

A Study of The Attitude and Practice
of Organized American Labor in The Matter
of Free Compulsory Public Education and
Its Content

by

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

Introduction

When we reflect upon the history of man from ancient to modern times we are profoundly impressed by the presence of one constant factor in that history-- the struggle between those who toil and those who live by that toil.

Whether it be a slave driven by the lash of an Assyrian overseer, a Hebrew under the rod of an Egyptian slave driver, a helot toiling on the temples of Greece, a plebian, slaving for a patrician task master, a villain rendering homage to an overlord, or a coal miner sacrificing his life in the mines of Pennsylvania, whenever and wherever we find it, it has been the same pitiless struggle between those who toil and those who live by that toil. Out of this struggle have come most of the problems that have troubled human society for 6000 years. Men have been seeking for a solution of these problems for untold centuries. The struggle between the so-called common people and the ruling class was old centuries before the Christian era.

The labor problem is a problem of all nations, all peoples and all centuries. The factors change but the problem remains. Slavery and serfdom have disappeared but traces of the older forms still remain. Any arro-

gance of employers and of the wealthy is but the survival of what was a much lauded virtue in the feudal and military age. The docility and unquestioning obedience so frequently expected of workers are the old virtues of the slave and serf clothed in the costume of a nominally free worker.

Wars, the rise and fall of dynasties, the formation and alignment of political parties are concrete evidences of man's attempt to adjust himself to changing environment and social conditions. Our history is but a story of this struggle.

The laborer is chiefly concerned with the work of obtaining, as far as may be, the comforts and necessities of life. He has longed and wished for that same leisure and chance for cultural improvement which he was led to believe was the birthright of only a few. He had toiled that others might live. He wished to toil that he himself might live.

In this long struggle, groups with common interests became class conscious, and whenever and wherever labor has become class conscious it has in some way organized to achieve these ends.

Such organizations of laborers for their mutual interests seem to have existed from the very dawn of civilization. Their origin is lost in the dim and distant past. In the Egyptian records of the time of

Amasis, in the laws of Solon of Greece, and of Numa Pompilius and the code Theodosius of Rome, we find evidence of the existence of labor unions. They continue down through the middle ages and even as late as 1800 in the form of Guilds.

The statutes of laborers of 1349-50 in England,* those of 1424 enacted by Henry VI, and that of Elizabeth enacted in 1562, entitled "An act containing divers orders for artificers, laborers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices," bear mute evidence of a class struggle which has continued from ancient to modern times.

The modern world labor movement is spiritually one with that of the ancient world and the guild movement of the middle ages, but its form, as well as method of operation, is very different. While having a common origin, the labor movements of the modern world differ in their membership, policies, structure and leadership. This is due to differences in race, environment, form of government, and prevailing economic conditions.

In a peculiar way this has been and is true of the United States. Political and economic conditions prevailing in this country were different from those in Europe. Despite the landed aristocracy in New York and

* 23 Edw. 3 and 25 Edw. 3.

the planters in the South, feudalism never got a stronghold in America. There was no landed nobility or clergy to dispute the growing power of the middle class and labor. Our history at once takes on a pronounced economic coloring in contrast to the feudal, military, and aristocratic cast of that of Europe.

As the economic stress became acute in the more settled parts of the country, the industrial worker, discontented with his lot could readily move west and become an independent farmer. This condition lasted for nearly one hundred years of our national life. With the advent of the era of labor saving machinery about 1825, living conditions began to change. Labor saving machinery became revolutionary in its economic effect.

At this point the modern labor movement in America had its origin. The movement was felt by the workers to be one of self-defense as it has been everywhere. It was an attempt on the part of the workers to protect themselves against the worst ravages of the industrial system as it proceeded step by step to transform the agricultural society of America of the nineteenth century into the urban and industrial society of the twentieth century.

*Not until the rise of the merchant capitalist, the factory system, the growth of great industrial cities, mining and transportation on a large scale did the modern working class

movement emerge. The steam engine and railway are making all nations industrial and, wherever mechanical industry appears on a large scale, there appears also a labor movement." *

The labor movement is much more than just an economic protest.

"It not only influences by its policies the millions enrolled in its ranks; it actually holds in its grip the millions outside its pale. In war times, therefore, it is watched with awe, tense and constant, as a mighty power-----for good or ill, according to the opinion of the observer.-----It has a deep spiritual and social significance. It grows in strength day and night. It develops ideals of peace, harmony, and well-being in the industrial world as well as contest and destructiveness. The form of labor's organization and its program change from day to day, but its numerical strength increases and its growing solidarity gives more and more weight to its counsels. Indeed it takes on the form of a great social force akin to titanic forces in the natural world. For that reason, if for no other, it is better to study and understand it than blindly to praise it or rail at it." **

The social factor connected with the labor movement which is of the most far reaching significance is that of Labor's attitude and practice in Education.

With the growth of the modern industrial and factory system, the cost of tools and machinery and of the workshop increased; and consequently, the line of demarcation between employer and employee grew more distinct. His life was lived on a much lower economic and

* Beard, Mary A Short History of the American Labor Movement. p. 2. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. New York. 1920.

** Ibid. pp. 6-9.

cultural level. Labor saw that its only hope for emancipation was through education, and this now brings me to the study of the problem I have set myself.

CHAPTER II
PHILOSOPHY

Chapter II

Philosophy

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand the educational problems which confronted Labor, and Labor's reaction to them, from 1820 to 1860 and from 1860 to 1900 and since, it will be necessary to consider the industrial changes which took place during these two periods.

Industrial and scientific progress moved more rapidly during the last century than all other forms of development. Educational advancement always follows industrial and social change and consequently is somewhat behind it in point of time. The intimate relation which exists between education and industrial change must be clearly recognized in order to understand the forces which cause and guide this educational advancement. In a brief historical survey, an attempt will be made to show the relation which has existed between educational advance and social and economic change, as well as to furnish a background for Labor's educational philosophy.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION FROM 1820 TO 1860

The period from 1820 to 1860, a period of nearly half a century, was essentially a period of transition,

industrially, socially and educationally. In order to understand what happened after 1870 in the industrial and educational world, it will be necessary to note the economic, social, and political forces which were at work during the period from 1820 to 1860; how they acted and reacted upon each other and vitally affected the direction and solution of the industrial and educational problems which arose.

During the first decades of our national history, life was largely agricultural. There were few large cities. Foreign trade was still hampered by European governments. Machinery had not yet come into wide use. Manufacturing was not yet carried on to any extent. There was still a lack of manhood suffrage. *

After the war of 1812-14 was over and the problems growing out of it were settled, we find a change rapidly taking place. New cities rose and rapid growth of older ones occurred. Labor saving machines were coming into use. There was a slight decline in commerce. Manufacturing was springing up in the cities along the coast, and on rivers where water power was available. Our national life was beginning to take on an industrial form. Property restrictions were being removed from the right of suffrage and by 1845 full manhood

* Carlton, Frank Tracey; The History and Problems of Organized Labor. pp. 11-20.

suffrage existed in the United States. *

The rise of the new cities and the rapid growth of older ones materially changed the nature of the educational problem by producing an entirely new set of social and educational conditions for the people of the North and Central states to solve, due to the diverse elements drawn together.

The introduction of labor saving machinery and factory production broke down home and village industry and the apprentice system. There was a movement of rural population toward the cities, and a concentration of manufacturing in large establishments, employing many hands to perform continuously certain limited parts of the manufacturing process. Not only this, but the increase of manufacturing in this country caused a veritable tide of immigration to our shores, thus aggravating already bad living conditions. The number of immigrants who came to this country from 1820 to 1860 was 2,455,815 or approximately ten percent of the population.** City life and the steadily developing division of labor were exaggerating and exposing old evils such as pauperism, intemperance, juvenile crime, woman and child labor. Economic conditions under which labor worked, which had been steadily getting worse, became

* Ibid pp. 21-50.

** Report of Industrial Commission of Immigration. Vol. 15. Washington; Government Printing Office. 1901.

acute by 1837. Living conditions for labor had become such that some way out of their difficulties must be found.

The first great panacea of the organized workers was free and equal education. Free, equal, practical, republican education became the cry of the workers.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FREE PUBLIC EDUCATION

"What life itself may be we cannot know till all men share the chance to know."

Josephine Peabody.

A meeting of workmen held in New York City in November, 1829,

"Resolved, that the most grievous species of inequality is that produced by inequality in education, and that a national system of education and guardianship which shall furnish to all children of the land, equal food, clothing and instruction at the expense of the public is the only effectual remedy for this and for almost every species of injustice. Resolved, that all other modes of reform are, compared to this particular, inefficient and trifling."*

With the extension of suffrage to all classes of the population, poor as well as rich, laborer as well as employer, there came to thinking men, often for the first time, a realization that general education had become a fundamental necessity for the state. To show how deeply labor felt on the subject of free education,

* Carlton, Frank Tracey; local citation, p. 46.

considerable light is shed by the statement of Simpson that;

"it is to education, therefore, that we must mainly look for redress of that perverted system of society, which dooms the producer to ignorance, to toil, and to penury, to moral degradation, physical want and social barbarism."*

With these forces at work there was an educational quickening among all classes and especially among the farmers and the laboring class.

Under the strain of the new social conditions, the church schools were unable to meet the entire needs of education. It was realized that there should be a change from the church control idea of education to the idea of education under the control of, and supported by, the state. It required time to make this change in thinking and the goal was not achieved without a struggle.

Industrial progress and economic change during this first period had produced a situation in our social life, which for labor and wage earners was intolerable and which, if allowed to continue in a democratic form of government, would endanger the state itself.

Organized labor declared that education was the only means of correcting the ills of society.

*In the decades just preceding the Civil War,

*Simpson, Stephen; A Manual for Workingmen.

labor was on fire with a new idea. This was universal free education. The common tendency to center history about great names has obscured labor's part in creating the public school system. We have come to think only of such leaders as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard when tracing the origin of the free schools of today. But the success of these men depended in no small degree on the crusade of the wage earners for a 'liberal system of education, attainable by all.' Research has revealed this underlying force working for the establishment of the common school.**

It may be well at this point to show just what was the character of the school system in the early decades of the nineteenth century and why labor protested so vigorously against the system as it then existed, as well as to show labor's philosophy and demands in the matter of education.

"In 1833, the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and other Workingmen** made a demand for a better system of education and especially for the education of factory children." "The want of education" was declared by a resolution adopted at the first convention,

* Anderson, Frank J. Evolution of Worker's Education. Educational Review, 61:384.

** Note--The New England Association was designed to be, at least in part a big industrial union, not unlike the Knights of Labor. (Commons, John R.--History of Labor in the United States. Vol. I. p. 307. Mac-Millan Co., New York, 1918.)

For the newspaper references appearing in the next few pages, I am indebted to the Documentary History of American Industrial Society, volumes 5,6,7, and 8, edited by John R. Commons, and to the History of Labor in the United States Vol. I also edited by John R. Commons. These two works are authoritative and final in their respective fields.

to be "the great and original cause of the present comparative degradation of mechanics and workmen in this country."* And the Connecticut delegates to the 1833 convention complained that though a great deal of money was spent on education, the plan in use was adapted to the "ecclesiastical aristocracy" established by the first settlers. In the common schools, as originally established, the catechism was said to be the principal subject taught after reading and writing, and no instruction was given "upon the principles of just government, or upon the rights and duties of citizens." ** Later the term "republican education," which had become well-known through the Workingmen's Party of New York, was used by a Committee on Education of the New England Association, which declared itself in favor of "manual labor schools, free for all at the expense of each state." This committee also urged the need "of teaching the true principles of a republican government in addition to elementary education," and recommended that another committee be appointed to draft a memorial to the legislatures of the New England States "on the subject of a general system of education by means of Manual Labor Schools." ***

/s for the education of children in manufacturing

* The Free Enquirer, June 16, 1832.

** Carey's Select Excerpts, Vol. IV p. 435.

*** Proceedings of Workingmen's Convention 1833.

districts, the committee which reported upon that subject to the first convention of the New England Association, declared that it had come to the

"unanimous opinion that the opportunities allowed to children and youth employed in manufactories to obtain an education suitable to the character of American freemen, and the wives and mothers of such are altogether inadequate to the purpose."

The committee finally recommended that memorials be sent to the Legislatures of the different states praying

"for some wholesome regulation of children and youth employed in manufactories." *

At the second convention also, one of the topics considered was;

"the improvement of the present system of education among the people with special reference to the internal economy of factories." **

In 1832, the committee on education of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and other Workmen appointed to investigate or rather to conduct an inquiry relative to the conditions under which children were employed in the manufacturing industries reported that

1. Two-fifths of all persons employed in New England factories were children between 7 and 16 years of age.
2. The hours of labor were from daylight to eight in the evening.
3. Children could not be withdrawn from the mill to be put in school on penalty of

* The Free Enquirer, June 14, 1832.

** The Free Enquirer, September 22, 1832.

the discharge of the other members of the family.

4. The only opportunity for children to obtain an education was on Sunday and after half past eight in the evenings of other days.**

From this report one can readily see why they were so aggressively insistent in their demands for shorter working hours and a system of public education, available and open to all, supported by the state.

The members of the committee on education which reported to the 1833 convention appear to have realized that a long campaign of education would be necessary before such a system as they advocated would be adopted.

"We have," they said, "a powerful opposition to meet; talents and wealth, prejudice and ancient usage, are against us; the dread of innovation will enervate some, and the fear of ridicule will discourage others. The clergy will be tampered with; the control of our schools and colleges will be retained by those who do not think or feel as we do; they indeed possess that booklearning, which has been thought the great requisite for scholastic honors and duties; our uneducated, but practical men, may know what they want, but they will, through modesty, yield to supposed superiors the arrangement of forms and systems, which is in fact to yield the whole ground. -----It is not for this committee to speak disrespectfully of books; for they contain the experience of ages and the seeds of wisdom; but they have been used, also, for purposes so adverse to the interest of the people, that it behooves us to guard against the false and pernicious application of book-learning." **

* The Free Enquirer, Boston, June 14, 1832.

** Ibid. June 14, 1832.

That the "distinction between rich and poor" was carried in a remarkable degree into the business of school education" was also one of the complaints of the Massachusetts workingmen in their political convention of 1834.

"Private schools, academies, and colleges," they said, "are instituted for the better instruction of such as have the money to pay for it. The consequence is that those who are most able to give a suitable attention to the improvement of common schools, take no interest in them whatever, except to have them conducted with the least possible expense."*

They also complained that

"females in an especial manner are educated to consider all useful employment, or any avocation by which their fair hands may contribute toward their own support to be a positive degradation."*

In a letter read at the political meeting of Workingmen of Franklin County, Massachusetts, the Reverend Henry Colman, declared that he would "probably go even farther" than they did,---that he would not only "have the state provide in the most liberal manner for the education of the people" but would also "have every parent or guardian compelled under severe penalties to send their children to school." **

Wherever workingmen organized, public education was their first and foremost demand. The argument for

* National Trader's Union. Nov. 11, 1834. Address to the workingmen of Massachusetts.

** Boston Courier, November 4, 1834.

public schools was primarily and fundamentally that, as the Delaware workmen put it,

"in all governments where the sovereignty rests among the people, as it does in our republic, a general system of education, obtained by some means, is absolutely necessary to its existence."*

The workmen of Newcastle County admitted that in the ranks of the now producing classes, which were "in direct opposition to the interests of the laborer," they were "accustomed to find men best qualified for the office of Legislators, as but few of our own class have received the benefits of a liberal education." But the reason for this, they said, was because, "the funds that should have been appropriated to a rational system of general education at the expense of the state, have been shamefully squandered and misapplied." "Free citizens," said one of their earliest addresses to the public,

"let every man remember, whatever may be his lot in life, whether of high or of low degree, that he is an American, and a citizen of the United States; let him remember the awful responsibility which rests upon him in making a proper use of the invaluable privilege he possesses in the elective franchise; that it is not for himself alone that he acts, but for posterity; that, if it be too late to secure the blessings of education for himself, it is time he was up and doing to secure them for his children; thus to hasten the time when it cannot be said that want of education prevents the laboring classes from watching over their own interests." **

* Delaware Free Press. January 16, 1830.

** Address of the Association of Working People of Newcastle County, Delaware, in Free Enquirer, Oct. 7. 1829.

"State guardianship" and industrial training, though not usually mentioned in connection with the demand for better educational facilities, were frequently favored, not only by the newspaper organs of the movement in different parts of the country, but in official resolutions of the workingmen's organizations of 1830 and 1831. Thus the workingmen of Newcastle County, in a memorial sent to the Delaware legislature early in 1830, declared themselves in favor of

"a system of education which shall combine the operative with the intellectual---where the children will be able to support themselves while receiving their education, and be no longer a burden to their parents, nor to the state."*

The workingmen of New London, Connecticut, too are said to have made "the subject of Public Education, at the expense of the state, including food and clothing to those who choose to accept it"---their polar star.** And in Boston, the workingmen's party demanded "the establishment of a liberal system of education, attainable to all," and a "diffusion of knowledge, particularly in the elements of those sciences which pertain to mechanical employments, and to the politics of our common country." ***

Thus the workingmen anticipated the modern idea

* Delaware Free Press, January 16, 1830.

** New York Workingmen's Advocate, June 19, 1830.

*** Boston Courier, August 28, 1830.

of industrial education which combines mechanical training with instruction in civics. The general system of education, which was the most important and most frequently repeated demand of the workmen, meant primarily public schools free from the taint of charity.

"We are well aware", said the city delegates, "in 1828, that large endowments have been made to colleges for the rich; and that some appropriations have been made in the establishment of Public Schools for the Poor, but to the latter of these institutions the mark of the beast has been affixed in the most repulsive characters, and that which should have been to us a matter of right, is dealt out in the less palatable form of charity to the 'needy' and 'indigent'."*

At a meeting of the county delegates in Southwark, Pennsylvania, their address closed with a denunciation of "the manner in which the funds wrested from us for the purpose of education---have been appropriated."

"In many of the schools under the supervision of the directors we find," it said, "instead of experiencing the sympathetic feeling, or friendly regard of prudent teachers, the children are treated as the convicts of the workhouse, having to submit to the tyrannical government of masters, who not having their own passions under control, and being withal filled with prejudice and having imbibed from their employers a dire proportion of their aristocratic feeling, are the last men on earth to whose guardianship the children of any generation ought to be intrusted."**

In 1829, public education took its place distinct-

* Mechanics' Free Press, September 25, 1830.

** Mechanics' Free Press, September 27, 1828.

ly and definitely at the head of the list of measures urged by the workingmen's party. Early in that year, the preamble proposed for the workingmen's Republican Political Association of Southwark declared that "real liberty and equality have no foundation but in universal and equal instruction," which "has been disregarded by the constituted guardians of the public prosperity."* The lack of education for the children of the poor was also named by the "Standing Committee of the Republican Political Association of Workingmen of the City of Philadelphia" as one of the six means "whereby the laborer has been defrauded of the work of his hands.** And the candidates for the state legislature nominated by the workingmen's party were pledged to favor "a general system of state education."*** A demand was made from them that they support measures for better working conditions, shorter hours, and further

"that an open school and competent teachers for every child in the state, from the lowest branch of an infant school to the lecture rooms of practical science, should be established, and those who superintend them to be chosen by the people."****

The campaign for a public school system was vigorously

* Mechanics' Free Press, January 24, 1829.

** Mechanics' Free Press, August 26, 1829.

*** Mechanics' Free Press, October 10, 1829.

**** From questions asked candidates for election to State Legislatures. 1829. Doc. Hist. Am. Indust. Soc, Vol. V. p. 93.

prosecuted. Early in September, 1829, the delivery of an address on the subject "to the working people at the Southwark Hall" by a Mr. Heighton, was followed by the appointment of a committee

"to co-operate with such other similar committees as may be appointed in the city and county of Philadelphia; and also by correspondence throughout the state, to plan, devise, arrange and digest such a system of free, equal and universal instruction as shall appear to such joint committees best adapted to provide the intellectual, moral, and equal prosperity of the population of the districts by which they are appointed."

The meeting further resolved

"that such plan or system, when devised and digested, be laid before the public meetings of the inhabitants, for further discussion, deliberation, and final adoption, and that our legislature be memorialised from all parts of the State to establish such system by law."*

Committees to co-operate with that of Southwark were appointed by the Workingmen's Republican Associations of the Northern Liberties and of the City.

Late in September a joint meeting of the above committees was held.** A month later a general meeting of the joint committee was held to receive and consider a bill prepared by the Subcommittees.***

In February, the final report of the "Joint Committees of the City and County of Philadelphia" was ready.

* Speech by Mr. Heighton, Sept. 12, 1829. Mechanics' Free Press.

** Mechanics' Free Press, November 27, 1829.

*** Ibid. November 28, 1829.

This report was originally published in March, 1830, in the Mechanics' Free Press, the Delaware Free Press, the Free Enquirer, the New York Workingmen's Advocate, and probably in other papers of the day. The committee, indeed, resolved "that all editors of journals, both in the German and English language, throughout the State, favorable to education, be respectfully requested to publish its report."* Later moreover it was published, together with the proceedings of the three public meetings at which it was considered and finally adopted, in pamphlet form.**

By this time the public education movement appears to have become in part non-partisan, for, though it was stated that the committee had been appointed by the workingmen "to ascertain the state of public instruction in Pennsylvania, and to digest and propose such improvements in education as may be deemed essential to the intellectual and moral prosperity of the people," the report of the "Joint Committees of the City and County of Philadelphia" was presented at a meeting, or rather three meetings "of the friends of general and equal education."***

This report stated that, except in Philadelphia,

* New York Workingmen's Advocate, March 6, 1830.

** Mechanics' Free Press, April 10, 1830.

*** New York Workingmen's Advocate, March 6, 1830.

Pittsburg, and Lancaster, practically no public education existed at that time in the state, and that even in those cities, pauperism was the chief principle upon which the public schools were founded. The remedies advocated were first, the establishment of infant schools, by which was probably anticipated the primary schools of later years, and the "Manual Labour," or as we would call them, manual training schools; second, a radical improvement in the character of instruction furnished,

"that education, instead of being limited as in our public poor schools, to a simple acquaintance with words and ciphers, should tend, as far as possible, to the production of a just disposition, virtuous habits, and a rational self-governing character;"

and third, the extension of the benefits and privileges of the public schools to all classes of society, rich as well as poor, and to all parts of the State. The committee favored the establishment in each county of a manual labor school on the plan of Follenberg's school at Hofwyl, Switzerland. This report of the Philadelphia workmen, signed by John Mitchell, chairman and by William Heighton, secretary, foreshadowed, not only our general public school system, but our manual training school, and probably also our primary schools.

The committee's report was accompanied by two bills, one for the establishment of a public school

* Ibid. March 6, 1830.

system,* and the other for a combination of agricultural and mechanical with literary and scientific instruction. Resolutions also accompanied the report, one of which states that,

"we hereby pledge ourselves to each other and to all the other citizens of the State, that we will never cease to make common cause for the promotion of a system of public education, until all the sources of general instruction are open to every child within this commonwealth."

A "committee of correspondence" was also appointed to work with other persons favorable to "the cause of universal instruction," and keep watch of the proceedings before the legislature. Finally a memorial was adopted requesting the legislature to pass the two bills.** The resolutions and memorial were also published in the New York Workingmen's Advocate, March 6, 1830, and the resolutions in the Delaware Free Press, February 13, 1830.

This was a remarkable document even from the standpoint of the present day, and excited much comment both favorable and unfavorable. This report was similar to one brought out by the Wright-Evans-Owens group of workingmen in New York in 1830. The labor papers of both cities freely discussed the ideas throughout the winter.

* Free Enquirer, March 20, 1830.

** Mechanics' Free Press, February 27, 1830.

The Philadelphia report was earlier than any similar report in New York and gave the best and most complete account of the Hofwyl system of education which the workmen of both cities were advocating. An important point of difference between the Philadelphia and New York reports was this, that while the Philadelphia report proposed only high schools be on the Hofwyl plan, the New York report proposed that all schools be upon this model.

In 1830, education was still the paramount issue in the workingmen's party. They declared education to be

"the first and most important-----object for which we are contending." "This," added the workingmen, "is the rock on which the temple of moral freedom and independence is founded; any other foundation than this, will prove inadequate to the protection of our liberties, and our republican institutions. In order to support the super-structure, the foundation must be broad. Our government is republican; our education should be equally so."*

The idea of the workingmen of Philadelphia was distinctly that "one or more mechanic arts" should be combined with "literary and scientific instruction."**

"Our institutions of instruction," they said, "should be so located and organized as to command health, exercise at the various mechanic arts, or agriculture, at the same time a knowledge of the natural sciences, and other useful literature is taught."***

* Mechanics' Free Press, October 2, 1830.

** Preamble of Workingmen's Republican Association of North Ward, in Mechanics' Free Press, April 3, 1830.

*** Mechanics' Free Press, October 2, 1830.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

The beginning of the movement for compulsory education supported by the state may be said to date from this time. In 1830, a writer in the *Mechanics' Free Press* (issue of Feb. 6, 1830) proposed a tax "on estates of persons deceased," and "on lands near the public improvements for the support of schools."

"Officers," he added, "should be chosen in every district to take a census of the children, and to see that the education of none was neglected. Every parent should be obliged to send his children to some school or other, to a reasonable extent, or the care of his children should be taken from him in case of neglect and refusal."

In other words, this writer proposed to levy an inheritance tax and a tax on the unearned increment of land values in order to support a system of compulsory education. The idea sounds like it might have been propounded yesterday.

In New York there was some difference of opinion as to exactly what system of education should be endorsed. Outside of New York City, the demand was usually for a mere extension of the primary day school system. The Albany workingmen, for example, stated that one of the great objects of the "farmers, mechanics and workingmen," was "an extension of the blessings of education, by an increase of our primary or common schools."* Complaints were made of the appropriation

* *Mechanics' Free Press*, April 24, 1830.

of

"public funds for the endowment of colleges and academies, almost solely for the benefit of the rich, while our primary schools have but to a very limited extent secured the advantages even of a partial education to the producing classes of the community."*

The state convention of workingmen demanded a system of education

"more universal in its effects---so that no child in the republic, however poor, should grow up without an opportunity to acquire at least a competent English education; and that the system should be adapted to the condition of the poor both in the city and country."**

They also demanded a system of public education which would "combine a knowledge of the practical arts with that of the useful sciences."

"Instead of the mind being exclusively cultivated at the expense of the body," they said, "or the body slavishly overwrought to the injury of the mind, they hope to see a nation of equal fellow citizens, all trained to produce and all permitted to enjoy---As the first and chief of their objects, therefore, the Mechanics and Workingmen put forward a system of equal, republican, scientific, practical education."***

In New York City the public school system was not established until 1842, and in the state in 1849. The movement for free schools received strong impetus from the Workingmen's Party.

