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**THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH
AS CITIZENS**

The Education of Youth as Citizens

PROGRESSIVE CHANGES IN OUR
AIMS AND METHODS

BY

Henry W. Thurston, Ph.D.



RICHARD R. SMITH

New York

1946

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HENRY W. THURSTON

FEBRUARY 28, 1861-SEPTEMBER 19, 1946

It is my privilege to write a brief tribute to our very good friend Dr. Henry D. Thurston. His life was one of unwavering devotion to the cause of youth. His understanding and appreciation of the problems of young people have inspired many thousands of students during his two decades of lecturing on child welfare problems at the New York School of Social Work. His own experience before coming to the School had been so rich that his lectures were enlivened by the citation of numerous cases with which he had worked through his earlier years.

It seems fitting that a life devoted to improving the conditions of young people, and to creating a better understanding on the part of adults of the behavior of young people, should have been rounded out by the completion of this volume just before his death. I hope that readers of what may be termed his last testament will receive from this book something of the inspiration which we, his colleagues and students, have had from his lectures and writings during the years.

WALTER W. PETTIT, *Director*
New York School of Social Work

September 30, 1946

A WORD OF THANKS TO MY HELPERS

As I could not have written this book without using a time perspective and the perspective of both current school projects and public opinion, I here express my gratitude to those who have given me the most help in my efforts to get and to use such perspectives.

This help has come from individuals, schools, educational organizations, speakers, and writers, from all of whom I have quoted, also from publishers of newspapers, periodicals, and books, who have given me permission to make quotations from their publications.

I cannot here name the many persons to whom I am indebted, except as identified speakers or writers of the words I have quoted.

The following newspapers, periodicals, and publishers have given me help for which I am especially grateful:

The New York Times, from which I have made more quotations than from any other one source.	The American City The Saturday Review of Literature News-Week
The National Education Association	The Reader's Digest Progressive Education
The United States Bureau of Education	The Society for the Advancement of Education
The Educational Policies Commission	American Book Company D. Appleton-Century Company
The American Council of Education	Farrar & Rinehart Harper & Brothers
The Conference of Eastern States Professional Schools	D. C. Heath & Company Houghton Mifflin & Company
The Boston Herald	University of Chicago Press

I am sure that all the readers of this book who are trying to educate youth as citizens in our democracy will join me in this Word of Thanks to the above helpers and to others whose names have not here been given.

HENRY W. THURSTON.

FOREWORD

THIS IS A BOOK to be read by students in normal schools and colleges during their courses in the social studies, and by teachers of social studies in primary schools, secondary schools, normal schools and normal colleges.

It has two main purposes:

1. To give teachers clear perspectives on the changing processes of school education of youth as citizens.
2. To formulate, illustrate and emphasize the essentials of sound teaching processes for the education of youth as citizens in schools of all grades, from elementary schools to and including normal colleges.

In addition to the twelve chapters, there are six appendices, each of which will be most helpful if read in connection with the chapter it supplements.

I especially urge all normal college students to get the fifty-year perspective of this book as they face the whole problem of their own future efforts to educate youth as citizens.

H. W. T.

Montclair, N. J.,
January, 1946.

INTRODUCTION

HERE IS A *must* book for every teacher of the social studies. With its rare perspective and its high hope for a "pedagogical Kingdom of Heaven" this book should be a priority reference for every teacher and every prospective teacher in the momentous field of the social studies. These twelve chapters point out clearly the philosophy, the psychology and the pedagogy of the What and the How of our education for citizenship.

Philosophy: Professor Josiah Royce, for many years head of the Department of Philosophy at Harvard University, strode into his classroom one day and, turning to his students, said: "Gentlemen, today I am going to lecture about the greatest word in the English language. It is a small word. It has but three letters—O-U-R. Yet that little word contains within itself the whole concept of life and living. This is not *my* class: it is not *your* class: it is *our* class. Studying, thinking and discussing together we can make a success of this venture. Failing to do so we all fail. *Our* class, *our* college, *our* city, *our* state, *our* country, *our* world. The philosophic concept within the little word *our* is a challenge to our worthiest loyalties." This, of course, is but another expression of the significance of Professor Franklin H. Giddings' "consciousness of kind," which is the philosophic cornerstone of this book.

Psychology: Dr. Henry Suzzallo once said: "Action is the goal of civics teaching. The child who has tried to participate in any given situation will have a sense of reality about it that can never be had from conversation or books." This, of course, is the point of view of Professor John Dewey that "we learn by doing," and that point of view will be found frequently expressed and illustrated in this book. "Information is taught in connection with things that need to be done."

Pedagogy: In Chapters IX and X, Dr. Thurston gives us both the spirit and the body of his book on the education of youth as citizens of a democracy. Here we find many concrete projects that contain the aims, the content, and the objectives of good teaching

procedures. These illustrations range from kindergarten to high school and on to adult education. In these illuminating and valuable teaching experiences, we see the relationship of the importance of spiritual values, the significance of the subject matter, and the essential role of action. The three aims in the training of young citizens are inspiration, information, and participation, and the greatest of these is participation, activity, doing "the things that need to be done."

ROY W. HATCH

State Teachers College
Montclair, New Jersey
March, 1946

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	vii
Introduction	ix
CHAPTER	
I The Duties of Citizens in a Democracy	i
II The Beginnings of Our School Education in Citizenship	6
III Chicago Prophets Who Were Changing Educational Processes at the Turn of the Century	14
IV Arthur W. Dunn—Champion of Community Civics	50
V Good Family Men, Good Clubmen, Good Party Men, But Not Good Citizens. Why?	60
VI Our Persistent Inefficiencies as Citizens	69
VII Two Opinions on Recent Inadequacies of School Education in Citizenship	79
VIII The Essentials of a Good School Process for Education in Good Citizenship	83
IX Citations from Recent School Processes in the Education of Youth as Citizens	90
X College Citizenship Projects and Processes	153
XI Summary of Chapters IX and X	185
XII The Gist of the Book	198

APPENDICES

Appendix A	207
To be read in connection with Chapter III	
Appendix B	213
To be read in connection with Chapter IV	
Appendix C	217
To be read in connection with Chapter IX	
Appendix D	225
To be read in connection with Chapter XI	
Appendix E	244
To be read in connection with Chapters XI and XII	
Appendix F	252
To be read in connection with Chapter XII	

**THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH
AS CITIZENS**

I

THE DUTIES OF CITIZENS IN A DEMOCRACY

EVEN IF WE could succeed in the complete prevention of juvenile delinquency, which I once called bad citizenship,¹ we should still be only at the threshold of our main problem of education of youth in good citizenship, on the solution of which the progress and even the existence of our American democracy depend.

The good citizen in a democracy, and especially the good citizen who has become a voter, should not merely refrain from activities that harm his fellow citizens, he should be eager and able to think and act so as to promote the welfare of himself and of all his fellow citizens in every civic or political unit in which he lives.

The requirements of such citizenship are included, at least by implication, in the following definition of "the good act" by a national group of leading educators of the United States.² This definition, which will be used in Chapter XII, reads: "The good act is one which creates as many and as worthy satisfactions as possible for as many people as possible over as long a time as possible. The rule holds for every race and nation, every age of man, whether child of three or maid of twenty or sage of sixty. The good character [which includes the good citizen and voter] is one who continuously acts in such a way that from his actions flow the results which enrich the living of all those who are affected, *over as long a time as the influence of his action may persist*" (p. 56).

Although the implications for good citizenship contained in the above definition include all the relations of the individual to his fellows in all possible groups, I shall confine my discussion in this volume primarily to the relations of the citizen and voter to his fellow members of the various civic groups—town, city, county, state, national and international—in which he lives. Also, even for these civic groups, our attention will be confined largely to the processes for educating young citizens to perform those good civic acts which focus in voting for good men and good laws, in personal

support of and co-operation with such men, and in personal obedience to such laws. As will be shown later in some detail, there is almost no phase of human welfare in respect to which the good citizen in a democracy, and especially the good citizen who has become a voter, does not have an opportunity and a duty to act.

That there is a growing national interest, outside as well as in schools, in the care and education of youth as citizens is evidenced by statements of the objectives of the Fourth White House Conference on Children. To emphasize this growing interest, I shall state first the objectives of the first three White House Conferences.

The First White House Conference, in 1909,³ emphasized the care of dependent children in their own homes, with outside help if parents were fit, otherwise in other family homes or homelike cottage institutions. The care of the child's health, use of preventive medicine, and the establishment of a federal children's bureau⁴ were also recommended.

The Second White House Conference, in 1919,⁵ reaffirmed the conclusions of the first and also emphasized the rights of the child to education, recreation, vocational preparation for life and physical, moral and religious development. It also urged better support for Mothers' Assistance work, the use of social case work, mental hygiene clinics and the scientific study of all methods and their results.

The Third Conference, on Child Health and Protection, in 1930,⁶ drew up the "Children's Charter" of nineteen articles, each of which begins with the words, "For Every Child."

On April 26, 1939, at the opening of the Fourth Conference, Pres. F. D. Roosevelt said:⁷ "This Conference, like the others, is composed of men and women having a broad range of experience and interest in matters pertaining to the welfare of children. It is our purpose to review the objectives and methods affecting the safety, well-being and happiness of the younger generation *and their preparation for the responsibilities of citizenship.* [Italics mine.]

"But we have gone one step further. Definitely, we are here with a principal objective of considering the relationship between a successful democracy and the children who form an integral part of that democracy. We no longer set them apart from democracy as if they were a segregated group. They are one with democracy

because they are dependent upon democracy and *democracy* is *dependent* on them."

From the address of Homer Folks, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, who was Vice-Chairman of the First White House Conference, in 1909, and who was Chairman of the Committee that formulated the 1940 report of the Fourth White House Conference, I quote these two paragraphs:⁸

"Since we cannot know his name or address, we have only one opportunity to see that the President of 1980 will be prepared for his job. We must decide what are the major needs of all children who are to become useful, competent, public-spirited citizens. We must, most seriously and without delay, see that all the needful steps are taken to make these minimum provisions available for all the children of the United States—for every last one.

"That will be no waste of effort. If reasonable and practicable measures for the protection, education, and civic development of all children are taken, we will have included several other Presidents to be elected shortly before or after 1980, several hundred governors of our 48 states, several thousand mayors of our 3,000 cities, and tens of thousands of legislators of cities, States, and Nation, as well as scores of millions of citizens who will select and elect the men and women who are to fill these thousands of responsible posts. They will set the tone of American public life, will determine how well democratic government in America can and will serve the needs of its citizens."

And, finally, while Mrs. Roosevelt was making the closing speech at this White House Conference Initial Session, she had most vividly in mind a rural youth group from twenty-seven states, then in Washington, to whom she had spoken and from whom she had received impressions the day before. I quote from her words these three passages:⁹

"I told these youngsters yesterday that I doubted if many of them had given much thought to what their real responsibility is to government when they live in a democracy. It was quite evident as they talked that they never had. They had no idea of the fact that they are really a part of their government, and that it does not matter that each of them is just one individual, that it is the aggregate of what they all do that makes a difference in their communities.

"I wondered very much if any one of these youngsters, of *whom many are of voting age*, had ever taken the trouble to know the people who are doing the job of government in their local communities or in their states, I very much fear that they had not because they were taking their whole government—their whole form of government—for granted.

"Yes, they believed in a democracy, they thought it was a perfectly good form of government. We have had it a long while and they did not wish to change it. But they did not think about it as a government to which they had to give something as individuals. *If you are going to give something to the community, you have to know more about it and about your own Nation. You have to know what you are up against in the Nation as a whole.*

"And so as I look into the future I hope that one of the things a group of this kind is going to do is to paint the picture before the country on as big a canvas as possible so that the whole country will become conscious of the needs of children everywhere in the United States.

"Do not let us be placid because in our own communities things are all right for the moment. *Let us realize that our future lies in the hands of the children throughout the United States, and let us be just as interested in things that are happening to children anywhere in the Nation as in what is happening to our children at home.* [Italics mine.]

"That is, I think, the one way we can be sure of giving the children of today a more vital part in our democracy and a really vital part in shaping and enjoying the Government of our country."

In fact Mrs. Roosevelt, in this closing speech, emphasized, as an essential basis for our united and effective action as citizens of a democracy, the necessity for a *consciousness by each of us as citizens of what is going on among all of us in all parts of the country and of a feeling of oneness of each of us with all other citizens.*

Even the above brief quotations from the speeches of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Folks and Mrs. Roosevelt during the opening session of the Fourth White House Conference in April, 1939, clearly suggest that there are now urgent questions which good citizens and voters in our democracy must face.

It is now clearer than ever before that all of us, in our homes, our schools and our communities, face the basic problem of provid-

ing for our youth such an education in democratic citizenship as will enable them to meet these questions intelligently and honestly.

In our efforts to find ways to solve this problem of today and tomorrow we shall be helped by getting a perspective on the changing objectives and processes for the education of youth in democratic citizenship that have already been developed and used in the United States. I shall then, in a later chapter, discuss the problem of how these objectives and processes have been and may still further be improved.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

CHAPTER I

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2. *Character Education: Tenth Yearbook* (Washington: The Dept. of Superintendence, National Education Assoc., 1932). [This Department is now called The American Association of School Administrators.]
3. *Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children Held at Washington, D. C., January 25-26, 1909* (Washington: Government Office, 1909).
4. The Children's Bureau was established in 1912 under the U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor; it was placed under the Department of Labor in 1913.
5. *Standards of Child Welfare: Report of the Children's Bureau Conferences, May and June, 1919* (Conference Series No. I, Bureau Publication No. 60).
6. *White House Conference, 1930* (The Century Co.), pp. 46-48.
7. *Conference on Children in a Democracy: Papers and Discussions at the Initial Session* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 3.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

II

THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR SCHOOL EDUCATION IN CITIZENSHIP

AS A PERSPECTIVE background against which these beginnings in schools should be seen, readers should become familiar with the processes of the annual town meeting in a New England state and with those of a parish-vestry meeting, or a county court-day meeting in a rural section of a Southern state like Virginia. As a citizen who was born in Barre, Vt., six miles from Montpelier, the capital of the State, I recall that in the seventies and eighties all my fellow citizens in the township who were voters held a town meeting each year in March. Although as a boy I did not attend this town meeting, my schoolmates and I knew from the conversations in our homes and neighborhood that such meetings were held.

In this meeting taxes were directly voted; also the following officials were usually chosen: selectmen (to have general charge of the town's business), a town clerk, a treasurer, a constable, a highway surveyor, an overseer of the poor, a superintendent of schools, and a representative to the state legislature. In some New England towns, fence-viewers, a poundkeeper to take care of stray animals, surveyors of lumber, measurers of wood and sealers of weights were also directly chosen by the voters or appointed by the selectmen.

One of the greatest common needs of these rural communities was, of course, the road, and the voters themselves often worked out the whole or part of their road taxes in person, with or without the help of their horses and oxen. I remember that one year the most prominent doctor in Barre, Vt., whose home was in the village three miles away, worked with pick and shovel with our neighbors upon the hilly roads near us. I also remember that, as a teen-age boy, I once worked on our roads as the driver of a pair of oxen which were yoked to a two-wheel dump cart, to draw the necessary road gravel from a near-by gravel bank.

For the town of Plainfield, Vt., adjoining Barre on the north, I have in hand the annual report of the Town Officers for the year ending February 1, 1939. These officers were: Moderator; Town Clerk and Treasurer; Three Selectmen; Three Listers; Three Auditors; Three School Directors; Road Commissioner; Overseer of the Poor; First Constable and Collector; Second Constable; Town Grand Juror; Town Law Agent; Five Cemetery Commissioners; Five Library Trustees; The Warden; Inspector of Lumber, Shingles and Wood; Weigher of Coal; Pound Keepers; Fence Viewers.

From the following "Warning for Town Meeting to be held March 7th, A. D. 1939," the reader can get an idea of the variety of citizenship activities, besides the election of their officers, on which the voters were directly informed and took action.

The warning reads:

The legal voters of the town of Plainfield, are hereby notified and warned to meet at the Town Hall on Tuesday, March 7th, A. D. 1939, at ten o'clock A. M. to transact the following business:

Article 1. To hear reports of town officers, and act on same.

Article 2. Shall license for sale of malt and vinous beverages be granted in this town? Shall spirituous liquors be sold in this town?

Article 3. To see if the town will vote to authorize the Selectmen to appoint one or two road commissioners.

Article 4. To elect all necessary officers for the ensuing year.

Article 5. To see if the town will vote to appropriate a sum of money for memorial exercises, and if so, how much.

Article 6. To see if the town will vote to appropriate a sum of money for the Cutler Memorial Library, and if so, how much.

Article 7. To see if the town will vote to accept the provisions of the public statutes relating to the collection of taxes by the town treasurer.

Article 8. To see if the town will vote to collect taxes on real and personal property in installments.

Article 9. To raise money to pay indebtedness of the town for schools, highways, bridges and current expenses.

Article 10. To see if the town will vote to authorize the Selectmen to borrow money as it may be needed, to pay the town expenses for the ensuing year.

Article 11. To see if the town will vote to authorize the town treasurer to discount orders given for labor to its employees whose taxes are delinquent, a certain percent to be applied on said delinquent taxes.

Article 12. To see if the town will vote to exempt from taxation the building owned by the Plainfield Little Theatre, in consideration of its being used for school gymnasium.

Article 13. To transact any other business that may legally come before the meeting.

Dated at Plainfield, this 16th day of February, A. D., 1939.

C. H. COLLINS,
W. H. MARTIN,
H. E. MAXFIELD,
Selectmen.

In the report of this town meeting in Vermont the names of scores of citizens who worked upon the roads and the amounts thus earned are printed.

A letter to the writer from one of the citizens in May, 1939, states that a large proportion of the more than four hundred and fifty voters attends the March Town Meeting, and that even the oldest farm voters, who rarely come to the village during the year, make it a duty to attend. This letter also states that many of the high school students attend this March Town Meeting, and *that in 1939 the members of the civics class afterward dramatized a town meeting of their own in school.*

Those readers who never in person attended such local civic meetings as were once held in every township in New England and in the parishes and counties of some Southern states should, if possible, seek to get descriptions direct from older citizens who once attended one or more of these meetings. For those who cannot get such direct personal reports, I recommend a book by John Fiske, published in 1891, which gives vivid accounts of such meetings.¹ No one can read certain chapters of this book without getting vivid data which will help to a better understanding of the processes of direct democratic citizenship which the townships of New England and the parishes and counties of Virginia once offered rural citizens.

The Virginians also participated in their own parish and county

civic affairs, but to a less extent than the Vermonters. Fiske, with the aid of a few words from others, gives this description of a court-day:

"Even though Virginia had not the town meeting, 'it had its familiar court-day,' which 'was a holiday for all the country-side, especially in the fall and spring. From all directions came in the people on horse-back, in wagons and afoot. On the court-house green assembled, in indiscriminate confusion, people of all classes—the hunter from the backwoods, the owner of a few acres, the grand proprietor, and the negro, old debts were settled and new ones made; there were auctions, transfers of property, and, if election times were near, stump-speaking.'

"For seventy years or more before the Declaration of Independence the matters of public concern, about which stump-speeches were made on Virginia court-days, were very similar to those that were discussed in Massachusetts town-meetings, when representatives were to be chosen for the legislature."

Although in Virginia there was, in Fiske's words, more of "a concentration of the administration of local affairs in the hands of a few county families" than in New England, I see clearly that there were in these largely rural communities direct opportunity and incentive for young citizens who had not yet become voters to take a personal interest in the civic problems and processes which vitally affected their own lives. In both New England and in Virginia, except perhaps in the comparatively recent period of large towns and cities, the opportunities for schools to educate in the processes of *local* citizenship have been largely supplementary to, and interpretative of, the direct experiences and observations of the young citizens of the community in town, parish and county meetings.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SPECIAL INSTRUCTION IN CIVICS IN SCHOOLS

For a summary of such beginnings I recommend a recent book.² In Appendix C of this book is given a list of more than thirty civics textbooks published in this country previous to 1861.

On page 170 I find this summary of twelve of these early civics texts:

TABLE XVI—THE PURPOSE OF CIVICS BEFORE 1861 AS INDICATED BY EARLY TEXTBOOK WRITERS

<i>Name of the Author</i>	<i>Titles of Text</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
Winchester, Elkanan	<i>A Plain Political Catechism</i>	1796	To explain the great principles of liberty and the Federal Government.
Sullivan, William	<i>A Political Class Book</i>	1830	To understand the rights and duties of citizenship.
Bayard, James	<i>A Brief Exposition of the Constitution of the U. S.</i>	1834	To introduce a more general acquaintance with the constitution. To lead the youth of the country to a minute examination of its structure, by which they will acquire a stronger attachment to the Union.
Maitland, Alexander	<i>The Political Instructor</i>	1833	An appeal to patriotism.
Story, Joseph	<i>The Constitutional Class Book</i>	1834	To awaken in the bosoms of American youth a more warm and devoted attachment to the Union and a love of the Constitution.
Hale, R. E.	<i>Familiar Conversations upon the Constitution of the United States</i>	1835	To teach the fundamental principles of our government.
Young, A. W.	<i>Introduction to the Science of Government</i>	1839	That the depositories of political power should know how to apply their power intelligently and judiciously.
Goodrich, S. C.	<i>The Young American</i>	1842	To set forth the necessity of honesty in politics, hoping to do something to restore to favor that good old word patriotism.
Hart, John S.	<i>A Brief Exposition of the Constitution of the United States</i>	1845	To supply a knowledge of one's duty as a citizen.
Shurtleff, J. B.	<i>The Governmental Instructor</i>	1840	To acquaint one with the organization of the National and State Government.
Burleigh, J. B.	<i>American Manual</i>	1848	To develop and strengthen the moral and intellectual powers of youth. To impart an accurate knowledge and necessity of political wisdom.
Mansfield, Edward I.	<i>The Political Grammar of the United States</i>	1851	To create and extend a desire for knowledge in the great principles of constitutional law.

From the contents of all the textbooks which Mr. Roorbach studied, he sets forth this conclusion in his book:

"This concludes the purposes, the content material, the methods of writing and teaching civics as it existed in our secondary schools previous to 1861. In all of these phases the study was a reflection of the political, economic and educational thought of the times. As was the case in history and geography, the doctrine of moral and mental philosophy influenced the teaching and learning process. The idea of mental discipline was emphasized very often by content material limited in its subject matter treatment to narrow boundaries, and by teaching methods confined solely to the requirement of rote recitations.

"The history of these subjects has shown, however, that neither that type of text nor method of teaching dominated the field during this period. There were popular civics texts in use which integrated history, economics, and social problems. They contained material on local, state, national and international affairs.

"The writers of those same texts condemned rote recitation, and as in the case of Sullivan, recommended a form of socialized recitation, and proposed for what today is called orientation a similar plan which he referred to as initiation."

In this book, on pages 185-188, the author cites seventy-nine secondary schools in seventeen states on the Atlantic coast from Maine to South Carolina, in Kentucky, and as far west as Michigan and Illinois, in which some form of special instruction in civics was given previous to 1861. Three of these schools were military schools and twenty-six were for females. Comparatively few were local public high schools.

As to the grade in secondary schools in which civics was taught and as to the percentage of schools studied which taught civics in any grade, the author states on page 188 that 39 per cent of two hundred and seventeen secondary schools taught civics in some grade; and that, of forty-one schools, four taught civics in the first year; six in the second; ten in the third; and twenty-one in the fourth.

For an understanding not only of civics but of history, economics and sociology as school subjects, the reader should consult another writer, Professor Tryon,³ who discusses values and the special characteristics of the textbooks and other material most

often used during four periods: previous to 1860; 1860-1897; 1897-1915; 1915-1933. I condense these opinions from Professor Tryon:

It was natural, during the early days of our Republic, for teachers to emphasize the study of the Federal Constitution in a didactic, memoriter and authoritarian way. In the North, also, during the pre-Civil War period, the slavery question, with its threats to a continuance of the Union, stimulated the same kind of civic teaching.

After the Civil War was over the tension gradually lessened and there was, after 1875, a slowly growing tendency to ask young citizens in our schools to study national *functions* as well as *structure* and also to study some state and local problems of citizenship. Mr. Tryon gives illustrations from four textbooks of this period by authors who took the lead in this tendency: Martin,⁴ Macy,⁵ Dole,⁶ Fiske.

In spite of the encouraging beginnings illustrated by the four authors cited, Mr. Tryon warns the reader against thinking that a general change in school methods of teaching citizenship had yet been made. He says: "In closing this treatment of the subject matter of civil government between 1860 and 1897, it seems fair to warn the reader against accepting the ideas of reformers as representing the actual situation. In spite of the above cited four forward-looking books, *the principal content of courses purporting to deal with materials from the field of political science throughout the years 1860 and 1897 was the Constitution of the United States.*" [Italics mine.]

To compare with this statement of Mr. Tryon as to the memoriter and authoritative methods of teaching civics found in most of the schools during the last half of the nineteenth century, I cite an opinion current in 1880 as to the prevalence of a negative and authoritative discipline of students in most schools during the same period:⁷

"The atmosphere of our schools, even today (with a few beautiful exceptions) is an atmosphere of authority. The child, as he enters the door, is met by rules: 'You must not whisper.' 'You must not leave your seat.' 'You must not turn your head.' 'You must not look out of the windows.' 'You must not drop your book or your pencil.' 'You must not move except at the stroke of the bell and in

concert with all the other victims of this miserable tyranny. 'You must learn just as much as, and in just the same time that every other child does; and if you don't, you'll be marked.' This is not an exaggerated picture of the antiquated and abominable system which reigns in (I believe) the majority of our schools, and these schools are most admired in which it is most complete and automatic."

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CHAPTER II

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2. Agnew O. Roorbach, *The Development of Social Studies in American Secondary Education Before 1861* (Philadelphia: The Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1937), pp. 299.
3. Rolla M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences As School Subjects*, "Report of the Commission on the Social Studies," Part XI, American Historical Assoc. (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935).
4. G. H. Martin, *Civil Government in the United States* (New York and Chicago: 1875).
5. J. Macy, *Our Government: How It Grew, What It Does, and How It Does It* (Boston: 1887).
6. C. F. Dole, *The Citizen and the Neighbors* (Boston: 1887).
7. "How Can Character Be Systematically Developed?" Address by Ellen Hyde, Principal, Framingham Normal School, Framingham, Mass., quoted in the "Annual Report," National Education Assoc., 1880.

III

CHICAGO PROPHETS WHO WERE CHANGING EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

SO FAR AS my memory and records show I, as a teacher, did not become professionally conscious that there was any special teaching problem present in the education of youth as citizens until about 1893-1905. Up to the first of these dates I had had a varied but superficial experience since my graduation from the Academy in Barre, Vt., in 1880, two years before I entered college. My first teaching experience was during the winter of 1880, when for three months, in a one-room school with about sixteen pupils, I taught in a farming district in Vermont where each taxpayer paid a part of his school taxes by taking the teacher to board for a number of nights. The date of boarding with each particular taxpayer was not fixed beforehand but was casually decided from week to week. One man said to me one night when he came to drive his two daughters home from school, "Waal, teacher, we've got our hogs killed now. We've got a place for ye to sleep and somethin' for ye to eat; ye can come and stay at our house any time you want to now."

My second experience was that of a one-term teacher in a two-room elementary school, in Plainfield village, Vt., 1881.

My further experiences, during my college course (1882-1886), after graduation, and up to 1893 were these:

Thirteen weeks interim principal of a small high school in Southbridge, Mass., 1884.

Five weeks interim principal of a larger high school in Dover, N. H., 1885.

One year principal of a two-room high school in Elk Point, S. Dak., 1886-1887.

One-year teacher of science in a small high school in Hyde Park, Chicago, 1887-1888.

Five-year principal of a Chicago suburban high school that had just been started in La Grange, Ill., 1888-1893. For the first year in this last school I was the only teacher; I had a freshman class of about twenty and six pupils who had had some first year courses. Another teacher was added the second year and still another the third year. As these new teachers were specialists in English, Latin, science, etc., I taught a wide variety of leftover subjects.

From 1893-1905, my experience was, for one year, that of teacher of civics and economics in the Englewood High School of Chicago; then teacher of the same subjects in the Hyde Park High School of Chicago, and then instructor in history and sociology in the Chicago Normal School.

During the years between 1880 and 1893, it had thus been my duty at one time or another to try to teach nearly every subject, except the modern languages, then included in the curricula of elementary and secondary schools. Under such conditions it was inevitable that my professional study and classroom teaching should be superficial, without consistent purpose and progressively unsatisfactory to myself. It was for these reasons that, after having discovered that my deepest professional interests lay in the direction of the economic, political and social relations of men, I deliberately set out to study and teach within this field.

In 1893, when I began to teach civics and economics only, Chicago had already begun to buzz with various educational, social welfare and sociological activities. Col. Francis W. Parker was drawing the attention not only of Chicago teachers but of alert teachers in the whole country to the Chicago Normal School where (1883-1899) he was trying to make it possible to "get the whole boy into school." John Dewey started the University Elementary School in January, 1896, within a few blocks of my home in Hyde Park, Chicago. It was the work of this school which he discussed in 1899 in his *The School and Society*.¹ His educational star was rising to cast its quenchless beam of light around the globe. "Education," he said, "is not a preparation for life—education is life."

Albion W. Small had begun (1893) to give courses in sociology at the University of Chicago and, assisted by one of his students, George E. Vincent, published his book² *An Introduction to the*

Study of Society in 1894. The Englewood and Hyde Park high schools were so near to the University of Chicago that it was possible for me to attend evening classes and sometimes a class in the late afternoon. One such class, taught by Professor Small, which I attended had among its twenty-five or so members three men who have now for a generation been outstanding in the fields of education and sociology. One was Dr. Paul Monroe, later of Teacher's College and Barnard at Columbia University, whose services to education and world citizenship have been lavished upon Europe, Asia, and South America as well as upon the United States.

Another was Dr. William I. Thomas, author of *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*;³ *The Unadjusted Girl*;⁴ and *The Child in America*.⁵ And a third was Dr. George E. Vincent (son of Bishop J. H. Vincent, founder of Chautauqua), who was later a professor in the University of Chicago, President of the University of Minnesota, Executive Director of one of our greatest foundations and, from one end of our country to the other, a much-sought-after and always sparkling, enthusiasm-rousing and intelligence-developing speaker.

During the five years previous to 1893, I had also been privileged for a period of two or three years to attend the frequent meetings of a half-dozen or so high school and normal school teachers of physics, chemistry, biology and botany who were discussing their experiences in applying the methods of firsthand observation, laboratory experience and inductive science to their teaching of elementary science in high school and normal school classes. One of these teachers, Fernando Sanford, was soon to be called to teach science in Leland Stanford University in California.

With the example and inspiration of those who were improving the teaching of physical sciences and with the personal experience of such desultory, superficial teaching as hitherto had been mine, how should I, in 1893, face the new opportunity to concentrate upon the teaching of the two related social sciences of civics and economics? What little I myself had been taught of these subjects in college had been chiefly of a memoriter, deductive and authoritative sort. What little teaching of civics I myself had done or seen done by other high school teachers had been largely confined to a memoriter study of the anatomy of the Constitution of the United States, and of the state in which I was teaching, and to mere

descriptions of the structure of the national, state and local governments. *Almost no idea of the actual, current, national, state and local civic functions as performed under these constitutions and structures by the machinery of each civic unit, and of the intimate relations of these functions to the daily lives of ourselves as students and teachers, did I ever, at the outset, bring to the attention of my students or even myself realize.*

Likewise in economics, the principles and theories we discussed seemed as far away from our own processes of getting a living as Adam Smith and England. So far as we were ourselves conscious of being connected with these economic principles and theories, it was merely to see ourselves as more or less helpless puppets in the grip of unalterable and impersonal economic forces.

Almost nothing was further away from our thought in the study of both civics and economics than the possibility that we ourselves could and should take a co-operative and purposeful part with our fellow students and other citizens in current civic and economic processes, whose results, willy-nilly, for good or ill, were daily affecting the lives of all of us. Nevertheless, how, in the sociological atmosphere of 1893 in Chicago, could I in self-respect keep on trying to teach civics and economics in this merely objective, deductive and memoriter way? Jacob Riis was telling me that I ought to find out how the other half lives.⁶ Miss Jane Addams, at Hull House since 1889, was leading the way not in finding out how the other half lives, but in living among the other half and in trying by personal and co-operative effort to make that life richer and fuller. She even became a city garbage inspector to help clean up the yards and streets in which the men, women and children of her Hull House district lived.

In 1894 Graham Taylor, at that time a professor in the Chicago Theological Seminary, felt that the problems of the other half were so close to his work as a religious teacher that he took his wife and children to live with him in the Chicago Commons.⁷

My fellow teachers of the science club were showing us how to lead high school students to a better understanding of physics, chemistry and biology by laboratory and inductive processes. Colonel Parker was trying not only to make school life so rich that the *whole boy* could enjoy himself in school, but he was leading the way toward the boy's understanding of his outdoor physical

environment by *geographical excursions* to the rivers and marshes in and about Chicago, and to the sand dunes and bluffs on the southern shore of Lake Michigan.

In Dr. Dewey's University Elementary School, the forerunner of our Progressive schools, I observed after 1896 many concrete illustrations of Dr. Dewey's belief that *education is not a preparation for life—education is life*. In my 1899 copy of Dr. Dewey's *The School and Society*, I find many marked passages describing the work and educational philosophy of his new school. I quote four of them here; in all, the italics are mine. In pages 23-24, after speaking of the introduction of such manual arts as working in wood and metal, of weaving, sewing and cooking merely for training for future vocations, he says:

"We must think of them as instrumentalities through which the school itself shall be made a genuine form of active community life instead of a place set apart in which to learn lessons. A society is a number of people held together because they are working along common lines in a *common spirit* and with *common aims*. The common needs and aims demand a growing interchange of thought and growing *unity of sympathetic feeling*. The radical reason that the present school cannot organize itself as a natural social unit is because just this element of common and productive activity is absent. Upon the playground in games and sport, social organization takes place spontaneously and inevitably. There is something to do, some activity to be carried on, requiring natural divisions of labor, selection of leaders and followers, mutual cooperation and emulation. In the school room the motive and cement of social organization are alike wanting. Upon the ethical side, the tragic weakness of the present school is that it endeavors to prepare future members of the social order in a medium in which the conditions of the social spirit are eminently wanting."

And again on pages 34-35: "How many of the employed are today mere appendages to the machines which they operate. This may be due in part to the machine itself, or to the *regime* which lays so much stress upon the products of the machines; but it is certainly due in large part to the fact that the worker has had no opportunity to develop his *imagination* and his *sympathetic insight* into the *social and scientific values found in his work*. At present, the impulses which lie at the bases of the industrial system are either

practically neglected or positively distorted during the school period. Until the instincts of construction and production are systematically laid hold of in the years of childhood and youth, until they are trained in social direction, enriched by historical interpretation, controlled and illuminated by scientific methods, we certainly are in no position even to locate the source of our economic evils, much less to deal with them effectively."

My next quotation from Dewey's book, pages 67-69, is this:

"I have been speaking only of the outside of the child's activity—only the outward expression of his impulse toward saying, making, finding out, and creating. The real child, it hardly need be said, lives in the world of values, of imagination and ideas which find only imperfect outward embodiment. We hear much nowadays about the cultivation of the child's 'imagination.' Then we undo much of our own talk and work by a belief that the imagination is some special part of the child, that finds its satisfaction in some one particular direction—generally speaking—that of the unreal and make-believe, of the myth and made-up story. Why are we so hard of heart and so slow to believe? The *imagination* is the *medium* in which the child *lives*. To him there is everywhere and in everything that occupies his mind and activity at all a surplusage of value and significance.

"The question of the relation of the school to the child's life is at bottom simply this; shall we ignore this native setting and tendency, dealing not with the living child at all but with the dead image we have erected, or shall we give it play and satisfaction? If we once believe in life and the life of the child, then will all occupations and uses spoken of, then will all history and science, become instruments of appeal and materials of culture to the imagination, and through that to the richness and orderliness of his life. Where we see only the outward doing and the outward product, there, behind all visible results, is the *readjustment of mental attitude*, the *enlarged and sympathetic vision*, the sense of *growing power* and the *willing ability to identify both insight and capacity with the interests of the world and man*. Unless culture be a superficial polish, a veneering of mahogany over common wood, it surely is this—the growth of the imagination in flexibility, in scope, and in sympathy, till the life which the individual lives is informed with the life of nature and of society. When nature and society can live

in the schoolroom, when the forms and tools of learning are subordinated to the substance of experience, then will there be an opportunity for this identification, and culture shall be the democratic password."

And finally, from page 103:

"If the school is related as a whole to life as a whole, its various aims and ideals, culture, discipline, information, utility, cease to be variants, for one of which we must select one study for another.

"The growth of the child in the direction of social capacity and service, his larger and more vital union with life, becomes the unifying aim and discipline, culture and information fall into place as phases of this growth."

As contemporaneous evidence of Dr. Dewey's influence upon myself, on the margin of pages 34-35 (quoted above) about developing the constructive imagination of the child, I find written an account of a man whom I observed working in Washington Park at 54th Street and Cottage Grove Avenue, a few blocks west of Dr. Dewey's school building. A few days before, I had seen mention in the Chicago papers that a new entrance to Washington Park from Cottage Grove Avenue on the east was to be made at 54th Street. (The reason was that the former entrance at 55th Street was dangerous because the north and south streetcar line on Cottage Grove Avenue had a branch running east on 55th Street. Thus there were streetcars as well as vehicular traffic running four ways at 55th Street and Cottage Grove Avenue. It was therefore a dangerous entrance to the Park, both for vehicles and pedestrians. A block north at 54th Street, the entrance would involve danger only from north and south traffic on Cottage Grove Avenue.) On the morning in question, as I crossed the street on my way to school, men were beginning to dig up shrubs and small trees on the eastern edge of Washington Park at 54th Street, and I said to myself: "They have begun to make an opening for that new street entrance." To one man I said, "Hello, what's going on here?" "I don't know," he replied. "I was told to dig up this plant and set it over there; that's all I know about it." And then I thought to myself: "How many others of us there are who are likewise told to do this and to do that in our industrial and civic life and meekly do what we are told to do *with no more imagination as to what it all means*

than this workman has of a new entrance to the Park while he is digging up this one shrub. What can I do in my classes in civics and economics to help change this unimaginative state of mind in myself and in my students?"

My indebtedness to these nineteenth century "prophets" becomes very clear to me in 1944 as I reread not only Dewey in *The School and Society*, but Small and Vincent in *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. For example, at the end of every chapter of the Small and Vincent book I find a list of subjects for investigation. I now realize that when I first read these subjects for investigation, I began to see the answer to my questions as to how I could improve my processes in teaching the social subjects of economics and civics. In short, I began to see that the inductive method of direct observation used by the members of my science club as teachers of the physical, chemical, and biological sciences could be used by the thoughtful teacher and students in their personal observations and investigations of actual economic and civic functions; and that they could also be helped to make inductive personal adaptations of these observations and investigations in the economic and civic fields.

And not only that, but it is now clear that in these subjects for investigation listed by Small and Vincent were suggestions not only of the method of Jane Addams and Professor Graham Taylor in trying to find out for themselves how the other half lives, but also suggestions of the importance of finding out how, under the stress of common interests, people in the family, on the farm, in the village, in the city, in the state, in the nation, and in the world have at least partially co-ordinated the activities of individuals to secure the welfare of the various groups concerned.

Again, I see now that the procedures recommended by Small and Vincent were in harmony with those of Colonel Parker when he insisted that in addition to getting the whole boy into school he should be helped by excursions to study geography out of doors.

As with Dewey, so with Small and Vincent; they were not satisfied to have students study data, either in school or outdoors, merely as isolated items of information; they wanted them, with historical and constructive imagination, to find out for themselves what relations to each other all the varieties of human activity had,

and also how they have been and should be co-ordinated for the welfare of all the members of each group or society involved, including themselves.

And so, as I faced for the first time an opportunity to concentrate my study and teaching upon the two related subjects of economics and civics, I see now that my classroom experiences under Dr. Small at the University of Chicago, and the careful study of his *An Introduction to the Study of Society* gave me most concrete suggestions for changing my method of teaching from the memoriter and deductive method to that of more concrete and direct observation of data, and inductive inquiry as to the meanings and relations of these data to my own life and to the life of my students. At least, I could make a beginning.

For example, the reader can well imagine some of the pedagogical prods that came to me, a stumbling teacher of economics, as I studied the meaning of such topics as these, taken from the book's Analytical Table of Contents:

Book II—The Natural History of a Society

Chapter I—The Family on a Farm

Chapter II—The Rural Group

Chapter III—The Village

Chapter IV—Town and City

Book III—Social Anatomy

Chapter I—The Social Elements; Land and Population

Chapter II—The Primary Social Group; The Family

Chapter III—Social Aggregates and Organs; The Manifoldness of the Individual

Chapter IV—The Psycho-physical Communicating Apparatus

Book IV—Social Physiology and Pathology

And among other items, these: Production of wealth as a family function. Apportionment and transmission of wealth. The social function of exchange. The function of advancing wealth for special needs. Apportionment and distribution of wealth. The transmission of wealth to society. The pathology of production, of distribution, of education, of communication, of discipline and control. Remedial social organs.

When I read the chapter on "Town and City," I was impelled to contrast the firsthand knowledge of local economic and civic processes which I had seen as a boy and young man in the rural towns and villages of Vermont with many of the complex and unseen social, economic and civic processes that were then going on all around me in Chicago.

When I found, under the heading "Social Aggregates and Organs; The Manifoltness of the Individual," such items as "The *Sustaining System*," "The *Transporting System*," "The *Regulating System*," I said to myself, "Ah, this begins to sound like economics and civics."

And I found under the heading "The Psycho-physical Communicating Apparatus" these, among other sub-items: "The *Educational Communicating Structure*," "The *Governmental Communicating Apparatus*."

Oh! Perhaps the industrial and political processes are not wholly remote, beneficent, inexorable and unchangeable after all, I thought. I wonder how my students and I can set about the study of the economic and civic processes of which we are parts?

For a more direct study of economic processes I also found some suggestions in the subjects for investigation at the end of various chapters that were in harmony with the suggestion I was receiving from the teachers of physics, chemistry and botany, from Miss Addams and Graham Taylor, from Colonel Parker and John Dewey, namely: to look around me to observe the primary economic facts of how different people in the community were then getting a living and to find out what industrial principles and structure were co-ordinating these activities; in short, to study *how people were then getting a living, how they used to get a living and what changes in methods of getting a living were then in process*.

For example here are a few sample subjects for investigation, chosen from different chapters and unrelated to each other except that they involve a study of *life processes that are actually going on all around us*. "Show whether the existence of a 'pauper class' deserves the attention of the responsible people in the town where the reader lives."

For villages and towns there were these topics among many

others: "(a) general characteristics; (b) dietary; (c) meal hours; (d) pictures; (e) family library; (f) domestic production; (g) status of servants."

"Social economic institutions; (a) local productive industries; (b) local transferring industries; (c) local means of exchange, stores; (d) bank."

"Map showing location of (a) rich families; (b) wage earners families; (c) very poor and dependent families."

"Inequalities in opportunities to satisfy the six-fold wants, health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, righteousness, as observed in the town where the student lives; with attempt to trace the origin of differences."

"Relative number of home-owning and tenant families."

"Observe the mode of living in a family whose abode consists of one or two rooms, and trace all the apparent consequences of this limitation."

MY RESPONSE AS A HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER OF ECONOMICS

As a total result of all the influences upon my teaching of economics in the later nineties, my students and I worked out together a Manual, primarily for our own use.⁸

I cite this Manual here merely to show the change that had been wrought in one teacher's methods; also to show the primary influences which caused that change and its direction.

In Part I thirty pages were given to nineteen lessons devoted to observation and to descriptive interpretation and classification of the occupations which students found were being carried on all around them. After studying this the students had fairly clear first-hand knowledge of the basic occupations and industrial processes that were going on about them.

In Part II one hundred and forty-seven pages were given to a study of the historical development of the current industrial processes out of the earlier and simpler processes in vogue in early England.

In Part III there were only one hundred and one pages devoted to a brief discussion of economic theory. But, though brief, this discussion, because of the observational, inductive and historical studies which had preceded it, was, in my opinion, much more

intimately related to the lives of the students, and meant more to them, than longer discussions of economics in a deductive and authoritative manner had previously meant to me as a teacher and to my former students.

The following extract from my Preface is here cited for its pedagogical suggestion:

"For the last five years, the author has earnestly believed that a beginner in Economics had a right to find the subject closely related to his own experience, and that of his neighbors, so that he would seem to himself to be studying the industrial life of actual men and women more than books about this industrial life. This Manual is a result of the author's effort to put into practice in his own classes the idea just stated."

I was indebted to the social and educational prophets of the early nineties not only for these changes in my teaching of *economics*. These prophets also helped me to change my processes in the teaching of *civics*.

For example, on page 352 of *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, by Small and Vincent, I found this statement of our need to understand how decisions are reached about actual civic policies and activities of the civic units of city, county, state and nation in which we citizens lived:

"Every social organ must have, as a condition of its existence, some means of forming a collective decision. The regulating system of every group may be tested by its ability to render this important service. In proportion as a social organ can reach a definite conclusion, in which its members acquiesce, and can promptly put it into execution, will the group, other things being equal, do its appointed work efficiently."

As I read this statement I asked myself: "In our previous memoriter studies of national and state constitutions and of the political structures set up under these constitutions, what relations have my students and I seen between these constitutions and these political structures, on the one hand, and the civic processes by which collective decisions are actually being made by us citizens of Chicago, Cook County, the State of Illinois, the United States, on the other?"

In answer, I had to confess that both for myself and my students, we saw very little of such relation. This persistent question,

then, naturally followed: Ought we to see such relations, and if so, *how* can we learn to see such relations? In fact there was no real question in my mind about the "ought."

In his introduction to my Manual on economics, Dr. Small again suggested to me an answer to the "how." He wrote: "If we merely study the sciences of society, we will know, after all, only an artificial substitute for real men and women. We need to open our eyes and learn for ourselves. All the social facts that any science can find are passing before us every day. We are not intelligent members of society until we know how to think these facts together in rational form. . . ."

"The Schools should teach Civics, not to make officials, and Economics, not to make financiers, *but both to make good citizens.*"

And so, breathing the social and pedagogical atmosphere radiated by Jacob Riis, Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Col. Francis W. Parker, John Dewey, Dr. Small; by my then classmates in Dr. Small's classes, George E. Vincent, Paul Monroe, W. I. Thomas; and by our small club of teachers of physical, biological and chemical science, I was compelled to face anew, for myself and my classes, the question: *In what civic groups are we here and now citizens? How can we learn to become good citizens in each of these groups?*

The answer to the first question is in part given in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as follows: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the state wherein they reside."

It was likewise easy to see that each citizen of state and nation is also a citizen of some county and of some smaller local group such as school district, village, town, or city. If the assumption that each of these civic units, in which willy-nilly we are already citizens, has some *function*, some *work to do for the members of the group*, it was also evident that the problem of learning how to be good citizens in *each civic unit* must center in a study of the functions of that unit. For example, one should ask what the functions of that civic unit are; that is, what work is done by that unit. And for whom this work is done, and by whom the work is done. Also, what is the actual and possible relationship between ourselves—teachers, students and all others—as citizens for whom

work is done, and those by whom work is done; that is, how *we* are involved in the whole, circular, functional process of each civic unit?

It seemed crystal clear to me that we could not be really good citizens in this boasted democratic country of ours until we could each of us answer at least these questions for each of the civic units in which we lived.

But it was not very clear to me what detailed teaching methods would help most to produce such citizens.

In addition to the incentives, above mentioned, which had come to me from teachers of the physical sciences, from Riis, Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Colonel Parker, John Dewey and Dr. Small, I was conscious of stimulation and guidance in the classroom work we were undertaking from certain further sources. In Professor Small's classes in sociology in Chicago University, I heard of Dr. Franklin H. Giddings, Professor of Sociology in Columbia University. These three extracts from his writings suggest the pedagogical nudge toward method in teaching civics that he gave me. On page ix of the Preface of *The Principles of Sociology*,⁹ I read:

"The central doctrine of this book is that *consciousness of kind* distinguishes *social* from *non-social* phenomena, and is the principal cause of *social* conduct." [Italics mine.]

