

WORLD WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS

Their Social Significance

BY

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"This moment yearning and thoughtful, sitting alone,
It seems to me there are other men in other lands
yearning and thoughtful.
It seems to me I can look over and behold them in
Germany, Italy, France, Spain,
Or, far, far away in China, or in Russia, or in Japan,
talking other dialects,
And it seems to me if I could know these men
I should become attached to them, as I do
to men in my own lands,
O, I know we should be brothers and lovers,
I know I should be happy with them."—*Walt Whitman.*

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GRACE DARLING LIEURANCE

MY WIFE, PAL AND COMRADE

Savoir pour prévoir et connaître pour améliorer.—*Comte*.

Die Philosophen haben die Welt nur verschieden interpretiert, es kommt aber darauf an, sie zu verändern.—*Marx*.

It is necessary to have in our social economy a conservative force as well as a reforming one, that there may be progress for the resultant; but it is impolitic to afford the one an artificial advantage over the other.—*Spencer*.

Facing the facts that the social sciences are making known to us, and will make better known, should enable us to diminish human misery and to live more wisely than the human race has lived hitherto.—*Giddings*.

The whole evolution of man is a process of liberation in which his very awareness of his subjection becomes the condition of his mastery.—*MacIver*.

PREFACE

IN 1924, the opportunity came to me to attend two workers' educational conferences at Oxford, as a delegate to the International Conference on Workers' Education, and, as a fraternal delegate to the Coming-of-Age Celebration of the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain. These events afforded a fruitful occasion for making contacts with the leaders of workers' education in many lands. I also visited five other countries of Europe where I observed workers' education and collected data for my study. In Germany I attended a labor college course for functionaries under the direction of the Reichsausschuss für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit. The course was conducted by Georg Engelbert Graf, M.P., one of the outstanding labor educators of Germany. I was fortunate also in being present at the first Social-Democratic Culture Week in Leipzig. At Schloss Tinz I saw a resident labor college at work during several days.

After the International Conference on Workers' Education I enrolled for the summer course at Ruskin College, Oxford. This course was sponsored by the International Federation of Trade Unions. Sixty-two students from twenty different countries were in attendance. Among the students were many representative labor leaders who lectured on their respective movements.

Coming home with a spirit of enthusiasm I began to gather material on workers' education from the far corners of the earth. In the main this survey is based upon original sources, personal observation, teaching experience with adults, and contact with different phases of the labor movement. The facts have been selected not with the view to

prove some pet theory or proposition. They were gathered with a genuine faith in education, and a conviction of the need of directing thought toward world-mindedness. I have thought of education not as a panacea but as a necessary preparation, as a method of equipping human beings to understand problems of social reality and to inspire them to seek for solutions. I agree with Professor MacIver that "Education may not engender the spirit of humanity, but it directs it, justifies it, and thereby stimulates it." A great variety of data have been supplied so as to furnish the reader with a sufficient basis upon which to draw his own inferences.

I have not attempted a full-length history of the world workers' educational movement, but rather to break ground and to indicate where the cornerstones for the new edifice should be laid. Personal observation and experience in the movement has made me fairly conversant with some of the problems of workers' education as well as created a point of view toward their solution. Nevertheless, I have tried to present an account that is as detached as is humanly possible for one who feels more than an ephemeral interest in the cause and without intentionally exalting labor above any other group in society. In other words, I have been more diligent in the search for fact, for truth and fairness, than in the avoidance of error. I have endeavored to present facts as well as some of the feelings and attitudes which in reality accompany the facts. Having no previous pattern to guide me, I submit this contribution as an exploratory synthesis, a mere introduction providing data regarding the movement in different countries, showing in some measure the social and psychological environment from which the movement drew its substance and attitudes.

By the word significance in the sub-title of this book, I mean something more than social importance. I have en-

deavored to suggest, especially in the introduction and in the last two chapters, connections, relations between facts of the survey and facts of a wider range of social context. I am quite aware that my contribution is only an introduction to the analysis of the social processes inherent in the workers' educational movements. From the scientific viewpoint, however, it is necessary to present the facts and interpretations as a basis for any such analysis.

To list all of the fellow-workers in the movement throughout the world who have aided me in one way or another would obtrude upon considerations of space, and since individual acknowledgments will be found in the text, in the bibliography, may I express my appreciation summarily: I thank all of you. I trust to a forebearant mood in my friends for the delayed publication of this study. (I have often drawn inspiration from the motto: "Nur die Sache ist verloren die man aufgibt.") Although the preparation of this study has been financially exacting (an ordeal shared graciously by my wife), yet the additional sacrifice of the cost of publication is entered upon cheerfully in the hope that the book will contribute toward an understanding of and a growing interest in workers' education.

I hope that this book will appeal to the following groups: those having specific interest in workers' education; those concerned with adult education; teachers colleges and other schools offering courses in educational sociology, educational psychology, and the history of education; college and university classes in social and labor problems; the general reader who wishes to keep in touch with the social thought trend of these changing times; and finally, I wish to include the politician and statesman among my readers.

My respects are herewith conveyed to Professor Olive Edens for the wholehearted moral support she gave to the ardent founder of the Social Democratic Club of the Wash-

ington State Normal School at Bellingham, Washington; and, to Professor William Savery for his interest in radical youth and for his critical intellectual guidance of the stimulating discussions in the Sphinx Club at the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

I am grateful for encouragement received from all of my teachers in the graduate departments at Columbia University, Professors: Giddings, MacIver, Chaddock, Tenney, Lindsay, Ogburn, Ross, Seager, Mitchell, and Snedden.

M. H.

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PART I
INTRODUCTORY

“I will bear in mind that the world is my native city.”—*Seneca*.

“Es ist nicht genug, zu wissen, man muss es auch anwenden.”—*Goethe*.

“The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues and kindreds.”—*Lincoln*.

“Dies gerade ist die grösse der Bestimmung dieser Zeit, auszuführen, was finstere Jahrhunderte nicht einmal zu denken für möglich gehalten haben, die Wissenschaft an das Volk zu bringen.”—*Lassalle*.

CHAPTER I

AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ASPECT OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

At the Third International Conference on Workers' Education¹ sixty-one delegates from twenty different countries—including far-away Japan, India, Australia, and British Guiana—met in Ruskin College, Oxford, from August fifteenth to the seventeenth, 1924, to exchange experiences and if possible to pave the way for a permanent International of Workers' Education. The occasion was auspicious the more so, from the point of view of the British labor movement. The convention was meeting in a year of meaningful memorials. A century ago trade unionism wrested legal recognition from Parliament. The co-operative movement celebrated its eightieth anniversary. It was sixty years since Karl Marx founded the International Workingmen's Association. The half-century mark had just been passed since the first labor members took their seat in the House of Commons. Twenty years previously the British Labor Party joined the Socialist International. The Coming-of-Age Celebration of the Workers Educational Association of Great Britain had just become history. On the continent, the great International Co-operative Exposition at Ghent was

¹For the purpose of this introduction, the writer assumes that: Workers' Education is an attempt by the grown-ups in the trade union, consumers' cooperative, cultural and political labor movements, including some mixed groups, to help their fellow workers and children "grow up", i. e. to know social reality, strengthen the courage to face it mutually, stimulate the collective will to change reality if necessary, and to become more socialized human beings.

in full swing. While in France the first decade since the murder of Jean Jaures was fittingly memorialized.

Aside from these anniversaries, there were other influences which tended to awaken serious reflection. The conference was assembled in the shadow of the first labor government of Great Britain. Labor in other parts of the continent foresaw the possibility of eventual rise to office, if not to power. Whereas the older leaders were schooled in offensive and defensive strategy and tactics, the new leadership, it was felt, must be prepared for constructive social action as well. Moreover, labor education must increasingly take a world point of view. Hence the delegates were conscious of the need of education and training for public responsibility.

Mr. Sanderson-Furniss, Principal of Ruskin College sounded an international note in welcoming the conference to the college. "Ruskin College", he began, "stands for young and new ideas in education, including the idea that education must be international in scope. Education must include a real knowledge of the people of the nations and a spirit of friendship among all peoples. Just as Ruskin College stands in the midst of medieval surroundings, so, at present, the international educational movement is surrounded by medieval, not to say archaic, ideas of education, a condition, I hope, this conference will help to break down."

Fred Bramley,¹ Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, speaking for a labor movement of five and a half million members in close relation with various bodies engaged in workers' education, emphasized labor's just claim to an equal share in the educational heritage, and he rejoiced in the appropriateness of holding the conference in Oxford. "It is a challenge to educational monopoly," chided Mr. Bramley. "Oxford is a center in which university training

¹ Died, Oct. 10, 1925.

has been the monopoly of the sons of the rich.¹ Our educational system should be developed with the object of making it free from domination, theological or political, and it should be designed to fit the student to develop his own facilities of observation, reasoning and judgment. Working class students should not become the slaves of phrases invented by their predecessors in any field of investigation. Workers' education should be a process of emancipating the mind of the worker. In England, labor is becoming more and more dominated by the legitimate ideal of preparing itself for the time when it would take political and economic control of home and international trade relations, but we are not conceited enough to assume that we are prepared for that

¹ J. P. Millar, Secretary of the National Council of Labor Colleges, quoted J. Ramsay MacDonald's indictment against Oxford: "Oxford is a painted lady of whom labor can expect nothing." (This opinion, be it noted, did not deter MacDonald from sending his own son to become educated in that institution.)

That Bramley's criticism was founded on fact is borne out by the then Bishop of Manchester, who remarked at the W. E. A. Coming-of-Age Celebration that Oxford had not as yet completely overcome its class bias, and since the ruling class is unwilling to share its experience with labor, workers' education is in part a protest against the monopoly of knowledge.

A similar sentiment was uttered in a resolution adopted by a mass meeting of workmen in New York City, November, 1829: "Resolved, That the most grievous species of inequality is that produced by inequality in education. . . . That all other modes of reform are, compared to this particular, inefficient and trifling."—*Workingmen's Advocate*.

These flayings, except the latter, appear to be echoes from John Morley: "We have been considering the position of those who would fain divide the community into two great castes; the one of thoughtful and instructed persons using their minds freely, but guarding their conclusions in strict reserve; the other of the illiterate or unreflecting, who should have certain opinions and practices taught them, not because they are true or are really what their votaries are made to believe them to be, but because the intellectual superiors of the community think the inculcation of such a belief useful in all cases save their own. Nor is this a mere theory. On the contrary, it is a fair description of an existing state of things."—*On Compromise*, ch. iii, p. 73.

task immediately and therefore we support education as a necessary preliminary."

A glance at the roster of accredited delegates¹ will convey an idea of the range and diversity of organizations represented. From Scandinavia came men and women—editors, labor leaders, secretaries, representing their respective national centers for workers' education; from Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Luxemburg, Belgium, Holland, France, Switzerland, Poland, and Spain, came men and women who had grown up in a socialist and proletarian tradition. These delegates were sent by Works Council Schools, National Centers for Trade Union and Social Democratic Education, etc. The English delegations were sprinkled with some of the pioneers of their great movements: the Workers Educational Association (W. E. A.), the National Council of Labor Colleges (N. C. L. C.), The Labor Party, the Trade Union Congress (T. U. C.), the Co-operative Union, and the World Association of Adult Education (W. A. A. E.). From Ireland came the leader of the Irish Labor Party, Thomas Johnson, M.P., his wife and several delegates from the Teachers League. United States and Canada were represented by nine delegates. From distant Japan came Captain Yonecubo of the Japanese Seamen's Union; from India Mr. R. Bhavan of the Social Democratic School of Bombay; from Australia Mr. R. A. Crouch of the Labor Party Education Committee. The National Center of Workers' Education in Palestine sent two delegates. British Guiana sent a colored delegate who distinguished himself in an oration of superb English. Besides these national delegations, there were present representatives of various international organizations, such as, the International Federation

¹ The foreign delegates were the guests of the British Trade Union Congress. Many visitors from foreign lands, and onlookers from England were present.

of Women Workers, the International of Socialist Youth, the Socialist Educational International, the International Kinderfreunde, the International Federation of Trade Unions (I. F. T. U.), and the World Association for Adult Education (W. A. A. E.).¹ Owing to the unsettled relationship between the so-called Amsterdam International and the Red International, the Russians had not been invited. English, German and French were the official languages of the convention.

Barely six years had elapsed since the end of the world holocaust. Fratricidal war was here yielding to fraternal overture. Men and women from the four corners of the earth—only the great countries of Russia and China were unrepresented—had assembled to share experiences and achievements and to plan for the greater enlightenment of the world's working population. Ruskin College had become a veritable international center for the cross-fertilization of ideas. There appeared to be no doubt in the minds of the delegates that workers' education is a serious and important enterprise of world-wide range. Disagreements and differences as to details were overshadowed by a central purpose motivating the conference. The animating thought in response to which the delegates had convened was given incisive formulation by Professor R. H. Tawney when he observed "an emergence among the rank and file of the working-class world of a conviction that education may be used as an instrument of social emancipation,² and a determination

¹ The total membership of the various organizations represented in the conference is not available. Affiliated membership in the I. F. T. U. amounted to 15 million; in the Co-operative Union of Great Britain, 5 million; American Federation of Labor, 3 million. Labor and Socialist International, 7 million; Socialist Youth International, 240,000, approximately. See *American Labor Year Book*, 1926.

² Concurred in by Alexander Schwab, *Archive für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, volume for 1918-19, pp. 633-4—"Das Proletariat ist

to build up, both through and in addition to the ordinary machinery of public education, an educational movement which is stamped with their own ideals and the expression of their own experience." ¹

The presence of representatives of various trade union, cooperative and political organizations suggested that workers' education is not an independent, unique phenomenon, rather a part of the awakening labor movement. Like the trade union movement and social radicalism,² it is indigenous to machine technology and urbanization. The "stimulation and reaction area" of workers' education tends to correlate with industrialism which has penetrated the inner and outermost reaches of the world today. On what other ground could one account for the thirty labor colleges that have sprung up in the industrial centers of Japan? Or the beginnings of workers' education in India and China? The roots of workers' education extend as far back as the dawn of the industrial revolution.

It is a commonplace of history that radical social reformers, aware of the potential power which an educated brain often contains, have appealed to the virtue of education as a means toward the realization of their ideals. Some of the early American radicals (hitherto little noticed by historians) gave surprisingly keen social-minded reactions to the changing economic and social scene of their day. Their expressed

aufgestanden und beginnt den Weg zur Klassenlosen Gesellschaft zu suchen. Auf diesem Wege liegt die Freiheit für ein Jeden, ohne Rücksicht auf Stand und Vermögen seinen Eltern, die Ausbildung zu erwerben, die seiner Neigung und Begabung entspricht."

¹ *The Story of the Workers' Educational Association from 1903-1924*, by T. W. Price. Introduction by R. H. Tawney. The Labor Publishing Co., Limited, London, 1924, p. 8.

² Used in the sense of a thoroughgoing critical attitude toward the social order and participation in groups organized to bring about a fundamental social improvement.

convictions indicate a profound faith in the need and efficacy of a more general diffusion of social education among the masses. "I am not advancing the claim", wrote William Manning in his *Key to Liberty*¹ in 1798, "that education will be a panacea . . . but it will release possibilities." Manning not only recognized the efficacy of education, but he also perceived clearly and advocated a world-wide organization of farmers and laborers for the purpose of abolishing war. He certainly anticipated Marx when he pointed to the conflict of the classes and to the labor theory of value. The *Key to Liberty* is a refutation of the oft-repeated assertion, viz. that radical ideas are an importation from a European Marxist proletariat. Manning accuses the rich of his day as "always opposed to cheap schools and woman's schools, but interested in establishing colleges in order to make places for men to live without work." Again, "labor is the parent of all property—the land yielded nothing without it, and there is not food, shelter, clothing, vessel, or any necessities of life, but what costs labor and is generally esteemed valuable according to the labor it costs. Therefore no person can possess property, without laboring, unless he gets it by force or craft, fraud or fortune out of the earnings of others."² "War", he says, "arises from the pride and ambition of rulers . . . and ignorance of the people,"³ and no nation ever benefitted from making war on others; for whatever the conquests may have been, the plunder always goes to a few in-

¹ Published by the Manning Association, Billerica, Mass. Manning was unschooled. He had never gone fifty miles beyond his home. To what extent and how he might have been influenced by the rationalists of his century, the writer is unprepared to say.

² Reads like a page from *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* by Proudhon in 1840.

³ The Bishop of Manchester alluded to the Great War as "a conflict whose causes the common people did not perceive."—W. E. A. Conference, Oxford, 1924.

dividuals and always increases the misery of more than it helps."