"Before the emergence of the Workingmen's

* Proceedings of a meeting of Mechanics and other workingmen, December 29, 1829.

** Craftsman, September 4, 1830.

*** New York Workingmen's Advocate. Sept. 18, 1830.

Party, the idea had been to educate in the public schools only children whose parents were too poor to educate them privately, or, in other words, to establish a system of charity schools. But after the committee of the Workingmen's Party made its report on public education, the idea of charity schools was abandoned for the Workingmen's idea of schools in which the children of the rich and of the poor should be educated side by side.**

From Albany and Boston on the north to Wilmington and Charleston on the south, the workingmen were, through speeches, pamphlets, and memorials to their legislatures urging the establishment of tax supported public schools for the education of all.

The demands of the workingmen were for that time decidedly radical, but the results finally achieved are now looked upon with pride by conservative people. For our great public school system of today we owe a large, if unrecognized, debt of gratitude to this first effort of the working class to exercise independently its citizenship. As Carlton states; "The vitality of the movement for tax supported schools was derived, not from humanitarian leaders, but from the growing class of wage-earners."**

Lest the reader gather the idea that the working-

* Commons, John R. History of Labour in the U. S. Vol. I. p. 328. MacMillan Co. New York, 1918.

** Carlton, Frank Tracey. Economic Influences upon Educational progress in the United States.

men were fighting windmills or setting up straw men of their own creation just for the pleasure of knocking them down, it may be well to cite instances of the kind and character of opposition they had to encounter.

In the National Gazette of Philadelphia for July 12, 1830, which was in general a literary rather than a political paper, we find this statement-----

"to create or sustain seminaries for the tuition of all classes, to digest and regulate systems,--to adjust and manage details, --to render a multitude of schools effective is beyond their (the people's) province and power. Education in general must be the work of the intelligence, need, and enterprise of individuals and associations-----some of the writers about universal public instruction and discipline seem to forget the constitution of modern society, and declaim as if our communities could receive institutions or habits like those of Sparta. The dream embraces grand republican female academies, to make Roman matrons."

Another argument was as follows:

"The peasant must labor during those hours of the day, which his wealthy neighbor can give to the abstract culture of his mind; otherwise, the earth would not yield enough for the subsistence of all; the mechanic cannot abandon the operations of his trade, for general studies; if he should, most of the conveniences of life and objects of exchange would be wanting; languor, decay, poverty, discontent would soon be visible among all classes. No government, no statesman, no philanthropist, can furnish what is incompatible with the very organization and being of civil society."^{*}

A little later the National Gazette asserted that

* National Gazette, July 10, 1830.

"the scheme of Universal, Equal, Education at the expense of the state, is virtually 'Agrarianism'. It would be a compulsory application of the means of the richer, for the direct use of the poorer classes; and so far an arbitrary division of property among them."**

An effort was made in the same article to set "the more thriving members of 'mechanical and other working classes'" against the project of public education by telling them that they "would themselves feel the evil of the direct taxation." And the author complained that the real reason the "poorer classes of Philadelphia" did not avail themselves "of our Common Schools," was "not that they are averse to the charity education," but that "they prefer, or are obliged to use their offspring at home, or consign them to manufactories."**

The opposition to tax supported schools came largely from aristocratic and conservative members of society, taxpayers, politicians of small vision, the narrow minded and penurious, residents of rural districts and proprietors of private schools. Friends of free schools were at first commonly regarded as fanatics, dangerous to the state.

I wish at this point to discuss in more detail Labor's position for the last forty years on illiteracy,

* National Gazette, August 19, 1830.

** Ibid. August 23, 1830.

free textbooks, and compulsory education.

The late war revealed an alarming condition of illiteracy in the United States. The percent is high considering our history and institutions. Nearly thirty percent of the 1,556,011 men for whom statistics are available were found to be unable to "read and understand newspapers and write letters home," and were given a special examination prepared for illiterates.*

The condition of illiteracy among the working classes has grown directly and indirectly out of the character of our industrial life. Division of labor and specialization in modern industry has mechanized the human elements entering into it. Modern industrial workers tend to become unthinking pieces of mechanism. Machine industry has all but completely divorced the hand from the head and heart.**

The tremendous expansion of our industrial life with its machine production created a demand for tens of thousands of laborers. Many have come from foreign lands knowing little or nothing of our ways of social and political life, and in most instances illiterate.

* Yoakum, Clarence S. and Yerkes, Robert M. Army Mental Tests. Henry Holt & Co. 1920. New York. pp. 12-13.

** Pound, Arthur. The Iron Man of Industry. The Atlantic Monthly Press. Boston. 1922. pp. 36-61; 196-230.

Goldmark, Josephine. Fatigue and Efficiency. A Study in Industry. pp. 58-59; 67-68; 278-287.

Economic stress, lack of, or failure to enforce child labor and compulsory education laws, result in the young of school age of both sexes of the native born entering the wage earning industrial classes. The deadening effect of monotonous and automatic factory operations upon the life of the worker is at once apparent. Illiteracy and a failure to assume his duties as a citizen in a democratic society such as ours follows as a logical result. It may be assumed that against this condition society will wage a systematic campaign, a campaign in the interests of democratic government, waged by a people conscious of the necessity to win, aware that only through compulsory measures can the masses be saved from ignorance. *

Improved industrial methods have increased leisure, which the modern ideal of democracy proclaims to be the birthright of all. Leisure makes possible study, social intercourse and the expansion of the life of the individual to the measure which the modern world community spirit demands. Our school curricula and administration must so utilize this leisure that illiteracy and its thousand attendant evils may be eliminated. On the subject of illiteracy Organized Labor has taken a vigorous and determined stand.

*Organized Labor has always been the avowed

* Ibid.

enemy of illiteracy whether among immigrants or our own people. And a campaign to be most effective must be national in scope and coordinated by a Federal Bureau or Department."*

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that the Act of Congress prohibiting child labor by Federal Statute, was unconstitutional, was a staggering blow to organized labor. In season and out, labor has stood through its entire history for abolition of child labor. In just the extent to which child labor is not prohibited does the problem of illiteracy become difficult.

Another potent cause of illiteracy is the lack of textbooks. Organized labor believes that, inasmuch as the state is providing public schools, that is, schools where tuition is free, it should also provide the children in such schools with books free of charge. The cost of books to men of large families constitutes one of the many reasons why children are taken from school at an early age and why others are not sent at all. The great majority of pupils come from homes whose parents are able to purchase books. These parents are also able to pay tuition for their children, but the state does not charge them tuition and their children sit side by side with those whose parents are incapable of paying

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1918, p. 317.

their tuition. Hence the same situation would arise with reference to free books, and if free tuition is good, free books are likewise good.

The National Convention of the American Federation of Labor of 1911 recommended

"that free books in public schools be endorsed and that the legislatures of the country be and hereby are requested to provide that in all public schools, books shall be furnished the children at the expense of the state."*

From 1917, through 1921, every convention reiterated the recommendation of "the extension of a free textbook system to the district of Columbia and such states and communities as have not adopted it."**

Also as another measure in its efforts to eradicate illiteracy, labor has for forty years advocated compulsory education. While free textbooks allow every child to attend school at the expense of the state, it has been found that some means of compelling them to attend must supplement any other effort in reaching those who would tend to revert to the illiterate class.

Labor leaders, as well as thinking men and women, have come to realize that the one and only great constructive and stabilizing force in a democratic society such

* Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L., 1911 p. 136.

** Ibid. 1917, pp. 104, 419; 1918, p. 320; 1919, p. 431.

as ours is education. That there can be no real liberty, no true democracy, without education, free, universal and compulsory, for every citizen. The failure or inability of its members to acquire an education or the acquiring of an education which fails to fit the individual for his life work is the source of most of present day problems.*

It is a far cry from the colonial period, when the children of the poor, though grudgingly conceded the right to the rudiments of learning, were compelled by economic conditions and the narrow and selfish vision of society to remain in ignorance, to the changed attitude of society in the closing years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth century.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the state began to discover its own power over and became aware of its responsibility in regard to the education of the child. Organizations and individuals cooperated, studied conditions and devised educational measures which could be enforced. Labor oriented itself and voiced its demands in the matter of compulsory education. In 1891 it declared

"We are in favor of the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children, that if

* Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L., 1909, pp. 35-36.

the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands then it is also the right of the state to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.**

The convention of 1888 again went on record:

"We recognize education of the people is the fundamental principle upon which the success of every proposed plan of social reform depends. Therefore we favor legislatures enacting laws compelling parents to send their children to school.***

Again in 1894 they declared:

"Education should be the watchword of the labor movement in order that the masses may fully realize the importance of unity of action regardless of color, creed, or country. Compulsory education laws should be strictly enforced in every state in the Union, and where there is no such law efforts should be made to secure their enactment.***

In 1911:

"The time has arrived when compulsory education must be had. The different states should provide by proper legislation that all children between the ages of six and sixteen years should be provided with at least a common school education and given at least the ordinary opportunities for preparation in childhood to meet the duties of life. We know from experience that existing economic conditions make it impossible for a large number of families among the workers to give their children the education they should have, and which they would like to give them, and also that a small number of our population are not sufficiently alive to parental duty to educate their children and on the contrary, rather lean against same and prefer to use the physical efforts of

* Ibid. 1881, p. 3.

** Ibid. 1888, p. 27.

*** Ibid. 1894, p. 30.

their children for their own support rather than educate these children for the children's good in after life. This position or negation arises from three causes: 1. Lack of equitable economic conditions; 2. Lack of appreciation of parental obligations; and, 3. Remuneration received by said parents for child labor."*

From 1918 through 1921, every convention of the American Federation of Labor has incorporated in its educational platform the following plank;

"Better enforcement of compulsory education laws, and the universal establishment of a minimum school leaving age of sixteen years."**

Compulsory education is now an accepted principle of educational policy in every state in the union but one--Mississippi, due almost entirely to the efforts and insistence of organized labor.*** The state recognizes its duty to offer to every child such educational opportunities as will enable him to become an intelligent citizen prepared to maintain himself and those dependent upon him, and that it is also the duty of the state to compel the child to accept such educational opportunities.

In the preceding paragraphs is clearly defined organized labor's philosophy of education which may be summarized as follows; both elementary and advanced common, free, tax supported, non-sectarian schools for all classes; manual, industrial, vocational, and agricultural training

* Ibid. 1911, pp. 136, 360.

** Ibid. 1918, p. 321; 1919, p. 431.

*** Ibid. 1918, p. 95.

in such schools; instruction in the mechanical and scientific arts; and, that every class might receive the full value of such instruction, a system of universal compulsory education in which the moral and physical side of the child might be developed along with the mental side. The consideration in this detail of these matters has seemed necessary in order that the reader might get a definite clear-cut impression of this philosophy of education and that he might see how long and difficult was the struggle to achieve it.

"Excepting the battle for the abolition of slavery, perhaps no question has ever been before the American people for settlement which caused so much feeling or aroused such bitter antagonisms."*

The effort to dignify public education, to make it adaptable to changing interests, to place it above temporary economic gain, and to bring men to realize that the modern democratic state not only can, but must require an educated citizenship, was to be long and persistent. For the development of the modern philosophy of education which demands for every child opportunity to realize under proper social guidance such capacities as he may possess, time was necessary.

EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

While the struggle for free education was being

* Cubberley, Ellwood P. History of Education. Houghton Mifflin & Co. 1920. p. 672.

waged and won, other forces, profoundly affecting man's relation to society and industry, were assuming a place of first importance. Of all these forces the rise and rapid advance of scientific knowledge was the most important. Discoveries in biologic and physical science completely changed social and industrial life after 1870. The work of Pasteur had produced a sanitary and hygienic revolution. The work of the chemists and physicists had laid the foundation for, and were producing, a revolution in our manufacturing and industrial life. This increase of knowledge changed the outlook of man on the problems of life, enlarged his intellectual horizon, and gave a new trend to education.

"The printing press disseminated the new ideas; and thousands of applications of science to trade and industry and human welfare began to attract public attention and create a new demand for schools and a new extension of learning. The application of this new learning to matters that intimately touch the life of man have been so numerous and so far reaching in their effects that they have produced a revolution in life conditions unlike any thing the world ever experienced before."*

During the first period of industrial change from 1820 to 1860 the struggle for a free tax supported public school system from the common school to the University had been won. Labor was exercising a constantly greater influence in the social and political life of

* Ibid. p. 728.

the people. Wages were higher, working and living conditions were better and upon the whole times were prosperous. The country was growing rapidly and no severe economic strain was felt before 1850. Many strikes occurred during the next seven years due to the unsettled economic conditions preceding the Civil War.

The effect of the war on industry was felt at once. The demand for supplies was enormous.* Wages did not keep pace with the cost of living. Wage earners were the one class that remained at the same level of comfort or actually fell into a worse condition. The result was that labor's time and energy was taken up in perfecting their own organization to meet the new economic and political situation confronting them.

During this first period of industrial revolution they had been content with the educational advantages won. It was the revolution from 1860 to 1900 which completely changed the social, political, and economic life of the people. For as Cubberley says,

"The general result of the vast and far reaching changes which we have just described is that the intellectual and political horizon of the working classes has been tremendously broadened; the home has been completely altered; children now have much leisure and do little labor, and the common man at last is rapidly coming into his own.

Still more, the common man seems destined

* Carlton, Frank Tracey. History and Problems of Organized labor. pp. 61-67.

to be the dominant force in government in the future. To this end he and his children must be educated, his wife and children cared for, his home protected and governments must do for him the things which satisfy his needs and advance his welfare.----Beginning with education to impart the ability to read and write and cipher, and as an aid to the political side of government, the education of the masses has been so expanded in scope that today it includes aims, classes, types of schools, and forms of service scarcely dreamed of at the time the State began to take over the school from the church, with a view to extending elementary educational advantages and promoting literacy and citizenship."*

We have but to contrast the living conditions of today with those of fifty years ago to determine the nature and extent of the change which has been wrought, and to form an estimate of its effect on educational procedure.

It is with the effects of this second revolution from the educational viewpoint that this study is vitally and intimately concerned.

The tremendous strides made in the application of scientific knowledge, research, and invention to our life and industries from 1870 to 1900 would seem to have completely changed and revolutionized not only our manner of living, but our industrial life as well. Our civilization has become highly complex.

With this complexity in our social and industrial life an ever increasing specialization of human effort is

* Cubberley, Ellwood P. History of Education. pp. 736, 742.

taking place in all that man does. With this intense specialization, new and ever more difficult social, political, industrial, commercial, and human-life problems have presented themselves for solution. These problems have come with such rapidity and force as to almost stagger those who are charged with the responsibility and direction of our social and economic affairs.

These movements and changes in our industrial and social life in the last fifty years have made necessary many changes and readjustments in our educational theory and practice and in all the readjustments, labor has had a large part.

To the problems of curriculum, of method and of administration which have arisen and to labor's position on them, the following chapters will be devoted.

CHAPTER III
ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE CURRICULUM

Chapter III

Organized Labor And The Curriculum

INTRODUCTION

A direct result of the scientific achievements and industrial and social change described in the preceding chapter was the tremendous and unprecedented increase in the world's productive capacity. As a result, the human race as a whole has been raised from the bare necessities of life to a higher plane of material comfort. With the increase of material prosperity to the common man, came the new spirit of democracy. The worker is now considered, theoretically at least, as an end in himself. He is no longer thought to exist merely for the benefit and profit of others. Leisure, culture, education, art, and work are at last conceived to be the birthright of all, not merely of a favored few. This era of machinery and utilized natural power has made possible universal culture and education. We are just beginning to grasp this democratic view of education.

THE CURRICULUM AND ITS SOCIAL FUNCTION OR USE IN SOCIETY

To achieve this universal culture and education, many new demands have been made upon our educational system. A modern democracy of the industrial type demands both an extension of educational privileges and a

departure from the traditional materials of instruction.

Labor has felt that the educational curricula in our public schools have been altogether too artificial, too conventional. It has followed stereotyped, orthodox forms instead of being a live thing that adapts itself to specific needs and development of individual pupils. To assure every child equal free opportunities for the kind of education which meets his needs and talents is the only basis for genuine equality of opportunity--the only condition upon which democracy will function. Our school curricula are still drawn up primarily to benefit the small percentage who go to college or technical school; secondary consideration only is granted the larger number who go directly into their life work. Ninety percent of all children who enter the elementary schools do not finish high school. In an industrial society or community such as ours a very large proportion of the school children are worker's children. The workers pay a large part of the taxes to support the public schools but are not getting from those schools the sort of education which they need to enable them to become more skilled, efficient, better paid workingmen, and better citizens. Labor asks that the public schools give the ninety percent an education which will fit them for the life which they will lead as thoroughly as the schools now fit the ten percent who go on through high

school and college. The old cultural ideals of education dealing with the abstract denied a great number of children an education adapted to their capacities, hence failed to fit them for the duties and possibilities of the work of life. Labor has felt, and keenly felt, the need for an education that teaches out of life and work; that deals with the concrete materials of environment and the duties and activities of life in the work-a-day world. This need has led today to a broad conception of education as a lifelong process.*

It is no longer conceived to be solely confined within the walls of school, college or university. Many different agencies--the home, the playground, the press, the pulpit, the lecture platform, the library, the labor union, the store, the shop, the farm, the office--all supplement and complete the work of the schools. To achieve this end, organized labor asks that the school curricula be enlarged and made more plastic; that the democratizing and socializing forces of the home, the shop, the farm, the playground, and the office be utilized to the fullest extent in the construction of any curriculum; that there be no longer a boundary line fixed between the school and the community but rather the

* American Federationist. Vol. 20 Pt. I. pp. 47-52;
222-224.

Ibid. Vol. 29. Pt. I. pp. 212-245.

school must be a part of the community life.*

These things must be achieved if the school is to serve its full purpose in society. If the schools fail to develop a high concept of citizenship; to develop a fine spirit of democracy; and to eradicate illiteracy, they will have failed in all. These are basic and fundamental requirements in any system of education.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THEIR PLACE IN THE CURRICULUM

During the past fifteen years and especially the last ten years there has been a serious questioning of the content and treatment of subject matter in our school textbooks. In a special manner has this been true of the textbooks in the social sciences. Instruction in the field of social and economic studies is vitally concerned with wide spread understanding of our social and economic institutions and forces. The fundamental and necessary social functions of the curriculum---the development of a high concept of citizenship; the development of a fine spirit of democracy, and the eradication of illiteracy with its attendant problems of free textbooks and compulsory education---are inextricably interwoven with the study and teaching of the social sciences which organized labor contends should be the backbone of secondary education. The development of a spirit of democracy and a

* Ibid. Vol. 23. p. 126. 1916.

fine civic sense both in teachers and pupils is conditioned by the content, attitude and manner of presentation of courses given in the social sciences. *

A pamphlet issued by the United States Bureau of Education entitled, "Social Studies in Secondary Education," defines them as follows;

"The social studies are understood to be those whose subject matter relates directly to the organization and development of human society, and to man as a member of social groups." **

A booklet just issued by the Association of Collegiate Schools of Business entitled, "Social Studies in Secondary Schools," defines their purpose as

"that of giving our youth an awareness of what it means to live together in organized society, an appreciation of how we do live together, and an understanding of the conditions precedent to living together well, to the end that our youth may develop those ideals, abilities, and tendencies to act which are essential to effective participation in our society."

It will thus be seen that the social studies are highly important in public education, and that their importance may be far greater than would be indicated by the practices of schools in the past. It is not only necessary for the public schools to prepare children for adequate citizenship in the sense of understanding what is expected of them in society at its present

* Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L., 1922, pp. 64-66; 365-58; 1925, pp. 74, 285.

** Bulletin, 1916, No. 28. Dep't of Interior, Bureau of Education.

stage of development, but it is also necessary to give them some understanding of the problems which future generations will have to solve. In addition, sound vocational training for the individual can be based only on the general foundation of the social studies. As the Association of Collegiate Schools of Business puts it in their report entitled, "Social Studies in Secondary Schools;"

"Any program of social studies which hopes to be successful must be drawn with consideration for vocational needs. This suggests no conflict of interests. Men work together in organized society. Vocational training will be greatly improved even as a 'money making' matter for the individual by the right kind of social study backbone."

It is easy to see the vital interest Organized Labor has in social studies. Labor believes that the social studies should be the backbone of secondary education, with which all other studies and school activities should be closely articulated according to their contributions to the social objectives of education. So strongly did labor feel upon this point that in 1919 the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. authorized the President of the A. F. of L. to appoint a committee to make a special report on social studies in the public schools. The report of this committee was made in 1923, and established certain constructive standards of judgment for school boards, teachers, parents, publishers, authors,

and the general citizenship. The report is divided into three sections covering the general character of public education, the importance of the social studies and the nature of the existing texts.

The treatment of history, civics, and other social studies in the public schools is more or less largely determined by the character of the textbook used. It usually determines the facts to be taught, and in some measure the method of teaching them. In higher institutions of learning, where numerous texts and source books may be employed in a given subject, the instructor has more scope for personal influence over the mode of instruction, and the same is true to a limited extent in the lower grades, where textbooks often are not used at all. Even in these cases, however, the teacher's mind itself may be colored by the book supplied. It is therefore of importance to study the nature of the textbooks in use in the social studies.

It is not the place of this study to enter exhaustively into the proper content and treatment of social science courses. It will be sufficient to summarize briefly some of the more important conclusions of the A. F. of L. Committee of Education of Social Studies in the Public Schools. Many of those who have been devoting attention to the subject believe that the social studies should be introduced earlier in the curriculum than has

been the custom in most school systems, several years at least before the "high school" grades. This is for the benefit both of those who leave school early, and of those who continue. They also believe--and this applies particularly to history--that more attention should be devoted to social and economic matters with consideration for the human equation. It is also essential that developments of the last fifty years should be adequately considered. And, lastly, they believe that instead of emphasizing memory work and stereotyped judgments, the pupils should be given as large an opportunity as possible to understand forces and movements, to watch them actually at work, and to exercise their own critical faculties about social problems.*

Having these ideals in mind, it is obvious that the history of the labor movement in the modern world is an important topic which must come under the social sciences. To give a fragmentary view of organized labor is to prepare pupils inadequately for their work in the world, whether they are destined to join the great majority as wage and salary earners, or whether they become professional men or employers. The same is true of all other social problems having to do with the welfare of

* Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L. Report of the Committee on Education on Social Studies in the Public Schools. 1922, pp. 64-66, 355-58.

the working people.*

Labor leaders are not relying solely on their own judgment in making that statement.** Scientific data bears out their stand as is illustrated by the findings of two important investigations made in co-operation with the Committee on Economy of Time of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. One study was made to determine what the content of the course of study in history would be if we accept the current opinion that

"the chief purpose of teaching history in the elementary school is to make pupils more intelligent with respect to the more crucial activities, conditions and problems of present day life."***

It was based on the hypothesis,

"that if a representative list of the more crucial modern problems could be secured, and if, among the books dealing with each problem, those be selected which give the clearest statement of that problem, it might be expected that these books would contain at least the sort of history or the amount of historical reference, which, in the judgment of the author, is essential to an understanding of the modern problem they are discussing."

Twenty-seven books on modern social and economic problems and 142 articles in the International Encyclopaedia dealing with these problems were selected for the purpose of this analysis. It was found that 24.67 percent of the

* Ibid. p. 9.

** Ibid. p. 9.

*** Horn, E. Possible Defects in the Present Content of American History as Taught in the Schools. The Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Part I. 1918, pp. 156-172.

references to these problems in the elementary American history texts were to the period 1861-1916, whereas the book and every encyclopaedia article references to this same period were respectively 85.7 percent and 74 percent of the total number.* In other words, textbook writers refer to the period since the Civil War once to every three times they refer to other periods while authors of books on modern problems find it necessary to refer to modern times five for every time they refer to all other periods combined. For an understanding of current social problems this would indicate the need for a greater emphasis upon the last half century than is ordinarily given.

An attempt was also made in the same study "to discover what phases of history were most frequently referred to in the discussion of modern problems." The following table taken from the study gives the results reached;

DISTRIBUTION OF REFERENCES TO THREE PHASES OF HISTORY

	Political	Military	Social and Economic
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Modern History Textbooks	42	40	18
Books on Modern Problems	18.7	4.7	76.6
Encyclopaedia Articles	37	1.7	61.3

* Bagley, W. C. and Rugg, H. O. Content of American History as Taught in the Seventh and Eighth Grades. An Analysis of Typical School Textbooks, Bulletin No. 16, School of Education, University of Illinois, 1916.

This table further indicates the failure of textbooks to give the necessary social and economic data for an understanding of modern problems.

Another portion of the study was devoted to a discovery of what persons were most frequently referred to in discussions of modern problems. Nearly 1600 individuals were mentioned. Of these, Gompers ranked eighth in importance, that is, only seven men, living or dead, were mentioned more times in connection with more problems than was Gompers. Of the individuals then living (1916), Gompers ranked third, Roosevelt and Wilson preceding him. This survey would tend to prove that the labor movement--for Gompers was the embodiment of that movement--is a subject which we cannot afford to overlook in our history texts if we are to give the coming generations an adequate equipment for intelligent citizenship.

The other study referred to was "an attempt to discover what should be the content of a course of study in civics."* Believing that "the function of civics instruction is to prepare the pupil for citizenship in a democracy" the author tried to determine "what are the most significant and most persistent problems of the American people which seek solution through the machinery of

* Bassett, B. B. The Content of the Course of Study in Civics. Seventeenth Yearbook. National Society for the Study of Education. Part I. 1919, pp. 63-80.

government." Since politicians are the professionals in the field and since the platform shows what the politicians think the people want, political platforms for three-quarters of a century were taken as the basis of this study. All subjects mentioned were classified under twenty-six general heads, one of which was labor. An analysis of national party platforms from 1844-1916 shows that labor was not mentioned prior to 1868 when it ranked eighth in importance. From that time on it was mentioned in every platform varying in importance from first to sixteenth. In both 1904 and 1908 it held first place, in 1912 third place, and in 1916 fourth. Throughout the entire period, 1844-1916, the relative ranking of labor in the platforms of all parties was eighth. In the Democratic Party's platform it ranked sixth, and in the Republican Party's platform twelfth. Of the national issues considered in state platforms during the non-presidential years 1889-1914 labor ranked fifth in importance.

As a result of his study, Bassett concludes that

"any course of instruction whose purpose it is to prepare for intelligent suffrage through the exercise of civic judgments upon concrete problems should contain at least the following topics: Finance, office elections, civil service-----corporations, labor, foreign relations, national resources, monetary system, and moral issues."