And, again, from page 133 of another book by Dr. Giddings,¹⁰ I read further that:

"Conscious cooperation presupposes: (1) a *common interest* in a *common object* or end, which, as we have seen, is a like responsiveness to the same stimulus; (2) a perception by each that all are responding in like ways to the same stimulus, and this perception is the consciousness of kind; (3) communication, one motive of which is the consciousness of kind; (4) some degree of confidence in each other which presupposes a consciousness of kind."

And finally I find these words on page xi of the Prefare to his *Principles of Sociology*:

"The most important claim, then, that I make for the sociological theory that is here presented is that I have throughout insisted that *fellow-feeling* is a *cause* in social phenomena and that *mutual aid* is an *effect*." [Italics mine.]

In short, according to Giddings, if teachers of civics were to

have any success in helping young citizens to develop purposeful, co-operative action for the welfare of all the citizens, these young citizens must first somehow be led to *feel a fundamental likeness*, have a *consciousness of kind*, with all the other citizens of that group—in short, to realize deeply that, in common parlance, the citizens of that unit are “all in the same boat.”

And, regarding the actual machinery of civic action for the common welfare of all the citizens in the group, there came to mind Lincoln's words, “government *of* the people, *by* the people, *for* the people.” Did Lincoln mean, I queried, that in the actual day-by-day processes of our civic life *all* the people were functioning in exactly the same way all the time? Or, in actual operation, might there be differences of people, and of action among the people in the groups comprising the “*of, by, and for*”?

Although not very clear to me at the turn of the century, should it not now be clear to all teachers of civics that a combination of Giddings' “consciousness of kind” with Lincoln's “government *of* the people, *by* the people, *for* the people” would give us a clear conception of an actual and circular civic process in a democratic civic unit?

In this circular process for any civic group—town, county, state, nation, world—Giddings' consciousness of kind, among the people of each unit would furnish the motive power corresponding to Lincoln's *of the people*; the civic machinery set in motion by this motive power, resulting in expressions of public opinion and votes for representatives by citizens would correspond to Lincoln's *by the people*; and, finally, the laws passed and enforced would be Lincoln's *for the people*.

In short, if we study the actual functioning of political machinery in each political unit in which we live, we ought to recognize: (a) the degree of consciousness of kind existing among the members of that unit; that is, who the actual people are who make up Lincoln's group “*of the people*” in that unit; (b) who in each unit actually comprise Lincoln's “*by the people*”; and, finally, (c) to what degree those in Lincoln's “*by the people*” are in fact in each unit actually serving all Lincoln's group of “*for the people*,” and *not merely serving themselves or their political henchmen*.

But in 1900, whether the pedagogical meaning of all the influences that were beating upon us was understood or not, my students

and I began with all the light we saw at that time, and as best we could, to study the civic functions of the City of Chicago, the most important local civic unit in which we lived. In short, we began first to study with most emphasis *what* the services *for* the people of that city were, and only incidentally *how* these services were motivated and performed *by* voters and their chosen officials.

We did not then see with sufficient clarity that it was not enough to study any one of the three steps in the circular process of, *by* and *for* in isolation from the other two. In fact too many teachers of civics still fail to see that all three steps must be included in any adequate study of each function of any civic unit.

The time of my own direct efforts along the lines above indicated was 1900-1905; the location, the Chicago Normal School and its immediate vicinity. As the members of my own classes were student teachers who were doing "practice work" in the various grades of the elementary school connected with the Normal School, the room teachers in several grades of this school undertook experiments in teaching one or more civic functions as unit teaching projects.

In 1903, I summarized our Chicago Normal School efforts toward a study and teaching of *actual civic functions* in school grades in a forty-eight-page Manual.¹¹ In thus focusing our attention upon civic functions we were directly influenced by the method of students of physics and chemistry which emphasized the necessity of observing and studying actual data.

I left the Normal School in 1905 to begin work in the Chicago Juvenile Court, urged by my personal desire to get at least a little closer to the facts of how the other half lives. As I never returned to teaching in the public schools I do not know in detail to what degree in other Chicago schools our normal school experiments were adopted or even critically understood.

As a new course of study in history and civics (which I did not write) had recently been adopted in Chicago, my Manual of 1903 was written with this particular course of study in view. I think, however, that the pedagogy recommended can still be understood well enough by readers in any locality either to be rejected or accepted and adapted to the current situations in their own schools and communities.

I now make citations from my Manual in some detail, not to

urge that these details be literally adopted but for three educational purposes:

1. To show that my effort in the Chicago Normal School in 1903 was to go forward from the days when civic education in schools was based almost entirely on a memoriter study of civic principle and structure as written in Federal and State constitutions.

2. That my efforts, and the efforts of others in those long ago days, may now be studied in the light of the assumptions and teaching principles described in Chapter VIII of my present book, in order to show as clearly as possible how far short of present-day ideals these long ago ideals and efforts were.

3. That the reader may find in these details of my long-ago suggestions, when compared with my ideals of today, some suggestions that will help him to formulate still clearer pedagogical principles on which to base his own progressive efforts to help young citizens in our schools toward a better understanding of and participation in both the privileges and the duties of loyal and effective citizens in a progressive democracy.

I now quote from pages 3-4 of my Chicago Normal School Manual a passage on the "Relation of Civics to History—The Point of View":

"Perhaps the most fundamental fact in human history is the fact of continuity. Bryant realized this when he wrote the first lines of "The Flood of Years":

A mighty hand, from an exhaustless urn,
Pours forth the never-ending flood of years,
Among the nations. How the rushing waves
Bear all before them.

"Whitman also was under the spell of the same thought when he began his "Passage to India" with:

For what is the present after all but a growth out of the past?
(As a projectile form'd, impell'd, passing a certain line, still keeps on,
So the present, utterly form'd, impell'd by the past.)

"The story of man is a continued story. The sequel is daily being written. All human experience is included in the never-ending effort of man to make his condition different from what it was. All concrete events in human history fall into their logical

arrangement, their true place in history as a whole, when they are seen as connecting links between *man as he was and man as he would be*. Urged on by their own desires, industrial, political, intellectual, social, religious, etc., our successive generations of ancestors have worked out the continuous but ever-varying experiences which, from primitive times, through Greece, Rome, Medieval Europe, and Colonial America, to the present, make up complete American history.

"The new course of study in History and Civics (whatever else it does or fails to do) deliberately chooses its subject matter from many different sections or periods of this complete ancestry of American children. In the first grade the point of view of the history is essentially the present; in the second, the present and the primitive; in the third the Greek and the early Teutonic; in the fourth, the present, Medieval European, and Colonial American; in the fifth and sixth, Medieval European and Colonial American; in the seventh, Medieval English, and European, and Revolutionary American; in the eighth, nineteenth and twentieth century American.

"The point of view of all civics work is essentially the present. Americans of today seeking to get for themselves certain forms of protection, convenience, development, etc., by the method of political organization and compulsory contribution, or tax, furnish the subject-matter of civics. All of the details of our city, county, state and national governments fall into line between *man as he is* and *man as he would be*. If Americans have no wants, political institutions have no meaning. A study of history that comes down to the present time must include what we call *civics*, or we assume that men of today have no wants and no ideals that can be realized by political organization—in short that we are entirely different from any of our ancestors.

"Although not presenting to the child, persons and events in a strictly chronological order, there are enough different phases of the life of his ancestry presented in the new course of study in history and civics so that the connected story may slowly form itself in the child's mind and heart. Perhaps the most fundamental aims in the teaching of this course as a whole may be suggested by the two separate but complementary statements which follow."

My understanding of the "Aim in History Study" was thus described on pages 4-6:

"The study of history should help the child to turn his face toward the future with a growing consciousness of the direction and momentum of the forces from out the past that are pushing him forward. It should help him to take into his very blood at least these phases of the unfolding life of his ancestry:

- "1. That civilized man, pressed by desires for various forms of welfare, has developed through hunter, shepherd, agricultural, and city-state stages of industry and culture to the present more complex stage, which in its turn is in process of change.
- "2. That, owing to, the increase in numbers, restlessness, jealousy and antagonism among groups, etc., man's knowledge of the earth's surface enlarged and his way of living greatly changed, some of the events chosen for emphasis of the above being those connected with Feudalism, the Crusades, Marco Polo, Venice, Medieval trade, Vasco da Gama, Columbus, etc., in short, the special phases of the world expansion that resulted in the discovery of America.
- "3. That the people who took possession of this new land, for example, Puritans of New England, Cavaliers of Virginia, Quakers, Dutch, Spanish, French, etc., were of diverse types, and that they found the Indians a different type of people already in the land.
- "4. That after these different peoples had clashed and warred with each other over possession of this land, and because of differences at home, one after another they gave way to the English who became dominant in the eastern part of what is now Canada and the United States.
- "5. That as the English colonists became stronger here they fretted more and more under the yoke of control put upon them by Englishmen in England, *grew more conscious of their unity in discontent*, and finally broke the yoke, setting themselves free to complete the building of a nation of their own.
- "6. That on this new continent these diverse peoples, thus transplanted and thus partially unified by a common struggle, have

marvelously grown in numbers, territory, unity, power, industries and means of travel, transportation, communication, comfort and culture.

- “7. That our fathers have done all this by dint of hard work and continual struggle:—
- (a) Against the physical difficulties of a new continent.
 - (b) Of some of themselves against others of themselves on account of differences of experience, environment, ideals, opinions, etc.
 - (c) Against other people and nations that have tried to control them or have resisted them when they began to carry out their plans.
- “8. That we, men and women, boys and girls, sons and daughters of parents who have done these things, now stand face to face with other things to be done, in the doing of which we too shall have to work hard and struggle against difficulties;
- (a) In the things themselves.
 - (b) Arising from the differences of opinion among ourselves as a nation.
 - (c) Arising either from the resistance or domination of others outside our nation.”

I quote from this same Manual (pp. 6-7) a passage on “The Aim in Civics Study”:

“From a practical point of view, each of the political units, town, city, state, nation, etc., is a group of people organized to do for the members of that group those kinds of work which all of them need to have done.

“For example, to get;

- (a) Protection against fire, personal danger, loss of property, disease, etc.
- (b) Common care of the sick, poor, orphaned, homeless, insane, etc.
- (c) Conveniences, such as water, light, roads, bridges, post office, lighthouses, etc.
- (d) Means of development and culture, such as schools, libraries, parks, playgrounds, museums, etc.

"The study of civics, therefore, should help the child to realize himself as a member—a possibly helpful member—of each political group that does work for him. It should help him to realize as concretely and vividly as possible:

- "1. What the most important things are that are done for its members by each political unit.
- "2. The general way in which the members of each group do their work, in other words, learn about the officers, laws, elections, taxation, etc., of each unit as merely the machinery by which needed work is done.
- "3. That there is a division of labor among these groups—town, city, state, nation, etc.—each in the main aiming to do the work that is needed by its own members.
- "4. That for honest support by all the members of each group—'The public'—the smaller number of members—'office-holders' who are chosen to have special charge of the work of the group should always give honest service.
- "5. That to the citizen who has learned through the study of history to feel the momentum of the life of his ancestry, American civil life offers wide opportunity to use this inherited force wisely, bravely, and under the influence of ideals."

As to methods in teaching history and civics—the specific difference of one from the other and the approximate proportion of the history-civics time to be given to civics were then stated in "The Method in Teaching History and Civics," pages 7-8:

"(Note:)—It is recommended that from one-tenth to one-fifth of the total time allotted to history and civics in each grade be given to civics.

"Under this conception of the continuity of human experience, and with this thought of the effect upon the American child of a study of history and civics throughout the grades, the subject matter of civics falls into line under the same idea as does history. Wherever in past time a man, an event, or institution is clearly seen intervening between *Man as he was* and *man as he would be* we have a phase of history; and wherever in present time we see a man, an event, or an institution between *American men as they are* and *men as they would become by means of political action*, we have a phase of American civics.

"The human experience that underlies both history and civics is man in process of becoming other than he was, man thinking and doing things. The child is also a thinker and doer.

"To teach history and civics is to help the child to make a connection between his own thinking and doing and the thinking and doing of others, to direct his own activity in the light of others. *He can understand the activity of others only so far as his own activity in similar directions gives him personal experience as a basis. In studying history vitally his thought must continually move back and forth between the past and the present so as to weave a web of connection between the past and himself: furthermore, if each teacher, in connection with each phase of the history and civics course taught, makes sure that the children not only see this particular phase as related to themselves, but also in its true relation to what went before and came after it, to the full limit of their ability, there will be a maximum of probability that all these phases will gradually assume unity in the child's mind.* [Italics mine in 1944.]

"On the other hand, whenever a biography, event, or institution is presented in such a way that the child sees less than he is able to see of its connection with himself and with what went before and came after, his chances of getting true history and civic value out of the work are by so much less. Biography may be too desultory to be of much value. *Mere civic structure-machinery may have little or no connection, in the child's mind, with the work it was intended to do.*" [Italics mine in 1944.]

It was also recognized that the school itself as a self-governing community offered a real opportunity for the teaching and practice of good citizenship. This opportunity and other opportunities offered in connection with other subjects and in connection with various other school activities and current events in the community and world outside were pointed out under the heading "Incidental Civic Teaching":

"It can hardly be over-emphasized that the greatest aim of civic teaching is an ethical one. *Unless the result is toward a citizenship that both sees social purposes and political machinery more clearly and also feels the claims of social obligation to be more binding upon his own conduct, civics teaching will be a failure.* But this

ethical idea may often best be formed in the child's mind by other than direct civic instruction. The following mere enumeration of some of the opportunities for such incidental civic or ethical instruction may suggest possibilities that are not yet fully realized:

- "1. The life of the school as a cooperative community, in the school building and in its neighborhood.
- "2. Those phases of nature study which illustrate cooperation and mutual aid among animals or plants.
- "3. Geography study of the products of the earth and study of human labor in such a way that all workers may be seen to be working for each, and each for all.
- "4. National songs and literature, art, etc., of our own and other lands so used as to increase self-respect and respect for others among different nationalities.
- "5. Current events so discussed that community problems, honest and brave conduct of citizens and officials and high social ideals of many kinds may be seen and felt in concrete human relations.
- "6. Personal cooperation by the teacher with other adult citizens in concrete efforts to better existing social conditions. Although such conduct on the part of the teacher as a citizen is not for the purpose of influencing the children to good citizenship the example cannot help being contagious.
- "7. In short, in the language of athletics, all possible opportunities should be taken to help the child to realize that he is a member of our various social 'teams' and that he needs to learn to 'play a good team game.'

"Or, to borrow a word from the musical dictionary, every opportunity should be taken to help the child to realize himself as a member of the 'social orchestra,' to teach him 'social orchestration.'"

My "General Assumptions for Specific Civics Teaching" were thus stated on pages 9-10 of this book:

"Some Typical Suggestions for the Different Grades.

"General Assumptions:

"A. That in teaching each topic the teacher will see to it that the child has at least a feeling of four phases of it:

- "1. Something being done.
- "2. The people who do the something.
- "3. The people for whom the something is done.
- "4. How the something; (a) is done now; (b) used to be done or is done elsewhere; (c) ought to be done.

"B. That the emphasis upon these different phases will be different in different grades. In the lower grades emphasis may be placed upon the thing done, but who does it, how it is done, and for whom it is done should also be noticed and at least felt. In the upper grades more and more detail should be included under each heading. For example, a first grade child may easily understand that *we* (his father and the neighbors) *teach* (the thing done) *our* children (those for whom the thing is done) by *building* a school house and *hiring* teachers (how the thing is done). But in the eighth grade the *we* (who do the thing) may be enlarged to include all the people taxed for the school: our children (for whom the thing is done) may be understood to include *all the children of the city*; *teach* (the thing done) may include the *curriculum of the whole public school system* from the kindergarten through the normal school; by *building a school* house and *hiring* teachers (the way the thing is done) may include the *whole process of taxation*, (social contribution) and the whole process of *nominating, electing or appointing* (social selection) the mayor, alderman, civil service commission, board of education, superintendent, teachers, janitors, engineers, etc.

"C. That teachers in the lower grades should not take up in detail civic functions outlined for upper grades and thereby make these topics 'an old story' when they are studied later. The number of different civic functions, interesting things done by us through our various governments, is large enough so that overlapping need not be frequent."

The Manual then went on to give "General Suggestions" followed by one or more "Special Unit Topics" in greater detail with bibliography for each grade. For most grades I give here only the "General Suggestions" and appropriate unit topics I named for each grade. I omit details as to methods of observation, interviews, excursions, questions for discussion in class, bibliography, etc.

"FIRST GRADE

"General Suggestions (p. 10)

"The primary aim here is to help the child to observe and to begin to understand as many kinds of social activity that affect his own life as possible. Aside from the activities of the home, those chosen from the industrial and political phases of our life are the ones that children of this age see most of and need to understand. The special suggestions only and not a hard and fast outline. The bibliography given is in the same spirit, and aims to help the teacher in the beginning of her quest for a few facts on which to base her work with the children.

"Special Unit Topic from Industrial Life With Questions: The Carpenter (pp. 10-11).

"In a similar way help the child to see other occupations familiar to him; grocer, milkman, dressmaker, mason, blacksmith, etc., in the light of their true social service to the rest of us.

"Special Unit Topic from Civic Life: The Policeman (p. 13).

"SECOND GRADE"

The General Suggestions were the same as for First Grade.

"Special Unit Topic from Civic Life: The Engineer and Janitor of the School Building (p. 15).

"Clear ideals of positive cooperation with teacher, engineer, and janitor, followed up by habitual action in harmony with those ideals should be the aim.

"THIRD GRADE

"General Suggestions (pp. 16-17)

"Although the fire department is of interest to all children, even from the kindergarten, it has been urged that very little be said about it in the lower grades in order that it may be more carefully studied in the third. Here a genuine beginning can be made in the study of social organization. In this connection, the child who gets the idea that the organization of the fire department

is wholly determined by the work it has to do, and that the only right basis for choosing men to act as firemen is their ability to put out fires, has got in a concrete form an ideal that will help to make him an enemy of spoils politics in any form.

"The aim of the study should be to lead the child to understand the process of fire fighting as it now is, as it has been, and as it may be, to some extent; that is to help him to feel that we, the people of the city, are continually improving upon our methods of fighting fire, and that in reality we are fighting our own fires just as truly as in the old days when we went out with our own leathern buckets and carried water ourselves. The machinery and method of fire fighting should be felt, as far as possible, to be within our power to change whenever we can discover better machinery or a better way.

"The fact of our payment of money, although not the details of the manner of that payment, to the firemen in return for the faithful service they render us should also be distinctly felt. It is not hard for a child to understand that, if a man gives up all his time to fighting fires, he cannot be looking after his own family at the same time and, therefore, that we whom he serves should somehow see to it that his family are taken care of. There is no better material of any kind for the purpose of developing in the child high ideals of bravery and faithful performance of duty than in a study of our modern city firemen. Heroism did not perish from the earth when knighthood was no more."

"Special Suggestions:

"(a) Visit to a Fire Station (pp. 17-18). [Detailed directions and questions are omitted.]

"(b) Study of Organization of the Department so far as the children can understand it.

"When more than one company is at a fire how they all know what to do. How it is known how many companies will go to a fire. What would be done if an alarm of fire should be sent into a station when the company is away. What is done when a fire is put out and the company has gone back to the station. Why there is need of any organization at all. What kind of men make the best firemen. How they get their positions, how long they work, how they are promoted, etc. How much pay they get, and where they get it.

- “(c) Visit to a Fire Boat [such boats were used on the rivers in Chicago].
- “(d) History of the Fire Fighters of Chicago.

“FOURTH GRADE

“General Suggestions (p. 20)

“As a preparation for the history study of the fourth, fifth and sixth grades which deals with travels, voyages, and explorations, there is a good opportunity for the child to get an idea of the great progress that has been made in united effort among the nations of the world to guide and protect and rescue human beings upon the great waters. The work may begin either in connection with the early voyages, by inquiring in some detail about their means of guidance and life saving in case of wreck, or it may begin by a visit to one of our four life saving stations in Chicago. At Evanston; the mouth of the river; Jackson Park; South Chicago.

“If it begins with the historical aspects it should include finally either a visit to one of the stations, or, if that is not possible, at least a discussion based upon all the experience of the members of the class of all the available details of the operations going on at one of these stations. In many classes will be found boys and girls who have been to one of the stations, either in Chicago or at some other place on the lakes which they have visited by boat during the summer.

“On the other hand, if the study begins with the present, it should finally be connected in thought with the conditions of sea life in the time of Columbus and of the explorers of this country.

“SPECIAL SUGGESTIONS

- “(a) Excursion to a Life Saving Station. [The questions suggested how study of the lifesaving function can be used to include civic machinery of the nation and even world co-operation.]
- “(b) Light Houses.
- “(c) Bell-buoys, Fog Whistles, Method of Signalling, Lights on Boats, etc.

"FIFTH GRADE

"General Suggestions (pp. 24-38)

"The work here outlined in detail is all connected with the problem of a healthful, kindly and beautiful city life. Our homes are in the city and if our children are to become the strong, helpful and beauty-loving men and women they ought to be, they cannot become interested too early in the many-sided problem of our city housekeeping. In this and following grades more of the civic machinery, the political organization, by means of which we are trying to do the work under consideration, may be studied. But mere names of officers, dates of election, salaries, laws, constitutions, etc. should never be assigned to children who do not have clearly in mind the concrete forms of social good that all such political officials and machinery ought to bring about. Political machinery ought to be understood to be merely a means and not an end.

[As especially essential to the health of the community, the four special unit topics of this grade were: The Water System, which included visits to pumping station and to an intake crib in Lake Michigan; The Drainage System; Building Laws and Regulations so far as they applied to a private house or flat; and Garbage and Refuse Removal. As there are suggestions of a possible self-respect and consciousness of social service by the despised garbage man, I include here in detail the suggestions that were made relative to the study of garbage and refuse disposal.]

"What is done with the garbage of the houses in your neighborhood? Who does it? Describe the equipment necessary. Talk with the men and go if possible to the place where it is deposited. Make sketches or take photographs of the place. What is the effect on the comfort and health of those who live near the dump? How often is the garbage collected from your house? Why is it collected at all? When collected why not dump it in vacant lots near your home? Who determines this? What is done with it in other cities? Have we in Chicago any other ways of disposing of it than to dump it? Locate and describe these other plants. Ask the garbage man what things the householders can do to make his work easier. Separation of ashes from garbage, paper, etc. Could we do these things? Would they cost us much time and effort? Why not do

them? How these men are paid. How they get their places. In what esteem they are held. In what esteem is a physician who heals the body held? Is not the service of cleansing the City where millions dwell as honorable as to heal a few sick persons? Carry the study of the appointment and pay far enough to be sure that the children see the work of garbage collection in the light of a co-operative enterprise that we the people of the City are carrying on as we see fit. What changes in the garbage collection of the City can the children suggest? What are the difficulties in the way of carrying out these suggestions? How can we meet these difficulties? Have the children write the story of the year's Civic studies as a summary.

"Note: For references see suggestions for First Grade. The question of how far we ought to expect the children of the city to keep it clean is not clearly thought out by most of us. It is clear that their help may be asked in connection with their homes and about the school building and yards. That the burden of cleaning all the alleys, streets and vacant lots of the district should be thrown upon them is not so clear. May we not cite two principles for discussion and possible adoption?

"1. Wherever parents, school officers, the street cleaning bureaus of the city, park officials, neighborhood improvement associations, etc., adults in general, are themselves making a persistent effort, children may be expected to help their elders—just as in true home life in general. But, wherever the adults wholly neglect their proper share of the burden, there is some injustice in expecting the children to shoulder it, and also much danger that, if they do, they won't carry it very long. '*Come help us clean up*, beautify, etc.' is likely to succeed better with children than '*Go clean up*,' etc.

"2. If it becomes necessary to urge children to take the lead in such matters, they are much more likely to keep at it if some positive end of their own is in view. For example, boys can be induced to keep tin cans off a vacant lot in order to have a baseball diamond or a skating pond much more easily than they can be induced merely to keep tin cans off a lot. A corner of the school yard can be kept free from papers for a flower bed when it could not if it were to be left empty of beauty. We know how to use the

positive method in teaching, speaking and reading, but have we learned it in civic and ethical instruction?" (For discussion and illustrations see Chapter XI and Appendices D and E.)

"SIXTH GRADE

"General Suggestions (pp. 36-39)

"The tentative course of study recommends that in this grade specific attention be given to elections and the forms of government of city, county, state and nation, the making and enforcement of law, etc. If the concrete civic exercises suggested for previous grades have been studied in the way suggested, this study of the *forms* of government should connect itself easily in the child's mind with many kinds of work which these governments have to do. Officers, elections, laws, etc., should be clearly understood as *means* by which citizens do cooperatively the things they need to have done. In other words, even in the intensive study of civic machinery, the child should never lose sight of the work that the machinery has to do. To this end schools, playgrounds, park, baths and libraries, are suggested here for study in the sixth grade, if time permits. The child's attitude toward citizenship is more important than mere knowledge about citizenship.

"References on Elections: Apply to Election Commissioners, fourth floor, City Hall, for copies of the election laws, specimen ballots, maps of the city, ward, senatorial districts, congressional districts, etc.

"See Daily News and American Almanacs for lists of officers in the various political units. [Note in 1944: At present, in many localities, the Local League of Women Voters can furnish up-to-date information.]

[The Special Unit Topics discussed in the Manual for this grade were Schools, Libraries, Playgrounds, Parks, Baths. I include here only the suggestions made for the study of the Schools (pp. 39-41).]

"Schools bring to the consciousness of the children the possibilities of education for them within the limits of the school system of Chicago—Kindergarten, Manual Training, High, Normal, Evening Schools, Schools for the Deaf and Blind, Vacation Schools,

etc. What kinds of occupation a person can get the whole or a large part of his preparation for in these schools. Study the equipment of the schools. Different kinds of equipment and kinds of school buildings. Get a map of their distribution over the city. Think of the singing, manual training, drawing, physical training, and all the ordinary subjects taught to the public schools in so many parts of the city.

"Schools—For Whom They Are. How many children in the school where you are. How many times this number in all the schools of the city. How large an army this would make. How long marching four, eight, sixteen abreast, it would take for them to march by a given spot. How many passenger trains would it require to carry them all on an excursion in one day? How many whale-back steamers? Any other way to make the children realize the magnitude of the school work of the city? How many years an individual may go to school?

"Schools—How They Do Their Work. Study the buildings as above. Visit or inquire about the supply house on Monroe Street and get an idea of the magnitude of the supplies sent out from that place—the teams—the men required to do the work. Find out the number of janitors and engineers at work in all the school buildings. Make some computations and comparisons with a known body of men, so that the children can realize a little what this number means. Get the number of teachers and other persons connected with the system and find some way for children to realize their number. Find out how these two forces of educational and business workers are organized to work efficiently. How each group of workers get their places. How much money it takes to pay them for one day, for one week, for one month, for one year. How we get the money; assessment of property, appropriation of a lump sum by the Board of Education and the City Council, computation of the rate of school tax that each dollar has to pay. The collection of this money from those whose property is assessed. Who keeps this money and who pays it out. Does a man who has no house of his own pay any of this tax for the education of children of Chicago? Would his rent be raised or lowered if the owner of the house had no taxes to pay on the house? Was your first answer right about the payment of a man who lives in a rented house? What makes you think so?

What is your relation to the men who make the assessment of property? To the City Council who levy a sum of money for the purpose of schools? To the Board of Education who calculate how much money we will need for our schools and have charge of the expenditure of the money when it is collected? What is our relation to the Superintendent who directs the education work of the school? What is the relation of ourselves to the Mayor and his relations to the conduct of our schools? Do we have in Chicago such schools as the people really want, that is, can we have just such schools in Chicago as those who pay for them choose to have? Suppose they were not such as the people really want, how long would it take to get them changed if they set about it? Is there any trouble in agreeing among so many just what kind of schools we want? If we cannot agree or do not feel ourselves competent to decide about so important a matter, what kind of men should be chosen to take care of the schools for us? Compare the men whom we need to run the schools with those required for police, for firemen, for life savers, for janitors, for garbage collectors, for engineers, for any offices where men are serving others. In what respects are the qualifications for all these places alike? How much care should be taken in selecting men to collect and spend our money?

"Schools—Who Really Run Them. Pursue the line of thinking and discussion of the preceding paragraph until the children see in a genuine way that we manage our own schools in a cooperative way instead of each family looking out for the education of its own children by itself. A history of the schools very briefly given would perhaps bring out this thought more clearly. The facts for the earliest years of the city can be found in Andreas' History of Chicago, Vol. 1. This shows that at first education was looked after by private families in their own homes, then some man or woman started a school in a home or church and charged tuition to those children who came. It was a long slow process to get a regular system of cooperation for the maintenance of schools for all the children of the city. The history will also show that the various kinds of work done now in the schools were introduced slowly one after the other. Kindergartens, manual training, drawing, music, schools for the blind and the crippled are very recent and some of them have not

yet become fully established. Lead the children to see the incomplete condition of many phases of our school work, and let them decide who is really to determine whether or not they be further and more completely developed or allowed to grow more ineffective as co-operative schools than they are now. Let children make some suggestions for making their own school better in the future. Lead them to feel that many of their own suggestions will depend partly on them as students and partly on them as citizens, whether or not they are carried out in the near future.

"References—Annual Reports of the Superintendent and Board of Education (to be found in every school).

"Clark, 'A Sociological Study of Chicago Public Schools' (University of Chicago Press, 25 cents).

"Andreas, 'History of Chicago.' (See Index for Schools.)

"SEVENTH GRADE

The only suggestions for Civic work in this grade were the General, as follows:

"A large part of the work in history for this grade is civic or political in its nature. For students to trace the outlines of the story by which Englishmen in England worked out a representative form of government, by which they could take a hand in doing for themselves what they wanted to do, is a fine continuation of the previous grade studies of concrete and local studies of public wants and the civic machinery by which these wants are satisfied. The same is true of a study of the long process of unification of the English colonies in America, their struggle for independence, their Articles of Confederation, and the substitution for these Articles of a form of organization under the Constitution which enabled them to raise money, control trade, and enforce the common will. Here, as in all the previous grades, the idea of the common need can be kept in the foreground, and the political machinery of Parliament, Stamp Act Congress, Continental Congresses and Constitutional Government, seen as merely means to ends. If the student sees the political activities treated of in the seventh grade history as closely allied to those he has seen going on in Chicago, Cook County, our Park Districts, and the State of Illinois, each phase of the study will enrich the other in his experience.

"EIGHTH GRADE

The suggestions for this grade were in the nature of a summary under the heading General:

"Here again, as in the seventh grade, the history of the United States during the nineteenth century (for example, its territorial growth, the westward migration of the people and internal improvement discussions, and the sectional issue between North and South) has many political aspects. It is the old story of the wants of the people and the 'adaptation of political machinery and forms of government to enable them to satisfy these wants. Children who have a genuine appreciation of the various problems presented, of 'what the game was' at different stages of our national life, will have comparatively little difficulty in understanding the changes in government that were required.

"In addition to this civic side of national history, the Course of Study suggests a summary of all the concrete work that has preceded. Such a summary may profitably be made in some such way as the following:

"1. *Protection*—

- a. The kinds of protection that the children know are furnished to them against robbery, fire, diseases, foreign nations, etc.
- b. How this is furnished by firemen, policemen, health officers of the city; sheriff, hospital, courts, etc., of county; boards of health, militia, etc., of state; national quarantine officers, the army and navy of the United States, etc.
- c. A clear conception and statement of the fact that to secure protection for them and other citizens all the machinery of all the political units is in constant use.

"2. *Conveniences*—

"The same may be done in connection with conveniences—roads, postal system, recording of deeds, forestry, weather bureau, etc., etc. The citizens work sometimes through city organization, sometimes through county, sometimes through state and sometimes through national to get for themselves certain conveniences known to the children.

"3. *Philanthropy*—

"Get the same conception of the ways taken to care for our poor, insane, disabled soldiers, sailors, etc.

"4. *Development*—

"The means by which we get schools, universities, libraries, parks, playgrounds, museums, and other aids to culture and development will also be seen to range from local to national governments, all at work, *each in its own sphere*, for the benefit of the citizens who keep these governments in motion by their public opinion and votes, and support them by their taxes.

"We, the people of Chicago, of Cook County, of Illinois, of the United States, do all these things for ourselves. What is my place in this *doing* as well as in this *getting*?"

Authorities cited: First, I recommended a Chicago Official Report for 1903 which gave the number of persons employed by the city and the variety, classification and costs of municipal activities in which these persons served. Similar information for County, State and Nation is desirable.

Second, I cited, on page 47, the titles and publishers of fourteen textbooks,¹² to some of which in 1903 I was greatly indebted. They also illustrated the truth of that old saying that *ideas are in the air*.

The foregoing citations from my 1903 Outline for Teaching Civics in Elementary Schools has been given at such length for three purposes:

(a) To give a concrete illustration of a conscious effort in the Chicago Normal School to apply in the teaching of the social sciences of economics and civics something of the more concrete inductive methods then in use by many teachers of physics, chemistry and botany.

(b) To show my indebtedness to the social gospel being both lived and preached by such prophets as Riis, Jane Addams and Graham Taylor, John Dewey, Small and Vincent, and Franklin H. Giddings.

(c) To challenge the readers of this generation to a new study and application of the scientific, social and pedagogical gospels which I was honestly trying to understand and apply a generation ago in my high school and normal school efforts in Chicago to do a better personal job in the education of youth for better citizenship in a democracy.¹³

In Appendix A, I give extracts from the speeches of four educators printed in Annual Reports of the National Education Association, 1884, 1891, 1893, 1903, which show that progressive steps in civics teaching were also under way in other states than Illinois.

I now go on to discuss, in Chapter IV, the remarkable contributions to the education of youth as citizens of a man whose work was not, as in my own case, merely local and temporary, but nationally known and progressively influential.

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5. ———, *The Child in America* (1928).
6. Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890).
7. Graham Taylor, *Chicago Commons Through Forty Years* (Chicago Commons Assoc., 1937).
8. Henry W. Thurston, *Economics and Industrial History in Secondary Schools* (Scott, Foresman & Co., 1899).
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10. ———, *Inductive Sociology: A Syllabus of Methods, Analyses and Classifications and Provisionally Formulated Laws* (The Macmillan Co., 1909).
11. Henry W. Thurston, *Chicago Normal School Outline for Teaching Civics in Elementary Schools* (1903). [This manual is now out of print.]
12. (a) Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics* (Longmans).
 (b) Dawes, *How We Are Governed* (Heath).
 (c) Dole, *The American Citizen* (Heath).
 (d) Fiske, *Civil Government in the United States* (Houghton Mifflin).
 (e) Hart, *Actual Government* (Longmans).
 (f) Hinsdale, *American Government* (American Book Co.).
 (g) James and Sanford, *Government in State and Nation* (Scribner's).
 (h) Keny, *History for Graded and District Schools* (Ginn).
 (i) Macy, *Our Government, How It Grows, What It Does and How It Does It* (Ginn).
 (j) Mace, *Method in History* (Ginn).
 (k) McMurry, *Special Method in History* (Macmillan).
 (l) Merrill, *Federal and State Government* (Scott, Foresman).
 (m) Wilcox, *The American City, a Problem in Democracy* (Macmillan).
 (n) Zueblin, *American Municipal Progress* (Macmillan).
13. For the use of teachers who were using my *Chicago Normal School Outline for Teaching of Civics in Elementary Schools*, I also prepared two pamphlets which the Normal School published. One was *The Fight for Life in Chicago* (52 pp.); the other, *History of the Chicago Water Supply* (40 pp.). Both are now out of print.

IV

ARTHUR W. DUNN—CHAMPION OF COMMUNITY CIVICS

By 1908, in Indianapolis, Ind., a change in the process of educating young citizens in high schools was definitely under way. The seed for this new growth had also been sown by Drs. Dewey, Small and Vincent. This is expressly stated by Mr. Dunn himself on pages 111-14 in his book.¹

Of Dr. Dewey he says in part: "The justification and aim of the present book may be stated in the following words from Professor Dewey's 'Ethical Principles Underlying Education': 'Training for Citizenship is formal and nominal unless it develops the power of observation, analysis, and inference with respect to what makes up a social situation, and the agencies through which it is modified.'"

Of Drs. Small and Vincent he says: "For the suggestion of the method of approaching the subject, acknowledgment is due to Professors Albion W. Small and George E. Vincent of the University of Chicago."

Mr. Dunn also cites (p. 2) two books, the first of which—C. F. Dole's *The Citizen and the Neighbors*—I have already named in Chapter II, and which he quotes frequently throughout his book, and second, A. B. Hart's *Actual Government*.²

It should also be specially noted that Mr. Dunn was not working alone in the writing of his book. He says (p. v): "Although conscious of the imperfections in this book, the author presents it with some degree of confidence because of the test to which it has already been put, in a preliminary form by a year's use in the schools of Indianapolis. He has had the benefit of the experience and criticism of thirty or forty practical teachers during this time."

Thus we see that the original seed from Dewey, Small and Vincent was, even before publication of Mr. Dunn's book, being

cast by him into the ground of the schools of a great city. Surely this was a significant sign of the beginning of an early twentieth century change in ideal and process in the education of young citizens.

The titles of the twenty-five chapters of Mr. Dunn's book give vivid suggestions of the effort he made to direct the observation and thought of high school students to the problems of the communities in which they themselves live. The questions for investigation at the end of each chapter show still more clearly that his primary purpose was not to have his students "study the book" but study the communities in which they lived. This primary purpose is shown by the list of his chapter headings as follows:

"The Beginning of a Community. What Is a Community? The Site of the Community. What the People in Communities Are Seeking. The Family. Some Services Rendered to the Community by the Family. The Making of Americans. How the Relations between the People and the Land Are Made Permanent and Definite. How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Desire for Health. How the Community Aids the Citizen to Protect His Life and Property. The Relation between the Community and the Citizens in Business Life. How the Government Aids the Citizen in His Business Life. Waste and Saving. How the Community Aids the Citizen in Transportation and Communication. How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Desire for Knowledge. How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Desire for Beautiful Surroundings. How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Religious Desire. What the Community Does for Those Who Cannot or Will Not Contribute to Its Progress. How the Citizens of a Community Govern Themselves. Some Defects in the Self-government of Our Communities. The Government of Rural Communities; Township and County. The Government of the City. The Government of the State. The Government of the Nation. How the Expenses of Government Are Met."

The book also has an Appendix with these headings: "I. The Constitution of the United States. II. Table Showing the Number of Homes Owned and the Number Rented in Cities. III. Immigration Tables."

Of Mr. Dunn's own words about his method the following brief quotations must suffice:

"The class makes an excellent suggestion of Community life. Here are a number of people with differing interests, associated together for a common purpose. The welfare of each member depends upon all; each is responsible for the welfare of all."

To the teacher he says on pages vii and viii: "The pupil should be kept as far away as possible from the idea that he is studying a book. The real object of his study is the community in which he lives. The text is a guide to the facts of his own community life and an interpretation of them.

"Do not expect the same results from all pupils, but lead each to expect to make his contribution to the progress of the class.

"If some object to certain topics on the ground that material for their answers is not available, it may be said:

"(1) If a topic is manifestly impracticable for a given class or community, do not waste time over it. There are plenty of other topics that will do.

"(2) The fact that a topic cannot be answered completely or correctly does not necessarily invalidate it. In real life many of our questions remain wholly or in part unanswered. This does not mean that the correct answer should not be sought; but the chief aim is to arouse a questioning attitude on the part of the pupil. To set the question in the mind of the pupil is the important thing. It does not matter so much, after all, whether the child can describe the details of the water system or the organization of the school board, but it is important that the *coming citizen* [italics mine] should have a consciousness of the magnitude of the work the community does for him to supply him with pure water and with an education."

SOME QUESTIONS BY THE PRESENT WRITER

Mr. Dunn's use of the adjective "coming" with "citizen" raises the question: To what degree should we ignore the fact that most of the students in our schools are already citizens, not only in the social, co-operative sense of the word, but *legally under the authority of the Constitution itself*?

Secondly: Is it not *all-important* that for at least *some function of each civic unit studied* the student should not only "have a consciousness of the magnitude of the work the community does for

him" *but also realize the part he and other citizens play in the whole circular civic process of doing the particular form of civic work under discussion for himself and other citizens?*

Mr. Dunn kept on sowing seed for a better citizenship among youth until his death in 1927.

Following Mr. Dunn's first book, *The Community and the Citizen*, from which quotations have been made, he produced at least five other books³ and one report⁴ in the field of education in citizenship.

Following his work as Head of the Department of History and Civics in the Shortridge High School, Indianapolis (1900-1910) and as Director of Civic Education in the Public Schools of Indianapolis (1906-1910), he was Civic Secretary of the City Club of Philadelphia (1910-1911); Executive Secretary of the Public Education Association of New York City (1911-1914); Specialist in Civic Education, U. S. Bureau of Education (1914-1927); Associated National Director, American Junior Red Cross (1920-1921); and National Director, American Junior Red Cross from 1921 until his death in 1927.

I give the following quotations from pages 6-17 of the 1913 Municipal League Report:

"We have been teaching government when we should have been developing *efficient citizenship* on the part of young men and boys, and girls too. No amount of teaching of government, whether municipal or national, will of itself, do this, nor even necessarily contribute to it.

"I am ready to grant that an intelligent understanding of government is a part of the equipment of the efficient citizen; but that a knowledge of government *makes* an efficient citizen I am equally ready to deny. When 100,000 citizens with the right to vote in a single city of a million and a half population lose their vote through failure to register or to go to the polls to cast their ballot, it is not because they do not know enough about government, but because they lack interest. Ignorance of government is more often a result than a cause of inefficient citizenship. Furthermore, the failure to vote on election day is not the essential civic sin; it is merely the index to civic inefficiency on the other days of the year.

"What we need to be doing in our schools is to develop the

fundamental qualities of efficient citizenship, such as a civic consciousness, a vital interest in civic affairs, a sense of personal responsibility, a spirit of cooperation, a conception of government as a means of cooperation and so on. [Italics mine.] This does not mean that we should cease giving information about government. It simply means that government should be taught in its proper perspective. And this is where we are making one of our most serious blunders in the teaching of civics."

"The question of the relative value of national and municipal government as subjects of instruction has been discussed over and over again. If we consider a knowledge of government as an incident in civic training, or as a means of civic development, rather than as an end in itself, we still have the question of the relative value of the local and the general. I am convinced that, as a means of civic development, a study of the local community relations is much the more important.

"Suppose that we are trying to develop in the child a *real consciousness of membership in the community*, a *civic consciousness*.

"Is it not self-evident that such consciousness can be developed more readily with reference to the local community than to the nation, or even to the state? Can a child be made to feel a personal responsibility for the welfare of the nation? He *can* be made to feel a personal responsibility for the health of his neighborhood and city, or for its safety from fire, or for the appearance of the streets.

"How far can the child develop a sense of cooperation in the management of national affairs? He can develop a spirit of cooperation with his fellows, and even with adults, in the matters of public health, and public safety, and public education. How far can a child imagine cooperation with and through congress, or the secretary of war, or the secretary of state? He *can* be made to realize cooperation with his city council and his local policemen, and the departments of health and safety, and the superintendent of schools. Even in the matter of patriotism, although the child's conception of it almost invariably has reference to the national flag, or the declaration of national independence, or the singing of national songs, the opportunity for the development of a real patriotism is much greater in terms of unselfish devotion to the welfare of the

local community, than in terms of national service on the field of battle or in political office.

"This does not mean that the local should wholly displace the general even in elementary school work. On the contrary, the national and state concepts should be introduced at every opportunity, and the distinction between local, state and national functions explained in simple ways. The question is not whether local government or national government should be taught first in order; *the question is how to teach them both together in relation to function, and in relation to each other.* [Italics mine.]

"In the teaching of civics two things are involved: First, the point of view and the pedagogical method; second, the materials for study. The fundamental point of view and the fundamental pedagogical methods are universal. The materials, which are real things and real relations, vary with the community. *The facts must largely be gathered locally. This is a task, but it can be done, and is being done in various places.* In some places it is being done systematically and permanently by libraries, by local historical societies, or by those employed in the schools. The textbook can hardly pretend to be more than a guide, an interpreter, and a handbook of suggestions for the pupil and the teacher.

"What is needed more than anything else in an effective civic education is the development of *conscious habits of civic action.* The opportunities for the development of these habits are very great in the ordinary relations of school life.

"In Indianapolis provision was made for recording certain classes of results, and we were able to point with definiteness, and with assurance, to a growing civic attitude on the part of the child toward his class and school, and toward the life of his neighborhood and community. We found abundant evidence of a different spirit in the school, of less need for the usual kind of supervision, a greater regard for school and other property, and other signs of a developing civic consciousness and civic habit within the school. We were able to record several cases of profound impression upon entire neighborhoods, shown not only in their physical appearance,

but in their moral tone, as direct results of the spread of a civic spirit which had its birth in the school classroom. We were able to record numerous cases of most practical cooperation on the part of the school children with outside civic organizations in the direction of various types of civic betterment. We were able to record the keenest interest not only on the part of the children and teachers, but also on the part of the children's parents, of business men in the community, and of civic organizations who expressed themselves in no uncertain terms regarding the value of the work. These things suggest, in a measure, the kinds of results that should determine the practical value of civic education."

From the above quotations from the Municipal League Report, from the previous quotations from his first book, *The Community and the Citizen*, from the list, above given, of his other books, and from the list of positions held by Mr. Dunn, the reader can clearly imagine something of the quality of the citizenship seed sown by Mr. Dunn, and recognize the constantly growing area of the educational fields in which his seed was sown. This area grew, from the beginning of his work as a teacher of history and civics in an Indianapolis high school in 1900 until his death in 1927, when, as Director of The American Junior Red Cross, his field had become not only youth from all parts of the United States, but selected youth in most of the nations of the world. Of his Junior Red Cross work in the direction of a more vivid "consciousness of kind" among youth of different races and nations, further mention will be made in a later chapter.

Of the importance of Mr. Dunn's work as a whole we have this direct testimony from page 310 of Professor Tryon's book, *The Social Sciences As School Subjects*, mentioned in Chapter II:

"Arthur W. Dunn, the author of *The Community and The Citizen*, probably should be given sole credit for originating the *community civics movement*. Even though he may not have first used the expression, to him certainly belongs wholesale credit for the able guidance the movement had in its infancy. He worked year in and year out to make people understand what community civics meant."

"*And the seed should spring and grow up he knoweth not how.*"
(Mark 4:27.)

As one evidence of the growth, during the early years of the

twentieth century, of a more vital process of education in citizenship in the public schools, we cite a study made by another author, Bessie Louise Pierce, in 1930.⁶

The author of this study examined some four hundred texts of which she says "97 were histories and 67 were books in civic, sociological and economic problems." In addition, sixty-three courses of study, or syllabi, published by state departments of public instruction and typical city systems were read. (p. xi.)

The individual titles of the above sixty-seven books disclose to the reader the fact that about forty-seven of them indicate a primary emphasis upon civics. Of these forty-seven, the titles of at least *seventeen*, none written later than 1925, suggest some interest in and emphasis upon the community and active phases of citizenship as distinct from or in addition to the formal study of constitutions and political structure of nation and state.

The objectives of the courses in citizenship as seen by Miss Pierce are described by her as follows:

"The objectives set forth for the teaching of political problems, or civics, have in common the aim of 'good' or 'intelligent citizenship.' Just what these terms mean is generally left for the teacher, for they are seldom defined. Obviously this might result in as many different concepts for the pupil as there are different interpretations by different teachers." (p. 243.)

"In short, it is the official desire of curriculum makers in citizenship to cultivate right civic habits, to create high civic ideals, and to develop, by means of service, a finer patriotism and a larger democracy as well as the belief that our democratic government is the best kind of government for Americans, and that it is our duty to defend it against all enemies." (pp. 244-245.)

Of the attitudes of the child toward the people of his own country in contrast with his attitude toward the people of other countries, the writer makes these statements:

"From the analysis of nearly four hundred textbooks representing different subjects taught in the schools, the conclusion inevitably must come that the American is taught to respect and venerate his forebears and the institutions which they designed and developed. Textbooks are permeated with a national or patriotic spirit. Most books are pro-American, none can be charged with disloyalty of American attitudes." (p. 254.)

"On the other hand, the attitudes engendered toward other peoples through a reading, of these books, must in many cases redound to their ignominy in contrast with the glory of America." (p. 254.)

And again, "Many books do not preach a brotherhood of man, and the emphasis on war heroes and incidents is such as to exalt war over peace." (p. 255.)

