
NEW YORK—Syracuse, William Howard Taft

FOUR YEARS

ILLINOIS—Normal, Illinois State Normal University
MISSOURI—St. Louis, Adams, Baden, Bellefontaine Farms, Carr, Chouteau, Dozier, Harris Teachers College, Lafayette, Monroe, Penrose, Porter Open Air, Shaw, Sigel, Stowe Teachers College, Wade
OHIO—Monclova, Monclova

THREE YEARS

KENTUCKY—Lexington, Cassidy
MISSOURI—St. Louis, Buder, Charles, Fanning, Fremont, Gallaudet, Gardenville, Garfield, Gratiot, Hodgen, Long, L'Ouverture, Mason, Mount Pleasant, Peabody, Schroeder, Sherman, Special No. 2, Special No. 7, Taussig Open Air, Waring, B. T. Washington, Woodward

TWO YEARS

GEORGIA—Chattahoochee Co., Cusseta
KENTUCKY—Lexington, Ashland, Johnson, Maxwell, Lincoln
MISSOURI—St. Louis, Blow, Bryan Hill, Busch, City Hospital No. 1, Dunbar, Froebel, House of Detention, Laclede, Lindenwood, Lyon, Michael, Sumner High Prep. Class, Virginia Avenue

CURRENT YEAR

ALASKA—Chignik, Anchorage Bay; Homer, Homer
CONNECTICUT—New Haven, Horace Day, Hallock, Lloyd, Lovell, Skinner
GEORGIA—Chattahoochee Co., Mount Zion, Sulphur Springs
ILLINOIS—Havana, Oak Grove
INDIANA—Bicknell, Brick
KENTUCKY—Lexington, Lexington Public Schools, Carver, Central Office, Henry Clay High, Constitution, Jefferson Davis, Dunbar, Dunbar Industrial, Harrison, Lexington Jr. High, Morton Jr. High, Music Dept., Physical Edu. Dept., Russell, Booker T. Washington
LOUISIANA—Kilbourne, High
MAINE—Topsham, Bath St.
MICHIGAN—East Detroit, Kern Road; Wyandotte, J. B. Ford, Garfield, Labadie, McKinley, Woodruff
MISSOURI—Kansas City, Graceland, Douglass, Troost; St. Louis, Banneker, Bates, Clark, Columbia, Corrective Speech, Divoll, Emerson, Field, Henry, Shepard, Special No. 4, Special No. 14, Vashon High Prep. Class, Woerner
NEW YORK—Onondaga, Onondaga Hill; Syracuse, Charles Andrews, Bellevue Jr. High, Cleveland, Croton, Elmwood, Frazer, Garfield, Gere, U. S. Grant, Arria S. Huntington, Washington Irving, Jefferson, Pere Le Moyné, Thomas W. Meachem, Merrick, John A. Nichols, John T. Roberts, Salina, Edward Smith, Sumner, John Van Duyn, Webster
NORTH DAKOTA—Grand Fork, School of Edu., Univ. of No. Dak.
OHIO—Toledo, Ottawa Hills
SOUTH CAROLINA—Goldville, Joanna
VIRGINIA—Norfolk, J. E. B. Stuart

NOTES

and

ANNOUNCEMENTS

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WITH JOURNAL AUTHORS—

EVA G. PINKSTON [236] has served as executive secretary of the Department of Elementary School Principals of the NEA since 1931.

W. ROY BREG is executive secretary of Allied Youth, the organization which he describes on page 237.

☆

FRANK E. BAKER [238], president of the State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was president of the American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1933-34.

☆

AGNES WINN [240], director of the Division of Classroom Service, NEA headquarters, works closely with the Department of Classroom Teachers and local affiliated groups.

Radio Scripts for American Education Week—To assist schools desiring to use local radio facilities for the 1937 observance of American Education Week, the U. S. Office of Education has prepared a radio script for the general theme and each of the seven daily topics. A complete free set of these scripts, each of which is for a quarter- or half-hour program, will be sent if desired but otherwise please indicate specifically the topics for which you wish scripts in order to avoid waste. Address the Educational Radio Script Exchange, United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

R. E. Offenbauer, treasurer of the National Education Association, a member of its executive committee, and formerly superintendent of the Lima, Ohio, schools, has become president of the Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio.

Associate Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black, who as United States Senator was one of the sponsors of the NEA federal aid bill, has the following voting record under the Roosevelt administration:

1933—Voted for economy act, NIRA, TVA, gold clause.

1934—Voted for gold reserve act, emergency airmail act, Bankhead cotton act, reciprocal tariff act, stock exchange act, St. Lawrence treaty.