Other early American radicals, L. Byllesby, George H. Evans, Thomas Skidmore, Orestes A. Brownson, Edward Kellogg, to name a few, wrote in a vein similar to European radicals, yet seemingly independent of the latter's influence, and especially of that of Marx-Engels. Karl Marx wore knee-breeches when Thomas Skidmore, a labor candidate for Governor of New York State, uttered in 1829—a century ago, these somewhat drastic sentiments: "Inasmuch as great wealth is an instrument which is uniformly used to extort from others their property, it ought to be taken away from its possessors, on the same principle that a sword or a pistol may be wrested from a robber, who shall undertake to accomplish the same effect in a different manner."¹ Orestes A. Brownson, another early champion in the cause for justice toward labor wrote: "We have little faith in the power of education to elevate a people compelled to labor from twelve to sixteen hours per day, and to experience for no mean portion of the time a paucity of even the necessaries of life, let alone its comforts."² "It must be noted" concludes Hillquit³ on the history of the early communistic experiments in the United States, "that the communists invariably bestowed much attention upon the education of their children and their own culture. Their schools as a rule, were superior to those of the towns and villages in the neighborhood; they mostly maintained libraries and reading rooms, held regular public discussions, and they were more cultured and refined than other men and women in the same station of life."

¹ Quoted by Justus Ebert in his pamphlet "Trades Unionism in the United States from 1742-1905," p. 5, from R. T. Ely's *The American Labor Movement in America*, 1886.

² Brownson, Orestes A., *The Laboring Classes*, 1842, p. 10.

³ *History of Socialism in the United States*, 1910, p. 131.

In America the more formal side of workers' education with a political emphasis dates from the founding of the Rand School of Social Science, in 1906. The ideals of this school cannot lay claim to lineal descendancy from the early American radicals, i.e., ante Marx. Neither can the W. E. A. or the N. C. L. C. of England claim direct descent educationally from the work of Thomas Hodgskin which lay in total eclipse during eight decades. When the ideals similar to those championed by Hodgskin were again to inspire a group of the British working class, "the ideas and almost the names, of the pioneers were practically unknown."¹ All of which adds weight to our working hypothesis that it is in the cultural milieu where we must seek the origin of workers' education. Although it would be difficult to measure the influence of pre-war radical education and propaganda (in the good sense of that abused word) upon present-day workers' education in America, yet, to deny the Rand School's influence, however indirect, would be unscientific and myopic. The Rand School claims part credit for the element of progressivism which exists in several large New York unions. Dr. Margaret T. Hodgen might have had this influence in mind when she wrote: "The pressure which ultimately placed workers' education upon the official programme of the American Federation of Labor came neither from England nor the West. It came from two large groups within the organization itself, to whom the old provocations of social, political economic and educational exclusion had at length become intolerable."² Regardless of the validity of this in-

¹ Horrabin, J. F. and W., *Working-Class Education*, London: The Labor Publishing Co., 1924, 93 p., p. 22.

In continental Europe, a radical educational tradition has been continuous since the formation of the social-democratic parties which in the German-speaking nations, grew out of the Arbeiterbildungsvereine.

² *Workers' Education in England and the United States*, p. 196.

The Rand School is partly a response to the second industrial revolution.

ference, the Rand School is historically significant as will be pointed out in Chapter V. In another place also, we shall discuss the lack of unity which prevails in the workers' educational situation in America. Workers' education that really works, is, in the opinion of James Maurer, one of the more progressive labor leaders of America, "the kind of education whose underlying purpose is the desire for a better social order."¹ "Where that dream of a better world is absent," said Arthur Gleason, "adult workers education will fade away in the loneliness and rigor of the effort."²

It has been suggested that workers' education is a child of a particular culture, material and immaterial. On the material side, it germinated in the soil of the industrial revolution. On the immaterial side, paternity lies with the social radicals and in a measure with the eighteenth-century rationalists. The latter influenced the Utopians, Saint-Simon and Fourier in France, Godwin in England, and, Robert Owen in turn absorbed spiritual sustenance from all.³ Owen is considered the spiritual god-father of the English labor and

¹ Presidential Address, W. E. B. of A. Convention, Boston, 1927.

² *Workers' Education* (pamphlet, 62 pages), p. 5.

³ Owen is supposed to have been inspired by the work of M. de Fellenberg, at Hofwyl, Switzerland. Two pamphlets, eighty pages in all, entitled: "Report on Institution for the Education of the Poor"; "Principles and Progress of the Establishment of M. de Fellenberg, at Hofwyl, Switzerland". Translated by John Attersoll, Esq. London, 1820. Probably Owen read these pamphlets. It doesn't matter. Owen's school was fully established at the time of the visit to Hofwyl. Owen shared with Fellenberg an inordinate antipathy toward class warfare. "Fellenberg conceived that the end and object of instructing the poor should be to afford them the knowledge requisite for the due performance of the duties of their station in life, and that the true way to make them happy is to render them contented in their situations but not to give them instruction which would raise them above their rank, and instill into their minds a desire for advancement, which would render them dissatisfied with their actual lot, and restless and desirous of change; this he justly conceives to be the prevailing evil of the present age."—pp. viii-ix.

co-operative movement.¹ He organized the Association of All Classes and All Nations in 1835. Its purpose was to educate people toward a new social order in which the interest of each should be the concern of all, where competition should be supplanted by co-operation, reason should rule over impulse, thus affording full opportunity for the development of human character. The latter he considered the summum bonum of education. Unlike Saint-Simon and Fourier, Owen was endowed with an extraordinary capacity for organization. "His faith was not merely a generalized belief in education for its own sake. He knew what kind of education he wanted." And he set about to realize his ideas in practice by founding a school for juveniles. Owen emphasized character-training from infancy. The leaders of the Kinderfreunde movement can still find inspiration in his teachings. Though deeply influenced by the theory of unlimited perfectibility of human nature, he did not believe that everyone is born equal. He rather shared the view expressed by William Manning, that education would release greater possibilities in the human make-up. Without presuming to sit in judgment of these men, Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, one may be forgiven by their disciples for the suggestion that all three failed to understand the social process, that their appeal was largely misdirected and did fall on deaf ears.² It would be folly to expect the possessing class to commit economic suicide voluntarily. In this respect, the American, L. Byllesby writing in 1826 was more realistic than his Utopian contemporaries when he observed: "His-

¹ For that reason, and because of his suggestiveness for the Kinderfreunde, he is entitled to a place in this study. From the point of view of working-class initiative and control of education, Owen's autocratic paternalism has often been criticized.

² The unresponsiveness of Owen's contemporary middle-class associates drove Owen into closer relationship with the workers. Cf. Mark Starr, "A Worker Looks at History", *The Plebs League*, London, 1919, p. 128.

tory does not furnish an instance wherein the depository of power voluntarily abrogated its prerogatives, or the oppressor relinquished his advantages in favor of the oppressed."¹ The impractical Fourier "waited for the last ten years of his life in his apartment at noon every day for the wealthy capitalist who should supply the means for the realization of his schemes."² Failure to recognize the element of conflict in society, the force of habit and inertia, the time element in sociological perspective, coupled with an extravagant optimism for the role of reason and a belief in the readiness of human beings to respond to radical changes, account partly for the doom that fell on the Utopian pioneers. The man who was to clear the Utopian jungle and reassert the dictum of Thomas Hodgskin³ that working-class education must be under workers' control, appeared in the person of Karl Marx. Marx labored not under the delusion of the Utopians. That he had a keen sense of the slow pace of social evolution is evidenced in this pithy sentence which he wrote at the moment of the fateful defeat of the Paris Commune:

Die Arbeiterklasse weiss, dass, um ihre eigene Befreiung und mit ihr höhere Lebensform herauszuarbeiten, der die gegen-

¹ L. Byllesby, *Observations on the Sources and Effects of Unequal Wealth*, New York, 1826, p. 167.

² Thomas Kirkup, *A History of Socialism*, 5th ed. rev., 1920, p. 32.

³ Thomas Hodgskin, *Labor Defended Against the Claims of Capital* (1825). With an Introduction by G. D. H. Cole. London: The Labor Publishing Co., Ltd., 1922, 109 p. He fathered the idea of independent working-class education. Cole quotes from Hodgskin, p. 10 of the Introduction: "It would be better for men to be deprived of education than to receive their education from their masters; for education, in that sense, is no better than the training of the cattle that are broken to the yoke." Hodgskin believed education to be a potent factor in orderly social change. "This change in the frame of society will not be effected by violence, and cannot be counteracted by force. No Holy Alliance can put down the quiet insurrection by which knowledge will subvert whatever is not founded in justice and truth."—pp. 100-101.

wärtige Gesellschaft durch ihre eigene ökonomische Entwicklung unwiderstehlich entgegenstrebt, die Arbeiterklasse lange Kämpfe, eine ganze Reihe geschichtlicher Prozesse durchzumachen hat, durch welche die Menschen wie die Umstände gänzlich umgewandelt werden.¹

Marx directed his appeal, not to some wealthy benevolent capitalist, but to the working people. He saw that "the greatest obstacle which stands in the way of the emancipation of the working class is the removal of the cloud of superstition and ignorance which hovers over the intellect of the masses," and that the work of emancipation must be the accomplishment of the working people themselves.² The last sentence is from the famous Inaugural Address by Karl Marx—the address which gained him the leadership of the International Workingmen's Association. Why were the progressively-minded working people ready to act on this educational challenge? The question may be partly answered by asking another. Is it not generally true that recurrent social crises are accompanied by an increased interest in education? Labor at such times inquires: Why this predicament? How can we extricate ourselves? Let us get some light on the subject! Education was Owen's answer to the industrial revolution. It was the common denominator of the Chartists' demands. Lovett, Collins, O'Brien, Cooper, and others, shouted educate! Following the Great War, H. G. Wells offered the alternatives: "education or catastrophe"!

During the European crisis of 1848, Marx and Engels were both active in the Workers' Educational Society of Bruxelles where Marx lectured on Political Economy. We grant that, generally, "the force of lag in human life is

¹ Karl Marx, *The Paris Commune*, New York Labor News Co., 1917, p. 80.

² Max Beer, *A History of British Socialism*, 1921, vol. ii, ch. ii.

enormous." Yet, it is not such a far cry from the little study groups of the forties, the Arbeiterbildungsvereine, in Leipzig, in Bruxelles, and in London, which met in private homes, often covertly, frequently raided by an unscrupulously instructed gendarmerie, to the great national centers for workers' education which conduct flourishing resident and semi-resident labor colleges—many of them receiving State grants.

English labor profited by the continental upheaval of 1848, just as American labor prospered for a time during the Great War. At the time when the discovery of gold in California and in Australia drew great numbers of virile, energetic youth away from Europe, England was experiencing an actual shortage of labor. Consequently, the prosperity of English industry created a lull in labor's educational activity in England. On the continent, however, retaliative reaction drove the radicals to Switzerland, England and America. These political refugees organized workers' educational societies wherever they went. Karl Schapper, a self-cultured workman, organized a Bildungsverein in London.¹

In Denmark, Grundtvig, prophet of the North, was laying the foundation for a people's high school movement that has raised the Danish farming population to a pre-eminent place in modern scientific agriculture and co-operation.

(We cite the Grundtviganer movement for historical reasons, and, because its pioneering in adult education influenced the form of later labor colleges.)

The American Civil War crisis caused a repercussion of economic distress that was felt in various parts of the world. Intensive unemployment followed in the cotton spinning and weaving industry of England. Other crises, such as the Indian mutiny, the Crimean war, the Polish revolt, and the

¹ The works of Hermann Schlueter make some reference to the early Arbeiterbildungsvereine.

abolition of serfdom in Russia, had set the world in ferment. A growing conviction of the mutual interrelation of the economic interests of world labor found expression in the organization of the First International of which Marx was the directing head, and, as we have seen, he urged a revolution in the thoughts of men as a necessary precedent to a fundamental social change. American labor too, kept in communication with the International through the interest of William H. Sylvis, a member of the iron moulders union, and progressive labor leader of his day. In 1869, A. C. Cameron was sent as a delegate to the International Congress at Basle. In an address to the workers of the United States, written by Cameron and distributed in 1867, the National Labor Union affirmed that the "interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction of race and nationality; no classification of Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel; that there is but one dividing line—that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labors."¹

A permanent wage-earning class was in formation everywhere.² The feeling of solidarity was stimulated by the repressive tactics of various European governments to mention few: the anti-combination laws of England, the Bismarck exception laws, the police persecution of radical leaders³ in Copenhagen by the fanatical Estrup regime. Despite all, the

¹ Commons, John R., *Documentary History of American Labor*, vol. ix, pp. 158-9.

² Reluctantly admitted by John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, 1903. (Not generally admitted as yet in America.)

³ Especially the famous trio: Pio, Brix and Geleff. Geleff, after a half-century of life as a political refugee in America, returned to his native Denmark at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party and is living out his long span of life as the guest of the daughter of Pio, his fellow refugee. He returned in time to feel the exquisite thrill of seeing the party he helped found in 1871 rise to the Stauning Ministry of 1924.

workers educational societies grew apace. The Arbeiterbildungsverein of Vienna was founded in 1864. On the continent, the social-democratic parties developed from these educational nuclei. Reminiscent of the type of lectures delivered in the Arbeiterbildungsvereine, is the famous lecture¹ by the elder Wilhelm Liebknecht, entitled: "Wissen ist Macht—Macht ist Wissen."²

The extension of the franchise, the growth of factory and social legislation demanded constructive study. In England, the Fabian Society (1884) was a response to that need. Margaret Bondfield³ considered the Fabian Society as the strongest force in stimulating a desire among the workers for higher education. Through the Fabian circulating libraries-book-boxes, many of the leaders of the Independent Labor Party received their educational background. Without this groundwork of rank and file education, allows Miss Bondfield," the W. E. A. could not have attained to its present standard."

Beginning in Utopian Socialism as a beckoning footpath toward the new social order, workers' education had by the opening of the twentieth century through the upthrust of the trade union, cooperative, and labor party movements, broadened into a world highway of Roman solidity, a highway with the four main arteries of the labor movement leading out into the broad masses. Not even the dire hardships of the Great War could subdue the movement entirely—witness the extraordinary vitality of the W. E. A. Witness the fact that the International Cooperative Alliance kept the cooperatives of Europe in communication with one another in spite of the mutual extermination going on! Peace being re-

¹ Delivered respectively before the Dresdener and Leipziger Arbeiterbildungsvereine on the occasion of their founding in 1872.

² Fraternal delegate from the British T. U. C. to the A. F. L. Convention, 1919.

³ Knowledge becomes power when it is applied.

stored, the movement for workers' education came back with voluntary resurgence.¹ New problems faced labor. Aroused by the Russian Revolution, labor saw its rise to office in the government loom on the horizon. Labor saw the German revolution slip through the fingers of the social-democrats who were highly skilled in the habit of opposition tactics but were wanting in sufficient number of courageous leaders and administrative heads for places of trade union and public responsibility.² And yet, lest we forget, the German labor and social-democratic movement "was the only coherent force that could act as a receiver for the bankrupt German empire and save it from falling into chaos."³ Hence they set about with renewed zeal to develop a more intensive, a more varied type of education. What the nature of that education is, how it is achieved, what problems are encountered in the process, should emerge from this study.

It is not the writer's purpose to give a detailed historical treatment of the world movement in workers' education, a task requiring several volumes. Our effort up to this point has been simply to call attention to an hitherto neglected aspect of workers education, viz. its historically generic kinship with social radicalism. Some fairly thorough historical studies with reference to England and America are extant.⁴ Neither are we concerned with a description of

¹ While the popular writers of the world were playing in a minor key their ill-founded prophecies of gloom and Untergang, the international labor movement was girding itself with education in anticipation of a rise to power. Labor in England, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland did rise to office, if not to power.

² See Ernst Toller's Address, *Deutsche Revolution*, Berlin: E. Laub'sche Verlag, 1925, 13 p.

³ Beard, Chas. A., "The Potency of Labor Education", *American Federationist*, July, 1922.

⁴ Such are:

Workers' Education in England and the United States. Margaret T. Hodgen. London: Kegan Paul. 1925. 312 p.

the adult education movement, except to point out differences, but of this more will be said presently.

SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

Education as fostered by the labor, socialist and consumers' co-operative movements of the world including some mixed ¹ groups forms the subject matter of this treatise. It should not be inferred that an exhaustive or complete account has been accomplished—such an effort must await the diligence of many groups to publish full histories with detailed quantitative data of their respective educational activities. Though the outlook of this thesis is world-wide, it will deal, in the main,² with groups that are directly or indirectly related to the following international organizations: The International Federation of Trade Unions (I. F. T. U.), The Labor and Socialist International (L. S. I.), The Interna-

Working-Class Education. J. F. and Winifred Horrabin. London: The Labor Publishing Co. 1924. 93 p.

Folkbildningsarbetet i England. Oscar Olsson. Stockholm. 1924. 376 p.

Spiritual Values in Adult Education. Basil A. Yeaxlee. Volumes I and II. Oxford. 1925.

Final Report. Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Committee. London. 1919. 409 p. (Out of print.)

An Adventure in Working-Class Education. Albert Mansbridge. London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1920. 73 p.

The Story of the Workers' Educational Association. T. W. Price. London: The Labor Publishing Co. 1924. 94 p.

Educational Attitudes and Policies of Organized Labor in the United States. Philip R. V. Curoe. Teachers College Contributions to Education, Number 201. 1926. 201 p.

¹ By a mixed group is meant one that is not directly under the control of a trade union, labor party or consumers' co-operative.

² It is claimed that the present study is a fair sample, both from a longitudinal and cross-sectional point of view. The number of institutions studied exceeds those represented at the last International Conference on Workers' Education. . . . Some groups are omitted because of their failure to respond to an inquiry.

tional Co-operative Alliance (I. C. A.), The Socialist Educational International (S. E. I.), The Socialist Youth International (S. Y. I.), The Communist International (C. I.). A Workers' Education International is, up to this writing, in the gestative stage—three International Conferences on Workers' Education have been held.¹

This study is based on the data of twenty residential labor colleges, eighteen non-residential² schools, eighteen national centers,³ six miscellaneous projects, and five international organizations,⁴ a total of 67.

METHODS OF PROCEDURE IN CONDUCTING THIS INQUIRY

The data studied are drawn from annual reports, catalogues, prospectuses, reviews, interviews, personal observation, magazines and papers devoted to workers' education, and personal participation in conferences and conventions. Of the sixty-seven different enterprises studied, forty-one

¹ A complete account will be found in chapter viii.

² This term as used in the workers' educational circles is identical with dormitory school, in German: Internat, boarding school.

³ This type of school is often referred to as "semi-resident" in the literature of workers' education. The real difference between a residential and semi-resident workers' school appears to be: the former is a full-time day school, while the latter is an evening school; in the first, the students "live in", in the second, they "live out".

(On the European continent, it seems that a more fitting nomenclature is used with regard to workers' educational institutions. A residential school for workers is a Workers' High School. In America, the more high-sounding names of Workers' University, Labor College, etc. are frequent.)

⁴ A national center conducts and supervises study circles, organizes courses and series of lectures, promotes week-end conferences and summer schools, issues syllabi and official organs.

⁵ A list of the institutions and associations studied is given in Appendix I with a footnote on some projects that were not studied. . . . Unfortunately, this study does not include any schools in the Balkan countries, nor in Poland, Italy or Spain where some experimental work has occurred.

were studied from annual reports¹ and prospectuses, twenty-six from reviews,² twelve from personal observation and interviews, one from the results of two questionnaires. The writer attended nine different conferences and conventions, national and international. He has taught adult workers' educational classes during the past ten years. Authentic material has been garnered from fourteen different papers and magazines either wholly dealing with workers' education or giving a special department to this work, regular publications which the writer has received over a period of several years.³

A geographical distribution of these institutions and associations is presented in the following table:

NUMBER OF WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS INCLUDED
IN THIS SURVEY ACCORDING TO COUNTRIES

Australia	2	France	3	New Zealand	1
Austria	4	Finland	1	Norway	1
Belgium	2	Germany	10	Palestine	1
Canada	1	Holland	1	Russia	1
China	2	India	1	Sweden	3
Czechoslovakia ...	2	Ireland	1	Switzerland	2
Denmark	4	Japan	3	U. S. A.	10
England	5	Mexico	1	Internationals ...	5

With the exceptions of China, New Zealand, Norway and Mexico, the countries enumerated above were represented either by a delegate or through a report at the third International Conference on Workers' Education, and, it will be assumed that this fact alone justifies their inclusion.

¹ A restricted number of institutions publish exemplary annual reports. Whatever the cause or excuse, it must be admitted that a serious inadequacy and lack of significant quantitative data characterize too many of the annual reports. Uniformity of reporting is desirable.

² Under reviews are included direct correspondence with official sources, official reports and articles, the factual reports in the Educational Notes issued by the I. F. T. U.

³ A list of magazines and papers is compiled in Appendix II.

Having collected material about the various processes of the workers' educational movement from the near and far places of the world, the problem of reducing these data to a manageable and intelligible form became a challenging task. There was no model which might yield a suggestion. The absence of histories of the movement in the individual countries complicated the problem. Post-war conditions in Europe added further complexities. New constitutions granted labor a share in the responsibilities of industry and government. In some instances labor and socialist leaders were called to the helm to captain the ship of state. The new regime made education an urgent issue. Education belonged now among the things first on the agenda. The labor and socialist movements were compelled to abandon what might be called the policy of a more or less one-crop system of education, and to substitute in its place a diversified and intensive culture, taking into account the varied nature of the historical and cultural settings of the different peoples under consideration.

A temptation to write separately of the movement in the different countries, although a useful work, was rejected. Interest in an international and world point of view led the writer to seek for some scheme of treatment, some technique whereby to regiment the facts, so as to cut across the national boundaries. Searching about the horizon for the bearings, a world perspective was located in the three great internationals, the I. F. T. U., the L. S. I., the I. C. A.—international organizations whose declared principles, and in some particular situations whose practices indicate a recognition of the interdependence of world labor, of the illusion of self-sufficiency, and of the interests of common humanity. From thence forth, several definite questions formulated themselves thus: to what extent is workers' education a function of these three movements and what elements of like-

nesses and differences characterize their educational endeavors? What do the data reveal as to the character of the education offered to workers by certain mixed groups other than those which form a direct organizational part of the trade union, political and consumers' co-operative movements? The three great internationals of the world labor movement and the incipient workers' educational international suggested a clue to the organization of the materials. Moreover, these internationals correspond roughly to the trinity of institutions in the social life of any community, namely the economic, political and cultural. The classification is, therefore, a natural reflection of the goings-on, of the differentiation of the principal functions in the world labor movement. A fuller justification of this categorization will be given in chapter two. The writer is not aware of the existence of any systematic treatise whose selection of materials is world-wide, or whose treatment resembles the present one.

ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WORKERS' AND ADULT EDUCATION

This inquiry is not designed to describe the so-called adult education movement with which workers' education is often confused. For the sake of delimitation and clarity, it becomes necessary to point out some differences between the two movements.

(1) It is true that much of workers' education is for adults and that, on the other hand, many workingmen attend "adult education" classes—in Austria, for example, labor students are encouraged to attend the so-called "neutral" Volkhochschulen for instruction in branches other than the social sciences,—but workers' education emanating, as it does, from the masses, includes education for the children and adolescents of labor.

(2) It is true that workers education may help hand on at least a portion of the social heritage—and in this respect perform a function of adult education which may make for cultural refinement through increasing knowledge as “adult education” is expected to do, but “workers’ education” is always more or less definitely aimed at the inculcation of ideas or spread of knowledge that is intended to benefit a group usually referred to as the “working class.”¹ It may aim ultimately to do away with classes and theoretically be “for everybody”² as adult education ostensibly attempts, but up to date it limits itself definitely to enlightening the working class. It may be impossible to delimit the term “workers’ education”, to suit the ideas of all who employ it. At one extreme are those who include all education aimed at increasing the knowledge of workingmen and who would include classes intended to widen the workingmen’s knowledge, e.g. of science, or history, or geography, or art. At the other extreme are those who would include only such “education” as definitely posits the notion that education for the workingman must be something adapted to the needs of a particular class in society, a class conceived as a group which is placed at a given economic and cultural disadvantage in a society so organized that to remove that disadvantage the group must fight for its own interests as opposed to those of other classes in society.

¹ Including hand and brain workers. It is not necessary to enter upon an analysis of the philosophical niceties of the concept “class”, whether this concept can be delimited by income, ownership, vocation, or educational differences, etc. The organized labor movement is recognized generally as an *interessengemeinschaft*, having distinct aims, ideals and a world outlook of its own. A. D. Lindsay, in his *Karl Marx’ Kapital*, concludes that: “class in Marx should be regarded as a species of community held together by some kind of group loyalty, by its members being prepared to sacrifice their individual interests to the interests of the community.”—p. 45.

² Cf. Frederick Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, Kerr edition, 1918, pp. 127-129.

For the purpose of this thesis we shall include the study of some institutions that approach one limit or the other but for the most part our criterion is clear, namely, the inclusion of institutions where organized workers or leaders in the movements of the working people are especially interested in the management of the institution. We shall therefore include institutions that are too conservative, according to the ideas of some, to be considered within the field of workers' education, and, on the other hand, we shall include some that are so radical, that in the minds of "conservative" labor leaders they are mere "propagandistic institutions" whose tenets are opposed to the best interests of labor. Objectively we shall consider educational institutions within the trade union, co-operative, and political labor movements including several mixed groups which cater mainly for organized labor. A complete list of these institutions will be referred to in Appendix I.

Before taking leave of this introduction, it seems desirable to discuss somewhat further the various uses of the terms "workers'" and "adult" education. A confused nomenclature is a matter that should be cleared up if possible. For instance, in Russia, adult education is sponsored in part by the state. There adult education includes vocational training of adults, literacy education, "political enlightenment" (education in the new citizenship), and a type of civic education functioning through the Pioneer Youth groups. In Russia adult education became an acute problem after the 1917 revolution. New habits had to be cultivated. On the formal side Russia began with schools for literacy. In Russia, there is no need of hairsplitting contention about what is workers' and what is adult education, for they are only two sides of the same shield. It is not the label but the content that matters. The Russian state, a workers' state, controls the curricular content of education. One form of adult vo-

cational education in Russia is named workers' education, the aim of which, according to Dr. Pinkevitch,¹ Rector of the Moscow University, is "to serve persons actually engaged in production and to train skilled workers . . . who will serve as the guiding spirit of the masses and stimulate the building of a socialistic society." From this point of view, it is conceivable that, given a continuous, dynamic industrial society "workers' education" may become a permanent category in our educational scheme, and not a mere class concept peculiar to a transitional stage between industrial capitalism and industrial democracy, as some writers contend. Of course, the aforesaid point of view, i.e., vocational-technical, represents a narrowed range of educational interests than is characteristic of the concept "workers' education" in the western movements at the present time.

The view of adult education which Nathaniel Peffer² represents is almost a complete contrast to the above. Peffer holds that "adult education" is not concerned with the problem of illiteracy, nor with compensation for "shortages", nor with vocation, but that it is concerned with "cultural education", that is, pursuit of ends for other than utilitarian enrichment, in brief, learning for its own sake.³ In his very general definition of "adult education" Peffer comes nearer to Pinkevitch. "Adult education," he (Peffer) submits, "is the effort of grown persons to go on learning while earning a living."

¹ *Education in Soviet Russia*, The John Day Company, Inc., New York, 1929.

² *New Schools for Older Students*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1926, ch. i.

³ E. C. Lindeman, in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, writes: "Adult education is an inclusive term which, as it is currently employed, embraces within its meaning the following varieties of activity: continuation education; corrective education; functional-group education; and folk schools or people's colleges."

The term adult education, according to Mr. W. Schreiber, chief classifier at the New York Public Library, was introduced into the catalogue of the aforementioned library in 1917. "It was designed to cover material on the education of adults as such, whether the adults are members of the working class or not. The subject heading "Working-Class-Education" antedates "Education-Adult" in our catalogue, but we have no means of learning when it was introduced. It covers material dealing specifically with the education of the working classes and includes the education of children, adolescents and adults."¹

In the German-speaking countries, the terms "Arbeiterbildung" and "Erwachsenenbildung" stand for separate movements. Similarly in the Scandinavian countries. In England the two terms are often used interchangeably. The Adult Education Committee of England have defined adult education as "disinterested pursuit of knowledge." The National Council of Labor Colleges (N. C. L. C.) of England is excluded from this category by definition, since the N. C. L. C. cannot and, in fact does not, pursue a study of the social sciences in an attitude of detachment, impartiality or neutrality.

There is a great range, variation of opinion in the American Labor movement on this matter of adult education. A committee of Local No. 189 of the American Federation of Teachers considers the adult education movement in America as a rival of workers' education.² While the official attitude

¹ Memorandum to the writer.

² "Adult Education vs. Workers' Education", *Report of the Fourth Annual Conference of Teachers of Workers' Education*. Brookwood, Katonah, New York. 1927. Preface, p. 3. It has been said that labor may have whatever it demands as long as it doesn't demand what it can't have. The distinction between workers' and adult education is brought out clearly in this aphorism: What labor may have is adult education, what it may not have is workers' education.

of the American Federation of Labor is given in an editorial¹ as follows: "The past six years have shown us that our educational needs are of two distinct kinds, first, to make the union and union activity more effective, and second, a desire for those educational opportunities that will enable wage earners to participate in cultural life equally with other groups. Obviously the first of these needs is a matter over which unions must have control. The second, is the problem of getting existing educational institutions to understand labor's needs and to co-operate with us in extending the services of educational institutions to additional groups." On the "cultural" side of education the A. F. of L. is plainly conciliatory toward the "adult education" movement, although we are not aware that a program of cooperation between the two movements has been schematically worked out. In continental Europe the tendency seems to be toward the complete control of the leisure time of labor by the various branches of the trinitarian labor movements themselves. Needless to say, the German-speaking working peoples do not suffer from excess of leisure. They have little spare time after having done duty on committees, etc. in the trade union, co-operative, labor party, or cultural cartel. Continental labor leaders have perceived the social significance of labor ceremonials, sprechchöre, festivities, theatricals, choral societies, sports and recreational events under labor auspices. Such events are agencies which conduce to morale, group loyalty, solidarity, enthusiasm.² In America there is no counterpart in the labor movement of these carefully planned

¹ *The American Federationist*, October, 1928, pp. 1170-1171.

² Mass celebrations are planned affairs calculated to give expression to the emotional drive within the human heart and to stimulate the will to concerted action. Through the feelings human and social bonds are built up and strengthened; individual and social life becomes enriched. Emotional drives are canalized and directed towards ends that promote group coherence and interstimulation.

events. The broad masses spend their spare time in commercial amusement centers which often propagandize against the true interests of the labor movement.

Workers' education and adult education are not antithetical, they are different. There are points of contact where co-operation is not only desirable but possible, particularly in the vocational and cultural aspects of life. The concept of culture may be conceived from the standpoint of Edward Sapir¹ whose nice and fruitful distinctions in the use of the word are threefold: (1) Culture as social inheritance; (2) Culture as individual refinement; (3) Culture as general attitudes and a given world-outlook. Certainly there are elements and problems in (1) and (2) that can be shared and solved co-operatively. Under the third aspect, culture as Weltanschauung, labor the organized and class-conscious constituents have created an independent ideology. Educationally this ideology has for its object: to illuminate the mission of labor as a class, to ferret out the manifold relations in the cultural process, to liberate labor's mind from the bondage of a depressing inferiority, and to inspire all workers to stand erect, as free men commanding a socially recognized worthy status as workers in the Great Community. "Adult education tends to neglect the distinct place of workers in society and tends to merge the workers' interests in a general conception of civic welfare. Workers' education should give expression to the conviction that the mission of workers is to establish industrial democracy and to reconstruct society on a basis of co-operation and service as opposed to profit."² Historically, a truly class-conscious

¹ "Culture, Genuine and Spurious", *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. xxix, January, 1924. See also *Proletcult*, Eden and Cedar Paul, pp. 23-30.

² Alexander Fichandler, *Workers' Education Yearbook*, 1927, pt. ii, p. 94.

labor movement has always challenged the fundamental assumptions of the capitalistic order. In America, where the proletarian background of labor is of quite recent origin, the dominant labor movement is largely still, as Robert Hoxie pointed out, a business movement.