Although, as the above comments by Miss Pierce show, most of the sixty-seven civic textbooks still emphasized the national phases of citizenship, the titles of *seventeen books*⁶⁻²² which I have selected from the sixty-seven indicate at least a recognition of the local problems and duties of the citizen.

Another evidence of a change in emphasis that was taking place in some of our schools previous to 1930 Miss Pierce gives in the titles of *courses of study* of several cities and states. For example, either the words "*Social Studies*" or "*Social Science*" were used in Connecticut, Indiana, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Baltimore, Detroit and St. Louis.

And further, the words "*Character Education*" appeared in the New York Course of Study in 1924, and the words "*Citizenship Through Character Development, Grades I-VIII*" in Boston.

That good citizenship in our American democracy demands not only that citizens become well informed, but that they also become active citizens, is being emphasized by some writers of civics textbooks since 1930, the citation I have just made of a few of the titles being evidence of this trend.

Surely the good seed sown by the Chicago prophets and by others before the turn of the century had sprung up and was growing. But it still needed more intelligent, more general, and more persistent cultivation in most of our schools.

In the next chapter I shall give a few illustrations of the need for better adult citizenship in most of our communities.

In Appendix B. Citation 1, I give more specific information as to what was going on in two large cities, quoting in some detail two articles printed in the annual reports of the National Education Association. One of these by J. Lyons Barnard, describes what was going on in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1913; and the other by Jesse H. Newlon, gives the point of view of the Superintendent of Schools of Denver, Col., in 1927.

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21. Grace A. Turkington, *Community Civics: Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness in the United States* (Ginn & Co., 1918).
22. Samuel H. Ziegler and Helen Jaquette, *Our Community* (John C. Winston Co., 1918).

V

GOOD FAMILY MEN, GOOD CLUBMEN, GOOD PARTY MEN, BUT NOT GOOD CITIZENS. WHY?

IN SPITE of the fact that the good citizenship seed of the prophets had sprung up and was growing, there were still persons in our communities who were not good citizens, "good characters," as defined in Chapter I, in all the civic groups in which they were members. And also the old memoriter, deductive processes of teaching citizenship still prevailed in many of our schools. Why is it harder to play a good team game, be a good character, as a citizen of some civic unit like town, city, county, state and nation than it is to play a good team game, be a good character as member of a family, club, business, or political party?

As a personal preparation for his entering heartily into the meaning of the illustrations and discussions of this chapter, I urge the reader to note and to study his own feelings and attitudes toward other members of the group, and also such feelings and attitudes of those whom he knows best, both youth and adults, as he thinks of himself now as a member of one group of people and now of another.

For example, perhaps the groups in whose membership you think of yourself as one may include some of the following: your family; your class in school; your school as a whole; your baseball team; your football team; your own church; a union of the churches of your town, district (e.g., diocese, presbytery, federation by states, nation, world, etc.); some particular business enterprise, individual partnership, corporation, etc.; your street, and neighborhood; your section or side of the tracks in your town or city; your precinct; your ward; your state legislative district; your state as a whole; the United States; North America; the Western Hemisphere; the world; your social club with its dues; social picnic or outing party with some group expenses; the group that pays the taxes of your town, your county, your state, the United States.

Do you find that you feel any differently toward the other members of any one group than toward the members of some other group in both of which groups you are yourself a member? How does this difference in feeling and attitude show itself? How do you account for this difference in feeling and attitude toward your fellow members in one group compared with your feeling and attitude toward your fellow members in another group? Is the answer to this question of any practical importance as a factor in the administration of town, county, state, national and international affairs? Why is the answer important? Is it growing more or less important?

It is not my intention to try to answer these questions here, although I believe that all persons who would help young people to become good citizens in a democracy should persistently try to find satisfactory answers to this end. As I proceed to give some more or less concrete examples of how other people have felt and acted in group situations that are somewhat similar to some of those I have cited, the reader is urged to revert frequently to the concrete group situations with which he is most familiar as an actor or observer, and to try continually to explain the reasons for the differences in individual feeling and action, relative to other members of the different groups, which he observes in himself and others.

I now give some specific instances of variations in the feelings and actions of some individuals toward the other members of different groups. I begin with an instance cited in a *New York Times* editorial.¹ The editorial runs in part as follows:

"From the personal tributes paid to the late John H. McCooley of Brooklyn we have not the slightest impulse to dissent. In his private life he was doubtless what he is represented to have been by his friends, a genial, humane, friendly and charitable man.

"Similar things were said of Charles F. Murphy, Tammany Boss, when he died. Governor Smith went so far as to hold him up as a model for young men. Yet everybody knew what Murphy was in his public career, and the belated disclosure of the wealth which he had accumulated out of politics showed that he had acted upon much the same principle as was avowed by the preceding Tammany Boss—Richard Croker, when he admitted to a legislative Committee 'that he was working for his own pocket all the

time.' Mr. McCooley was made of a different individual mold. He was not brutal and brazen like Croker. He was not aloof and secretive like Murphy. Yet he understood and practiced the art of political control in much the same terms as Tammany had always done. He made no concealment of his methods and purposes. Of public offices he thought chiefly as so much material for building up his party machines by traffic. He unblushingly gave official positions to his own family and relatives. He secured appointments and promotions for personal friends of his. Slowly coming into full control of the Democratic organization in Brooklyn he more than once virtually put up, in city, state and national contests, to the highest bidder. He exercised his power with a smile, yet always had an eye to its own perpetuation and strengthening."

And here is what Clarence Darrow² says of men charged with crime, who were at the same time good members both of small family and other personally known groups, and bad citizens in various civic groups whose laws they were charged with breaking.

"After I began the defense of men charged with crime I often visited these unfortunates in jail, of course. They were in no respect like the idea I had formed from the general conception of criminals. I found that they had the same likes and dislikes as other men, that they acted from the same motives and impulses as those outside the jails. They loved their mothers, were devoted to their children, and loved their wives and friends. All of them could explain the reasons for their special deeds. I soon began to see that they could not possibly have done any other way. I discovered that their conduct, like the conduct of every man, followed cause and effect. Not only did they generally love their families but they were loved in return. Fathers and mothers would tell of the generous acts and decencies of their sons; wives would sacrifice everything they had to help them in trouble, little children would reach their hands through bars to greet their fathers in jail. These fathers and mothers and wives and children had seen the prisoners in a different light from those who judged and hated and condemned them without trying to understand. Outside of the family there was always a circle of loyal friends, many of whom would face death for the man the world condemned.

"All of this impelled me to try to understand these men as I

have tried to know others; with the right psychology they were not difficult to fathom." (pp. 337-338.)

On an earlier page Mr. Darrow had given an opinion of an essential factor in successful teaching of right attitudes about war and its aftermath, which opinion is applicable to the teaching of good citizenship to the men accused of crime about whom we have just quoted him. He says (p. 334):

"It takes long effort and training to make any progress in teaching kindness and mutual help. [Especially to citizens of our larger civic groups.] These qualities come from the development of the *imagination*, which is of slow growth."

We now quote a well-known businessman as he describes men with different attitudes and actions toward the other members of the several groups to which they belonged. Edward A. Filene of Boston is reported ³ before the Department of Superintendence of the National Education meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, 1934, to have spoken in part as follows:

"It has been good men, not bad, who have led us into wars. It was good men who exploited labor most abominably. It was good men as a rule who recently wrecked our financial system and brought millions to the verge of starvation."

And in another issue of this paper, ⁴ he is further reported to have characterized such men in these words: "You could trust them (these good men) absolutely not to pick your pocket or hit you over the head with a lead pipe. They were fine husbands and fathers, they fairly doted on their families, and they denied themselves leisure, often preferring toil and to scheme early and late to make it possible for their families to live like royalty. That is, like royalty used to live. So, they were not immoral. Some of them did not even break the law. But they broke the country. They were educated but they didn't know any better. For they were not educated in human relations as they are and had no conception of their responsibility."

In the hope that every reader will firmly resolve to work toward the end that, in future, "It cannot happen here," I now submit to him extracts from a report dealing with a period before World War II on "Our Spoils System": ⁵

"The growth of the spoils system in public office constitutes

a major menace to American government,' the National Civil Service Reform League declared yesterday as a result of a study of the administrative personnel of national, state and county government.

" 'It makes a mockery of honest government and a dupe of the taxpaying citizen,' the statement read. 'It cannot help but affect every single one of us.'

"The league asserted that the spoils system added directly \$500,000,000 to the tax bill each year and that the indirect cost probably was as much more. A more serious cost, the statement added, was the placing of inefficient, incapable and irresponsible persons in jobs which affect business, the home and the safety of individual citizens.

"To substantiate the latter assertion, the league reported it had discovered that eighteen lifeguards on New York beaches could not swim a stroke and had been appointed for political reasons. The statement added that in a large American city the collapse of a water tank killed five persons. Investigation showed that the tank had been inspected by a politically appointed building inspector, whose only qualification for the job was that he was a 'malt salesman,' who knew nothing about building construction. He had been recommended by a politician as one who had to be 'taken care of.'

" 'There are now 826,000 employees in the Federal Government alone, an increase since 1916 of 92 percent,' the statement read. The league foresees a further increase since it is expected that the administration of the social security program alone will ultimately call for 250,000 workers. Forty percent of the employees of the Federal Government are now exempted from the civil service law. There will soon be many more if we timidly submit to the patronage forces.

"In the state governments there are about 290,000 employes. Their annual pay checks total about \$340,000,000. Yet only twelve states operate any sort of a merit system. In the country and municipal governments there are almost 900,000 employes who receive more than \$1,000,000,000 annually. There are 516 counties in the country. Only forty operate under the provisions of a civil service law. There are 2,500 cities of over 20,000 population. Fewer than 400 boast any kind of a merit system and in about half of that 400

the merit system is honored more in the breach than in the observance.

"Public apathy has made this system possible. To overcome it Americans must go into action. But a force of millions does not spring up overnight. Responsible and public-minded citizens *must* form a nucleus. We *must* lay up plans, build a fighting force and fight." (Query: What progress does the reader think we have made under these "*musts*" since 1937?—H. W. T.)

To compare with the foregoing statement in 1937 by the National Civil Service Reform League, I cite statements in a similar vein made fifty-three years earlier by a prominent educator in 1884.⁶

In the 1884 report of the National Education Association (pp. 261-263), William L. Folwell, then president of the University of Minnesota, made the following statements about the corrupt politics of that period.

He says that the 47th Congress had passed a Civil Service Reform Act and that already "of the 110,000 positions in the United States Civil Service only 14,000 have been brought under the operation of the law. *The politics of nation, state, county, and town have gone into the hands of a class—a self-constituted body with its bosses and workers and strikers, as perfectly organized as a modern army. If there are any who do not know, they ought at once to learn, that money is now the one great power in politics.*"

Here is an opinion by "Al" Smith on "What Ails the Ordinary Citizen":⁷

"Mr. Smith said the two things fundamentally wrong with the country were '*the complete lack of interest on the part of the ordinary citizen in the operation of his government*' and the '*belief of the rank and file that they are not footing governmental bills through taxes.*'"

"As an illustration of what he considered the first of the nation's fundamental ills, Mr. Smith remarked that the political radio speeches in 1932 had been arranged to avoid interferences with Amos 'n' Andy.

" 'A large part of the American people were more interested in the Kingfish, the beauty parlor and the Fresh Air Taxi Company than they were in the affairs of their own country,' he declared.

" 'The second thing is *taxes*. The trouble in this country today

is that the people don't know they're paying the taxes. The rank and file don't know what's going on and they hear about soak the rich, share the wealth, capital gains taxes and undivided surplus taxes and don't know that these things are being passed on to them and are reflected in everything they buy.' ”

The question of method in educating youth in human relations as more honest, intelligent, imaginative, co-operative and effective citizens, good characters, in our democracy will be the special problem of later chapters. I proceed to give here some illustrations of lack of a *feeling of oneness* with their fellow citizens shown by Americans.

A religious teacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church says:⁸ “A saint, so far as his personal conduct is concerned, who would not tolerate for a second the temptation to cheat his neighbor may rejoice with unholy glee when his group virtually defrauds another group.”

And now with the types of behavior already described, let the reader compare three American citizens as described by a philosopher.⁹

Mrs. Peter Alden of Great Falls, Conn., felt that her “servants were alien presences that made her nervous, like a strange cat in the room. . . . Her tribe had lost, if it ever had possessed, the charitable principle of Christian society, which made possible a familiar reunion, devoted and merry, between high and low.”

“Her moral ideal was democracy but a democracy of the elect. There could be no oppression in imposing uniformity on people who were really all alike; and such a society exacted from its members only what, if they were honorable, they would exact from themselves. She couldn't conceive life except in a clan, where all the peers should have equal rights and similar virtues. Beyond the pale there could be nothing but utter darkness, an alien, heathen, unintelligible world, to be kept as remote as possible. If they couldn't get tea at home, she supposed they must get it from China or Ceylon, and she supposed that if occasionally that dreadful outer world became troublesome, it would be necessary to make war on it and teach it a lesson; but by far the best thing was to ignore it altogether. It ought never to have existed.

"Luckily in America the immigrant working classes lived far apart in their own districts and tenements, like Jews in a Ghetto. One need have no personal contact with them; and as far as she was concerned, for she wasn't meddlesome, they were welcome to keep up their own ways and religion among themselves, and even their own language, if they could preserve it; but as servants in her house they were a dreadful intrusion." (pp. 88-89.)

By implication Mr. Santayana also suggests the deep and satisfactory feeling of difference between themselves and other members of their own communities felt by two others of his characters in the book cited; one, a long ago resident on Beacon Hill in Boston; and the other, a resident of a more recent period in Gramercy Park, New York. Of Nathaniel Alden who, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, lived just below the State House on Beacon Hill, he says: "Every Tuesday and Friday at half past eleven the front door opened and gave exit to a lank and rigid gentleman in black with a small head and pinched features and little steel-blue eyes blinking. He was young, but had put on old age in his youth, was anxious and nervous in his movements and made sure from time to time that his hat was firm on his head, his scarf pinned, his gloves buttoned, and his umbrella tightly rolled. He always turned to the left, for never, except to funerals, did Nathaniel Alden walk *down* Beacon Hill." (pp. 15-16.)

And Aunt Caroline of Gramercy Park, New York, expresses herself thus to her nephew, Oliver Alden, about the automobile that had just come into common use. She had just sold her last carriage and horses to get money to help support another young nephew. She says:

"Can't drive in the Park any more, unless James [her son] lends me his ridiculous vehicle, which is so low I can scarcely crawl into it. And what's the pleasure of driving in a closed carriage and so fast that you neither see nor are seen? He has that machine to go to his office in, and the traffic is so dense nowadays that it takes him half an hour, and he reads his morning paper all the way. They are destroying all the dignity of life; but, never mind. It's your affair; you young people will have to stew in your own broth. I shall be out of it, and for the moment, I am content to sit here and remember the good old times. There was something glorious in driving

out, well dressed in your open landau, with a smart, high-stepping pair, a coachman and groom high on the box, and a little frilled parasol to keep the sun from your nose." (pp. 455-456.)

(Query: What is the opinion of the reader as to the effect of such feelings of class superiority on the quality of citizens in our American democracy?—H. W. T.)

From personal observations, from our illustrations in this chapter and from the daily papers, the readers can now make up their own lists of common citizens, citizens who are bankers, legislators, mayors and even State and United States judges, who are *good family men, good clubmen, good party men, but bad citizens*. We hope that readers will also more persistently seek to find an answer to the question why. And do whatever they are able to do not only to be good citizens themselves, but also to help youth to become good citizens in every civic group of which they are members.

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VI

OUR PERSISTENT INEFFICIENCIES AS CITIZENS

IN THE FACE of the urgent needs for a better education of youth in good citizenship, and encouraged by some of the beginnings of better methods of such education already introduced into some of our schools, we now cite some evidence that *inadequate old habits and methods of education in citizenship still survive*; and also give some trenchant suggestions of answers to the question: *What lack we yet?*

We quote first from a 1937 opinion¹ of one of our prophets, Professor John Dewey himself, who distinctly applies his inspiring educational philosophy to the process of education in citizenship:

"The distinction between knowledge, information, and understanding is not a complicated or philosophical matter. An individual may know all about the structure of an automobile, may be able to name all the parts of the machine and tell what they are there for. But he does not understand the machine unless he knows how it works and how to work it; and, if it doesn't work right, what to do in order to *make* it work right. (p. 81.)

"You can carry that simple illustration through any field you please. Understanding has to be in terms of how things work and how to do things. Understanding, by its very nature, is related to action; just as knowledge, by its very nature, is isolated from action or connected with it only here and there by accident." (p. 81.)

"The crucial question is the extent to which the material of social studies, whether economics or politics or history or sociology, whatever it may be, is taught simply as information about present *society or is taught in connection with things that are done, that need to be done, and how to do them.* [Italics mine.] If the first tendency prevails, I can readily imagine that the introduction of more and more social studies into the curriculum will simply put one more load into a curriculum that is already overburdened, and

that the supposed end for which they were introduced, the development of a more intelligent citizenship in all the ranges of citizenship (the complex ranges that now exist, including political but including also much more) will be missed.

"I may illustrate this by reference to that subject which is supposed to train particularly for political citizenship—the study of civics. There is, I think, considerable danger that this phase of social study will get submerged in a great flood of miscellaneous social study. When the subject was first introduced, I think there was a good deal of evidence of faith in the truly miraculous and magical power of information. If the students would only learn their federal and state constitutions, the names and duties of all the officers and all the rest of the anatomy of the government they would be prepared to be good citizens. And many of them, many of us, I fear, having learned these facts went out into adult life and became the easy prey of skillful politicians and political machines; the victims of political misrepresentation, say, on the part of the newspapers we happened to read. (p. 82.)

"There was a modicum of knowledge or information acquired in the school, but it wasn't connected; and I fear isn't today much connected with *how government is actually run, with how parties are formed and managed, what machines are, what gives machines and political bosses their power.* [Italics mine.] In fact, it might be dangerous in some cities if pupils in the schools were given not merely a formal and anatomical knowledge about the structure of the government but also acquired an understanding of how the government of their own community is run through giving special favors and through dealing with industrial powers. But without so rudimentary a preparation for intelligent voting or for intelligent legislation, how could we say that we were preparing for any kind of democratic self-government?" (p. 81.)

Dewey goes on to make similar points regarding our teaching of science and vocation in isolation from the actual workings of science and the industrial order in the social and economic activities of our day (pp. 82-85). He thus makes this personal confession:

"I don't know just what democracy means in detail in the whole range of concrete relations of human life—political, economic, cultural, domestic, at the present time. I make this humiliating con-

fession the more readily because I suspect that nobody else knows what it means in full concrete detail. But I am sure, however, that this problem is the one that most demands the serious attention of educators at the present time.

"What does democracy really mean? What would be its consequences in the complex life of the present? If we can answer those questions, then our next question will be: What direction shall we give to the work of the school so that the richness and fullness of the democratic way of life may be promoted? The cooperative study of these questions is to my mind the present outstanding work of progressive education." (p. 85.)

In short, while Dr. Dewey urges upon teachers of civics in 1937 the fundamental importance of trying with the rest of the world, to find out what democracy actually means, and should mean to us all, he prescribes an absolute essential to the pedagogy of successful teaching of civics. This essential is that the student study civic *process* and not merely civic *structure*, or even *product*. In short, for a successful study of the political machine of a democratic government the student must see the "*of, by and for the people,*" of our villages, towns, cities, counties, states, nation, and international groups, not in isolation one part from another, but each at work in co-ordination with the other two. How many citizens whom the reader knows have a sufficient knowledge of actual civic processes to be really effective citizens and voters?

At this point, if any teacher wishes to compare his own knowledge of civic processes actually going on in his town, state and nation with the knowledge and experience of an expert, let him read what "Al" Smith has to say on education in citizenship.²

Mr. Smith says he has run for office twenty times since 1903.

The headings of his book are, in Part I: "First Principles and the Local Political Club; Modernizing New York's Charter; The State Legislature, How It Works and How Elected; The Governor of New York; Back Stage in a National Campaign. In Part II: The Government and Personal Welfare; The Law of the Land and its Observance; The Public Purse; Our Antiquated Machine of Government."

While some of Mr. Smith's discussion relates particularly to New York City and State, there is a great deal of information

about the political club, district leader and methods of nomination and election of men to office, with which voters everywhere ought to be familiar. For example he says:

"The first thing to consider in a discussion of the citizen and his government is the smallest and most basic unit of political organization under our party system—that is the local political club. Naturally, and because of geographic rather than any other influence, local political clubs find their general development in the cities and in the areas of cities where the population is most concentrated.

"Most city people do not even know the names of those living in the same house with them, much less have much social contact with their close neighbors.

"Therefore, the local political clubs, which in the last analysis exchange social contacts and political and economic services for votes, offer a natural and much used gathering-place for the citizens, young and old, of the cities, and particularly of the neighborhood, in which each club may be located."

Also, what Mr. Smith says about the value to the citizen of a careful study of the state budget applies with equal force to the town, city, county, and national budgets. Of the state budget he says:

"There is still no better way for a legislator or private citizen to become acquainted with the whole business of the state and what it costs to run it than to carefully study the appropriation bill. A man gets a really good knowledge of his own business and his own undertakings when he checks up his account himself and delegates that all-important responsibility to nobody." (pp. 66-67.)

Mr. Smith states his view of the importance of civic education thus: "It is unfortunate that the youth of our country have not in the past been taught to study public affairs, but have rather been led to believe that their participation in government is confined either to joining a political party or registering and voting at election time. Seemingly, it does not occur to anyone that at the very age when the minds of the young people are most receptive they hear nothing about their government. I think it just as important that young people begin at a tender age to understand what their government is as it is for them to study geography. And if they are

to study the history of the past, why not acquaint them with the present and enable them to have some understanding of what they may expect in the future? (pp. 215-216.)

"The youth of this country have a distinct responsibility to prepare themselves for citizenship and participation in the affairs of government. If they want to practice medicine, law, engineering or any other profession, the state requires of them a particular training defined by law. What reason is there why our youth should not assume the responsibility of studying the operation of the government of their country in order to prepare themselves for intelligent participation in its affairs?

"This inertia on the part of the people makes possible the false issues that enter into practically every campaign, both state and national, and which originate in one party or the other." (p. 216.)

To show how little the average New York City citizen knows about the men he is helping to pay for doing his civic work, Mr. Smith quotes the following:

"The New York Evening Post recently conducted a very interesting poll. The purpose of the poll was to find out how many people encountered in a single day are able to tell the number of their aldermanic, assembly, state, senatorial and congressional districts, and name the men who represent them in these various legislative bodies. It is indeed remarkable after a canvass of 3,000 voters, to find that out of that number only 54 were fully informed, 603 partially informed and 2,343 totally ignorant." (p. 24.)

Any reader of the above can easily make a similar test upon at least a few of the people he knows in his own community. In a class in civics in a junior or senior high school the teacher and students could easily plan and carry out a similar local poll on a larger scale.

The ignorance and inertia of Chicago citizens in the face of a complicated and outworn civic unit and tax situation in Chicago is told as follows in *The Atlantic Monthly*:³ "Herbert D. Simpson has explored the Chicago Tax situation from top to bottom, and has served in every capacity from committee member to court witness in the effort to meet a crisis of concern to all American cities." I make the following quotations from Mr. Simpson's articles.

He begins: "Chicago occupies more newspaper and magazine

space today than any other city in the world, but unfortunately this generous publicity only reinforces the old maxim, 'Happy the people whose history is least interesting to read,' for much of the publicity about Chicago is hostile, critical, or sensational; much of it has to do with gangs, 'rackets,' and 'racketeers,' and yet when a writer in a recent number of Harper's undertakes to chronicle the number and varied activities of Chicago's rackets, he omits what is probably the greatest of them all—the tax racket." (p. 537.)

"Chicago finds itself at the moment enmeshed in a system of decentralized, overlapping, competing municipal governments, which have been set up at various times since 1837; imbedded in a constitutional mandate, enacted in 1818, when Chicago's skyline was nothing but a horizon on the prairie, which injects into the tax system all of the vicious elements associated with the present personal property tax; and subjected to an assessment administration, established in 1898, which specifically fosters inefficiency and irresponsibility." (p. 539.)

"The administration system embraces: thirty local assessors, a Board of Assessors composed of five members and a Board of Review composed of three members. These officials are all elective, possessed of overlapping powers, virtually independent of each other, and numerous enough to pass the blame for anything that occurs back and forth indefinitely. It is a system characterized by absences of scientific method, duplication of function, diffusion of responsibility, and secrecy of operation." (p. 539.)

Mr. Simpson further says: "I have talked with a large number of small property owners and house owners, many of whom are in the habit of making cynical observations about the graft and corruption of the tax system. In a surprising number of cases, they do not know what their houses are assessed for. The taxes generally run around \$300, \$450, or \$500, as the case may be. When assured that their particular properties are clearly over-assessed (if that is the case) and that they ought to look into the assessment, 'Ah, well, it isn't worth the trouble!'" (p. 546.)

"Now, when we have citizenship which, however spectacular its achievement otherwise may be, is never the less characterized by a low level of political intelligence, a citizenship which habitually

places a low valuation upon political honesty and integrity, a citizenship steeped in the chronic indifference that comes with prosperity and a high level of general well-being, and a citizenship which habitually evades intellectual conviction and independence of action by the easy alibi of a committee or an organization, we have the soil from which no other political growth could be expected than the present governmental conditions in Chicago. And it is unlikely that these conditions will be greatly or permanently changed until the soil from which they grow is changed." (p. 549.)

(Querry: Does the reader think that Chicago is the only community of whose citizens such statements could be truly made?—H. W. T.)

SOME OPINIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FROM THE COMMISSION ON THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Although for full understanding of the perspective of the men who prepared the Report of this commission the whole Report should be carefully studied, the following quotations from two volumes are enough to show that the writers agree that no mere memoriter and dogmatic teaching of the anatomy of constitutions and of political structure is adequate to the education of an efficient citizen in our democracy. In the Report, Charles A. Beard says:

* "A study of the trends in civic education in eight leading European countries reveals the following indications, to put them in summary form:—

- "1. Some fundamental changes are already under way and are likely to continue in the near future at least, over emphasis on tradition must be corrected by a recognition of the need for attitudes and aptitudes of adjustment appropriate to a rapidly developing world.
- "2. Inasmuch as pupils go out of the schools into a pluralistic world of competing allegiances and loyalties it is necessary to bridge the gap between narrow civic precepts and social behavior. In fact, there is in many respects a conflict between what the school says and what the home says, between the

cult of the school on the one side and the cults of industry, labor, business, the farmer group, and perhaps of sex outside of the schools. Each one of these outside affiliations is a little world in itself. It has its system of social education and scheme of correct behavior. They all interlock of course, but their individual characteristics are indubitable and the child must become acquainted with this pluralism if he is to deal wisely with competing allegiances and handle them effectively in practical life. There must be something in the experience of the race or American civilization which will show how to cope with these conflicting pressures intelligently. If the schools do not discuss them on a high level of rationality, then the pupils will wrestle with them on a level of chance and passion before and after they have left the schoolrooms.

"If civic education does not make clear the demands of these loyalties, if it fosters in children little save the spirit of uniformity, they will not be fortified with the knowledge necessary to make wise choices and the strength of character required to carry them into effect." (pp. 113-114.)

Another challenging opinion is found in another volume of this Commission's Report on "Civic Education in the United States." ⁵

Some idea of the suggestions of this report can be gained from its findings and conclusions, the eight headings of which are worded as follows: "Civic Education and Social Science, Democracy and Civic Education, Civic Education and Social Training, Civic Education and Recent Trends, Civic Education and Political Realism, Civic Education and Defeatism, Teacher and Taught, The Goal of Civic Education." (pp. ix-xvii.)

The writer of this report is not only a college professor, writer of other books, editor of "Studies in the Making of Citizens" (University of Chicago Press), Vice-Chairman of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, but also he has been an alderman in the City of Chicago. From his discussion of "Democracy and Civic Education," under his Heading II, we pluck these two brief statements which show the writer's belief that the educational philosophy of John Dewey is valid in the field of civic education.

"Democracy is a way of life as well as a form of government."
(p. xi.)

"Civic education is the basis of a democratic system." (p. xi.)

And from his discussion under Heading V, "Civic Education and Political Realism," these two paragraphs emphasize the necessity that a good citizen understand in some detail how the political machinery of our different civic units actually works:

"It is important that Civic Education should include some understanding of the new techniques of political power in the modern world. Among these are propaganda, mass organization and manipulation of symbolism, political psychology, and civic education itself. Without an understanding of these mechanisms the political world of today will seem foggy to the observer and participant.

"There is a wide gap in many instances between the formal knowledge in the books and the informal government under which we live—a gap so wide that book information is often thrown aside later as wholly useless." (p. xiv.)

And finally I quote the three paragraphs of his statement in VIII—"The Good of Civic Education":

"1. If the coming generation can be equipped for the performance of its social functions through better known organizations, the future of the world is bright with rich possibilities. The obstacles that stand between us and the realization of men's dreams are those of social attitudes and political management.

"2. If we can look the facts in the face and not deny what we do not like, if we can consult our hopes more and our fears less, if we can think more in terms of the present and the future and less in the terms of the past; if we can show inventive ability in social and industrial arrangements equal to that developed in technological advancement, we can realize the promise of American life more fully than even the prophets have dared to dream.

"3. To produce the will, the skill, the attitudes and aptitudes adequate to this achievement is the supreme challenge of civic and social education."

(Query: How effectively are our schools meeting this challenge? The next chapter gives some opinions.—H. W. T.)

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VII

TWO OPINIONS ON RECENT INADEQUACIES OF SCHOOL EDUCATION IN CITIZENSHIP

THESE OPINIONS are given in considerable detail, as they make, on the basis of careful study, very definite suggestions of the kind of civics study that was going on in a majority of our public junior and senior high schools as late as 1932.

On page vi of a "National Survey of Secondary Education,"¹ Commissioner of Education William John Cooper says:

"The study gives an outline of what constitutes the social studies in the Junior High Schools in some 55 cities and in the Senior High Schools in some 43 cities."

Kimmel says (pp. 9-10):

"An examination of the objectives listed in courses of study reveals little evidence that the committees are thinking in terms of concepts and social *processes* [italics mine] as desirable goals in the teaching of social studies."

Of community civics in junior high schools, he also says (pp. 10-41): "The content in those courses in which outlines are included seem to be quite definitely selected and presented in a generalized, rather than in a concrete manner.

"The points of contact with the community in the courses of study are largely concerned with *how service and agencies may function in ideal situations rather than how they actually function in the interplay of forces and groups in the community*. [Italics mine.] The content on civic beauty is replete with examples of civic beauty, but there is usually nothing which will contribute to an understanding of the forces, which operate to prevent the beautifying of cities and communities, or of those which operate to exploit these situations. Ideals of public service in the abstract are laudable, but there will probably be less disillusionment and a greater understanding, of the difficulties which stand in the way of

an approximation of these ideals when the content of civics courses is tempered with a greater amount of realism." (pp. 40-41.)

He reviewed thirteen courses in civics for senior high schools. "Eight of the 13 courses bear the title 'Civics,' 2 are listed as 'Advance Civics,' while 'American Government,' 'Social Civics,' and 'Problems of Citizenship' are each used as the title of one course. (p. 53.)

"Most of the courses are a combination of structure and organization of government and selected functions. In two instances certain problems are selected for study near the end of the course. The approach is seldom pointed directly toward the consideration of *functions of government* and governmental [*italics mine*] *institutions*: The formal organization of government usually forms the point of departure, with some incidental treatment of functions in connection with each unit of organization. With the possible exception of two courses, all are concerned to a considerable extent with a description of the *anatomy* of government rather than with a *functional approach* to materials." (p. 53.)

"Probably the most helpful recent change is found in the increasing number of competently educated teachers who are evaluating advanced proposals for courses of study in a critical and analytical manner based on their practical applications as developed in actual courses. (p. 99.)

"With few exceptions, the basic guiding principles for the selection and organization of content regardless of the form in which courses are constructed, are not explicitly stated. Internal evidence in courses, however, seems to indicate that, the *textbook* is the most *important factor*, with plans found in text-books transferred, with varying degrees of rearrangement, to courses of study; because of the place of the textbook as a potent factor in instruction in the social studies, *it seems that new courses come into effective use in many schools only when corresponding text-books are available.* [*Italics mine.*] The situation is likely to remain unchanged until more adequate library facilities and classroom equipment in the social studies are provided in larger numbers of secondary schools. Proposals for marked changes in courses of study (p. 100) and in newer and more complicated methods and techniques of instruction can be effected only when adequate facilities are provided, and

these in turn depend on a growing realization by those in control of the schools of the importance of a rich supply of materials for effective instruction in the social studies. Teachers are still dependent, except in more advanced secondary schools, on the text-book as the primary source of instructional materials; this is in marked contrast with the situation in certain foreign countries." (p. 100.) (What countries?—H. W. T.)

SOCIAL STUDIES NEED HOUSECLEANING

Under the above heading we get in brief compass something of the perspective in which a veteran crusader for better civic education, who read all the new textbooks in civics, saw our actual ideals and processes as late as 1934.²

"Social studies need housecleaning. The circulars sent to this reviewer, to advertise oncoming books in the social studies grow warmer and warmer. Harcourt, Brace and Company send, with their Hill and Tugwell high school economics, shouting print telling of the pains taken by newspapers to show the book as opposed to traditional standards. The text is a drastic departure, says the circular. Allyn and Bacon, displaying their Hughes series in civic training, stress the shift from knowledge to civic performance. Professor McKinley, after publishing twenty-five volumes of the monthly *Historical Outlook*, rechristens it *The Social Studies*. In Minnesota Professor Krey continues to hammer against the custom of building a social-studies course by pieces from other schools. 'It produces complete anesthesia of thought.' Vassar Professor Ware finds the studies 'producer-minded.' What's the trouble with America? She shows it has been assumed that the problems of economic activity are problems of production, that people needed prodding to produce more. It is time the majority were thought of and economics taught from the consumer's side. Chicago Sociologist Rosander finds necessary a teaching staff determined to undertake important changes and to teach the necessity of civic planning in which government, science and education are fused into a new unity. We have never conceived, he says, our social studies as dynamic, preparing the generation for continual adjustments nor stimulating it to think creatively in civic directions. *Political pap*

has been passed out to children to leave them content with conventional beliefs. School is attempting to stimulate pupils to creative work in language, art and handwork, but government, economics, sociology, as taught, is mostly for the status as is. Our social science courses are too dull. Notes, events, personalities and movements that have no bearing on the present are emphasized. Civic teaching is stressing structure, not the actual workings. Our boys learn of the old tyrants and how they oppressed the common people, but hear nothing of our privileged classes who buy immunity in the courts, undermine honest government, throw wage earners out of work at will, make charity a hobby for the idle rich, peddle prosperity in the face of gravest distress and pillage the public treasury. What social studies need to teach is what to do here and now. Schools can tell the truth about rich tax evaders, lying advertisers, corporations that loot, politicians who fiddle while the people starve. Schools can make clear the duty to face problems rather than to avoid them. Unless education is based on realities it is a time waster. Unless it stresses the duty of correcting civic defects it cannot justify public support." [Italics mine.]

(Query: Challenged by such situations as described by the educational experts just quoted, what can we as citizens, and some of us as teachers, do to improve these situations in our own communities?—H. W. T.)

REFERENCES AND NOTES

CHAPTER VII

1. William G. Kimmel, in Bulletin No. 17, "National Survey of Secondary Education" (Monograph No. 21, U. S. Bureau of Education, 1932).
2. William McAndrew in his review department of *School and Society*, July, 1934 (Society for the Advancement of Education).

VIII

THE ESSENTIALS OF A GOOD SCHOOL PROCESS FOR EDUCATION IN GOOD CITIZENSHIP

INTRODUCTION

I RETIRED from the child welfare department of the New York School of Social Work in 1931. During the years from 1912-1931 my attention had been focused on the problems of dependent, neglected, defective and delinquent children.

During these first three years of retirement from both public school teaching and social work, I discovered that I was still intensely interested in the problem of adequate public school education of our youth in citizenship, which problem I had tried to face a quarter of a century before in the Hyde Park High School, Chicago, and in the Chicago Normal School. I therefore tried to find out what progress toward the solution of this problem had been made in the public schools since 1905.

In my first seven chapters I have tried to give enough data and discussion to make two facts fairly clear:

First, that even before 1861, and especially since 1900, there have been some changes for the better in the attempts by our schools to educate youth in good citizenship.

Second, that, in spite of all that has been done toward efficiency, too much reliance upon archaic methods of education in citizenship still persists in many of our schools, and too many persons who are not yet good citizens of our democracy are still found in most of our local communities, our states, and our nation.

In Chapter VII I have further shown in brief that, although some progress has been made, we were still far, far from the goal. I was therefore challenged to try to formulate the essentials of a teaching process adequate to educate our youth in good democratic citizenship.

In view, therefore, of the fact that we have already made some progress, and also of the fact of the great magnitude of the task yet before us, it is clear that there is still need for *persistent inquiry as to what are the essentials in an effective unit—process of education in citizenship in schools.*

I made an attempt to formulate these essentials in 1934. As an aid to such a formulation, I kept in mind my own past professional experiences both as a teacher of civics and a social worker with dependent and delinquent children. I was still consciously under the influence of Colonel Parker, John Dewey, teachers of the physical, chemical and biological sciences, Professor Small, Professor Giddings, and the 1932 Character Education Report of the Department of Superintendence. I saw that in the United States the citizen faces actual situations demanding action from him in each of the political units of which he is a member—local, state, national and international. The always-to-be-asked, and never-perfectly-answered question is: How may the young citizen be most effectively helped to acquire the knowledge and develop the character needed to make him an actively and constructively good citizen in each civic group of which he is a member?

My attempt to answer this question was begun in this manner: I made the following tentative formulation as a basis for discussion with educators and as a criterion to hold in mind as I observed or read reports about actual civic teaching now current in our schools.

ASSUMPTIONS

1. The teacher should always keep in mind the difference between citizen and voter (see Constitution of the U. S., Amendment XIV). There are millions of young citizens who are not yet voters.
2. The opportunities and duties of active and intelligent citizenship are offered to citizens, whether voters or not, each as a member at one and the same time of different civic units, known as town, city, county, state, nation and various international groups.
3. Conscious participation in some of the functions, processes, of a civic unit is essential to an effective process of learning

to be an intelligent and constructive citizen and voter in that unit.

4. Such conscious participation can be of two kinds:
 - a. Actual cooperation with other citizens in the carrying on of some organized current civic function, or in helping to make effective plans for same—in short, by *actual co-operation* in facing actual civic situations.
 - b. Imaginative participation by vivid case-work discussion of actual past, and possible future, organized functions of the unit and of plans for carrying out of same—in short, by *imaginative co-operation* in facing actual civic situations. Such participation by *case-work* discussion may take place, prior to, during, after, or even in place of actual participation.
5. The individual is moved toward actual participation with the other members of a group to the degree that he recognizes who they are and feels that his interests are identical with theirs—in short, has “consciousness of kind” with the other members of the group. This “consciousness of kind” as a motive power, this recognition of the other members of the civic unit and feeling of identity of interest with them, can be gained both by actual and by vivid thought or imaginative participation.

TEACHING PRINCIPLES

1. The civic unit, and the particular organized function of that unit, chosen for study by any group of children should be such as their age, natural ability and experience enable them to understand.
2. Each civic function to be studied should be one in which the student at his stage of development can easily feel that he is personally involved, either in the performance or in the result, or in both. *Before the student leaves high school he should have studied some important function of every civic unit in which he lives, beginning with a local unit and leading up to some international group.* In general, each project chosen should be such a function that the study could

begin with this question: "How do *we* do this thing?" For example:

- (a) How do we protect ourselves against fire?
- (b) How do we get our water supply and dispose of sewage?
- (c) How do we supply ourselves with schools?
- (d) How do we collect, carry and deliver our letters?
- (e) How do we guide and protect ourselves while traveling upon the sea?

The above five functions, from the scores that are actually performed, are meant to be merely illustrative. The function chosen in any school at any time may be selected from the whole list of local, state, national, and international functions.

- 3. These three basic points should be made clear to the student in each unit study:
 - (a) *What* is being done and its total cost.
 - (b) Who *we*, as an inclusive group, are who are doing it and how much it costs per capita and how it is collected.
 - (c) Who the people are as an inclusive group *for whom* it is done, and what direct service, if any, it is to us.
- 4. For further light upon 3(a) at least these points should be made clear:
 - (a) How the thing as a group function used to be done, or has come to be done as it is now done.
 - (b) Any possible ways, if any, for the group to do it better in future, also to distribute its cost more fairly.
 - (c) How we, as individuals, can help to supplement the organized work of the group.
- 5. In the discussion of 3(b) it is important that students face these questions:
 - (a) The question of the qualifications needed by those who are chosen by the group to take executive charge of the details of the work.
 - (b) The question of actual and desirable methods of choosing such persons within the group, whether on his merit or on some personal, party; or other irrelevant basis.

6. In the discussion of 3(c) it is of basic importance that we, the students, should feel:
 - (a) A genuine, personal responsibility for helping to get the organized work done right.
 - (b) The duty of some direct or indirect tax payment *by us* for the support of the work that is done *for us*.
 - (c) Responsibility for any possible, supplementary, individual action that will help to make the organized function more effective.
7. It should be clear to the teacher that while the facts of 3(a), 3(b), and 3(c) are different for each function studied, the following two questions are both *pertinent* to the *discussion* of *every civic function*, and are both vital to an effective process of educating conscientious and co-operative citizens.

First, the question of our responsibility to understand the *qualifications needed* by the workers and executives in the immediate charge of the organized work of the civic function, and for seeing to it that such persons are chosen.

Second, the question of our sense of obligation to carry in some way by personal co-operation, and by tax, our full share of the expense of making as effective as possible the work of the civic unit which we as members are studying.

In short, the study of every civic function should be pushed to the point of facing, with the students, these two questions: First, *what* does this social *situation demand* of *each of us* as to the *election* or *appointment* of *our representatives*? And second, *what* does this *situation demand* of *us as citizens* of *this unit* in the way of *direct individual service* and *tax support*?

MY QUESTIONS

A. *About the Assumptions*

1. Should any of them be omitted because incorrect, irrelevant, or unimportant?
2. If any should be amended, how?
3. What assumptions, if any, should be added?

B. About the Teaching Principles

1. Which, if any, should be questioned?
2. Which amended?
3. What, if any, should be added?

In 1934 I submitted these questions with my assumptions and teaching principles to three separate groups of social workers and educators for their critical opinions. Before each group, my assumptions and teaching principles were read paragraph by paragraph; there was a pause for discussion at the end of each.

The first group, which consisted of social workers and an educator in New York City, approved of both the Assumptions and Teaching Principles. Also the following suggestions of this group relative to individual and group relationship are especially helpful:

1. The individual moves toward co-operation with other members of each group as—
 - (a) He realizes common interests and goals.
 - (b) He knows the people involved.
 - (c) He is convinced of the need for the activity of that group.
2. In order to have a more effective life, our citizens must learn—
 - (a) To feel.
 - (b) To think.
 - (c) To function, that is to live together.

The second group consisted of six New Jersey educators and one from New York who met at a state teachers' college in New Jersey.

In this group also there was substantial agreement as to the soundness both of the Assumptions and Teaching Principles.

From the concrete opinions and suggestions I cite these.

Actual participation of students in group activities is important.

Thought participation in the activities of secondary group is difficult but must be continuously attempted.

There is already much teaching of history and social topics in the spirit of the assumptions and teaching principles.

Any new book in this particular field should be for teachers and not a textbook for students.

Agreement by all that the genuine teaching of good citizenship is a long, slow process but profoundly important.

The third group of advisers were a superintendent, principal and teacher in an Illinois town.

All three said that they thought both the philosophy and pedagogy of my formulations were sound.

The superintendent and principal also gave illustrations of their theories and practices for developing consciousness of kind in students which have been helpful in the writing of this book.

Thus encouraged by the substantial agreement of my three groups of advisers, and with my Assumptions and Teaching Principles clearly in mind, I tried to find out what varieties of unit-teaching processes for the education of youth in citizenship are now actually found in the schools of the nation. The methods I used in this quest and some of the most definite and suggestive answers will now be described in Chapter IX.

In Appendix F are given opinions as to the urgent need for "consciousness of kind" as a motive power for effective co-operation among all the members of a group, especially among the members of interracial groups.

IX

CITATIONS FROM RECENT SCHOOL PROJECTS IN THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH AS CITIZENS

SECTION A. INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION

IN THIS CHAPTER I cite (sometimes with personal comment) projects and processes which I studied, either during personal visits to schools, or from written reports made to me in answer to my written question (quoted below), or from published statements and subsequent correspondence with teachers and students. Each of the projects cited in this chapter was being carried on in an elementary or secondary school in one of thirteen states ranging from Rhode Island west to Washington, south from New York to South Carolina, or south from Illinois to Arkansas.

In Chapters IX and X the projects have been numbered in order to make the summary in Chapter XI more easily understood.

The direct questions asked of teachers are given in the following extract from my form letter which was sent to a limited number of selected teachers in all sections of the United States.

"I need your personal and professional help to the extent of a brief statement of an actual experience in studying, with a group of children, some civic process, activity or problem and I hope this statement will include answers to at least three questions:

1. What was the civic project, activity or 'teaching unit'?
2. What was your teaching method, with children of what grade, for how long a time?
3. To what degree did the children seem to realize that they were studying something that involved their own personal and family welfare, something that might need their understanding cooperation as citizens and voters?

I shall be deeply grateful for your cooperation.

Faithfully yours,

HENRY W. THURSTON."

The discussion which follows will draw upon the replies and other information received primarily for the purpose of making answers to the three following questions as clear as possible.

1. What varieties of project and process have been found respectively, in elementary schools, in high schools, in colleges?
2. What evaluations of results of these projects and processes have been made by teachers and students?
3. What suggestions for improvement in these projects and processes appear when they are studied with our "Assumptions" in mind as to the essentials in a specific teaching process to educate youth in citizenship?

SECTION B. EXTRACTS FROM DESCRIPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF
SPECIFIC PROJECTS IN GRADES I-VI AS MADE BY
TEACHERS AND PUPILS

(1) First Grade Project: Our Helpers

"Donna, who has a friend in Detroit, told about policemen there, who help children across the street—sometimes they blow whistles; sometimes they hold up their hands for traffic to stop. Someone asked, 'Why don't the policemen in our town, stay at street corners?' There followed the usual discussion about policemen having to look for gangsters, etc. Someone asked, 'What makes the traffic light go on and off?' Sam, whose father is an electrician says that he will ask his father and maybe his father can take us and show us. Sam says a man pulls a switch to turn the lights off late at night and to turn them on in the morning. We are anxiously awaiting Sam's message. He is to find this information this evening.

"I can direct the children's discussion into thinking of different ways the policemen help us, their duties. There are other helpers in Oberlin. Let's think of all the different helpers there are. There are the firemen, the city manager, the health department, the superintendent of schools and many others we might visit as a group or in committees and learn in a simple way what work they do.

"In connection with learning about the different divisions of our local government, we can think out as we discuss the impor-

tance of the contributions, what we, as children, can do to help. If we visit the fire station, the health department, the fire chief and the health doctor they can tell us what we can do to help. And so on.

"I can very easily guide the children's discussion toward a study of the town helpers. Although there is a great deal of interest right now in other ways of travel, the interest could be easily directed toward the study of local government—on a very simple scale, of course.

"There seems almost no end to opportunities for sowing the seeds of civic consciousness and pride. I often think of what an opportunity we primary teachers have—and the home too, of course—in having children at their most plastic years to mold.

"Out of our discussions, as you know, grow original stories for reading and composition purposes, creative work in form of poems, songs, and art. In the manual arts there develop number concepts and a real need for number computation. There comes a desire to know how to spell words without always having to ask to have them spelled. In a transportation study, we begin geography, history, science, etc.

"It just comes to my mind that perhaps the first situation the children meet in their school life that starts a civic consciousness, is to learn that the school, the room, the playground is *theirs*. *We work together to care for our property*. And of course, there are rules to be made and obeyed. *'Why do we have rules?'*

"Our units of work are 'written up' as they develop. This unit of work which started out as a unit of work on Transportation may develop into one on Safety or as I suggested before, one on The Town's Helpers. It is hard to tell just how many weeks of time a unit will take. My little group of six and seven year olds can make a study of the various means of transportation at some later time. The interest span at this age is short and their experience background limited. Units of work on a first grade level are simple and usually for short periods of time, depending upon the interest. There are always leads coming from the children, which by means of thought questions and a little guiding can be directed into purposeful units of work."