These studies clearly indicate that if scientific

methods were applied in the determination of what the content of textbooks should be, the labor movement would be recognized as one of the greatest determining forces in modern life and be considered accordingly.

Labor leaders, however, were not content with the results obtained from these researches, and authorized the chairman of the committee to address a circular letter to numerous prominent educators requesting their opinion as to the place the labor movement should occupy in the textbooks and social studies of our public schools. This letter was addressed to the following nationally and internationally known educators—Charles A. Beard, Rand School of Social Science; F. G. Bonser, Teachers College, Columbia University; Thomas H. Briggs, Teachers College, Columbia University; Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University; John Dewey, Columbia University; Charles A. Ellwood, University of Missouri; E. S. Furniss, Yale University; Albert Bushuoll Hart, Harvard University; Charles H. Judd, University of Chicago; Harry Pratt Judson, late President of Chicago University; Clyde L. King, University of Pennsylvania; Alexis F. Lange, University of California; F. McMurray, Teachers College, Columbia University; Wesley C. Mitchell, National Bureau of Economic Research; J. Montgomery Gambrill, Teachers College, Columbia University; David T.

Muzzey and a number of others. The following is the letter sent to the above named educators:

Dear Sir; The American labor movement as you are no doubt aware, has from its inception been vitally interested in public education. This interest now leads us to ask your opinion on a matter of particular moment to us. The objectives of instruction in history and civics, as we see them should be determined by the needs of society. Since we are living in a complex and highly developed industrial state we consider that an understanding of our privileges, rights and duties in that state requires a knowledge of the social and industrial life of the country and the broader functions of government as related thereto.

It is common knowledge that the labor movement has had, and will no doubt continue to have a powerful influence upon the development of social and industrial institutions. The proper solution of many difficult problems of today, such as unemployment, standards of living, working conditions, housing, workmen's compensation--so called labor problems---is of great social significance. Consequently intelligent action by the community at large in dealing with them, requires a knowledge of the labor movement and the conditions which in large measure determine the well-being of society. We hold therefore that if our public schools are adequately to discharge their responsibilities in the teaching of history and civics, they should take cognizance of these social problems and labor's relation thereto.

Recognizing, however, the importance of the opinion of well-known educators in matters of this sort, we are writing you, among others, for a statement as to whether or not from the educational and historical points of view, the labor movement---its history, ideals and achievements, and the problems of vital interest to labor are of sufficient importance to warrant attention in public schools. Will you therefore please give us your frank opinion as to the place which this subject should hold in a modern textbook on history and civics?

Appreciating a reply at your early convenience, I am

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Matthew Woll.
Chairman of A. F. of L. Committee on Education.

It would be interesting as well as instructive if I could quote their replies in full, but lack of space forbids my quoting more than a few sentences from each.

From Charles A. Beard,

"Replying to your letter about the place of the labor movement in the social studies of our schools, I beg to say that, in my opinion, every unbiased student and teacher should recognize the importance of the labor movement in modern life and give to it a proper amount of space in any course on history, economics, or citizenship."

From Bonser:

"In my judgment there is no domestic question before the American people of the present and rising generation of greater importance than that of the problems connected with the conditions of production, the distribution of products, and the rewards of labor. Only as these problems are justly and fairly solved can a genuinely democratic state of human society be increasingly accomplished."

"The textbooks in history and citizenship should include a pretty full treatment of the labor problem and related problems from at least the development of the Guild System to the present-----Young people should be given the basis for seeing the issues exactly as they are, and there is no better way to do this than to find out accurately how these conditions and issues have come about."

"In passing, I want to urge that the men and women engaged as laborers are no more in need of an intelligent comprehension of the real economic, social, and human problems of labor and production than are the employers of labor, or those engaged in the professional occupations who often imagine that they have no responsibilities in relationship to these problems. These questions are of vital import-

ance to every citizen, whatever his occupation."

"In a democracy the problems of securing justice to each individual are the responsibility of all. This study of the history and current problems of labor should be begun in the upper grades and be provided for increasingly in the high schools.-----Clear thinking is necessary to the solution of these problems. To think clearly we must have accurate facts to think with."

From Briggs,

"My opinion is that labor problems and the labor movement have not received anything like the attention in history teaching that they merit."

From Butler,

"I beg to reply that I regard such instruction as vitally important to sound and intelligent citizenship."

From Dewey,

"I am strongly of the opinion that a modern textbook on history and civics should give considerable space to the history and aims of the labor movement. This, however, should be construed in a broad way."

From Ellwood,

"Social studies should occupy one-third of the space of the curriculum in our schools from the kindergarten to the end of the A. B. course in college. Particularly strong courses on all of our social problems should be developed in the seventh, eighth and ninth grades, as well as in our senior high schools. The labor movement and the just claims of labor should, of course hold a conspicuous place in these social study courses."

From Hart,

"In a community like the United States, whose every intelligent man and woman is expected to take a part in public affairs, it is cer-

tainly desirable that there should be recognition of labor conditions."

From Judd,

"It is my judgment that a very radical reform will have to be made, and that shortly in the course of study of American schools so as to include social science material on a scale never before thought of. I think that the movement which is coming is likely to encounter some opposition in various quarters because there will be a great many people who do not think that it is safe to teach in the public schools economic and social principles about many of which there will be some question. My judgment is that such material ought to occupy an independent and primary position in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades and shall do everything I can to promote that type of program."

From President Judson,

"No discussion in the history of civics can be complete without an adequate discussion of the situation as to labor."

From King,

"In the treatment of history or of civics it would be as incorrect to omit reference to the history and functions of the labor union movements as it would be to omit reference to the history and functions of the farmer's organizations or of chambers of commerce."

From McMurray,

"I certainly think that such attention should be given them. Such attention should be due not only for the sake of information, but for the sake of full comprehension and sympathy with the whole labor situation. The public schools are aiming at citizenship, and proper citizenship involves identification on the part of every young person with the labor situation. This problem should have an important place in the course of instruction."

These letters are typical of others received of

similar import but which want of space forbids including.

A careful analysis of the above quotations will show that the well-known educational leaders practically agree with the stand taken by the American Federation of Labor, that it is one of the most important topics to be considered in courses in history and civics.

Organized labor at this same time made a survey of the extent to which social studies are being taught. This study for the year 1921-1922 was quite exhaustive in that it contained answers from 6624 schools, to the following questions;

1. Number of High Schools which teach certain social sciences.*

2. Number of pupils who took various courses in the social sciences.**

3. Schools in which specified subjects, civics, economics, sociology and similar courses are required or elective.***

4. Number of students enrolled in specified courses, civics, economics, sociology and similar courses, required or elective.****

A study of the data gathered showed that while the number of schools teaching courses in the social sciences

* Appendix. Table 1.

** Appendix. Table 2.

*** Appendix. Table 3.

**** Appendix. Table 4.

is increasing it is very much less than it should be, and that only a little more than 50% of the pupils were getting instruction in social studies. The data gathered in reply to questions 3 and 4 showed that the greater proportion of all students receiving instruction in these courses was concentrated in the later years of high school. It is seen at once that if instruction in courses of such fundamental importance is delayed until the last two years of the high school that those who most need the instruction will never get it as our statistics show that by far the greater proportion of pupils who enter high school never graduate.*

This makes it especially imperative that the basic social studies, those which treat largely of matters of vital concern to labor, should be introduced into the seventh and eighth grades, if not earlier.

Thus it appears that there is need for reorganization of the curricula of most of our junior and senior high schools so as to provide adequate opportunity for instruction in these important subjects.

A survey of the most widely used textbooks in social sciences in our high schools was also made at this same time.**

* American Federationist. Vol. 19. 1912, pp. 392-96.
American Federationist. Vol. 23. pp. 128.

** Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L. Report of Committee on Education on Social Studies in the Public Schools. 1922, pp. 18-21.

Space forbids my giving more than the nature of the tests applied, summary of the findings and the criticisms of the texts.

The tests applied were: 1. Is the book of old, narrow type, or of the newer and broader type? 2. Is its general method that which inculcates certain fixed principles which may have been acceptable some time in the past, or, on the other hand, that which portrays society as a group of growing and changing institutions? 3. Does it include adequate information about important subjects, particularly subjects of concern to the wage-earning population, such as trade unionism, collective bargaining, standards of living, hours of work, safety and sanitation, housing, unemployment, civil liberty, and the judicial power? 4. In its treatment of these subjects, does it fairly present labor's point of view, as well as that of others?*

In no case were any abstract or ideal standards set up. The standard of evaluation in each subject was determined only after examining a number of the best and most widely used books. No hard and fast grading, or arranging of the books in an order of excellence, was attempted. It was aimed merely to evaluate each book in relation to a number of specific tests, and the American Federation

* Ibid. p. 23.

of Labor's criticism.

The application of these tests to 123 textbooks--47 histories, 47 civics, 25 economics, and 4 sociologies, brings out the fact that over half of the books (55 per cent) are of the newer type dealing with the broader aspects of government, and the social and industrial life of the people rather than with forms of organization, military events and abstract theories. A larger proportion, 60 percent, recognize to a greater or less degree the power for growth in our institutions. They are dynamic rather than static in their method of treatment. In dealing with the questions of particular interest to labor--trade unionism, collective bargaining, arbitrations, standards of living, unemployment and the like--there is a great divergence in concept as well as in method of treatment. In general it may be said that the older formal texts either omit these subjects entirely or treat them so unsatisfactorily that for all practical purposes they might just as well be omitted. Some of the more modern ones deal with them briefly and perfunctorily but on the whole the newer type of text does attempt to give the labor movement and the problems of industry better consideration. The textbooks in general use in civics, history and sociology are of the more modern and better type of book.

The criticisms of the texts fell in seven groups.

A majority of the texts fell short in one or more important respects. These short-comings may be grouped as follows:

- (a) Failure to give the student an understanding of the present day structure of society.
- (b) Failure to recognize clearly the growth of institutions. Presentation of static rather than dynamic point of view.
- (c) Use of didactic method of presentation.
- (d) Insufficient material presented to give a rounded view of the labor movement and of the problems of particular interest to labor.
- (e) Misstatements of fact or misleading statements of fact.
- (f) Misplaced emphasis or the consideration of the "abuses" of trade unions to the exclusion of all other features.
- (g) Use of obsolete material. *

The Committee on Education appointed to report on the Social Studies in the Public Schools after making these careful surveys summed up their report. Lack of space forbids a detailed discussion of each of these seven groups of criticisms. For concrete examples and textbook illustrations the reader is referred to the Report of the National Convention of the A. F. of L., 1922, p. 355.

The report showed that in many schools the social studies are offered only in the upper years of the high school and are therefore available only to a small proportion of our prospective citizens who complete their

* Ibid. p. 24.

high school course. We are confronted at once with the realization that our elementary and secondary schools are lamentably failing to give the great bulk of our prospective citizens whom the colleges never touch, preparation for social living. The 1919 convention of the A. F. of L. adopted the following statement:

"In a democracy the primary requirement is a citizenship educated to straightforward, logical thinking, based on facts established by carefully sifted evidence. The schools can not develop this essential mental fiber if the pupils are carefully shielded from knowledge of the topics that men and women think about. Secondary only to a citizen's ability to do his own thinking, is his ability to make his influence felt in his group and community by effectively presenting his views to his fellows, and meeting opposition in a spirit of tolerance. This power of effective self expression and the habits of tolerance, and of intellectual fairness toward opponents, can not be formed without the discussion of topics that give opportunity for their exercise. Therefore, in order to enable the schools to perform one of their chief functions, preparation for active citizenship, the pupils should be encouraged to discuss under intelligent supervision current events and the problems of citizenship."*

The Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor in their Report on Social Studies in the Public Schools submitted the following conclusions as a result of their investigation.

"I. Virtually all educational authorities agree that the social sciences should be taught much

* Report of the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1919, p. 431-432.

more extensively than at present, and in fact should become the backbone of our educational system, especially that of secondary education. One authority in particular would allocate one-third of the entire curriculum in our schools from the kindergarten to the end of the A. B. course in college to the social sciences.

2. The researches and conclusions of prominent educational authorities who have given special consideration to the social studies show that the history, achievements, status and ideals of the trade-union movement in the modern world form one of the most important parts in the adequate presentation of these sciences. This important conclusion is further confirmed by the expressed opinions and judgments of a large number of our most prominent educators as determined by special inquiry. The necessity for presenting both sides of any controversial phase of the labor movement is also stressed by these authorities. The whole course of the American Federation of Labor has been in entire accord with this position.

3. From two comprehensive surveys, one conducted in 1919 and another in 1922, and from other material and data surveyed, it is evident that the teaching of the social sciences is making headway in our public schools. Modern standards, however, are observed only in a portion of the schools teaching the social sciences, so there is still much progress to be made in this respect.

4. One especially serious situation with respect to the extent to which these subjects are being taught is that economics, civics, sociology or kindred subjects are, in most instances, given only in the last two years of high school. Thus a great number of students, even including those who pass through the junior high school, are deprived of an opportunity to become informed in these very important fields.

5. Courses of study and textbooks in history, civics, economics and sociology are beginning to reflect the conclusions of educators that the labor movement as a force in recent and modern life is of such vital importance that it cannot be disregarded in our schools. The treatment of labor, its history, accomplishments, aims, and ideals, in modern textbooks, although much better than that accorded in the older type of texts, is still

far from ideal. Errors, misstatement of facts, and misplaced emphasis are sometimes found. Again inadequacy of treatment as well as the presentation of obsolete material by some textbook writers tends seriously to minimize the importance of the labor movement in the texts of these authors."*

CHARACTER OF TEXTBOOKS

While this subject is logically and in substance closely related to the preceding discussion, and was to a very limited extent discussed there, labor's position on the character of textbooks used in the social sciences is such as to justify a fuller statement than could be given at that time.

⑧ In 1903, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was directed

"to secure the introduction of textbooks that will be more in accord with modern thought upon social and political economy, books that will teach the dignity of manual labor, give due importance to the service that the laborer renders to society, and that will not teach the harmful doctrine that the wage workers should be content with their lot, because of the opportunity that may be afforded a few of their number rising out of their class, instead of teaching that the wage earners should base their hopes upon the elevation of the conditions of the working people. We appreciate the tendency on the part of some educational institutions to give more attention to the study of the trade union movement and the collecting of literature; that colleges should be

* Report of the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education on Social Studies in the Public Schools. Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L., 1922, p. 240.

encouraged in giving lectures on the subject of trade unions at which representative unionists are invited to present their views."*

In 1919 in discussing schools under union auspices the convention found that

"one of the chief difficulties in securing appropriate classes for the workers is the dearth of unbiased and suitable textbooks,"

and recommended

"that the executive council be instructed to appoint a committee to investigate the matter of selecting or of preparing and publishing textbooks appropriate for classes of workers."**

Organized labor feels that our educational policies have not included a sufficiently careful and accurate teaching of our great industrial development and growth and the principles of the trade union movement in relation to this growth.

They believe that the development and influence of industry have played a greater, though not a more prominent part, than the military and political activities in the growth and development of civilization. No factor has contributed or can contribute more to the comfort, well-being, and opportunities of the masse than our industrial growth and activity. Yet the history of our nation's development is confined almost entirely to

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1903, p. 259.

** Ibid. 1919, p. 428.

the political changes which have influenced its growth. While it is essential that the theories of political movements should be taught, they are insufficient in themselves and must be supplemented by the theories of industrial relations and a true and accurate conception of political economy.

Labor believes that the economists of the past, whose teachings still largely dominate in the educational institutions of the present day, have taught and are teaching doctrines which have failed to stand the test of experience and of unbiased investigation; that many of the textbooks used, dealing with industrial problems, have failed completely to state accurately and interpret correctly economic laws and their application to our modern industrial society. As a logical result the opinions held and views expressed by the great mass of people in our country upon present industrial problems have been largely influenced by a false philosophy and an erroneous conception of the laws and principles of political economy and industrial relations.*

Educators, clergymen and all men in public life, relying upon these works, have failed in many instances, to understand the spirit, purpose and method of the American Labor movement. Because of the inadequacy and

*Ibid. 1920, pp. 172-176.

inaccuracy of existing textbooks and because of their failure accurately to interpret labor's efforts and activities, there has been created a public sentiment and opinion which has been founded more upon error than upon fact. Those who have undertaken to prepare these textbooks have had little real knowledge of the true economic development of industry in our country.*

The library and records of the American Federation of Labor in themselves present a vast amount of accurate information and data relating to industrial development and industrial relations and particularly of the influence of organized labor in the solving of industrial and social problems.

It is a matter of regret that these works have not been more freely used by all students of industrial questions. Had these records been more fully examined, many of the errors now found in textbooks would have been prevented. The textbooks upon industrial questions used in our educational institutions should be founded upon reliable and accurate data.**

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at the Montreal convention submitted an extensive report on the subject of textbooks used in the

* Ibid. 1920, p. 174.

** Ibid. 1920, p. 174.

schools, concluding its report with the following recommendations:

1. "Including in the school curriculum the teaching of unemasculated industrial history embracing an accurate account of the organization of the workers and the results thereof, the teaching of the principles underlying industrial activities and relations, and a summary of legislation, state and federal, affecting industry.
2. The making of a careful and comprehensive survey and the preparation and distribution of a bibliography of all books, pamphlets and addresses dealing with industrial and economic problems, which are founded on accurate information, sound principles, and which will prove helpful in removing the false conception of existing theories of industrial, political and social economy.
3. Encouraging all schools, colleges, universities, libraries, trade union centers, and all institutions of learning to secure copies of the books, pamphlets, and addresses recommended, for use by those interested in securing accurate and reliable information regarding industrial problems.
4. Encouraging textbook writers and publishers to avail themselves of the library and records of the American Federation of Labor upon all subjects dealing with the industrial development and progress, as well as the movement of the wage earners, in the preparation of textbooks on industrial problems and movements.
5. The preparation of a textbook by the American Federation of Labor, to supplement the existing works of President Gompers and other recognized authorities of the American trade union movement, to be prepared by a competent trade unionist under the direction of the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor in co-operation with a special committee for this purpose.
6. Encouraging and assisting affiliated international trade unions in the preparing of textbooks for their membership, dealing with economic laws, the development of their trade and the solving of trade problems, as well as the influence of their trade union activities upon

the development of industrial relations."*

If one accepts the results of the study and investigation made by the Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor, Labor's position on, and criticism of the current textbooks in the social sciences in use in our public schools would seem to be justified.

Labor holds that the highest division of all science is that which considers living beings, not alone as individuals but as aggregates; the science which deals with the relations of living beings one to another; the science which observes men; the science whose experiments are made by nations, one upon another; the science whose general propositions are embodied in history and industrial development; the science whose deductions lead to our happiness or misery and whose verifications so often come too late.**

Labor asks that material chosen for our social science textbooks shall be interwoven in the texture of our national life and as far as possible be pragmatic, that is, it should arise out of action and in turn it should bear upon action and influence future events. The material should be living and not obsolete and should link up abundantly with a rich body of related facts or ideas which serve to illustrate and explain. It must belong not merely to the present but to the future. It

* Ibid. 1921, 104-105.

** Ibid. 1920, pp. 172-176.

should throw light upon the disputes and difficulties of today and thus give the hope of aiding toward the solutions of tomorrow.

This is not a matter of chronology. The great mass of what is happening even now dies as it occurs, and has no right or place in a crowded curriculum, while some actions and ideas dating back centuries or even thousands of years are still alive, playing a mighty part in the minds and conduct of men and peoples. Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, Socrates and Jesus are modern. The majority of names in any ordinary history even of modern times are obsolete. The pupils now in school will wrestle with the problems of society at some future day. If the past has any light for that day the young citizens to be are entitled to it, and it is possible that the very existence of the state may depend upon that light. Let all statements be based upon the truth and the facts. Social science texts written from this viewpoint will awaken in the pupil that most indispensable trait of the democratic mind, the capacity and habit of forming his own conclusions on the basis of the facts in the case. This is labor's position on the character of textbooks.

THE CURRICULUM AND INDUSTRIAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

"I hope I may live to see the day when an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race

of life is guaranteed to every American boy and girl." Abraham Lincoln.

When education was made free and compulsory, the era of universal education burst upon us with such suddenness that probably only a few today realize the tremendous import of it all or comprehend the changes that much of the very foundation of our educational philosophy is being reconstructed with a resultant broadening of ideals as to the purposes, the materials, and the methods of instruction. Horace Mann saw the significance of it all when he said,

"It is impossible for us adequately to conceive the boldness of the measure which aimed at universal education through the establishment of free schools."

Coming a little nearer to our own time, Homer Folks, secretary of the New York Charities Aid Association, speaking of the public schools said,

"We are so close to the public school, most of us, or have been, that we fail it seems to me, to see it in its true proportions. The establishment of the public school as I now look back at it, was the most daring and most democratic, the most dynamic, revolutionary, religious, socialistic, homogeneity-creating step ever taken by the human family. An extraordinary number of new and strange principles are wrapped up in the establishment of the public school; that all children or substantially all can be educated; that children generally are worth educating; that the community can trust itself to perform so delicate a mission as to carry on schools; that, assuming that I have a larger family than the average and you a larger fortune, it is right for all to take a part of your money and apply it to the education of some of my children. It seems as though the due pro-

cess of the law was forgotten for a moment when that was put over."*

What this would come to mean is this: that, our educational system and the curriculum in particular must be organized to meet the needs of a greater number of people; that school life and work must be adapted to modern conditions. It might be well at this point to state what organized labor considers these necessary changes to be.

"Regarding the action of the 1910 convention for a federal investigation we urge a greater interest in the education of the 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States, 50 percent of whom leave school by the end of the sixth grade at approximately 14 years of age. Not only are we confronted by this state of affairs, but of the 50 percent who remain in school only one child in three finishes the eighth grade; only one in five enters the high school, and only one in thirty finishes the high school courses. Some idea of the extent of this vast problem can be gleaned when it is realized that the cost of maintenance of the common schools of the country is \$500,000,000 a year (1912). In addition to this sum there has been expended for the equipment in these school plants \$1,000,000,000 and the benefits of this enormous expenditure are enjoyed by only 50 percent of the children of school age."**

The 1922 statistics (the latest available at this date) show that the cost for the school year of 1921-22 for the maintenance of the public school system of the United States was \$1,580,671,296 and that the value of all school property was \$3,008,563,033 and that the per-

* Folks, Homer. Bulletin No. 16. National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, p. 240. 1912. Manual Arts Press, Peoria, Illinois.

** Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L., 1912, p. 137, 269.

cent of daily attendance of children 5 to 17 years of age inclusive for the school year 1921-22 was 79.3. This increased attendance in the decade 1912-1922 is probably due, very largely, to the sweeping changes made in the curricula and in the organization of our public schools. In bringing about these needed changes organized labor has been an exceedingly potent influence.*

In 1918 the subject was treated more definitely:

"This convention urges reorganization of our common schools in the interest of the children of all people. Labor played an important part in securing the establishment of our free public schools, but from the beginning they have been designed especially for the few who could go on to high school and college. They must continue to offer preparation for high school and college and labor heartily approves, and helped to secure the tremendous expansion of high school and college facilities during the last fifteen years. We especially endorse the tendency toward the establishment of junior colleges, the addition to high schools of two years of collegiate work without tuition, so that young men and women who can not afford to leave home, can secure the advantage of additional training.

"The upper years of the elementary school should be reorganized to afford diversified training, so that boys and girls who cannot go on to higher schools, will receive training specifically designed for their needs, and not be compelled as at present to prepare for a role they will never play. These diversified courses should be so flexible that a pupil would be able to transfer from one to another whenever changes in his desires or economic situation made it possible to continue in school for a longer period than he had anticipated. We must not compel a child to pay the penalty through life for a mistaken decision made during childhood.

* Statistics of State School Systems 1921-22. Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1924, No. 31. Government Printing Office. Washington, D. C.

Your committee believes that organized labor should demand and help to secure an expansion and diversification of both elementary and secondary education so that a democratic equality of opportunity for preparation for the callings of their choice may be offered to the children of our people."*

"Vocational training and industrial education are an indication of the character and direction of the dynamic forces underlying twentieth century civilization. Power now consists in control over materials. Men no longer dominate by political or religious controls, but because of their superior ability to coordinate physical forces and material resources. Power, whether national or individual, is commensurate with the extent and the intensity of economic control. The true function of education is to develop personal powers and to give the individual control over himself so that he may have confidence in himself and may use his ability to the best advantage. The previous educational methods which have not by any means been replaced by the newer ideals, dealt primarily with abstractions. That education dealt altogether with the ideational. It ignored the daily experiences of the girl or boy, or man or woman. It appealed to that small percentage of people who desired truths for their own sake, to whom only the esoteric appeals. The ideals for the schools of the future, the movement for the new education, includes even more than vocational and industrial education—it begins with the very fundamentals of mental training. This education begins with those things which appeal to the child and arouse his curiosity in the daily life, the actual material things with which he comes in contact. These things the schools of the future are to explain to the child in order that he may have full and complete understanding of his daily life and thereby be master of himself and his environment because he knows how to coordinate his own powers. Flowers, fruits, animals, pieces of furniture, are all marvelous and wonderful objects to the child; they appeal to his curiosity; they stir him because he knows they are real. These should be the first things with which education deals, abstractions should be introduced in connec-

* Ibid. 1918, p. 320.

tion with realities. Arithmetic, reading, spelling and knowledge of the forces that have created the earth and its present geological stage can all be reached by using materials and the surroundings of every-day life as starting points. As the child grows older these objects of study naturally lead up to productive activity and the next stage is reached which is industrial and then vocational instruction. The effect of this sort of education will be to lay the basis for economic democracy, a democracy in which each individual will have equal opportunity. It will develop the highest ability of which the individual is capable and will enable him to approach a realization of that ideal self that always urges the individual on to greater progress. We therefore favor: 1. Continuance of the effort to secure the highest and best form of education--academic, industrial and vocational. 2. That education is a public function to be borne at public cost. 3. The passage of a law by the federal congress embodying these principles. 4. The right of teachers to have the fullest opportunity for self-development and mutual aid. 5. The right of teachers to self-expression by association for their individual and collective protection and welfare.**

From now on education must serve not only the exceptional 5 percent but the 95 percent of common men as well. It must not only fit for the so-called learned professions but it must also train for the common things as well, else it is not universal.** This education and training for the common things of life means industrial and vocational training and education, and is a part of a great educational advance which extends over the whole world.

* Ibid. 1915, pp. 159, 321.