However, in a trial balance of world workers' education this study leaves no doubt on one point of difference between *adult* and *workers'* education, namely, taken by and large, workers' education aims ultimately at (what Marx-Engels called) a class-less society. The adult education movement does not pretend to educate toward this objective. It appeals to the individual. Workers' education, recognizing that group ideals are the ideals of social individuals, also encourages individuals, but its main appeal is to the working class of the world. It seeks to raise the entire working class, to make it self-conscious as an economic, social and political group: "I wouldn't spend time and energy on any movement that has not the final emancipation of the working class in view" said Mr. James Maurer at the National Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau in 1923. Mr. Maurer served as President of the W. E. B. from its inception in 1921 until the convention of 1929. Although Maurer enjoyed considerable support for his point of view, it is not congruent with the declared policy of the A. F. of L. which we have treated more fully in another chapter.

Our survey reveals another decisive difference between *workers'* and *adult* education. Workers' education is not only education for adult workers; it is also education of adolescents (in the various labor youth movements), and for children (in the International Kinderfreunde movement, Pioneer Youth groups, etc.).

Again, workers' education contemplates social change.¹

¹ This implies something of a challenge not only to public education generally, but also to the present social order.

quiring eye of the research student). Why are not the scientific findings of the United States Bureau of Standards open to the general consumers? Why should the postal laws hamper the discussion of problems of population control and hinder the dissemination of scientific material on this subject? It would be an easy task to draw up a general indictment on the inadequate sample in the social sciences which is selected for communication in the public schools. But of such there are plenty.¹ As far back as 1905, John A. Hobson saw very clearly the inadequacy of public school education (in the American sense) and he pointed out that "You can have no effective labor movement based upon elementary education. A labor leader of the present day needs to know the record of the movement of the people of the past. He needs to know what history means accurately. He must know the full politics and economics of the world today, in order that he might be able to make it what it ought to be."² Hobson emphasizes especially the social sciences. It is precisely in this domain of knowledge including literature in which labor education differs radically from the sample ordinarily transmitted in the public and secondary schools. In the social sciences the clash of ideals comes to the surface. Anyone in doubt of the existence of differences of ideals between employer and employed should just open the annual reports of the American Federation of Labor and of the American Bankers' Association and note

¹ William Graham Sumner, e. g. showed that public education, as the handmaiden of the dominant economic class is concerned mainly with the transmission of the mores, traditions, ideals, beliefs, social attitudes and social values of that class. See also *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks* by Bessie L. Pierce, The University of Chicago Press, 1930. Also, Mark Starr, *Lies and Hate in Education*, N. C. L. C. Publishing Society, London.

² From an Address to the British T. U. C. at Hanley, 1905. Reprinted in the *Shop Assistant*, Oct. 23, 1926.

that each speaks a various language.¹ The difference is obviously one of point of view, of *Weltanschauung*, or the third aspect of culture that Sapir gave us, dictated by the respective places each occupies in the cultural milieu. Hence the necessity of workers' schools to study particular types of experience under their own initiative and control.² What is the nature and substance of this special labor knowledge, its variety, how is it imparted, to whom and with what success, will become clear as this inquiry progresses.

Our immediate interest in the movement is to attempt an organization of the materials of world workers' educational movements, to orient ourselves, and to discover if these data throw any light on such problems as: What are some of the general characteristics of the workers' educational movement? What are the educational objectives of the trinitarian labor movement? What kind of knowledge is deemed essential to the realization of these ideals? What are the developments from an international viewpoint? What are some of the problems of workers' education? What is the social significance of a movement whose avowed purpose is social change? Do the experiments in workers' education signify anything for the workers in adult and general public education?

For the reader's convenience, a systematic overview of the principal characteristics of world workers' education is presented in a second introductory chapter. This plan, it is hoped, will stimulate a critical, world perspective, and contribute, however slightly, toward the systematic foundation of a pattern of workers' educational theory and practice.

¹ The language of the first A. F. of L. annual reports was nearly of full revolutionary strength, later it became somewhat denatured.

² The writer is prepared to grant that much of the knowledge which labor wants and needs can be obtained and often is communicated in the graduate seminars of the great universities, but the ascent to that top-most rung of the educational ladder is a costly process in more ways than the pecuniary one.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF WORLD WORKERS' EDUCATION

UNDOUBTEDLY many workers' educationists are kin spirits with a certain principal of a prominent Danish folk high school whom the writer interviewed in 1921 for the purpose of learning what that "something" is with which this school infects its students who have figured so largely in the economic and social elevation of Danish life. In answer to the question: "How do you measure the effectiveness with which that 'something' gets over?" he replied, "You American students are always asking for quantitative results, statistics, etc. Our achievements are qualitative. They register in character development, in spiritual awakening and transformation. These are not statistically ascertainable." However, in the course of our conversation, it developed that the principal *did* have a measure of his work in mind. He told me of the many students of folk high schools who had become members of parliament. And, invariably, he remarked that "the real test of our work is whether the students return to their home and forthwith become better participants in their community activities."

In the preparation of this chapter I have sought diligently ¹

¹ Without making a fetish of statistics as such, but to use them as significant "indices of another order of facts", it must be freely granted that there is need of much improvement in the statistical reporting of workers' classes and schools. Many institutions have not even made a beginning in sharing quantitative facts. We need more numerical records like those issued by the centers in Austria, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and the Co-operative Union of Germany. The writer regrets that owing to the high cost of printing tables and graphic representations, he has had to delete considerable prepared matter.

for numerical data so as to compress, if not to simplify, the presentation of some of the general characteristics of world workers' education. This effort was beset with many difficulties owing chiefly to the lack of uniformity of statistical reporting, to the incomparability of the data from different countries, to the dearth of figures given in consecutive years, and to the recency of many institutions.

Our findings include twelve essential characteristics, though, indeed, it is not claimed that the enumeration is complete.

(1) The workers' educational movement is essentially voluntary. A recent declaration by the Adult Education Committee of England contends that the spontaneous character of the Workers' Educational Association is an effective source of power in the pioneer stage for winning contacts and it is urged that this voluntary spirit must be preserved inviolate.¹

(2) The workers' educational movement is one largely of but not wholly *for* adults. An increasingly important function of the movement is the carrying on of educational activity among children and adolescent youth of the working class.

From the statistics of ages of 972 students in attendance at eight different labor colleges (selected because their reports contained this data) we find that the ages of students range from sixteen to fifty, the true mean being 29.6 years. Of 215 women and 141 men in attendance at The Rand School

¹ "We regard the voluntary body as the most suitable instrument for the propaganda work necessary for converting vaguely-felt needs into active demands."—*Paper No. 9*, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1927, p. 82. "We attribute the great development of adult education since the war largely to the encouragement given by political, social and religious associations to their members to participate in educational activities. Such encouragement is likely to be a chief agent in extending the range of adult education, and in ensuring its stability, in the future."—*Idem*, p. 80.

and Brookwood Labor College, the true mean was 25 years. While in a group of 3,789 students attending special short courses offered by the Fortbildungskommission of the Central Federation of German Consumers' Societies,¹ the mean ran up to 39.1 years. It appears that of the labor schools offering more extensive courses—the usual length is from 5 to 9 months—enlist the younger age groups, while the short courses—these range from a week-end to three months, both residential and semi-residential—attract the higher age groups. At Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women in Industry, eligibility as to age is limited to the ages between eighteen and thirty-five, preference being given to those between twenty and thirty-five. At Ruskin College, England, and at Brookwood Labor College, experience in the labor movement weighs more heavily for admission than any hard and fast rule of age limits. From collected data of Ruskin and Brookwood, the average age lies in the 25-30 age group.

The great range in ages from 16 to over 50 years creates problems in the teaching process. That a more compact age group is desirable for any one type of class is brought out by the Guiding Considerations for the Selection of Students for the Residential School at Tinz. Paragraph one says: "The age of the students should range between twenty and thirty. If the necessity for the educational training of older students exists, then special courses will be organized." In a similar vein declares G. Engelbert Graf, Director of the School of Economics at Dürrenberg, that from the standpoint of a dormitory school of one month's duration, a school characterized

¹ Arranged from the annual report of the Federation of German Consumers' Co-operative Societies, Department of the Fortbildungskommission, by Heinrich Sierakowsky and Robert Schweikert, for the period 1921-28. This table concerns only selected items. It does not convey even an approximation to the great numerical importance of the educational activity of the Federation. See chapter iii.

by a firm discipline both in study and in living department, the younger age groups are preferable. In the working class, Graf finds the greatest receptivity on an average between the ages of 25 to 35 years. In the same report¹ Graf admits that age is not necessarily a factor in determining fitness to pursue a given course of study, for, "It was often the case that just the older students set an example in matters of studious application and social behavior." However, on account of certain well-set habits, of the tempo which obtains in the instructional process, of the demand for individual contributions to the socialized discussion, Graf suggests that the older age groups should be segregated for special consideration.

An explanation for the predominance of older students in the short courses is not far to seek. A number of factors would obtrude, such as the time factor. Men in important positions, men with dependent relations cannot afford more than a week-end or a vacation period for schooling and educational conferences. In the co-operative movement, a protracted course of study is not necessary for men of long experience. In the trade union movement men often leave their employment to attend labor college courses on hazard of victimization.²

(3) The world workers' educational movement includes workpeople of various occupations.

¹ *Betriebsräte-Zeitschrift*, Stuttgart, Dec. 18, 1926, pp. 805-9.

² Graf remarks on the extraordinary difficulty with which members of the Metal Workers' Federation meet in procuring a short leave of absence for the purpose of attending school. *Op. cit.*, p. 806. The writer met two students at a W. E. A. summer school who had been victimized precisely for this reason. Victimization becomes a deterrent force to education for the economically dependent.

TABLE I

OCCUPATION OF STUDENTS IN SELECTED WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL SCHOOLS AND CLASSES

Occupations.	1 Tutorial Classes of England.	2 Bildungsausschüsse, Switzerland.	3 W. E. A. of Victoria, Australia.	4 The Rand School of Social Science.	5 W. E. in Vienna.	6 Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women.	7 Tinz, Germany.	8 Correspondence Group, England.	9 Brookwood Labor College, America.	10 Ruskin College.	Total.	Percentage.
Teachers	1884	168	54	—	4	—	—	1	—	2	2113	14.9
Office Workers	1845	61*	73	115	24*	4*	21*	4	1	7	2155	15.2
Housewives, Domestic..	1499	48	72	10	2	—	—	—	—	2	1636	11.6
Mine Workers	975	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	3	984	7.0
Engineers, Mechanics..	923	—	31	19	—	—	—	2	6	—	981	6.9
Civil Servants	499	45	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	574	4.1
Shop-keepers and Assistants	440	39	35	37	20	—	—	3	—	—	574	4.1
Transport Workers	353	192	—	1	7	—	—	2	1	—	556	3.9
Clothing Workers	258	42	14	82	—	27	6	3	11	—	443	3.2
Building Workers	191	—	14	2	8	—	—	—	—	—	215	1.5
Carpenters	184	120	—	1	9	—	—	—	—	—	314	2.2
Professional Workers . . .	173	38	27	44	—	—	—	4	—	—	286	2.1
Managers, Supervisors . .	144	—	—	—	—	5*	1	1	—	—	151	1.1
Police, Post, Tramway-men	168	13	35	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	219	1.6
Publishing Workers	128	102	16	1	2	5	—	1	—	1	256	1.8
Metal, Tool Workers	128	288	—	—	22	—	2	—	—	5	445	3.1
Laborers	120	35	—	1	6	—	9	1	—	1	173	1.2
Commercial Workers	115	—	12	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	131	.9
Leather Workers	106	23	—	2	—	2	—	—	1	—	134	.9
Draughtsmen, Designers.	89	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	123	.9
Factory workers, Miscellaneous	86	—	—	2	12	5	1	1	3	1	111	.8
Blacksmiths	59	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	60	.4
Electrical Workers	54	—	—	1	—	7	—	—	—	1	63	.4
Land Workers	—	9	4	—	2	—	—	2	—	1	18	.1
Painters	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	3	†
Food Workers	99	—	—	—	5	3	—	—	—	—	107	.8
Not Gainfully Occupied . .	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	†
Telephone and Telegraph	—	7	—	1	—	8	1	—	—	1	18	.1
Secretaries Youth Movement	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	15	.1
Students	—	—	9	15	4	—	—	—	—	5	33	.2
Miscellaneous	800	—	58	56	6	6	—	1	1	—	928	6.6
Textile Workers	207	94	—	—	3	10	3	1	4	1	323	2.3
Total	11,527	1358	471	392	167	82	49	33	33	32	14,144	100.0

(Notes to table on page 52.)

* An asterisk after the numbers signifies that some of the units included are employed by various trade union and labor party organizations.

† A dagger indicates a number less than one-tenth of one per cent.

Percentages computed by the writer, unless otherwise credited.

The sources and dates of the data in the above table are: 1. *Annual Report of the Central Joint Advisory Committee, 1925-26*; 2. *Annual Report in Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit, July-August, 1925*; 3. *Annual Report for 1921*; 4. *From Class Records 1923-24-25-26*; 5. *Annual Report in Bildungsarbeit, Vienna, December 1926*; 6. Circular, sixteen pages, 1922; 7. School records consulted by the writer in 1924; 8. *Special Report to the New Leader, August 28, 1925*; 9. School records consulted by the writer 1927-28; 10. *Annual Report, 1927*.

The writer found wide dissimilarities in the methods of reporting occupations and owing to the preponderance of the Tutorial group, the table above is presented with reluctance. Some data on occupations will be found in the descriptions of individual schools which tend to bring out the broad working class character of workers' education.

Recent annual reports of the W. E. A. of Great Britain have omitted statistics of occupation. An examination of the earlier reports, from 1919-1924, reveals a substantial concurrence with the above. The Adult Education Committee in Paper No. 9, previously mentioned, says on page 28: "The latest figures are those for students entering Tutorial Classes for the first time in the session 1923-24. Of 3,627 students 2,426 were men and 1,201 women. Of these 619 were teachers (196 men, 423 women), 549 were clerks and draughtsmen, 417 (20 men and 347 women) were retired or not gainfully occupied, 385 were metal workers, 243 mining and quarrying, 238 commerce, finance and insurance, 207 transport and communication, and 137 in public administration and defence."

Occupational statistics of W. E. A. students in the English Dominions¹ are in general agreement with those of the home

¹ I have examined the annual reports of the New South Wales branch of the W. E. A. from 1915-21; Queensland for 1922-23; New Zealand, 12th Annual Report, 1926; and the Third Annual Report of the W. E. A., Ontario (Hamilton Branch), Canada, 1925.

association. The percentages for the categories: General Laborers, Students, Agricultural Workers, are greater in New Zealand, Queensland, New South Wales, than in the parent organization.

Throughout the English-speaking world there is more intermingling of the different economic elements in the population than in the German-speaking countries. For instance, the Consumers Co-operative School of Hamburg counted three 'University Students' in attendance during the years from 1920-28. All the other students were drawn from the consumers' co-operative movement.

We venture upon inference from these scattered data with deliberate timidity. The table is perhaps more significant from the point of view of the questions which it raises. Nevertheless certain suggestive implications emerge. It is evident, that for the greater part, students in labor colleges and study circles are *of* the working class. (For the sake of clarity, the writer is guided by what may be called a minimum definition of a worker, viz. one who works for wages or salary and who is dependent upon somebody besides himself for a job or a position). The students come from a wide area of occupations—the most important skilled trades being represented in the distribution. An inspection of the percentages seems to point to the fact that nearly half of the total is of the so-called 'white collar' type of worker. The latter are not especially representative of the student bodies of Bryn Mawr and Brookwood, but the selective process at these two schools is characterized by a more or less rigid reference to bona-fide industrial workers. An outstanding number of teachers are in evidence in the Tutorial Classes of England and in the dominions where the W. E. A. is organized. Whether this fact is attributable to a limited previous preparation, to an interest in the working-class attitude of mind, to the opportunity of obtaining a free liberal education by

attending a class session once a week of an evening during twenty-four weeks over a period of three years, to the expense involved in taking courses at the regular universities, or to the absence of another educational agency catering for their particular needs and desires, it is difficult to say, at least at this stage of our conspectus. The fact itself is significant in other relations, e.g. in the discussion of educational curricula. Here the question occurs: Does the large number of white-collar workers and highly skilled workers, especially in the W. E. A. of Great Britain and the Dominions, exert a probable influence in the liberalizing of the course of study? Among other factors, perhaps the presence of a considerable proportion of women in the W. E. A. weighs heavily on the side of cultural studies as such. That women's interest inclines prevalingly toward the liberal studies is generally admitted in the literature of adult labor education.¹ In this respect women of the working class do not seem to differ pronouncedly from the so-called bourgeois women. However, more and better classified statistical material is needed in any attempt to clarify this feature.