My comment: There are here suggestions of many possible

relations of elementary projects in civics to other phases of school experience and study; and also suggestions of definite beginnings in first-grade pupils of the *we* feeling with their "town helpers" whose services they study.

(2) Second Grade Project

"I. Objective

To show children what Fire Prevention week means.

Why we have monthly Fire Drills.

The need of Firemen and what they do.

"II. Approaches

Stories from Citizenship Readers.

Trip to Fire House.

Pictures depicting Fires.

Trip thru School to see where fire boxes are located.

How alarm is given at school.

"III. Introduction

Discussion on own experiences and from stories read.

Questions ready to ask Lieutenant at Fire House.

"IV. Development of the Unit.

A. Listing things we need to know.

1. Discussion

Make a list of things we need to know in case of
Fire at Home, at School, or Public places.

Pictures from Newspapers on Current Events.

2. Things to do.

Find stories from Library Table and read to
class.

Draw pictures of *Trip To The Fire House* and
make into book.

Make Reading Chart.

Why Firemen have a School for training.

"Outcome

The real meaning of our monthly Fire Drills and explicit
obedience.

What to do about fires at picnics.

What Carelessness can do.

Why the nearest Fire box is used.

Where the Fire Box is on street nearest school and home.
What to do if no Fire box is near."

My queries on this project:

1. Do the children realize that, as voters, we indirectly choose our firemen?
2. Do the children realize that indirectly by payment of taxes *we* pay our firemen for serving *us*?

Reply by the teacher: "The children are quite young to realize what taxes mean."

Following which opinion I still ask the reader if it should not be the habitual task of every teacher to push the discussion of every civic function, so far as the age understandings of the pupils permit, toward a *we* feeling and recognition of their place, not only as persons for whom some civic service is performed, but, also of their responsibility to co-operate in this service and to help toward its maintenance?

(3) A Fourth Grade Civic Problem Unit on Building Restrictions

- "I. The teaching unit was one on "Shelter" in social science.
- "II. It was studied in fourth grade. The discussion on this particular point lasted for about three fifty-minute periods. Preceding this the children had been studying about building materials, their durability, fireproof qualities, etc.
- "III. This particular discussion was related almost entirely to their own personal surroundings. Some of the questions discussed were (the children raised these questions):
 1. Are there any restrictions on building in this city?
 2. Does the city have the right to restrict building?
 3. If a man owns land, why can't he build anything he wishes?
 4. What restrictions are found in the residence districts?
 5. What different restrictions are found in different districts? Why is this?
 6. Why are business district regulations different from those in the residential districts?
 7. What regulations are there about filling stations and grocery stores in the residence districts?

8. Where should the city be particularly careful about the use of fireproof buildings?
9. Before anyone buys property what should he find out about the restrictions in that district?
10. How does city plumbing help the looks of a city?
11. Are restrictions more of a hindrance or a protection?
 - a. When are they a hindrance?
 - b. When are they a protection?"

My comment: The questions by these fourth-grade students suggest that they recognized to an encouraging degree that building restrictions in a city are the result of such a facing of a social situation that *each citizen seeks his own highest welfare by seeking at the same time the welfare of all other citizens in the town. We have been told that such action tends to develop character in the actors.* Did these students think of themselves as included, at least in thought, among those who make building restrictions, or were such citizens and voters merely "they"?

(4) Fifth Grade Project: A Civic Project

(Labelled by the teacher "A Project in History," 5B Grade; time, ten weeks.)

"I. What our city does for us:

"A study of the police, fire, water and health departments of Chicago showing the work of each department and what it does to protect the citizens.

"II. Teaching Method:

"A discussion from incidents of everyday life (a) how we are protected from burglars (b) how lost children are cared for (c) our safe-being, out-door and in traffic, (d) meat and milk inspection, school doctor and nurse (e) how water is brought to our homes.

"III. The class seemed to realize that the *city government* was doing something for *them*, that it was furnishing them with police and fire protection, guarding their health, and furnishing them with the water they drink."

My comment: I see no trace in this statement of an attempt to

make these pupils conscious of their own place (in this circular civic process) either as co-operative citizens and prospective voters, or through their parents, as present tax- and water-rate payers.

(5) Sixth Grade World Friendship Project

"My sixth grade corresponded with the Committee on World Friendship Among Children, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City. A friendship folio was procured from them to be sent by the class to a school in China. They decided to celebrate the mailing of this on World Goodwill Day, May Eighteenth, by giving a program in the Assembly Hall for other classes in the school and to interest them also in the promotion of world friendship among children. Their plans called for talks, poems, a pageant, and the production of an original play, 'Yon Oo School'—a village school in China.

"About ten weeks was spent in research reading on ways, customs, teachings, and schools in China for the composition of the talks, original play and poems for the following programs:

1. Talk—World Goodwill Day and Our Friendship Folio
2. Prologue to Our Play
3. Play—Yon Oo School
4. Talk—Oriental Music
5. Victor Record, 42480, Chinese Orchestra
6. Talk—The Feast of the Lanterns
7. Pageant—The Parade of the Lanterns

"The children were eager to show their friendliness to the children of China by bringing their snapshots of themselves, homes, friends, pets, and school for the friendship folio.

"They listened to the radio broadcast (which came after school hours) of children from different lands with the interpretation of their talks. They reported on this at school.

"That they seemed to realize the importance of it all was best expressed by the child who gave the talk on World Goodwill Day when she said, *'The purpose of World Goodwill Day is to bring together the children of the world. In doing this the children are made to understand each other. When these children become citi-*

zens of the world, we hope this understanding will help keep peace between the nations.'" [Italics mine.]

My query: When will "these children become *citizens* of the world"?

My comment: A good illustration of growth in "*consciousness of kind*," a *fellow feeling* with children of another nation.

From descriptions of similar projects in other schools in which there has been student co-operation in their own community welfare work, correspondence (and exchange of gifts) with students in other lands, sometimes as members of the Junior Red Cross, have come such teacher comments as this: "The results have been to make boys and girls more socially minded and to arouse interest in their fellowmen here and in other lands."

SECTION C. SPECIFIC ILLUSTRATIONS AND EVALUATIONS FROM GRADES 7-12 JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

(6) We Study Our Schools

I give this project in nearly complete detail because, while planned by one teacher, it was sent by the Assistant Supervisor of Elementary Education in the state to other teachers. It also gives some attention to all three phases of a complete civic function, namely:

1. What is done.
2. Who does it (a) directly; and (b) indirectly by voting, taxation, etc.
3. For whom it is done.

The project is described thus:

"The following plan sheet describes a unit of work developed by a teacher in a seventh grade classroom in Roanoke County, Va. It is sent to other teachers as an illustration of how one group of pupils, under the guidance of the teacher, approached a field of content which has perhaps been neglected in some schools. The function of education is a vital one and such activities as finding out how the county tax payer's dollar is spent and the proportion

of it allocated to public education, finding out about the use of FERA funds in the State, as well as comparing the school systems of today with those of seventy-five years ago and the systems of different countries would appear to be worthwhile experiences for pupils. The evaluation which follows the plan sheet describes the results which the teacher felt came from the unit."

[This opening paragraph shows the use that was made of this unit project by the Virginia State Board of Education.]

1 APPROACH	2 ACTIVITIES THAT WERE USED	3 SUBJECT MATTER
Things interesting to children:	Inviting a local school official to come and talk on his duties	Binford and Graff, <i>The Young American Citizen</i> , Johnson
School, programs, people, laws.	Writing letters to the following for materials: 1. Office of Education, Wash., D. C. 2. Virginia Journal of Education	Clark, <i>Westward to the Pacific</i> Scribner's
Initiation: National Education Week: much was written and said about the need of a better understanding of our educational system. The teacher initiated the work by discussing with the pupils Virginia's efforts to improve her schools. The pupils asked the following questions:	Discussing Virginia's revised course of study; the necessity for it; the part our school played in the 'Try-out Program.' Discussing the reason for the FERA funds and what the funds have done to reduce illiteracy in Virginia Discussing why people cooperate to support schools Making a large chart showing the improvement in schools of the U. S. during the past 40 years Solving problems involving the cost of public education	Compton's <i>Encyclopedia</i> , Compton Dunn, <i>Community Civics</i> , Heath Hughes, <i>Community Civics</i> , Allyn King and Barnard, <i>Our Community Life</i> , Winston Chandler, <i>Our Republic</i> , Row
Where does the money come from to run the schools?	Debating this question: Resolved, that the public school is preferable to the private school except for persons who are physically disabled	Smith-Luce-Morse, <i>Advanced Arithmetic</i> , Ginn
How does Virginia rank among the school systems of the U. S.?	Presenting a program for National Education Week	Virginia Journal of Education <i>World Book</i>
Who selects textbooks and decides what we shall buy? What part of Virginia has most illiterates?	Taking a test on education	Quarrie
Who selects textbooks and decides what we shall buy? What part of Virginia has most illiterates?	Making a class Scrapbook containing the class contributions on this unit. A picture of our school decorated the cover and another the title page. The book contained the following material:	

1 APPROACH	2 ACTIVITIES THAT WERE USED	3 SUBJECT MATTER
What kind of schools do they have in foreign countries?	Pictures of State school officials, such as Dr. Hall, members of State Board of Education, etc. Chart showing organization of Virginia's school system Table giving names and duties of school officials of Virginia and Roanoke County Pictures of State-supported institutions of higher learning Pictures of the school of 75 years ago and school of today (interior and exterior) Graphs showing: - Decrease in illiteracy in U. S. from 1910 to 1930 inclusive - Illiteracy in European countries and the Americas - The number of men and women who attend college in the United States today Money value of an elementary education; high school education; college education How the Roanoke County tax payer's dollar is spent <i>and proportion allocated to schools</i> Map of Virginia showing percentage of illiteracy in Tidewater, Piedmont, Valley, and Mountains of Va. Reports on the following topics: - Horace Mann - Development of the public school system in Virginia - Compulsory education — its history — why needed today - A comparison of school systems of England, France, and Germany - The schools of 75 years ago and the schools of today Poems and quotations	

4 ABILITIES	5
The pupils developed through the discussion about the support of public schools the disposition to question constructively current practice along these lines (101) The discussions and reports led the pupils to evaluate and verify statements about the function and support of schools (106)	<i>Language Arts</i> Ability to read (301), to speak (302), to write (303), to listen (304), to study (305), used in meaningful situations.

4
ABILITIES

5

The pupils developed a disposition to understand rather than to memorize disconnected facts (111)

Mathematics

Ability to use graphs (306), and to interpret problems carefully developed (306)

The activities developed the feeling that it is valuable for people to work together for the success of the school and community (124)

Social Studies

Ability to use maps (307) and to follow instructions (313) developed.

Generalizations:

Our courses of education are constantly increasing (107)

The school is maintained by society [Why not by us? —H. W. T.] for giving more understanding, and aiding other educational agencies (207)

Nations preserve themselves from decay by educating children (208)

Educating all children makes for human progress (211)

Lack of universal education retards the development of a true democracy (214)

Evaluation: The teacher and pupils together evaluated the progress of the work. Plans for work periods were made, progress reported, and discussions arose from reports. The teacher gave the following test to the group:

- Part I
1. Does a democracy need educated people? If so, why?
 2. Does education add to a person's earning capacity?
 3. Was Berkeley in favor of public education in Virginia?
 4. Do public schools give every one an equal opportunity?
 5. Are the schools of the United States under the control of the U. S. government?
- Part II
6. How much is spent for educational purposes in the U. S. each year?
 7. Why is this amount not large enough?
 8. What man wanted public education in Virginia from primary school to the university?

9. In what year did our present school system begin?
 10. What is the present cost (1930) of educating each school child for one year in Virginia?
 11. Name five State-supported colleges or universities in Virginia and explain why they receive State support.
 12. What was the average length of school term in Virginia in 1930?
 13. What organization has charge of all schools in the State?
 14. From what two sources does money come for the support of public schools?
 15. Do the majority of American children attend public or private schools?
 16. Is Fort Lewis a consolidated school?
- Part III
17. The official in charge of the schools of Virginia is the
His name is
 18. The official in charge of a division is the
In our county this official's name is
 19. is the school board member representing our school district.
 20. The compulsory school law in Virginia is from to
 21. This statement: "The General Assembly shall establish and maintain an efficient system of public free schools throughout the State" is quoted from

In addition to the attitudes, appreciations, and abilities listed in the evaluation just given, the teacher felt that the following outcomes were achieved:

"A greater loyalty to the school and its officials.

"A better understanding of reasons for the cost of education. Some children hear parents deplore the cost of education and point to the "good old days" when a five-months terms was all they had. Children with this information can explain to parents about the reasons for increased cost of education and services rendered.

"A sense of the value of a high school and college education,

how education adds to earning power, how it enriches life. Many of the children leave school as soon as the compulsory school law allows, and since the parents do not realize what they are missing, it is worthwhile for the children to understand the value of a continuous education.

"They gained a good attitude toward the compulsory school law, which some had hitherto thought of as interfering with their rights as individuals.

"The problem of illiteracy seemed most absorbing, and called forth more discussion and generalizing than any other.

"They appreciated the idea of equality of opportunity in the public schools.

"They became interested in the new course of study and gained a good attitude toward it. Many parents are either puzzled or antagonistic toward so-called "new-fangled" education.

"They gained a sense of appreciation of the work the school has achieved and is carrying on and why *people* need to cooperate to support this work."

(7) Three Varieties of Co-operation in a Junior High School—

Grades 7-9

a. Co-operative government within the school:

"We don't have '*student government*' at Skokie. We have '*cooperative government*.' That means that we children have the right to talk over among ourselves and with the teachers any matters about the school in which we are interested. If we wish a change made in the manner of conducting anything about the school, we may always discuss it, and present suggestions of better ways to carry on. When our suggestions are good ones, they are carried out—and if they won't work, Mr. Logan or some other faculty member shows us why, and tries, with our help, to find other solutions. The advisories and the council are the principal organized means as used by the children to bring about improvements.

"School Council: One thing we must always remember—Skokie is our school. It will be just what we make it. If we are selfish and disorderly, we will make school unpleasant for every one. On the other hand if we each think of others, we will all find school much

pleasanter ourselves. The Council meets every week and the members are supposed to report back to their advisory groups the actions or discussions of the Council.

"The Council elects a president, a vice-president and a secretary. The president conducts some of the school assemblies. Important committees at present are the committees on: Junior Red Cross, Clubs, Bicycle Service, Lunch Service, Light Service, Locker Service, Community Relations Property, Hall Traffic, Business and Industry. As the Council is so very important in improving the school, it is necessary to select its members carefully in order to get those who are best for such work.

"The Junior Red Cross Conference: Each advisory selects one of its number who is especially interested in the Junior Red Cross work to represent it in conference with others similarly chosen. Under a chairman who meets with the Council, these Junior Red Cross leaders meet from two to four times monthly to plan international friendship work and ways to help unfortunates locally and elsewhere in this country."

b. Cooperation of the junior high school council with the village council:

"The Community Relations Committee attends meetings of the Village Council and reports to the School Council about the current problems of the Village government

"The Committee also makes reference to the Councils of the Elementary school, to activities that center in the Community House, and to any other matters, near or far, which impress them as vitally related to our immediate situation. The village manager attends meetings of the School Council sometimes, and speaks at assemblies about twice yearly. His last talk was on the similarity between self-government in the village and self-government in the school. Children held him an hour with eager questions. There is a cordial interchange of letters between the village and school Councils concerning cooperation in Hallowe'en observances and in other ways."

c. Co-operation of School and Home:

(These extracts are taken from a letter sent to parents by a junior high school.)

"The purpose: Studies and activities at home and at school must foster desirable attitudes, interests, habits, and ideals. Skill in writing, reading, speaking, and making things, and information about people and events are a means to usefulness. Growth in social virtues requires practice in them. Such practice can be made available in a school which is a real community. Ideally our country is a democracy, made up of a multitude of more or less self-governing groups and individuals, who prefer to seek good government through self-government, rather than be satisfied with being merely *well-governed*. Our school undertakes to approximate this ideal by encouraging suitable group activities and responsibilities. These allow for variation in interests, initiative, freedom, alternate leadership, cooperative work and play, community service, original things, and theories, collecting and weighing evidence, practice of tolerance, self-control, justice."

"Common Interests of Home and School: Will you not encourage your children to join your family discussions of problems in education, industry, government, home and community conditions, international relations, recreation, religion and the like? This will produce interest which will bear good fruit in school, and beyond. Music, construction activities, and reading are well adapted to 'home study.' Much home work of this sort is expected. In addition home work in other subjects may be required."

"Workmanship: At school and at home our pupils should habitually live up to the highest standards of workmanship of which they are capable. The goal cards will give you a fairly specific and accurate account of their progress step by step in subjects. Your child's advisory teacher will be glad of every opportunity to discuss your child's accomplishments and needs with you. The children are working to improve their own record and the quality of the school and community rather than to excel others."

(8) Teaching Unit on Law Enforcement and Crime in a Ninth Grade of a Junior High School

Although a copy of the dramatization of a Grand Larceny Court Case as written and given by the students was sent to the writer, space permits us to give here only the staff statement about their ninth grade work in civics, the relation thereto of this special

court dramatization, and an evaluation. While preceded by textbook study this dramatization grew out of a student visit to an actual community court.

"As one of the chief aims of our schools today is to turn out into the world boys and girls who will make better American citizens we feel that a program which explains the problems and needs of our country will be very helpful. Therefore in one division of the Ninth Grade the entire semester's work is based on 'Problems of American Culture.'

"In order successfully to carry on the semester's work, it is necessary for the students to be quite familiar with the contents of our leading newspapers and magazines. By the time we have reached the unit which is to be described, 'Law Enforcement and Crime,' the students have gained enough from their daily reading to have some realization of the size and importance of this problem today in America and in the entire world.

"Even our most conservative newspapers and magazines indicate the over-pressing question. Thus unknowingly the students have been preparing themselves for this unit which we hope will influence them to be more honest, law-abiding citizens.

"It took about *six weeks* to cover the unit due partly to the fact that we combined it with a part of our activities program.

"1. The project was *introduced* by a discussion period in which the students related *news items* which they had read recently on *law enforcement and crime*. In this discussion they were led to see that if each individual citizen realized his responsibility as a law-abiding citizen there would be no crimes or misdemeanors. Some of the members of the class were able to give firsthand examples of cases in which individuals had either carelessly or thoughtlessly disobeyed laws, some of which had had disastrous results.

"2. By *this time* the class was prepared to study the text book material. The work was covered in our usual way.

"3. The class is *organized* with a *chairman* presiding over each meeting. There is a secretary who takes the minutes and records all assignments and special work. A *judge* reports each day on the general proceedings offering suggestions for improvement and praising the good work. New officers are elected each month. *All* the students are expected to study the *complete text book material*.

Besides this however the complete unit is divided into smaller divisions assigned to *various committees*.

"4. Each committee is responsible for presenting its *small unit* to the rest of the class in such a way that it will be helpful and interesting. The resourcefulness and initiative which students show in presenting their committee reports help determine their rating. We try to encourage each one to think for himself and to express himself. This is also the reason for the parliamentary form of class room procedure used in our Social Science classes. We hope to develop in the students the ability to stand up, with a certain amount of poise and confidence and not only be able to 'give back' the material in the text but also give some personal thoughts and ideas. If they can do this to some extent in Junior High School, they will be better able to do so still more successfully when full grown citizens.

"5. When the class reached a point in this unit where they understood the *necessity* of having *courts* and how they function and the meaning of the common terms we attended a 'Grand Larceny' trial in the Circuit Court.

"6. At this point we began the correlation with the *activities* program. Each *teacher* is responsible for a certain number of Assembly programs every year. On our way home from court one of the students remarked that the class ought to have a *court scene* in Assembly.

"7. As this seemed to be a good idea a committee was appointed to write the play.

"8. When it was finished, it was *read to* the class. Numerous suggestions and corrections were made before it was given to another committee to type the various parts. Of course, this play was by no means a perfect product, but too many corrections might have caused the students to become less interested in what they were doing and to become somewhat discouraged.

"9. The next thing was to select the characters. When all of the students had agreed that they were willing to take part, the *chairman* of the class appointed the cast of characters.

"10. The rehearsals were held *during the regular class period* since it was so closely correlated with the regular class work. It

was about a *week* before the play was ready to be given in Assembly.

"11. The stage was planned and arranged by the same people who had written the play. The *jury* was chosen from the *audience* as if they had been drawn on the jury panel and had been accepted.

"12. The *local police force* and one of the churches cooperated by loaning us the necessary attendant and police uniforms and a robe for the judge. The results of this performance were especially gratifying.

"13. The play was given at the time the papers were so filled with information about the *Lindbergh trial*. The interest of the entire school was aroused after seeing the play, because it gave them some idea of what was taking place in *Flemington*. For several days following this program many questions were raised in every Social Science class concerning trials and law enforcement. I believe there is nothing more important than to arouse the desire to learn. The play certainly had done that.

"14. As to the benefits derived by the class, they also were numerous. The students had put into a *lifelike* situation information which they had gotten from a text book. The play itself indicated what they had learned about court terms and procedure. One of the most important accomplishments of this entire project was the fact that all class members participated. This was unusual because some of the class members are very self-conscious and reticent. Every student took an active part and actually seemed to enjoy himself. Thus we feel that much more than mere book knowledge was gained. Since this project was completed the entire class has continued to be just as willing and energetic as they had been while they worked on the play.

"15. We have made up the actual class time used for rehearsals because of the renewed interest and enthusiasm."

(9) An Intelligent Consciousness of Their Citizenship in a Community as Found Among Students in a Ninth Grade
Junior High School Class

The following notes were written May 31, 1934, after I had visited a ninth-grade class in a New Jersey suburban town.

The class was reviewing civics work, national, state, and local,

for the examination that was to come the next week. But at every step there was a conscious connection in the minds of teacher and pupils between the matter under discussion and their own lives here and now in ———, N. J. For example, the purposes of the Constitution to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare were connected with the necessity for controlling traffic by red lights and general obedience to same; to a need for all of the town taxpayers to help pay for the expense of conducting a rampant brook that flows through only one edge of town; for the need to have as good chances for education in a poor part of town as in a rich section that pays more taxes, etc. Mention was also made of a visit to the meeting of the town commissioners the preceding Monday night, which a few pupils attended. During this meeting it was recalled that the mayor and commissioners had called upon the legal department to interpret the law regarding the distance a sign could project into the street, and refused to pass an ordinance that overstepped this limit by six inches. Also a notice of a zoning ordinance to come up at the next meeting.

The teacher was calm and able, there was absolute attention to business, Negroes and Italians taking full part. The class voted unanimously to devote about two weeks of the course, after required examination is over, to the question: "How do we do things here in ———?" There was almost unanimous response to the question: "How many think they can make plans to attend the next commissioners' meeting, June 11?" One boy who thought he should not pay taxes to help harness the brook far from his own residence was opposed by almost everybody and the teacher said: "We do not want to make you decide against your judgment, but ask you to think it all over carefully."

During the whole hour the *we* stake and responsibility for right thinking and action were dominant. It was not proselyting or indoctrination. It was: "What is the issue?" "How does it affect all of us?" "What can and ought we to do about it?"

I believe such teaching cannot fail to carry over to some real degree into the lives of these pupils as citizens and future voters.

(10) The Students in a Ninth Grade Class in Civics Ask Themselves: "Do We Live in a 'Community' or 'Just a Place'?"

Upon a visit, I found the following story and list of questions used in an assignment to a ninth-grade class in civics in another New Jersey high school.

"I. A traveler in a backward region stopped in front of a tumble-down country store and spoke to an old colored man who sat on a bench whittling a piece of wood. 'What community is this?' inquired the stranger.

"'Community, sah?' said Uncle Mose. 'I guess I dunno jes' what you-all means by community.'

"'A community,' said the traveler, 'is made up of people who live near each other in a friendly spirit and generally try to help each other in many ways.'

"'I understan's, now, sah,' spoke up Uncle Mose, the light of comprehension breaking out on his countenance, 'I understan's. Well, sah, dis am no community; dis am jes' a place.'

"1. Do you live in a community or 'jes' a place'?

"2. List all the advantages which this community offers you.

"3. How are you repaying the community for the investment?

"4. The definition asserts that the community is made up of people. If the community is to be progressive what must be the characteristics of the people who compose it?

"5. Explain 'We can work together better as a team than as individuals.'

"6. Think of six people who approach your ideal of a man or woman. List the desirable traits in form indicated.

"7. We cannot have privileges without responsibility. The State gives us protection and education. We give the State obedience, service and loyalty. Give explanations to show that this statement is true.

"II. My Ideal Self. 'Your first duty in life is toward your *afterself*. So live that your *afterself*—*the man you ought to be*—may in his time be possible and actual.' " [Quoted from David Starr Jordan.]

(11) Education in Citizenship by Study of Vocations in
Grade 9A of a Junior High School

"I. Name of civic project: Visit to terminal station of U. S. post office in the town.

"II. Teaching method: The visit was made by twenty 9A pupils of the vocations class. The teaching unit of the class at that time was 'How One Hundred Twenty-two Millions Make a Living.' The immediate subject under discussion of that particular unit was public service. Each child had a mimeographed outline when making the visit.

"III. Result of visit to the children: In discussions of the class room and letters to the postmaster the following points were emphasized:

1. Realization of the very comprehensive duty of the mail carrier. (Many had believed that the mail pouch was handed to the carrier and all he had to do was to distribute it to the homes.)
2. Knowledge that the carrier had certain hours when he had to report and that he had to punch a clock.
3. Children found out what a nuisance it was to use envelopes smaller than regulation size.
4. Pupils realized the importance of addressing envelopes carefully and the necessity of always putting on the return address.
5. Pupils learned the necessity of sending properly wrapped packages.
6. They learned the painstaking care that is given all mail to see that it gets to its proper destination.
7. Pupils learned of the great expense caused through people's carelessness.
8. Pupils learned the immensity of the tasks involved in the routine of caring for a day's mail.
9. Pupils learned important details of post office work as a life's occupation."

A teacher's statement as to teaching process and evaluation of results in this project and similar studies of other vocations is appended:

"In all class discussions, and especially those following an industrial trip, the fact is emphasized that the public is responsible for what goes on in business and in politics. We try to give these pupils actual practice in putting into effect what they learn by the

part they take in student activities and government. We are beginning to get better qualified leaders in the boys' and girls' clubs and in the student representative groups.

"At all times the children are taught school is their business and they are expected to have business-like attitudes in their relations with the school. We believe there can be no better way of training citizens of the future than by making them active participating citizens of the present. As they realize how the opinion and participation of the student body determines the quality of service, the character of the leaders, and the success of their business, the transition of these same qualities to their lives as citizens of city, state, and nation should be made with ease and have a reality of purpose behind it."

(12) A Teacher's Evaluation of a 9B Grade Junior High School
Class Study of the State Government

"Following is the report of an activity carried on by the Community Civics department of our school:

"1. A visit was made by a group of 9b Community Civics students to the State Capital to observe the Legislature and Supreme Court at work.

"2. A semester's course (18 weeks) is required by school law, offered to 9b students. The unit of study was Social Control (7 weeks time devoted to this unit). The specific objective of this trip was to gain a better understanding of the functions of the state law making and interpreting bodies. (About 2 weeks devoted to study of state government).

"3. The worthwhile student attainments of the trip were:

- a. A first-hand view of some governmental agencies, offices and officers.
- b. An appreciation of the work of the legislature.
- c. The questioning of the qualifications of the legislative membership for the positions held.
- d. A feeling for the responsibility of the electorate for (1) the type of representatives elected, (2) the type of legislation enacted.
- e. A consciousness of the cost of government.

- f. Appreciation of the forces that may influence legislation.
- g. An appreciation of the dignity, procedure and power of the Supreme court."

My reply:

"I am keenly appreciative of your cooperation in writing out for me your statement of a unit of work in Civics. It seems to me that the attainments of your students, as named by you, are basic in the education of citizens who are to take a real place in our democracy. If your students think of those state functions as activities which *we* help to perform, of *our* help in deciding upon the qualifications of *our* agents who will actually do the work, and of the cost to *us all*, including a clear idea of what *my fair share* of the cost is, and of *my obligation* to pay it, it seems to me that your results are invaluable to them. If also, while in school, they study in a similar way, one or two important functions of city, of county, of nation, and of some international group, such students will have a consciousness of the different civic 'teams' of which they are members, of some of the realities which each team faces, of some of the 'rules of the game,' of qualification for membership and of the cost of membership in each 'team,' such a civic education will not be 'all in the air'—a mere memorizing of the details of the anatomy of national and state constitutions."

(13) A High School Student's Notebook on Taxation

During a visit that I made to a High School in Cook Co., Ill., I got a student's notebook from which the following data were copied.

An index from the notebook, followed by items selected from the notebook, and a few professional comments of my own are as follows:

State Taxation Index

I. General principles

- 1. Required questions
- 2. Optional questions

II. Determination of tax rate

- III. Determination of tax bill
- IV. Equalization
- V. Deviations from uniformity in Cook County
- VI. Personal property tax in Illinois
- VII. History of taxation in Cook County
- VIII. School tax districts
- IX. Tax saving by consolidation
- X. Class reports
- XI. Newspaper items

He cites: Magruder, *American Government*, XXVII; Forman, *American Democracy*, XXXVI; Greenan & Meredith, *Problems of American Democracy*, XXVII; King & Barnard, *Our Community Life*, XXII; Burch & Hearing, *Elements of Economics*, XXXI; Woodburn & Marsh, *American Constitution*, XI, pp. 338, 341; Dodd & Dodd, *Government in Illinois*; Munroe, *Current Problems in Citizenship*, pp. 375-379; Holt, *Elementary Principles of Modern Government*, pp. 334-335, 364; Guitteau, *Government and Politics in the U. S.*, XVII.

Among the thirteen questions asked by the instructor are:

- 1. What are taxes?
- 3. Guarantees against double taxation?
- 6. Make a graph to show the relative importance of the various forms of taxation used in 1928 or a later year if you can get data.
- 7. What classes of property are exempt from taxation? Why?
- 8. What is a possible solution to the problem of collection of inheritance taxes?
- 9. What are your arguments for inheritance taxes?
- 10. Purpose of a budget system in government?
- 13. Explain the principle of progressive taxation. Illustrate by drawing up a model income tax schedule, showing exemptions, progressive by brackets, and surtaxes.

The present writer's comments on the notebook:

- 1. Excellent map of Chicago showing all towns.
- 2. Chart of amounts of all kinds of taxes in cities over 30,000 in Illinois in 1927.
- 3. Good discussion of problems of assessment and equalization.

4. Charts of comparison of unequal and equalized assessments in eight towns in Chicago in different years.
5. Difficulties of personal property taxation.
6. Discussion and chart of schools.
 - School township
 - Township High school districts
 - Community high school districts
 - Non-high school districts
 - School districts—Consolidated districts and Community Consolidated districts
7. 438 Taxing units in Cook County and taxes collected. Discussion of tax saving by consolidation.
8. Long excerpts from:
 - a. Dycke, *March Review of Reviews*, "Chicago Prescribes for the Taxpayer."
 - b. Graves, *New Republic*, Feb. 7, 1934, "The Dilemma of State Taxes."
 - c. Breaux, *Christian Herald*, "Why Tax Exemptions."
 - d. Patterson, *Nation*, Jan. 18, 1934, "Sales Tax and Income Tax."
 - e. Addis, *Current History*, 1934, "Real Estate and Taxes."
 - f. Trowbridge, *Outlook*, April, 1934, "Taxation as an Economic Control."
 - g. Tucker, *January Reader's Digest*, "Tax Evasion."
 - h. Flynn, *January Reader's Digest*, "How to Cheat Your Uncle Sam."
 - i. Stillman, *Real American Magazine*, June, 1933, "Big Business in the Schools."
 - j. Graves, "What a Benevolent Dictator Would Do to the Illinois Tax System."
 - k. Clippings re taxes but names and newspapers not given.

Excellent workmanship and intelligence in charts, writing and comments. This student also cites the findings by a Special Committee of the Chicago Principals' Club, Dec. 2, 1932, as to composition of a special Citizen Committee on Public Expenditure, which Principals' Committee Report criticizes the membership of the Citizens' Committee thus:

- a. Only 29 could be located altho' 100 were claimed.
- b. 6 were not registered voters of Chicago or suburbs.
- c. 7 have association with local banks.
- d. Only 3 ever sent their children to public schools, and these in lower grades.
- e. 7 have no Chicago address.

My final comment after reading this notebook by a high school student was: *It would seem to be hard to fool this youth about his personal and business taxes in his own city.*

To this comment I now add this: This student's notebook surely gives direct evidence that in at least one high school in that city not every student of civics spends all his time in studying the anatomy of the national government.

(14) A Blue Print for the Future of America by
12th Grade Students

As the process used in the preparation of this Blue Print seems definitely to be a process of education in citizenship, I give my comment upon it in a letter to the student who wrote me a letter describing the process. I am not permitted to print the Blue Print in detail as it was wanted by a local educator for another purpose.

The student wrote me, in part:

"I have taken Social Science for nearly five years now and I believe that I can list some of the things which have seemed important to me.

"The first two years were spent largely in a history course in which we studied about the ancient civilizations. This led up to the study of our present civilization and its many problems.

"As we went into this study of present day problems we first tried to understand the reasons why these problems came about. War, waste of our natural resources, poorly planned communities and unhealthy living conditions, distribution of income, what effect does it have on health, crime, education, and labor problems. What form of government is best suited for America—and many others.

"One of the most interesting things we did, it seems to me, was our study of news bias. We examined our local newspapers and found all of them influenced either by the owner's beliefs or by

the opinions of the important advertisers. We also extended this into the radio and other forms of news.

"Another very interesting and important piece of work that my class has undertaken, is a study of the various political parties, picking out what we thought were their flaws and omissions and then making up our own platform. *Every member of the class wrote out his or her personal platform on thirteen major issues which the class thought ought to be included in their platform. These individual writings were gone over by student committees made up usually of two members so as to include the whole class. It was the committee's task to throw out all statements not based on evidence. When this was done the committees, one for each plank, reported back to the class and a vote was taken on their findings.*

"I enclose a copy of the findings of these committees which have been mimeographed."

The Blue Print as written covered twenty-four typewritten pages. From the Table of Contents I have copied these thirteen main topics: I. Civil Liberties; II. Unemployment and Relief; III. Constitutional Amendment and the Supreme Court; IV. Government Administration and Budget; V. Regulation of Business; VI. Labor; VII. Agriculture; VIII. Social Security; IX. Neutrality and Foreign Policy; X. Foreign Trade; XI. Money and Banking; XII. Education; XIII. Community Planning."

The treatment of each of the thirteen topics included these steps:

1. A numbered statement of the several positions "we [the members of the Class] advocate."
2. Tabulation of vote of whole Class for and against each of the numbered statements.
3. The evidence on which the Class position on each of the numbered statements was based.

The following extracts are from my letter to the student who sent me the Blue Print and wrote the letter quoted above.

"It seems to me that in your method of earnest inquiry as to the up-to-date facts of each situation as a basis for your opinions; and

in your clear intention of continuous revision of your opinions in the light of further discovery of fact and of changes in the social situation, you have chosen a process that will help you to grow in intelligent efficiency as citizens of our democracy.

"In this connection I wonder if you are familiar with the Tenth Year Book (1932), of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. Its subject is *Character Education*. Here are two quotations from it:

"The center of attention is to be the situation. The need for character is all bound up in the event itself. It is tangible and concrete and real. It cannot be escaped or relegated to copy books. Life is one situation after another, and each situation has possibilities of richer or poorer living, and of greater or less integration of values.' (p. 57.)

"The objective remains the discovery or creation of a way of living which conserves and produces as many values as possible for as many persons as possible over as long a time as possible.' (p. 59.)

"It seems to me that you and the members of your class are earnestly trying to see what your group situations, (local, state, national, international) really are. Like all the rest of us, you will also have to study more and more earnestly the civic *processes*, past, present and possible processes, by which through men and women of our choice we may most effectively reach our objectives. For example, *by what processes* can we, the citizens of our national, state and local civic units, achieve the objectives you name under your topic 'XIII. *Community Planning*'?

"I wonder if many of us citizens, except so called machine politicians, know much about the actual and possible political processes: e. g., of selection, nomination, election and support of any of our civic servants. How many of us actually feel that the *government* is not some vague *they* (or should not be), but feel that *we* citizens are, (or should be), the real *national, state, and local governments*?"

(15) Two High School Election Projects

Election Project One: Students in the seventh grade of a junior high school discuss the town primary election.

As the school where the above discussion took place is in Montclair, N. J., where I live, the following is based upon my personal notes taken during a visit to the school a week before a primary town election was to be held.

Some of the points I heard discussed were:

1. The meaning of primary day.
2. What civic units were to choose candidates.
3. What parties were to have candidates.
4. Who could vote.
5. The names of some leading candidates for Governor.
6. How they could find out what kind of people these candidates are.
7. Why they should vote for any candidate.
8. Whether their mothers did and should always vote as their fathers do.
9. Whether they would all expect to vote alike in the homes they are in.
10. What graft in voting is.

The teacher then assigned as further preparation for the next day a reading of what was said about candidates in the current *Montclair Times*, *Newark Evening News*, and any other sources available.

These students who were of at least three nationalities, including many Negroes and Italians, were alert and seemed to me to have a definite *we* feeling in respect to the *situations* discussed. They were certainly on the verge of definite inquiry into the party organizations of committee men, district leaders, etc., whose work precedes even primary elections.

If these students see to how slight an extent the ordinary voter knows, or seems to care, about the pre-primary, and even of the pre-election and election steps in these civic functions, and how he becomes conscious only to grumble about taxes, there may be some prospect that some such students may decide to get into the citizenship game from the beginning and stay in to the end.

Election Project Two: A six weeks national election project in a high school.

The following detailed description and evaluations of the project by both teachers and students were sent to me by the teacher in charge. In her letter (Feb., 1938) she says:

"Our unit covered both the national and local phases of elections and we feel it was of great value to our entire student body towards training them in active participation in elections and observance of election laws."

The detailed instruction given teachers covered some eighteen typewritten pages. The description of the project by the teacher in charge is in detail as follows:

"This election unit covered a period of six weeks. All pupils of the school, about five hundred, participated in its development. The daily thirty minute activity period was devoted to some phase of the unit during the six weeks.

"Fayetteville High School Election Unit.

"A unit conducted throughout the Fayetteville High School and parallel with the General Election in the fall of 1936, covering a period of six weeks; organized and supervised by Mrs. G. C. Ellis, Chairman of the Social Science Department.

"I. Introduction: This unit was an outgrowth of a meeting of the Social Science Teachers of the Fayetteville High School, at which meeting the Superintendent of Schools made the suggestion that this department sponsor some kind of an activity within the schools, paralleling the General Election, and giving the student body as a whole a more thorough understanding of election procedures and practices. Since this was the regular Presidential Election year and everyone was more or less election minded, it was considered an opportune time, and profitable, to conduct a general election within the school.

"The Home Room Organization of the school somewhat simplified the organization of the unit and furnished a center for the giving of instruction and for pupil participation in the activities provided within the unit. Each Home Room comprised a county and combinations of Home Rooms made up the Congressional districts. Home Rooms located in the same part of the same floor of the building belonging to the same district. Due to location of

rooms there were 6 districts instead of 7, the number of districts in Arkansas.

"The Activity Period each day was used for carrying out the activities of the unit. Activity Period on Monday was usually devoted to the making of appointments and giving of instructions for the week's activities. Home Room programs were given at the Tuesday Activity Periods, the subject of the program being taken each week from that week's part of the election unit. Activity period on Wednesdays and Thursdays, regular Convocation days, were devoted to some activity phase of the unit, usually campaigning. Each Friday, Activity Period was devoted to the week's culminating activity.

"II. Aims: Primary: To awaken pupil consciousness of individual citizenship responsibility in understanding vital public issues, in participation in the selection of candidates for public office, and in the exercise of the rights of suffrage in local, state, and national elections.

"Secondary:

1. To discover just how our National and State candidates are nominated for the various offices.
2. To realize the function of the popular vote in the election of the president.
3. To cause pupils to become acquainted with our State election laws.
4. To create interest in the State and National elections through pupil participation.

"III. Plan of Procedure: A. Introduction. At the beginning of each week each teacher was given a mimeographed copy of instructions and information regarding the week's activity in connection with the election unit. These instructions always included information as to what the Arkansas law is regarding that particular phase of the election, followed by specific instructions as to how to carry out the provisions of the law in the school election. Six such sheets of instructions were put into the hands of each Home Room teacher. These instructions covered the following topics: assessment, poll tax, nominations (by convention for Presi-

dent and Vice-President, and by Convention and Direct Primary for State offices), elections and the electoral college.

"B. Assessment. The unit was initiated on Friday, October 2nd, Activity Period, when each Home Room teacher instructed the Home Room as to the Arkansas law and procedure of assessment. At that time an assessor and two deputies were appointed in each room. These officers were instructed as to their duties of assessment.

"The assessment was held Monday, October 5th, Activity Period, when each student assessed his poll tax by appearing before one of the two deputy assessors, after examining the blank, affirmed and signed the assessment. This plan was used to impress upon the student the responsibility of the assessor.

"In case of absence from school on the day of assessment, a student was allowed to authorize, in writing, another to make assessment for him, or, upon his return to school, was permitted to make delinquent assessment by presenting his absence slip to the home room teacher who made delinquent assessments.

"Mimeographed assessment blanks were furnished each room. These blanks contained the major divisions of the official Arkansas assessment blank, followed by the sworn statement of the property owner.

"C. Poll Tax. Tuesday, October 6th, each Home Room held a Home Room program, subject of which was the Poll Tax. Following the program, each Home Room appointed a Tax Collector and two deputies. Each room was also divided into two voting precincts.

"Those rooms which do not attend Convocation on Wednesday, paid their Poll Tax on Wednesday, October 7, at Activity Period. Rooms which attend Convocation on Wednesday, paid their Poll Tax at Activity Period Thursday, October 8. The same procedure was followed in the paying of Poll Tax as was used in making the assessments. All names of applicants were compared with the assessors books. Receipts, duplicates of the receipts used in Arkansas, were issued each person paying the tax, and, in accordance with the Arkansas law, all receipts were made out and signed with ink.

"It was necessary to extend the period for paying Poll Tax

until 4 o'clock, October 9th, as it was impossible for all rooms to make payments within the originally set time. When all Poll Taxes were paid, official Poll books were made for each voting precinct.

"A Speaker from the University of Arkansas was secured for the Convocation periods on Wednesday and Thursday of this week. The speaker was Judge Vaughan, of the Law Department, who spoke on Good Citizenship.

"D. Nominations (National). Candidates for the National offices of President and Vice President were selected by National Conventions, as is the custom in the United States. On Monday, October 12th, each Home Room organized two parties, the Progressive Party and the Conservative Party. As a basis for party organization the following issues were given:

"National—All electrical utilities should be nationally owned and operated.

"State—I. The Poll Tax should be eliminated as a qualification for voting and a simple registration substituted.

2. A Sales Tax, with no exemptions, should be enacted, all proceeds to go to the common school fund.

"The Progressive Party favored all issues and the Conservative Party opposed all issues.

"Each party selected three delegates to represent each room in the National Conventions.

"Tuesday, October 13th, each home room held a program, the subject of which was the National Convention. Such questions as how the National Convention came into existence, how and when the Convention City is chosen, and what happens at a National Convention, were discussed.

"The Conservative Party held its National Convention in the Activity Room, Wednesday, October 14th. The Progressive Party held its Convention on Thursday, October 15th, in the Activity Room. At these Conventions, delegates perfected their Party organizations, formulated their platforms and nominated their candidates for President and Vice-President. Campaign Managers were announced, after which the meetings adjourned.

"One interesting incident occurred in the Progressive Convention when it was discovered that there were more delegates from

one county than was officially authorized. The credentials committee seated the delegates officially selected and the Convention proceeded with its business.

"E. Nominations (State). The Progressive and Conservative parties were organized along the same plan as are the two major parties in Arkansas, the Progressive Party being organized as is the Democratic Party in Arkansas, and the Conservative Party as is the Republican Party in Arkansas. Therefore, the Progressive Party made their nominations for State offices and for United States Senator and Congressman by Direct Primary, as is the custom of the Democratic Party in Arkansas. The Conservative Party made their nominations in Convention, as is the custom of the Republican Party in Arkansas.

"1. Direct Primary: As a means of simplification, and not exactly according to custom, the candidates for the Progressive Primary were chosen in Caucus, Monday, October 19th, in the Activity Room. At this meeting each County (or room) was represented by a party boss, previously chosen by the members of the Progressive Party in the County. Each party boss was instructed to place the name of one person from his County as candidate for Congressman from his district. Bosses were also instructed by their County Party Organization to support the nomination of certain persons for the various State offices.

"On the same day, there was appointed in each County a committee of three from the membership of the Progressive Party. This committee comprised the County Central Committee of the Progressive Party. This committee posted on the bulletin board a notice of the meeting of the committee on Tuesday, October 20, for the purpose of selecting the judges and clerks for the Progressive Primary, held on Friday, October 23rd. These committee meetings were held on October 20th, when judges and clerks were appointed for each of the two voting precincts in each County.

"Each Home Room (County) elected a sheriff who appointed a deputy for the purpose of policing the Primary.

"Tuesday, October 20th, Home Room programs centered around the Direct Primary as a means of nominating candidates for office. Discussions and debates brought out the purposes, weaknesses

and advantage of the Direct Primary as well as the Arkansas law concerning same.

"Complying with the regulation of the Democratic Party in Arkansas, each Progressive candidate for nomination appeared before his county committee and signed his party pledge on or before Thursday, October 22nd. These pledges were identical with the Democrat pledge made in Arkansas.

"Wednesday's and Thursday's Convocation (October 21st and 22nd) were devoted to Progressive Campaigns for the nomination of Governor and United States Senator. Time would not permit all candidates for all offices to make campaign speeches. Campaign managers took charge of the programs and introduced each candidate. In a campaign speech, each candidate explained his platform, making an effort to influence voters to his way of thinking. Most of these speeches were a credit to some of the speeches made in the campaigns of the State last fall.

"Friday, October 23rd, during Activity Period, the Progressive Party held its Direct Primary. This Primary was conducted exactly as was the August, 1936, Democratic Primary in Arkansas, each Home Room having been furnished a copy of the Arkansas law concerning the Direct Primary, and having studied same previous to the holding of the Primary. At this Primary, members of the Progressive Party selected candidates for the following offices: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary, Secretary of State, State Auditor, State Treasurer, United States Senator, and United States Congressmen. Mimeographed ballots, with duplicates, were furnished for the Primary, thus carrying out every phase of the recently enacted Pure Election Law in Arkansas. Ballots were set up for each Congressional District.

"2. By Convention: As was previously stated, the Conservative Party made its nominations in Convention, as is the custom of the Republican Party in Arkansas.

"On Monday, the County Conservative Party met and elected delegates to the Party Convention which was to be held on Friday, October 23rd, in one of the class rooms. In some cases these delegates were instructed by the County Organization to support certain candidates for nominations at the Convention. The convention met, as was designated, Friday, October 23rd. After organization

of the Convention was perfected, nominations were made for the same offices as were made by the Progressive Party in the Direct Primary. Nine Presidential Electors were also chosen as candidates, subject to the General Election to be held in November.

"F. General Election. Home Room programs, Tuesday, October 27th, were devoted to the General Election. Such subjects as the Arkansas Election Laws, Party Organization in a Democratic Form of Government, and the Electoral College were discussed pro and con.

"Convocations on Wednesday and Thursday, October 28th and 29th, were devoted to campaigns. The meetings were turned over to campaign managers who introduced their respective candidates. Those seeking the office for Governor first made very brief speeches, summarizing their platforms. Most of the time was given to the Progressive and Conservative candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, each candidate attempting to get the larger number of votes to come to the aid of his party. Each speech was well prepared, well organized, and well given. The audience also showed good sportsmanship in their applause of statements of favored candidates.

"The Progressive Party held Congressional District Conventions on Friday, October 30th, Activity Period. Here seven candidates for the Electoral College were selected. Delegates to this Convention were members of the County Central Committees of the District. The two electoral candidates at large were selected the same day at 4 o'clock, by a State Convention, delegates to which were the chairmen of the County Central Committees.