** Davenport, Eugene. Education for Efficiency. D. C. Heath & Co. Chicago, Illinois. 1909. pp. 1-7.

"It results from the attempt to bring about universal and appropriate education. It frankly recognizes that all cannot have and do not need the same education. It takes cognizance of the enormous increase in the sum total of human knowledge and art which the last century has brought, and the ever-increasing gap which separates this sum total from the capacity of the most receptive and most assiduous student. It is strongly influenced by the principle that in making the selection of the knowledge and art which any individual or group of individuals should acquire, the vocational purpose should be second only to the moral and social purposes, with which in fact, it is rarely in opposition. This vocational education is the larger term and includes professional, commercial, and agricultural education, education in domestic arts and sciences and industrial education."*

To understand fully how deep the current for industrial and vocational training flowed, it will be necessary to digress briefly to give a little of the history of one phase of the movement. Agriculture has been considered, and may be still, as the greatest industry in the United States. This perhaps accounts for the reason that the first government aid given for a specific kind of industry was for agriculture. It was men of vision like Jonathan B. Turner in the west and McAllister, Gregg, Cameron, and Morrill in the east who first saw and pointed out the need of industrial education.

The Morrill Land Grant Act (named from its author, Justin S. Morrill, senator from Vermont) was the first of the measures by which the Federal government was to

* Leavitt, Frank M. Examples of Industrial Education. New York. Ginn and Co. 1912. p. I.

give assistance to various forms of vocational and industrial education. This Act was passed and signed by President Lincoln July 2, 1862. This was

"An act donating Public Lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the Benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts."

Under its provisions tracts of public land were granted to the states to be sold, and the proceeds were to form a perpetual fund, the interest of which was to be used to endow at least one college,

"where the leading object shall be to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts."

The benefits of the law were extended to those states that were out of the union when the act became a law. Within ten years of the act 31 colleges were receiving aid under it, and by 1916 the number had increased to 50.

The next instance of government aid was the Hatch Act of 1887. This provided for an annual direct appropriation of \$15,000 per year from the proceeds of the sale of public lands to each state for the maintenance of an agricultural experiment station, to conduct researches or experiments bearing directly on Agriculture.

In 1906 the Adams Act increased this annual appropriation to \$30,000 and removed the restrictions which said that the money was to come from the proceeds of the sale of public lands.

The Second Morrill Act of 1890 gave to each state, for the benefit of colleges established under the Morrill Act of 1862, an annual appropriation beginning with \$15,000 and increasing \$1000 per year until the amount reached \$25,000 at which figure it was to remain. In 1907 the Nelson Amendment was passed raising the grant to each state for agricultural colleges to \$35,000 per year with an increase of \$5000 each successive year until \$50,000 should be reached.

In 1914 came the Smith-Lever Act which provided for an annual appropriation of \$10,000 to each state and an additional increasing grant which would reach its maximum of \$4,100,000 at the end of eight years. This amount was divided among the states according to their rural population for the purpose of agricultural extension work through the rural sections of the country.

It is only fair here to mention the Dolliver Davis Bill, introduced into Congress by Senator J. P. Dolliver of Iowa, which provided Federal aid for the purpose of

"cooperating with the states in encouraging instruction in agriculture, the trades and industries, and home economics in secondary schools; in preparing teachers for those vocational schools in state normal schools."

This bill did not pass, but it has been the model upon which all subsequent bills have been framed.

The point that is vital for us and must be noted

here is that the vocational and industrial education here aided is of college grade and on college levels.

The growth of these land grant colleges and the great work they have performed would seem to justify the "Industrial Movement" out of which they sprang, and constitutes a fitting tribute to the foresight and persistence of Senator Justin S. Morrill.

As has already been stated, the aid given for vocational education so far was for education of college grade. There was an increasing demand for federal aid for vocational and industrial education in the lower schools which became insistent after 1900. Among its advocates were educator, reformers, manufacturers, and labor organizations. The American Federation of Labor from 1903 on, consistently and unremittingly advocated the establishment of industrial education in secondary and elementary schools as shown by resolutions adopted by successive National Conventions.

In 1907 the convention declared:

"We favor the best opportunities for the most complete industrial and technical education obtainable for prospective applicants for admission into the skilled crafts of this country, particularly as regards the full possibilities of such crafts, to the end that such applicants be fitted not only for all usual requirements, but also for the highest supervisory duties, responsibilities and rewards; and the Executive Council is directed to give this subject its early and deep consideration, examining established and proposed industrial

school systems, so that it may be in a position to inform the American Federation of Labor what in the Council's opinion would be the wisest course for organized labor to pursue in connection therewith.**

In 1908:

"Industrial education is necessary and inevitable for the progress of an industrial people. There are two groups with opposite methods, and seeking antagonistic ends, now advocating industrial education in the United States. One of these groups is largely composed of the non-union employers of the country who advance industrial education as a special privilege under conditions that educate the student or apprentice to non-union sympathies and prepare him as a skilled worker for scab labor and strike-breaking purposes, thus using the children of the workers against the interests of their organized fathers and brothers in the various crafts. This group also favors the training of the student or apprentice for skill in only one industrial process, thus making the graduate a skilled worker in only a very limited sense and rendering him entirely helpless if lack of employment comes in his single subdivisions of a craft. The other group is composed of great educators, enlightened representatives of organized labor and persons engaged in genuine social service who advocate industrial education as a common right to be open to all children on equal terms, to be provided by general taxation and kept under the control of the whole people with a method or system of education that will make the apprentice or graduate a skilled craftsman in all the branches of his trade. Organized labor has the largest personal interest in the subject of industrial education, and should enlist its ablest and best men in behalf of the best system, under conditions that will promote the interests of the workers and the general welfare.**

In 1910:

"Conservation is one of the topics uppermost in the mid of the American people today, but there is one phase of conservation which is

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1907.
pp. 46, 319.

** Ibid. 1908, pp. 98, 234.

not receiving the attention which it deserves; I refer to the conservation of the brain and brawn of our American youth. Our school systems are giving only a one-sided education; the boy may go to school and prepare himself for professional or commercial life or he may drop out of school and enter a trade with no particular preparation and become a mediocre workman. Training of brain and muscle must go together for the complete preparation of men. While the public schools and colleges aim only at teaching professions; the greatest need of America, educationally, is the improvement of industrial intelligence and working efficiency in the American youth. We need an educational uplift for the work of the boy who will work with his hands, and we not only need to give an educational uplift to craftsmanship, but the school needs the help of the workman and his better work in education."*

In 1915:

"In connection with the subject of industrial education and vocational training, we submit that the federal government should afford generous financial aid in this matter fraught with so much value to the workers, to the people generally, and to the stability of our country—Our movement has already established the system of educating the men and women engaged in agriculture and horticulture, and affording the best opportunity for the sons and daughters of the farmers of our country so that they may become more intelligent and efficient workers in agriculture. We submit that an introduction of that system, so that it will apply to the mechanic, artisan and laborers of the United States is the opportunity of wisdom, foresight, economy and broad-minded self-interest and betterment to extend the federal plan of operation to industrial education, vocational training, civic rights, duties and responsibilities."**

"A careful review of our industrial conditions will further evidence that there are many industries which formerly offered the

* Ibid. 1910. p. 274.

** Ibid. 1915. p. 110.

workers opportunities far more than a sustenance or physical existence, which have been divided and sub-divided until the vocation itself, in some instances, is becoming a lost art. The ever-increasing specialization in industrial pursuits, due to existing industrial practices, which limit the workers to but one form of automatic work, or confines them to a highly specialized branch of work, is a very serious evil confronting the workers and society today. As specialization increases, this evil will logically and proportionately increase unless stringent measures are adopted to prevent the evils of monotonous and automatic work. What good will come in imparting industrial education in our public schools, if our children are permitted to be fastened to a machine, requiring but the repetition of a few muscular motions? Vocational education is not enough; extreme specialization must be abolished. The future industrial life of our children demands that their immature years be spent in a proper physical and mental up-building.

"Then, too, industrial education should not be allowed to coordinate itself with any arrangement which will bring trained and experienced workers into any trade without regard to the demand for labor in that particular trade or calling. A proper apportionment of the supply of labor to the demand for labor must be maintained. What good will industrial education serve; what benefit can be derived, if by such teaching we are to produce a greater number of trained and skilled workers than is required or can possibly be employed in the respective trades or callings? Industrial education under such conditions can only increase the existing economic pressure upon the workers. Industrial education must, therefore, be based on a careful survey of industrial conditions and trade requirements, and should meet the needs and requirements of the workers, as well as those of employers and of the industry.

"Ever since the establishment of our public school system, there has been a constant and persistent attempt by large commercial interests to control our public system of education, and to do it for their own selfish purpose. These interests have tried time and again to

control the courses of preparation and of training our children solely for the purpose of using them in turning out a maximum amount of articles of exchange and commerce at the lowest possible cost to themselves."

"Perhaps the most vicious element threatening to divert the movement of industrial education in our public schools from our American ideals of democracy in education, is the continuous effort made by the commercial interests to place industrial education under the direction of a distinctive board of management, separate from the board of administration governing the general education of the children. A division and separation of authority in educational studies, we believe, will establish a division of educational systems in the minds of the school children and their parents, wherein industrial education instead of proving supplementary to our general education, will be looked upon as the main and most important public system of education. Vocational school courses should at all times be under guidance and control of school authorities having control of the general education of the children. The unit system of administration is best adapted to educating our children properly for their future guidance as citizens and as workers. We declare: 1. That in approving industrial education, equal attention should be given to the general educational studies and requirements of the school children. The A. F. of L. believes the latter of greater importance to the future welfare of the workers than the former. 2. That industrial education shall include the teaching of the sciences underlying the various industries and industrial pursuits being taught, their historic, economic and social bearings. 3. That all courses in industrial education shall be administered by the same Board of Education or Trustees administering the general education; that no federal legislation on this subject shall receive the approval of the American Federation of Labor which does not require a unit system of control over all public school studies, general and industrial.**"

* Ibid. 1915, p. 321 seq.

The demand for Federal aid for industrial and vocational education and training in the secondary schools was increasingly insistent. The pressure from manufacturers, educators, organized labor and certain senators and representatives in Congress continued until it culminated in the creation of a Federal Commission of National Aid to Vocational Education.

Congress authorized the President to appoint a commission of nine members to consider the subject and report their findings and recommendations not later than June 1, 1915.

The commission held extensive hearings and made a detailed report. It found that---

"There is a great and crying need of providing vocational education of this character for every part of the United States--to conserve and develop our resources; to promote a more productive and prosperous agriculture; to prevent the waste of human labor; to supplement apprenticeship; to increase the wage earning power of our productive workers; to meet the increasing demand for trained workmen; to offset the increased cost of living. Vocational education is therefore needed as a wise business investment for this nation, because our national prosperity and happiness are at stake and our position in the markets of the world cannot otherwise be maintained."

The recommendations of the commission were incorporated into AN ACT, to provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for co-operation with the States in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for

co-operation with the States in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure.

This Act, the so-called Smith-Hughes Act, became a law on February 23, 1917, upon being signed by President Wilson. This law was markedly different from all previous ones in that in previous grants of land or money the states were left to do with the funds as they saw fit, the Federal Government exercising no control. In the Smith-Hughes Law the Federal Government exercises entire control.

The Act provides that every dollar allotted by the Federal Government shall be met with an additional dollar appropriated by the state or locality. Elaborate and wise educational precautions are thrown around the expenditure of these funds.

Space forbids any detailed account of the provisions of this Act, other than to state that the bill provides for three separate appropriations, any one of which a state may accept. The first is for the training of teachers, of agricultural, trade, industrial, and home economics subjects; the second is for agricultural education in trades and industries.

This Act is one of the great epoch making pieces of educational legislation in the United States. Great credit is due to organized labor in bringing about the

adoption of this measure. In 1918 the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. comments upon the Smith-Hughes Act as follows;

"Three distinctive features of the act under which the federal government furthers vocational education are: It contains a practical scheme of cooperation in behalf of practical education by the federal government and the several states, leaving each state free to accept or reject the federal financial aid, and at the same time leaving the states, which accept the law, free to develop and expand their own system or systems without dictation from federal authorities, the only control in this direction being that state plans must meet the approval of the federal administration. The second conspicuous feature and one which is preeminently original with us in the United States, is the form of administration of this great public educational trust. The Federal Board for Vocational Education is a composite board of all the active elements in society, and is independent of other government departments. The statute prescribes that a representative of agriculture, of education, of industry, and of labor shall be selected to administer the Vocational Law. In the third place, is the fact that certain members of the President's Cabinet representing the specific elements in society of agriculture, labor, commerce, and education, are also designated as members of the Federal Board. This third feature, therefore, links up representative civilians with representative cabinet administrators. We are proud and justly so, of the part we played in cooperation with progressive citizens in other walks of life to secure this legislation of so much potential value to the youth of our nation. We are glad to report that within six months after the appointment of the Board, every one of the forty-eight states had accepted the provisions of the Vocational Education law, either by act of the legislature or by permissive acceptance by the governor pending the next session of the state legisla-

ture. The ready acceptance has convinced us all that the measure is popular, and that the people as a whole were eagerly waiting for its enactment."*

The above citations, bearing upon industrial education and vocational training, from the reports of the National Conventions of the American Federation of Labor will give the reader some conception of Labor's present day educational philosophy and the tremendous importance it attached to this form of education. The statements are long but would seem to be justified.

Just why is Labor so vitally interested in this form of education? Just what ideals does Labor have in mind? Just what does Labor expect to get from this education? These and numerous other questions might be asked.

In a brief summary, an attempt will be made to answer these questions.

Perhaps the spirit of labor's need can be brought more vividly to the reader's mind by a conversation which took place between Judge Lindsey and a school teacher in Denver a few years ago, and by a quotation from Keith and Bagley's "The Nation and the Schools", than by anything else I might mention.

This school teacher said to Judge Lindsey of the

* Ibid. 1918, pp. 95, 320.

Juvenile Court in Denver,

"Judge, why don't you send this boy to the reform school so he can learn a trade?"

This school teacher had no sense whatever of the obligation that rests upon every community to provide practical industrial training to those of its children who need it. Judge Lindsey replied,

"why don't you school people make such provision that a boy can get industrial education without going to a reform school to get it?" *

That school teacher probably fairly expressed the public opinion of a very few years ago.

Keith and Bagley, in "The Nation and the Schools" state that

"many boys and girls leave school at a very early age to enter upon all sorts of occupations. These boys and girls are not skilled workers, they are merely hands and feet to fetch and carry;---and unless they are kept mentally alive by something outside their routine work, they may mature physically into manhood and womanhood only to assume the responsibilities of family and community life with the mental equipment and ideals of children, or at best of early adolescence. They are the most tragic examples of arrested development, for mental starvation during adolescence condemns them throughout life to a relatively low grade of skill. From the individual, economic, and social points of view it is imperative to keep these young people growing mentally."**

These two quotations enable the reader to see labor's

* National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. Bulletin No. 15. p. 29.

** Keith, John H. and Bagley, William C. The Nation and the Schools. MacMillan Co. New York. 1920. pp. 96-97.

problem as well as society's in all of its significant and vivid outlines.

It must be borne in mind in any discussion of the relation of labor to education that the Aristocracy of Education is over. It is no longer the right of the favored few. It is no longer to be considered a luxury or an end in itself. It has become a necessary tool for the doing of the world's work. It is no longer for the edification of the few; it is for the satisfaction of the many. Education must help the common man to meet and solve the common issues of life better than they ever have been met before.

Because Labor has been taught by life that equal educational opportunities adapted to the needs of all are a condition requisite to equal economic opportunities, they have been active in pressing demands for the incorporation of industrial education and vocational training as a part of our public school system. The demand for industrial education did not originate with the schools. It arose as one of the demands of the masses of men for better life and opportunity.

Although education in the United States is free and compulsory its growth until very recently has not been accompanied by that change in method and scope which should come with its extension to all classes in a democratic community. Free compulsory education is

not democratic if it is of the kind and character which is valuable chiefly to the professional man or the man of leisure, nor is it democratic if it merely aims to increase the efficiency and speed of the employees in our great industrial establishments. Neither is it democratic if it tends to produce class cleavages.

It would seem that the variations in human ability are much greater at present than would result solely from natural inequality and are the result of unequal diffusion of knowledge and of unequal economic opportunity. Inequalities in educational opportunities mean the fixing of wide cleavages between men. There is no class division that goes deeper than class division in education. Possession of information means so much in dealing with the problems of life and work.

If necessary information is available only to a few, or if our public schools and adult educational opportunities are planned to serve the needs of those who enter a few select callings, can we hope to achieve democracy?

3 Organized labor asks that our educational system be so reorganized and adapted to modern conditions as to reduce these social, educational, and economic inequalities which lead to class hatred and class exploitation to a minimum. Labor hopes to achieve this end through

industrial and vocational education.*

Each individual as has been previously pointed out, is in reality best adapted to a particular vocation. According to this concept of society it becomes the duty of our schools and other educational institutions to assist each individual member of society to find his proper vocation. The welfare of society and of humanity is best advanced when all individuals are playing their appropriate parts without social or industrial friction. Such a condition is the ideal towards which humanity is slowly and falteringly groping its way. Organized labor seems to have grasped this ideal.

Labor seems to feel it is the duty of our schools to teach that all labor necessary for man's existence and physical and mental well-being is respectable and dignified; that there is nothing about labor or even about common things that makes impossible the loftiest intellectual achievements. Industrial and vocational education is one of the great forces in modern times in the breaking down of these false, artificial and arbitrary barriers between individuals and classes. Organized labor has striven for this ideal throughout its history.

Along with the humanizing and dignifying of all work, Labor has striven for culture for all. This is

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1915.
pp. 160-162; 321-325.

possible since science and invention have placed leisure in the reach of all. Labor has striven for leisure in order that it might have an opportunity for cultural development.

The men of organized labor are not wanting in idealism, but they realize that ideals are useless without the means of making them effective. They know that conceptions of the higher development and the higher destiny of men and women are of no avail without the means and the opportunity to realize them. This explains the intensesness and feeling that accompany discussion of trade union problems in American Labor Conventions. These problems are intimately associated with daily life during seven days of the week and fifty-two weeks of the year. The shorter work day, better wages, better conditions of work mean to the workers, opportunities for better living and more living for themselves and their children and their children's children. The conditions that must be met in the industrial world are not of their own choosing and often the methods that are used to meet and better these conditions are imposed by those in control in the industries.*

Our educational curricula must be so organized as

* American Federationist. Vol. 23. p. 24, 1916.

to make all workers and their children feel that society has done as much as lies in its power to remove all needless and artificial obstacles from their path; that there is no barrier except such as exists in the nature of things between themselves and whatever place in the social organization they are fitted to fill; and more than this, that if they have the capacity and industry a hand is held out to help them along the path they have chosen.*

This, Labor's educational program, which seeks to fit the workers for industry and commerce is supplemental to those efforts of the labor movement which seek to make industry and commerce fit for the workers. It is the outgrowth of the great humanizing spirit and ideals which are the inspiration and the goal of the labor movement.**

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

Closely connected with the introduction of industrial and vocational education in our secondary schools came another educational development, that of vocational guidance. If the youth entering the industries and vocations are to find congenial and profitable employment

* Report of the National Convention of the A. F. of L., 1920. pp. 172-176.

** American Federationist. Vol. 23. pp. 126-128.

and the industries are to be recruited from those adapted or adaptable to them, some form of guidance and direction would seem to be necessary.

Vocational guidance as a phase of our educational development and history is of recent origin. It may be well before discussing it further to define just what is meant by vocational guidance.

Frank Parsons, the father of vocational guidance in this country defines it as follows.

"Vocational guidance is to aid young people in choosing an occupation, preparing themselves for it, finding an opening in it and building up a career of efficiency and success, and to help any, young or old, who seek counsel as to the opportunities and resources for the betterment of conditions and the means of increasing their economic efficiency."*

Dr. Thorndyke, the well known psychologist of Columbia University, says;

"Vocational guidance is the scientific study of fitting the individual differences of human beings to differences in the work of the world."**

John M. Brewer, Director, Bureau of Vocational Guidance, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, gives the definition:

"Vocational guidance; A systematic effort based on knowledge of the occupations and on personal acquaintance with and a study of the individual, to inform, advise, or cooper-

* Ryan, M. C. Vocational Guidance in the Public Schools. United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 24. 1918. Washington, D. C.

** Bloomfield, M. Readings in Vocational Guidance. Ginn and Co. Boston, 1918. p. 101.

ate with a person in choosing, preparing for, entering upon, or making progress in his occupation."*

Stratton D. Brooks, President of the University of Missouri, says:

"Vocational guidance fits the boy for a better job in the future by training him along the lines of his greatest aptitudes and opportunities. This involves consideration of the boy's abilities with a view to giving them additional development in order to secure in the future a still greater use of them."**

The movement had its origin in Boston, through the work of Professor Frank Parsons of Boston University. He was greatly interested in social questions and problems. He began talking with children who were either at work or who were about to begin. This activity rapidly ripened into the establishment of a vocational bureau attached to the Civic Service House of Boston. Parsons died in 1908 and his work was then taken up and carried on by Mr. Meyer Bloomfield, who for some years was the most prominent and active worker in the movement.

The proximate cause of the movement was the highly specialized division of labor in industry. The maladjustments and occupational misfits in industry have led

* Brewer, J. M. The Vocational Guidance Movement. MacMillan Company, New York. 1919. p. 228.

** Bloomfield, M. Readings in Vocational Guidance. Ginn and Co. Boston. 1918. p. 83.

in recent years to tremendous waste of time, effort, money, and lives. It was through a desire to eliminate this waste that vocational education and vocational guidance came into being. It is a movement aimed at the conservation of our human resources.

"It remains for the public particularly through its school system to join hands with industry in this policy of conservation by seeing that each youth, in so far as possible chooses an occupation deliberately rather than by chance and begins his life work with the right attitude and the necessary training."*

And Paul H. Douglas only emphasizes this when he says

"The vast multitude of men and women working at distasteful jobs for which they are not adapted forms one of the great modern wastes of human energy as well as one of the chief sources of unhappiness and balked human impulses."**

The subject is too long and comprehensive to do other than describe briefly some of the dangers to be avoided, how it can best be carried out and labor's position on it.

In the first years of the movement, judgments were based many times on prejudice, conjecture, opinion, impressions and even sentimentality. ^{al} Most any teacher thought he was competent to give vocational guidance. This was and to some extent, still is the great danger

* Smith, Walter R. An Introduction to Educational Sociology. Houghton Mifflin Co. New York, 1917. p. 320.

** Douglas, Paul H. American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education. Longmans Green & Co. 1921. p. 269.

in it. Organized labor saw the danger and since 1919 the educational platform of the American Federation of Labor has recommended that

"hearty support should be given the increasing demand for WELL CONSIDERED methods of vocational guidance in our schools."*

As can be readily seen there is a very close and inevitable connection between industrial and vocational education and vocational guidance. As the need of it has increased in importance, its methods have naturally become more scientific. Both the children and industry itself demand accurate and scientific investigation.

Perhaps in no educational movement of recent years is there so much need for a

"vast amount of scientific investigation to be made before any form of vocational advice can have any substantial and reliable scientific foundations."**

The practice now by those who do the work properly is to make elaborate investigations and surveys of the occupations and industries of any given community and psychologic and trade tests of those wishing to enter them before any vocational advice is given. Scientific testing, measuring, checking and evaluating must precede advising. Only in this way can something of real

* Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L., 1919, p. 431.

** Leavitt, Frank M. Examples of Industrial Education. Ginn & Co. 1912. p. 244.

value be contributed both to vocational guidance as well as to vocational education.

"Vocational and educational guidance is an integral part of all education, and particularly of vocational education, and this relationship must and will be made more effective in the future than in the past, not done for the sake of the guidance movement but also for the sake of the vocational education movement whose period of trial, weighing, testing, and evaluating is near at hand."*

A study of the elements and forces in vocational guidance leads to the conclusion that more of these are present in the continuation school with its tryout courses, individual conferences, and co-ordinations, than in any other type of educational organization. On this point of continuation schools I wish to quote Dr. Dewey. Although these words were written without reference to continuation schools, the application is obvious:

"Occupation is a concrete term for continuity. It includes the development of artistic capacity of any kind, of special scientific ability, of effective citizenship, as well as professional and business occupations, to say nothing of mechanical labor or engagement in gainful pursuits."

"An occupation is the only thing which balances the distinctive capacity of an individual with his social service. To find out what one is fitted to do and to secure an opportunity to do it is the key to happiness. Nothing is more tragic than failure to discover one's true business in life, or to find that one has drifted or been forced by circumstances into an uncongenial calling. A right occupation means simply that the aptitudes of a person

* Payne, Arthur F. Administration of Vocational Education. McGraw Hill Book Co. 1924. p. 310.

are in adequate play, working with the minimum of friction and the maximum of satisfaction. With reference to other members of a community this adequacy of action signifies of course, that they are getting the best service the person can render-----

"An occupation is a continuous activity having a purpose. Education through occupations consequently combines within itself more of the factors conducive to learning than does any other method."*

A statement from the 1918 National Convention of the American Federation of Labor and a summarizing of labor's position will close my discussion of vocational guidance.

"As additional points in labor's industrial educational program we declare for: The development of vocational guidance and industrial education in both urban and rural communities, in proper relation to each other and to the needs of our democracy;---**

Organized labor endorses vocational guidance fully in principle. However, it realizes more fully perhaps than any other organizations or individuals the inherent dangers in it, if the guidance is not well considered.

Labor seems to feel the danger is in the attempt upon the part of some to systematically guide children into vocations. Labor takes the position that guidance should consist very largely in the giving of complete, full and accurate information based on facts about the

* Dewey, John. Education and Democracy. New York. Mac-Millan Co. 1916. pp. 359, 360, 361.

** Report of the National Convention of A. F. of L., 1918, p. 97, 320.

different vocations, so that there can be greater freedom of choice upon the part of the pupil. The more the subject of vocational guidance is studied, the sounder does labor's judgment appear.*

As President Brooks well said,

"to secure information that is accurate is comparatively easy, but to give advice that is wise with reference to selecting a life calling is most difficult."**

Labor asks that this newest development in connection with industrial education, while necessary, be well considered in its practice in our public school system.

* Report of the Committee on Industrial Education of the A. F. of L., 1912. pp. 98-99.
** Leavitt, Frank M. Examples of Industrial Education. Ginn & Co. 1912. p. 244.

CHAPTER IV

LABOR AND ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Chapter IV

Labor and Administration of Public Education

INTRODUCTION

When the Smith-Hughes Act made possible a beginning in enriching our free and compulsory education by the addition to our school curricula of more varied and extensive courses in vocational education and industrial training we became engaged in one of the most important educational, social, and economic experiments in universal education the world has ever undertaken.