The small number of unskilled laborers and agricultural workers is noticeable. One wonders why land workers are not attracted in greater number to the study classes especially in England where agricultural workers belong among the very poorly paid? Perhaps an analysis of the occupations of the students attending the shorter courses would reveal the presence of more of the lesser skilled classes?

The data in hand are inadequate to throw any light on the relation of crises (such as the cyclical nature of business de-

¹ The Adult Education Committee did not find "any available evidence of a statistical character in regard to students attending One-year Courses and Terminal Courses, but there appears to be a general consensus of opinion that the men are drawn in the main from the ranks of the skilled workers, while the women are for the most part teachers or engaged in home duties."—*op. cit.*, p. 28.

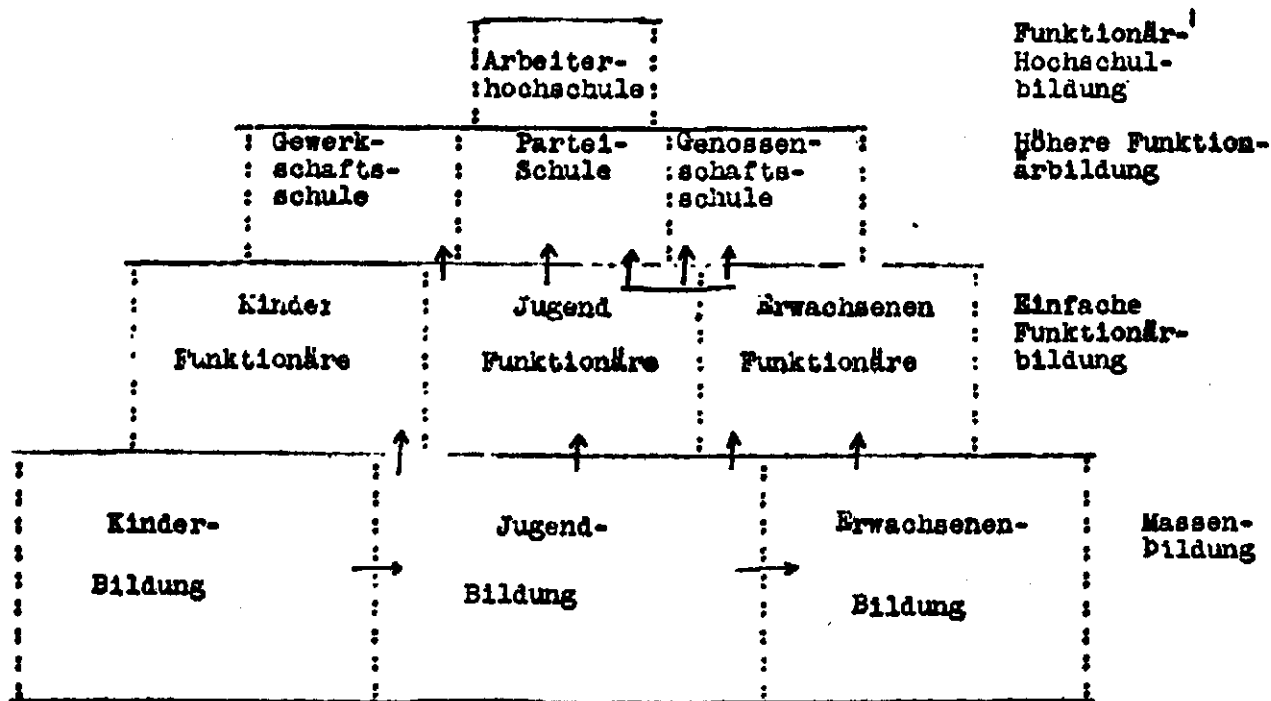
pression) to continuity or decrease of attendance at classes. As far as the Tutorial Class System is concerned, a progressive increase and fairly even attendance is discernible. Unfortunately our data do not show the effect of the great coal strike in England. The opinion is generally held that a positive relation exists between periods of economic slump and a slackening of educational activity by the trade unions. However, it does not always follow that unemployment is a bar to individual cultivation of the mind. In some countries (notably Denmark, among others), where labor parties are the recognized power for inducing social legislation, state appropriations provide for scholarships including board and lodging to the unemployed who manifest sufficient interest to attend a labor or a folk high school until regular employment can be found. Details of this plan will be discussed further in the survey.

The data on occupations are admittedly fragmentary and discontinuous, yet it points unmistakably to one characteristic which is germane to our thesis, namely, workers' education is a movement essentially composed of work people though not exclusively proletarian.

(4) Though the forms and patterns of workers' schools are as yet in the making, the outlines are discernible, and they appear bolder in some countries than in others. An illuminating graphic representation of the hierarchical structure of workers' education in Austria is reproduced herewith from an article by Dr. Richard Wagner entitled: "Zum Problem der proletarischen Geistesstruktur", *Bildungsarbeit*, June 1927, p. 101.

This diagrammatic scheme is fairly representative of the general trend in Europe, but especially where the integrative emphasis in workers' education is the more pronounced. (It is interesting to observe that the pyramidal character of educational achievement obtains here as it does in the general public school system).

THE STRUCTURE OF WORKERS' EDUCATION IN AUSTRIA



A distinct connotation attaches to the word *Funktionär*. In Germany the designation *Funktionär* refers to a person, man or woman, who is active politically, as a responsible committeeman, secretary, district, ward, or precinct captain, a person who is held responsible for the calling of meetings, distribution of pamphlets, papers, and general publicity, for the collection of dues, regimenting the voters, circulation and selling of books, for the writing of a news story or letter to the editor, etc. These services are voluntary and given gratis except in the case of a financial secretary of a considerable organization. The nearest equivalent in American labor politics is the so-called "Jimmie Higgins."

In the trade unions, the *Vertrauensmann*, is a prototype of the *Funktionär*. In English usage, the proximate equivalent is the shop steward; in Danish, *Tillidsmand*; in American, shop chairman. The German use of the word, however, is of richer significance. The *Vertrauensmann* is often a member of the *Betriebsrat* (Works Council).

It is not unusual to find these two words used interchangeably in the literature of workers' education.

From the point of view of the progress of the labor movement, industrially and politically, the *Funktionäre* and *Vertrauensleute* are indispensable. It would not be exaggerating to call them the life-blood of the movement. They are the contact men and women without whom the leaders at the head would find themselves minus a following. They are usually men and women of originality, alertness, perseverance, and enthusiasm. From among them, especially in the trade-union movement, arise the future leaders. Needless to say, the cultivation of the minds of these *Funktionäre* and *Vertrauensleute* is a major concern of the workers' educational movement.

The progressive scheme of the workers' educational process in Vienna is probably the best of its kind thus far.

From the graph we can see that workers' education is not only for adults but for children and youth. Education for labor's children in the German-speaking countries articulates through the *Kinderfreunde* movement which is particularly strong in Austria. This special phase will be discussed in chapter eight. The first strata in the graph is labelled Mass Education which comprises popular lectures, single and in short series, study circles, public demonstrations and festivities, ceremonials, broadcasting, theatricals, concerts, outings, travel in groups under expert guidance, lantern slide lectures and moving picture films, etc. Here is the field for the selection of promising youths who are given an elementary training for service in the minor roles of chairmen and secretaries of committees. The cream is skimmed off again and more intensive training is given in the special schools of the trade union, co-operative and political party. Finally the best are selected for attendance upon the workers' high school. Those who demonstrate their superior capacity and effectiveness in their respective groups are then theoretically in line for future leadership.

The great variety of forms which workers' educational activity assumes will be described in connection with the survey of present-day institutions. For the sake of completion at this point, we shall merely list the different forms: 1. Mass education: through the single lecture, the press, the radio, film and lantern slides, theater, *Sprechchor*, workers' symphony concerts, group travel, libraries, guided reading, outings, the *Kinderfreunde*, youth sections, demonstrations, festivities, ceremonials, play and sport. 2. The study circle. 3. Lecture-discussion courses. 4. Week-end conferences. 5. Special short courses, often combined with a vacation period of from one to two weeks. 6. International summer schools. 7. Semi-residential day and evening schools. 8. Residential or dormitory schools, varying in length from five to eighteen months.

(5) Curricula of the Workers' Educational Movement.

TABLE II

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND WALES,
1927-1928 (YEAR ENDING MAY 31ST) ¹

Type and Number of Classes with Subjects Studied

Type of Course	Number of Classes	Subjects Studied	Number of Classes	Percentage
Three Year Tutorial...	581	Literature	394	23.41
Advanced Tutorial	9	Economics	232	13.78
Preparatory Tutorial ..	82	History (Social, Eco-		
University Extension ..	21	nomic, Industrial) ...	159	9.44
One Year Classes.....	468	Psychology	133	7.90
Terminal Courses	522	Music and Art	130	7.72
Study Circles and Short		History (General)	129	7.66
Courses	234	Sociology	119	7.06
		Political Science	98	5.82
		Natural Science	64	3.80
		Public Speaking	62	3.68
		Languages	61	3.62
		Philosophy	39	2.31
		Health	17	1.01
		International Issues ...	15	0.88
		Religion	9	0.53
		Co-operation and		
		Socialism	8	0.47
		Labor Problems	4	0.23
		Miscellaneous	10	0.59
		Total	1,683	100.00
		Study Circles and		
		Short Courses	234	
Total	1,917	Total	1,917	

Our data show, among other features which will be critically discussed in chapter nine, that the range of studies in the movement at large is as wide as the interests and aspira-

¹ Table is constructed from data in the *Annual Report*. The writer calculated the percentages for the two previous years and found the order of importance practically the same. A description of the W. E. A. will form the principal subject matter of chapter vi.

TABLE III
CURRICULAR CONTENT OF WORKERS' EDUCATION IN AMERICA¹

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Number of Courses</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Expression, Language and Literature	383	30.0
Economics	215	16.8
Sociology	141	11.0
Labor and Trade Unionism	136	10.6
Psychology	85	6.7
Political Science, Law	60	4.7
History (other than Labor and Economic) ...	54	4.2
The Arts	40	3.0
Science and Mathematics	37	3.0
Health	20	1.5
Women's Interests	19	1.5
Geography	11	1.0
Philosophy	6	0.5
Miscellaneous	70	5.5
Total	1277	100.0

tions of man; it shows that the workers have interests aside from the class conflict. A worker no less than a capitalist, is a human being, a citizen, a lover, a worshipper, a creator, etc. He has need of art, literature, religion, philosophy and ethics. There are those who contend that indulgence of the latter disciplines does not come within the province of workers' education. Without entering upon controversy at this place, we desire only to suggest that *what ought to be* is one thing, what is actually being studied is quite another. We are for the time being concerned with what is going on out in the worldwide field.

¹From a curriculum research project by John J. Hader and E. C. Lindeman under the auspices of the Workers' Education Bureau of America whose permission to examine the manuscript is hereby gratefully acknowledged. An abstract of this manuscript appeared under the title, "What do American Workers Study?" by Spencer Miller, Jr., in the *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, September, 1928. The data used for this study were collected from 36 institutions or classes outside of New York City and from 8 within the metropolitan area.

TABLE IV

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

Subjects Studied and the Number of Tutorial Class
Students¹ Electing a Given Course

(Year Ending October, 1926)

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Number of Students</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Literature	1137	20.71
Psychology	928	16.90
History	895	16.30
Economics	750	13.66
Drama	471	8.76
Music	354	6.44
Natural Sciences	174	3.16
Sociological Sciences	152	2.76
19th Century Art, Literature and Music	149	2.71
Public Speaking	134	2.44
Health	91	1.65
Political Problems	70	1.27
International Relations, Economics and Psychology	70	1.27
Languages (Esperanto)	43	0.78
Art	24	0.43
Architecture	23	0.41
Philosophy	24	0.43
Total	5489	100.00

¹ The distribution of the Tutorial Class Students in the four branches of the W. E. A. for 1926 was as follows:

Auckland	31	classes with	1363	students
Wellington	31	" "	1996	"
Canterbury	31	" "	1219	"
Southland	29	" "	911	"
	<u>122</u>	" "	<u>5489</u>	"

If the courses of study of different countries adhered to some fairly uniform method of selecting the units, preferably the hours devoted to a given subject, it would be quite easy to construct a condensed table for purposes of comparison. In Part II we shall present various curricula in connection with individual institutions. Suffice it to say here that on the whole, trade-union schools will emphasize problems of organized labor, co-operative schools deal with problems of the co-operative movement,

An examination of the sample courses of study aforesaid indicate a preponderant importance of the social sciences. This fact articulates with the generally declared purpose of a workers' educational curriculum.¹

Theoretically, a scientifically built curriculum grows out of the cultural situation, out of labor's wants and needs, out of labor's problems. "Give them what they want" is a false slogan as much with adult as with juvenile education. "If you follow the wishes of the masses" declared G. Engelbert Graf, Principal of the School of Economics at Bad Dürrenberg, "you would have a crazy quilt curriculum". Needs are perhaps more important at first than wants.² Graf would make clear to the workers what they must know and why.

An examination of syllabi, outlines, lessons by correspondence, guides for study circles and a few textbooks—especially prepared for labor students, reveals that the quality of the information which is communicated (wissensvermittlung) to labor students is of a high order, much of it is certainly of university grade.³

In some exceptional cases the name of a given course does not guarantee the nature of its content. The camouflaged article may, nevertheless, be of superior worth. A few instances from the American scene have come to hand. Hader

while political schools will give more hours to the study of political and social theory. The three tables above were selected because they tend to exhibit the existence of a broad cultural interest in the labor movement as well as a definite inclination toward the special social sciences.

¹ See *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Workers Education Bureau of America*, Series No. 4, p. 94. Also, the *Report of the Second International Conference on Workers' Education* (at Oxford), pp. 53-55.

² Amplified under *Shortages*, ch. ix.

³ Concurred in by the Adult Education Committee of England. See *Paper No. 9*, H. M. Stationery Office, London.

and Lindeman¹ cite a study class that was given a solid diet of economics and trade unionism under the guise of public speaking. English and foreign language² courses often lend themselves admirably to discussions on social philosophy. In a given class of English for Adults in New York City, the teacher selected Upton Sinclair's book *The Cry for Justice* as a basic text. In the Rand School catalog for 1926, Mr. August Claessens is listed for a course of lectures on Sex and Society. The title proved to be a mere disguise, a crowd-drawing device, for the presentation of serious social-economics. Even arithmetic affords a means by which social facts can be transmitted.³

These facts suggest the extraordinary difficulties in the way of obtaining a refined evaluation of trend. About all that can be claimed for the data is a gross measure of accentuation on a social and labor point of view, and that present-day social and economic problems and special situations facing the trade union, co-operative, and political labor movements constitute the core of a workers' educational curriculum.

(6) Recruitment of Teachers.

From a questionnaire addressed to the various national centers for workers' education invited to the International Conference at Oxford, Mr. John W. Brown, then Secretary of the Educational Department of the International Federation of Trade Unions, I. F. T. U., obtained a fairly representative distribution of replies to the query: How are your teachers recruited? The answers which Mr. Brown compiled for the Conference are here given verbatim for the light which they throw on the above category.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

² At Brunnsvik, Sweden, a class in German is granted the privilege of reading "The Communist Manifesto" in the original. *Annual Report*, 1927-28, p. 17.

³ See Appendix III.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Workers' Educational Body</i>	<i>Teachers Recruited From</i>
Australia . . .	Victorian Labor College . . .	the Labor Movement.
Austria . . .	Zentrale für das Bildungswesen . . .	the Labor Movement only.
Belgium . . .	Centrale Éducation Ouvrière . . .	the Labor Movement mostly, a few from the universities. Doctors and artists are also employed.
Czechoslovakia.	National Center	the intelligentsia, labor secretaries; very few are unconnected with the Labor Movement.
Denmark . . .	Arbejdernes Oplysningsforbund . . .	the trade union and political leaders of the Labor Movement, professional teachers. Many of the university-trained teachers were once manual workers.
Finland . . .	National Center	Same as Denmark.
Germany . . .	Reichsarbeiterbildungszentrale . . .	Since the war some university men have been engaged.
	Die Gewerkschaftsschule . . .	the Labor Movement mostly, some practical technicians, persons engaged in commerce. No university professors.
	Die Wirtschaftsschule at Bad Dürrenberg	University men, engineers and trade union officials. Usually affiliated with the Labor Movement.
Great Britain . .	Workers' Educational Association	Mainly from the universities. A large proportion is connected with the Labor Movement.
	The Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee	Some are university tutors, others are recruited from the Labor Movement.
	Ruskin College	University men.
	The National Council of Labor Colleges	the Labor Movement only.
	The Labor College	Largely from ex-students of the College.