1935—Voted for work relief act, social security act, labor relations act, holding company act, tax-the-wealthy act, Guffey coal act, World Court protocol.

1936—Voted for work relief act, soil conservation act, commodity exchange act, Florida ship canal act, 1936 revenue act, veterans' bonus act; voted against sustaining President on bonus act.

1937—Voted for wages and hours bill, Wagner housing bill, low farm interest act; voted against sustaining President on low farm interest act.

County superintendents organize—During the Detroit convention the county superintendents formed an organization with the intention of becoming a section of the Department of Rural Education. H. E. Ryder, superintendent, Sandusky County Schools, Fremont, Ohio, was selected as chairman and is working in cooperation with Fred C. Fischer, president of the Department of Rural Education, and superintendent of Wayne County Schools, Detroit. The purpose of the organization is to foster closer professional relationships among county superintendents and to cooperate with the Department of Rural Education and the Division of Rural Service of the NEA in advancing the cause of rural education. Plans are underway to utilize the Division of Rural Service in the exchange and dissemination of materials of value to county superintendents.



FIRST CONFERENCE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, July 5-16, 1937. See page 236.

The debt to the highway—The following tribute to a classmate, written by Marion Wade Doyle II of Washington, D. C., a sophomore at Radcliffe College, is an effective approach to the traffic death problem. Have you read "A Matter of Life and Death," page 218?

James Leech Jr., 18, was killed on the Bel Air Road yesterday. Last year his highschool class voted him "the most likely to succeed."

Jimmy was cadet captain, yearbook editor, class officer, club president, the choice of the local Harvard Club and American Legion as "the most promising" and "the best citizen" of his class.

When we elected Jimmy to his high office, we should have inserted this clause: Leech, yearbook editor (by gracious consent of the highway); cadet captain (by virtue of a year's grace given by the highway).

And on his brilliant, unfinished record at Dartmouth they should note: Leech, James; called from college to pay America's death toll to the highway.

We who knew Jimmy cry out at the thought of his mental capacity, his administrative ability, his social charm lying scattered on a concrete road. Bitterly we lament his thinking left undone, his constructive work incomplete; yes, even his beloved puns left unsaid.

Why should a boy so full of ability to serve his fellowmen be taken for so useless a purpose—the tribute of a certain number of auto deaths each year, which must be paid no matter what bright names fill the quota?

Usually it is the older generation which starts campaigns against the traffic death rate. Usually it is the parents who plead. But now we, the youth of America, should rise up.

We are sick of this senseless killing. From Jimmy's baby sister whom he led around by the hand, to the girl who cried over his cadet arm band last night, to his friends who admired and loved him—for all the young who are likewise bereaved, we cry out:

"How long must we go on paying it, this debt to the highway?"

The American Association of School Administrators—On page 239 is a group picture showing the persons most active in planning for the annual convention of this Department, to be held in Atlantic City next February: H. A. Allan, business manager of the National Education Association; Superintendent Charles B. Glenn of Birmingham, Ala., president of the American Association of School Administrators; A. S. Chenoweth, superintendent of schools, Atlantic City; A. H.

Skean, manager of the Atlantic City Convention and Publicity Bureau; and Sherwood D. Shankland, executive secretary of the Department.

The enlarged program of the Department of Art Education of the NEA—Miss Muriel V. Sibell of Boulder, Colo., submits the following resolutions which were adopted by the Department of Art Education at Detroit on July 1:

Be it resolved: [1] That the Art Department of the NEA cooperate with the art committees of organizations with a basic educational philosophy, such as the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Garden Club of America, the American Red Cross, the National Tuberculosis Society.

[2] That the Art Department discourage art competitions and contests promoted by commercial firms for business purposes only.

[3] That a letter of appreciation be sent to U. S. Commissioner John W. Studebaker for his interest in creating a Division of Creative Arts in the Office of Education.

[4] That the American Association of University Women be asked to re-evaluate its membership requirements so that graduates of art and music colleges will be included.

[5] That provision for a place be made for the Art Department on radio and moving picture programs, also that recognition be given art as a subject on the "Our American Schools" program of the National Education Association by means of talks by persons approved by the Art Department.

A highschool librarian from St. Joseph, Mo., alert to a problem which must be faced by all teachers, has sent in the following thought-provoking letter:

As a highschool librarian, I examine a number of weekly and monthly magazines and this year, as never before, have been astounded and alarmed to see the vulgarity and obscenity that is frankly appearing in the so-called [Cont. on page A-120]