No system of education, however good in itself, can claim to be or hope to become universal if it does not touch and benefit all classes of men and all legitimate branches of their activity, both industrial and non-industrial, vocational and non-vocational. It means the education of all kinds of people for all kinds of purposes and in all kinds of subjects that can contribute to the efficiency of the individual in what ever part of the world's work he may be engaged or awake and develop the best with which he was endowed at birth as a human being. It is in this light that vocational and industrial education should be studied and its problems solved. Social conditions in the United States are complex, and American industry is tremendously varied. Con-

sequently to aid all types of boys and girls and practical workers, and to make them efficient in the great variety of callings that they are destined to enter, an equally great variety of school opportunities should be provided.

The high school and the college are open to the young men and women of leisure, whose parents are financially able to support them through a long period of dependence, but entrance through their portals is extremely difficult for many young workers. Many desirable and capable students are obliged to leave school at an early age on account of financial circumstances. Their parents are unable to keep them in school; they must earn their own bread and butter. Our public school system must be able and ready to assist this class of young people. Universal public education is a delusion if the children of the less financially able are not allowed to receive its benefits because school and business hours conflict. Some arrangement between shop, office, store or industry on the one hand, and the school on the other, must be made. Types of schools must be provided which will give to each child that education suited to his need and circumstances.

If our education fits only for the genteel occupations or professions these will become overcrowded. Misery and discontent will be increased rather than dimin-

ished and universal education will be more of a curse than a blessing to a vast number of its recipients.

"In other words, the only true equality of educational opportunity is an equal opportunity for each, not of acquiring the same knowledge, but of acquiring the knowledge and of developing the faculties which, given his circumstances and given his natural capacities, will do most to make him a useful, a contented, and a happy man."*

It is a general principle of educational and social policy no longer much questioned that the state is responsible for the education of its children, its youth, and such adult workers as can profit by special courses of instruction, and considerations of public welfare lead to the conclusion that we must have a philosophy of education and a method of administration that will meet not a portion merely but all the needs of a highly developed society.

Organized labor advocates a fuller realization of the interdependence between our common education and our common industries. This can be brought about by a system of schools which shall actually train workmen for the trades and at the same time give them a broader mental culture.

The present industrial situation as regards its educational needs has been most aptly summed up by Redfield.

* Mallock, W. H. *Aristocracy and Evolution*. MacMillan Co. New York. 1898. pp. 349-50.

"Time was when the all-around mechanic, the worker skilled in every department of the trade, who knew thoroughly the art and mastery of his craft, was all important. Today he is no longer found in the industries. In his place has come the specialist, who is concerned with but a few of the processes that enter into the manufacture of the finished product. Time was when the worker was taught the processes of his trade. With the disappearance in the larger industries, at least, of the all-around tradesman, has also gone all organized effort for the training of workers. The advent of new materials, new processes, new machines, and new forms of organization has completely changed the content of industry. This, together with the disappearance of systematic effort to train the workers and the influx of low grade foreign labor has left the toiler poorly adjusted to his task and the trade management with little knowledge of how to make the adjustment.

Every occupation known to manufacturing demands of the worker in some degree either skill of hand or special knowledge of the processes, practice, and materials of the calling, or both skill and knowledge. In the whole field of industry no task is more urgent today than a comprehensive study of occupations for purposes of training."*

Our secondary school system should be so organized and administered that it would be a place wherein the boy and the girl would find themselves and pick their place in the world of active affairs. Whether we should have one school with many courses or many schools with different courses, there should at least be courses

* Redfield, Wm. C. Ex-secretary of Commerce, and President (1914) of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. Bulletin No. 20. National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. pp. 98-99.

leading into the trades, some into business, some into the professions and some into college for those who know what they want of higher education, why they need it and who have the ambition to get it.*

In order to reach the industrial people as such, we must have a form of education designed and administered for them and with special reference to the industries upon which they depend for existence.

Probably no truer word has been written or spoken in the discussion regarding industrial education during the past ten years than the statement that

"Many different types of schools are needed to meet all the requirements."

TYPES OF SCHOOLS DEMANDED AS A RESULT OF VOCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

At the present time about seven out of every eight children in this country do not attend school after 16 years of age. Over 85 percent of our future men and women are going forth into their life work without proper preparation and without adequate opportunity to receive the benefits of education after they have entered the work of daily life. Our greatest national interest should be the production of efficient, capable and well trained men and women and yet our educational

* Davenport, Eugene. Education and Efficiency. D. C. Heath & Co. Boston. 1909. Chapter I.

system only holds about one in every eight individuals who pass their sixteenth birthday. The typical American child of today has only received the training offered by the first seven or eight grades of our public school.*

The greatest educational and industrial need of today is for schools which will assist and train the young workers who leave school for various reasons at an early age. Our public school curricula are adapted to the needs of those who are not obliged to commence earning their living at an early age. If the young student is obliged to leave school to go into the shop, the store, or the office as soon as our compulsory education laws permit, the benefits of free instruction are placed out of his reach except in a few cases.**

The boy or the girl who works must rely upon other facilities. That a great number of our young people are receiving instruction in our various private, night and correspondence schools in branches which are or ought to be found in the curriculum of the public school is a matter of common knowledge. These students ought to be reached through the agency of the public school. They realize that they need the assistance of education in their daily work, but the public school is not within their reach. The school is in session while they are

* American Federationist. Vol. 19. 1912. pp. 392-96.

American Federationist. Vol. 23. 1916. pp. 128-29.

** Ibid. Vol. 20. 1913. pp. 222-24.

earning their living, and before the shop, store or office closes, the school door swings shut except where there is a public night school run in a systematic manner.

The very success of these private and correspondence schools would seem to be proof that our public schools have not been giving just the kind and character of instruction needed for all those who attend them.

A great effort is being made at the present time to enlarge the field of education especially in the direction of industrial training. A great majority of our young people enter commercial or industrial life. As a result the demand is growing more insistent that the public schools supported by public money shall offer training along these lines, that training for the actual life work in which these young people will engage is absolutely necessary.

The attempt to meet this need has led to the establishment of many different types of schools both public and private. Manual training, technical, trade, part-time, corporation, cooperative, night, correspondence, and continuation schools are the principal types that have been established. It would be wandering from the main purpose of this thesis to enter into a detailed discussion of the courses of study of these various schools or into a description of everything that might

logically be connected with them. An attempt will be made to define each of them, to give a summary of their character and the need they supply, and to state labor's position on them as instruments of industrial education.

Organized labor defines these schools as follows:*

MANUAL TRAINING in secondary schools aims (1) to educate the whole boy, to develop the entire area of his brain; (2) to lay a broad and appropriate foundation for higher education; (3) to enable a boy to discover his innate mental and physical aptitudes; (4) to furnish a broad basis for an industrial career should one's aptitude lie in the direction of the mechanical arts.

TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOLS—Technical high schools are schools giving training in practical industrial processes or instruction in the scientific and mathematical principles upon which these processes are based, whose purpose is not to prepare pupils for the trades, but rather for entrance to higher scientific schools.

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS—This term is a broad one and in one sense includes all.

TRADE SCHOOLS—Trade schools are schools that teach trades in their entirety, i. e. the processes and practices as well as the scientific and mathematical principles upon which these processes are based, and take the place

* Report of the Committee on Industrial Education of the A. F. of L., 1912. pp. 9-10.

of apprenticeship.

PART-TIME SCHOOLS—Part-time schools are operated primarily for apprentices, the establishment usually requires them to give a stated number of hours per week in attendance at a school not under the control of the establishment.

COOPERATIVE SCHOOLS—Cooperative schools are operated for the instruction of apprentices and other employees under a cooperative agreement between the school and the employing establishments. They may be, and are, conducted in connection with public, private, and philanthropic efforts.

NIGHT SCHOOLS AND CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS are defined by the terms themselves.

CORPORATION SCHOOLS are schools maintained by business establishments themselves to train their employees for the work they are doing or are expected to do. They are naturally privately controlled.

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS—Continuation schools are schools conducted (mostly in the evening) to give instruction in trades or vocations to those already employed in such trades or vocations. The instruction consists of either supplemental practice in the trades, related subjects of study or both. It thus presupposes educational training of some kind, and continues but does

not necessarily repeat the work of the regular school. It is supplementary to the work of the regular school in the sense that it is additional to it, and is supplementary to the training which the individual is receiving in his occupation in the sense that it aims to give him that which he cannot receive in his daily work.

Each of these types of schools came into existence through an attempt to do what the system of apprenticeship formerly had done. The old system of apprenticeship was essentially a combination of education and industry, a process of learning by doing. With the advent of highly specialized machine industry with its division of labor the system of apprenticeship broke down and child labor degenerated from education to routine. Where the entrance to all professions and trades was formerly through apprenticeship it now becomes necessary to create other agencies to do this work. The types of schools above mentioned came as a result of the attempt to supply this need. These different types of schools can in a general way be grouped in three classes (1) the manual training, technical and mechanic arts group (2) the trade school group and (3) the continuation school group.

Probably the first movement to put vocational content in our school system was the introduction of manual training. The first manual training school was started

by Professor Woodward in Saint Louis in 1880. Since then the movement has gained ground rapidly. It was intended to be cultural as fully as, if not more than, vocational. Its purpose was education in a broad and high sense. The vocational purpose was an afterthought grafted upon the manual training idea which at its inception was largely cultural. Manual training is now used to give the boy all-around mechanical education which will greatly increase his industrial efficiency. Manual training has not proved a solution of the problem of industrial education and for various reasons cannot.* Manual training courses in our public high schools have often been totally ineffective as regards an adequate preparation for industry. There are frequently only a few hours a week given to it, the equipment in many cases is meagre and the teachers poorly trained. The work is generally confined to carpentry and cabinet making and woodwork in general. The work is done on a handicraft basis rather than a machine basis which is the basis upon which any industrial process must now be considered. In high school work much care and time is put upon the production of one article and the fact that the machine industry demands quantitative rather than qualitative production is neglected. As Snedden says,

* Douglas, Paul H. American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education. Longmans Green & Co. New York. 1921. Chapter VII.

"The spirit of approach has been that of the amateur or the dilettante rather than of the person interested in obtaining vocational fitness."*

Manual training has been ineffective also because it has not reached the class who most need industrial education. It has been practically confined to the high schools and as a result the children of the poorer classes have been deprived of whatever benefits it possesses.**

③ It would seem that as a system of vocational education, manual training has been a failure. Educators are just discovering however that it has great value as a system of prevocational education whereby the pupil may become better acquainted with his aptitudes and better able to make a wise and rational choice of an occupation. As a result, manual training ceases to be chiefly a high school study and logically becomes an integral part of the curriculum in the grades. Labor's position on manual training and technical schools is forcibly stated in the Report of the Committee on Industrial Education of the American Federation of Labor, 1912, page 9.

"Manual training, manual arts, and technical education as supplied by many schools are culturalized to such an extent that they fail

* Snedden, David. The Problem of Vocational Education. Houghton Mifflin Co. Boston. 1912. p. 43.

** Douglas, Paul H. American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education. Longmans Green & Co. New York. 1921. Chapter VII.

to prepare pupils to enter the manual vocations. This perhaps can be traced largely to the fact that these manual exercises have been taught by professional teachers and not by practical trade instructors experienced in and with the processes and practice of the trades. A distinct line of demarcation separating those schools which culturize manual and vocational work from those which aim to prepare pupils to enter the manual vocations should be established. If this be done, it will result in a classification that will inevitably tend to the lasting benefit of schools aiming to prepare pupils for the manual vocations.**

Trade schools unlike manual training schools are distinctly vocational in character and aim to prepare for the specialized trades. In the trade school cultural training is negligible and attention is centered upon the particular trade for which the pupil is being prepared. They are usually open only to the boy or girl over 16 years of age and are based on the theory that industrial training can be given better in a school than in the shop.

Trade schools have been of two types, (1) private trade schools and (2) public trade schools. The New York Trade School, founded by Richard T. Auchmuty in 1881, was the first of its kind in America. Courses were given in bricklaying, plastering, plumbing, carpentry, house, sign, and fresco painting, stone cutting, blacksmithing, tailoring and printing. The Williamson

* Report of Committee on Industrial Education of the American Federation of Labor, p. 9.

Free School of Mechanical Trades in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, was founded in 1888 and opened in 1891. The founder declared that the abandonment of the apprenticeship system and the failure of the public school system to devise a substitute necessitated the institution of a school that would train poor and deserving boys for the mechanical trades.

Other well-known schools were the Baron De Hirsch Trade School, California School of Mechanical Arts, Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts, Pratt Institute, Manual Training and Industrial School of New London, Connecticut, Winona Technical Institute of Indianapolis, Milwaukee School of Trades and the David Ranken School of Mechanical Trades in St. Louis, Missouri. Emphasis was entirely placed on the vocational side of education in these schools and general education very largely neglected.

The era of publicly administered trade schools began in 1906 by the establishment in Philadelphia by the Board of Education of a public day trade school to be supported entirely from public funds. Other well known public trade schools were the Milwaukee School of Trades taken over by the public school system of Milwaukee in 1907, the Columbus Ohio Trades School, Buffalo Trade School, and the Portland Oregon School of Trades. In Massachusetts in 1914 there were nine trade schools for

boys and three for girls.

The public trade schools differed in several essential characteristics;* (1) more subjects of general educational value were introduced into the curriculum than was the case with the private trade schools, for example English, civics, industrial history, geography, industrial hygiene, etc.; (2) the minimum age of entrance was not placed at sixteen as in the private schools.

As in the earlier period, Manual Training High Schools were expected to solve the problem of industrial education, so from 1900-1910 the trade schools were thought to constitute the solution.

To the extent that the trade schools have failed to solve the problem of industrial education it would seem to be largely for five reasons; (1) the heavy expense per pupil varying from \$200 to \$300 per year; (2) due to the lack of actual shop practice the school cannot in the very nature of things adequately prepare a boy to enter industry as a skilled worker; (3) the attempt to make the school's product commercially profitable is impossible of attainment as from the nature of the case orders would come in for products that would not fit into the course of study prescribed; (4) the elimination of waste cannot be carried as far as in a regular commercial shop and moreover only the simple trades can be taught as the

* Douglas, Paul H. American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education. Longmans Green & Co. New York. 1921. Chapter VIII.

cost for the equipment to teach a complicated trade is prohibitive; and (5) modern competitive industry scraps machines quickly and the expense of doing this with school equipment would be prohibitive.

In the shop goods are being made and sold. It is essentially dynamic and the test of efficiency is applied to action. In the school, try as they may, both teachers and pupils can scarcely escape the feeling that they are playing at work rather than working. Lack of space forbids further discussion of these schools, the courses offered and various plans devised to make their work as practical as possible. In another place Labor's attitude and practice toward them will be shown.

THE TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL differs from the trade schools in that they educate their pupils for different ranks in industry whereas trade schools were designed to turn out ordinary skilled workmen. Technical high schools aim to train for positions above the lower levels of the trade--in a word to provide for the non-commissioned officers of industry. Naturally their curriculum was not so narrow as that of the trade school. History, economics, English, and mathematics are important subjects in their curricula. Their real function is to train for some form of industrial leadership. Some of the better known and typical technical high schools are Lane Technical High School and Harrison Technical.

High School of Chicago; Stuyvesant High School, New York City; East and West Technical High School of Cleveland; and the Cass Technical High School of Detroit. These all teach a number of trades.

CORPORATION SCHOOLS are based on the theory that training in an industry can come only from actual experience in the industry itself and that the school work is merely supplementary. As their name would indicate, they are distinctly private and maintained by very large industrial concerns who feel the necessity of giving their employees training in the particularly skilled work which they wish done. As might be expected Labor looks upon them with a rather jealous eye for reasons which will appear later. There are a great many of these plant or corporation schools. Some of the great corporations maintaining them are the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, General Electric, Cadillac Motor Company, Cleveland Twist Drill Company, Royal Typewriter, Yale and Towne Manufacturing Company, the Westinghouse Auto Brake Company and a number of others.

CONTINUATION SCHOOLS. The most important of all the types of schools which have been created to supply the need of those who must leave school early in life is the continuation school.

"Stripped of all technical phraseology, the

aim of the continuation school is to provide young working boys and girls with those educational advantages of which they have been deprived by economic circumstances and with the social and vocational guidance which is usually omitted from the curriculum of the full time school."*

The term continuation schools is a broad one and includes a great number of different types of schools, night schools, part-time schools, etc. The student in the continuation school is studying while he is already engaged in industry and he is generally instructed outside of the place where he is employed and his education is not under the direction of those who employ him. In these two points, continuation schools differ from the trade schools and the corporation schools. They have two main purposes: (1) industrial and (2) social. Industrially it aims to prepare the worker (1) for the job he chances to be holding at the time, (2) for a higher position within the same industry, and (3) for other industries. The social purposes are: (1) to teach the English language (to foreigners), (2) to give general instruction in citizenship, and (3) to increase the capacity for enjoyment of cultural things.

It would seem that up to the present time the continuation schools including as they do several other types of schools more nearly solve the problem of in-

* Keller, Franklin J. Day Schools for Young Workers. The Century Co. New York. 1924. p. 4.

dustrial education than any others. Upon these schools Labor has made specific recommendations and taken a definite stand.

On night schools (one form of the continuation school)

"The 1911 Convention declared in favor of public night schools for children over 16."*

"In 1915, and following, the recommendation was broadened to include 'night schools for all persons over 18 years of age desirous of further educational opportunities, either cultural or vocational!'"**

Organized Labor holds that the continuation schools must be recognized as integral factors in industrial life and that they essentially take the place of the old apprenticeship system.

In 1911 organized labor asked for legislation

"emphasizing the necessity for continuation schools, both of the part time day type for the younger boys and girls and of the evening type for more mature workers, and for the all-day type trade preparatory school for boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age."

In 1915, the recommendation was endorsed for compulsory day time continuation schools for all children in industry between the ages of 14 and 18 years, for not less than five hours per week at the expense of their employers.

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1911. pp. 136, 360.

** Ibid. 1915. p. 321.

In 1918 the convention adopted the following statement, including a model part-time education law for state use, which has been reendorsed by following conventions:

"Our country stands badly in need of judicious practical part-time education and part-time employment state legislation, and the organized labor movement must take the initial step in this direction. Some of our states, such as Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, and Wisconsin, have already upon their statute books some form of legislation intended or expected to help or control children who have reached certain ages or certain school grades and who contemplate undertaking some employment. It is our belief that a model state part-time law should be prepared and urged for enactment by the several state legislature at the earliest possible date. We urge this legislation so that the children leaving school may not be deprived of all their opportunities to improve their education and secure more knowledge. The longer we can keep the children of the nation in contact with our public schools and our public school teachers the safer our civilization will be. The following is suggested as a model Part-Time Education Law for State Use:

"Any city, town or district establishing vocational, trade and industrial schools, departments or classes shall provide as a part thereof part-time classes for the education of minors over 14 years of age who are engaged in regular employment; and the Board of Education or trustees or other like body of such city, town, or district school shall require all minors between the ages of 14 and 16 years employed within such city, town or district, or minors between the ages of 14 and 16 years residing within such city, town or district and employed elsewhere, who are not otherwise receiving instruction approved by the State Board of Vocational Education, to attend such part-time classes not less than four hours per week, between the hours of 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., during the school terms. The time spent by any such minor in a vocational school or class as provided herein shall be reckoned as a part of the time or number of hours

that minors are permitted by law to work. Any minor attending a vocational school, or class in the city, town or district of his residence in preference to attending such school or class in the city, town, or district of his employment shall file, or cause to be filed regularly, at least once a month, with the superintendent of the city, town, or district at which such minor is employed a report of attendance, certified by the superintendent of the city, town, or district in which such minor is attending school.

"The employer of any minor between 14 and 16 years of age who is compelled, by the provisions of this act, to attend vocational schools or classes, shall cease forthwith to employ any minor when notified, in writing, by the superintendent having jurisdiction over such minor's school attendance that such minor is not attending school in accordance with the provisions of this act. Any employer who fails to comply with the provisions of this section shall upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$100 for each offense'."*

"The demand for supplemental technical instruction is measured by the necessity for training in particular trades and industries. The chief aim of such instruction should be to present those principles of arts and sciences which bear upon the trades and industries, either directly or indirectly. The economic need and value of technical training is not to be disregarded, and cognizance should be taken of the fact that throughout the civilized world, evening and part-time day technical schools enroll twenty pupils to every one who attends the other types of vocational schools. There should be established, at public expense, technical schools for the purpose of giving supplemental education to those who have entered the trades as apprentices."

"We favor the establishment of schools in connection with the public school system, at which pupils between the ages of 14 and 16 may be taught the principles of the trades, not

* Ibid. 1918. pp. 97, 320; 1919. p. 431; 1920. p. 469.

necessarily in separate buildings, but in separate schools adapted to this particular education, and by competent and trained teachers. The course of instruction in such a school should be English, mathematics, physics, chemistry, elementary mechanics, and drawing, the shop instruction for particular trades, and for each trade represented, the drawing, mathematics, mechanical, physical and biological science applicable to the trade, the history of that trade, and a sound system of economics, including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining. This will serve to prepare the pupil for more advanced subjects and in addition, to disclose his capacity for a specific vocation. In order to keep such schools in close touch with the trades, there should be local advisory boards, including representatives of the industries, employers and organized labor. Any technical education of the workers in trade and industry being a public necessity, it should not be a private but a public function, conducted by the public and the expense involved at public cost.**

The public in general probably has a false conception of the educational work which the American Federation of Labor has done in the past twenty-five years. Only a study of their reports can give an adequate notion of the value of what has been accomplished. Before leaving the discussion of this chapter, some reference should be made to a study of industrial education made by the American Federation of Labor and reported in 1912.** The United States Bureau of Labor cooperated in this study.

At the Annual Convention of the American Federa-

* Ibid. 1919. pp. 35, 133, 275.

** Report of Committee on Industrial Education of the A. F. of L. Senate Document, No. 936. 1912. Washington, D. C.

tion of Labor held at Denver in 1908 a committee on industrial education was appointed to investigate and report to the Toronto Convention on the subject of industrial education.* A preliminary report was made but the subject matter was so extensive that the life of the committee was extended so that it might make its study in the light of a searching investigation made by the United States Bureau of Labor undertaken at the request of the American Federation of Labor's Committee on Industrial Education. This is perhaps the most exhaustive study ever made of industrial education in the United States.

The Committee appointed in 1908 reported in 1912. From the terms of the resolution under which the Committee was constituted three things were desired.

- (1) A thorough investigation of the needs of industrial education.
- (2) A statement of the extent to which the needs are now met by existing institutions.
- (3) As a result of such investigations, some definite suggestions for the promotion of industrial education in such a manner as might best serve the interests of the whole people.

* Winslow, Charles H. Industrial Education. Report of Committee on Industrial Education of the American Federation of Labor. Senate Doc. No. 936. 62nd Congress. 2nd. Session. Washington, 1912. This reference is authority for the next twelve pages of this thesis.

The Committee entered upon its duties without fixed notions as to the form industrial education should take throughout the country, and keeping in mind the scope of the resolution appointing them, set themselves the following questions in an effort to bring out practical suggestions toward the solution of the problem of industrial education.

1. Should trade, vocational, technical, and industrial schools be established as a part of the public-school system?
2. Should private industrial educational institutions be tolerated?
3. Under what conditions and terms should industrial schools, either public or private, be countenanced and supported?
4. Under what conditions should the semi-private or semipublic industrial schools--namely, the so-called cooperative industrial schools--be approved or disapproved?
5. Should they be free or supported by the city, county, or State in which they are located?
6. Should they be under the control or partial control of the National Government?
7. Should their instructors be practical men from the ranks of trade occupations, or should they be men who know nothing of the trade itself except its theoretical side?
8. What should be taught under the head of "Industrial education"; the cultural side, the professional side, the mechanical side, or all combined?
9. To what extent, if any, should labor headquarters, labor temples, and labor halls be used to furnish industrial education?
10. To what extent should "prevocational courses" be encouraged?
11. What disposition shall be made of the product of industrial schools?

After study of the subject, covering a period of more than three years, examining the many experiments

now in vogue, ascertaining through first hand information the purposes and merits of the several types of school systems now prevailing, the committee offered the following as a partial solution of the above questions.

In regard to 1,
We believe that technical and industrial education of the workers in trades and industry, being a public necessity, should not be a private but a public function, conducted by the public, the expense involved at public cost and as part of the public-school system. In order to keep such schools in close touch with the trades and industries, there should be local advisory boards, including representatives of the industries, the employers, and organized labor.

In regard to 2,
Organized labor's position regarding the injustice of narrow and prescribed training in selected trades by both private and public instructions, and the flooding of the labor market with half-trained mechanics for the purpose of exploitation, is perfectly tenable and the well-founded belief in the viciousness of such practices and the consequent condemnation, is well nigh unsailable.

In regard to 3,
We believe in private initiative, coupled with active cooperation between the school authorities and the trade unions, or private undertakings which are manifestly for the educational advancement of trade union members.

In regard to 4,
The problem is divided into two parts as follows:

- (a) Public control of cooperative schools.
- (b) Private control of cooperative schools.

As to (a) the cooperative-school plan is an attempt to combine training in the processes and practices of trades, in manufacturing or other establishments, with general instruction in a school which includes theory plus academic studies that bear directly on the trade work. The details of such systems vary, but the most popular is the half-time plan.

While efforts have been made to establish and classify schools to give the various kinds of vocational instruction, little or no attention has been given to the necessity for preparation of both pupil and teacher for such instruction. It therefore becomes desirable to point out that aside from the chasm which seems to exist between the grammar grades and the high school, and the fact that many of the pupils must go to work, there is a subtle, underlying, active something which is largely ignored or lost sight of.

This is believed to be an actual psychological condition, based upon and connected with emergence into manhood. A thorough study of the subject would doubtless establish the fact that this has more to do with the resignations from school at that time than the necessity of going to work or the existence of a possible hiatus between the grammar and high schools, or any other factor.

There is no doubt that the first eight years of school work should be cultural in its nature because of the fact that a boy's occupational bent is undeveloped and his likes and dislikes are subject to change. His character and habits during these years are in a formative stage.

Boys, with very few exceptions, during this period, do not know what occupations they would like to follow, and to assign them arbitrarily to any particular occupation would be illogical and perhaps vicious. How, then, can we keep them in school a few years longer and give them at least elementary training for some occupation? Obviously, the answer is, through cooperative part-time schools.

A thorough study should be made of the peculiar psychological changes that take place at this period of a boy's life. He should be aided as far as possible to determine, at least tentatively, on a calling for life. The physique, temperament, and intelligence should all be taken into careful consideration in connection with this psychological study, in order to make a helpful, and at the same time useful, suggestion to the boy.