- The Scottish Labor College . . . the Labor Movement.
 The Co-operative Union of Great
 Britain and Ireland Members of the co-operative
 societies.¹
- India Social Democratic School . . . Graduates of Bombay University.
 Luxemburg . . Arbeiterbildungszentrale Elementary and secondary
 teachers and lawyers, mostly.
- Sweden Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund . . Political, trade union, and con-
 sumers co-operative leaders,
 university men, and profes-
 sional teachers, graduates of
 labor and folk high schools.
- Switzerland . . Arbeiterbildungszentrale the Labor Movement.²
- United States. . The Workers' Education Bureau. Not from the Labor Movement
 directly, but from universities,
 colleges, high schools, lectur-
 ers and special experts. Many
 of these are members of the
 Teachers' Union.
- The International Ladies' Gar-
 ment Workers' Union Not from the Labor Movement,
 but the teachers must have
 labor sympathies.
- Brookwood Labor College . . . Professional teachers, members
 of the Teachers' Union.
- The Rand School of Social
 Science Professional teachers, university
 men (some of these were once
 manual workers), political and
 trade union leaders.

It is not necessary nor desirable at this juncture to enter upon a lengthy disquisition on the teaching population in the

¹ A number of them have university degrees.

² Recruited from the "Labor Movement" does not necessarily imply absence of an academic background; it means that the teachers are affiliated with one or another branch of the labor movement and actively engaged in its services. This footnote is deliberately set under Switzerland as the writer knows two men in responsible places of the Swiss labor movement who hold doctoral degrees. The same observation applies also to Austria. It is of course common knowledge that the history of the organized political, trade union and co-operative movements is inseparable from the initiative and work of intellectual men and women.

field of workers' education, for this feature will receive more adequate treatment under Problems of Workers' Education, chapter nine. Except for the excellent study (*The Tutor in Adult Education*, published by The Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, 1928) of a joint committee appointed by the British Institute of Adult Education and the Tutors' Association, and, the *Adult Education Committee Reports, Papers No. 1 and 9*, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office,—these studies are largely limited to the public grant-receiving bodies of England, no systematic inquiries have come to the writer's notice. Some facts such as the number of teachers, and the size of the classes which they instruct, will appear in the discussion on *Present-day Workers' Educational Institutions*.

Observation in America has led some teachers to the conclusion that except as a "side line" teaching in the workers' educational field is a highly precarious pursuit. Workers' education in America is not as yet institutionalized. In the parlance of the market-place, the labor movement is not as yet "sold" to the idea.¹ Men and women who have come up more or less unaided from the ranks of labor often find their enthusiasm dampened, their initiative thwarted, and the approach to educational service blocked by officers who prefer lecturers with "big" names. Anomalous and inconsistent though it seems, the stamp of academic approval is often a pre-requisite over proved ability, loyalty and devotion to an ideal. This sort of behavior on the part of labor officials suggests a veiled desire for approbation in the bourgeois intellectual world. Concern is being expressed over a possible shortage of teachers in adult workers' education. This situation would become unlikely if measures were taken whereby those who are now schooling themselves for service

¹ Consider the controversy between the A. F. of L. Executive Council and Brookwood Labor College.

in the educational branch of the labor movement could find opportunities that would at least mean a livelihood and not a mere hazardous makeshift. Victimization that is consequent upon attendance at a school of higher learning is an act of cruelty to the human spirit. In this connection, the fine and honest admission of Professor Franklin H. Giddings is apposite and admonitory: "The older generation should not too severely condemn the younger, *for the older has taught the younger much that is not true* (Italics mine) about the causes of success and failure in life."¹ The irresponsible policy of educating young people for opportunities that are non-existent, whether it be in the public educational system or in workers' education, is a disturbing factor in the mental health of a given group. In Europe where the mobility of the classes is somewhat more restricted, labor guards zealously against the loss of the A and B minds on the probability curve of intelligence. This may explain in part why the labor movement moves over there. When youth learns that it can make a career of workers' education, there will likely be no cause for worry over a shortage of tutors.

(7) Standards of Admission to Workers' Schools.

The data collected does not readily admit of tabular presentation in lieu of which a condensed summarization of the admission requirements of a varied group of schools is submitted.

*Akademie Der Arbeit (Frankfurt A. M.)*²

Prospective students are advised to take a year's work by correspondence from the Academy as a preparation for entrance. Anyone who can demonstrate a serious purpose and desire to attend the Academy, as well as show some tangible

¹ "The Educational Value of Sociology", *Historical Outlook*, Dec., 1922, p. 332.

² *Prospectus*, 1928-29.

foundation for the possibility of his coming for study in residence, may take the correspondence lessons. Only men and women with definite trade-training and considerable experience in industrial vocations will be admitted. Furthermore, all students are required to submit to three special tests—one, a running account of their various activities, accomplishments and aspirations, the others are so constructed as to indicate a certain degree of maturity of judgment, or the lack of it, and a mental capacity to carry on the work individually and in co-operation which the institution exacts. Entrance is also granted to students, on the conditions aforementioned, who come independently of the federations represented in the Executive Committee of the school. For the latter type of student a probation period of three months is allowed at the termination of which the faculty decides on the status of the probationers.

*Brookwood Labor College*¹

No student will be accepted who has not worked in industry and held membership in a labor union for at least one year. (This is a minimum requirement. Exception is honored only in the absence of a trade union organization in a given industry). Each applicant must furnish three references, two of whom must be responsible trade unionists able to vouch for the applicant's loyalty to organized labor and his desire to serve it. No examinations and no specific preparatory schooling are required, but the applicant is urged to procure as much preliminary training as possible in English, Arithmetic, History and Economics. There is no hard and fast age limit. Experience, responsibility, and enthusiasm for service are the factors which influence selection. All students are received on a probation basis. No discrimination against opinions.

*Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women² Workers
in Industry*

The applicant shall be between 20 and 35 years of age. She

¹ *Memorandum on Entrance Requirements*, August 24, 1927.

² Circular, 1929.

shall have had at least three years of wage-earning experience, two of which must have been in industry. Completion of the sixth grade of the public school supplemented by further study is a pre-requisite, as well as the ability to read and write English. Only women working with the tools of their trade are admitted. Supervisors, forewomen, saleswomen, clerical workers, and teachers are excluded, for the present.

*Commonwealth College*¹

For admission to the Short Labor Course no formal educational credit is demanded; each written application will be considered on its own merits by the Director. A grammar school preparation is required for entrance to the Preparatory Department. Fifteen years is minimum age for admission. A secondary school education or its equivalent admits a student to the Collegiate Department. All prospective students must produce a certificate of good health.

*The Co-operative College (England)*²

The College is open to both men and women, but no student of less than seventeen years of age will be admitted except by special permission. Eligibility for the various scholarships is determined by special examinations and other regulations.

*École Ouvrière Supérieure (Belgium)*³

Ability to read and write is the minimum school knowledge required for entrance. The organizations which select the students consider that the essential requisites are intellectual capacity, a well-developed ethical sense, and experience of the labor movement. The principal reserves the right to reject candidates, to eliminate during the term any student who proves to be incapable of profiting by the particular educational process.

¹ *Announcement, 1926-27.*

² *Educational Programme, The Co-operative Union Ltd., 1927-28.*

³ *Le Mouvement d'Éducation Ouvrière En Belgique, par Henri de Man, 1922.*

*Die Gewerkschaftsschule (Berlin)*¹

Any member of organized labor may enter the course for beginners, but admission to the seminars can be gained only by way of completing the preparatory courses.

*The Labor College (London)*²

Seeks trade union members with a studious bent who may qualify for future positions as organizers, officials, but especially, as tutors and lecturers for the regional schools and classes under the auspices of the National Council of Labor Colleges.

*The Rand School of Social Science*³

Members of Trade Unions, the Socialist Party, the Young People's Socialist League, the Workmen's Circle, and several applicants not thus affiliated but deemed worth-while by the Educational Director, are eligible to the scholarships in The Workers' Training Course. Admission to this course is granted if following a personal interview the candidate satisfies the Director as to an adequate knowledge of English, a serious interest in the purpose of the course, and a desire to be of service in any of the branches of the labor movement.

*Ruskin College*⁴

Students must be working-class men and women who are in sympathy with the objects and methods of the College and they must show that they have sufficient ability to follow the courses of instruction. Evidence of having done some previous educational work, such as part-time study in evening classes, serious reading and concern with the kind of subjects provided for at the College is desirable. In the case of scholarships directly awarded by the College the applicant must submit to an examin-

¹ *Vierteljahrs Hefte*, Number 3, 1928.

² *Report of the N. C. L. C.*, 1927-28.

³ *Announcement* for 1928-29.

⁴ *Memorandum on the Position and Work of Ruskin College*, February, 1927.

ation. The test questions usually touch upon economic, political, social subjects, and include also questions on literature and some matters of immediate public interest; they are so framed as to elicit the candidate's general knowledge of the subjects concerned, his powers of judgment, critical insight and independent thought. In all cases of application the College considers broadly the total situation of each. ("While we think it advisable to provide educational tests of the kind suggested, experience shows that some of those who have proved our best students would have been unable to pass such tests on entry. If scholarship conditions are too rigid candidates may be excluded who may show promise without being able to produce evidence of achievement. It is therefore, important not unduly to discourage applicants by a too formidable or inelastic system of selection." (Memorandum cited, p. 4.)

*Die Heimvolkshochschule Tinz*¹

Students' ages must range between 20 and 30 years. Evidence of a genuine desire to attend the school must be presented. Personal health and good mental endowment are essentials. Previous activity in the labor movement, whether in the party, the trade unions or in the youth movement is desirable. Pre-occupation on the part of any student with the affairs of an office during the course is unconditionally discouraged. The aspirant should give evidence of possessing a certain mental flexibility and of having been studiously occupied, though for the sake of homogeneity, a grammar school education is a sufficient attainment for entrance. In addition to an extensive narrative of the life of the applicant, a full statement of the motive that actuated him toward the school is required. The autobiographical account should include previous activity in any of the branches of the labor movement, the number of courses attended and something about the nature of the subject matter. Any applicant who has on hand samples of writings, reports, minutes, etc. is asked to submit the same for inspection. The final decision on the acceptance or rejection of an applicant rests with the faculty.

¹ *Richtlinien für die Schülerauswahl*, by the faculty at Tinz.

*The Tutorial Classes (England)*¹

The classes are open to adults of either sex. A year's work in the Preparatory Tutorial Class is pre-requisite to enrollment in the regular Three Year Tutorial Class. During this year the student must prove a seriousness of purpose, a capacity for sustained mental application, and some aptness for expressing the results of his study in essay form.

*Die Wirtschaftsschule des Deutschen Metallarbeiter-Verbandes (Bad Dürrenberg)*²

Open to works councillors, secretaries, committeemen, and volunteer leaders of youth groups in the Metal Workers Union.

(8) What Becomes of the Students in Labor Colleges after Graduation?

The Labor Academy at Frankfort A. M. attempted an answer to the above question. A questionnaire was mailed out to 219 ex-students, those in attendance during the first four years of the Academy's existence. Of these 127 filled out the questionnaire. (Many of the letters came back because of changes in address, others were lost in the forwarding process). Two of the students became editors of political newspapers, three became party secretaries, one a teacher in a people's high school, ten entered the state and community service, four took up child welfare, three ascended to the rank of labor official. (Not included in this enumeration, of course, are those students who occupied official positions before attending the Academy). The balance returned (nearly all) to their respective places in factory, workshop and labor office.³

¹ W. E. A. circular. See also *Grant Regulations No. 33*, Board of Education, England, 1924.

² *Betriebsräte-Zeitschrift*, December 18, 1926, pp. 805-6. Stuttgart.

³ *Mitteilungen IV, Akademie Der Arbeit*, Frankfurt A. M., December 1926, pp. 1-2.

In his report ¹ of L'Ecole Ouvriere Superieure, Brussels, Monsieur L. Delsinne, Principal of the school, illuminates our question as follows:

A l'heure actuelle 144 élèves ont terminé avec succès leurs études à l'Ecole Ouvrière Supérieure. Parmi eux, 72 élèves exercent une fonction permanente au sein des organisations ouvrières ou sont placés par elles a des postes de confiance; 25 sont secrétaires ou propagandistes syndicaux; 13 secrétaires ou employés de mutualités; 11 employés ou militants de coopération; 6 secrétaires ou propagandistes socialistes; 2 secrétaires ou dirigeants d'organisation d'éducation ouvrière; 4 journalistes; 1 secrétaire de droit ouvrier; 5 délégués a l'inspection des mines.

Ceux qui continuent à travailler dans l'industrie et le commerce déploient dans les groupes une activité intense dont on se plaît généralement à reconnaître la valeur.

The Record of Graduates of Brookwood Labor College ² shows that out of 92 graduates, 23 occupy paid official positions in the trade union movement whereas previous to attendance at Brookwood these persons were members of the rank and file. 54 of the labor students are active rank and file trade unionists. Many of the latter are serving in an honorary capacity, as presidents, secretaries, executive committee members, delegates to city central bodies, chairmen of shop committees, etc. Of the remaining 15 not classed as active trade unionists, 2 are active in co-operative societies, 2 have married and are rearing a family, and 2 have been victims of ill-health since graduation. A few of the remaining members were inheritances from the old Brookwood School which did not require its student body to be recruited from trade unions. There is only one case of a Brookwood graduate who is now putting in full time studying at a regu-

¹ For the year 1926-27.

² August 24, 1927.

lar university and who may not in the future continue to have direct contacts with the labor movement. (On the other hand, the student in question who is studying in a Department of Economics and Labor Problems may contribute richly in the field of labor research). 26 of the graduates are active in connection with workers' education classes in their own communities.

Dr. Alfred Braunthal, Principal of the Heimvolkshochschule Tinz, sent an inquiry to 338 of his one-time students for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of their activities. He received 210 replies. Before coming to Tinz 84 of the 210 participants had functioned in the political movement, very largely restricted to the S. P. D.—Social Demokratische Partei Deutschlands, after the course at Tinz the number of political functionaries increased to 90; in the trade union movement: before Tinz 64, after Tinz 74; in the youth movement, i.e. the labor and socialist: before Tinz 108, after Tinz 92; other organizations, such as, the Kinderfreunde, Arbeiterabstinenten, etc.: Before Tinz 57, after Tinz 73; without a function: before Tinz 26, after Tinz 19.

The specific form of the activities in which Tinz students were engaged before and after (then and now) their period of residential study is described as follows: Delivery of lectures, then 82, now 119; Giving courses, then 14, now 36; Organizing, then 94, now 89; Journalistic activity, then 19, now 55; Without special activity, then 58, now 21.

To the question: How do you continue your education? 104 answered "Through systematic reading of scientific works", 38 by means of courses, 36 by further school attendance. Nearly all complained of the lack of time in which to continue intensive study to which Tinz had inspired them.¹

¹ *Arbeiter-Bildung, Monatsschrift des Reichsausschusses für Sozialistische-Bildungsarbeit*, Berlin, April 1926, Heft 4, 1. Jahrg., pp. 53-6.

If additional data were available from other residential labor and co-operative colleges, they would not likely affect the inevitable conclusion, viz. that there is no foundation for the oft-repeated fear that labor colleges serve as mere stepping-stones and exits from the laboring group into the middle class.¹

(9) Motives of the Adult Labor Student.

From a social-economic point of view labor constitutes unquestionably a definite group, a unit, whether consciously recognized by labor or not, albeit the clarity of this consciousness varies more or less in different countries. Psychologically and educationally, however, labor is a heterogeneity, a motley pattern in which the weft reveals nuances of a dominant bourgeois ideology—a persistence of the cultural traits of a ruling class. The inference here is not a disparagement of all bourgeois traditions, far be it. The fact itself suggests that a situation in which the motives are not unmixed must be considered warily.

In 1919 the English Ministry of Reconstruction issued the Final Report² of the Adult Education Committee. In that report we find an attempt to ferret out (broadly, of course,) the fundamental motives which impel individuals to attend workers' educational classes and study circles. The committee found: "In the first place, the primary motive of the students who take part in the adult education movements is normally an interest in some department of knowledge for its own sake, or for the contribution which it may make to mental development and wise conduct, not for the sake of training for, or advancement in, a trade or profession."³

¹ Compare with situation in two Folk High Schools of Denmark. See Appendix IV.