"The General Election was held on the regular General Election day, November 3, 1936. The same officers that served in the Progressive Primary served in the General Election, in addition to officers representative of the Conservative Party. In this election the Arkansas election laws regarding officers, procedure, and ballots were followed. Immediately with the closing of the polls, ballots were counted and tabulation made. The results of the election were announced the same day in the *Junior Democrat*, Official School Paper.

"G. Electoral College. One week from the date of the General Election, November 10th, the Electoral College met in the

Activity Room at Activity Period and cast its vote for President and Vice President. These votes were signed by each elector and placed in a box which was sealed and sent to the chairman of the Social Science Department, who, before a meeting of all home room Presidents, at 4 o'clock of the same day, counted the returns and declared elected the candidates for President and Vice-President who had received the majority of electoral votes.

"As a culminating Activity, the Superintendent of Schools was host at a formal banquet given at one of the city's leading hotels and honoring the successful candidates in the election. Defeated candidates were also invited to attend. This banquet was held on Wednesday evening, November 11th, Armistice Day.

"Thus ended the Fayetteville High School Election Unit of 1936.

"IV. Coordination With Subjects:

"A. Social Science. Discussions were conducted in practically all Social Science classes on different phases of the unit as it was being carried out. Teachers were confronted daily with questions from students. Frequently, much research on the part of the teacher was necessary before some questions could be answered satisfactorily.

"B. English. Teachers selected topics from different phases of the unit for the weekly oral and written theme subjects.

"C. Journalism. The unit furnished High School Journalists with material for editorials, feature writing, news stories, humorous happenings, and personal interviews. A large part of each week's edition of the *Junior Democrat* concerned the election unit.

"D. Public Speaking. All campaign speeches were organized and prepared under the direction of the sponsor of the National Council debating teams.

"V. Evaluation:

"Evaluation of this unit could not be better given than in the words of the students and teachers themselves.

"A. *Junior Democrat* Editorial. 'Beyond a doubt the election poll project has accomplished its object to instruct Fayetteville High Students in the process of conducting party conventions, political campaigns and general, primary, and presidential elections. It has been a lot of fun for those who took active part as delegates

to the convention, election officials, and as candidates to the various offices. The student body is to be commended for the interest they have taken in the project and for their cooperation in making it a success. The campaigns were cleanly conducted and no person need say his reputation or social standing has been endangered by mud slinging. While candidates conducted their races with enthusiasm, they did not carry this enthusiasm into personal antagonism. Students of Fayetteville High School can look back on the election poll project as one phase of life's happiest days—our school days.'

"B. From Participating Students. 'The experience and the knowledge that I have gained during this election unit has been the most important thing I have learned in school this year. To learn to do by doing is the most interesting way to be taught a lesson.'

"'The election unit was not only very educational, but also interesting, both to student candidates and student voters. The election caused an increased interest in the National Election in progress at that time.'

"'I think the High School election unit was highly beneficial to all the students and especially to those who took an active part in the campaigns. It was an excellent idea and well carried out. Without a doubt, every student in the school is now better qualified to fulfill his duties as a citizen.'

"'I did enjoy this activity as much or more than any other I have taken part in during my high school career.'

"'The election unit gave us a knowledge of how elections and campaigns are carried on, how to vote, assess property, and pay poll tax. We learned all the forms of holding an election and had a good time doing it. There were very few that did not enjoy it thoroughly.'

"'The project was quite interesting although I was bothered by too many Conservative hecklers.'

"'I feel that the election unit just finished is one of the high spots in my education. If all subjects were taught with this "learning-by-doing" system, I am sure that there would be much better results obtained for the student.'

"'This campaign was surprisingly like a real one, and had better results than mere book work could have given. I have received real pleasure and real benefit from this project.'

"C. From the Teachers. 'The election unit was an admirable attempt to acquaint the student body with an important aspect of future life, their duties as citizens. The students learned more of practical value in those few hours than they may learn in a semester of class work. With a few exceptions, they were interested, not only in their candidates winning, but in the actual process of election.'

"'If the pupils learned as much about election machinery as the teachers did, the election unit was well worth while.'

"'The success of the unit aided in the development of a beneficial school spirit throughout the High School Organization.'

"VI. Bibliography:

"A. Organization of the Unit

1. Bailey, Carl, "Election Laws Simplified." A pamphlet circulated during Mr. Bailey's successful campaign for Governor of Arkansas. Most of the material of the unit, dealing with the Arkansas Election laws was taken directly from this pamphlet.
2. Magruder, Frank Abbott, *American Government*, Allyn & Bacon, N. Y., 1936. Materials dealing with the National Conventions and Presidential elections were taken from this text.
3. *Rules of the Democratic Party in Arkansas*, published by authority of the Democratic State Committee. Most of the materials concerning the organization of the Progressive Party were taken from this handbook, the Progressive Party being organized as is the Democratic Party in Arkansas.

"B. For Study and Program Purposes

1. Beard, Chas. A., *American Government and Politics*, Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1930.
2. Bryce, James, *American Commonwealth*, Macmillan Co., N. Y., 1922.
3. Crawford, Finla Goff, *Readings in American Government*, Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1927.
4. Hart, Albert Bushnell, *Actual Government*, Longmans, Green & Co., N. Y., 1924.

5. Lien, Arnold J.; Fainsod, Merle, *The American People and Their Government*, D. Appleton-Century Co., N. Y., 1934.
6. Mathews, John Mabey, *American State Government*, D. Appleton Co., N. Y., 1927.
7. Norton, Thomas James, *The Constitution of the United States, Its Sources and Its Application*, Little Brown & Co., Boston, 1925.
8. Ogg, Frederic A.; Ray, P. Orman, *Introduction to American Government*, Century Co., N. Y., 1925.
9. Patterson, Caleb Perry, *American Government*, D. C. Heath & Co., N. Y., 1929.
10. Sait, Edward McChesney, *American Parties and Elections*, The Century Co., N. Y., 1927."

My comment: I am sure that the reader will agree that, since the days of emphasis upon memoriter teaching of the Constitution and of the structure of national and state government, schools like this one have made great progress toward helping students to see how our election machinery actually works. The further question of how to develop such character in our young citizens as to make sure that they will use our civic machinery for the greatest good of all concerned will always remain a persistent one. That this question is an urgent one the next project illustrates.

Election Project Threc: Stuffing the ballot box for class president by eighth grade students.

Near the close of an eighth grade class in civics which I visited the teacher read a note he had received from the principal stating that their newly elected president for the next year said he could not serve because he had found out that some of his friends had voted twice for him. Discussion followed until the close of the hour.

Although one boy said he believed that this voting was done as a joke, the discussion seemed honestly serious and the practice was condemned as selfish, dishonest, similar to the bribery in ancient Rome; it was characterized as something which must be corrected in order to have honest government, etc., even though practiced by adults.

I have not seen another class that was so evidently grappling with a basic problem in citizenship in full consciousness that they were there meeting just the kind of issue that would face them as voters, and which now faces adults in our democratic civic life.

Incidental mention was made by different students of the air-mail contract dishonesty; the alleged fact that Army and Navy men could get great appropriations, while governmental airship men could get only small appropriations because they were few in number in contrast with Army and Navy officers.

The teacher said that such a controversial matter should be studied before opinions were settled.

My impression of this teacher and his class was one of simple, on-the-level, give-and-take during the process of facing honestly their actual school and community problems.

There was no levity, nothing irrelevant, nothing forced from above, no preaching, a universal attitude of "this real job is up to us." One boy said because there is crookedness in society now is no argument that it must continue. It can be stopped.

My interest in this dishonest election of class president was such that I made inquiry as to motives students had in stuffing the ballot box. I received the following written statements of student opinions which of course must be anonymous.

A. Some reasons given by young citizens for *cheating* in this school election of their ninth-grade president were:

1. "I voted twice because I thought that I would be smart to the Chums around me, and just to make them laugh."
2. "I voted more than once just for the fun of it. I thought everybody else voted more than once, so why shouldn't I?"
3. "The only reason I voted more than once was because I thought it would be funny. And it was funny when B—— got 69 votes, some one else got 30, and some one else got 40, and there were only about 70 or 80 in the ninth grade. *If I had thought, perhaps I wouldn't have done it. Also, if I had thought this was the same as a town or state voting crooked I wouldn't have done it.*"
4. "I did vote twice because it seemed that it was becoming the style; everyone was doing it and it didn't seem such a

bad idea. *And anyhow it wouldn't make such a difference because every one was doing it for each candidate. Of course it was not such a good idea but it was fun.*"

5. "When we were voting for chairman we knew that our candidate didn't like to give speeches in assembly so the four of us decided to put more votes in to make sure that he got the election."
6. "I only had one reason to *cheat* because that's what it was. And that reason is because there were about 90 or 100 people down there and we were happy and everything, and there was no grownup to take charge, so we thought it would be a good joke to put up some one and then cast about 3 to 10 ballots each, just to make it funny."

(Note by the teacher: "There were four session room teachers in the room but we allowed the children to handle everything.")

B. Some reasons given by young citizens for voting straight were:

1. "I didn't vote twice because if I had and he was elected he most likely wasn't elected by the school. So voting once gives the school the man they want honestly."
2. "The only reason why I voted once is; because it is lible to fome bad habats and I do not want to become a crooked voted." [Spelling literally copied.]
3. "I did not vote more than once because stuffing the ballot boxes is in my opinion an unfair way of putting your man in office. Just because you see some people voting three or four times, one should not follow the old saying, 'Monkey see, monkey do.'"
4. "I did not vote twice even tho' I did see others doing it, but I figured that if the candidate was the pick of the crowd he would get elected anyway and I think he was the pick of the crowd. He was the kind of a boy everybody liked, and he was a hard-working fellow. Also I had been in some scrapes before and I profited by what I did and I learned that it was better to go straight and did not vote twice."
5. "I did not vote more than once although there were some boys sitting behind me that were voting four or five times

each. I don't know just who they were voting for. It might have been the boy that was elected into office or some one else. I have never voted more than once at any time so I think I never vote twice or more from force of habit. I would personally rather see my candidate lose the election than get in through crooked politics. This boy that won by such a large majority made it look bad and he probably had a guilty conscience because he would have been taking something that was not rightfully his."

C. Reasons of the successful candidate for refusing a ninth-grade presidential job on a dishonest vote:

"The reason for my asking for another election was because the feeling of not wholly possessing the position prevailed. I did not want the job if I was just put there because of crooked voting. The whole thing would be selfish. Some other candidate might have been elected but because of honest voters behind him he was not elected. I would not get the whole-hearted response from the group if I was not unanimously elected. Therefore I thought it wise for another election."

D. The teacher's opinion as to truth and value of student opinions just quoted:

"I think you have a very representative cross-section of the ninth grade opinion. The papers are just as they were written by the children and were not rewritten.

"Another assembly was held in which the Principal brought home the issues at stake in a very effective manner and then allowed the election to be handled again by the students."

E. Two student-drawn cartoons:

As further evidence of the awareness by students in this ninth-grade class of possible temptation to them as future voters and possible officeholders, two cartoons (from among many similar ones) drawn in their class notebooks are here described. The first cartoon is labelled "The Unsuspecting Voter Letting His Own Pocket Be Picked."

At the right of this cartoon is shown a doorway over which are the words "Town Hall." On the left casement of the door is hung a placard with the words "Polling District." At the right of the steps is a big bulletin board inscribed "Vote Here Today—Election Board." At the left end of the cartoon is a huge apparition of a figure labelled "Political Graft." There are two men in the middle of the cartoon; one, labelled "Voter," is standing with his back to the apparition which is taking money out of his pocket. The other man facing the voter, is labelled "Precinct Captain" and he is saying to the voter: "Remember how I got the gas turned on in your house when you moved in, and all the other things I did. Now you go in and vote for my man."

The second cartoon is labelled "Applying the Fix." In the center of this cartoon is a huge figure of a man with a big cigar in his mouth; it is labelled "Political Boss." At the right is the small figure of a policeman at attention but with his right hand on the arm of a man with a gun whose face is turned right, toward the Boss. This man is labelled "One of the Boss's Gang." At the left side of the cartoon is a robed figure of a man in humble attitude facing the Boss. He is labelled "Judge." The Boss in the center is pointing his right forefinger toward the Judge and saying: "You get my pal here free or you will be out of a job. Now do just as you please."

(16) A Teacher's Description of Critical High School Student
Observation of Community Activities Outside the School

"I have had considerable experience in experimental teaching in the social sciences in the High School. You especially request methods of developing civic consciousness. One of my best examples of that, I think, is when an activity group decided to organize not with a president, etc. but after the city manager plan of government. They called it home room management. There was a home room manager, commissioners, etc. and all officials seemed to have a more than usual amount of respect for their positions. The members of the group held them up to very high standards and participated freely in developing plans and programs. I might add that this type of organization has spread to other groups in the school and been very successful from both pupil and teacher viewpoints.

"With my older students, I pursued a definite policy of having

them attend public lectures, community meetings, state conventions of learned and philanthropic societies, etc. Adjustments were made in their work to permit this and reports were duly expected. The children frequently made excellent comments, often challenging statements of speakers. It gave them an introduction into an important phase of community life which many of them would never have experienced otherwise."

(17) An Academy Student's Opinion About the Need for Civic Education

This opinion was given in a letter to me following a personal visit to his class in Civics in a local private school. My notes made at the time of my visit are followed by the student's letter.

Six mature boys were discussing rather formally such questions as:

1. The comparative merits of a democratic government *vs.* authoritarian government.
 - a. The duty of a citizen to vote and to get a good platform.

In the discussion one boy thought he ought as a Republican to vote for a Democrat if the latter was a better man. Others thought the platform of the Republican might be so much better that they ought to vote for the Republicans. It was then brought out that we had responsibilities in the primaries both for nominating good men and for getting good platforms.

The discussions were thoughtful, but academic and dry.

The teacher showed me a scrapbook which his class had kept of all the local newspaper articles, party circulars, etc., that had come out at the time of the local contest the previous fall in Manager *vs.* Commission form of Government. I asked if a student would write out for me what some phase of their civics study had been and what he had got out of it.

The student's letter to me reads thus:

"After a year of rather intensive study of the functions and management of all forms of American Government, I have become firmly convinced that the inception of a similar course into the curriculum of every high school in the country would in no small

way improve the character of municipal, State, and to some extent, our National Governments. My reasons for this statement are three-fold:

- "1. The need of trained and educated citizens who are very important to welfare of all good governments.
- "2. Such a course would teach the younger people to respect and appreciate our government.
- "3. These courses would serve as preliminary or basic training for future officials of the country.

"My first reason is based upon my own experience, as it has aroused my interest a great deal in the activities of our local government and also has increased my knowledge of several functions performed by the government concerning which I had little or no interest. I feel that educated men and women will vote more intelligently and follow the activities of the men who are elected more completely than those who know nothing of their government and care less about its conditions.

"As far as I know, younger people are less respectful of law and order than have been the children of any previous generation. Therefore a compulsory course in Civics would probably instill in the average girl or boy a more wholesome respect of law and order that would naturally reduce the number of criminals.

"My final point is well-demonstrated by the type of person who is active in either public life or connected with one of the major political parties of this country. *Most* young men who have both the education and ability successfully to perform the duties of civil officials *refuse to associate themselves with* politics in any way because they feel that 'the game of politics is too dirty for any self-respecting man to touch.' If such a deplorable situation continues, it will not be many years before all the principles embodied in our Constitution will be choked out of existence by foul politics. That, I feel, fully illustrates the need for trained, educated and sacrificing men in civil life.

"I hope I have revealed clearly my opinions on the subject of citizenship as taught in the schools of this country and also the need for more extensive courses in this matter."

(18) Four Letters from High School Students Who Were
Winners of Prizes for Essays on the Constitution

In the *New York Times*, September 18, 1937, were given the names of *nine* winners of prizes offered by the *Times* for best essays on the Constitution. Dr. John H. Finley stated that 150,000 students in New York, Connecticut and New Jersey had participated in the contest. I wrote a letter to the nine student prize winners asking this question:

"Will you please write me briefly what help you think your civic studies have been to you as a citizen, and soon-to-be voter, in your city, county, state and nation?"

Four replies were received, extracts from which and from my replies follow:

1. (From S. K., Conn.) "Civic studies have woven within me a general knowledge of civil affairs. In making me familiar with them, they have broadened my viewpoint, and increased my understanding and respect of the government's relation to me.

"Civic studies have also been the base of a rising interest and skepticism in vital issues, which would confront me, and which I would have to act upon wisely, so as to use to the best advantage my municipal and political privileges both as a citizen and a to-be-voter."

In my reply I asked the writer to think on these questions:

1. Should we think of government as a *they* which excludes us or as a *we* which includes us?
2. Do we have a government of city, of county, of state as well as of nation?
3. Do you know the complete processes from citizens as voters through and back to citizens who have work done for them in each of these four civic units?
4. In your civics classes was there much attention given to the civic processes of city, county and state?

2. (From A. S., N. J.) "I believe civic studies are invaluable to young people. The civic studies taken in high school have given me a considerably clearer understanding of mechanism of my local, state and federal government. They have aided me in becoming a better citizen and future voter.

"I do think, however, that more could be done to make these studies more interesting and more vitally a part of the high school curriculum. I think each pupil should be required to study a *major problem* in any civic topic he may choose during the course of his high school career. I stress this because I found that in my lengthy research work on the Constitution I acquired knowledge equivalent to one semester of class room discussion."

My reply was:

"Thank you for your thoughtful answer to my civic questions.

"I like your suggestion that every high school student should study at least one major civic topic. I hope this study will be so carried out as to show not only the '*mechanism*' of some civic unit but also *who we are* who use this *mechanism*—what we do by means of the mechanism, and *for whom* we use the mechanism. In brief, the whole *process* by which *we* use the civic mechanism as a means of rendering service to ourselves and others. Three other questions should be included in the study:

"How do *we* do this work now?

"How was it once done?

"How can *we* do it better?

"May you and your generation improve the civic objectives, processes and results in every one of our citizenship units—local (including county), state, national and international."

3. (From J. E. S., Conn.) "In Junior and Senior High Schools my civic studies have been the following:

A seventh grade social studies course;

An eighth grade social studies course;

A twelfth grade U. S. History course.

"I have also studied ancient history and modern European history: but these have served merely as a background for my U. S. History course, and so I have not listed them above.

"I think that my civic studies have on the whole served to acquaint me with my country's history and have shown me the mistakes America has made in the past. My American History course in particular has stimulated my interest in current affairs and has made me keenly aware of the important economic, social,

and political issues of the day. In short, I feel that when I gain the vote, I will be able to use it more intelligently than I otherwise could because of the valuable training I have received from my civic studies."

4. "You ask my opinion as to the value of the civic studies which I have undertaken at ———. First of all, I must say that our course in Civics differs from any other of which I have heard. Ordinarily, a civics course concerns itself with a great many technical and absolutely useless details along with the more commonly known principles of our government. As a result, six months after the close of the course, no one knows anything more about the workings of the government than the facts that there are twenty-one counties in New Jersey and that there are three main divisions of the Federal Government, all of which they knew before taking the course. So that all their study was worth nothing to them.

"Happy to say that such is not the case at ———. Here there are explained to the student the various institutions of the government as provided for in the Constitution and the principles underlying these institutions; the respective rights and duties of state and citizen and the relationship between *the government* and the people.

"These fundamental aspects of our democracy having been firmly implanted in the minds of the students, the class advances to a study of the most outstanding of our *national problems*, and to a consideration of proposals to solve them. In this way are discussed such important questions as slum clearance and whether Senator Wagner's Federal Housing Act would satisfy this imperative need; minimum wages and maximum hours and former Senator Black's Wage-Hour Law; the Supreme Court and President Roosevelt's Reorganization Program.

"Thus, instead of memorizing the capitals of each of the forty-eight states and then forgetting them the day after the examination, they learn things which will be useful to them all the days of their lives. They get into the habit of keeping up with the doings of their *government, federal, state and municipal*. They learn how to read a bill and understand it and criticize it. They learn how to get up on their own feet and tell others why some proposal will or will not do the job for which it is intended.

"And is not this what we need most in these United States—citizens who take an active interest in their government, who know their rights and stand up for them, who guard jealously their great heritage, the Constitution?"

"You have asked me to state what I have gotten out of my Civics course. This, then is my answer. I sincerely hope that it is what you wanted."

(19) A Senior High School Boy Wants to Know

"The only place that I have taken any subjects dealing with social studies was at the Jr. High School and this was very sketchy. Even in our *Senior High School* the study of Civics is not stressed. The only way that I am at all able to get a glimpse of the work of our government is through my own studying and of the examples that our teachers use in their subject. Once in a while the teacher will say something about the way our government is carried on.

"The city is the home of industry and out of that grows capital and labor. This I think makes the city very narrow-minded and hard to live in. The textbooks describe a city as a garden, with everything in its place and growing very serenely. Of course the real city is corruption, but you only learn that from your daily newspaper.

"We just had a primary election here and our old mayor is still running for mayor. The only thing I can see for my school friends and myself to do when our time comes to help out in the election is to form an *entirely new party* which will vote only for the *man that will do the city the most good and not for the man who promises you a job if you vote for him*. As far as I can see they are not interested in what they might promise you, but only to get your vote. Of course this party would not be on any particular side; if a man is a Rep. and is a better man than the Dem., vote for him, and so on down the line of candidates.

"Maybe if we could get a group of men in our legislature who would think in this way, no party prejudice, the city and the nation as a whole, might profit by it. I have been told that sometimes there is a very good bill put up by a Dem. and the Rep. know that it is a good bill and that the city or state might profit by it, but

won't vote for it because it is against their ways and therefore the city loses out because the Rep. party was against it only because it was against their ways.

"This *new party might be able to eliminate* this uncalled-for *practice*. Right now the government is trying to make the school teachers sign an oath stating that they will not talk on any forms of Socialism, Communism or any other kind of 'ism.' Who is behind this, I don't know, but I can take a good guess and that is the political men in this city; they are afraid that they will be ousted if they are not careful and so they command the teachers to sign this oath and abide by it. It's not only *teachers* that talk about it but the *papers* and even in your own home *these words are talked about*, but somebody has to take the blame so the teachers take it because they are governed by the city. We are not supposed to know what is going on in the world during our youth so the '*bosses*' say. I'm by no means a supporter of the *Communist Party* but I *certainly would like to know the points which are good and those which are bad in Communism even though I don't believe in it.*"

(20) High School Students Tell the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association How Controversial Questions Can Be Discussed in the Public Schools

"St. Louis, Feb. 26, 1936. Only one public school class in St. Louis went to school today, but that class showed 5,000 school administrators from all parts of the country how freedom of speech really works in the class room.

In a regular class session on the stage of the convention hall twenty-nine high school seniors held a frank discussion of the New Deal before the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. They gave their opinions of the Supreme Court and the Constitution and by a vote of almost 3 to 1 they disagreed with their teacher and with the majority decision of the court on the AAA.

"Every point of 'academic freedom' the school men have debated for four days was brought out in the demonstration class.

"When the teacher, Professor Roy W. Hatch, of the State Teachers College, Upper Montclair, N. J., asked the pupils if they

thought he, as a public employe, ought to state his opinion on controversial questions to the class, they agreed that he should. They added that he ought first to give them the facts, and ought not to try to swing them his way, 'as some teachers do.' " (Eunice Barnard in the *New York Times*, Feb. 27, 1936.)*

(21) Excursions Help Students to See a Wide Variety of
Actual Situations Their Fellow Citizens Face

Our daily papers and educational publications of late are reporting a wide variety of excursions by students of elementary schools, high schools, and colleges to see actual social, industrial and civic conditions and processes. This tendency is surely a significant development of the original Colonel Parker geographical excursion idea and also of the first-hand or laboratory inductive method of basing instruction in physical sciences on observed facts, long ago developed by physical science teachers.

Many teachers of civics already know from experience or observation something about student visits to local industries and housing, and to police and fire stations, departments of water supply, sanitation, etc. We have already cited illustrations of such direct observational studies by students.

For further suggestion we now cite a few other illustrations. A local paper prints this story:

(22) "Seniors in a New Jersey Suburban High School Study
Local and New York City Housing

"In tune with the times is the study unit on housing which one senior college-preparatory English class at Montclair High School has been working on for the last eight weeks. The class had chosen the topic before the President's recent message to Congress on housing focused the present nation-wide spotlight on the subject.

* Professor Hatch has also taught other classes in conferences: at Cleveland, Feb. 1939, a class of senior high school students on the *Village Revue* before the Department of Superintendence of the N.E.A.; at Atlantic City in 1941, a group before the Department of Secondary School Principals on "Youth's Challenge to the Secondary Schools"; and at Radio City, New York, Apr. 1937, a class for the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Studebaker, on the Child Labor Amendment. Professor Hatch also has lectured in nearly every state of the Union on such themes as: Training in Citizenship; Teaching the Social Studies; Our World: Today and Tomorrow; and Global Geography: Its Place and Significance.

"About *one-half* of the class of *thirty-one* have made field trips to slum areas in New York, Paterson or Newark or to government resettlement or housing projects like that near Hightstown or like the blocks of model low-cost apartments in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn.

"E—— C—— and W—— F——, class members, took *dozens* of *pictures* of *scenes* on the *lower East Side of New York*. In reporting to the class on his walks about the region E—— C—— said, 'I even got a picture of a man *eating garbage*.' W—— F—— was surprised to find that some boys whom he saw gambling with dice in the streets were so small and yet so well supplied with money to bet. The reading required of the class had to be balanced as between informational books and recognized literature. Literary treatments of housing or allied living conditions were found in works such as 'The Revolt of Mother,' by Mary Wilkins Freeman; 'If I Had Four Apples,' by Josephine Lawrence; 'Dead End,' by Sidney Kingsley; 'The *Making* of an *American*,' by Jacob Riis; 'Their Own Apartment,' by Dorothy Aldis; 'Twenty Years at Hull House,' by Jane Addams; or 'Of Human Bondage,' by Somerset Maugham.

"Each member of the class wrote a 2,000-word paper on the study or the equivalent in the form of a short story or one-act play, and also gave an oral report to the class.

"Another class member, speaking of European conditions which he had seen at first hand and E—— C—— *who had made a study of the local housing situation*, led a neighborhood discussion group recently at the Maple Avenue community center."

(23) "Travel Is the Great Source of True Wisdom."—Disraeli

In 1938, several teachers and forty-one boys and girls from a class of forty-three in the Senior Class of the Whitewater (Kansas) High School also made a twenty-two day trip east. The class journalist, standing on the heights of Palisades Park, where the group had parked itself in a trailer was reported to have given this opinion of Eastern cities:

"You people don't know how to live here. Seems we're much happier. Funny thing. Out in the settlement where I come from we all hate things like Fascism and Nazism and Communism. Can't

understand any Americans wanting any of them. But when we go through some of these Eastern towns and see how dirty they are—so dirty and poor it makes you feel sick just to ride through them—we can see how people living there might be discontented enough for anything.

"We're farmers. Got some of the best farming land in the country. Some of the best farmers, too. We are American the way we do things."

(24) Going Places and Seeing Things

As a result of certain excursions taken by privileged children in a New York City private school to see industrial and housing conditions, we cite these illustrations of a *resulting consciousness of kind—human fellow feeling*.

One pupil says: "My mother owns tenement property on the East Side. My trip to see housing conditions has convinced me that property owners owe something more to their tenants than a place to live in."

Another pupil writes thus: "Because of a trip which I took with my class to the Manhattanville *Day Nursery*, I have become very much interested in *homes* for children. I *read all the articles* that I can find about new homes for children."

After a trip to a woolen mill, a third student writes:

"The Machines

"We, the machines, look down from our heights. We understand the problems of man, puny and insignificant, yet the leader. We *see the struggle for life among the poor*, and *sympathize*. We comprehend the desire for power among the employers. We understand them also. Conflict, discordant clash we know, but this is life. We preach to you, but none in the world listen. You are busy, with your one-track minds, formulating plans of your own. Maybe in the years to come some one will heed our superior knowledge, and the rough tangle of life will smooth out to a silken thread of wool."

And a ninth-grade girl impersonating a worker with machines soliloquizes thus:

"Will it never cease—never—never? It has been going on since

I can remember, always without end. When my mother brought me here when I was a child, they were going. These machines, like lions, stampeding yet leashed and bound, and we are their keepers. We must feed them wool all day, dirty, greasy wool. We will smell it though we depart from the country. We will hear the machines when we sleep. Only to die would be to forget. We feel it, this work for you, the wealthy. It is imprinted on our souls, our hearts. Yet we are free. This is a free country. Still you say we would die without your job. It is true. We must grovel at your feet and thank and praise you. You feed our bodies, but our minds. . . ."

(25) "Field Work or Apprenticeship by High School Students—Mayor Hires 16 Pupils to Study City Government in Summer Jobs

"Mayor La Guardia's determination to build up a group of career men in the city service was carried a step further yesterday when he invited sixteen high school pupils, eight boys and eight girls, some of them this year's graduates, to accept city posts for July and August and study the workings of the city government.

"The civic education program was announced by the Mayor's secretary, Stanley Howe. Of the pupils chosen, seven live in Brooklyn, four in Manhattan, two in the Bronx, two in Queens and one in Staten Island. It is understood five of the sixteen will be assigned to the various borough presidents' offices and the rest to the city departments.

"The letter of invitation sent by Mr. Howe on the Mayor's behalf to the sixteen pupils follows:

"'Mayor La Guardia has asked me to inform you that you have been selected by the Division of Vocational Schools of the Board of Education as a "career student in municipal government" to receive free tuition during the Summer months of July and August, during which period you will be assigned to one of the departments of our city administration where you will have an opportunity to learn at first hand the daily work in one of the branches of the government.

"'You will, at the same time, be privileged to render a public

service to your city by working and serving under the direction of the official to whom you will be assigned.

"For this service you will be paid an honorarium of \$50. a month for the two months. This has been made possible, at the suggestion of the Mayor, through an allocation from a part of the proceeds of last year's annual baseball game between our city Fire and Police Departments.

"You have been selected for this honor because of character, ability and a special interest which you have demonstrated in public affairs. I know that you will want to reward those who have placed confidence in you by taking your assignment seriously and giving it all the devotion of which are are capable.'" (*New York Times*, June 28, 1936.)

(26) A Ten-Day Dramatization of State Government by
Two Hundred Boys in Rhode Island

The following extracts are from the *New York Times*, June 19, 1938:

"Within the nation's smallest State there will be a still smaller State this Summer.

"The political mite, known as the Little Rhody Boys' State, will exist on the campus of Rhode Island State College for ten days, July 5 to 15. With its population restricted to 200 'citizens' it will be a political autonomy organized to serve as a laboratory in political science.

"Sponsored by the Rhode Island Department of the American Legion, it will dramatize training in civics received in the secondary schools in an effort to convey to boys of high-school age a practical knowledge of the basic principles of American government.

"Vermont is also to have a Boys' State this year, following the pattern of the Legion's first venture in this field in Illinois in 1935. Other States which have had, or plan to have Boys' States include Ohio, West Virginia, New York, Oregon, Utah and Indiana, pointing to a United States of Boys States as an educational union.

"In Rhode Island, civic, fraternal, church, school and other organizations have been conducting examinations of applicants, who must be not younger than their fifteenth year, and not over 19.

"Some organizations are appropriating the required \$16.50 a

boy for as many as five citizens. The Boys' State will start in the wake of Independence Day celebrations. After being passed through the Boys' State 'Customs,' each citizen will receive his textbook outlining the organization of the State and national governments, defining the duties of the general officers, explaining legislative and judicial procedure, and clarifying the citizen's constitutional rights.

"Every morning the boys will attend class, and afternoons there will be physical education instruction and organized sports. The evening schedule calls for a balance of recreation and instruction.

"The teaching will be in the form of talks by key State government officials, such as the Governor, the Attorney General, the Secretary of State, and Justices of the Supreme and Superior Courts. The boys themselves will have the social responsibility of providing wholesome entertainment.

"As a means of testing their instructions, the boy statesmen will occupy the Capitol in Providence on the ninth day of their experiment. They will conduct their elections for the major general offices, and the boy executives so chosen will sit in the offices of their official counterparts in the State government.

"There will also be a Boys' State session of the Legislature, with junior Senators and Representatives introducing bills, acting on them in committee, and finally voting on them after they are reported out."

(27) High School Students Sitting as Commissioners with City Commissioners Hear the Mayor's Citizenship Ideals

The mayor of a New Jersey suburban town, in May, 1938; said, in part:

"We are happy to have junior commissioners with us, because it is an evidence of your interest in our town and its good," declared Mayor S—.

"This country of ours is really only partly ours. It belongs to our ancestors, who have left their profound mark on it and who have set a pattern for it. It belongs to us, who are their heirs. It belongs to the generations who will follow us, and for whom we are today acting as trustees. But a trustee is responsible not alone

to preserve an estate but to develop it and enlarge it. Christ's parable of the talents pointed the moral. It isn't enough to receive a talent and bury it in the ground and then turn it over intact.

"The old saying is trite, but still true. In order to be as good a man as your father, you must be a better man than your father.

"It's a great time to be alive—because the world has reached one of those epochal times when it has struck its tents and is on the march. It is also a dangerous time to live, because we must be on our guard to see that we are marching toward the promised land and not being led astray by false prophets. Where it will go depends on us and it also depends on your generation.

"Don't forget Lincoln's wording of the kind of democracy we have—'government of the people, by the people, for the people.' That's the greatest form of government there is. But it isn't enough to repeat these great words, we must (and you must) make them a reality.

"'Of the people'—do your share in the politics of your community, your state, your country; take part, inform yourselves; vote for good government wherever you see it.

"'By the people'—if you have the chance, if you are wanted, run for public office. We must have good men and women in office if we are to have good government. You can't 'let George do it.' You must do it yourself.

"'For the people'—if you are elected, remember that you are merely acting for the people of your community, your state or your country. Do your best; figure out honestly what is for their best interest and then go ahead and do it regardless of consequences.

"You can be excused for making mistakes, but not for inaction.

"So this country is yours, it is ours, it is our forefathers'—and if we are to be true to past, present and future we must (and you must) all work together to make this country a better place to live in for all of us and our descendants. Be true to your ideals."

(28) Participation by Youth in the Program of an Annual
Conference of the American Education Association

... These citations from the Program of the 1938 Conference of the National Education Association are given here as evidence that

educators are giving national recognition to the fact that young citizens are coming of age and are participating with them in their efforts to solve knotty educational problems.

One of the student organizations sharing in the 1938 Conference of the National Education Association was The National Association of Student Officers. The preamble to its constitution reads:

"1. To spread the spirit of responsibility, leadership, personal growth, good citizenship, cooperation, and self-discipline. 2. To achieve unity of effort in realizing the ideals of education and democratic government. 3. To make available to student leaders ideas and information to help in achieving these aims."

From a mimeographed copy of the official "Resume" of the Eighth Annual Convention of the National Association of Student Officers, June 28, 29, 30, 1938, furnished me by Joseph C. Driscoll, Advisor, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, New York, I glean these facts:

There were present 323 registered delegates from at least these states: New York, Missouri, North Carolina, Arizona, Kansas, Michigan, Illinois, Florida and Massachusetts—also delegates from Hawaii.

At the first session the Student Chairman of the Convention, John L. Murray, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, welcomed the delegates and stated that the theme of the Convention was: "Working Together in a Democracy."

At the second session the central theme of the meeting was: "Achievements in Student Government During the Past Year." There was discussion by students from various parts of the country who "spoke of the trials, achievements, and progress of their school government."

A third session consisted of a student broadcast from the Auditorium of the American Museum of Natural History, "filled to capacity with teachers and student officers." The general theme of the broadcast was: "Does the American High School Train for Democracy?" This theme was discussed by three speakers:

1. Gloria Washburn, John Adams High School. Her topic was: "Is the School Operating as a Democracy?"

2. Elsa Marcus, Washington Irving High School, enlarged upon this topic: "Does the School Curriculum Train Us for Life in a Democracy?"
3. Albert Heinsing of the Benjamin Franklin High School asked: "Does the School Provide Adequate Contact with Community Organizations?"

A panel discussion followed.

The fourth session was devoted to business and a speech on "The New A B C Approach to Democracy" by Herman J. Greenberg, Dewey Junior High School, Brooklyn, N. Y.

During the business meeting a committee was authorized "to make a study of other youth organizations." It was also recommended that the students be taught to realize the value of true self-government as essential to preservation of democracy in the United States. The delegates also adopted a resolution which states: "Be it resolved that the National Association of Student Officers, because of present day social conditions, go on record as supporting and advocating an equal and adequate democratic secondary education in all sections of the country."

The fifth session was a luncheon meeting, with most of the speakers adults, but there was also an address by Patrick Harrington, Jr., from the Durpie High School, Fall River, Mass. Taking Walt Disney's Seven Dwarfs as an illustration, he urged that the School Student Council should stretch forth its hand, reach and, by friendliness, sincerity and tactful leadership, win the co-operation of all the Docs, Dopeys, Sleepys, Sneezys, Bashfuls, Grumpys, and Happys.

The next and concluding part of the Convention was a trip up the East River, in a municipal ferryboat. The excursion was a duplicate of the one taken by civics students in New York City high schools the previous spring. This trip gave the delegates and visitors an opportunity to see the operation of the New York City departments. They were also able to learn at first hand the tremendous nature of the services provided by the government. Industrial activities along the waterfront served to impress the sightseers with the varied nature of New York City's economic life.

Thus ended the convention. And yet the Convention will never

be ended. The countless memories, associations, ideas, and benefits will live indefinitely. The more concrete results can be summed up as follows: "Each of the delegates received a comprehensive knowledge on parliamentary procedures, and each of the delegates receive the chance to discuss, think, really think, and work out solutions to problems concerned with school life. Later on these benefits will be of infinite value to the individual in his social and business life. Therefore the community and even the nation will share the results of this Convention."

Student Participation in School Administration—Other Meetings
at the N.E.A. Conference, June 28, 29, 30, 1938

The program of the meeting on June 28 had as its theme: "Laying the Foundation for Tomorrow's World."

The Panel Discussion had the theme: "Practical Experiments in Student Participation," with speakers from elementary school, junior high school and senior high school. Principal Robert Ringdahl, Corcoran School, speaking for the elementary school, Minneapolis, urged pupil activity in meeting actual situations.

Dr. R. H. Jordan, School of Education, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., speaking for the junior high school, said that about 50 per cent of junior high schools now have some form of student participation. His students who are going out to teach don't know anything about party organization into committees, primaries, etc. He advised beginning student organization in the home room, first by forum organization, then by a school council. Each school has to work out its own plan.

And now I end this list of actual elementary and high school projects for educating our youth in democratic citizenship with an *illustration*, a leading educator's statement, and *further data* concerning processes for developing an interracial *consciousness of kind* in the youth of our schools.

(29) The Promotion of Interracial Understanding and
Friendship in Our Schools

In February, 1939, we were told by an educational writer that in the Benjamin Franklin School in Harlem, New York City, that:

"A definite program to cover each of the minority groups is being development within the schools." For example, the Benjamin

Franklin High School under the leadership of its principal, Dr. Leonard Covello, has inaugurated an intensive project that goes far beyond the presentation of assembly exercises.

In this school all work within the classroom is being modified to make the students tolerance-conscious. Factual material is presented in the biology, history or social science classes to help refute false claims of racial superiority.

Dramatic sketches of the four minority groups within the school—Italian, Jewish, Negro and Spanish—give the children an idea of their neighbor's culture. Recently a Jewish rabbi spoke to the students, and a historical film of Palestine was shown. A short time later a Negro musician entertained the pupils with songs of his race.

Since Dr. Covello believes that the racial problem belongs to the community rather than to the school, special committees have been organized to bring in the neighborhood. Parents are invited to attend lectures, and the various problems of cultural differences are ironed out.

In many schools committees of teachers and supervisors have been established to map out the series of programs. Instead of isolated exercises, a pattern is to be followed that will have "definite meaning" for the children. Following each program the pupils will be allowed to meet the guests of the day to learn more about the customs and habits of the minority group through personal association.

Intolerance frequently disappears when misconceptions are erased. In one school where there was a definite anti-Japanese feeling, the principal brought in a jiu-jitsu expert. The children were enthralled. Later they met other Japanese leaders and lost some of their antipathy.

Much of the material to be used in the schools is provided by the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education. Mrs. Du Bois, who heads this Bureau, reported that 139 principals and teachers have asked for suggestions and advice in preparing programs.

Of such projects United States Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker, says:

"Education for inter-American friendship needs university exchanges, cooperation, historical and literary and linguistic studies of the Americas, but it needs something more.

"The greatest need is for education for inter-American friendship in the elementary and secondary schools."

For further suggestions as to school processes in inter-racial and inter-American education consult the following reports and books:

(30) 1. *Democratic Procedures Grade O. The Contributions of Nationalities to Springfield*: 21 mimeographed pages with valuable bibliographies. (The Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Mass.)

2. *Inter-American Friendship Through the Schools*: Bulletin 1941, No. 10. (For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C., 15 cents.) Contents: "Chapter I. Studying the Languages of Other Americas; Chapter II. Studying the Cultures of Our Southern Neighbors through English; Chapter III. Topics of Student Activities Employed in Developing Inter-American Friendship Assemblies, Pan-American Day Programs, entertainments and illustrated lectures, club activities: Inter-American Correspondence—Moving Pictures—Radio and recordings—Phonograph recordings—Newspapers and magazines—Exhibits—Excursions—Other activities; Chapter IV. Teacher Activities for Inter-American Friendship; Chapter V. Community Education for Inter-American Friendship; Chapter VI. Inter-American Friendship Can Be Developed Only as a People's Movement; Bibliographies."

3. *A Nation of Nations*, by Louis Adamic. Harper & Bros., 1945.

4. *The Springfield Plan*, by James Waterman Wise; photographs by Alexander Alland. The Viking Press, 1944.

5. *Story of the Springfield Plan*, by Clarence C. Chatto and A. L. Halligan. Barnes and Noble, 1945.

This last book is described in its preface as: "The story of how the parents and the civic groups of Springfield—the churches, newspapers, businessmen, labor groups and other social agencies—have worked with the teacher to develop effective methods of education for democratic citizenship."

See Appendix C for references to further illustrations of projects and processes carried out by elementary and secondary school students.

X

COLLEGE CITIZENSHIP PROJECTS AND PROCESSES

AIMS OF INTERGROUP CO-OPERATION IN EDUCATION, RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT

THE PROJECTS cited in this chapter were being carried on as follows:

- a. In normal colleges in three states.
- b. In an Annual Conference of the Eastern States Professional Schools.
- c. In Washington, D. C., in co-operation with Congress and other governmental agencies.
- d. In projects within the field of intercultural and inter-group relations.
- e. In connection with other projects and opinions as stated either in my personal correspondence or in printed articles.

Except in a few instances, I have not reported the name of the town or of the teacher involved in the local project cited.

(31) An Experimental Civics Project by the First Year Class in a Normal College

From information given the writer by the teacher of this project, I make these citations:

"A group of my own college freshmen worked out a simple but stimulating course in local government last semester. They couldn't pass a regulation examination, but they have some fundamentals fixed and in a small way have grasped that knowledge, sense of responsibility and will to act are part of every citizen's life. They *won't be fooled easily* and they know where to go for civic information and advice. . . . This bibliography of 70 titles was what my class used. [The bibliography is omitted.] Each student had a copy of the handbook of government issued by the *League*

of *Women Voters* [italics mine] and a summary and synopsis of the Griffenhagen report. The other books were on a special library record. Each student reported upon at least four books, some not on the list.

"The other bibliography for Civic Education Seminar was one I had this last winter during a series of lectures sponsored by the Adult Education Council. As to parts studied; the sections grew out of the needs of the class. We had had a semester of study of the economic and social problems confronting us, considerable time had been spent on 'the New Deal.' The class had had many trips in and about Chicago to see at first hand examples of production of commodities by machinery, progressive schools, bad housing, beautiful parks, an attempt to know Chicago. Then they wanted to know what part government had in this society they were trying to understand.

"As they began, in the normal college, to try to understand the actual economic and social situations they had just seen, they found that their skeleton study of civics (civil government) in the high school did not explain these actual situations. They then tried to apply ideals and found that they did not explain these situations. And so they began a study of practical politics.

"The points they considered were: governmental units; overlapping government; cost of government; methods of taxation; pressure politics; party organization; primary and general elections (we had a primary election in April); ideals and principles of government. As to methods, they read and discussed books, magazines and newspapers; made oral reports; had a term paper on a civics subject; conducted 'panel' discussions; discussed points in books read, or in magazines, or on topics selected (usually by class, sometimes assigned by teacher); had written tests (especially for drill) and a final test; visited meetings, like Chicago Federation of Labor, etc.; had visitors speak informally, as when we had a two hour talk and discussion on the Juvenile Court; gave a splendid Assembly before the whole school to illustrate the class work; used the bulletin board device for much of the work and for the primary election; made several 'boards' and issued a mimeographed statement about the election, officers to be elected, etc.

"The room in which this was done was used by a college class,

two high school classes and many visitors to take advantage of the information.

"One of the trips they found most illuminating was to the sewage disposal plant of the sanitary district and the one they enjoyed the most was a week-end trip to Madison, Wisconsin. This was when they were studying party organization. They met Miss LaFollette, 'Old Bob' La Follette's campaign manager, and Professor Ross. They were 'thrilled.' "

As to the value of this course to the students, I cite here one of three opinions sent to me in letters by students themselves. The opinion here cited describes the coordination of this civics course with other courses in the college and also prophesies its later help to her own pupils:

"In September, 1933, when we first entered the Chicago Normal College, our group was selected arbitrarily to be used as an experimental group. We dubbed ourselves "guinea pigs" and wondered what was going to happen to us.

"We soon discovered that our instructors were attempting to do away with the formal classroom as far as possible and were working to give us a clear picture of the world around us. They attempted to coordinate and integrate our studies as much as they possibly could, so that what we really had was one large project that we studied from several vantage points. In our study of geography, we obtained one sort of a picture of the world and its people; the unit devoted to education enabled us to realize the part that education plays in forming the world about us; a course in modern literature had as its object to give us a better conception of how literature influences and is influenced by our modern world. *However, what appears to me to be most fundamental in our work was the social studies unit.* [Italics mine.] Here we saw our world from the political and social side, and began to have a conception of some of the huge problems that face the world today. We were at a great advantage because the National Recovery Act had only recently been put into effect, and we could watch its development closely, and discuss its benefits to the American people. Opinions were always exchanged freely and we had several forum discussions as well as regular talks.

"In addition to the work done in class, we received contacts

with groups and individuals interested in modern problems, so that our interests were broadened and strengthened. *We felt ourselves really a part of the world, little cogs that might do something toward aiding the welfare of the wheel.* [Italics mine.]

"As a direct result of having modern problems brought to our attention in such a way, we began wondering about solutions to these problems. What could be more natural than that we should turn to government? Was not government doing its best to remedy some of the worst conditions? What more could government do? And just how would it be done?

"Therefore, for the next piece of work, we began a study of our government, still keeping in mind the various aspects from which it may be viewed (literature, education, etc.). However, our main purpose was to discover how our government may solve some of our current problems. Thus we studied not only the framework of our government, but *in every case we learned of the power behind the throne*, and, as far as possible, how they operated. For our individual work, we each selected some governmental problem and showed how it might be solved. *In this way, we brought government close to home.* [Italics mine.]

"Now that our "experiment" is over, nominally at least, I have had time to see what I really think of it. It seems to me that under such a plan we were able to get a much more coherent conception of our world and its problems than we could have done any other way. I liked the idea of individual reading and effort, with a class discussion or forum to culminate the study. Of course, for the slackers it was rather easy in many cases, but then—we didn't have many slackers.

"At the beginning, of course, it was rather difficult for us to adjust ourselves to a new and so completely different situation. We almost missed having definite assignments in a definite book day after day. However, we soon learned to appreciate the value of wide reading.

"I for one can truly say that I derived great benefits from being in the experimental group. In the first place, I learned to relate all classes to one another so that I do it even now. I learned to see beyond the classroom, and to realize how vital a thing it is for students to know what sort of a world they are living in. I also

lost my feeling of being afraid to say something not in accordance with the teacher's opinion, and I learned to say what I thought in a more convincing manner than ever before.