Manual training, as it exists at present, could be sufficiently specialized to afford a tryout to prospective apprentices, thus determining their bent or adaptability to specific trades. This means that the manual-training

work would no longer be taught by a professional pedagogue, but by an experienced and practical journeyman, to other person in the trade, with sufficient adaptability and training as a teacher to impart his knowledge, and, at the same time, gain the confidence of the pupils in the practice classes.

As great a variety of occupations should be provided as is possible, depending upon the size of the town or city. In towns and cities having only one high school, it would easily be possible to give a thorough pre-apprenticeship course of at least two years in certain trades and for the remaining two years, other courses might be given to that portion of the class that did not take trade or occupational work the first two years. In this way, the desires of practically all the students could be met.

In the last analysis, industrial education will be measured by intensely practical men of the industrial world, on the basis of skill and intelligence, as developed by these undertakings, to fit the youth of the country for wage-earning occupations. In order to meet this test successfully, apprentices must be trained under real conditions in productive industry, thereby making the cooperative-school plan a necessary feature of our public-school system.

Other reasons why cooperative schools should be a public charge are as follows:

1. Because of the very nature of things, past and present, the general public has confidence in the public-school system.

2. The manufacturer ought not to be expected to run his establishment to teach trades; nor can he be criticized for making "machine specialists" instead of all-around machinists, when one takes into consideration the fact that he is working to accomplish a very definite end; that is, to turn out a product.

3. The public schools should teach the theory of the trade, while the actual practice and processes should be taught in the shop. This method permits of continuous development of capacity and relieves the manufacturer of the expense of the theoretical instruction, and provides a means of weeding out boys who are not adapted to particular trades.

4. By this method the boy, the employer, and the community are benefited. The obligation to provide industrial education of a theoretical nature, therefore, should rest entirely with the public schools.

As to (b)--private control of cooperative schools:

The committee reaffirms its position in condemning any system of public instruction privately controlled, or any scheme of private selection of pupils, and calls attention to the introduction of a plan which is being put into operation in several localities and fostered by manufacturers' associations.

This cooperative scheme is a limited plan for industrial education, carried on between the high school, which engages a teacher for the purpose, one satisfactory to the manufacturers, and a group of the latter who indenture such boys as they desire to have. The idea is, of course, to give a thorough training. But--

(a) The manufacturer is not obliged to take any boys or to keep any boy.

On the other hand, the high school is obliged to educate all duly qualified boys, to give them all that the city provides.

Therefore those who study in such a cooperative course do so on sufferance.

(b) The people have no hand in this plan. No matter how much a father may desire such training for the boy, the city is helpless to do anything, as under this plan the veto power over the boy's right to public industrial education is in the hands of the manufacturer.

(c) The public school must be neutral as to trade unionism. Surely it dare not be hostile. But what is there to restrain one or all the cooperating plants from assuming any attitude, however hostile? They have the right to teach and to foster antiunionism with school-apprenticed boys under them.

(d) A boy who should talk over or agitate for union principles can be instantly deprived of his educational future under this plan; and if his father should be a known union champion, only the good nature of the manufacturer can prevent reprisal in the form of dropping the boy from this course.

(e) The teacher can not help siding with the manufacturers; he can not protest, should he so

wish, if they import scabs, strike breakers, or any sworn foes of unions. It is not for the school to say who shall be the fellow workmen of these young student apprentices. If he be a man of principles, he could not take the boys out of such a shop, for they are under bond.

(f) Finally, with a teacher too soft on the side of the manufacturers, we shall see for the first time in a public-school system a spirit new in evil power--a class of schoolboys trained under a thoroughly un-American system of private selection of pupils, based on no public or competitive method, unless the manufacturers permit.

A system wholly removed from the salutary supervision of the people.

A system which needs no check in prejudicing the favorites of this system against the large excluded class of their schoolfellows, and later against their fellow workmen themselves.

Any scheme of education which depends for its carrying out on a private group, subject to no public control, leaves unsolved the fundamental democratic problem of giving the boys of the country an equal opportunity and the citizens the power to criticize and reform their educational machinery.

In regard to 5,
The committee reaffirms its advocacy of free schools, free textbooks, the raising of the compulsory school age, and a close scrutiny of courses and methods of instruction.

In regard to 6,
Results vast in importance and magnitude have come from the action in Congress in 1862, in giving land grants to each State to be used for State colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. This appropriation of lands, followed by direct appropriation of moneys in 1890 and 1907, provides these colleges with a fund averaging about \$65,000 per State, or a total of over \$3,000,000 annually. While the funds so appropriated were for a long time used largely for general studies the subjects of mechanic arts, agriculture, and home economics were finally developed, so that they now compete on nearly equal terms with the literary and scientific courses.

Since most of this fund is in demand to train engineers, technical agriculturists and teachers in the mechanic, agriculture and home eco-

nomics subjects, comparatively little is available to give school training to those who wish to become experienced workmen, farmers or home-makers.

There is a movement at present, in which labor is taking a prominent part to still further develop education, to which these colleges were dedicated. Since only one college in a State can do little more for our greatly enlarged population, than to provide courses of study for those who are to become technicians, and can not give equal opportunity in liberal and practical education to all of the industrial classes, this new movement is crystallizing around a plan for including the secondary public schools under the scope of additional similar grants, thus creating and giving direction to a complete national scheme of education, in which labor should receive recognition and its just share of attention.

in regard to 7,

The committee believes that experience in European countries has shown that academically trained teachers have been dismal failures; notwithstanding this experience, many so-called trade or vocational schools in the United States have, in the recent past, attempted experiments with academically trained teachers with very unsatisfactory or disastrous results.

The teachers of trades and manual vocations must keep up with modern shop practices and processes in establishments which are doing regular productive work; otherwise they will fall behind and be teachers of obsolete methods and processes. Successful teachers must be men of practical experience, with more than a textbook acquaintance with the industrial world.

A good trade teacher needs at least a fair general education, with specialized knowledge of such arts or sciences as may be related to the trade he is to teach; a practical knowledge of the trades such as is usually gained only by working at them under ordinary shop conditions, and in addition an understanding of the general principles of teaching, that he may be able to impart his knowledge to others. The combination is not a common one. To be a skilled trade worker presupposes years of training and experience in the shop, and men possessing this have usually begun work by 16, with only a grammar school education at most. Even if they have add-

ed to this by night study they have had no experience in teaching, and find much difficulty in imparting their own knowledge to learners. The trained teachers, on the other hand, while thoroughly familiar with the theory and underlying principles of the trades, usually lack concrete and practical experience with industrial processes. As a general rule, therefore, the school has to choose between the skilled worker not trained as a teacher and the professionally trained teacher, who knows the theory of the trades but has little, if any, practical experience.

In regard to 8,

The committee believes that the course of instruction in a school giving industrial education should include English, mathematics, physics, chemistry, elementary mechanics, and drawing; the shop instruction for particular trades and for each trade represented; drawing, mathematics, mechanics, physical and biological science applicable to the trade, the history of that trade, and a sound system of economics, including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining. This, it is believed, will serve to prepare the pupil for more advanced subjects, and, in addition, disclose his capacity for a specific vocation.

In regard to 9,

The committee is convinced that there are conspicuous activities throughout the country known as "educational hours" at central labor union meetings, which might well be exemplified to advance and organize a propoganda for industrial education. Such meetings might also be turned into an educational "forum" in the interest or advocacy of membership by trade unionists on both State and municipal education boards and committees.

In regard to 10,

For more than a decade the introduction of properly balanced courses in trade training and the enrichment of these courses have embarrassed the advocates of industrial education not a little; in fact attempts to scientifically analyze processes and practices of the trades have met with resentment on the part of superintendents, supervisors, and foremen of large industrial establishments. The reason for this resentment is that those usually seeking such information

are manual-training school teachers, unfortunately the greater number of whom are women. Moreover, it is conceded that such teachers have very little sympathy with trades, as such, but look upon manual and trade instruction as a way out of the difficulty of educating the sub-normal pupil. Hence, the objection of those interested in trades or trade education to thrusting upon industry the dull boy.

On the other hand, even public trade school instructors in some instances have turned a deaf ear to what they call impertinent inquiries as to methods of procedure. Such instructors usually consider the proper kind of equipment, processes, and practices necessary for the training of apprentices "their stock in trade". However, insistent demand that rule of thumb methods be abolished has resulted in genuine attempts to teach the trades scientifically, systematically, and sympathetically.

As a result of this new era in the advancement of scientifically arranged courses with the necessary equipment, it seems eminently proper at this time to point out the overwhelming desire on the part of advocates of manual-training schools to establish within such schools and elsewhere "prevocational courses" for pupils between the ages of 12 and 14.

While we welcome practical courses for those who are to later enter upon specialized vocational and industrial courses, we maintain that "prevocational courses" should be taught by tutors with practical knowledge of the vocations toward which the pupils are to be pointed; in other words, we can not too strongly condemn any attempt to thrust upon school systems courses of instruction which presume to try out the adaptability of the pupils for particular vocations and which are taught by women teachers with absolutely no practical knowledge of the metal, woodworking and such other trades for which instruction may be offered.

If "prevocational courses" are to be offered in publicly administered schools in an effort to establish a scheme of vocational guidance, then we insist that such courses be given by men tutors, who not only have a practical knowledge of the particular trades, but in addition teaching experience coupled with an insight into the adaptability and inclination of the

pupils for such vocations.

Finally, we favor and advocate increasing the number of men teachers in industrial schools, as well as "prevocational schools" to the end that all practical instruction in trades be given by properly trained teachers who have had in addition to their teaching experience at least four years practical experience at particular trades.

In regard to 11,
A most serious and troublesome question arises concerning the disposition of the product of industrial schools. If the teaching of any trade in its entirety is to turn out journeymen, near journeymen, or all-around workmen, then there must necessarily be a product which will have a commercial value. If it is not, the work has not been carried on as it would be under real commercial conditions and the training therefore is imperfect.

If the product of these schools is to be put upon the market in any way, there is likely to be much opposition from manufacturers, contractors and organized labor. Since it will inevitably come into competition with the product of regular establishments, it has been pointed out that if the students were regular apprentices in industrial establishments, they would be working as much in competition with apprentices and journeymen in other establishments, as if they were doing the same kind of work and producing the same kind of articles in the schools. This meets the objection only partially from the standpoint of labor and not at all from that of the employer. In both cases, the objection is to what may be called subsidized competition; competition which is not hampered by the necessity of making its product pay for its own cost of production. The difficulty does not, of course, arise in apprenticeship schools in which a manufacturer trains his own employees, but in philanthropic and public industrial schools, it presents a serious problem, for which as yet no satisfactory solution has been found.

As previously stated in this report, the committee believes that instruction should be given for its educational value or, in other words, it should be "construction for instruction, rather than instruction for construction."

An agreement between school authorities and

contractors who are erecting public buildings, whereby pupils of schools given instruction in building trades, shall be permitted during a part of the time to make practical application of their training, on buildings in course of erection, the pupils to receive credit for such work as part of their course, has been suggested as a feasible and unobjectionable plan. Similarly the work under the various city departments, has been suggested to provide practice for pupils in many other trades.

This in no way is a new experiment, as practical application of the same is being made in foreign countries with considerable success.

A minor difficulty in connection with a product having a commercial value is the temptation to increase output by keeping the student longer at one machine or operation than is absolutely necessary for practical educational purposes, in other words, there may be a tendency, for the sake of revenue, to follow the example of the shop and specialize instead of giving well-rounded training. This, however, is a matter of school administration but, nevertheless, of great concern and can be easily guarded against if the right attitude is shown by school administrators."

LABOR COLLEGES:* There remains one type of school, primarily labor's own yet to be considered,—the labor college. The term is here used in its strict etymological sense, namely, a collection, body or society of persons engaged in common pursuits or having common duties and interests, and sometimes by charter, peculiar rights and privileges. As Labor uses the term it is applied to a group of union members drawn together

* The authority for the material in this discussion is taken from the three Workers Education Yearbooks, Report of Proceedings of the National Conference on Workers Education in the United States. New York City, 1921, 1922 and 1924. Workers Education Bureau of America.

for the purpose of studying certain subjects of peculiar interest to them as a labor body. The subjects were primarily those of a cultural character or those closely connected with the purpose and philosophy of the labor movement.

The labor colleges grew out of a felt need on the part of organized labor for the training of their leaders. Conditions precipitated by the World War put labor into a previously unknown position of power and influence. It was realized that if organized labor was to maintain her position and power, she must educate leaders to assume command, and the rank and file to appreciate the many and difficult problems they were facing. This realization gave an impulse to labor education.

It might seem that this type of education should come from our public school system with its schools created for the purpose of training leaders. However, the view of labor is probably set forth by Joseph Scholssberg, secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Worker's Union, in the Proceedings of the 1921 Workers Education Bureau Conference;

"It must be understood that education cannot be given to the workers from the outside or from above. They must take it for themselves. It might sound paradoxical to say that workers who have been kept in ignorance all their lives are to educate themselves. Yet, on the whole, that is so. The institutions of learning outside of the labor movement are, as a rule, of

two kinds: those which are handing out education to the workers in a patronizing spirit, and those which deliberately seek to miseducate and misinform the worker. Both must be rejected. The education required by the workers must be provided by the labor movement itself and in this task the labor movement will be glad to avail itself of the knowledge which men of learning are willing to place at its disposal. For a time the universities kept on increasing the teaching staff of the labor movement by expelling some of the best professors.⁹

This quotation summarizes the situation which Labor feels it faces in the university as a means of educating their class. As Charles Beard has said:

"The modern university does not have for its major interest and prime concern the free, open and unafraid consideration of modern issues."¹⁰

The labor group is beginning to demand what it feels is a free, open and unafraid consideration of modern issues in institutions of its own. Labor education demands a place where the workers will feel at home, where they have interests in common, where the problems they face day after day may be discussed with understanding. That is why within the last two years the number of labor colleges, study classes, and unity centers has reached 174, representing 31 states of the union.¹¹ More are being established as the movement grows. We find a tendency on the part of the universities to consider the question serious-

* Workers Education Yearbook. New York. 1924. p. 7.

** Ibid. pp. 168-79.

ly and to experiment in methods and means of helping establish it.

It is a means to the liberation of the working class, individually and collectively. In pursuing that aim, it uses all ends that will enrich the life of the group and of the worker in the group, and that will win allegiance of the worker to the group. Workers education is scientific and cultural, propagandist and civic, industrial and social. It concerns itself with the individual and his needs, the citizen and his duties, the trade unionist and his functions, the group and its problems, the industry and its conditions.

A good recent summary of workers' education is that of Dr. Harry Laidler:

"If the object of a workers' educational experiment were to give the worker greater power of enjoyment here and now; or to develop his ability to think fundamentally on social problems; or to help him to function more effectively as a citizen in the solution of social problems; or to equip him to fight effectively for immediate improvement in the conditions of labor; to train him as a leader in the trade union movement; to interpret to him his place in the scheme of things; to give impetus to his demand for a new order of society; to develop his sense of loyalty to his economic organization--if the aim were any one of these things--I believe that that aim would be a legitimate aim of workers' education."*

One object is to train promising youths, who are al-

* Workers Education Yearbook. New York. 1924. p. 4.

ready officials, or are the most ambitious of the rank and file. To make of them labor leaders who will know and understand the relation of union and industry to society and the state. A second object of workers' education is to give the rank and file a social and civic education, an education which will show them how they are governed, the economic system under which they work, and the nature of the world in which they find themselves. A third object of workers' education is mass education, education for the love of it, with semi-entertainment with a cultural slant.

Labor, in this age of modern complexity in social and industrial life, demands something more than just organization. It demands education with this organization to maintain its position and power. It demands that the rank and file be educated to understand the proposals of the leaders.

The pioneers in realizing this situation were the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union. These two groups have reached out beyond the mere educational limits of the problem in the sense of acquiring knowledge, to the humanistic, domestic and cultural side.

Of more recent character are the experiments being carried on at the summer schools at Vassar and Bryn Mawr opened to working girls from all over the United

States where the social contact with the long standing traditions of these famous colleges opens a new vista in the life and thinking of these working girls.

Brookwood College, the Denver Open Forum and Labor College, the Boston Trade Union College, the Rand School of Social Science are other well established and notable examples of workers' colleges. Space does not permit a detailed list of the labor schools or of their history and activities but a table included in the appendix will give the reader some idea of these fundamental things. The subject, although recent, comprises an immense amount of material which permits of only a general discussion of its main points. To understand these colleges one must have some idea of the institutions under whose auspices they had their origin, their means of maintenance, their methods of teaching and their teaching staff, their curricula and courses of study.

The colleges are on the whole under the auspices of the labor unions which compose them and which pay a certain fee to become a member of the college. Frequently the students themselves are represented by their own members on the directing board of the college. For example the Board of Control of the Boston Trade Union College is composed of eleven members appointed by the labor unions represented and of members elected by the students representing each trade. The teachers also send

representatives to this board. The activities of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union are controlled by an Educational Committee and an Educational Department which is a joint conference of the local union educational committees. Each unity center and group has a student council of its own which governs it. The Bryn Mawr summer school is directed by a Joint Administrative Committee of thirty-six people, fifteen representatives of different departments of the college, fifteen women from the ranks of industry, and six elected by these thirty. These three types are the representative types of control used by the colleges. The students representation on these boards develops in the students themselves an interest in the college rather deeper than would be manifested otherwise, and teaches them the value of government and responsibility.

With the possible exception of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union the colleges are supported by the labor unions of which they are composed. A certain fee is imposed for their membership in the college. In very few cases are the students asked to pay for their courses inasmuch as this would eliminate many who are eager to come. A few colleges receive funds from honorary members outside of the labor movement who have taken an active interest in this educational movement. The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union receives a

sum of \$17,500 yearly from the Cleveland Convention of their International which sum was voted them in 1922 to carry on their educational activities. It is the belief of Labor that these colleges should be financially controlled by the workers themselves. The actual lack of funds is one of the chief obstacles in the path of success of this educational movement however. The teachers frequently volunteer their services free of charge and the public school systems often lend their buildings for their classes.

Much depends upon the teacher. His difficulties are peculiar in many ways. Much of his effort must be experimental, the problems of adult education not having been studied so thoroughly as those of child education. Only a beginning has been made in this direction. The teacher must be in dead earnest; he must be thoroughly sympathetic; must understand the labor movement; must be master of his subject and must know how to teach; that is how to draw from the student the best in him. His task in teaching his students to think is perhaps easier than that of a college professor. For one thing his students are on the average more advanced in age than the ordinary college students and they realize more fully their need of an education.

The teacher must also necessarily know his students. He must as soon as possible become familiar with their

past experiences, with their plans for the future, with their social ideals and problems, and must decide with them jointly what lines of instruction will be of most benefit to them.

Unfortunately, most of the professional teachers, who are highly successful in teaching children or college students, cannot meet the requirements of the labor class. They are either ignorant of the life of the students, or they approach the work in a condescending way. The teachers labor education needs are rare. They will have to be developed. This is another one of the obstacles which labor education confronts.

However we find that a representative group of the prominent college professors have become interested in this problem and are offering their services to the labor colleges. The teaching staff of several of the labor colleges boasts of prominent educators in the fields of the social sciences, literature and science. Dr. Charles A. Beard, Dr. Will Durant, Dr. Scott Nearing and Dr. James Robinson are among the most prominent who have given their services to workers' education.

The workman who is well informed and studious is the exception. He is usually ignorant of everything outside of the narrow field of his industry with perhaps a grade school education and in many cases not that much. The hope of the labor class lies in a few who have a de-

sire for understanding, or in whom a desire for understanding can be awakened. The mind of the worker is mentally inert. Not being trained to the abstract he soon tires of study. The acquiring of the reading and study habit after one reaches maturity is like trying to master a highly skilled trade after one has spent the best part of one's life in unskilled work. It requires uncommon perseverance. The educational process labor proposes requires the supplanting of old habits of thought. His ideas are "set" so to speak and are usually petty and narrow rather than broad and deep.

This is in general the type of students labor education must deal with. Her methods must be such as to create a desire for education and then keep the workers interested until the desire for understanding is awakened.

The subjects demanded by the workers include every field in the educational world. These they should have but due to the lack of facilities the labor colleges offer only those that they feel cannot be gotten accurately from other sources, the social sciences and labor movement problems. Such subjects as economics, sociology, psychology, government, injunctions, trade union history and policy, English, literature, industrial history, and current labor problems are included in the curricula of most labor colleges. Others offer music and art, biology,

business and secretarial courses, practical mathematics, and other cultural subjects. Labor especially stresses health education. It desires to prepare the workers for the many undesirable conditions to be found in factories. To keep them physically alive is of as great an importance as to elevate their mental status.

The American Federation of Labor is in favor of workers' education. This is indicated indisputably by the fact that they have signed an agreement with the Workers Education Bureau which is an organization of all the labor colleges in the United States.

It may be that organized labor which advocated the establishment of popular education in the United States will now take part in another movement of vital significance to the cultural development of the country. Organized labor in 1919 summarized its conclusions on labor colleges by recommending

*that central labor bodies, through securing representation on boards of education, and through the presentation of a popular demand for increased facilities for adult education, make every effort to obtain from the public schools liberally conducted classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, economics, industrial legislation, history of industry, and of the trade union movement, and any other subjects that may be requested by a sufficient number, such classes to be offered at times and places which would make them available to workers. If the public school system does not show willingness to cooperate in offering appropriate courses and type of instruction, the central labor body should organize such

classes with as much cooperation from the public schools as may be obtained. Interested local unions should take the initiative when necessary.**

METHODOLOGY OF INSTRUCTION

Closely associated with the types of schools demanded by vocational education and industrial training is the methodology of instruction. Labor's position on the method of instruction to be followed in teaching is, so far as the industrial and technical subjects are concerned, very fully stated in the statement of Labor's position quoted at the close of the preceding discussion from the Report of the Committee on Industrial Education of the American Federation of Labor, 1912, page 17. Labor has been unalterably opposed all through its history to the dogmatic and didactic in instruction. Particularly is this true in the so-called academic subjects. Her position is that the student should be given the true facts without discoloration, prejudice, or influence of any kind and let him form his conclusions from his information. Lecturing must be guarded against, that is just to stand up and pour forth information in the hope that it will in some way reach the student's mind. They would follow essentially the Socratic method of instruction. They believe in free discussion of all subjects under

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1919.
pp. 142-44.

consideration, that only in so doing can the various points of view be obtained and the creative spirit in the pupil developed.

TEACHER'S RELATION TO ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Second only, in importance to the types of schools in the administration of our public education is the relation of the teacher to public education. This problem will be considered from the viewpoint of (1) size of classes; (2) salaries; (3) tenure; (4) right of teachers to organize; and (5) the teacher's position as a citizen.

(1) SIZE OF CLASSES. Whether large classes within reasonable limitations are harder to teach and govern than small classes is a mooted question. A number of tests and studies have been made on this point but none of them are conclusive. The problem is so complex and the factors entering into it so numerous that it is practically impossible to draw any infallible conclusions.

We may say however that the larger the classes, the more grading there is to do, and the more individual conferences there are to be held. The larger the classes the less opportunity for recitation on the part of the pupil and of individual instruction on the part of the teacher. It can readily be seen that beyond a certain size in classes the teacher's load becomes

so heavy that his teaching efficiency is greatly lessened. Increasing the size of the classes unduly is one way a short sighted board may cut the cost of maintenance of the schools but at the expense of the child.

Organized labor recognizes this danger in our public schools and in 1913 the American Federation of Labor demanded

"in the name of the coming generation that a sufficient number of school teachers be employed to give a reasonable degree of personal attention to each of the children intrusted to the care of the authorities, thereby enabling teachers to qualify as a real teaching force and as conservators of the great wealth of the nation--our children."*

In 1919, and the two conventions following, it was declared that,

"the educational interests of the children and the future welfare of the state demand a drastic reduction in the prevailing size of classes."**

This last statement of labor was made as a result of the economic conditions produced by the World War when great numbers of teachers left teaching for other lines of work.

However even today the teacher's load in a great many schools over the country is too heavy and the price society pays in the end, is out of proportion to the small saving in dollars and cents achieved.

* Ibid. 1913, p. 352.

** Ibid. 1919, p. 431.

(2) SALARIES.

"A nation which lets incapables teach it, while the capable men and women only feed, clothe, or amuse it, is committing intellectual suicide."*

Mercenary as it may seem it cannot be denied that in the long run the salary paid to teachers determines more than any other factor the quality of people drawn into the teaching profession. There is no more reason why teachers should be missionaries in their profession than lawyers or doctors in theirs. Higher salaries in this as in other things will always be associated with better teachers and a better quality of service, and they are intimately related to the teacher's welfare and happiness.

In any consideration of teacher's salaries the welfare of the child is at issue and when a board member fixes a certain salary schedule he is determining at that same time whether he will have indifferently trained or well-trained children.

It must not be forgotten that at the present time well-trained and capable people are in demand ^{at} most everywhere and the teaching profession is suffering keen competition from other fields. Teaching no longer offers the most remunerative field open to women and today thousands are entering other fields where their abilities are better paid.

* National Education Association quoting Edward L. Thorndike.

Those who are willing to remain in teaching service must receive salaries such that they can keep abreast of their profession through study and travel and at the same time provide a competence for old age. Otherwise they will use teaching merely as a stepping stone to some other and more remunerative calling. Again the children are the ones who suffer.

The salary paid determines the board's chance of securing the services of capable teachers, those who are more competent. In this as in other things the superior product brings a better price.

The teacher must maintain a standard of living that saves his own self-respect if he is to inspire enthusiasm, self-respect, and initiative in the classroom.

At the present time teacher's salaries are probably too low. Many factors naturally enter into the determination of what they should be and space forbids any discussion of them, other than to say that the standard of living of any community is as important as the actual cost of living in determining the adequacy of any salary. No teacher can properly teach when her standard of living is below that of the majority of the people of ability and culture in the community.

Organized labor has repeatedly stated its position on this question. The Convention of 1903 declared that

"the labor movement would be benefited by the organization of the teachers and that justice required that teachers should be compensated commensurately with the value of their duties."*

In 1917, the president and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to aid in securing immediate increases in teachers' salaries and active co-operation was urged on all affiliated bodies. The instructions closed with the statement that,

"One of the most flagrant injustices and most dangerous weaknesses in our national life is the continued neglect of these valuable public servants."**

The Conventions from 1918 through 1921 emphasized their demand for

"a thorough going revision upward of teachers' salary schedules in public schools, normal schools and universities, to meet the increased cost of living, and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and nation, of the teachers' services."***

(3) TENURE OF POSITION. Perhaps no problem connected with the teaching profession and the administration of education today is more serious than that of teachers' tenure of position. The schools will never contribute to society the best of which they are capable until there is undisturbed tenure during efficiency. Only under this condition will men and women of the highest type of

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1903. p. 259.