² Unfortunately this comprehensive and valuable report is now out of print.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

That exceptions to this statement exist, is freely granted. In the second place, "the adult educational movement is also the expression of the belief that a wider diffusion of knowledge will be a power working for the progress of society, and the ideal which it places before its students and members is less individual success or personal culture than personal culture as a means to social improvement."¹

The Adult Education Committee (with a few changes and additions to its personnel) gave out another report (Paper No. 9, previously referred to) in 1927 which purported to take stock of recent developments in Adult Education in England. The committee recurs again to the subject of motives. "The bodies definitely organized for adult education,² and for nothing else, are very few. . . . A body of adult students comes together because they are perplexed

¹ *Idem*, p. 56.

² This committee contends that "the term adult education implies and demands the disinterested pursuit of knowledge."—p. 82.

With the preceding point of view we juxtapose the attitude of the National Council of Labor Colleges, an organization that directs the education of thirty thousand labor students in England. Its attitude is well expressed in the motto which formerly appeared at the masthead of the *Plebs Magazine*, viz.: "I can promise to be candid but not impartial." As far as the social sciences are concerned, the N. C. L. C. attitude is shared to an overwhelming extent by the continental movements. Certain groups in England use the terms adult education and workers' education interchangeably. In America a distinction in the meaning of the two terms was expressed by a committee on curriculum at the fourth annual convention of the W. E. B. of A. "We make the following distinction between adult education as such, and workers' education. Adult education tends to neglect the distinct place of workers in society, and tends to merge workers' interests in a general conception of civic welfare. Workers' education, on the other hand, should give expression to the conviction that the mission of the workers is to establish industrial democracy, and to reconstruct society on the basis of co-operation and service as opposed to profit. . . ." The latter position, however, while it reflects the aim of some of the workers' educational enterprises in America, it does not completely coincide with the official opinion of the A. F. of L. For further discussion of the entire problem, refer to chapter nine.

about life. Every person who comes has his own theory, or wishes to find one, as to the way in which that perplexity will be resolved. Naturally groups are formed in the main of people who have the same convictions as to the way. For instance, it is not difficult to see that in of the great associations for adult education the main body of students is convinced that the future of civilization depends on economic and social development, while in another association the guiding motive of students is a belief that civilization will be advanced by the dissemination of Christian doctrine. *But there is an increasing body of evidence that these social and religious motives are not incompatible with disinterested discussion and study, in fact with education as distinct from propaganda.*"¹ (Italics mine.)

In direct line of agreement with the above contentions, are the observations of a joint committee appointed by the British Institute of Adult Education and the Tutors' Association. This committee finds two chief motives behind the demand for adult education. One, individual, "a desire for self-development resting on an intensified sense of human personality and its claims." Two, corporate, "a passion for social improvement based on a quickened sense of social solidarity, together with a growing conviction that, whether knowledge is power or not, it is at least an indispensable condition of power."²

From 319 information blanks circulated in a number of classes at the Rand School in 1924-25, the writer received 251 answers to the question: What is your purpose in taking courses at this school? The students were asked to check either one of four categories. The results was as follows: General Culture, 187, Service in the Labor Movement, 41, Service in the Political Labor Movement, 10, In Doubt, 3.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

² *The Tutor in Adult Education*, p. 2.

We do not claim any definite significance for such a small sample. It is interesting merely because of a seeming congruency with the findings of the English committees. Some for the sake of pure understanding, others for the sake of taking part in social change; some are moved by the power of an idea, others by the idea of power and the hope for social emancipation.

(10) Methods of Teaching in Adult Workers' Education.

The change from the age of status to the age of choice was first made in States where the government was to a great and growing extent a government by discussion and where the subject of that discussion was in some degree abstract or as we should say matters of principle.

If Walter Bagehot could come back to life again and casually drop into one of the better conducted workers' study classes (e.g. an English Tutorial Class), he would be surprised to find that his theory of "discussion in animated moderation" was being applied with more consistency, orderliness, and, perchance, fruitfulness than obtains in that house of "National Palaver" which Carlyle cynically called Parliament.

Guided discussion, co-operative thinking, *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, historical, lecture-discussion, seminar, conference, project, scientific, heuristic, forum, Socratic, Andragogy,¹ etc., all of these terms are encountered in the literature which deals with the methods of workers' education. As the forms of workers' educational institutions are many, so are the methods, though seen in the large, they are more convergent than divergent. The efficacy of a given method depends upon a number of factors, such as the purpose which

¹ In this list, the writer would suggest that "Adultgogy" be included as a contender for the condensation of the phrase: *The Principles of Adult Pedagogy*.

animates the school, the nature of the subject matter, the psychological composition of the class,¹ the resourcefulness of the teacher,² availability of textbooks, reference books and other equipment, the time factor, to mention a few of the outstanding ones. In a homogeneous group of a residential school, the more intensive methods are applicable. In evening-school work a dash of spice and controversy is necessary to keep the fatigued student awake and to hold the group together.³ In a voluntary group uninfluenced by a desire for credits, degrees, or certificates, the teacher is well nigh compelled to give his work an entertaining slant, as Arthur Gleason admitted. But in a system of scholarships, when students are delegated by a certain organization and responsible to it for studying seriously so that the organization may benefit, then the teacher can perceive a more attentive attitude in pupils.⁴

Teachers like Dr. G. Engelbert Graf,⁵ Dr. Josef Luitpold

¹ The writer once *attempted* to teach a class of adults who varied from the sixth to the twelfth grade in their knowledge of English.

² The contention by Bertrand Russell that he who is thoroughly steeped in his subject can teach it, is not borne out by experienced teachers in the adult educational field. Cf. *The Tutor in Adult Education*. Also Bertrand Russell, *Education and the Good Life*.

³ Dr. Graf, who has been active for more than a quarter of a century in workers' education, observes that even with first-class lecturers before working-class groups there is a noticeable decline in attendance, as much as from 30 to 40 per cent when the series covers six evenings. In the event of a longer series of lectures, the mortality may reach as high as 60 per cent. More than a cursory discussion of this problem will be given in chapter nine. Cf. G. Engelbert Graf, "Aus der Praxis der Arbeiterbildung", *Die Tat*, 18 Jahrgang, Heft 4, 1926. Sonderheft zur Arbeiterbildungsfrage.

⁴ Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁵ Dr. Graf is principal of the School of Economics at Bad Dürrenberg. This school is supported by the German Metal Workers' Union—the largest single union in the world.

Stern,¹ Dr. Otto Felix Kanitz,² Dr. Kurt Löwenstein,³ G. D. H. Cole,⁴ M.A., C. V. Bramsnaes, Minister of Finance in the Stauning Cabinet of Denmark, and Professor Scott Nearing⁵ are among the outstanding instructors in the workers' education movement who are masters of the group discussion method. Dr. Graf, e.g., who is freely acknowledged as a great teacher⁶ and with whom the present writer had the privilege of studying during a short course at Hildesheim, Germany, uses the method known as *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*. This method consists of a process of mutual questioning, mutual criticism, and answers, with the teacher holding to the course, supplying missing links and filling in the gaps with up-to-date information, the while with crayon in hand writes a logical outline on the blackboard as the points are developed co-operatively. When the outline of a given project is before the class, the teacher reviews the scheme to elicit other relationships, subtler connections, implications and co-ordinations, never losing sight of the need for economy in the presentation as well as the articulation with the experience of the group. The whole procedure is inter-

¹ Dr. Stern is Director of the Arbeiterhochschule in Vienna.

² Dr. Kanitz is head teacher of the Kinderfreunde School at Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna; a special lecturer on Workers' Education and Editor of *Sozialistische Erziehung* (monthly), Vienna.

³ Stadtrat Dr. Löwenstein is Director of the school at Neuköln (Berlin), leader of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Lehrer und Lehrerinnen*, etc.

⁴ Mr. Cole is a tutor in the W. E. A. Tutorial Classes, Reader in Economics at Oxford University, and Chairman of the Tutors' Association. Senator Bramsnaes is Chairman and Lecturer for the Workers' Educational Federation.

⁵ Formerly of the Rand School, now instructor in the Workers' School, New York City.

⁶ See Dr. Boris Stern, "Works Council Movement in Germany", Washington, D. C. U. S. Department of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin No. 333*, chapter xii.

persed with an occasional outburst of laughter, a keen thrust of satire, a bit of good humor, which leaves one at the close with a feeling of having participated in an inspiring and artistic experience. This method is of superior value in that it effects an educational nexus between the experience situation of the labor student and the clearly conceived plan in the mind of the teacher.

One of the characteristics of the method of socialized group discussion is the taboo on formal lecturing. There are careless critics in the movement who would ban all lecturing. They hold that lectures were in order before the days of the imperishable Johann Gutenberg, but are now rendered nugatory and superfluous by textbooks, pamphlets, etc. The present writer would dissent from this disparaging standpoint. There are all sorts of lecturers and lectures. Professor Franklin H. Giddings, himself a distinguished public lecturer of the first rank, once gave his idea of the object of a university lecture. It was in substance that "the lecture should serve a different purpose from the informational activity of the student. The object of a lecture is to interest the class, to stimulate the students, to deal with questions that are more or less doubtful, to bring the information up-to-date, and above all, to widen the perspective of the class."¹ When a lecture meets these tests, only an incorrigible would gainsay its value. From the point of view of adult workers' education, however, experience with certain groups would indicate that heavy stress is needed at the very point where the university lecture should place least stress in the opinion of Professor Giddings, that is on the informational side. Professor Giddings would not devote much time to a review of material which the university student can readily find in print. The labor student

¹ From class notes in the course given by Professor Giddings at Teachers College 1924-25 on "The Educational Applications of Sociology."

is not as fortunately placed as the university students as regards time, previous preparation, and conditions under which reading and study is carried on. To this should be added that the prices of books that are informative, valuable and worth keeping (many students have complained of the lack of space in their so-called homes) are more often prohibitive to labor students. Hence the need of the lecture system as Wissensvermittlung. "The students want definite information, rather than scientific method," confessed Behrenberg¹ out of his many years of teaching in the Rand School. When a teacher of physical education for adults in New York City met his class one evening, he called for original responses from the group to a rhythmical tune that was being played on the piano. The adult pupils reacted negatively. They wanted the teacher to teach them definite steps. "You see," remarked the teacher, "creative attempts require thinking."

Criticism of the lecture method is often misplaced, partially at least. Sometimes the content of the lecture repels the auditor. One answer to the question Why did the Mechanics Institutes of England fail? is enlightening. "The artisan, finding the lecture system of the Mechanics Institutes did not meet his wants, seceded and formed what has been called working men's colleges."² A. E. Dobbs³ points out

¹ Berenberg, David P., "Labor and Education", *Justice*, April 21, 1922. See also *Proceedings of the First National Conference on Workers' Education in America*, 1921, especially p. 116.

Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser's experience in adult teaching emphasizes the importance of the lecture-discussion method. In a conversation he pointed out the dire need among adult students of a factual background in fundamentals of knowledge and that the lecture method is successful in supplying information.

² *American Journal of Education*, vol. 22 (1872), p. 76.

³ *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education*. University Press, 1920. Section dealing with an Historical Survey.

that the Mechanics Institute had derived from its erstwhile serious purpose of conducting courses of study for working men and had yielded to an influx of miscellaneous groups with nugacious aims by substituting disconnected lectures with an admixture of the vaudeville spirit. Moreover, the serious-minded workingmen were more interested in the social sciences than in lectures bearing upon their daily trades. The leaders of the Institutes failed to understand that there are various levels of interests among men. The Workers Educational Association—W. E. A.—of England through the organization of short courses, study clubs, short series of lectures is making an effort to profit by the errors of their shortsighted predecessors.

A critical study by Dr. Von Hertha Siemering¹ throws an interesting sidelight on the method and content of workers' education in the cities of Berlin and Vienna of pre-war days. She attributes the so-called "indolence of the masses" (then ironically referred to as *Stimmvieh*), their "lack of interest in scientific socialism", in good part to official methods of education and propaganda as practiced by the Social-democratic Party. She declares that the masses were frightened away by the dullness and one-sidedness of the lecture courses the content of which offered little more than an eternal monotony of half-understood Marxian phrases. Dr. Siemering taunts the radicals who blamed the church for its uninspiring theological sermons, then straightway proceeded to duplicate the process of deifying Karl Marx and ascribing to his System an authoritative quality that paralleled a pontifical theology. Whether or not Dr. Siemering's castigation is warranted by the facts this writer is not prepared either to affirm or deny. As Buckle said of history: there undoubtedly is something in it. Nor need there be any doubt of the

¹ *Arbeiterbildungswesen in Wien und Berlin*, Karlsruhe: G. Braunsche Verlag, 1911.

fact that a great change has taken place in the methods of adult workers' education in Germany. Dr. Graf has exerted and is exerting a pioneering influence that will enshrine him among the creative teachers in the history of education.

In sum, the experience, testimony, and observations of those engaged in adult workers' education weighs heavily on the need for evolving a technique of teaching adaptable to the different forms of the movement as well as to the psychological composition of the group to be taught. Academic methods are on the whole inappropriate. The seminar method of the University Graduate Schools can be used within limits. Procedure of teaching adults differs radically from the public school instruction of minors. Adults come with worldly experience, with an apperceptive basis that is foreign to the public schools. Besides, many adults come with a definite purpose and a will to learn. They come also with handicaps arising out of a foreshortened primary education, out of acquired prejudices, false beliefs, out of the miseducation and corruption of which everyday life is replete. Hence much of the teacher's time is consumed in clearing the minds of error, bias and false assumptions due to ignorance. In this process group discussion is an effective means. His method must be flexible. He can learn from the experiments of other countries, but national settings, traditions, and ideals differ, therefore, he will likely use a combination of methods and forge one that is applicable to the material at hand. Recurring again to Bagehot, discussion breaks down the yoke of fixed custom, tends to give a premium to intelligence, undermines prejudice, promotes tolerance toward experimentation, the essentials to a democratic civilization.

(II) The Uneven Preparation of Adult Labor Students.

The extreme variation and scatter which characterizes the previous preparation (schooling) of adult labor students is a

gnarled problem for the tutor of adult labor groups, and a bane to those teachers who have not acquired through actual experience what is realistically termed the "feel" of the workers' situation. At first sight the above category may seem to belong to Standards of Admission and the Selection of Students. Separate importance, however, attaches to a recognition and description of this problem for the light it may throw on the shortcomings of the public school system. Published evidence of a scientific nature is scarce. If the various schools, particularly the semi-resident type, would keep a record of the reasons for the thirty per cent or more mortality of class attendance, such figures and data would be useful.

In England and on the continent an attempt is being made to face the problem of an inadequate preparation and lack of background in certain fundamentals on the part of adult students. The W. E. A. offers a preliminary course for those intending to pursue a three-year Tutorial Subject. An orientation course is given in the Berliner Gewerkschaftsschule. In Austria a progressively ascending scheme obtains from the Kinderfreunde classes to the Workers High School, the apex of the hierarchy. Several methods of selection are in vogue in Germany. The Academy at Frankfurt and the School of Economics at Düsseldorf give correspondence lessons to prospective resident students. The three weeks' course at Bad Dürrenberg is partly for the purpose of detecting promising students who can be given advanced training toward future leadership. Principal Graf at Dürrenberg has announced that he will publish a collection of material, the result of tests which he has administered during the past few years in his school. This should help to illuminate the problem under consideration.

(12) *The Type of Problems Studied Suggests a Basis of Classification.*

An analysis of the courses of study, statements of aims and purposes, principles and policies, slogans, lectures—single and in series, study circles, origin, initiative, and control, discloses certain fairly definite emphases. A critical view of syllabi, outlines, textbooks, standards of admission, statistics of occupation,¹ the sources of scholarships and the recruitment of the teaching population, contributes toward a clearer perception of the type of problems which are stressed. Measures of modality, the construction of norms or other refinements of statistical technique call for more consistent and consecutive numerical data than is now available. The institutions studied fall into five groups with a more or less central emphasis: 1. Those which stress trade union problems; 2. Political² problems; 3. Cultural³ problems; 4. Consumers' Cooperative problems; 5. Those which emphasize an integrative⁴ point of view. These categories are

¹ For example, in the Tutorial Classes of England, a majority of the students is composed of the so-called white-collar classes, including housewives. Members of the white-collar group appear to be disposed toward the selection of cultural subjects—including the social sciences when these are presented in a "purely" academic spirit. This view is supported by the painstaking study of Dr. Viktor Engelhardt: "Die Bildungsinteressen in den einzelnen Berufen", *Eine auf Grund des Materials der Volkshochschule Gross-Berlin durchgeführte statistische Untersuchung*. Frankfurt A. M., 1926. Neuer Frankfurter Verlag. pp. 42.