"Of course an experiment of this type has its disadvantages. It is hampered by not including all subjects the pupil is studying. Then, too, the fact that our school must give professional training for teachers makes it very difficult to have a flexible plan of this sort. It is necessary to teach certain fundamental facts to prospective teachers, and it is much simpler just to teach these facts than to use the other sort of plan. Thus, work of the type we were doing can be carried on only before the professional training begins. Personally, I believe the good effects of such a plan would be carried on to the professional courses. I can see it happening in our group even now.

"However, it seems to me that the ultimate test of our experiment will come when we are out teaching. If we can adjust ourselves to situations more readily, present our material in a more coherent and connected manner, and enable the pupils to discover the world they live in—then the experiment will not have been in vain. And I have a feeling that it is going to prove itself a great success.'"

(32) Election Problems Discussed in a Normal College Class

The third year students in this class spent the hour of my October, 1934, visit in outlining various phases of the coming November election.

Various class committees were appointed to study and report upon different problems, each appointment being based upon the selection by each student of the topic or problem to which she wished to devote most time. For example:

1. Different kinds of officers to be elected together with their duties.
2. Current issues.
3. What the voting districts represented in the class are, and candidates of each district.
4. Textbooks and other sources of information.

Among the issues mentioned by students in which members of the class were interested were: the tax rate, e. g., one candidate's

proposition to limit rate to 1 per cent; school-support situation and taxes; self-interest and logrolling by representatives. There were numerous charts and maps in the recitation room. A series of pictures, clippings and topics were displayed. Suggested by Margaret Ayer Barnes' *Within This Present*, they included: the depression; the New Deal; a map of city wards; a map of senatorial districts; a map of congressional districts and judicial districts; consolidation of park districts. The general heading for the maps was: "*Do you know your political address?*"

My current comments made in notes of the visit were:

These maps and this question suggest to me that it was equally important to ask: "Do you know how many voting teammates live in your political address who, with you, are responsible for choosing the political captain of your town?"

It seems to me that all good citizens need to know:

1. Political address: who make up the team of voters of each kind of civic unit.
2. What the issues are in each unit, i.e., what the game to be played is.
3. What the qualifications of the captains and leaders to be chosen are and should be.
4. How they are chosen.
5. What the pressures upon all the teams and the leaders are.

(In short, what the factually effective rules of the game to be played are.)

It seems to me also that the individual citizen, when he goes to vote, and between whiles in his study and daily life, should be conscious that he is in fact playing the game with several teams of different sizes in town, county, state and nation, for different issues, and with different procedures as rules of the game.

(I wonder how many of the readers of these needs can themselves meet them.)

(33) Excursions Used and Promoted by a Teacher's College

While he was professor of social studies at the State Teachers College, Montclair, N. J., Harold S. Sloan took his student-teachers on many one-day excursions. Prof. Edgar C. Bye, now Director

of the Bureau of Field Studies, shows how Professor Sloan's experiences may have suggested to him the need of a more general use of excursions by teachers and students elsewhere.

During a personal conference with Professor Bye, February 4, 1946, he assured me that the following statement about excursions, which I have compiled, chiefly from printed reports of the Bureau of Field Studies of Montclair Teachers' College, are substantially correct.

The Excursion as a Help in the Education of Teachers

This is a story of modern education. A story of students who are turning from their textbooks to a study of life being lived and of history being written. Of students whose classroom is a bus and whose laboratory is a great city.

It is 8:30 o'clock on a Saturday morning. A comfortable bus arrives at the college campus. It is the classroom for the day. Thirty-seven students file in, attendance is checked, at 8:45 sharp the bus starts, and the day's work has begun.

The next twelve or fifteen hours have been planned carefully; appointments have been made weeks in advance and confirmed the day before the trip. The instructor has checked every inch of the ground to be covered. All the streets are known, every turn planned, every stopping place decided upon.

Today's theme, perhaps, is "Foreign Peoples in New York City." Every student has a copy of the schedule for the day in hours and minutes. He has an outline of the lecture which has preceded the trip and which has "set the stage" for intelligent observation. He has read from a selected book list on this subject. He has an assignment sheet bearing definite problems to be solved by observation.

The group will visit a cathedral and a synagogue and see foreign peoples at worship. They will lunch at a Syrian or a Mexican restaurant to see foreign menus and eat food prepared and served in the manner of other countries; they will stop in at foreign theatres or perhaps find a foreign festival in progress. They will visit native schools and social agencies studying the assimilation of foreign peoples into American ways. They will see the Ghetto and Chinatown.

And they will take notes and collect pamphlets, pictures and

other material to illustrate what they have seen. These they will assemble in a notebook arranged with one idea in mind: Usefulness in teaching.

This is the day's program.

It may be that some one to be met along the route will become the instructor and lecture directly to the class. On one occasion during the study of the prevention and treatment of crime, the class visited an old type county jail in the morning; later they were conducted through the buildings and grounds of a large penitentiary. By noon the group was ready for lunch and a rest period. During the rest period they listened to the experiences of a man who had spent seventeen years of his life as a convict in various prisons throughout the country; they talked with him; they asked questions.

In this way they have on various trips come into direct contact with evicted tenants, the unemployed seeking public relief, representatives of various racial groups, labor leaders, ward politicians, institutional directors, bank and finance officials and many others whom they would never meet in the seclusion of a classroom.

One of the field study courses covers fifteen Saturdays, and includes seven two-hour lectures and eight field trips.

The lecture subjects are: Historical Background of the Metropolitan Area; New Jersey Welfare Institutions and Agencies; Municipal Government and Services; Economic Problems of the Metropolitan Area; Problems of Racial and Cultural Adjustments; Levels of Living and the Prevention and Treatment of Crime.

Field trips connected with social studies were begun at the college by Harold S. Sloan, Associate Professor of Social Studies.

In 1934 the field study course was begun as a separate unit and was conducted jointly by Mr. Sloan and Mr. Bye of social studies, who had organized and led similar courses at Clark University at Worcester, Mass., during the summer, from 1927-1932.

Approximately seventy-five students take field study courses each semester and, in the summer, about thirty take other courses covering, in succeeding years, New England and French Canada, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the continental United States. The latter course is described later.

Thus the entire United States, except the lower South, is em-

braced in the program. A course to cover the South is in preparation.

Writing in January, 1936, in *The Social Studies*, a magazine for teachers, Mr. Sloan commented on field courses of the type being given at Montclair.

"Meeting and talking with people in different environments, seeing, first hand, the unfathomable intricacies of our economic life, witnessing directly the deprivations imposed by poverty, and appreciating through actual observation the great contributions of foreign cultures to American life cannot leave one untouched. There is a certain emotional appeal, the effects of which are lasting even though particular circumstances may be forgotten.

"There is developed," he writes further, "a social consciousness and sympathy, a tolerant attitude, and a philosophy quick to condemn unbridled self-interest, that is hard to gain in the aloofness of the classroom.

"It is possible," he concludes, "that during the next decade we shall hear less about developing life situations in the classroom and more about expanding the notion of a class room to include life itself as it exists in the world about us."

Mr. Bye also assured me that the following information which has been given me about other excursions sponsored by the Sloan Foundation, after Professor Harold S. Sloan became its Director, is correct.

1. In 1938 a group of over forty-seven senior students and eight teachers from Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University, made a ten-day trip through Southern states to study "Living in Contemporary America."

They visited Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee Valley, once deserted farms in Georgia now in process of rehabilitation, and other projects in Virginia and North Carolina. While in Georgia the girls and boys (sixteen to seventeen years old) tried their hands at many kinds of work both in the kitchens and on the farms, helping in the kitchen to get meals, digging post holes, stringing fence wire, chopping trees, splitting wood, driving and riding mules, digging a well, and whitewashing a farm house.

2. Another ten-day excursion from the Lincoln School took students to the coal mining regions of West Virginia. This excursion

sion led to a return visit to the New York school of a dozen high school students from the Demonstration School of West Virginia at Morgantown.

3. Also in 1938, a still more ambitious excursion was taken in a chartered bus by some thirty student teachers of Teachers College, Montclair. This excursion was planned and carried out by Professor Bye who had taken a preliminary trip to all the places to be visited. Credit was given at the college to those students taking this twelve-thousand-mile excursion to twenty-six states. Among the places were Civil War battlefields, the Lincoln country, the national parks, the Indian reservations, the Grand Canyon, the Boulder and the Grand Coulee dams, all parts of California, the Northwest and the Great Plains and the Great Lakes region, Toronto and Niagara Falls. This course was repeated in 1941 and 1946.

4. In 1939 from the same college a ten-day field study was made to points of historic and geographic interest in the New England states of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Quebec and Montreal, and thence back via Lake Champlain and the Hudson River with stops at Ticonderoga and West Point. This course has been given twice since then.

Surely, in the words of Mr. Sloan such excursions are "Expanding the notion of a classroom to include life itself as it exists in the world about us."

Other Sloan Foundation Projects

From a signed article by Harold B. Sloan in the *New York Times*, August 21, 1938, I cite these paragraphs:

"Aided by its funds, a half dozen colleges and adult education institutions will start in September a bombardment of the American mind with elementary economic principles. By radio, motion pictures, forums, classes, clinics, university fellowships, pamphlets, news stories, and ultimately in textbooks, the foundation's cooperating institutions will attack the everyday American's economic problems.

"The foundation has no particular economic philosophy to promulgate. It is interested solely in aiding accredited schools and colleges to disseminate the facts.

"Strategically located centers are each to be devoted to a different phase of social and economic education."

Among the colleges named in which the Foundation was to help in economic and civic education of students were: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University, Stephens College in Columbia, Mo., and the University of Denver. In Denver the project was to be specifically to help ten competitively chosen college graduates, during eighteen months of study, "to qualify themselves as expert aides for citizenship groups desirous of investigating the efficiency of city, town and county governments."

(34) Student Perspectives on the Processes of Education of Citizens

These perspectives were suggested by the student statements made during the sessions of the Student Divisions of the 1932 Conference of the Eastern States Professional Schools in New York City. (Part VI, in Vol. VII, Report in 1932.)

The fifty-nine students who attended this Conference came from all the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Maryland (ten states in all), and Washington, D. C. They describe their co-operative activities with each other and with their instructors in teacher-training schools and colleges. Their twenty topics were as follows:

- a. Developing the art of entertaining school visitors. (Two students.)
- b. How we create a home atmosphere in our schools. (Five students.)
- c. The way we set a premium on dynamic scholarship. (Three students.)
- d. The cultural and unifying influences of our general school Assembly. (Four students.)
- e. The cultivation of hobbies and the right use of leisure on the campus. (Five students.)
- f. The distinctive events of the school year at our institution. (Eight students.)
- g. The way we choose our official student leaders. (Two students.)

- h. The way we raise, handle, spend and audit our student funds. (Nine students.)
- i. The way we develop leadership through athletics, drama, and debating. (Two students.)
- j. Our colleges as a laboratory for the study of citizenship. (Three students.)
- k. How we are learning to think in terms of international co-operation (largely geographical, industrial and historical). (Two students.)
- l. The work of our student council. (Four students.)
- m. Planning our Commencement program (One student.)
- n. Educational excursions. (Three students.)
- o. The organization and use of our school Court. (Two students.)
- p. How we interpret our school program to the supporting public. (One student.)
- q. Our interest in play and recreation as part of the education and training of prospective teachers. (Two students.)
- r. The development of student co-operative government. (One student.)
- s. Student participation. (One student.)
- t. Student-teacher rating. (One student.)

In an answer to a letter which I had written to Professor Ambrose L. Suhrie of Atlanta University, Georgia, asking about the origin of the above Student Division of Eastern States Conferences, I received the following reply from him, written May 16, 1943:

"I have just returned from a visit to 16 colleges in 2 weeks. Some days I have lectured four or even five times to students and/or faculty on my old theme, 'Cooperative Living,' democracy, the golden rule or whatever you call it. And it seems to me people are more eager than they have ever been.

"Yes, after my 7 years of experience in Cleveland School of Education when we practiced democracy in all student faculty relationships I come to New York to get a wider field. At the end of my first year, Spring of 1925, I began making plans to bring groups of student leaders (and followers) together from all the

teacher preparing institutions north of the Potomac and east of the Ohio. Because I had lectured and conducted conferences in most of one hundred colleges in the territory mentioned I got an instantaneous and hearty response. The distinctive thing from our beginning of our Eastern States Association of Professional Schools for Teachers, was that *Students*, as well as administrators and others, came in to confer about the improvement of the total campus program and life. And most administrators and trustees soon learned that if given a chance, students are more interested in and will work harder for the betterment of the college than will their elders. We never had the money to include but a very insignificant part of the contributions of students in our unusual reports in our Journal since the volumes have been discontinued. If you could see the official programs of the last ten years, you'd find that we often had 6 to 10 panels running concurrently with 1000 to 1800 students in attendance from 100 colleges. Faculty members and deans and presidents in recent years have given up many of their own sectional meetings to sit in on our young peoples' conferences and panels. The best meeting of all was in '42 just before I left New York.

"I have lectured this year to over 60 Negro colleges and conducted conferences world without end. If the O.D.T. permits I shall open a notable student-faculty conference here next Spring. I want to do for the Negro Young People down here what I did for the Young People of New England and Middle Atlantic States over a period of 17 years. And I hope I may have as many years of work down here."

To supplement the information of the above letter I also cite three further statements by Professor Suhrie.

1. "Our future teachers must, in due time, become masters of the art of democratic, representative, cooperative government. This accomplishment is basic to success in their calling. How can they acquire this art? Just as any and every other art is acquired, by common, purposeful, directed practice. . . . Our young people must have a chance while in College to make the mistakes which otherwise we teachers should have to make alone. Responsibility sobers judgments as nothing else can."

2. To the above, Professor Suhrie adds (in a letter of April,

1943) these words: "From my viewpoint practice in the art of co-operative living on the college campus is a fine preparation for cooperative living in a school and community."

3. As to the present status of education in citizenship in our normal schools and colleges, Professor Suhrie in 1942-43 said: "I have visited all our tax supported institutions of higher education (above the Junior College which is now generally regarded as an extension of secondary education) in each and every one of our 48 states. . . . It has been a rich experience. . . . Our teachers colleges have in general made much progress between World War I and II. But these institutions differ as much as do public schools. Some are superb, and some are almost criminally bad. From my viewpoint nearly all our schools and colleges are too bookish, deal too much in symbolic education and too little with the hard facts of the actual functioning of a city political machine, and with the facts of governments at work."

(35) What Can We College Students Do to Improve Our City?

From a letter to me dated April 26, 1935, from Prof. M. L. Jordan, Dean of Fenn College in Cleveland, Ohio, I cite extracts which describe how the students set out to find an answer to the above question. When the question of what can we do becomes habitual and earnest among students in junior and senior high schools and colleges, an era of real progress in democracy will have begun in the United States.

"We have been having an interesting time with some experimental work in the field of Education in Citizenship. We started our last fall with a group of seventeen Freshmen students of very varied mental ability, almost equally divided between sexes. These students started with a problem termed 'What Can We Do to Improve Cleveland?' After making a hurried survey of the historical development of the city, they made a study of the physical layout of the city and its environs; they studied the major institutions and their development such as schools, churches and welfare agencies; they have made in addition a fairly careful study of present problems. After such a survey the one problem which seemed to loom up above the others was the one: *Efficiency in Government*. They have attended meetings of the City Council,

they have interviewed many of the leading citizens of Cleveland, some of whom they have invited to speak before the group. They have taken a number of trips to places of major educational interest.

"Since a committee of fifteen citizens have been meeting twice a week to work on a proposed County Commission Form of Government, members of the class have attended many of these meetings and have secured all available journals of each meeting. Since the City of Cincinnati has a very efficient government, the class felt it would be to their advantage to visit Cincinnati and come in personal contact with such men as the present Manager Dykstra, the mayor, welfare director, chief of police, Mr. Seasingood, the man largely responsible for initiating the City Manager Form of Government in that city, Mr. Bennett and Mr. Charles P. Taft, Jr.

"Those young people have organized a group known as the 'Civic Betterment League' which becomes the agency for promoting interest in civic affairs. They are also publishing three types of materials: a *weekly paper*, a *booklet*, and a *book*. These all have to do with the study which they have made during the year."

(36) Effective Municipal Citizenship Course at Toledo University

This is the title of a mimeographed statement from which the following paragraphs are taken:

"The objective in Effective Municipal Citizenship in Toledo University is, first, to teach the three political processes of policy determination at the ballot box, policy determination in a deliberative assembly, and policy administration; second, to teach certain techniques of value to an urban citizen such as group leadership, political research and political analysis.

"The laboratory study of politics consists in assigning each *student* to a *separate precinct* and requiring him to make a detailed analysis of the formal *election machinery*, the *ward*, and *precinct campaigning*, and the *organization of* at least one major *political group functioning* in this election. As a quantitative check on the accuracy of this political analysis, each student is required to estimate the vote to be cast in his particular precinct for the candidates for the most important office to be filled by this election (mayor, governor or president). The accuracy of this estimate may raise or lower the final precinct report grade one letter. Two weeks after

election the student hands in a post-mortem analysis of his estimate of the vote. This causes the students to see how much their pre-election thinking was based on objective facts and how much on their own preconceptions, a very stimulating self-analysis.

"After election, four recitations are given to a study of Toledo's *political history* in which *Golden Rule Sam Jones* and *Brand Whitlock* played such important parts. This brief historical review provides not only a sound historical approach to current problems; it also provides a splendid example of personified idealism by showing how one man, Samuel M. Jones, was able to count so mightily in the political evolution of his city.

"Administration is studied the second semester. This laboratory work consists of an intensive study by each *student* of some *narrow phase* of Toledo's *administrative system*, no two students having the same assignment. There are four steps to this work. First comes the *assignment of topics* in which *the student is given his own choice* as far as possible except that the best students are always assigned to the more important offices. If student 'A' is assigned to the Bureau of Sanitation he must prepare a working bibliography on Health administration in general and sanitation in particular. When this is approved he must then prepare a 'library report' on the purpose and procedure of a bureau of sanitation, its relation to other administrative units and some questions the student will ask the head of the Toledo bureau of sanitation when he interviews that official. This material is all to be obtained from library sources either in the university or the public library or in the municipal reference bureau in the city hall.

"When this report is approved the student goes to the Bureau of Sanitation and interviews as many persons as are necessary for him to write up a final administration report on its organization, its detailed procedure, its history and a comparison of the working of this bureau in Toledo with that in other cities.

"The study of policy determination in a deliberative assembly is made from time to time throughout the year. This leisurely study is possible because the class itself constitutes the deliberative assembly and, therefore, is available whenever needed. The technical basis of this study is parliamentary procedure, and it has been found that by our rapid method of instruction, students can be taught all

the parliamentary procedure they need to know and can be given ample drill as chairman or floor leader in ten or twelve recitation periods and with very little outside study. Because of the small amount of outside study required for this '*group-leadership*' training, it is scheduled for the *recitation periods* when the outside work on the *precinct report and the administration report* is heaviest.

"All text work and outside laboratory work ends May first.

"From that time to the end of the semester each section is organized as a charter convention to improve the charter of the city of Toledo. The students elect their own *speaker, clerk, rules committee, city manager committee*, etc., using a different method of voting for each office and committee so as to try out all the *methods of election studied in the text*. All charter amendment proposals have two readings. Every member of the class is on one or more committees and must actively participate in the work of the convention. The instructor sits in the back of the room grading the students on their actual participation in the sessions.

"The chief purpose of this charter convention at the end of the course is to integrate the several phases of the course into a working technique for Effective Municipal Citizenship.

"The specific value of such a course cannot be tested in a year or two because the college graduate is, after all, just a *new born babe* in the field of political *citizenship*. However, some studies have been made as to the political activity of persons who have had this course that prove a definite increase in the urge to effective citizenship."

In reply to my questions as to criticism of his work by the adult community, I quote these extracts from the teacher's letter to me of March 2, 1935:

"My students' precinct report work does not arouse any real criticism because it is absolutely free from political purpose. So long as I am only a teacher of citizenship and the precinct laboratory work is simply pure observation to see how it is done, the community supports this work as fine citizenship education. But, of course, the moment I become a reformer and use my influence to advance my side in a specific campaign I get an *avalanche* of criticism.

"You cannot have your cake and eat it, too! I *am not* even free

to publicize some of the liveliest observations of my students, because if I did so, some of the political workers who now talk freely to my students would cease talking so freely to them. As I see it the situation is exactly the same as in Chemistry. The instructor in beginning Chemistry does not attempt to use his beginning students to do chemical research. Nor is it the business of the instructor in Chemistry to become vituperative about the armament industry when he discusses the nitrogen compounds. In citizenship teaching we need more science and less 'wishful thinking,' more cold intellectual insight into what is and less emotional transfer about what ought to be. The preference for good government is almost universal with students. What are lacking are the techniques and facts necessary for the effective citizenship that really achieves good government."

As early as 1931 we have this description by an educational writer of the study of New York State public service at Albany:

(37) College Students Meet Face to Face Some of
Our Civic Employees

"Nearness, rather than distance, seems to lend enchantment to the view of political careers, in the eyes of college students. Union College students, for example, studying government service at Albany, are finding it far more upright and efficient than they had expected, President Dixon Ryan Fox reports.

"'Our classes go in buses for instruction in the State Office Building; State Officials in turn come to our classrooms; in the Summer our abler students in this field serve as internes, as observing helpers, in the offices,' says Dr. Fox. 'It is encouraging to read in their detailed reports that they find the civil service workers all about them are more *punctual*, *honest* and competent than public prejudice would suppose. Spurred by this experience, a number have elected to go into *public service* either directly on graduation or after special university training.'"

Citizenship Study in Syracuse University

Since 1924 there has been in process The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs in Syracuse University.

"Each year a special group of some fifteen graduates from

different colleges is selected for a two year course in governmental administration. Fellowships and scholarships are provided for these students who get a degree of Master of Arts at the end of the course. During the Summer between the first year and second year the students are put in temporary jobs in government offices and research agencies to gain a first-hand insight of the problems to be encountered in them. The second year the students are permitted to concentrate their studies in various fields of government service. Considerable attention is given to the complex relationship among Federal, State and Local Governments."

(38) One Hundred and Thirty Colleges and Universities
Give Courses in Public Administration

In the *New York Times*, February 6, 1938, Charles S. Ascher of the Social Science Research Council begins a discussion of this problem thus:

"More than 130 American colleges and universities are this year giving courses in public administration. Sixty of them profess to offer comprehensive programs of educational preparation for public administration.

"Of these courses one-half have been instituted in the last four years, three-quarters in the last ten years, according to a list appearing in the forthcoming Municipal Yearbook for 1938, published by the International City Managers' Association of Chicago.

"What is this new interest that is sweeping the campuses? Is it a fad? Are there jobs waiting for the graduates of these courses?

"What are the answers to these questions?"

(39) Collegians at Capital—Undergraduates in Political Science
Will View the Government in Action

From an article, with the above headline, in the *New York Times*, May 22, 1936, signed by Oliver McKee, Jr., I quote the following passages:

"Presidents of American colleges have been invited to send some sixty students to Washington on March 29 for a seven-day inspection of Federal activities under plans announced recently by the National Institute of Public Affairs. The date chosen coincides

either with the Spring vacation or 'reading periods' on most Eastern campuses.

"The students will be picked from classes in government and political science. In several universities, competition will govern the selections, with the assignment going to those who by their outside reading, their classroom records, and their keen interest in government seem most likely to profit from an opportunity to survey the New Deal in action.

"Other college groups have blazed the trail for these undergraduates. A number of Colgate and Wesleyan students came several weeks ago to watch the wheels of government go round and to supplement—and perhaps correct—theories of their textbooks. Brooklyn College this Winter sent down a much larger group on substantially the same mission. Yale and Princeton led the way last year, when about a dozen undergraduates from each college, on separate expeditions, visited Washington under the supervision of their instructors to study Federal operations at first hand. Both Yale and Princeton will again be represented this year.

"The program for this year's group will be limited to four or five major appointments a day. This restriction is intended to place each event in the day's calendar in more vivid focus and prevent the kaleidoscopic impressions that inevitably result from too swift a journey through the Federal agencies.

"With several hundred departments, bureaus, commissions and alphabetical agencies in operation, it is obviously impossible for the undergraduate to thread the full maze of Washington in a week. So this Spring selectivity will be the order.

"Four types of 'instruction' await the undergraduates. The first is attendance on 'sessions.' This includes a few hours in the Senate and House galleries, a peep at a Congressional committee in action, a visit to a hearing conducted by a quasi-judicial body, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission, and on Monday, 'opinion day,' a visit to the Supreme Court.

"The second part of the program will include appointments with a dozen or more high public officials, such as Cabinet officers, assistant secretaries, administrators and bureau chiefs. Flanked by a dozen undergraduates, ready to fire a barrage of questions, the Fed-

eral official will explain the work of his unit and what it is trying to accomplish. The undergraduate groups will also pay visits to the headquarters of the 'public opinion' groups—the Democratic and Republican National Committees, the American Liberty League, the American Federation of Labor, the farm organizations and the American Legion.

"The third phase of the educational tour concerns the informal supper meetings. Here, in groups of a dozen or so, the undergraduates each evening will have as their supper guest a public official or some one else qualified to speak with authority on a particular phase of government activity.

"A seminar, conducted realistically by the faculty group leaders, will constitute the final part of the program.

"Although the undergraduate, fresh from the campus, finds the whole Washington scene of interest, certain things seem to have excited greater curiosity than others. Previous groups have been particularly interested in the work of Congressional committees, in the lack of closure in the Senate, in the foreign trade efforts of the government, in agencies dealing with monetary matters and in the practical problems involved in carrying out such legislative experiments as the Social Security Act.

"The undergraduate of 1936 is far more interested in the practical problems of government than was his predecessor of ten or twenty years ago. It is to meet his interest and to make the visits of college students as profitable as possible that the National Institute of Public Affairs has arranged to have the 100 seniors visit Washington this Spring. If the interest continues, a week in the Washington 'laboratory' will no doubt become an annual fixture on the calendar of many college classes in government. Next year the quota may be increased to 200 or 300.

"For 1936-37 the National Institute of Public Affairs will offer thirty appointments as Federal 'internes' as part of its program to increase interest among American youth and to develop higher standards in public administration.

"These appointments, made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, will provide young men with experience as unsalaried full-time assistants to Federal officials."

(40) Colgate Students Study Legislative Process as
Assistants to Congressmen

From the *New York Times* of September 28, 1942, I cite these paragraphs:

"The course and seminar in 'Legislative Process' will emphasize the organization and work of Congress, its committees, leaders, methods, and techniques. Study will be made also of lobbies and pressure groups whose activities are meant to influence Congress. Some of the techniques used by former Colgate groups in studying political control will be continued with the men attending meetings of Congress, interviewing its members, and sitting in on conferences and committee meetings. Each man will also work for at least three weeks in the office of a Congress member.

"As in past years, the men's work in public administration will take them into the offices of the principal bureaus, agencies and commissions for first-hand observations, interviews and conferences. Each man will be responsible for covering thoroughly during the semester the workings of two agencies and report back to other members of the group in the seminar sessions.

"Since Congress will be in action during most of the time the Colgate men are in Washington, Dr. Jacobsen also hopes that the period each student spends in the office of a Congressman as an unofficial assistant can be lengthened. In the past *each student has spent about three weeks working with a Congressman, frequently his own, as research assistant and general errand boy, the object being to give the student better understanding of the duties and problems of Congressmen.*"

(41) Induction to the Electorate of Citizens Who Become
Twenty-One During the Year

Of this project for the special education of youth in citizenship and of their induction into the electorate, Prof. Richard C. Wilson of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, in *American City*, March, 1939, writes in part as follows:

"A plan of adult citizenship training and new voter induction, inaugurated at Manitowoc, Wis., through its vocational school, is

being coordinated into a state-wide program by the University of Wisconsin Extension Division.

"This adult citizenship education is carried out through a series of forum meetings in each town, village and city ward of the county. The new voters, young men and women who have come of age during the year, participate in the forums in their home communities. These young voters conduct the forums themselves, under the leadership of specially trained leaders. The forums, based on local and county government, are intended to acquaint the new voters (and others) with the set-up of their government—as to which officials are elected and which ones are appointed, their duties and places in the lives of the citizenry. The forum leaders—social science teachers, civic leaders, governmental heads, business and professional people—will encourage and stimulate discussions and questions by the young voters without partisan prejudice or an effort to restrain the expression of their viewpoints.

"This plan of adult citizenship training and new voter induction aims to help toward:

1. Creating a sense of duty and responsibility that accompanies the rights of American citizenship.
2. Giving to the entire citizenry a clearer appreciation of its duties, responsibilities and obligations.
3. Developing a clearer understanding of the relation of local government to the state and nation.
4. Assisting in creating a higher degree of community spirit.
5. Counteracting unwholesome negative propaganda by generating an intelligent and creative participating citizenry.

"Many communities outside Wisconsin have indicated their intention to conduct programs of citizenship training and new voter induction, patterned after the Manitowoc plan. The University of Wisconsin Extension Division is assisting them in perfecting the organization necessary for setting up the program."

A later account in *Newsweek*, May 29, 1939, describes the "Coming of Age Pageant" thus:

"A native American's advance to the full rights of citizenship is as automatic as time. He reaches his 21st birthday and willy

nilly becomes a full-fledged voter, duty-bound to help govern his city, county, state and nation. He needn't even take the simple oath of allegiance demanded of naturalized citizens. Five months ago lecturing before an adult extension class at Manitowoc, Dr. R. J. Colbert of the University of Wisconsin suggested that Americans could take a hint from the dictators' success with pageantry and that youth would appreciate some sort of coming of age ceremony. The spark caught. Throughout Manitowoc County 350 21-year-olds soon began studying government, civics, and current events, preparing for their day of initiation into the electorate.

"Last Sunday the county staged its citizenship show, and a coast-to-coast N B C network flashed it throughout the nation. A parade of floats, clubmen, bands and the 350 filed through the town to Lincoln High School Bowl, where a chorus opened festivities with the hymn 'Thanks Be To God.' 'The Stars and Stripes' rode up the flagpole as a Marine Band played 'America' and everybody sang.

"Chief Justice Marvin B. Rosenberry of the State Supreme Court administered the oath to the massed 350. 'I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Wisconsin.' Then George P. Hombrecht, State Adult Education Director, handed out certificates of citizenship. Manitowoc's idea is already spreading elsewhere, May 16th Wisconsin Legislature ordered all 71 of the State's counties to observe Citizenship Day in 1940."

Of this spreading process we have further information by Jay Elmer Morgan, Editor of the *Journal of the National Education Association*, in the December, 1939, issue of the *Journal*. In this article we are told that Hugh S. Bowar, Superintendent of Schools in Manitowoc, Wis., has been appointed Chairman of a Committee on Induction into Citizenship by the President of the National Education Association.

We are also told by Mr. Morgan that the movement already has made some headway in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana and Alabama.

Likewise in the December, 1939, *Journal of the National Education Association* there are two further articles on the movement, one by Clarence Dykstra, President of Wisconsin University, on

"The Challenge of the Hard Road"; and a second by Hugh S. Bowar, above named, on "Citizenship Recognition Day—A Project in Maintaining the Democratic Form of Government."

(42) A Junior Municipality of "Adult-Minors" Is Training Youth for Citizenship in Cortland County, N. Y.

This Municipality is an outgrowth of the work done by William R. (Daddy) George in the George Junior Republic at Freeville, N. Y. It is authoritatively described as follows:

"A municipality for Junior citizens reproducing the senior municipality, having its own charter and officials, with a recognized citizenry known as *adult-minors*, and duties assigned and carried out by the junior citizens, constitutes a practical experiment in citizenship training being carried on in upper New York State, in the Finger Lakes region. The Junior Municipality starting in Cortland, N. Y., is spreading to other near-by places. With the cooperation of the School of Citizenship of Syracuse University and Cornell University, the plan adapted to city, village, township, or county may extend to an area of eight counties.

"Adult-minors is the designation officially bestowed upon the young citizens sixteen to twenty-one years of age, who constitute the membership of the Junior Municipality. They cooperate with the senior local government and carry through their activities not theoretically but as practical responsibilities. They are authorized to assist the police in such responsibilities as traffic duty, in recovery of stolen property, of policing public meetings. The activities of those adult-minors assigned to police duty are recorded at the city police department. The adult-minor health department is active in the county health program and assists in the health education program in the city and county. They have investigated and obtained data bearing on the conditions of the municipal skating rink and made recommendations to the senior City Council. In Homer, N. Y., the adult-minor village board assumed total responsibility for administering a four-day celebration in honor of the Centennial year of the village. The senior board mentioned this action and cooperated with the young officials.

"The Cortland Junior Municipality is developed and sustained by youth with one adult director. Organized early in 1933, under

the sponsorship of city officials, civic leaders, and young people of Cortland, adult-minors organized their citizens into six wards for party and municipal action. A Census Committee was appointed in each ward to find the number of persons between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. Ward leaders were named. The group selected party candidates for election to the committee of twelve (two from each ward) to draft a Junior Charter. To elect this charter committee, adult-minors held a charter convention in July. Until the end of September the charter committee met weekly or bi-weekly to search the city charter and adapt the provisions suiting their needs.

"On primary day a referendum was taken on the Junior Charter. Municipal officials were elected one week later. The senior judge administered the oath of office to the young officials at the inaugural ceremony. Practically the only adult assistance came from the director of the Junior Municipality.

"The Junior Municipality duplicates in practically all respects that of the senior government. The Common Council meets twice a month; the Board of Health, Board of Public Works, and Board of Education, once each month. The Police Department meets once a week. By authority of the Common Council of Cortland, the attendance of adult-minor officials in that city at meetings of their respective board or departments, is required and is a matter of record. The work has the endorsement of the Cortland senior city officials and the Assistant Commissioner of Extension Education of the State Department of Education.

"Three hundred and fifty young people assumed some degree of responsibility in the Junior Municipality program during a fifteen-month period. Twenty-five generally attended the ward meetings; one hundred, the charter convention; fifteen, the charter council meetings. One hundred and fifteen young people voted for the charter referendum, and two hundred in the election of officials. Three hundred adults and minor-adults attended the inaugural ceremony.

"While carrying on their various activities the young citizens are studying and educating themselves in the affairs of the city government. Through their own chamberlain they receive information on the financial conditions of the city. They have access

to municipal and village departments, records, and statistics. They have an Educational Research Board which studies problems of city government and their own problems of function."

The foregoing description was taken from a typewritten paper by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

(43) A Survey of Inter-American Cultural Activities

A report published by the International Committee of the United States of America on International Intellectual Cooperation, September, 1939, lists, on pages 44-53, the names, addresses and purposes of seventeen groups in the United States that already had definite programs for the promotion of better understanding and co-operation among peoples of different nations. Among these are the International Houses in New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Berkeley, Calif., and Cleveland, Ohio. In the International Houses, students from different nations lived in social and intellectual intimacy.

Other Young Organizations cited are:

The National Student Federation of America, 1410 11th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., whose purpose is: "Student government organization, World understanding among students and good citizenship." Membership, 200,000.

International Friendship League, 41 Mt. Vernon Street, Beacon Hill, Boston, Mass., whose purpose is: "To promote better understanding among youth of all nations through correspondence and travel." Membership, "Youth in all nations."

International Students Society, Vancouver, Washington, whose purpose is: "The improvement of cultural relations between all nations and the promotion of international friendship and good will. Members in 120 countries."

National Bureau of International Correspondence, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee. Purpose: "To organize an education letter exchange (bilingual) between American pupils—ages 12-20 and French, German and Spanish speaking pupils of similar age and interests." Members in United States, Latin America and Europe.

The American Junior Red Cross with a membership of

8,000,000. The Boy Scouts of America, the Girls Scouts, and the Camp Fire Girls are also included in the groups of youth before cited.

All of these youth groups included in their activities the promotion of international friendliness.

Although I cannot here give details as to the continuance during the war of the various activities of the agencies named above, it would be of value to each reader to study the present status and future plans of as many of them as possible.

(44) I also suggest these further sources of information in three fields: *education; religion; government.*

For example, in the field of *education* we find such suggestions for further study as these:

One. With the close of the war the U. S. Office of Education resumes publication of *School Life*, its regular monthly journal for the past quarter century.

The emergency biweekly, *Education for Victory*, endeavored to serve for its more than three years "as a courier, a swift and dependable messenger" in the far-reaching wartime areas of educational needs. We trust that its plain and crowded pages brought to educational leaders timely and helpful information which served widely during the tense and difficult days of World War II. *The issue dated June 20, 1945 (Vol. 3, No. 24)* closed publication of that periodical. Among the articles cited in the Tables of Contents of succeeding issues of *Education for Victory* are these:

International Understanding: Dec. 4, 1944, pp. 3-6.

Building World Friendship Through School Correspondence: Dec. 4, 1944, p. 18.

Inter-American Educational Relations: Jan. 3, 1945, pp. 21-23; Jan. 20, 1945, pp. 19-21; Feb. 20, 1945, p. 13; Mar. 20, 1945, pp. 13-15; May 21, 1945, pp. 7-8.

Why Education for Inter-American Understanding?: June 4, 1945, pp. 1-4.

Two. Pan-American club activities. See *School Life*, Oct. 1945, from which the following is quoted:

"An analysis of reports received during the summer by the Division of Inter-American Education Relations, U. S. Office of Education, from sponsors and student officers of hundreds of Pan-American clubs in every State in the Union, shows many new developments in activities during the past year.

"An increasing number of Pan-American clubs in high schools are establishing scholarship funds to enable members to spend a part of their college life in study in one of the other American republics. Such planning by the students indicates serious purpose and intention to obtain firsthand knowledge of their neighbors to the south by residence among them, and is a logical development following the preference expressed by high school students generally in a recent poll of the Institute of Student Opinion. Replying to the question, 'If, upon graduation from high school, you could have a travel scholarship or be an "exchange student" in another country for a year after the war, which of the following would you choose?', more than one-fourth chose a South American country or Mexico.

"Another development rather widespread during the past school year, is the observance of Pan-American Week in April rather than of a single Pan-American Day. Much original material and new ideas for school assembly programs, exhibits, and community projects have been produced. Thus more students, teachers, and parents have co-operated in learning about the people of the Western Hemisphere for the purpose of understanding them better.

"A third development in Pan-American club activities is the increase in the number of exchanges of letters, scrapbooks, flags, pictures, stamps, music and books between groups in the United States and in the other American republics."

Three. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. This is a new project in education. Its beginning and purpose as a world organization for educating citizens are described in a six-page article in *School Life*, Feb. 1946. This introductory article begins as follows:

"Representatives of 44 countries met in London from November 1-16, 1945, to write a constitution for a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. The following com-

ments on this Conference and its outcomes were written by Harold Benjamin, Director, Division of International Educational Relations, U. S. Office of Education, who served as technical expert of the United States Delegation to the London meeting.

"More than the United Nations need guns and cruisers, more than they need airplanes and bombs, they need the materials of more perfect union. Such materials are not matters of flame and steel; they are instead products of the mind and spirit. It is here that UNESCO is designed to operate."

I recommend that the article following this introduction should be read and followed up by teachers. Later issues of the U. S. Office of Education's *School Life* and of the National Education Association's *Journal* describe developments of the U.N.E.S.C.O. And, of course, I assume that educators of youth in citizenship will also read their local educational publications.

See also No. 65, 26th edition, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, U. S. Superintendent of Documents, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.

In the field of *religion*, I suggest that readers keep in touch with at least these three projects of religion, brotherhood and co-operation.

One. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. This is a federation of twenty-five national religious bodies with an office at 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. The Council publishes the *Weekly Information Service*.

Two. The World Council of Churches, whose publication is the monthly *World Council Courier* and whose office is at 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

From the March, 1946, issue of the *Courier*, I make these citations:

"Twenty-seven denominations in the United States have accepted membership in the World Council which now numbers 92 bodies in 33 countries. . . .

"The first World Assembly of the World Council will meet toward the end of August, 1948, and a theme has been chosen for the assembly—"The Order of God and the Present Disorder of Man." . . .

"The World Council of Churches will join with other international bodies engaged in youth work and is convening a great World Conference of Christian Youth."

Three. A third co-operative religious organization which should be studied has been at work for eighteen years in the United States. It is the National Conference of Christians and Jews. It includes both Protestant and Catholics as well as Jews and has offices in New York, New Haven, Boston, Providence, Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Louis, San Francisco, Dallas, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Birmingham, Miami, Pittsburgh, Houston, and Los Angeles. I cite this statement from its Annual Report of 1945-46:

"This, the 18th year, has been the busiest 12 months in the history of the National Conference. The record adds up to 12,770 meetings of Protestants, Catholics and Jews.

"This year has brought more books on intergroup relations, magazine articles, newspaper columns, radio broadcasts, motion picture references, than in any previous year.

"Conference offices are now functioning in 54 cities. From these centers the NCCJ program radiates to more than 300 Round Tables in as many cities, and to leaders in 3000 communities.

"New offices have been established at the request of community leaders who, in every case, guaranteed financial support both for local and national activities. It has been difficult to secure staff personnel in days of manpower shortage, but capable people have been torn from responsible positions for this urgent work. Now that men and women are returning from war service with wholesome experiences in intergroup relations, more offices will be opened with expert leadership.

"The immediate goal is a NCCJ full-time office in every city of more than 100,000 population.

"The work of NCCJ is directed by a lay board and is carried out by divisional and local offices and three major commissions. A brief resume follows. The chart on Page 6 pictures statistics. No words, no figures, however, can photograph the intangibles and the uncounted by-products of this year's work for human brotherhood.

"To translate this revolutionary idea of democracy among

groups is an educational task of first magnitude. NCCJ works on the principle that it involves three steps:

"1. Each group must become acquainted with the aims and purposes of the other groups.

"2. Members of each group must be made consciously aware that they have some aims in common with all the other groups.

"3. Individuals of each group must develop habits of cooperation with citizens of other groups, on these common aims.

"The variety of ways in which NCCJ has furthered these steps is the story of this year's work."

As a climax to our international co-operation in government, I need only to ask the readers of this book to follow as carefully as possible the work of the United Nations through its Committees and General Assembly. To this end at least these sources of information will be available: personal visits to Committee and Assembly meetings; reports by all forms of the daily and periodical issues of the press; forums; the radio; the movies; and the official reports of United Nations Committees and the Assembly.

Never before has there been such a continuous and world-wide process of developing a consciousness of kind among all the people of this one world as the United Nations is now attempting.

XI

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS IX AND X

THIS SUMMARY has two divisions. In the first, the projects and processes are grouped according to their purposes. In the second, I discuss criticisms of the perspectives set forth in Chapter VIII.

I.

Although the individual projects cited in Chapters IX and X are not separated from each other by hard and fast lines, it is possible to group them under certain headings:

A. Projects for the Study of Civic Services:

In two of these projects, (1) and (2), we study our local civic helpers—firemen, policemen, health doctors, etc.—to find out what *they do* for *us*. In project (2), in addition to study of what firemen do for us, including visits by students to the fire-station, we also see that in fire drills and studies of fire-prevention week we may get at least glimpses of what *we* ourselves can do to co-operate with firemen and others (4). In (3) we may also get glimpses of ourselves as co-operators in the maintenance of our building regulations. In another (6) *we* study *our* schools including the history, processes and present status of education in *our* state.

In (35) and (36) we study local government in two large cities.

B. We Expand the Classroom to Include Life Itself by Visits of Inspection and Excursions:

In one project we are told about visits to the United States Post Office Terminal in our city (11), and to the state capital to see our legislature and supreme court in session (12). In (21), (22), (23), (24) we visit houses in slums, take a thirty-day trip from Kansas as far east as Boston, become aware that *our mother owns a tenement on the east side in New York City*, and ask with machine workers: "Will machines never cease—you feed our bodies, but

our minds?" In (33) we join students of a teachers' college in their local, state and national *excursions*.

C. We Study the Election Processes in Our Democracy:

In (15) we are told of the study of a town primary election in a seventh grade class; also the details of the activities of all the students in a high school as they study and dramatize the primary, the convention, and the election processes of a national election; and finally there is revealed to us the startling fact that even eighth-grade students once yielded to the temptation of stuffing the ballot box in their election of a president for their ninth grade who refused to accept an honor so dishonestly bestowed. Student reasons for honesty and dishonesty in voting and descriptions of cartoons which show student insight into temptations citizens in a democracy must face are also given. In projects (31) and (32) we join the students of a city teachers' college in a study of their election problems.

D. Dramatizations of Civic Processes:

In (8) we are told that high school students visited a local court and dramatized a court trial for larceny. In another a ten-day dramatization of state government by Rhode Island boys and of similar dramatizations by students in other states are mentioned.

E. Youth Participation in the Processes of Democratic Citizenship:

In (7) we are told of student participation in school government, of school co-operation with the village council, and with the home; also we visit community activities and attend school forums in co-operation with speakers from the community. In (25) the mayor hires 16 high school students, and in (27) we see students sitting with town commissioners while the mayor speaks to us.

In (28) we listen to high school students, who are delegates to an annual conference of the National Education Association, as they broadcast their critical opinions of our civic educational processes in schools; and in another annual conference take part in a public forum discussion of controversial questions under the leadership of a normal college teacher of the social sciences who has a national reputation (20). In another project (19) a high school boy tells us of his objections to teachers' oaths which forbid

their state capital and interne as helpers of officials; and in another (39) of students who do the same for Federal officials in Washington.

In one project fifteen selected students from different colleges are given fellowships and scholarships for a two-year course in governmental administration.

In another (38) we are told that one hundred and thirty other colleges and universities give courses in public administration.

In one project (39), we learn that sixty students from different colleges were invited to spend seven days in personal inspection of governmental activities in Washington.

Again in (41) the origin and spread to many states of an annual state induction to the electorate of citizens who became twenty-one during the year is explained.

And in another (42) we are told of active participation by adult-minors in the administration of a New York county.

H. Students Face the Problem of Interracial and International Contacts and Attitudes:

In one project (5) an elementary school's World Friendship Project, as especially applied to the Chinese, is shown to have included correspondence, a play, oriental music and a Good Will Day.

In another (29) we get a glimpse of actual processes in the development of racial understanding and a "consciousness of kind" in a city high school whose students are from many races.

Conclusion:

In short the foregoing summary, and descriptions in Chapters IX and X, of civic projects and processes now current in, or fostered by, our educational institutions show that attempts are now being made from first grade to university to help the youth of our democracy to face, as participating citizens and present or future voters, actual situations in family, community, town, county, state, nation and the world. The great question now is: *How can all this be done most effectively?*

Note: As a supplement to the projects I have described, these three books are recommended: William R. (Daddy) George, *The Adult Minor* (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937); Paul R. Hanna, *Youth Serves the Community* (D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936);

L. J. O'Rourke, *You and Your Community* (D. C. Heath & Co., 1938).

II.

This second division discusses comment and correspondence on the perspectives of Chapter VIII. At the outset I would remind the reader that for my own comments, whether of approval or disapproval of the projects and processes, and of the evaluations thereof by teachers, students and others, the criteria may be found or implied in my "Assumptions and Teaching Principles" as described in Chapter VIII.

For example my approving comment at the close of the first project is based upon the fact that the project breathes the spirit of Assumption No. 3 and "gives many suggestions of definite beginnings in first grade pupils of the *we* feeling with their 'town helpers' whose services they study."

In short in the teacher's comment on her projects there is definite harmony with the spirit of Assumption No. 3 which reads: "*Conscious participation* in some of the functions, processes, of a civic unit is essential to an effective process of learning to be an intelligent and constructive citizen and voter in that unit."

In the second project (2), the teacher's reply to my question as to the degree of realization by the students "that indirectly by payment of taxes *we* pay our firemen for serving us" reminded me definitely of the basic fact that the degree of a student's understanding of and participation in the complete functions of any civic unit *depends upon his degree of maturity*. The teacher's challenge is: "The children are quite young to realize what taxes mean."

Whether or not this teacher's opinion is sound respecting second grade pupils, no teacher, in the light of my Assumptions and Teaching Principles, should fail to help develop in students, to the highest degree that their maturity permits, this consciousness of their own personal inclusion in the actual civic functions and processes that are being studied. My belief in the truth of this statement led directly to my critical but unrecorded mental comment in respect to several of the projects I have described, and to its

inclusion in my report on the fourth project (4) (for a fifth grade) as follows:

"I see no trace in this statement of an attempt to make these pupils conscious of their own place (in this complete circular civic process from ourselves to ourselves) either as citizens and prospective voters, or as tax and water rate payers."

The use of this principle also led in the fifth project cited (5) to my comment: "A good example of growth in consciousness of kind as a basis for international cooperation."