** Ibid. 1917, p. 420.

*** Ibid. 1918, p. 321; 1919, p. 431; 1920, p. 471.

ability, talent and character be willing to go into the teaching profession as a life work.

The problem is a very complex one as well as a serious one. Many factors enter into any consideration of the question of tenure. Salary, living conditions, supervision, training, teacher rating, social and political influences are all factors affecting the teacher's tenure of position. Space forbids any discussion in detail of these factors and their relations and inter-relations to each other.

As a result of insecure tenure the teacher turnover in the United States is alarming to all educators and public spirited men and women who realize its meaning and the tremendous waste which accompanies it. The teacher, the community and the pupils all suffer as a result of it. The health and efficiency of the teacher as well as her loss financially on beginning at the minimum of another salary schedule are affected. It is a known fact that teachers do not reach their maximum of efficiency short of five years of experience, and in passing to a new school short of two or three years.

The American people are perhaps more deeply attached to their public school than to any other public institution. They realize as no other nation seems to, the importance of youth and its education. Some one has said that America worships at the shrine of childhood. This is

as it should be among a people who believe in a democratic philosophy of life.

Education in the United States is recognized as a state and national function and as such has been made universal. To this end national educational programs have been evolved and put into operation. The effectiveness of these programs are bound up with the program for better salaries and more secure tenure.

On the question of tenure, Organized Labor in the Convention of 1903 asserted that

"political influence so often required of school teachers to retain their positions should be eliminated."*

From 1917 on the conventions took the position that

"teachers should be secured tenure of position during efficiency, and that there should be no dismissals without a full public hearing before a commission on which the teachers were fairly represented."

The 1917 convention added the statement

"that it is timely to insist that while actual disloyalty to our country can not be tolerated in our public schools or anywhere else, the public must carefully assure itself that charges of disloyalty or of any other nature that may be peculiarly effective at the time, are not cloaks under which official superiors may attempt to secure retaliation for a self-respecting lack of subserviency on the part of teachers under them."**

* Ibid. 1903, p. 259.

** Ibid. 1917, p. 419.

The Montreal Convention in 1920 adopted the following resolution introduced by the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers:

"Whereas the history of the actions of many autocratic boards of education shows an urgent need for tenure of position for teachers based on efficiency; and

"Whereas the American Federation of Labor, at the Baltimore Convention adopted the policy of recommending that workers have representation on all boards, commissions or agencies dealing with matters that concern them; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, directly, and through its affiliated locals, use every effort to secure laws granting tenure of position for teachers along the following lines:

"(1) Tenure should be permanent during efficiency after the lapse of the probationary period, which should not exceed three years.

"(2) All dismissals, both during and after probation, to be for causes definitely embodied in the educational law, such as gross insubordination, inefficiency, conduct unbecoming a teacher, etc.

"(3) After period of probation, dismissal for any cause (including inefficiency) to be only by a trial board of seven chosen as follows: Three by the school board, three by the teachers, the sixth to elect a seventh, who is not to be either a member of the school board or of the teaching force. At all hearings teachers shall be represented by counsel. Appeal from the decision of the trial board may be made to the civil courts, whose decision shall be final."*

(4) and (5) RIGHT OF TEACHERS TO ORGANIZE AND THEIR POSITION AS CITIZENS. Organizations among teachers as among all other groups of specialized workers have grown out of a recognition of common interests and common problems. In practically all groups that organize there are two types

* Ibid. 1920, p. 468.

of organization, the social and the professional. The former of these will not be considered in this discussion.

It is the purpose of this discussion to consider those professional organizations of teachers which have for their purpose the raising of the economic status of the group, the securing of higher salaries, pensions, sick benefits, and lengthened tenure.

Lack of space forbids any discussion of those organizations of teachers which have to do with group study, or the promotion of the cause of education in general, such as the National Education Association.

Teacher's organizations having economic objectives have been increasing in number rapidly. In 1918 there were 30 of them in the United States.* These organizations had their origin and grew out of conditions which had become more or less intolerable to self respecting teachers in some of our larger cities, notably Chicago. The first and outstanding organization was the Chicago Federation of Teachers. It will be impossible, due to lack of space to discuss the situations which arose in Chicago, Cleveland, New York and other cities. All that can be done is to present the purposes back of the movement and Labor's position on it.

There is a feeling on the part of some teachers that

* School and Society. Vol. 8. 1918. p. 557.

they have for too long been subservient. They have not asserted their rights as citizens.

Though the ideal of the college or the university is untrammelled search for truths regardless of where that search may lead, or what the consequences may be, there have been cases where justified criticism of existing powers and institutions has resulted in persecution of instructors.

One may cite in the past eight years, dismissal of Professor Willard Fisher from the faculty of Wesleyan University Connecticut, Robinson and Beard from Columbia University of New York, and Scott Hearing and Clyde King from the University of Pennsylvania.

Men of today who teach in our colleges and universities have appointed a committee to "investigate and report" the status of American educational institutions as to liberty of thought, freedom of speech, and security of tenure for teachers of political science. They seem to have felt that they were not always free to speak and teach that which they hold to be true, when such truths are displeasing to the trustees or those who make gifts to the institutions, without incurring reproof or even expulsion from the faculty.

Labor has stated its position on this matter. The 1917 convention declared:

"We are alarmed by the lack of democracy in

the conduct of our schools. Our American school system is administered autocratically, the teachers actually on the job in the class-rooms having a negligible voice in the determination and carrying out of policies. Self-governing school and district councils of teachers should be established for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools and the recommendations of such councils should be made a matter of official record. When consideration is given the effective part played by the Prussian school system in the development of the habit of instinctive, unthinking obedience on the part of the masses of the people, the vital importance to American institutions of breaking away from Prussian methods in our school system is driven home.**

The convention of 1919 and of the two years following incorporated the following plank in labor's educational platform.

"In order to secure a more democratic administration of our schools, to develop a spirit of cooperation, and to gain for the community the benefit of the experience and initiative of the teaching body, boards of education and superintendents of schools should confer with committees representing organizations of the teachers' choice in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers, and should consider and make official public record of suggestions dealing with the conduct of the schools submitted by the teachers through such committees.***

What is expected of the teachers? All of the virtues demanded of public school teachers are to be generated in the simple existence necessitated by a bare subsistence wage. Those who do noble work of great service to

* Report of National Convention of the A. F. of L., 1917. p. 419.

** Ibid. 1918, p. 321; 1919, p. 431; 1920, p. 471.

society have other compensations than mere money—money is given them most grudgingly. In fact most teachers are paid a wage that would cause strikes among unskilled laborers. Yet these teachers given only a charity wage, must bring to their work culture, sympathy, purpose. Into their hands is committed the very life of the nation that is to be. It is theirs to bring into human lives thoughts and ideals that make or mar. The teachers are to put into the life of the school culture, idealism, practical common sense, personality and all of the characteristics that must be imparted to the future citizens—all of these virtues for a wage lower than is paid for unskilled labor. They themselves are to submit to benevolent authority but they are to inculcate freedom of thought and individuality.*

It goes without saying that ideals must have some connection with concrete realities. Effective teachers must be what they teach. Schools can not be greater than their teachers.**

When the teachers of Chicago and Cleveland organized for the purpose of improving their economic condition the boards of both cities passed drastic regulations against organizations and their purpose. The Chicago board black-listed the Teacher's Federation. Five regulations were

* American Federationist. Vol. 21. 1914, pp. 563-64.

** Ibid. Vol. 21, 1914. p. 654.

passed in the interests of "proper discipline and efficiency of the teaching force and the welfare of the public school system". These regulations forbade the public school teachers the right to associate themselves in a voluntary association if it is affiliated to a labor union. All teachers were ordered to withdraw from "such prohibited organizations and within three months to furnish satisfactory evidence of compliance". In the future no teacher is to be hired who shall not state in writing that he or she does not belong to any "such prohibited organization", and will give up the right to such membership. Any teacher who will not make in writing such renunciation of rights is to be ineligible to promotion, salary increases or transfer from school to school. Any teacher found guilty of such "forbidden" membership shall be liable to fine, suspension or dismissal from service. These regulations proved a double edged sword. They so outraged all sense of decency, fair play and honesty that the Chicago Federation of Teachers, stung to the quick and resentful of such action on the part of the board started a campaign of their own which resulted in the exposure of graft, greed and dishonesty in the board as well as uncovered enormous amounts of property which had escaped taxation. The added tax from this property was sufficient to pay the increase of salary asked for. Injunctions were gotten out also, prohibiting the Board of

Education from enforcing these regulations.

In Cleveland, the superintendent J. M. H. Fredericks was fined \$500 and sentenced to serve ten days in jail for blacklisting six grade teachers. Judge Neff in passing sentence made this comment,

"Every trade, calling or profession in which good conditions prevail is organized. Lawyers, physicians, surgeons, scientists, politicians, bankers, manufacturers, all have their organizations. The teachers National Association and State Associations, cultural in character have never seriously dealt with the grave problem of fundamental importance—bettering the economic condition of the teachers. Many a teacher has been fatally hindered in her plans for self improvement and culture because of bad economic conditions. Service can be no greater than her opportunity to live and grow. Schools can be no greater than their their teachers."*

The question of whether the teachers' organizations should affiliate with the American Federation of Labor has been widely discussed. It seems to be a somewhat mooted question.

John Dewey, of Columbia University, in speaking upon the right of teachers to organize and of their affiliation with organized labor, before the American Federation of Teachers in New York in 1916 said,

"Objections are frequently made—generally I think, of a very snobbish character—against these federations, because of their affiliation with labor unions. I won't stop even to argue against the merely snobbish

* American Federationist. Vol. 21. 1914, p. 1084. Excerpt from Judge Neff's opinion.

features of the matter. I would like to point out that these labor unions are engaged in useful service and they are also servants of the public.

There is one other thing I want to say why is it that teachers--who have not had to live by the labor of their hands and suffered the privations and difficulties of many of the members of the trade unions--have found it necessary in the time of need and extremity to turn for active support, not to manufacturers' associations and lawyers' associations, and the so-called respectable elements of the community, but have had to turn to these bodies of organized labor. I think it is cause for shame and humiliation on the part of the so-called respectable classes; but, I think on the other hand it is a source of pride and self-respect for the members of these labor unions and is a reason why every teacher should feel proud to be affiliated with the labor unions.**

When John Dewey, one of the greatest, if not the greatest living educational philosopher, takes the position he did, little doubt should be left in the minds of teachers as to their stand in the matter.

Teachers as a class have been working as individuals for a highly organized school system, consequently they have received little consideration, little protection, and only such recognition of the value of their services as can be put in a few public declarations. The criticism which they have suffered for their organized activity is wrong. They must not be kept in an isolated

* From an address delivered before the American Federation of Teachers. N. E. A. Convention, New York, July 6, 1916. School and Society. Vol. 8. 1918. p. 683.

class, regarded as different from other citizens. If school life is to be a preparation for the future life and is to be a part of the daily life of the boys and girls, the teachers must be live, active participators in all phases of life. They must have the right to all legitimate activities necessary for their own development and protection and for the promotion of their best interest. They must have the right to organization and affiliation with any other organization that they deem wise or necessary. They must be independent, free citizens, determining their own lives, and intelligent resourceful reverent leaders of those whom they instruct.*

6 On the teacher's position as a citizen the educational platform of the American Federation of Labor since 1919 has included the following planks:

"It is unquestionable that teachers have no right to impose their personal views on pupils. But it is necessary in some quarters to emphasize that neither do school authorities have that right. And it is further necessary to ask this convention to endorse with all its power the principle that men and women in becoming teachers do not thereby surrender their rights as American citizens, and that inquisitions by school authorities into the personal, religious, political, and economic views of teachers is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system, and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility, and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike."**

* American Federationist. Vol. 22, 1915. pp. 982-83.

** Report of National Convention of A. F. of L. 1919, p. 432.

In 1920 the convention adopted the following statement as part of a discussion:

"Legal Restrictions upon Educational Progress. Organized Labor has always contended for the freedom of people to work out their educational ideals. The amazing passage by both houses of the New York State Legislature of two reactionary bills is of national importance because similar attempts may be made in other states. Your committee asks the labor movements of the various states to be on their guard, and can bring the matter before the convention in no more effective way than by quotations from the ringing veto messages of Governor Smith, whose independence and statesmanship saved the state of New York from disgrace.

"One of the bills (S. 1274) provided in brief that no school, class or course of instruction be conducted without satisfying the regents of the university of the state that the instruction to be given would not be detrimental to public interest. Innocent at first glance, as dangerous measures often are, but this is the way Governor Smith exposes it:

"This bill seeks to bring within the power of prohibition of the board of regents every subject, political, ethical, religious or scientific. Under its provisions they might decree that it was inimical to the public interest to give instruction on the theory of the single tax, on minimum wage, on child labor laws, and on public regulation of industry.

"It would then become a crime to instruct in any subject which in the judgment of this board was inimical to the public interest. The free play of public opinion, resting upon freedom of instruction and discussion within the limits of the law would be destroyed, and we should have the whole sphere of education reduced to a formula prescribed by governmental agency. The destruction of the German Empire through the blind inability of its people to understand the spirit of free institutions, is a striking example of the ruin that may ensue from forcing into a narrow, governmental mould processes of education."^{15*}

The proceedings of 1921 carry the following statement under the heading

"Control of Thought": "In connection with this subject of education as discussed on page 90 of the Executive Council's report there has been brought forcibly to the attention of the committee numerous flagrant attempts to intimidate teachers in the exercise of their rights and duties as citizens outside the school, and to compel them to serve the interests of propaganda within the classroom. In the light of the definite policy revealed by these attempts in all sections of the country, the frank boast of Roger Babson, who conducts one of the leading advisory agencies of the business and employing interests, becomes even more sinister:

"The war taught us the power of propaganda. Now when we have anything to sell to the American people, we know how to sell it. We have the school, the pulpit and the press."

"That boast may have been blatant and overconfident, but exceedingly powerful forces are working constantly to make it a reality. The Montreal Convention approved the veto by former Governor Smith of New York, of the so-called Lusk Bill, designed to place the thinking of teachers under the control of a bureaucratic official. This year your committee regrets the necessity of reporting the incredible facts of the re-enactment of that measure by the New York State Legislature and its signature by Governor Miller. Similar attempts have been defeated in other states, but organized labor must be on the alert everywhere and constantly against insidious efforts to pervert the schools.

"The committee desires to stress the fact that upon this vital sector of the struggle against reaction, the American Federation of Teachers hold frontline trenches, and is waging the good fight, not for the teachers themselves alone or primarily, but for all organized labor and all of the people. Since the teachers are in a strategic position, both the collection of information and for its effective use with public-spirited people, the committee recommends that the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor Publicity Bureau assist and utilize the American Federation of Teachers to

the fullest extent.**

A few years ago the school teachers in many parts of the United States began to organize for their economic betterment. Many school boards immediately attacked this effort and prohibited the teachers from associating their efforts with the efforts of organized labor. From the inception of their struggle for the recognition of the right to organize, Organized Labor of the United States supported the organizing teachers. Today the American Federation of Teachers is one of the educated worker's organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.**

In the past there seems to have been a sort of barrier separating the teachers from other wage earners and has prevented them from seeing their own problems clearly, and from engaging in a practical solution of them. This barrier has been the creation of a caste idea setting the teachers apart as a sort of professional group and yet leaving them without the means of self protection. They have been made to feel that the high character of the work which they are doing, its close connection with the life and development of the nation, the idealism as to their service should prevent them from attacking their own problems in a practical manner.

* Ibid. 1921, pp. 326-27.

** American Federationist. Vol. 29, 1922. pp. 213-14.

Blinded by this sentimentalism and by conventions until recently, they have not concerned themselves with their own material welfare. In the last few years a decided change has been taking place among teachers as to their attitude to their problems.*

Just as Labor declared that the workers in industry must be represented by representatives of their own choice in the management of industry, so Labor insists that the teachers who do the work of teachers, and the organized workers, who voice the interests of most of the children who attend the schools, shall have effective representation on all boards of education and similar institutions connected with the administration of public education. Labor holds that when this principle becomes established we shall have a democratic educational system.**

Teachers have come to realize that material welfare, wages, the protection of their physical and mental energy, the insurement of time for their own development and recreation are fundamental and are necessary to the performance of the best and highest service. They have come to realize that their fundamental problem is economic and must be worked out by organizations with this end in view.***

* Ibid. Vol. 23, 1916. pp. 477-78.

** Ibid. Vol. 29, 1922. pp. 213-214.

*** Ibid. Vol. 23, 1916. pp. 477-48.

LABOR REPRESENTATION ON LIBRARY BOARDS AND BOARDS OF EDUCATION

For several years organized labor has seemed to obtain well authenticated information that certain interests have sought to use the public schools for propaganda purposes and are attempting to censor the utterances of the teachers.* In substantiation of these assertions

"we need only reflect upon the effort made a few years ago in Cleveland, Ohio, and more recently in Chicago, Illinois, where the commercial interests succeeded in influencing the respective Boards of Education to adopt rules which denied our public school teachers the freedom of expression and the right of association. To that degree at least, the teaching force of our public schools has been rendered submissive to the will of these commercial interests.

These and other manifestations on the part of the employing and commercial interests to dominate our public schools' affairs, impel your committee to utter a word of caution and to fully advise you that the future of our public schools and the character of teaching our boys and girls, depend largely upon the attitude and exercise of the forces of labor. It is for labor to say whether their children shall receive a real education in our public schools or whether they are to be turned out as machine-made products fitted only to work and to become part and parcel of a machine instead of human beings with a life of their own, and a right to live that life under rightful living conditions."**

In 1917, senate investigation revealed the fact that

* Report of American Federation of Labor Committee on Education, 1923. pp. 1-7.

** Report of the National Convention of American Federation of Labor, 1915, p. 321 seq.

152 persons were on the payroll of the Federal Bureau of Education at a salary of \$1.00 per year, while they received from other institutions and foundations salaries ranging from \$10,000 down. While it does not follow that the activities and labors of these appointees was other than good, yet the inference drawn can only be that it is a highly questionable procedure. The source of information is under control. The entangling alliance between the Bureau of Education and the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation and other private agencies are identical to those which were revealed some years ago between the Department of Agriculture and the same directing force. One is forced to ask if there is any reason why the nation's business should be delegated to private enterprise?*

When private enterprise is permitted to control the sources of information, our freedom and democracy will be short lived. Information is of value only when the salient facts associated with its development are known. Labor maintains that research, inspired by private foundations, should bear the trade mark of that foundation's financial source and research that bears the imprint of government sanction should be made by bona-fide government agencies.**

* American Federationist. Vol. 24. 1917, pp. 206-7.

** Ibid. Vol. 24. 1917, pp. 206-7.

Organized labor does not wish public education to be influenced by partisan bodies of any kind. It feels that the persons most competent to judge in detail what should be taught and how it should be taught are those who are themselves engaged in the teaching profession.*

Labor does not wish to exercise even in the slightest degree, the same kind of influence which reactionary organizations are attempting to exercise. It merely wishes to assist the educational profession and the general public to resist the encroachments of those who are attempting to use the schools in their own interest.**

Only watchfulness on the part of individuals everywhere will provide a permanent safeguard against this kind of influence. The most necessary task is an awakening of the public, as Professor Dewey says, by spreading the information broadcast about what is being done and the organizations responsible.***

Labor maintains that the danger that certain commercial and industrial interests may dominate the character of education must be averted by insisting that labor shall have equal representation on all Boards of

* Report of American Federation of Labor Committee on Education. 1923, p. 17.

** Ibid. 1923, 1-7.

*** Ibid. 1923, pp. 1-7.

Education or committees having control over vocational education and industrial training, and that there be labor representation on the Boards of Directors of all state universities and other institutions of higher learning that are part of the public school system.*

With the rapid increase in schools of all types, the public libraries have become more and more centers of study and sources of information. Labor asks that since this is true and since a very large percent of the patrons of our public libraries are from the labor class, organized labor should be represented on the board of directors of our public libraries to the end that the interests of labor might be provided for along with the other interests of society.**

Labor's position on representation on Boards of Education was stated at their Annual Convention in 1917.

From 1917 on the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor

"urgently called upon international and local unions, state and central bodies to work actively for adequate representation of organized labor on all Boards of Education."***

The same Convention in discussing the Federal Vocational Trade Training Bill, which had recently become a law, urged,

* American Federationist. Vol. 26. 1919, pp. 725-26.

** Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1922. pp. 203, 496-97.

*** Ibid. 1917, pp. 420-21.

"all affiliated bodies to see that their respective states qualify under the act to receive the federal appropriation for vocational education, but only under safeguards that will adequately guarantee that this federal money shall benefit genuinely democratic education and not be used to reinforce any interests which may attempt to pervert industrial education to the purposes of exploitation. The chief safeguard is the equal representation of organized labor and employers on all boards which control the expenditure of such funds."*

In 1918, the following recommendation of the Executive Council was adopted:

"We herewith offer a desirable section to be included in a state law so as to insure a well balanced representative state board. We urge that immediate steps be taken by our state federations to secure this necessary and essential legislation.

"I. Proposed amendment to state education law:

"That a State Board of Education is hereby created, to consist of five members to be appointed from the state at large; two members to be representatives of education, one to a representative of the manufacturing and commercial interests, one a representative of the agricultural interests, and one a representative of labor. The governor shall appoint the members of the board for a term of five years. In the first instance, one member shall be appointed for one year, one for two years, one for three years, one for four years and one for five years. The governor shall fill any vacancies of the board for the unexpired term, and each member shall serve until a successor shall have been appointed and qualified."

"Salaries and duties of board members to be prescribed as local conditions warrant.

"II. Legislation to require local Boards of Education conducting vocational education to appoint advisory committees composed of representatives of trades.

* Ibid. 1917, p. 414.

"Boards of Education or township trustees administering approved vocational schools and departments for industry, agricultural, or domestic science education shall, under a scheme to be approved by the State Board for Vocational Education, appoint an Advisory Committee composed of members representing local trades, industries and occupations.

"It shall be the duty of the Advisory Committee to counsel with and advise the board and other school officials having the management and supervision of such schools or departments."*

In a discussion of part-time education the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stressed the following statement, which has wide application to the whole education field:

"The chief feature which we emphasize here is to spread the representative idea of school control in all communities, so that our school people will feel a more intimate touch with the activities of the trade unionists of their community as well as with representative employers and merchants. The more diligently we press this method, the better off every community will be, and the better understandings will be reached by all the active elements of society in the study and solution of weighty social and economic problems that will press upon us in the future."**

WIDER USE OF THE SCHOOL PLANT

When we reflect upon the expense and cost which have been bestowed upon our schools we are almost amazed at the limited use made of so expensive a plant. In the administration of our public education we have been singularly slow to note this failure or to remedy it. A pro-

* Ibid. 1918, pp. 96, 320.

** Ibid. 1918, pp. 97, 320.

ductive industry could not be carried on with so incomplete a use of an expensive plant. Yet public education should be our most productive of all industries. Its plant should constantly be run to capacity.

In discussing this phase of public school administration it will be well to consider to what extent the public school plant is now used. This will vary somewhat in different localities due to many different influences. At the present time in some of those most fully used it runs about six to eight hours per day for about half the days in the year, Sundays, Saturdays, vacations and legal holidays constitute nearly half the days in the year. Organized labor sensed the situation and drove at the heart of the matter when in the 1912 annual report of the A. F. of L. we read:

"From many of those in school work comes insistent protest against the abnormal ideals and conditions obtaining there, against isolation from the practical, vital affairs of life and work. To such, the present tendency in some localities to depart from these time honored customs is a cause for satisfaction. Increasing demand for social centers has coincided with an appreciation of our failure to realize the greatest returns on the funds invested in school buildings. We Americans have prided ourselves upon the sums we have expended for school buildings, and then have usually permitted these buildings to be controlled by school directors chosen from the 'representative citizens' of the town--usually men representing financial interests and the classical ideal in education, out of touch with modern social and economic thought and standards. These directors, as the custodians of

the public schools, scrupulously maintained 'high educational standards,' guarded the buildings that no 'intruders' might infringe on the children's territory, and by innumerable, well intended regulations, shut off the schools, teachers, and students from contact with life and the work-a-day world. Such directors lack in efficiency because they are out of touch with modern problems, needs, and outlook on life.

Experimentation has given a scientific basis for physical and psychological development and training, transforming the pedagogic objectives until now the modern school ideal is to teach each child how to live and work, how to live fully and completely that he may do the best work he is capable of doing, and how he may best work in order to attain the fullest life. In order to satisfy these wider ideals, school instructions must be individualized so, that the needs and abilities of each pupil may be considered and met. The old order changes, and it is no longer necessary for boys or girls to secure a type of education that appeals to their utilitarian instincts.

There is a distinct movement within the school to bring it in touch with life and life problems. There is a supplementary movement on the outside to gain contact and familiarity with school affairs. Distinct social, political, economic and moral currents contribute to this movement. The public has become conscious that more might be realized from the investments in school buildings; that it is unbusiness-like to keep these buildings closed during so much of the time, while they hire or build other congregation places. This is but a revival of the good old American custom of the days when the school house was the place of public assembly, the social center of the community life.^{8*}

Our public school system centers about the common interest society has in children and since the school plant belongs to all the people, it would seem that the public school plant could be made to serve a greater number of ends of

* Gompers, Samuel. Report to American Federation of Labor Proceedings, 1912. p. 54.

vital moment to the public welfare than it now does.

The administrative machinery of our school system has tended to make the imparting of instruction a formal thing more or less divorced from the freer, more varied, and more flexible modes of social intercourse. The school was looked upon as having the one function of purveying intellectual material to a certain number of minds. Even when the idea of using the schools in training for democracy came into being it only added another element. This was preparation for citizenship, and this to most minds took on a political coloring. It was defined in terms of relation to the government, not to society in its broader aspects.

Our community life has awakened and found that governmental institutions and affairs represent only a small part of the important purposes and difficult problems of life; and that even this small part can not be dealt with adequately except in the light of a wide range of domestic, economic, and scientific considerations quite excluded from the conception of the state, of citizenship. Our political problems involve questions of race, language and custom. Our serious political questions grow out of underlying industrial and commercial changes and adjustments, and most of all we are finding that most of these questions can be solved not by legislation and executive order but by common sympathy

and common understanding. It is thus seen that we are dealing with a complicated interaction of varied and vital forces, only a part of which are governmental. The true citizenship is a broad term and has come to mean all the relationships of all sorts that are involved in membership in a community.

It would thus seem that there is something absent in our present type of education, something lacking in the service rendered by the school.

Once we determine what constitutes citizenship then we determine what the school should be doing and how it should do it. There is a demand that the school should do more than just give instruction, that it shall assume a wider scope of activities having an educative effect upon the adult members of the community. Everywhere it would seem we are recognizing the organic unity of the different modes of social life, and consequently demand that the school shall be related to more activities, shall receive from more sources and give in more directions.

It must provide that training which is necessary to keep the individual properly adjusted to a rapidly changing environment. It must interpret to him the intellectual and social meaning of the work in which he is engaged: that is, must reveal its relations to the life and work of the world. It must provide means for

bringing people and their ideas and beliefs together, in such ways as will lessen friction and instability, and introduce deeper sympathy and wider understanding.

The only true economy is the full utilization of the public school plant. The more costly the building, the greater the waste if not used.

Their utilization means a larger and better return, physically, mentally, and morally from the public schools, and therefore a significant addition to the health and wealth of the nation and to the public happiness.

Organized labor in its National Conventions has stated its position on the Wider Use of the School Plant as follows, we recommend,

"The wider use of the school plant securing increased returns to the community through civic, social, and educational services to both adults and children."*

"The right of teachers to hold meetings in school buildings outside of school hours, for the purpose of discussing organization, or of conducting the business of their organization should not be questioned. Boards of Education have no proprietary right in the schools, but are simply trustees for the public, of which the teachers are a part."**

*Public forums should be established in every school where there is sufficient demand under the direction of the superintendent of schools, working in co-operation with advisory commit-

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1918.
p. 321.

** Ibid. 1919, p. 432.

tees representing the various elements in the community.**

*Where there is sufficient demand, the school authorities should grant the use of school buildings for public forums conducted by democratically organized local community groups, responsible under the law for the language used, the topics discussed, and the speakers selected. The democratic method of organization of public forum districts along these lines in Washington D. C., is commended as a helpful model.**

CREATION OF A FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

One of the great movements in public education in the United States in recent years is the movement for the creation of a federal executive department of education with cabinet rank. The idea is a fairly old one, the first bill for such a department having been introduced in 1866 in the House of Representatives by James A. Garfield who was later President.

It is hard to understand why so great a function of our government as the education of its citizens has been so slow in receiving Federal recognition befitting the position of vital importance which it holds.

In the past and extending in a large measure up to the present time, this function of government has been so divorced from our national administration that the Bureau of Education at Washington was for several years barely recognized by Congress. It was

* Ibid. 1919, p. 431.

** Ibid. 1920, p. 469.

looked upon with more or less indifference if not suspicion. Its powers were very closely circumscribed and its office was little more than a medium for collecting and distributing information. In later years the attitude of the federal government, as well as the public, has changed and its usefulness as an agency of government is becoming realized.

The explanation of the early attitude of the government is likely to be found in the fact that through long usage the people have accustomed themselves to the direct exercise of the control of public education.

The tremendously vital importance of a more careful supervision of and attention to education was brought home to the American people during the great War. Facts and conditions were discovered at that time which seriously impaired the strength and security of our nation. The condition discovered is well stated by Hugh S. Magill, Field Secretary of the National Education Association.

"We were astonished to find that one-fourth of the young men called to the colors were practically illiterate; that one-third were physically unfit for full military service, due in a large measure to a lack of proper training; that we are failing to Americanize and assimilate the vast number of foreign born who are coming to our shores; and that millions of American-born children have little or no opportunity for proper physical and intellectual development. As a result of these discoveries the American people have become thoroughly aroused to the importance of more effective co-operation on the part of the

Federal Government with the states for the betterment of educational conditions throughout the nation.

Those who suggest that education is not of sufficient importance and scope from the national standpoint to justify the creation of a Department of Education fail to comprehend the tremendously important service which the Federal Government could thereby render the States. They also fail to grasp the impelling fact that the public-school system is the only institution belonging to all the people which can be used to develop a strong, healthy, intelligent citizenship, capable of understanding, defending, and perpetuation our American institutions.**

As a result of the conditions above stated, educators, statesmen, and others interested in the public welfare took steps to correct these defects in our public education.

At the present time the activities of our Federal Government with respect to education are scattered and unrelated most of them being farmed out as it were to other departments of the government, the Bureau of Education being at the present time a subordinate department in the Department of the Interior. The Federal Board for Vocational Education and other educational activities of the Government are administered by several different departments. All these various bureaus should be reorganized and co-ordinated into one Federal Executive Department.

* Magill, Hugh S. Education and the Federal Government, Legislative Commission Series, No. 2. The National Education Association. Washington, D. C. p. 7.

The most logical way to accomplish this was by the creation of a Federal Executive Department of Education with cabinet rank.

The primary function of a Federal Department of Education would be the encouragement and promotion of public education in the States while recognizing the fact that under our form of government the conduct and management of education is vested in the States, and that the Federal Department of Education should co-operate and assist only. It could not do more under the Constitution than this for the police power of the State covers education.

In order to reorganize and co-ordinate the various bureaus of the government having to do with education, a bill known as the Towner-Sterling Bill was introduced into the sixty-seventh Congress in December, 1923. This bill had for its purpose the creation of a Federal Department of Education to take over the educational activities now scattered among four Federal Departments and a number of independent Federal Boards and to provide Federal aid and assistance to the States in the (1) removal of illiteracy; (2) Americanization of the foreign born; (3) equalization of educational opportunities; (4) promotion of physical education; and (5) the training of teachers.

This bill had the support of 500 of the leading

educators of America and over twenty of the greatest organizations in America interested in education and public welfare, including the National Education Association, American Federation of Labor, American Federation of Teachers, National League of Women Voters, and National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations.

The arguments for a Federal Department of Education are many and it would seem unanswerable. According to Magill they are based on the following generally accepted facts: (a) that the conduct of public education is a State function, each State being primarily responsible for the support and management of its public schools; (b) that the primary purpose of education from the standpoint of the State and the Nation is to develop good citizens; (c) that a citizenship, physically, intellectually, and morally sound is essential to the life and prosperity of our Republic since a government of the people can be no stronger than the composite citizenship of which it is composed; (d) that the privileges and responsibilities of American citizenship are not affected by State boundaries; (e) that whatever tends to elevate and strengthen the citizenship of any State promotes the welfare of the entire country; (f) that any weakness or disorder in any State subtracts from the general health and security of the Nation; (g) that to neglect the proper training of

any considerable portion of the future citizens of our country is to endanger the future of our Nation as a whole; (h) and, therefore, that it becomes the imperative duty of the Federal Government to encourage and promote education in all the States to the end that every American child shall have an opportunity for the fullest physical and intellectual development of which he is capable, thereby conserving and developing the human resources of the Nation.

B The Convention of the A. F. of L. of 1918 recommended

"The establishment of a federal department of education, headed by a cabinet officer."*

The following year Labor's Reconstruction Program contained the following statement:

"It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress.

"Education must not be for a few but for all our people. While there is an advanced form of public education in many states, there still remains a lack of adequate educational facilities in several states and communities. The welfare of the republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the government power to hamper or interfere with

* Report of National Convention of A. F. of L., 1918.
p. 321.

the free development of public education by the several states. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage earner's children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end state colleges and universities should be developed.**

The same convention also adopted the following resolution and comments by the convention committee on education:

"Whereas in accordance with the instructions of the last convention the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, working with the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, has co-operated in the preparation and introduction of the Educational Bill (H. R. 7), which creates a Federal Department of Education, and appropriates one hundred million dollars to be apportioned among the states to aid in the payment of more adequate teachers' salaries, in the equalization of educational opportunities, in the removal of illiteracy, in Americanization of immigrants, in physical education, and in the preparation of competent teachers; and

"Whereas the present period of reconstruction is revealing even more clearly than the preceding period of the war the need for a national educational policy to secure co-ordination among the states, and to promote national welfare, efficiency, and unity; and

"Whereas the threatened collapse of our schools which influenced the action of the last convention, is still more imminent now, through the forcing out of our best teachers by the thousands by sheer economic pressure, and through the refusal of young men and women of ability and independent spirit to prepare themselves for the calling; and

"Whereas the ultimate national need is for educated manhood and womanhood, a need which will become more urgent in the period we are entering; and

"Whereas in the fields of vocational and agricultural education, the value of the stimulus to the states of federal appropriations avail-

able to a state on its meeting specified standards, and on the appropriation by that state of equal amounts, has been proved by experience; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this Thirty-ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in conformity with the recommendation of the preceding convention, endorse the Educational Bill (H. R. 7), and instruct the President and Executive Council to use the full influence of the American Federation of Labor in its support."

"After careful study of the Educational Bill (H. R. 7), your committee heartily commends the Executive Council and the American Federation of Teachers for the part they have taken in the preparation and introduction of that bill. The people of the country are realizing now as never before that a democracy must depend primarily upon an educated citizenship for its very life, and that the nation as a whole is under even deeper obligation to the schools than is any section of the nation. In recognition of that fact, the Educational Bill provides for a Federal Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's cabinet, and assigns to the federal government a small proportion of the total cost of our public school system. But recognizing with equal force the value of local initiative and experimentation within the various states, which is an essential part of the genius of our American institutions, the bill safeguards local autonomy, providing that all the educational facilities encouraged by its provisions shall be organized, supervised, and administered, exclusively by the legally constituted state and local educational authorities within the several states.

"Your committee also calls the attention of the convention to the effective co-ordination under one broad agency in a comprehensive measure of all federal educational activities, including Americanization, removal of illiteracy, and physical education, as contrasted with piecemeal, separate treatment of those closely connected subjects."*

* Ibid. 1919, pp. 316-317.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Chapter V

Conclusion

It is obvious to those who are keeping abreast of educational advance that there is today a greater understanding of the aims of Labor than ever before, a greater and deeper sympathy with Labor's purposes and aspirations and a finer spirit of cooperation. Educators have arrived at a better understanding of Labor and we find our educational leaders willing to work and co-operate with the labor leaders on the problems of education.

In Chapter II, was stated the philosophy of organized labor. The point has now been reached in this thesis where it is necessary to take stock of the preceding pages and see if Labor's philosophy put forward during the last century has been realized and to what extent. If the reader will refresh his memory as to the statement of Labor's educational philosophy in Chapter II, page 36, and then contemplate to what extent the ideas voiced a century ago have been carried out, he may well pause at the profound wisdom of this great organized social force. Perhaps the spirit of this conclusion could not be better expressed than by a quotation from Carlyle:

*Universal democracy, whatever we may think of it, has declared itself as an inevitable fact of the days in which we live, and he

who has any chance to instruct or lead in his days must begin by admitting that.**

If he were alive today he would probably hail the modern labor movement as a fact immense and inexorable, and would no doubt warn all governing persons to take heed of it, for Carlyle also said:

"All true work is sacred; in all true work, were it but true hand labor, there is something of divineness. Labor, wide as the earth, has its summit in heaven. Sweat of the brow and up from that to sweat of the brain, sweat of the heart; which includes all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all sciences, all spoken epics, all acted heroisms, martyrdoms--up to that 'agony of bloody sweat,' which all men have called divine."

These words contain--all-be-it-idealized--the philosophy of organized labor.

The concept of universal education as a powerful economic and social force did not rise to a prominent place in the social consciousness until organized labor became a powerful factor in our industrial life. Because of its tremendous social force it has been an efficient aid and complement to our public school system.

It might be well at this point to specifically state what the objectives of our public school system are. They have been stated to be; (1) character development; (2) command of the fundamental processes of learn-

* Carlyle, Thomas. Latter Day Pamphlets, No. I. p. 268. In Vol. 7. Dana Estes, Edition.

ing; (3) health and physical efficiency; (4) good citizenship; (5) training for home life; (6) vocational efficiency--vocational skill plus appreciation of the other man's job; (7) worthy use of leisure--acquiring of proper mental habits; and (8) general mental efficiency--effective, concentrated, independent thinking.*

The achieving of these ends is the problem squarely before the public schools, in fact it is the only excuse for the existence of the public school. The full significance of this social responsibility is now realized by our educators and through a curricula, revised on the basis of a re-evaluation of social institutions and a more scientific understanding of child nature, our educators are making every effort to attain the objectives of education mentioned above.

On all of these and many others Organized Labor has officially taken affirmative action. In society at large the entire force and influence of organized labor has practically always been given to their attainment. In the appendix will be found a summarization of the main points of Labor's educational program, a program which has been consistent from the time of their struggle for free schools to the present time.

Labor is the most elemental force in human life.

* Research Bulletin of the National Education Association.
Vol. I. No. 5. (November) p. 313. Washington D. C.

The effects of its organized efforts extend into practically all relations of life.

The social service rendered by organized labor is not generally appreciated. In the lifting of social standards and bringing about a finer sense of justice between man and man, it has performed a great social service.

Organized Labor's first demands, higher wages and a shorter workday, are at the bottom of human welfare. Wage increases mean possibility of more equitable participation in life opportunities--better homes, better clothing, food, a lightening of anxiety of the heads of the family, better opportunities for the children, opportunities for recreation that sustain creative ability and in all that gives breadth and content to living.

The shorter workday means opportunity for regulation of the work period, so as to conserve physical and creative energy and to provide opportunity for the interests in life necessary to normal human living.

Organized labor's demand that workers be given protection against hazards of production has brought about workmen's compensation laws to assure his family the means to carry on in an emergency. The consciousness of this has a great stabilizing effect on the lives of the workers.

Organized labor, by forcing wrongs upon public at-

tention and demanding remedial legislation, has written into the ideals of our country higher standards of political and economic justice.

Organized labor has insistently demanded equal suffrage for all citizens, factory inspection and sanitation, labor bureaus for the gathering of data to make it possible to base policies upon facts instead of guess. Its position on the prohibition of child labor and the protection of women workers is well-known.

Second to no other has been Labor's achievement in education in its effective insistence upon educational opportunities for all. Its first demand was for free public schools for children and compulsory education laws which has been followed by a growing understanding and insistence that our educational opportunities ought to parallel life and life's activities.

In view of all that has been stated in the preceding chapters, Organized Labor would still seem to be indirectly as well as directly one of the greatest, if not the greatest, democratizing, socializing, and educative forces in our national life.

SUMMARIZATION OF LABOR'S EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Summarization of Labor's Educational Program

In the annual reports of the National Conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the following years; 1917, pp. 419-20; 1918, pp. 95-98, 116, 320-23; 1919, pp. 110-114, 316-17; 1920, pp. 173-76, 459-471; 1921, pp. 324-27; 1922, pp. 64-67, 354-69; 1923, pp. 59-62, 244-46; 1924, pp. 58-62, 239-246; and 1925, pp. 72-82, 285-90, 362-66, the reader will find labor's position on most of our educational problems and questions clearly stated. In an especial manner is this true of the reports for the years 1918, 1920, and 1925. In the following pages is a summarization of Labor's Educational Program.

SUMMARIZATION OF LABOR'S EDUCATION PROGRAM

1. With regard to vocational education, the model laws recommended by the executive council to the St. Paul convention, and the principals adopted by that convention, including the indorsement of the unit, as opposed to the dual system of administration, should be reindorsed. In this connection commendation should be given to the various states which have enacted continuation school laws, and to the labor movement of those states for the part they played in securing such legislation.
2. Hearty support should be given the increasing demand for well-considered methods of vocational guidance in our schools.
3. Careful consideration should be given to the simplification of courses of study, especially in the lower grades; but in connection with any movement of simplification, the committee believes that:
4. The upper years of the elementary school should be

reorganized to afford diversified training, so that boys and girls who cannot go on to higher schools will receive training specifically designed for their needs, and not be compelled as at present to prepare for a role they will never play. These diversified courses should be flexible so that a pupil will be able to transfer from one to another. We must not compel the child to pay the penalty throughout life for a mistaken decision made in childhood. Organized labor should demand and help to secure an expansion and diversification of both elementary and secondary education so that a democratic equality of opportunity for preparation for the callings of their choice may be offered the children of our people.

5. In all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught vigorously and effectively; and at least in all vocational and industrial courses an unbiased industrial history must be taught, which shall include accurate account of the organization of the workers and the results thereof, and shall also include a summary of all legislation, both State and Federal, affecting the industries taught.
6. The basic language of instruction in all schools, both public and private, should be the English language, foreign languages to be taught only as subjects in the curriculum.
7. The provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English-speaking people.
8. The establishment of complete systems of modern physical education under specially trained instructors.
9. Continuous medical and dental inspection throughout the schools.
10. Better enforcement of compulsory educational laws, and the universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of 16 years.
11. The extension of a free text-book system to the District of Columbia and such states and communities as have not adopted it.
12. Wider use of the school plant securing increased re-

turns to the community through additional civic, social, and educational services to both adults and children.

13. Public forums should be established in every school where there is sufficient demand, under the direction of the superintendent of schools, working in cooperation with advisory committees, representing the various elements in the community.
14. The educational interests of the children and the future welfare of the state demand drastic reduction in the prevailing size of classes.
15. In view of the demonstration by war conditions of the industrial and educational value of the metric system the committee recommends that the Executive Council cause an investigation to be made of the advantages of the introduction of the metric system into this country with a view to determine what further steps, such as congressional action, may be advisable.
16. A thorough-going revision upward of the salary schedules of teachers in public schools, normal schools, and universities, to meet the increased cost of living, and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services.
17. The liberal ungrudging reorganization and increase of school revenues as the only means of maintaining and developing the efficiency of our public schools.
18. In order to secure a more democratic administration of our schools, to develop a spirit of cooperation and to gain for the community the benefit of the experience and initiative of the teaching body, boards of education and superintendents of schools should confer with committees representing organizations of the teachers' choice in all cases of controversy between school authorities and teachers, and should consider and make official, public record of suggestions dealing with the conduct of the schools submitted by the teachers through such committee.
19. Teachers should have tenure of positions during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full public hearings before a commission on which the teachers are fairly represented.
20. In any democracy the primary requirement is a citi-

zenship educated to straightforward logical thinking, based on facts established by carefully sifted evidence. The schools cannot develop this essential mental fiber if the pupils are carefully shielded from knowledge of the topics that men and women think about. Secondary only to a citizen's ability to do his own thinking, is his ability to make his influence felt in his group and community by effectively presenting his views to his fellows, and meeting opposition in a spirit of tolerance. This power of effective self-expression and the habits of tolerance, and of intellectual fairness toward opponents, cannot be formed without the discussion of topics that give opportunity for their exercise. Therefore, in order to enable the schools to perform one of their chief functions, preparation for active citizenship, the pupils should be encouraged to discuss under intelligent supervision current events and the problems of citizenship.

21. It is unquestionable that teachers have no right to impose their personal views on pupils. But it is necessary to emphasize that neither do school authorities have that right. And it is further necessary to ask this convention to indorse with all its power the principle that men and women in becoming teachers do not thereby surrender their rights as American citizens, and that inquisitions by school authorities into the personal, religious, political, and economic views of teachers is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system, and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility, and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike.
22. The right of teachers to affiliate with organized labor is beyond question. And in that connection, the right of teachers to hold meetings in school buildings outside of school hours, for the purpose of discussion, organization, or of conducting the business of their organization, should not be questioned. Boards of Education have no proprietary right in the schools, but are simply trustees for the public, of which the teachers are a part.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

Table I

NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS WHICH TEACH CERTAIN SOCIAL SCIENCES

	Number	Percent
Total Number of Schools Replying-----	6,624	100.0
Number of Schools Teaching;		
Machinery of Government-Civics-----	1,982	29.8
Modern Civics-----	3,815	57.4
Economic Theory-Economics-----	788	11.9
Modern Economics-----	1,919	28.8
Sociology-----	1,666	25.1
Current Events-----	5,712	86.1
Number of Schools Not Teaching:		
Civics-----	272	4.1
Economics-----	3,499	52.8
Sociology-----	4,958	74.8
Current Events-----	912	13.8
Number of Schools Planning to Introduce Next Year:		
Civics-----	276	4.2
Economics-----	624	9.4
Sociology-----	575	8.7
Current Events-----	76	1.1
Number of Schools Not Answering:		
Civics-----	555	8.6
Economics-----	418	6.3

Table 2

NUMBER OF PUPILS WHO TOOK VARIOUS COURSES IN THE SOCIAL
SCIENCES, 1921-1922

	Number	Percent
Number Enrolled in High Schools-----	1,183,058	100.0
Number of Pupils Taking:		
Machinery of Government-Civics-----	58,539	4.9
Modern Problems-Civics-----	219,880	18.5
Economic Theory-Economics-----	17,817	1.5
Modern Problems-Economics-----	47,263	3.9
Sociology-----	37,541	3.2
Current Events-----	401,197	33.9

Table 3

SCHOOLS IN WHICH SPECIFIED SUBJECTS ARE REQUIRED OR ELECTIVE

All Grades	Civics	Economics	Sociology	Similar Course	Total
Total Number of Courses—	6,610	3,129	1,666	105	11,510
Number Required-----	5,638	1,166	611	67	7,482
Number Elective-----	888	1,889	995	30	3,802
Not Stated-----	64	53	40	3	160
Grades 7 and 8:					
Total-----	359	14	3	6	382
Number Required-----	324	8	2	5	338
Number Elective-----	32	6	1	1	40
Not Stated-----	4	---	---	---	4
Grades 9 and 10:					
Total-----	2,359	170	79	21	2,629
Number Required-----	2,108	54	28	15	2,205
Number Elective-----	233	112	51	5	401
Not Stated-----	18	4	---	1	23
Grades 11 and 12:					
Total-----	3,872	2,925	1,564	72	8,433
Number Required-----	3,206	1,104	581	47	4,939
Number Elective-----	624	1,771	943	23	3,361
Not Stated-----	42	49	40	2	133
Grade Not Stated-----	20	21	20	5	66

Table 4

NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN SPECIFIED COURSES, REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE, BY GRADES

All Grades	Civics	Economics	Sociology	Similar Course	Total
Total Number Enrolled -----	278,430	55,080	37,541	4,916	375,967
Required-----	248,382	28,990	14,284	4,053	295,709
Elective-----	27,728	25,007	22,207	763	75,705
Not Stated-----	1,983	959	743	54	3,739
Grades 7 and 8:					
Total -----	21,732	484	121	220	22,557
Required-----	19,833	344	65	170	20,412
Elective-----	1,899	140	56	50	2,145
Not Stated-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Grades 9 and 10:					
Total -----	152,054	4,040	2,823	1,300	160,217
Required-----	141,505	2,224	1,877	1,157	146,763
Elective-----	10,549	1,816	946	89	13,400
Not Stated-----	-----	-----	-----	54	54
Grades 11 and 12:					
Total -----	102,324	59,473	34,290	3,350	199,437
Required-----	87,044	26,422	12,342	2,726	128,534
Elective-----	15,280	33,051	21,205	624	70,160
Not Stated-----	-----	-----	743	-----	743
Grade Not Stated-----	337	124	307	46	814

APPENDIX A

THE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS USING EACH SPECIFIED TEXT IN CIVICS

Author	Title	Number of Schools Using
*Adams	A Community Civics	10
*Ashley	The New Civics	581
*Beard	American Citizenship	96
Boynton	School Civics	252
Clark	The Government	6
*Dole	The New American Citizen	9
*Dunn	The Community and the Citizen	317
*Finch	Everyday Civics	24
*Forman	The American Democracy	298
Garner	Government in the United States	210
*Giles	Vocational Civics	58
Guitteau	Government and Politics in the United States	494
*Hill	Community Life and Civic Pro- blems	31
Hinsdale	The American Government	14
*Hughes	Community Civics	1,492
James and Sanford	Government in State and Nation	151
*Lapp	Our America	32
*Magruder	American Government in 1921--	1,159
*Nida	City, State and Nation	7
Peterman	Elements of Civil Government	5
Philips	Nation and State	11
*Reed	Forms and Functions of Ameri- can Government	417
Reinsch	Civil Government	8
*Stickles	Elements of Government	43
*Turkington	My Country	14
Woodburn and Moran	Citizen and Republic	150
*Ziegler & Jacquette	Our Community	6
Miscellaneous		523
Total		6,428

* Social and community civics, rather than purely governmental.

APPENDIX B

THE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS USING EACH SPECIFIED TEXT IN ECONOMICS

Author	Title	Number of Schools Using
*Adams-----	Description of Industry-----	21
Bullock-----	The Elements of Economics and Introduction to the Study of Economics-----	284
*Burch-----	American Economic Life-----	108
Burch and Near- ing-----	Elements of Economics-----	199
*Burch and Patter- son-----	Problems of American Democracy and American Social Problems--	10
* Carlton-----	Elementary Economics-----	13
Carver-----	Elementary Economics and Prin- ciples of Political Economy---	494
*Ellwood-----	Sociology and Modern Problems-	7
Ely-----	Outlines of Economics-----	33
Ely and Wicker--	Elementary Principles of Eco- nomics-----	521
*Hughes-----	Economic Civics-----	47
Johnson-----	Introduction to Economics-----	5
*Laing-----	An Introduction to Economics--	96
Laughlin-----	Elements of Political Economy-	129
*Marshall & Lyon-	Our Economic Organization----	54
Seager-----	Economics-Briefer Course-----	10
*Thompson-----	Elementary Economics-----	671
*Towne-----	Social Problems-----	16
* Tufts-----	The Real Business of Living---	24
Walker-----	First Lessons in Political Economy-----	4
Miscellaneous---	-----	120
Total-----	-----	2,866

* Modern and descriptive texts, rather than formal and theoretical.

APPENDIX C

THE NUMBER OF SCHOOLS USING EACH SPECIFIED TEXT IN SOCIOLOGY

Author	Title	Number of Schools Using
*Burch & Patterson	American Social Problems-----	241
*Ellwood-----	Sociology and Modern Problems	412
*Towne-----	Social Problems-----	588
*Tufts-----	The Real Business of Living---	68
Miscellaneous-----	-----	182
Total-----	-----	1,461

*Modern and descriptive texts, rather than formal and theoretical.

APPENDIX D

TYPICAL SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN CURRENT EVENTS BY NUMBER OF
SCHOOLS

Arms Conference	1,926
Far eastern problems	290
Strikes, capital and labor	585
International relations	901
Domestic politics	657
Transportation problems	179
Irish situation	616
Prohibition	98
Tariff	65
Taxation	134
Mechanical inventions	211
Scientific discoveries	274
Race questions	123
Russia	91
Prominent people	106
Crime	46
Agriculture	98
Education	86
Public Health	20
Debs case	16
Cost of living	58
Economic industrial conditions	665
Legislative activities	654
Geographic results of war	25
Immigration	143
Americanization	31
Literature and art	104
Local improvements	51
Conservation and reclamation	43
Britain's colonies	22
Mexican situation	6
Suffrage	4
Allied debt	33
German indemnity	52
France	23
Socialism	10
Soldier bonus	51
Social welfare	70
European problems	110
Public utilities	6
Social problems	231
Commerce	18
Miscellaneous	172
Total	9,104

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