The above belief of mine also in the ninth project (9) led to my comment: "During the whole hour the *we* stake and responsibility for right thinking and action were dominant. It was not proselytizing or indoctrination. It was: '*What is the issue? How does it affect all of us? What can and ought we to do about it?*'"

Further in this same connection, it is encouraging in the eleventh project (11) to read from the teacher's comment this statement about the visible influence of the process used upon the civic activities of students: "In all class discussions, and especially those following our industrial trips, the fact is emphasized that the public is responsible for what goes on in business and in politics. We try to give these pupils actual practice in putting into effect what they learn by the part they take in student activities and government. We are beginning to get better qualified leaders in the boys' and girls' clubs and in the student representative groups."

Other projects will urge upon the reader the questions as to what the *civic machinery*, the *technique*, is which must be used by citizens and voters in our democracy in order to put into practical effect our plans and ideals for a most just, effective and abundant life for all of the citizens in our town, county, state and nation. It was the urgency of this need of all of our citizens that led me to such questions as are given and implied in my comments on elections. *In order to help teachers and students to find and to use for better citizenship in their own communities the answers to such questions, I believe that there is great possibility in many towns of co-operation between schools and the local League of Women Voters.* For example, in my town of Montclair, N. J., the League of Women Voters has recently made a study entitled "*Know Your Town*" which was published in a sixty-two-page booklet. The head-

ings of the ten articles are as follows: "1. History and Population; 2. Local Government; 3. Streets, Transportation, Public Utilities; 4. Education; 5. Public Health; 6. Public Welfare; 7. Industry and Workers; 8. Housing and Living Costs; 9. Courts and Juries."

Later, in October, 1940, the League published a sixty-three-page pamphlet on "Know Your County—A Survey of Essex County." The chapter headings of this pamphlet are: "County Government in Your State; Overhead Functions, Public Welfare, Public Health and Sanitation, Education, Public Works, County Boards and Commissions, Administration of Justice. Other Important Functions, Including a description of Political Organizations and Elections."

Of the value of these two publications to the local schools, A. L. Threlkeld, Superintendent of Schools in Montclair, wrote the League: "Your new publication, 'Know Your County,' will serve a definitely felt need in the schools for information about our county government just as your publication, 'Know Your Town,' [does] with reference to its field."

Also Lawrence S. Chase, County Superintendent of Schools, wrote the League: "I am of the opinion that there is need for such a publication as 'Know Your County' because there is altogether too little known about the machinery of the organization of our County of Essex. The Schools have comparatively little material dealing with Essex County and yet it is developing complicated machinery of government and there is a large population to be served. In my opinion, our schools could well make use of a monograph such as you are publishing."

To which opinions of our town and county superintendents of schools I add my personal opinion that I believe that such reports of town and county government as these two would not only be of great value to junior and senior high school students who are studying the processes of adult citizens and voters in our democracy, but also that such students could be of great help to any other local league of women voters who are engaged in making or revising a similar study in the town where such students live.

In this connection, in respect to the problem of how to become intelligent and effective citizens and voters in a democracy, even if the preference for good government is already present with students

as claimed, we repeat here the statement made by Professor Jones of Toledo University in respect to project (36): "In citizenship teaching we need more science and less 'wishful thinking,' more cold intellectual insight into what is and less emotional transfer about what ought to be. The preference for good government is almost universal with students. *What are lacking are the techniques and facts necessary for the effective citizenship that really achieves good government.*" * [Italics mine.]

There follow two criticisms of my assumptions. The first is a trenchant criticism of my fundamental but tacit assumption that citizenship can be taught, on which assumption my whole correspondence with teachers about their projects and processes for such education was based.

This criticism is expressed in a letter from William L. Wrinkle, Director of the Elementary School, Colorado State Teachers College, Greeley, Colo., dated March 5, 1934, from which I quote these passages:

"In the first place, teaching constructive citizenship is not altogether a compatible combination of words. I am skeptical of the teaching of citizenship. Citizenship is not a product of teaching. It is a product of living. The teacher may direct student life. If you define teaching that way, then it is all right; but if you think of citizenship as the outgrowth of typical textbook instruction I am afraid we are working under a delusion. Fundamentally the program of citizenship education would be a program for the socialization of the student. Generally this is conducted through an extra-curricular program which is not ordinarily dignified as curricular activities are dignified. The socialization program ordinarily must be recognized as an integral part of the program of the school. Another avenue to development of constructive citizenship is through the developing of an attitude on the part of the student relative to his responsibilities to the school and to his social group. Our students discuss these matters.

"Thursday in advisory groups they discuss the responsibility of the student for the misconduct of other students in the school and

* See also (30) and (43) for references to the Springfield Plan and to a Survey of Inter-American Cultural Activities and (44) for further sources of information in three fields: education, religion, and government.

what each student might do to improve the school life. The responsibility of constructive citizenship is an integrated responsibility. It is not an outcome of instruction in the social studies exclusively or the so-called extra-curricular activities exclusively but rather should be a fundamental objective toward which all instruction and all aspects of the program of the school should be directed."

My comment on this letter follows:

This letter is helpful, not only because it questions the possibility of developing a power of constructive citizenship in youth by mere textbook teaching, but also because it again reminds us that our educational prophets, Colonel Parker and John Dewey, taught us to conceive *all education* as life itself, of which *education in citizenship* is surely a vital part in our democracy. Even if citizenship cannot be taught from a textbook, education in citizenship can go on progressively in the classroom and in connection with all the other school situations which students have to meet. Character is developed by meeting each situation in such a way that the welfare of all the persons involved is promoted.

In this connection the letter above quoted suggests another question, which hitherto has not been specifically mentioned in this book, namely: *What should determine the form of government for students to use in schools, sports, clubs, etc.?*

I remember that in the nineties, when we began to encourage student participation in government in the Hyde Park High School, Chicago, we adopted the lawmaking procedure of the national House of Representatives and Senate. Each room sent one or more delegates to a House of Representatives, and a Senator to the Senate. Both House and Senate had to pass upon any law to define permanent, or merely temporary forms of student activity, whether entirely within the school or in co-operative projects with other schools in athletics, essay contests, oratorical contests, etc. The result was that the process of getting a decision made not only by the House or Senate by itself but also by both House and Senate involved so much time and red tape that the final effect upon the students was to discourage student action and participation. We did not then clearly see that to get effective social action the *form* of the *machinery used*, the *citizenship* technique, ought to be wholly determined by the *function* it is to perform.

In short, as in the industrial world our inventors are constantly trying to produce tools and machines that will most effectively produce certain material goods, so in our social efforts to secure student participation in school and other units of student activities in government, we must also try our best to invent and to use a form of citizenship machinery that is best adapted to produce the particular collective action desired in each situation. And let no reader fail to see that the adoption of the above principle still permits students to dramatize in detail any adult civic procedure of town, county, state, nation or world when the object of such dramatization is to get more vivid and complete understanding of what that adult civic procedure of itself really is—not that this procedure shall be habitually used in most totally different social situations faced by the students in school, club, recreation, etc. In short, dramatization must be inherently worthwhile but we must also let the purpose of each social and civic situation facing students in school, club, recreation, etc., determine its own social and civic process or machinery.

The second criticism came from Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Bureau of Educational Experiments, Cooperative School for Student Teachers, 69 Bank Street, New York City. Mrs. Mitchell, who is author of "Social Studies and Geography," in the Jan.-Feb., 1934, *Progressive Education*, and also of the books *Skyscraper* and *North America*, had been invited to the first conference to discuss my assumptions and teaching principles, but could not attend. The results of this Conference have been reported in Chapter VIII. Her letter of April 11, 1934, reads as follows:

"I am returning to you the manuscript which you were good enough to send me. I cannot get my mind to working quite your way. That may be because I have worked so much more with younger children than with the age which you have dealt with. I am afraid I shall not be of much use to you. I am sorry!"

As my reply to Mrs. Mitchell of April 28, 1934, discusses some possible relations of such civic teaching as I have in mind to other phases of Special Studies in the Schools, I give most of it here. (The summary was made by me, but all the passages quoted are from the article named.) It is essential that teachers persistently study the questions at issue.

"Your statement that you cannot get your mind to working quite in my way leads me to try to see where our mental paths diverge. When first I read your article on 'Social Studies and Geography' in the January-February, 1934, *Progressive Education*, I said to myself with a thrill, 'Here is a woman who is not far from my pedagogical Kingdom of Heaven. What lacks she yet?' Now your letter comes and I ask myself, 'Have I in fact any pedagogical "Kingdom of Heaven"?"

"As I understand your thinking in the article above mentioned you have, among other matters, at least these opinions and questions in mind:

"1. The need for 'getting into contact with factual data.'

"2. What data? And in partial answer you say: 'We should like to understand the groups of which we are members, and all the groups of the other fellows and all the interrelations between the groups.'

"3. How study the data?

"4. How to avoid getting our lives stuck in primary and class groups?

"5. 'We have made progress in understanding the other fellow's basic needs in these groups for they are the same as ours.'

"6. 'With the beginnings of adolescence the experimentation has grown faint-hearted and the thinking less organized.'

"7. 'Every place is geographical and nowhere does work take place in a vacuum.'

"8. 'Any genuine exploration by any children of how they get their food, how their homes function, which means water, light, heat, as well as food and beds, leads directly to other parts of the world and to other workers.'

"9. 'When they begin to scrutinize their childhood groups, when they begin emotionally to climb out of the family group and emotionally to ally themselves with other or larger environmental groups which they have found more or less for themselves instead of accepting them as part of the protecting family or school circle, when the other fellow becomes terribly important and they long to see behind his eyes—then new environmental forces are at work and the curriculum must do something about it.'

"10. 'But what? It is here that our curriculum experimentation has practically stopped, but need it?'

"From here you project paths into first-hand experience with other geographical, social, racial, cultural and historic groups.

"Now I find myself going along with you enthusiastically in practically all of this but I find myself asking these further questions:

"A. Do we not also all live in, and are we not all members of these secondary groups, namely the several civic groups such as village, town, city, county, state, nation, etc. (suggested by 2 above).

"B. Do we not also need to get and study factual data about the membership and functions of these groups? (Suggested by 1, 2, and 3 above.)

"C. Does not the exploration respecting water, light, health, schooling, fire-protection, roads, etc., etc., lead just as naturally to the need for understanding the functions of the civic groups in which we live and move and have our actual being, as such exploration leads to the need for understanding other lands and other peoples.

"D. Are not civic groups also some of these 'larger environmental groups' in which 'the other fellow becomes terribly important'? (Suggested by 9 above.)

"E. In line with A, B, C, D, above and also suggested by 10 above., I ask, must we stop in our experimentation without the most earnest and prolonged effort to find ways to study our civic processes as *our* processes, not merely processes of some *other* geographical, racial, historical groups, but as *our own vital processes—here and now—where and when we live?*

"Do not our present civic studies mostly fall into one of two kinds:

"A. Those that are characteristically formal, informational, and descriptive studies of the mere anatomy of constitutions and of laws—in fact of the mere structure and machinery of government?

"B. Studies of civic functions and processes as performed by *somebody else, somewhere else* with very little realization by us

as student citizens of our own personal stake and responsibility therein?

"My drive comes from the great fact that we do not yet have and are not getting citizens who habitually act socially, outside their primary groups, while our very civilization depends upon getting *citizens who intelligently and persistently act socially in all these secondary and civic groups*. Many of our prominent citizens evade taxes, exploit and steal from members of the secondary groups of town, city, state, nation, etc., to enrich themselves and pander to the approval of the other members of their primary groups of home, club, clan, etc.

"People like you who can make geography and history, and interracial studies vivid and educative are the very ones who can best evolve the classroom procedure and direct outside contact that will help *us* as youthful citizens to realize *who* the other members of our civic groups are, where *we* live, what functions *we* perform together that are vital to the lives of *us* all, *how we now* perform these functions, *how they used to be performed* and *what possible betterment we can bring to their performance*.

"In short, as I see it, our minds go along the same or converging paths up to the point where you ask 'What data do we want to study?' Then you think, among other things, of geographical data, historical data, various forms of inter-group data, regional, social and cultural data, etc. I am thinking of a sample or samples of our own citizen group data, from the smallest local civic group to the largest inter-national grouping whose actual functions affect the lives of all of us for good or ill. I also think of each unit of our civic life as having its own geographical, economic, historical and complex racial and social setting."

See Appendix D for opinions about participation in, and dramatization of, citizenship processes by youth.

See Appendix E for illustrations of, and opinions about, the promotion of interracial and international understanding.

XII

THE GIST OF THE BOOK

1. THE EVIDENCE that I have cited in Chapter II shows that after 1861 there was developing here and there among our textbook writers and in some schools, more scientific, direct and vital processes in attempts to teach civics than by focusing the attention of students exclusively upon the anatomy of constitutions and upon the static structure of government.

2. In Chapter III is evidence that late in the nineteenth century the methods used by teachers of the natural sciences, and the germinal ideas and words of social and educational prophets of that day had begun to take effect among teachers of economics and of civics. These methods and ideals are still at work and persistently challenge us to base our efforts to educate young citizens not merely on the process of teaching them *about* citizenship but more and more on the process of helping them to think and to act—to *live*—citizenship.

3. In Chapters IX and X, I have given, sometimes with my own comment, reports of projects and processes in both living and teaching various phases of citizenship now actually used in different grades of widely separated elementary schools, high schools, colleges and communities. I have also given, especially in the last pages of Chapter X, some further sources of information as to projects and processes that are beginning to develop in communities in the fields of education, religion, and government. These reports show that there is now a rising tide of experimental effort in schools to find and to develop more and more effective processes for use in the education of all our young citizens not only in the principles but in the practice of good citizenship.

4. But from my critical comments upon some of the actual projects and processes reported in Chapters IX and X and also

from such facts and opinions as are cited in Chapters VI and VII, it is clear that, in the actual teaching of our schools as a whole, we are as yet far short of what we ought to be doing to develop really effective citizens for our democracy.

5. The situation we face in the world today makes it more necessary than ever before that all persons who are directly engaged in the process of educating young people in citizenship should have, *and use*, a clear formulation of the essentials of a unit-study process for the education of youth in the opportunities and duties of a citizen in our democracy.

6. In Chapter VIII I have described my own attempt to formulate a statement of such essentials. I have also shown that they were specially able persons who gave their opinions of my formulation.

While every teacher should make his own formulation, and his choice of unit topics, and should adapt his actual methods to the program of the particular school and community in which he teaches, I am firmly convinced by my observation, by discussion both personal and by correspondence, and by my study of educational ideals and methods during the years since my own formulation was made, that in that formulation are at least some suggestions of fundamental principles that must be used in an education of our youth that will develop effective democratic citizenship in them. It was in the light of this formulation as reported in Chapter VIII that I made my critical comments, in Chapters VIII, IX and X, upon some of the specific projects and processes in our schools as they were reported to me.

7. And now it is against the perspective of this formulation of mine that I made unified selections from two summaries that I have recently made:

a. The summary of my comments and criticisms and suggestions based upon the specific projects and processes as I have reported them in Chapter IX.

b. A letter I sent October 29, 1939, to members of the General Report Committee of the 1940 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy.

The gist of these summaries is that at least the following two social principles should be recognized, and habitually used, by parents, teachers and others who are trying to use processes that

will do most to develop children as intelligent, loyal, participating and progressive citizens and voters in a democracy.

The first of these principles is that action by an individual in any group situation, in order to be good democratic-citizenship action, must have much of the quality of *the good act* as defined on page 56 in *Character Education*, the 1932 Year Book of the Department of Superintendence, of the National Education Association, already quoted, namely:

"The good act is one which creates as many and as worthy satisfactions as possible for as many people as possible over as long a time as possible. The rule holds for every race and nation, every age of man. Whether child of three, or maid of twenty or sage of sixty, the good character [which every citizen ought to have and to be] is one who continuously acts in such a way that from his actions flow the results which enrich the living of all those who are affected, over as long a time as the influence of his action may persist."

And the second of the basic principles that every person who is trying to help develop in children the *good character* as above described (that is, trying to develop young citizens who can and will help in our democracy) should always keep in mind is an all-important truth about the *motive* which stimulates the good act, the motive that leads most certainly toward those activities in youthful citizens upon which our democracy depends. This all-important motive, which I have quoted in Chapter III, is described as "consciousness of kind" by the sociologist, Franklin H. Giddings. (For opinions as to the need for consciousness of kind as a motive power for group action in every group from family to world see Appendices E and F.) We again quote these two statements by him:

"The central doctrine of this book is that Consciousness of Kind distinguishes social from non-social phenomena, and is the principal *cause* of social conduct." (See p. ix, *Principles of Sociology*, Third Edition, October, 1896.) And again "The most important claim, then, that I make for the sociological theory, that is here presented, is that fellow-feeling is a cause in social phenomena and that *mutual aid* is an effect." (See p. xi, *Principles of Sociology*, 1897.)

In short, I believe that it should be as clear as crystal to all those adults who are honestly and earnestly trying to help in the development of both young and mature citizens who can and will serve our democracy to the limit of their potential abilities that they must habitually develop in youth a *consciousness of kind* with all the other members of each group as a motive to secure the *good act* by young citizens as they face situations ranging from primary groups such as family, school and club to social, industrial and political situations in secondary groups of community, state, nation and the world.

The essence of such use of the good act as an effect and of consciousness of kind as a *motive* is not to be found in mere goody-goody preaching, in mere memoriter learning and repeating the words of the constitutions and laws of state and nation, in mere recitations from textbooks in civics, in mere salutes to the flag, in mere repetitions of oaths and shibboleths, in propaganda to make more tradition static.

On the contrary, the essence of the use of good citizenship, good character, as *objective*, and consciousness of kind as a *motive*, must be sought and found and habitually used in actual group situations which youth themselves face, and which situations demand of youth alone, or of youth and adults together, individual and group decisions as to what the *good act* in each situation is. In short, the essence of their use is to be found in those actual situations where the group objective is based upon a recognition of *who* the members of the group are, upon decisions both by individuals and by the group as to *what* and *why* the action decided upon *is the good act in that situation*, and where consciousness of kind—a fellow feeling of “being in the same boat” with other members of the group—is used as a motive for individuals to perform the good act.

One of the simplest illustrations of the use of the two principles of the *good act* as an *objective* and of consciousness of kind as a method I once observed in a kindergarten. The teacher and children had just made a group decision to play a certain game which required all of the children in the room first to stand in circle formation; but several children were still obviously playing with their individual toys in different corners of the room. The teacher asked,

"How many of us do we need to play this game?" "Why, all of us," the children in the center shouted; then they hustled into the corners and dragged *every child* into the circle, explaining to each as they did so: "In this game we must all play; you can go back to your toys again in a little while."

Were not these kindergarten children giving proof of the truth that "a little child shall lead them"? I wonder what would begin to happen in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in the Americas, in United Nations, and in our industrial and political groups, if all of us, especially those in industrial, political, military and naval authority would begin honestly and persistently to ask ourselves the question these kindergarten children asked: "How many of us are needed in this game"—this specific situation—to bring peace, establish justice and to secure the highest possible degree of welfare for all the persons and nations involved?

Surely if it be true, as I believe it is, that consciousness of kind, a fellow feeling of identity of interest, among the members of any group tends to help them—sometimes even to force them—to act together, no alert teacher of the social sciences, including of course all of those teachers especially responsible for the education of our youth in what we often call civics, can claim to be pedagogically efficient if he fails to help his students to recognize *who* make up the total membership of each civic group any phase of whose work is under discussion, and what the common stake of all the members of the group is. In short, we must carry our class study of every unit project in the field of citizenship far enough to develop in our students, to the highest degree their maturity makes possible, a *consciousness of kind* with all other members of the civic unit involved, whether town or city, county, state, nation, or even of UN, which is definitely involved.

It is in this respect that many of my early efforts and those of others, to teach "Community Civics," and also of many of the otherwise satisfactory projects in civic experience, adventure and discussion, briefly described in the illustrations of Chapters IX and X, have stopped short of doing all that we ought to do toward a really effective education in character and good citizenship.

This defect in some of the projects and processes I have already

emphasized either in my comment or in my correspondence with the persons reporting these projects.

To *develop in the individual a consciousness of kind* with all the other persons included in large or secondary groups is a hard but necessary job.

We must not be blind to the fact that for an adequate process of character education in this interdependent world, and for an education in citizenship that will help citizens to function in state, national and international affairs, consciousness of kind in the student for all the persons involved in each group of which he is a member, no matter how large, and a genuine conception by the student of the essentials of the situation faced by the large group as a whole are as necessary as in small groups, if real growth in character and real education in citizenship are to be gained to the maximum by the student. It is comparatively easy to use games, the organization of students and teachers in the actual life of school and playground, and even in some of the civic functions of the community and local government, to help the students to face actual situations and to gain a consciousness of kind for all the members of the small or primary groups involved; but to get these character-education and citizenship-education experiences out of historical situations, and out of the character and citizenship situations of large or secondary groups where personal contact among all members of the group is impossible, is more difficult. *But it can be done* and the method for this difficult job is that which social workers have long been using in the preparation of students of social work to meet future exigencies of individuals, families and other groups in a helpful way. This method is known as case-work discussion and is based on descriptions and studies of actual situations. Its essentials can be learned from efficient social workers in all parts of the United States. It can be used by the civics teacher in the discussion of all past or historical situations faced by individuals or groups; and it can also be used in the discussion of all civic situations and activities that, now or in future, involve groups of people that are too large or physically too remote, for the students to meet personally.

Heatan, in his book, *The Character Emphasis in Education*,

gives illustration of the use of this case method of discussion on pages 140, 141, 142, 145, 154 and 162-167.

In order to play a good team game we need to know the *rules of the game* as well as *who* our fellow members of the team are and *what* the goal is.

To fit our youth to be good citizens in a democracy, a consciousness of who the other members of each civic group facing actual situations are, plus a consciousness of the student's own common stake with the other members of that civic group, are not enough. Our students may all be keenly conscious of who the members of their various civic teams, local, county, state, nation and UN are; and they may be keenly aware in an actual situation of some action that should be taken for the common welfare of all the members of that particular civic unit; and yet even such citizens may not be effective citizens toward the taking of that action. *What need such citizens yet?* They need a definite understanding of the actual processes now used in each political unit, and to decide what processes should be approved and put into practical operation in that unit. In short, our potentially good young citizens yet need a knowledge of all the actual steps of what are sometimes called *practical politics* before they can be as effective as good citizens ought to be. For definite sources of the above suggestion the reader is requested to reread what was said in Chapter VI about Al Smith's book, *The Citizen and His Government*, and to read the book itself. Also to consult such books as *The Adult Minor* by William R. George; Hanna's *Youth Serves the Community*; O'Rourke's *You and Your Community*; and *Learning the Ways of Democracy*, by the Educational Policies Commission. Further, as a widely available, progressive and influential aid to teachers in their efforts to get the necessary information in this phase of civic activity, the reader is earnestly advised to consult the League of Women Voters in his own community and to become familiar with the activities, studies and publications, not only of the local league, but of the most progressive chapters of the League in other communities.

Whenever teachers and students are eager to learn what the rules of the citizenship game now are in order not only to use them, but to revise them for more effective citizenship in the future, I believe these teachers and students should carefully explore the

possibilities of co-operation between their school and the League of Women Voters.

In the Appendices the reader will find a variety of suggestive statements relating to the problem of education in citizenship. I urge that, to supplement my discussions in successive chapters, the reader also consult at leisure the data of these Appendices and connect them in his thoughts with the chapter which cites the Appendix.

To end this chapter with a final statement of the-gist of this book as a whole, I make two quotations.

At the close of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, January 19, 1940, this recommendation for the education of youth as citizens was adopted:

"Education for civic responsibility should be emphasized in order to develop a firm, active, and informed loyalty to democratic ideals and institutions. To do this effectively, the child's learning experience should include participation in the activities of community life, on a level appropriate to his degree of maturity."

In view of the fact that our youth should live as intelligent and effective citizens, not only of their local communities, but also of state, nation and the world; and in view of the fact that they need a *consciousness of kind* with the other members of each of these groups to make them intelligent and effective members therein, I urge my readers to adopt the following revised wording of the second sentence of the above recommendations:

"To do this effectively the child's experience should include a *consciousness of kind* with the other members of each civic group which he studies; and both an actual and a thought *participation* in the problems and activities of his fellow members in community, state, national and world life, on a level appropriate to his degree of maturity."

On "Youth Sunday," January 27, 1946, three high school students, two boys and one girl, preached in a New Jersey suburban church on this text: "We Must Be The World We Want."

This message from three students I pass on to *all* those students whose teachers read this book.

In closing I submit, to help develop a *world consciousness of kind*, two stanzas of a song and a chorus I have written to be sung to the music of Beethoven's "Ode To Joy" in his Ninth Symphony:

Men of every race and station,
Let us prove our brotherhood.
Men of every clime and nation,
Make the world one neighborhood.

Let us tune our hearts and voices
To the tasks for common good,
Till the whole round world rejoices
In the day of brotherhood.

Race and Creed must not divide us,
May we feel ourselves as one;
Each with joy of kin beside us,
God a Father to each son.

Let us tune our hearts and voices
To the tasks for common good,
Till the whole round world rejoices
In the day of brotherhood.

Note: See Appendix F for opinions on consciousness of kind as a motive power to help us help each other.

APPENDIX A

AS AN INTRODUCTION to the four citations which follow, I quote this early and critical statement made in the 1884 *Report of the National Education Association*, page 265, by William L. Folwell, President, University of Minnesota on "The Civic Education—Abstract":

"Our children should first of all be taught the nature of the town or city government, then of the county and state, and later that of the nation. The existing manuals of civil government reverse this natural order when they do not wholly ignore all but the United States Government."

Citation 1.

The following statements on aims in teaching civil government are quoted from pages 659-665 of an article by Frank A. Hill, Cambridge, Mass., in the 1891 *Report of the National Education Association*:

"When civil government is taught in school the primary object should never be lost sight of—that of keeping sound and vigorous the tremendous energy of public opinion, and this purpose should fill the aims of the teacher in his instructions. His pupils, in the first place, should know something about government and their relations to it both as subjects and as sovereigns. Then they ought to be imbued with the spirit of good citizenship, and, finally, they should school themselves to the practice of good citizenship."

"In civics, as in other studies, it is desirable to pass from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract, from what is near and of immediate concern to what is distant and of remote concern.

"In geography the novice does not begin with the mountains of the moon, nor in algebra with the binomial theorem. So in civics he should not begin with that after-thought and flower of government, the American Constitution, rare and precious as it is,

but with such forms and germs of government as are closest at hand.

"It is profitable to study government as illustrated in the schools, in the family, in any enterprise that requires leadership and concert of action."

"Primary ideas about government—that it springs from human needs and desires, that it exists by human consent, that it is simple or complex according to diversity of human interests, that it is good or bad according to the measure of human strength."

"Such ideas can be developed from the very sports of boys and girls. Quiz the boys, for example, about their baseball teams. Is it under leadership of any kind? Where does the right to control come from; why should there be any control? The boys will be pretty sure to give something of value about the source, the nature, and the object of such government. Who is the captain? Did he become captain because he had money or pulled wires? Or was he chosen for merit? Has any boy a right to the position? Has one boy as much right as another? Here we touch the relations of office holders to the people. Is there any expense in running the team? How is the money raised? What might be the result if the expense were doubled, or trebled? Now we get pretty near to taxation.

"The fact is that the boys are active in politics only they do not know it. So, too, are the girls, in their feminine but not less positive ways."

He then urges that we study actual civic functions, e.g., taxes. Bring in old tax bills, town reports, consider how the money is spent, etc.

"The boy should be taught that he is in the thick of life now; that there are relatively as serious problems for his youth as for his manhood; that he is a citizen now and in duty bound to contribute to public opinion now in ways that shall tax his young strength as severely as his maturer strength is likely to be taxed in a grander field; that if he is ever to show the virility and graces of high citizenship the beginning must be made now. If the man is ever to prove his fellow-citizen or his party, let the boy prove his school mates. If the man is ever to stand for law and order in the community, let the boy stand for law and order in the schools. If the man is ever to denounce corruption in high places, let the boy

condemn dishonor in low places or wherever he sees it. Whatever the virtues or vices of citizenship, there are the counterparts of those virtues or vices in all young life. Training for citizenship! Let us drop the *for* and henceforth call it training *in* citizenship."

Citation 2.

From another article in the 1891 *Report of the National Education Association*, page 625, these quotations are made. This article reports a speech made by Frank E. Plummer, Des Moines, Iowa, as president of the Department of Secondary Education, on "The Future High School." The sub-topic is "Civics and Patriotism":

"From none of these courses should be omitted lessons in Civics and patriotism. Wherever the sentiment in any lesson of any study touches the important field of civics, the mind of the pupil should be imbued with its nobility. The teacher should remember that all studies at some time touch the field of civics, and should develop these lessons. Reading and literature are full of passages fraught with sentiments of love for our country, of confidence in our free institutions, and of respect for our nation's benefactors.

"Lessons in Civics may be learned from geography, when it treats of material resources; arithmetic, when it deals with taxes as duties; physiology, when it teaches to preserve health and develop power in the individual, that he may be a stronger and better factor in the government. Interesting object lessons may be given by taking the classes to court-rooms, council chambers, and legislative halls, where they may observe for themselves the processes of government in actual operation. In addition to all this, leading economics quotations should be selected for free discussion. By this means the pupils are not only profited by the drill in debates, but are put in possession of the power to investigate for themselves all questions of public importance, and they also acquire the power and courage to stand and defend their views."

Citation 3.

"What Special Work Should Be Undertaken in the Elementary Schools to Prepare the Pupils for the Duties of Citizenship?" by

William A. Mowry, Superintendent of Schools, Salem, Mass., in the 1893 *Report of the National Education Association*, pages 273-278:

The following outline of the topics of the above article shows that Superintendent Mowry had gone further in some phases of his 1893 pedagogy for educating youth in citizenship than I had in 1903. But, at that time, I did not know of Superintendent Mowry's work. The reader should, now, a half century later, criticize us both in certain phases of our pedagogy.

"A. The Primary School.

1. In what town or city he lives
2. What are the adjoining towns or cities
3. In what county he lives
4. What are the towns or townships in the county
5. The name of the State in which he lives
6. The name of the Governor of the State
7. The name of the county in which he lives
8. The name of the president of the U. S.
9. The learning of patriotic selections
10. The singing of patriotic songs
11. The observation of patriotic anniversaries

"B. The Grammar School.

1. The subject should pervade the atmosphere of the schoolroom
2. Special work connected with the history of our country
3. Celebration of special anniversaries
4. In lower grade—instruction in the simpler elements of our governmental machinery—See State Manuals

"If it were in a N. E. State the first lesson would naturally be upon the township and its officers, mentioning the particular names of the officers in the town in which the school is located; and the teacher can then discuss with the pupils the duties of the moderator of a town meeting, of the town clerk, the constable, assessors of taxes, overseers of the poor, school committees, and other officers.

"Then the county, then the state.

"C. Civil Government in the Upper Grades of the Grammar Schools.

"In presenting this study before actors in the upper grades of grammar schools, great advantage will be found to accrue from acquainting the pupils directly with the doings of the citizens in town meetings, in county convention, the State legislature, and the courts, wherever it is possible, the class in civil government should at least once a year make a visit to the State Capital and attend a session of the Senate and the House. In like manner a visit should be made to some one of the state courts, so that pupils can observe the forms in which a trial is conducted.

"Another excellent practice is to carry on, in due form, an election by the pupils on Election Day. If it is a town election, let the pupils carry out the forms of electing the town officers. If it be a State election, let the political parties hold their caucuses, make their nominations, and, on the day appointed, let the election take place in due form, in accordance with the State laws, with all the paraphernalia that is actually used, with a subsequent counting of votes and announcement of the result. If it be the day of the election of presidential electors, let that be carried on by the school in like manner."

Citation 4.

In the National Education Association Report for 1902, on pages 192-203, is printed an address, and discussion thereon, which would at that very time have been of great value to me in my civics work in Chicago had I then been familiar with them, which I was not. The address was made by Henry P. Emerson, Superintendent of Schools in Buffalo, N. Y., on the subject "Influences That Make for Good Citizenship." I quote these passages:

"When we consider the selfishness, dishonesty, and brutality of men as recorded in the newspapers and police courts, and then remember that many of these people are charged with the training of families, we cannot wonder that the schools do not always succeed in turning out good men and women. The proper province of the school is to strengthen and extend the work of the home in the training of character, but, if this important matter is neglected

in the home, it is all the more true that the welfare of the country is in the keeping of the schools.

"In Buffalo we have been giving elementary instruction as to our city, state and national governments, with a view to illustrating the moral principles which underlie good citizenship. Our object is not merely to give information, but to inculcate a high standard of public duty, the obligation of civic pride, a sense of the dangers arising from official selfishness and corruption, the need of placing public interest above private gain. We try to show the necessity for good governments, that is, good management of a city in order that it may be clean, healthful, and beautiful, and to emphasize the wickedness of squandering the people's money in bad work. The necessity for taxes, that is, money to carry on the government, is easily shown in a city by referring to the need of public schools, of a fire department, and of police protection—things which the children are daily familiar with. In showing that the business of government requires a vast outlay for buildings, salaries, etc., which is collected from the peoples in taxes, the teacher is expected to bring out the fact that taxes are trust funds, and hence should be spent more carefully than private funds. The last year of the grammar school is reserved for consideration of matters of importance to us as a city, such questions as the common council, the powers of the Mayor, the important appointments made by him, the city departments, the methods of carrying on public business, the difficulties in the way of good government in large cities, are presented and discussed."

APPENDIX B

Citation 1.

FOR AN ILLUMINATING statement of what was under way in Philadelphia, Pa., see the article in the National Education Report for 1913, by J. Lyons Barnard, Professor of History and Government, School of Pedagogy, Philadelphia, Pa. His subject is "The Teaching of Civics in Elementary and Secondary Schools." Following the statement of his own pedagogy, he gives an illustration of the remarkably suggestive applications of this pedagogy as made by his assistant, E. W. Adams, in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th grades of the Practice School. I quote:

"The term 'Civics,' which the Century Dictionary inadequately defines as 'the science of government,' has come much into disrepute these latter days. And no wonder, when one thinks of the dry-as-dust stuff that has so long masqueraded under that name in public and private schools alike. The emphasis has usually been placed on the organization and legal powers of government, principally national, with no live discussion of what even the federal government really does, and still less as to state or local government. In fact, the pupil in the elementary school has been lucky if he has escaped penal servitude for one awful winter, *while he memorized the federal constitution*. [Italics mine.] And when the secondary school was reached he probably received another indeterminate sentence in the form of an encounter with an appalling array of fruitless facts about how we are governed, sacredly removed from practical application and carefully smuggled in with an equally uninspiring survey of United States history. And was this utterly unpedagogical performance supposed to help to make good citizens? Not at all! It was supposed to be education in discipline. Whatever it was, we are fast out growing it. And this leaves us free to fill up this fine old word 'Civics' with splendid new content.

"If then we can agree that the immediate end of teaching boys

and girls is to relate them to their environment, can we come into like agreement as to the ultimate end of all our teaching below college grade? Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, in the preface to his remarkable little textbook in Civics, has given us the only answer we shall stand for. Says Mr. Dunn:

"The function of the public school is to produce a good type of citizenship. There is no other sanction for the existence of the public school. The entire course of study and the whole round of school life should be directed to this end."

"The very title of Mr. Dunn's book—*The Community and the Citizen*—is suggestive, of the newer viewpoint. By 'Community' he means a group of people bound together by common interests and subject to common rules or laws. And any person, young or old, who shares in community benefits and is subject to community responsibilities is a citizen. The home, the school, the church, the shop, the township, village, or city, the commonwealth, the nation—all are types of the community and all who participate in the life of each community are its citizens.

"Somewhat crudely defined, civics is the study of man in his relation to his political environment—the state; and it includes both what the government does for him and what he may do in return, either individually or in organized groups.

"Nature's gifts are free and unerring, while the community's gifts are the result of social sacrifice and are often blundering and faulty. Therefore, it is all the more important and difficult to teach the boys and girls to appraise these latter blessings rightly, and to be willing to contribute their share toward securing them. And we may add that one who is both willing and able so to contribute is the good citizen."

He now asks how to teach civics in the elementary school.

He says:

"The method springs from the Method of Froebel in the Kindergarten.

"Here a splendid start is made in bringing the child into a sympathetic understanding of his social environment. The farmer, the carpenter, the blacksmith, all are friends, doing for him interesting services which he sees, sings about, and imitates. This—for one or two blessed years! And then, he is promoted into the first

grade, too often a desert waste where the real world disappears and the world of books takes its place!

"By various means the idea of the interchange of services, acquired in the Kindergarten, must be developed throughout the primary years. The child must come to see that in return for the specialized service his father or mother is rendering to society, the family is receiving—through the medium of wages and salary—the services of grocer, milkman, doctor, teacher, preacher. And the child should be encouraged to talk about and appreciate the character of these services, and his family's dependence upon them."

He then describes (pp. 86-89) the work done in grades five, six, seven, and eight in his Practice School in Philadelphia by his assistant, Mr. E. W. Adams.

The topics for each grade and the method of teaching each topic are illustrated. These topics cover functions of local, state and national government, and the essence of the method of teaching each function is summarized at the close in these words:

"The order followed is invariably that of the child's own interests and appreciation, namely, from function to structure, from the administrative department which does the things, to the legislative which plans the things to be done, and the judicial which interprets and helps enforce those plans; and then, if necessary, to the charter or constitution which lays down legal powers and duties; never the reverse, never the reverse, as has so long been the custom. Moreover, the possibilities for cooperation between the community, acting through government, and the citizens young or old, acting singly or through voluntary associations, are never lost sight of."

Citation 3.

From the 1927 *Report of the National Education Association*, fourteen years after Citation 2, I cite a sobering statement from the close of a speech by Jesse H. Newlon, Superintendent of Schools, Denver, Colo., on "Social Studies and Citizenship":

"I shall now summarize briefly what I have said down to this point. Education for citizenship is a process to which many agencies contribute. The entire environment of the child is educating him

for citizenship by giving him mind-sets, habits, prejudices, attitudes, which will cling to him throughout life. The part that the home plays is extremely important. The school, therefore, can be held only partly responsible for the end result of this process of education for citizenship.

"Likewise, the school contributes in many ways to the end, two of which I have mentioned. Through its corporate life it does, or should, give the boys and girls practice in those activities that will develop in them the qualities of the good citizen. The contribution of the school in developing in the boys and girls ideals of good sportsmanship, habits of law obedience and of assuming one's civic responsibilities, tolerance, a sense of justice, alertness to civic conditions, and other qualities that might be mentioned, is made not only through the social studies but through the life of the school. When it comes to the social studies themselves, the school must select subject matter and adopt methods of teaching in the light of the qualities of the good citizen. To this end we are slowly creating a technic but have only made a beginning."

APPENDIX C

THIS APPENDIX contains six illustrations of projects and processes carried out by elementary and secondary school students.

Illustration 1.

The Reader's Digest, February, 1942, contains an article by Webb Waldron, entitled, "It Isn't School—It's Fun." It describes an admirable organization, Youthbuilders, Inc., functioning in conjunction with the New York City schools, whose major aim is to obliterate, from the minds of children, the division between school and the world outside. Self-government in school, discussion groups, assistance to voters, the combating of juvenile delinquency—these and similar activities of the organization are set forth. The article is particularly valuable because it shows how eagerly, enthusiastically and efficiently children respond to well-directed efforts to give them the privilege *and responsibilities* of "junior citizens."

Illustration 2.

Hartford, Connecticut, has published a public high schools leaflet entitled "Hartford High Pupils Have Served the War Efforts." Excerpts from this leaflet are published in "Education for Victory," of June 3, 1944, by the U. S. Office of Education Federal Security Agency. From this leaflet I quote the opening paragraph, and the headings of other paragraphs which show the variety of activities of the high school students:

"A quarter of a century ago, a Student Council was organized in Hartford Public High School, to unite students and faculty more closely and to promote the welfare of the school. Today, this is a very active and influential organization, representing the entire student body, for each session room of the three lower classes elects

one delegate to represent that room, and each Senior room has two delegates. In the Student Council originates almost every important undertaking or improvement. One of the most far-reaching of their projects is the Victory Corps. Although this has functioned as a separate organization, it owes much of its success to the interest, enthusiasm, and work of the Student Council, whose delegates transmit to the entire student body a desire to share, to work, to sacrifice, in order that Hartford High may do its full part in the war effort."

"The Victory Corps serves through lending [The H.P.H.S. students and faculty have bought at the school \$55207 in stamps and \$53518 in bonds]; Serves through giving; Letter writing to service men; Library book drive; Used clothing drive; Settlement house work [For over a year 20 H.P.H.S. students have given one afternoon a week in Union, North Street, and Whitehall house settlements]; Hospital workers—at one time 63 students; Clerical work; Academia Latina [This club assisted whenever rationing was afoot]; Sweepers and chalk chasers [Twenty members of the Boys Club have helped because of shortage of janitorial staff]; Messengers (air-raid); Fire Watcher; H.P.H.S. Fire Company [In co-operation with the Chief of the Hartford Fire Department]; War Time Bulletin Boards; Lettering and Art Work; Boys Biology Club; Outside Group—help to Red Cross, Boy Brigades, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and Church organizations; Part Time Jobs; Serves the County; Our service flag has 1755 stars; Home Nursing and First Aid [In the winter of 1942-43, 20 teachers and nearly 250 students completed a Red Cross Course in First Aid]; Wartime Nutrition; Home Economics; French and Italian; Letters from North Africa and Italy; Mathematics; History Department; World Problems Club [The group is affiliated with Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Hartford branch of the Foreign Policy Association]; Astronomy—for boys—the air force; Electricity—for soldiers; Physics—for needs of students in a world at war; Aeronautics [Over 70 boys who have studied aviation at the Hartford High are now in active service as pilots. More than 40 boys have passed sending and receiving radio code, at the rate of 15 words per minute]; Model Airplane Building; Navigation

—nearly 100 pupils; Ediphones and dictaphones; Productive Division of Victory Corps; Physical Fitness; The Sum Total.”

There is an old saying, “Many littles make a many.” No one can review the work of the various clubs, departments, groups, and individuals, as reported in this booklet, without realizing that Hartford High contributed a full measure of wartime service to the country.

Illustration 3.

In “Education for Victory,” Vol. 2, No. 16, under the heading, “Correlating English, Literature, and the Social Studies,” is described a seventh-grade project. The accompanying ballad, “To Thee We Sing, America,” was written by the seventh-grade pupils at Elm Place School, Highland Park, Ill. R. H. Price, Superintendent of Schools, District 107, states that the work was carried on in their English classes in co-operation with literature and social-studies classes. Edna M. Grenoble, seventh-grade English teacher, describes as follows the development of the ballad:

“In their social studies class the pupils had just finished a unit dealing with immigration. Through their reading and research they had laid the background for a feeling of pride and respect for America. As a climax in their study, they had listened to the records, ‘Americans All—Immigrants All,’ sent out by the U. S. Office of Education. Through them they had realized what America meant to people who had dreamed of a new land. They understood the meaning of freedom for which men had fought and died. They sympathized with those whose ambitions led to new homes and new opportunities, and they appreciated the contributions made to America by those who had sought refuge here.

“Then followed the record of ‘The Ballad for Americans,’ by Earl Robinson and John Latouche, which they particularly enjoyed. It stirred them as it has stirred hundreds of others. They wanted to hear it again and again.

“In English class, therefore, when the idea of writing a ballad of their own was suggested, as a class they were eager to begin. They talked it over in class, discussing what America meant to them

—who were not immigrants; to them—who knew neither want nor fear; to them—who had so many privileges and opportunities that life was usually sunshine and not shadow.

"They tried to tell simply why they loved America, what they enjoyed in America, and what America meant to them. It was not easy at first to express such feelings openly. They were hesitant. They found and read the patriotic words of song writers, poets, dramatists, patriots, speakers. Hal Borland's 'Creed,' published in the *Saturday Evening Post* was inspirational. Many recent advertisement scripts were suggestive. The pupils talked and read, until, as they have said, they were 'full of patriotism,' and were anxious to write.

"Unanimously 'America' was selected as the key theme, hence the title, '*To Thee We Sing, America.*' The outline, worked out together in class, was simple and suggestive.

"Each pupil wrote on the part he felt he could do best. Lines or groups of words were submitted, written on the board, criticized, combined, and revised until a rhythm was established. Those with ability inspired the less capable ones, and often a remark or suggestion led to some unusually worth-while contributions from those who thought they had nothing to offer. Thus the ballad was a composite work of the entire group. Descriptions of America today, the land in which they love to live, were written first. Other parts followed until it grew in enthusiasm to a fitting climax, inspiring patriotism—a completed ballad of which the class was very proud.

"Then came the finale—the public rendition of the ballad by a verse choir of 30 seventh-grade voices under the direction of the literature teacher, as a high spot in an evening of poetry.

"The teachers who contributed to this project considered it an excellent correlation of social studies, literature, and English."

The ballad itself is impressive, combining in vivid word pictures the thrilling hopes of our first settlers, the expansion into the West, our country's scenic variety, the accomplishments of our great men—combining these pictures with the majesty of the refrain which repeats stirring phrases from the hymn "America."

Illustration 4.

In the Montclair, N. J., *Times*, June 4, 1942, is printed this statement and the poem mentioned:

"A Memorial Day poem in blank verse was presented last week at the Montclair High School Garden Amphitheatre in a special program by English senior students, with the school's a cappella choir assisting. The poem was spoken chorally, with responsive chants as incidental songs, and with pantomime gestures on the part of those speaking the poem.

"Miss Mary C. Smith and Miss Beatrice Scott, the two teachers who had most to do with the program just quoted, gave these facts as to its preparation and writing by the students.

"1. About Christmas Time in 1941 the class of over 400 seniors decided to prepare and give a school memorial program.

"2. Classes in English, History, etc., discussed significant historical events, etc., that might be cited by the program.

"3. The class chose a writing committee of about 70 of their number about the first of April.

"4. Different members of the class wrote and presented to the rest of the committee different units of a program—for discussion, elimination, modification, and approval.

"5. Later the writing committee was merged, with some changes, into a presentation committee.

"6. During the Memorial Service—some parts of the program were presented by individuals, and some by groups, some songs were also sung.

"A director of the program was in charge while the program was being presented."

Illustration 5.

In *The Reader's Digest* for April, 1941, Edith M. Stern wrote on "Students Make Their Own Movies." The article is enlightening indeed, stressing the great value (among others) of this innovation in the Denver high schools in familiarizing students with their own communities.

(A manual for teachers has been prepared by the motion picture projects of the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.)

Illustration 6.

From a news article in the *New York Times*, April 23, 1944, about the sixth annual session of the New Jersey boy legislators, I make these quotations:

"Trenton, April 22—The 1944 Model Legislature, a boys' educational project sponsored by the State Young Men's Christian Association, adjourned late today in the State House with the juvenile members having the satisfaction of knowing that their make-believe lawmaking might provide some ideas for the State's real legislators.

"Under a measure adopted yesterday, '*Governor*' George Mead of Westfield was directed to forward copies of all bills approved in the two-day session to the appropriate committees of the State Assembly 'to be considered for enactment through the Legislature of New Jersey.'

"The sponsor of the measure to direct the attention of the regular Legislature to the work of the youngsters was 'Senator' John Wilbur of Ridgewood, who said the 'legislation' enacted expressed 'the conscientious opinions of New Jersey youth.'

"Bills requiring labor unions within the State to hold annual secret elections of officers and to empower the State Motor Vehicle Commissioner 'immediately' to revoke the driver's license of a violator of Federal gasoline rationing regulations were among those approved by the boys.

"They also voted for a resolution urging the drafting of an international '*declaration of interdependence*' that would emphasize the necessity of establishing a world order based upon 'good neighborliness, friendship and the recognition of the dependence, one upon the other, of persons, of groups of persons and of nations.'"

Later there was published a ninety-five-page mimeographed report of this "Model Legislature" entitled, *Youth and Government Program, New Jersey Y. M. C. A.'s Bill Book of the Sixth Annual*

Model Legislature, Trenton, New Jersey, April 21-22, 1944. In sixty-four pages of this Bill Book, full copies of fifty-three Assembly Bills and in thirty-one pages, full copies of twenty-five Senate Bills are given. I quote the titles and names of the authors of fourteen assembly bills, and seven senate bills which are especially pertinent to the problems of citizenship in a democracy. The Assembly bills:

"An Act to provide for a series of special school assembly programs during the year of a cultural, educational and entertainment nature in school districts that do not have the facilities or funds for providing same. Larry Paxson, Mercer County.

"An Act to lower the driving age of both sexes to sixteen. John Pohl, Red Bank.

"An Act to provide equal opportunities in public systems of education for all students, regardless of race, color or creed. Richard Riesz, Chatham.

"An Act enumerating and prohibiting acts of sabotage and prescribing the punishment therefor. Craig Smith, Vineland.

"An Act to make compulsory the teaching of History of the State of New Jersey in all secondary schools. Joseph Gortych, Norman Thomas, Garfield.

"An Act to provide for the establishment of a state committee to study the causes, corrections and preventions of Juvenile Delinquency. Kenneth Mitchell, Westfield.

"An Act to require all persons of voting age who fail to vote at any local, county, state or national elections to pay a penalty of a sum not to exceed five dollars. John Ludlow, Westfield.

"An Act requiring that Negro History become part of the curricula of New Jersey public schools. Leonard Pulley, Red Bank.

"An Act to give the boys of eighteen years of age and up the privilege to vote. Robert McCleaster, Keyport.

"An Act to request the 'Congress of the United States' by petition from the 'Legislature of the State of New Jersey' to change entrance into our military and naval academies from the present appointment method to an open competitive basis. William J. Keegan, Jersey City.

"An Act to provide vocational aptitude testing for all high school students. George Jorgenson, Manasquan.

"An Act to provide a payment of salaries in lieu of fees to Recorders, Justices of the Peace, Traffic Court Judges, etc. in the several municipalities of the State of New Jersey. Edwin B. Roscoe, Passaic.

"An Act to abolish segregation of colored and white students in public schools of New Jersey and to provide for equal educational facilities and opportunities for all people in New Jersey regardless of race, creed or color. Nathaniel Colman, Orange.

"A Resolution that the New Jersey State Model Legislature go on record as favoring that the United States participate in a World Federal Union after the war. Charles James Schaefer, Summit."

The Senate bills:

"An Act to provide that the Boy-Governor present all bills ratified by both the Senate and Assembly of the Model Legislature to appropriate committees of the General Assembly of the New Jersey State Legislature to be considered for enactment through the Legislature of New Jersey. John Wilbur, Hohokus.

"An Act to provide a compulsory physical examination for all boys reaching their seventeenth birthday. George Williams, Elizabeth.

"An Act making any minor equally responsible with the dispenser when alcoholic beverage is sold to a minor. Earl Venner, Asbury Park.

"An Act to provide for the distribution of offices (now controlled and filled by political factions) through Civil Service. Julian Brown, Millville.

"An Act to provide a more drastic punishment for a violation of the Federal Gasoline Rationing regulations (Rationing Order 5C). Bonsall McFarland, Edgewater Park.

"An Act to provide for the lowering of the voting age in New Jersey from twenty-one to eighteen years. George W. Kopf, Mountain Lakes.

"An act to require annual secret elections of officers in all labor unions in the State of New Jersey. Roland Glover, Spring Lake."

APPENDIX D

THIS APPENDIX contains opinions about participation in, and dramatization of, citizenship by youth.

I. OPINIONS IN FOUR BOOKS

1. Participation in government by adult minors as initiated at the Junior Republic and as further urged by William R. George (Daddy George) in *The Adult Minor*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937. This book was published after his death in 1936.

Of both the economic and civic experiences of youth in the George Junior Republic at Freeville, N. Y., Daddy writes thus:

"Not only in economic matters the citizens earn their way by work and study for which they are paid but, in civic affairs as well, the citizens of the Junior Republic met many of the situations they are likely to come across in later life. As a matter of fact, it is no exaggeration to say that in general these young people have tackled more problems of government before reaching the age of twenty-one than most citizens of the larger republic meet in a lifetime. To begin with, instead of falling heir to a political party and espousing it unthinkingly, citizens of the Junior Republic must study the relative merits of the political parties in the Republic and choose the one that appears the more logical and constructive. All citizens have taken part in town meetings and have served on juries, not once but many times. A number have acted as lawyers, pleading cases before the bar, whereas others have assumed the responsibilities of such offices as the presidency, vice-presidency, judgeship, and the like. Even those who happen to have escaped public service could never sink into the listlessness and general apathy of too many citizens of the larger republic, thanks to their constant proximity to those who were in office as well as to the spirited discussions which were constantly raging concerning merits and plans of proposed legislation."

Again, in his discussion of the quest for a solution to the problems besetting our young people in the larger republic, he says:

"In such a quest, undertaken with sincerity and open-mindedness, we can hardly help stumbling upon the answer, no matter which way we turn. That answer is *participation*. There is positively no other, nor should this be particularly surprising when we consider that in any group of older, more experienced individuals there is no way so certain to engage and maintain interest, understanding, and loyalty as the actual sharing of responsibility."

As a suggestion of a possible way for adult minors to get such participation in our local, state and national civic problems and activities Mr. George makes this far-reaching suggestion:

"What our adult minors desperately need are representatives of their own in town, state, and the nation's capital. There should be boards or commissions of young men and women who are leaders among young people and elected by them. Members of these groups should keep their fingers on the pulse of youth, studying those means which have proved worthy in some parts of the country and adopting them for use in other parts, devising new ways to further the interests of our young citizens. Only when provisions for such forward looking measures are launched, shall we feel that we are making headway with one of the knottiest problems of the day."

In fact, Daddy George questions the wisdom of our setting twenty-one years as the first date for voting. He asks:

"Who said twenty-one and why? Frankly, we do not know, and we doubt if any one else does. But we do know that because somehow it has been said, adult minors have been confined to a degrading puerility during five of the most significant and habit-forming years of their lives. Only those who have worked with and studied young people can understand what this wholesale stunting of their civic and economic growth can mean.

"All this is bad enough, but when we learn that scattered from coast to coast there are approximately 11,000,000 of these young men and women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who are thus reduced to apathy and the evils radiating from it, only then perhaps can we begin to sense the alarming cost we as a nation may be paying for the neglect of our adult minors."

And finally, Daddy George would say to our young people

over sixteen, instead of the usual, "Remember, young people, you are the men and women of tomorrow," "Listen, young people! You have reached the morning of your young manhood and womanhood! Behold, you are men and women today!" (See also an article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 26, 1940, "Their Fingers in the Pie," by Farnsworth Crowder. This article describes *participation* by the Young Citizens League of South Dakota which is said to have forty-two hundred units in that state and also chapters in six neighboring states.)

2. *Youth Serves the Community*, by Paul R. Hanna, Associate Professor of Education, Stanford University, California. D. Appleton-Century Co.

This book is of such reference value to all those who are face to face with the problem of *how* to educate youth in citizenship that I describe its contents in unusual detail.

In this book ninety-one projects from twenty-three states are described, and one hundred and fifty-four other projects are listed from twenty-seven states. Altogether thirty-one different states are represented, with some projects also from Puerto Rico, Alaska, Mexico, China, India, Canada, Denmark, and Russia.

The topics discussed in sequence in the chapters of this book are: "A Challenge to Educational and Social Leadership; Youth Contributes to Public Safety; Civic Beauty; Community Health; Agricultural and Industrial Improvement; Civic Arts; Local History; Surveys, and Inventories, and Protection of Resources; Youth in Foreign Countries Contributes to Socially Useful Work; The Survey Challenge to Educational Leadership."

In the appendices are given the names of eighty-eight persons furnishing valuable materials used as bases for reports; an extended list of suggestive socially useful projects not reviewed in this book; a selected bibliography [seven pages of books, pamphlets and periodicals]; and a seven-page index.

In Chapter I the criteria for projects reported are given under two headings: First, the criteria for education value to the individual, which are:

1. The youth who participates in a project must sense its social significance.
2. Youth must have a part in planning the project.

3. Youth must have some sporting chance of carrying the project through to more or less successful conclusion.
4. Youth must accept the responsibility for success or failure of a project.
5. Youth must actually grow in responsibility as a result of the work undertaken.

The second heading lists the criteria for significant social value, which are:

1. Any project must culminate in the actual improvement of living in the community.
2. Projects must clearly be an obligation of youth as well as adulthood.
3. In so far as possible, projects must get at the basic problems of improving social welfare.

As to the degree to which the projects live up to these standards it is rather discouraging to be told, on page 40, that "No report fully met all the criteria with a high rating," but somewhat encouraging to be also told that "Those reports which did not satisfy *at least one* of the principles under *each* of the two named categories were considered unsuitable for inclusion in this volume."

In other words each of the projects reported satisfied at least one of the five criteria listed first, and at least one of the three criteria listed second.

The Introduction to this book by William H. Kilpatrick of Columbia University, a champion of John Dewey, is a gem which every teacher of civics should read. We quote only two passages from its twenty-one pages. The first reinforces the argument of Daddy George for "participation" by adult minors. The first passage reads thus: "For the young to feel that their activities have community significance is to accord to them a worth and standing that will call out the best the young have to give."

The second passage emphasizes the two essentials that youth need to face actual situations and to enjoy actual participation with adults. It reads thus: "It may be permitted this writer to express in conclusion his profound conviction, first, that an actual situation responsibly faced is the ideal unit of educative experience; and

second, that of all possible situations, no other is quite so educative as one that prompts the responsible leaders of the community to join with the young in carrying forward an enterprise in which all really share, and in which each can have his own responsible part. This is the education in which democracy can most rejoice, particularly in these times when we must learn to put the public welfare first in point of time and importance. In solemn fact, *cooperative activities for community improvement*, form the vision of the best education yet conceived."

3. *You and Your Community*, by L. J. O'Rourke, Ph. D. D. C. Heath and Co., 1938, 738 pp. There are 257 illustrations.

Here is another book which every teacher of civics ought to read.

Vivid suggestions of the processes followed in its preparation, of the author's educational philosophy and of its possible value to youth are made in these three extracts from statements by Dr. O'Rourke. The first statement is from the Preface:

"The material embodied in this text has been developed in the course of a study carried out by the author during the past five years through The Civics Research Institute. The purposes and methods of this study are described in the foreword to the teacher. Believing that much of the merit of the present volume derives from the fact that it is based upon material tested by the experience of classes throughout the country—the author takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to the *twenty-five thousand civics club members and their teachers* who took part in the experimental studies. By their reports of their experiences, they made possible the revision of experimental material in accordance with actual needs, and they also supplied the evidence of *pupil participation in community affairs* that have been included in this book for the guidance and encouragement of the pupils who use it.

"The author is also indebted to the *one hundred and fifty superintendents* comprising the National Advisory Council of the Civics Research Institute, who sponsored the Civics Clubs in their schools, and a number of whom gave freely of their counsel at the annual meetings of the Institute. [Italics mine.]

"The success of a democracy is dependent upon the ability of the individual members to take a worthwhile part in the life of the

community, the state, and the nation. Thus it depends very largely upon the ability and willingness of individuals to cooperate, to overcome prejudices, to appreciate the contributions to our society of other individuals and groups, and to make contributions of their own. It depends also upon the health and safety of individual citizens and upon their opportunities to prepare for and find satisfying occupations."

To the student reader, Dr. O'Rourke says:

"Twenty-five thousand pupils helped to build this book. With it you can carry on their work, using their plans and suggestions as a basis for your own study of how government and community life affect you. You, too, can organize committees to handle assignments, and help to solve real problems. Reports of activities undertaken by various clubs will be found throughout this book. Their purpose is merely to serve as examples of what your class can do, *for you will wish to work out your own projects*. Use this book as a guide in finding out the things you want to know about the community, the state, and the nation in which you live."

4. And, late in 1940, we have a 486-page volume on *Learning the Ways of Democracy—A Case Book in Civic Education*, prepared and published by the leading educators who make up The Educational Policies Commission of The National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators. The report is based upon "Visits to Ninety High Schools in Twenty-seven States" by members of a special staff and "approved for publication by the Commission, after thorough discussion and revision, on May 13, 1940."

The book has a Foreword and these chapter headings: "The Hall Mark of Democratic Education; The Course of Study; Classroom Teaching; Out-of-class Activities in the Community; Administration; Evaluation and Outcomes; Things to Be Done; Where Stands Your School?" There is also a good seven-page index.

This book should be studied by all high school teachers of the social studies for it is the most comprehensive and suggestive book in this field yet published.

The teacher can find in its various chapters not only descriptions of actual projects now found in our high schools, but throughout a discussion of background and pedagogical principles which

will help every local teacher both to evaluate the work he and his students are now doing and to plan with them constantly more effective experiences for their education in democratic citizenship.

From the Foreword, I make these quotations:

"Since its establishment, nearly five years ago, the Educational Policies Commission has made the improvement of education for Democratic citizenship the central point of its work. . . . Previous publications of the Commission provide the background: This study is pointed deliberately at *implementation* of the democratic way of life in and through our schools.

"The reporting of specific projects in this volume does not involve our endorsement. Generally speaking, however, only those practices have been reported which show some promise of effectiveness. Citizenship education is in a period of growth and adaptation. The Commission, therefore, urges that specific procedures described in this report be applied in *local circumstances with due regard to local needs and problems.*" [Italics mine.]

In addition to these four books, I cite two recent books pertinent to the content of this appendix:

5. *Youth and the Future: The General Report of the American Youth Commission*, The American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., January, 1942.

6. *Citizenship and The New Day*, by Parley Paul Womer. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945.

II. OPINIONS OF A PSYCHIATRIST AND THREE EDUCATORS

The psychiatrist, Prof. James S. Plant, M.D., has an article on "Objectives for Children in a Democracy," in the November, 1940, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* from which I quote:

"Can we ask of the child a certain sense of responsibility for his part in the total situation—some contribution to whatever he expects to attain in life? This is really no more than the dictum that one gets no more out of life than he puts into it.

"There is a widespread criticism of the youth of today on precisely this score—its lack of a sense of responsibility. Some,

perhaps all, of this is only the age-old habit of criticising those who are growing up. Probably the matter runs deeper than that. Children of this generation have relatively little training in cause and effect. This is not a new, but it is certainly a markedly intensified, phenomenon. It is due to the marked shortening of the arc of life. Food, clothes, all that we touch or experience each day comes from nowhere—goes nowhere.

“How important this is for the future, I do not know. Perhaps new measurements of cause and effect will be built; perhaps there will be effective replacements for the experience of watching the food of the table, the materials of the building, the clothes, through a fairly wide arc of cause and effect. This would seem to be a necessity in this objective of the development of a sense of responsibility. Each one’s recognition of the part he must play in the drama, of the price that he must pay for his freedom and his privileges—this is terribly important. But it must rest on a thoroughly grounded and realistic childhood experience in cause and effect.”

The first educator I quote is Prof. Wilford M. Aikin, Chairman of the Commission on the Relation of School and College of the Progressive Education Association. He has an article in the *New York Times Magazine*, September 7, 1941, from which these paragraphs are quoted:

“Our schools and colleges have lost sight of this major responsibility to the nation. They have forgotten the chief purpose of their existence. The million who dropped out of high school before graduation surely were not ready for their responsibilities as American citizens. The million and more who received high school diplomas last June are not much better prepared, and few of those graduated from college have any clear understanding of the democratic ideal of life or of their great responsibility for the common welfare.

“American youth are not to be blamed. They are good stuff. Their impulses are generous and fine. They are loyal to the nation. They believe in America. They feel freedom ‘in their bones.’ They resent almost instinctively injustice and oppression. But they do not understand. They are confused. They are without clear, guiding principles of belief and action. They lack central purpose for their own lives. They know little of the nation’s history; they have

not faced squarely the great social, economic and political issues which they must soon help decide.

"Participation with others in common concerns is basic in our way of life. Education should lead to constantly widening areas of participation, first in small home and community groups, eventually in affairs of national and world-wide consequence. Shut off from contact with social institutions and other human beings, the child would develop into little more than an animal. It is through social participation that one becomes a personality of dignity and worth. Therefore, *whatever promotes one's awareness of membership in, and responsibility for, the community, the nation, the whole race is good*; whatever hinders, prevents or limits full participation is ill in both school and society." [Italics mine.]

In the *New York Times* for August 17, 1941, is a news column relating to an annual report by Dean George E. Payne of New York University School of Education from which I quote these three paragraphs. He is the second educator quoted:

"Dean Payne during the last year has several times stressed the need for educators to 'about-face' from their traditional outlook, and in his report yesterday he re-emphasized his belief that 'it is a strange fact in the history of education that educators have assumed that youth could become effective and enthusiastic citizens in a democracy by learning the history of our democratic past, without the opportunity of actively participating in the social life as part of learning.'

"This *participation*, according to Dean Payne, has been offered youth only '*experimentally*' and, as he pointed out in his report, 'after the *enthusiasm* has lagged, the *effort has been* discontinued, with no *permanent* influence upon educational practice.'

"However, Dean Payne has continually iterated that youth and adults must be molded to their role in a new society in which, his report states, 'all *materials*, methods, tests and school organization' are *subordinated* to the emphasis upon their '*attitudes* and the whole emotional aspects of consciousness.' In his report, Dean Payne said, 'This objective, if realized, will exact the most violent and revolutionary changes in the school program of any yet proposed.'"

President Harry Gideonse of Brooklyn College, in the *New*

York Times, October 5, 1941, makes this statement about the necessity for student participation in democratic processes. He is the third educator I quote:

"A policy of training for effective citizenship will call for an expansion of resources. Democracy and citizenship cannot be taught in verbal instruction. We cannot hope to offset the declining effectiveness of church and family by assigning a few chapters in a textbook on responsible citizenship.

"Responsibility and citizenship must be experienced, and the provision of such experience means that a school that does not hesitate to provide laboratories for scientific experience and gymnasias for physical experience should provide adequate facilities for democratic experience."

III. OPINIONS OF THREE CHAMPIONS OF STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT IN SCHOOLS

1. The first of these champions is Richard Welling, Chairman, National Self-Government Committee, 60 Broadway, New York. The quotations here given are from speeches made by him before Conferences of the National Education Association. The first was in 1903 on "The Teaching of Civics and Good Citizenship in the Public Schools," as follows:

"It may be presumptuous for one who is not a teacher to prescribe for teachers the proper method of instruction in a subject so important as civics and good citizenship; but we who take part in political campaigns have a long-standing quarrel with you, the instructors of youth, because in this great department your work is not better done.

"Throughout the country today, in the great majority of instances, you are merely teaching the rules that govern the organization or form of government, and this as you must realize, is scarcely more than the very beginning of civics.

"Children may be able to state glibly the functions of the various forms of government while yet having formed in their minds no picture even remotely resembling the real activity of these officers, and being therefore quite unable to recognize and reason about them in real life. When you have taught the rules of gram-

mar and arithmetic, you do not for one moment delude yourself into thinking the child knows his grammar and arithmetic until he has had practice in applying these rules. Also what interest has a child in the mere machinery of government? Can one readily call to mind a drier topic for children? How can it be made interesting without in some way bringing them in contact with its working? And, how can they be inspired with the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship?

"There is a noble effort making in the 'School City'—a sort of George Junior Republic for public schools, designed to bring about that very contact by converting the school itself into a municipality, with mayor, common councils, judges, police and other departments, and so to bring the children into such actual relations with those officers that ignorance of their functions will be no longer possible."

He then says the first of these was the "Gill system at the State Normal School at New Paltz, New York" in 1897.

Although this was widely advertised he thought there were, in 1903, only a few in the country.

He then expands his reference to the Gill system:

"Note that a petition was handed in from the common council of the school to the faculty to bring before the student body such information regarding village and school improvement as will serve to help make us more intelligent and useful citizens, not only in New Paltz, but also when we go elsewhere to live."

He refers to McAndrew's teaching of current events in New York City. He refers also to Mr. Waldo H. Sherman of the New York City Y.M.C.A., who organized in class discussion a fictitious community, the "Collegeville Center," with a population of about 5,000, that took the New England township as a model of organization.

"First of all you must teach the machinery of government by means of some form of applied civics. . . . Then the country's history and the great principle of democracy—with its responsibilities, then sound idealism from the lives of great men, great books, the spirit of the Hebrews, Greeks and Romans to whom patriotism was religion."

Again before the National Education Association in 1911,

Richard Welling spoke on "Pupil Self-Government as a Training For Citizenship." He said that eight years ago he addressed the Association but his "committee finds school officials in the main apathetic toward the subject or vigorously opposed to the principles we advocate."

"Believing the schools were largely to blame (for apathy of adult citizens), this committee instituted an inquiry some years ago to ascertain what they were doing to prepare the youth for the responsibilities of a democracy. We found the study of books on civics containing the structure and functions of government practically the only attention given to the subject.

"Of course, to expect good citizenship to result from such study would be as reasonable as to look for a proficient engineer who had absorbed all the book information about engines but who had never seen one."

He says he knows of forty schools, with five thousand students that "have some form of student cooperation."

"We advocate some form of pupil cooperation with a citizenship and elected official in the last three years of the elementary school and throughout the high school."

He also says that his efforts to incorporate such a system have brought the following objections from teachers, principals and superintendents:

"1. Mental development of children not adequate; 2. Children with power become arrogant; 3. The supervision necessary makes puppets of the children; 4. Machinery so elaborate purpose is destroyed; 5. Energy expended is not worth while; 6. Pupil cooperation is merely for show—it does not tackle real jobs; 7. Our children need more respect for authority than the exercise of it; 8. Pupil cooperation destroys the teacher's personal influence; 9. The activities of self-government are mere play; 10. We have self-government without the machinery; 11. There are so many new things to do we hesitate to try this; 12. It takes up too much time."

Welling concludes:

"The present situation is this: that we are leaving citizenship to the book, to the platform lecture, and to the patriotic song. The time has come to couple up theory with practice. There is only one way to teach citizenship effectively, that is by action. This is

good psychology, good pedagogy, good administration, and good democracy."

2. "Principals Veto Crucial Self-Government Question," by Earl C. Kelley, Professor of Secondary Education, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich. This article was first published in *The Clearing House*, a journal for modern junior and senior high schools, Vol. 19, No. 1, September, 1944. It can also be secured in a three-page reprint from the National Self-Government Committee, 80 Broadway, New York. From this leaflet I quote the Editor's note and the last two paragraphs as follows:

"Editor's Note: This is the fifth article in a controversy about the delegated authority of the student council and the principal's power of veto. The present article may be read either as a complete statement in itself, or, preferably, readers may refer to some of those preceding it: 'The 20 Questions on Student Government,' by Harvey and Allen, October, 1943; 'Too Many Safeguards Kill Student Government,' by Earl C. Kelley, December, 1943; 'What Basis for Student Government?' by W. C. McGinnis, April, 1944; and 'Deliver Student Government from Some of Its "Friends,"' by Roy C. Bryan, May, 1944. The authors are aligned as follows: Kelley vs. Harvey, Allen, McGinnis, and Bryan. Reprints of the Harvey and Allen article were widely distributed by the U. S. Office of Education. Reprints of the first Kelley article were widely distributed by the National Self-Government Committee. Dr. Kelley is professor of secondary education at Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan."

"All I have been trying to do is to get school administrators to risk more on the ability of their pupils to govern themselves so that these pupils may get more experience in government in order that they may be able to do better when they become adults. It may be that some schools have had unfortunate experiences by taking too much chance on youth, but for every one of these instances I am sure a hundred could be found where student participation in government failed because not enough chances were taken.

"The basis for democracy is cooperative living. In cooperative living all in the group share responsibility. The teacher does things with, not to, his pupils. Instead of the teacher dealing out rights

and privileges, these rights and privileges are achieved through acceptance of responsibility on the part of each member of the group. The bond that comes from acceptance of one's responsibility for the good of the group is an abridgment of freedom cheerfully accepted."

3. During the National Education Association Conference, 1925, at Indianapolis, Department of Superintendence, John G. Chewning, Superintendent of Schools, Evansville, spoke on "Student Self-Government," as follows:

"The text for this discussion is taken from the list of principles adopted in August, 1923, at Montreaux, Switzerland, by the 'New Education Fellowship,' in which twenty-five countries were represented. Principle IV reads as follows: 'The government of a school community as a whole should be so organized by the children themselves, in collaboration with the teachers, and that government, as well as the self-discipline which each child must be taught to apply to himself should be deliberately aimed, at rendering external control unnecessary.

"We affirm that we are training for better character, but we have denied the children opportunity for vital practice in self-control. We resent the indictment that our schools do not train for citizenship in a democracy but we have held the boys and girls in a despotism, sometimes benevolent but not always having that recommendation. We acknowledge, the importance of self-activity and experience, but we have been satisfied with an outward show of obedience by the children to our directions. We require of them mainly silence and submission, listening and memorizing.

"With a few exceptions here and there over the country, the public schools are monarchic and autocratic organizations."

He then gives a story of the experiment in student government begun in Evansville Central High School in 1917. By April 29, 1924, the principal and teacher announced that the next day they would remain away from the building all day. Everything among the two thousand students went on as usual, as reported by the mayor, members of the school board, parents and various citizens who visited the school.

Other schools in the city have since made their own experiments:

"The work has only begun, we do not want the impression to go abroad that Evansville has any polished and highly perfected plan or system that may be transplanted bodily elsewhere."

IV. THREE STATEMENTS MADE ON EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY DURING A CONGRESS HELD AT TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, AUGUST, 1939

1. Winthrop W. Aldrich, Chairman of the Board, Chase National Bank, Vice-Chairman of the Congress, said:

"In a democracy, moreover, it must be the aim of education to teach the citizen that he must first of all rule himself, and that in ruling himself he must not forget that *every act he performs*, in whatever walk of life he may be, *affects ultimately every other person in his community*. This becomes increasingly true as our population increases and our economic and political life becomes more complicated. The citizen of a democracy above all others must never be permitted to forget that 'He who ruleth himself is greater than he who taketh a city.'"

2. Mrs. Alva Myrdal, Director, Training College for Nursery School and Kindergarten Teachers, Stockholm, Sweden, said:

"Now, the very criterion of a *democratic education* is that it should make as *many* as possible of the citizens, as *deeply* as possible engaged as *participants* in modern civilization and civic life. Being active and not passive is the key difference between living in a democracy and living in something else."

3. Principal John Murray, University College of the Southwest of England, Exeter, said:

"Schools, to turn out citizens, must be real communities with a friendly atmosphere and a concrete life in common. Within such a framework social habits and sympathies can be established that will last through life, and will pervade the whole country, and even its politics. Education is politics, and politics is education. *It is all a question of the social consciousness. Education ought to train the young to share in the Great Fellowship, the life of the*

land. It must disseminate a spirit, not by class-lessons in patriotism, or any form of propaganda, but by the practice of ordered unity and amity, not by talking and hearings of things, but by living them." [Italics mine in all.]

V. STATEMENTS MADE AT THE PRELIMINARY WHITE HOUSE
CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN IN A DEMOCRACY, APRIL, 1939

Courtney Dinwiddie, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, said:

"In most of our homes, and certainly in relationship between our homes and schools, we use very little imagination in trying to see that the education and training of young people are in relation to situations such as they know adults are called upon to meet or to see that they have opportunity for creative achievements that will raise their status to that of adults."

Owen R. Lovejoy, Associate Director, American Youth Commission of the American Council of Education, said of a large percentage of our youth:

"They want to convince us that youth is not asking favors; they are not asking us to take the burdens off their shoulders, they are only asking us to let them have the opportunity to get their shoulders under the wheel. They are not to be pampered, and they are not infants to be patronized; they want to be comrades with us in trying to work out a more realistic democracy."

Ruth Andrus, Chief, Bureau of Child Development and Parent Education, State Department of Education, Albany, N. Y., about the importance of adult thinking and example said:

"The fundamental conclusion which our group reached was that the chief issue was to clear up the confusion in adults' minds in regard to democracy, so that children could be helped to live in a democratic way, because children would really be democratic if parents and other adults with whom they come in contact were themselves democratic."

William G. Carr, Secretary, The Educational Policies Commission, Washington, D. C., said:

"The fourth thing that I think this Conference will have to be concerned with—and it is a matter which is already attracting

the attention of educators very aggressively—is the radical, prompt improvement of our programs of education for civic responsibility.”

VI. QUOTATIONS FROM THE REPORTS MADE BY TWO SUB-COMMITTEES TO THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON
CHILDREN IN A DEMOCRACY IN JANUARY, 1940

1. The Sub-Committee on Religion and Children in a Democracy said:

“The child in a democracy needs assistance in achieving for himself a scale of values consistent with a philosophy of life. Such a scale of values does not come about primarily through things which we do to or for children. It is largely the result of the free and creative *participation* of children in judging and carrying through courses of action in specific and concrete situations of their every day life.”

2. The Sub-Committee on Education Through the School makes these statements:

“Our democracy is threatened today largely by ignorance of what is required to keep it alive. Citizenship involves not only use of the franchise but such other privileges and responsibilities as proper exercise or freedom, observance of law, *knowledge of political organization and political processes*, and respect for differences of opinion. Selfishness, intolerance, and unduly restricted freedoms are found on every hand. The school's influence on the behavior of children in matters of citizenship leaves much to be desired; this is attributable largely to restraints upon teaching and to the lack of experience in treating issues that are highly technical and often controversial.

“Students must be given *experience and actual responsibility* if they are to *know the significance of political citizenship*. To this end the *focus of experience should be shifted more largely from classroom to community; taking even a small part in solving community problems vitalizes democracy for the learner*. [Italics mine.] It is usually possible to give the student actual responsibility in the government of the school; however small the part that each may play, participation will yield returns far greater than can be

obtained through recitation alone. It is desirable also to unify the teaching of school subjects that have a bearing on citizenship; through emphasis on the interrelationships of history, geography, economics, and sociology as they affect our civilization, the student can relate his knowledge and experience most usefully. The proper use of this knowledge of citizenship according to the principles of democracy is the all-pervading purpose of American Education."

VII. FOUR STATEMENTS TAKEN FROM A BOOK*

1. Carleton W. Washburne, Superintendent of Schools, in Winnetka, Ill., wrote:

"Give to every child, a realization that *his well being is inextricably bound up* with the well being of his *community*, his state, his nation, and of *humanity*, the *world over*."

2. John Rockwell, Minnesota State Commissioner of Education, wrote:

"Democracy postulates individual responsibility. Education must prepare individuals to accept that responsibility willingly, and must see that the average citizen has the knowledge and ability necessary to acquire information and facts on it in a *realistic* and *unprejudiced manner*."

3. Ordway Tead, President of the Board of Higher Education of New York City, wrote:

"Teachers obviously need broader training, going beyond methods and skills to the meaning and the responsibilities of modern democracy, the techniques of democratic government, and a broad social view of professional obligations.

"The times call for teachers and citizens to lead the way toward a better society by providing through education a *genuine* experience in *democratic learning and living*."

4. A valuable discussion of the problem of education for democracy in difficult group situations is given by K. N. Llewellyn in "Yes, It Takes Mass Production." Although the whole article should be carefully studied, I quote here one paragraph which illustrates the process of a growing recognition of a *kinship feeling*

* Quoted by permission from *Democracy's Challenge to Education*, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.

between the members of two antagonistic industrial groups. The same process can also be applied to members of antagonistic racial and political groups, and even to members of some diverse religious groups.

"No one who has watched artists work in such a field as industrial relations can doubt that even rooted and snarling antagonisms can be much allayed. The human material allows of it; and techniques exist. As yet they are not techniques available to ordinary people in the mass, nor used by such. Yet it is moderately clear that they are not too complex for use in education; 'The other gangs have the same kind of troubles with their people that we are up against, they have a few liars, a few skunks, a few who are just in it for themselves and don't care what happens to anybody. They don't know all the facts—how can they understand? Look at what they are hearing about us from their liars. Maybe we don't know all the facts, either; a whole gang can't be like that—they're people too, *take them one by one they're an awful lot like us.*'" [Italics mine.]

In closing this appendix I call attention to two basic problems in the use of the method just illustrated in all our schools, namely (1), the problem of securing teachers with the emotional personality and the ability to use this method in the discussion of controversial social, economic and industrial questions; and (2), the difficulty of securing a supervisory personnel and a community public opinion that will permit the use of such a method in their schools, especially in the discussion of local civic and industrial questions. Surely these two problems must be faced by a democracy that would do its utmost to develop *citizens who can do their best for democracy.*

APPENDIX E

THIS APPENDIX discusses efforts toward the promotion of intra-social and international understanding.

I. TWO SCHOOL PROJECTS

1. In "Education for Victory," December 18, 1942, is printed the following quotation from an annual *Report of the Milwaukee Public Schools*, on "We Defend America."

"A vital need for the defense of America, critical both in war and in peace, is a more profound, more sympathetic understanding of those nations who are akin to us in ideals or who fight with us against the common foe. During the last decade we have gradually come to see that the defense of America is intimately bound up with the defense of democratic ideals the world over, and especially with continental solidarity. As a result of this consciousness, ~~an effort is being made in this country to understand our friends and neighbors in terms of their history, culture, government, way of life, and economic backgrounds.~~ In such understanding, of course, the school is a key agency.

"The Milwaukee Public Schools promote international understanding by:

"1. Such teaching of history as will create insight into the national aims and policies of our friends and neighbors.

"2. Making comparisons in *civics* and *citizenship* classes which will give us a better understanding of other democracies the world over.

"3. Using geography as a means of indicating the relationship of man to his environment, the importance of continental solidarity, the economic interdependence of friendly nations, together with such geographical informations as indicate the need for understanding and unity among them.

"4. Developing projects and library technique units around life in other lands.

"5. Studying current events.

"6. Singing the songs, and reading in translation or in the original the literary works of other nations, particularly of neighbors and friends who hitherto have been neglected.

"7. Studying the languages used in international relations."

2. From a news column in the *New York Times*, April 23, 1944, I cite these paragraphs:

"A racial-tolerance campaign designed to make New York's children, parents, teachers and administrators 'immune and impregnable' to the specter of hatred has been started throughout the city's public school system by the Board of Superintendents, it was learned yesterday.

"Based on a 'Charter for Intercultural Education for New York City's Schools' by Superintendent of Schools John E. Wade, and directed by Dr. Jacob Greenberg, associate superintendent, the campaign reaches the children through a revision of the curriculum, and the teachers through a series of circulars and directives sent by Dr. Wade instructing them to make the principles of racial tolerance a basic principle of the entire educational program.

"The 'focal point' of Dr. Wade's 'charter' deals with the '*worth of people*.' Children will be taught that they owe respect for one another as individuals and for the groups to which they belong; *understanding of the total cultural pattern of America*, its diversities and *common ideals*, and *cooperative living together and working together of all children of different faiths, racial strains and nationality backgrounds*.

"The second point declares that 'Justice is a Right, Not a Privilege.' Another principle included in the charter deals with the need of 'scientific understanding of races and cultures,' since 'a good deal of our present conduct is brought about by misconception and prejudice revolving around false ideas about race.'

"Such 'scientific understanding' is being introduced into biology and anthropology curricula following a plan outlined by Herbert M. Chaimos of Fort Hamilton High School.

"The fifth point deals with the danger of prejudice; the sixth with the importance of practical examples and applications of tolerance principles, and the seventh with the methods and procedures to be followed in developing them."

II. FIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT INTERSOCIAL AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PROCESSES

1. From a letter by Winifred Mallon sent to the *New York Times*, from Washington, D. C., September 2, 1942, I condense the following statement:

"Delegates from fifty nations, including anti-Fascist axis groups began a four-day International Student *Assembly* from more than fifty nations in Washington, September 2. Free Italy has six delegates and ten observers; Austria, Germany and France each has seven representatives in the assembly, Belgium three, Hungary and Yugoslavia four each; Poland six, four of whom are accredited by their government; Czechoslovakia nine, of whom four are official delegates.

"China with twenty-seven delegates has the largest representation of any country other than the United States, which is represented by eighty-two delegates and seventy-seven observers, *from colleges and universities in all parts of the country.*" [Italics mine.]

From an address by Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson, I cite these quotations:

"The free forces of the world must again take their posts at the guiding end, not at the receiving end of fate.

"The pattern of the future must be shaped by the ideas that find acceptance in the minds of *oncoming youth, and established* by the courage that *is in their hearts and the strength that is in their hands.* . . . *Right*, the only ingredient that can make *might* lasting, must be made manifest in our policy and conduct toward each other, toward minorities and disadvantaged men or people—yes, even toward our enemies."

2. I quote these paragraphs from a letter to me of April 14, 1944, by Read Lewis, Executive Director of the Common Council for American Unity, 222 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.:

"The Council is trying to make the newer groups in our population more familiar with American institutions and better able to take their part in American life. Last year the Council extended its educational work in the foreign language press to the foreign language radio field. It is now sending weekly educa-

tional material to 135 stations in the United States broadcasting in 26 foreign languages. Local agencies throughout the country continue to depend on the Council's information service. As one worker from Minneapolis recently wrote: 'Your Releases are of untold value to us. I for one cannot imagine working with foreign born people without the splendid assistance of the Common Council and its publications.' Last year the Council also handled a record number of individual cases, 9,436. Since the repeal last December of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, permitting Chinese to become American citizens, we have helped many Chinese applicants in preparing the necessary forms.

"At the other end of the problem the Council is trying to make the many different groups in our population better acquainted with each other, to promote understanding, to combat discrimination, to uproot those attitudes and traditions which deny men equal opportunities because of birth or color or creed. The influence of our magazine *Common Ground* is mounting steadily. More and more copies are being used by libraries and for classroom discussion in our schools. The Springfield, Massachusetts, Board of Education, for example, recently subscribed for ten copies for each school for use in connection with the famous 'Springfield plan' for teaching tolerance."

3. Stephen Duggan, in a letter published in the *New York Times*, April 12, 1942, says:

"Since its foundation in 1919 the Institute of International Education, of which I am director, has brought almost 2,500 students on scholarships from European countries and sent a similar number from the United States to those countries. It developed a modus operandi founded upon scholarships, personality, linguistic ability and adjustability which produced results highly satisfactory to university authorities in our own and the foreign countries. By the time the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs was established in 1940 the institute had also brought some 300 Latin-American students upon scholarships to our country."

4. I quote from the *New York Times*, March 26, 1944, the whole of an article on the 1943 Report of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace:

"The activities of the division of intercourse and education of the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, extended and intensified during 1943, met with increasing public interest and support, *Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, director* of the division, declared in *his annual report which was made* public yesterday.

"Stressing the importance of the division's work for international peace, Dr. Butler said that economic, industrial and military events of the past twenty-five years have forced the problems of international relations and responsibilities upon public opinion.

"*'The solution of these problems in a democratic nation,'* he said, *'depends upon public opinion,* and therefore it is to the *education of public opinion* that every constructive agency must turn in its endeavor to build a new, a peaceful and a prosperous world.'

"In describing the scope and purpose of the division's activities, Dr. Butler said: *'Every part of the United States has been reached* directly by the division and its cooperating organizations in the effort to make plain the causes and character of the world-wide war for the protection and defense of the fundamental principles of democratic institutions and to guide the American people in studying the policies, national and international, which should be followed when this war shall be won, in order that there may hereafter be a stable peace and steadily increasing prosperity.

"The division cooperated with other organizations in establishing centers to direct and stimulate the study of international relations. Associated with these central offices are many branches and allied organizations. *Five of the centers assisted in arranging tours of ten bipartisan Congressional teams in twenty-six States.*

"*'They found a widespread response,'* said Dr. Butler, *'and overwhelming support of American leadership in providing for the maintenance of peace in the post-war world by a general discussion of international disputes and power to check aggressors.'*

"Dr. Butler reported that *1,228 international relations clubs fostered by the division are functioning in American colleges and high schools and in Latin America, China, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt and South Africa. Books are sent twice annually to each club, as well as a fortnightly summary of international events.'*

5. "Education for Victory," October 15, 1943.

"An International Education Program Considered—29 United Nations Represented.

"Seventy educators, representing 29 of the United Nations, as well as leading educational organizations in this country, met from September 14 to 17 at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., to plan an over-all program of international education. An International Organization for Education and Cultural Development was envisaged to provide assistance and guidance to the culturally devastated nations of the world.

"Uncompromising with reference to the necessity of exterminating the educational systems of the Axis countries, the International Education Assembly insisted, nevertheless, that the nationals concerned should be permitted to work out their own systems of education after the war is won. It was believed both undesirable and impossible to impose a system of education from without upon the conquered peoples. The elements of reconstruction would have to be built out of the humanitarian elements in the culture of the countries concerned, though fascistic elements should not be permitted to reappear in the educational structure of the future.

"The functions of the International Organization for Education and Cultural Development, it was held, could not be fully defined in advance. New conditions and experience during the early years of the operation of the organization would likely necessitate the modification of the following list of activities which was approved by the conference:

"1. Encourage the adoption of treaties, postal agreements, tariff regulations and travel arrangements which will facilitate the international interchange of ideas, cultural and scientific materials, and also of students, teachers, and representatives of all fields of science and culture.

"2. Provide leadership in securing emphasis on problems and materials which relate to the life and culture of different countries; interdependence of nations and citizenship in the world community; problems of post-war adjustment and reconstruction; and democratic theory and practice.

"3. Conduct surveys and researches concerning educational

and cultural activities and problems in the different countries, and disseminate information through publication and conferences.

"4. Cooperate with the government of the war-devastated countries in the re-building of their educational and cultural programs at the close of the war.

"5. Assist the new governments of the Axis countries in the reconstruction of their educational and cultural program in harmony with the goals of peace.

"6. Assist countries that request help in the development of their educational and cultural activities and institutions.

"7. Encourage the exchange of students and teachers between countries.

"8. Develop curricula, teaching materials, and techniques that might be useful in the different countries in the study of problems of common concern in the school systems of the different countries.

"9. Define desirable minimum standards of education and make recommendations to member nations.

"10. Identify and encourage the elimination of educational and cultural activities that threaten the peaceful relations among nations.

"11. Provide leadership in defining the types of educational, social, and cultural activity most desirable for democratic societies in the world of modern technology.

"12. Support the free exchange of ideas among countries through the schools, libraries, the press, publications, the radio, the motion picture, and international conferences.

"13. Encourage the establishment of international institutions for the training of educational and cultural leaders.

"14. Encourage the provision of equal opportunity for educational and cultural development of all people.

"15. Aid in the formation and effective operation of private international societies in the fields of education, science, and the humanities.

"16. Assist all nations insofar as feasible in the elimination of illiteracy.

"It was suggested by the Assembly that the military and civilian administrators utilize the advisory services of desirable educational

leaders in Axis countries as they are occupied. The Assembly advocated the creation of an educational commission within each of the Axis countries which would be composed of nationals qualified to develop long-term educational procedures for educational reconstruction as soon as possible.

"The International Assembly was called by the Liaison Committee for International Education. This Liaison Committee had been formed earlier in the year by representatives of several United States educational organizations. Since its inception some 30 United States educational groups have officially become members. Grayson N. Kefauver has served as Chairman of the Committee from the beginning.

"While the International Education Assembly is a self-constituted organization without official sanction or power, its deliberations and suggestions are significant since they represent the thinking of leading educational organizations in this country, and the advice of prominent representatives of the United Nations. The conference just concluded should stimulate educators and the general public to give thought to the important role which education can play in the emerging world of tomorrow."

APPENDIX F

THIS APPENDIX discusses *consciousness of kind* as a *motive* power to *help* each other.

I. WE NEED EACH OTHER

1. "The World Adrift," by Charles F. Weller, Founder-President of World Fellowship, Inc., Conway, N. H., August 11, 1942.

"The World is one vast Ship—floating, rudderless and ineffective on a storm-lashed, rock-strewn sea.

"Many of the people on its decks, instead of uniting to manage the Ship, are fighting each other. The decks are slippery with human blood.

"Individuals, in various parts of the Ship, are nobly perfecting their own personal lives and prayerfully communing with the Father-Mother of All Life-Creator, Ruler of the Ship and of all the laws and forces of the sea.

"Segregated groups—the cabin passengers, the stokers, the cooks—are organizing and promoting, each, the distinct and separate interests of their group.

"All of this individual and group development is inadequate to master the dangers, needs and possibilities that confront the Ship.

"The *One*, great, basic, central *Necessity* is that all the people, on all the decks, in every part of the Ship, shall Unite and Organize to work the Ship and steer it.

"This, the People can do—if (or when) they will."

II. STATEMENTS BY FOUR MEN

"In this critical hour in our own and the world's history we, as Americans, need more than armaments and armies to make safe our democracy. We need a secure bond of understanding among all citizens, and even more, the practice of brotherhood and of

willing cooperation among Americans of every creed and racial origin."—Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

"The world of the future will be a world based on the idea of brotherhood."—Wendell L. Willkie, in *One World*.

"In times like the present there is constantly increasing danger that animosities between groups of different race, of different bias or social habits may be intensified where they exist or may be originated under the stress of circumstances. For this reason Americans must combat these tendencies and cultivate the respect that each group should hold for all the others."—Franz Boas.

"In times like ours everything depends upon unity."—Thomas Mann.

III. OPINIONS THAT WE ARE MORE ALIKE THAN DIFFERENT

1. "People's similarities are usually, and underneath everything, greater than their differences. The impulses are the same, the manifestation differs and in any evolution it is necessary to look behind the latter for the former.

"The sound human aspirations and composition which in this country gave rise to our version of democracy exist in the peoples of the world."—Louis Adamic.

2. "America is not only the cauldron of democracy but the incubator of democratic principles. At some of the places I visited, I met the crews of your air bases. There I found first generation Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Poles, Czechoslovakian and other nationals.

"But they were all Americans, all devoted to the same ideals, all working for the same cause and united by the same high purpose, no suspicion or rivalry existed between them. This increased my belief and faith that *devotion to common principles eliminates differences in race and that identity of ideals is the strongest possible solvent of racial dissimilarities.*" [Italics mine.]—Mme. Chiang Kai-shek.

IV. PRAYERS

1. A prayer posted in the air-raid shelters in England:

"Increase, O God, the spirit of neighborliness among us, that

in peril we may uphold one another, in calamity serve one another, in suffering tend one another, and in homelessness, loneliness or exile, befriend one another."

2. A prayer by Stephen Vincent Benét:

"Grant us brotherhood not only for this day but for all our years. . . . A brotherhood not of words but of acts and deeds. We are all of us children of earth . . . grant us that simple knowledge. If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed. If they hunger; we hunger. If their freedom is taken away our freedom is not secure. Grant us a common faith that man shall know bread and peace . . . that he shall know justice and righteousness, freedom and security, an equal opportunity and an equal chance to do his best, not only in our own lands, but throughout the world, and in that faith let us march toward the clean world our homes can make. Amen."—Memorial read by Helen Hayes during a WEAFF "Benét Broadcast," by Deems Taylor under the auspices of the Council for Democracy, April 17, 1943.

3. Prayer by Dr. Morgan Phelps Noyes:

"Father of all men, Who hast knit our lives together into the fabric of a common weal, we remember in gratitude the multitude of men and women out of whose toil come our comfort and well being; those who till the ground to grow food for us; those who labor in mines that our factories and homes may have fuel; those who work at machines to make the things we need or desire; those who seek truth in laboratories and libraries to enrich our store of knowledge; those who wake while we sleep to guard us and our homes from fire and from danger; those who create beauty in form and color, with music or with words to open to us the windows of a wider world; those who seek to establish justice and freedom for all men, with a chance to labor in quietness and to enjoy the fruits of honest toil. O Thou Master Worker, as Thou hast made mankind one in our need of one another, make us likewise one in our recognition of each other's worth, and one in that spirit which can enable us to serve one another and to serve Thee in the ways of peace."—Central Presbyterian Church, Montclair, N. J., November 23, 1941.

4. Harry Emerson Fosdick, in National Vespers over WJZ, April 11, 1943:

“When a Child Confronts the World

“In an Old Testament story narrated in the Thirteenth Chapter of the Book of Judges, a man named Manoah and his wife were visited by an angel of the Lord who told them they were going to have a son, and Manoah’s response was a prayer that I should suppose would find an echo in every sensitive heart today. *Manoah entreated the Lord and said, ‘O my Lord, let the man of God whom thou didst send come again unto us, and teach us what we shall do unto the child that shall be born.’* That prayer surely belongs to us. What are we, the nations of the world, going to do to the children that shall be born?

“Such a prayer lifts our thought to a vantage point from which the wild events of these times are seen in a fresh perspective. It confronts us with a little child and in a little child there is something universal. A newborn babe is not yet a German or a Japanese or a Russian or an American; *he is a new piece of humanity in whom not the particulars that divide us but the universals that unite us are incarnate.*” [Italics mine.]