² Political is used in the sense of participation in the progressive improvement of the community.

³ Studying for the sake of understanding, primarily, the motive to control playing a less ostensible role. The Adult Education Committee of England defines adult education: "it implies and demands the disinterested pursuit of knowledge." *Paper No. 9*, p. 82. Therefore, it would seem that the Tutorial Classes belong in the cultural category by definition, since the W. E. A. organizes these classes and this body is the most important consideration in the report referred to.

⁴ Refers to those institutions which attempt to unify the educational work through an interlocking directorate of the political, trade union, consumers' cooperative and cultural movements, and which have actually carried out cooperative educational schemes under joint control and whose program of study takes cognizance of the various branches of the labor and political movements.

not mutually exclusive but they are sufficiently clear and pertinent for the purposes of our study. These emphases are paralleled by the economic, political, and cultural institutions of modern social life.

TABLE V
PERCENTAGES OF TIME GIVEN TO SUBJECTS OF STUDY IN
TWENTY WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
(Summarized from an unpublished table.)

Percentages Grand Total Hours		SUBJECTS										100%
		22.4	15.8	10.9	9.8	8.5	6.6	5.6	4.0	3.5	0.6	
School Col. No.	No. of Weeks	Language Literature	Economics	Labor Problems	Sociology	Consumers Co-operation	Political Science	History	Science	Socialism	Youth	Miscellaneous
(1)	26					87.1			10.2			2.7
(2)	20	2.2	1.9		9.2	57.3	3.8		5.2			20.4
(3)	38	10.5	11.9	10.5	16.3	3.5	10.5	17.5	7.1	10.7		1.5
(4)	36		29.2	19.9	6.5		13.8	5.3	0.7	6.4		18.2
(5)	20	14.3	20.7	15.9		1.6	5.4	6.5		6.7		28.9
(6)	66	11.0	28.5	6.5	9.0	3.0	7.0			10.0		25.0
(7)	20	50.4	11.5	11.6	11.8	2.9		11.8				
(8)	14	55.5			16.5			16.7				11.3
(9)	40	13.6	32.6	14.9	8.6		11.4					18.9
(10)	60	42.2	14.2	28.9	7.4					7.3		
(11)	24		40.9	52.7	6.4							
(12)	32	58.5	25.2				16.3					
(13)	2		21.5	21.4	17.8					16.1		23.2
(14)	24	23.6	8.7	1.9	4.8	6.4	12.7	4.9	8.8	1.4		26.8
(15)	52	23.8	12.8		12.3		6.9	12.7	15.6			15.9
(16)	72	13.6	19.8	37.3	11.7		7.8					9.8
(17)	22	36.3	18.6		33.9		11.2					
(18)	4	15.9	21.6	9.9	14.4		16.8			18.7	0.9	1.8
(19)	4	12.8			24.8		24.8			33.8	1.7	2.1
(20)	20		24.3	4.8	19.6			4.8		9.8	32.8	3.9

The data in Table V was taken from the annual reports of the following institutions:

- (1) Genossenschaftliches Seminar, Freidorf, Switzerland.

- (2) Genossenschaftsschule, Hamburg, Germany.
- (3) Ecole Ouvrière Supérieure, Bruxelles, Belgium.
- (4) Akademie der Arbeit, Frankfurt A. M., Germany.
- (5) Arbeiterhochschule, Vienna, Austria.
- (6) Sozialdemokratische Arbejderskole, Copenhagen, Denmark.
- (7) Arbejderhøjskole, Esbjerg, Denmark.
- (8) Internationale Folkehøjskole, Elsinore, Denmark.
- (9) Wirtschaftsschule, Düsseldorf, Germany.
- (10) Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York.
- (11) Gewerkschaftsschule, Beamtenkurse, Berlin, Germany.
- (12) Sozialdemokratische Parteischule, Vienna, Austria.
- (13) Funktionärschule, Verband der Gemeinde und Staatsarbeiter, Berlin.
- (14) Työväen Akatemian, Grankulla, Finland.
- (15) Folkhögskola, Brunnsvik, Sweden.
- (16) Gewerkschaftsschule, Vienna, Austria.
- (17) W. E. A. Branch, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
- (18) Reichsparteischule, Sozialdemokratische Partei, Reindlitz, Tschechoslowakei.
- (19) Frauenschule, Sozialdemokratische Partei, Reindlitz, Tschechoslowakei.
- (20) Jugendkurse, Gewerkschaftsschule, Berlin, Germany.

These twenty institutions were selected because they indicate in their reports the number of hours given to each subject.

Only the regular courses offered annually with class instruction are included. We included school number (13) which offers an intensive residential course of sixty hours' instruction during two full weeks, Saturdays and Sundays as well. . . . The most recently available report was used. . . . Further details can be found in the separate descriptions of institutions.

The courses of study disclosed 99 differently named courses. These were reduced to 11 subject categories, not without some overlapping of borderline studies, but sufficiently distinct for the trying out of our project.

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS

<i>Consumers' Co-operation</i> (903 hrs.)	Salesmanship
Administration, Finance and Insurance	Co-operative Seminar
Advertising	Special Lectures in Consumers' Co-operation
Apprenticeship	<i>Economics</i> (1668 hrs.)
Business Enterprise	Business Enterprise
Commercial Law	Economic and Political Geography
Commercial Products	Economic Development of Germany
History, Theory and Practice and Ideals of Co-operation	Economic Problems

- Industrial Development of Denmark
 Industrial Problems
 Marxian Economics
 Political Economy
 Problem of Imperialism
 Psychology of Work
 Rural Economy
 Social Economy
 Statistical Economics
- History* (594 hrs.)
 History of Art
 Economic and Social History
 History of Music
 National History
 World History
- Labor Problems* (1154.5 hrs.)
 Conciliation and Arbitration
 History, Theory, Practice of Trade Unionism
 History of the Labor Movement
 Industrial Law
 Labor Legislation
 Organization
 Psychology of Labor
 Trade Union Problems and Policy
 Seminar in Labor Problems
 Wages Policy
- Language and Literature* (2361.5 hrs.)
 Dramatics
 Current Events
 Foreign Language
 Journalism
 Literature
 Native Literature
 Workers' Literary History
 Native Language
 Public Speaking
- Political Science* (701.5 hrs.)
 Civil Law and Justice
 Criminal Law
 Municipal Politics
 Nationalism
 Political Science
 State and Local Government
 State and Social Development since the War
- Science* (425 hrs.)
 Anatomy
 Astronomy and Geology
 Biology
 Mathematics
 Physics and Chemistry
 Statistics
- Socialism and Labor Movement* (369 hrs.)
 Christian Social Teachings
 Communism
 History of the International Labor Movement
 History of Socialism
 Materialistic Conception of History
 Practical Objectives of Socialism
 Proletarische Festkultur
 Socialist Education
 Ethics of Socialism
 Socialist Politics Since the War
 Socialism and Religion
 Socialism and Woman
 Sociology of Marxism
- Sociology and Social Problems* (1033 hrs.)
 History of Social Theories
 Health
 Housing
 Social Psychology
 Psychic Factor in German Life
 Population and Alcohol Question
 Social Insurance

Social Legislation	Psychology of Youth
Sociology	Rights of Youth
Social Philosophy and Psychology	Sociology of Youth
Social Ethics	<i>Miscellaneous</i> (1302 hrs.)
Social Politics	Accounting
Social Science	Arbeitsgemeinschaft
Sociology of Technics	Domestic Economy
<i>Youth</i> (71.5 hrs.)	Education
Industry and Youth	Gymnasium and Music
Proletarian and Bourgeois Youth	International Problems
	Study Circle Leadership

Table V represents the summary of an effort in which the writer was groping for a numerical revelation of the different curricular accents in workers' educational institutions. In obeisance to the statistical impulse so prevalently amplified in American academic circles when the writer began his study (1925), the desire for a quantitative product was impelling. The project was partly frustrated by the dearth of cases and statistical inadequacy of the data. (It is futile to attempt to wring statistical results from mixed statistical data.) In the final analysis the classification must be justified by historical and interpretative insight. However, even as the project stands, it is suggestive. There is evident, in the first place, a gross tendency, a mass measure of what is being studied in the adult workers' educational movement. In the second, any person, familiar with the movement, could readily tell by inspection of the table that schools number (1) and (2) emphasize co-operative studies; that school number (3) is of the integrative type; that number (8) is likely of the general cultural persuasion; that number (11) is predominantly trade union; and that number (19) belongs in the political category.

Cautious sophistication and critical insight must be brought to bear upon any effort to determine a major em-

phasis. A labelled article does not invariably represent contents of 100% C. P. strength. In the workers' educational movement it is also necessary to analyze the contents. An example to illustrate. Glancing over some of the older catalogues of the Rand School one is impressed with the great number of courses in Socialist Theory and Practice as compared with the small number of similar courses in the catalogues of the latter twenties. During the school year 1920-21, a dozen courses in Socialism and Marxism were offered, while in the catalog for 1928-29 a diligent search will bring only three. Yet, the statement of aims and purposes of the school remain the same. An explanation for the decline of interest in Socialism as a school subject in the opinion of the Educational Director of the Rand School is to be sought partly in the *Zeitgeist* which has imbued the young adult labor students with a desire for literature, psychology, psychoanalysis, poetry, and other general "cultural" subjects. While the school would prefer to carry out its socialistic purpose, according to the Director, it must first of all attract students. Therefore, to keep students coming, the school is for the time being constrained to subordinate its original intent to the prevailing demands for a liberal "culture."¹ Consequently, the Rand School at that time differed little from any adult "cultural" center. This statement applies only to courses other than the regular scholarship course.

The School of Economics at Bad Dürrenberg, controlled by the Great German Metal Workers Union, is on the face of its course of study a trade union school, pure and simple. But the Metal Workers Union is politically socialdemocratic,

¹ Whether or not this is the way via which the Rand School will accomplish its object is another serious question, especially in view of the teachings of habitistic psychology.

i. e. very largely.¹ Dr. G. Engelbert Graf, the Educational Director, is also a socialdemocratic member of the Reichstag. Hence it is not difficult to see, what indeed is true, namely, that the spirit of the school is permeated with the socialist Weltanschauung.²

We shall conclude this chapter by reciting two other attempts at classifying the tendencies in the workers' educational movement.

A REVIEW OF OTHER CLASSIFICATIONS OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

Human beings are prone to view a situation from the either—or black-white point of view. If workers' education were classified in the manner of these alternatives, a very distorted picture would be produced. The perennial couples: propaganda versus education, State grants versus independent finance, class versus cultural, right versus left, etc. are forever on the court's docket seeking a divorce. The trial is usually a more or less fruitless indulgence of personal attitudes. One encounters this sort of endless (much of it pointless) argument more in the educational publications of the English-speaking peoples, less in continental educational media. In Austria and Scandinavia (including Finland) men and women in the labor and cooperative movements appear to be interested more in finding likenesses than differences in their social aspirations, hence a tendency toward a broad integrative point of view is manifest in their workers' educational endeavor. In the latter countries the

¹ G. Engelbert Graf, *Die Wirtschaftsschule des Deutschen Metallarbeiter-Verbandes*, Betriebsräte Zeitschrift, Stuttgart, vol. vii, Dec. 18, 1926, p. 808.

² Ernst Fraenkel, *Kulturwille*, Leipzig, vol. iii, No. 4, April 1, 1926, p. 78.

conjunction *and* has been substituted for the preposition *versus*.¹

Two serious attempts (albeit subjective) at classifying workers' education from an international point of view are those of Dr. Henri de Man and Dr. Scott Nearing.

Henri de Man,² formerly educational director of the Belgian Centrale d'Education Ouvriere, has categorized workers' education as follows: the movement in Germany is classified as politico-dogmatic, in the United States as trade-union-utilitarian, in Great Britain as eclectic, and in Belgium as synthetic. The German type, he explains is also found in Scandinavia, Switzerland, Austria and Holland. This is an interesting arrangement, but fraught with difficulties.

In the first place, de Man identifies his categories with national geographical limits, when, as a matter of fact, the aims and activities of workers' education cut across national boundaries. In the second place, de Man attributes a single tendency whereas all the characteristics named are observable in a number of countries, Germany among them. His characterization of Germany is perhaps, in the main historically correct, but it does not hold true contemporaneously,³ as the

¹ ". . . having heard so much about what used to divide men, we are now to reconstruct stone by stone the institutions which used to unite them."—Prince Kropotkin in *Mutual Aid*, p. 92.

² "Arbeiterbildung in der Welt", in a special edition of *Die Tat*, Jena, vol. xviii, No. 4, July 1926, pp. 290-299.

³ A pregnant answer to de Man is contained in the conclusion of an essay by Dr. Anna Siemsen entitled, "Psychologische Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus". "Wir haben grossenteils einem aus missverstandenen Marxismus stammenden Fatalismus gehuldigt, der alles von der zwangsläufigen Entwicklung und ihren psychologischen Auswirkungen erwartete. Dabei glaubten wir, die politische und gewerkschaftliche Organisation und die Vorbereitung zum politischen Tageskampfe genüge. Die grundsätzliche Einstellung und Disziplinierung erwartete man sozusagen von einer automatischen Einwirkung des Milieus. Wir sind heute erwacht zu dem Bewusstsein, dass Sozialismus höchste Aktivität innerhalb einer gewaltigen gesellschaftlichen Bewegung bedeutet, und das Marxismus

evidence will bring out later. Even historically de Man's label for Germany needs a qualifying footnote. At the Mannheim Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in 1906, Heinrich Schultz, then and now chairman of the Committee on Education, declared:

We must not look at the aim of education in a speculative light but we must grasp and understand the realities of economic life and out of these realities we should seek the course of education not only for the present but of the future. Out of the timely defined economic goal is derived and follows correspondingly the pedagogical aim.

This point of view is reflected in the *Gewerkschaftliche Unterrichts Kurse* instituted by the *Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands* under the able leadership of Karl Legien, first international secretary of the modern trade-union movement.

The category applied to America covers but a small phase of the educational work being done here. It fails to include such different schools as Commonwealth College, The Rand School, The Workers (Communist) School, The Work Peoples College. It applies to Brookwood and a few minor "labor colleges."¹

nicht ein dogmatisches Schwören aufs Wort des Meisters ist, sondern einfach die Haltung des politisch aktiven Menschen zu dieser Bewegung, der aus seiner wissenschaftlich kritischen Betrachtung der Geschehnisse zu immer klareren Formulierungen der Gesetze und immer bestimmteren Regeln seines Handelns kommt. Aus dieser Erkenntnis heraus die grosse Aufgabe der sozialistischen Schulung zu begreifen und sie in der proletarischen Bewegung zu verwirklichen, das scheint mir die bedeutendste Aufgabe der nächsten Zukunft, die entscheidende Vorarbeit für den neu zu beginnenden Kampf."—p. 393.

¹ The term labor college is used indiscriminately. It is high-sounding and agreeable to the megalomania for which we Americans are notorious. It is used to describe schools with a two-year residential course as well as evening study classes, lecture series, etc. In Europe, generally the less vociferous and more modest word school prevails in the workers' educational nomenclature.

The category eclectic may fit the W. E. A. but it cannot truly be said to characterize the N. C. L. C. and the Consumers' Cooperative educational scheme of Great Britain.

With the characterization of Belgium, this writer is in accord.

Another suggestive classification of workers' education in America and Great Britain is advanced by Dr. Scott Nearing.¹ He finds three main channels of labor education: (1) a movement fostered by the colleges to have workers' education under college control; (2) a movement by the workers to have college education under workers' control; (3) a movement for a real proletarian culture. Under the first head, Nearing includes the adult educational work performed by Bryn Mawr and other colleges, whose motive, he avers, is to capture the infant workers' educational movement for the purpose of directing its course, presumably away from radicalism. The result is, in Nearing's opinion, counter-revolutionary.

In the second place, Nearing finds, that labor education carried on with instructors borrowed or hired from high schools and colleges is essentially transferring capitalist education to labor classrooms. "Such teachers tend to give the same courses for the workers that they are giving to their regular high school or college classes," and, ipso facto, it cannot be workers' education. It is therefore plain", concludes Nearing, "that if the workers of the United States are to develop ideas looking to the establishment of a new economic and social order, they must do the educational work in their own schools supported by their own teachers² and using their

¹ "The Control of Labor Education", *The Modern Quarterly*, March 1923, pp. 35-37.

² It is not clear whether this means teachers with an actual labor background and trained in workers' colleges, or ousted "radical" college professors, or college professors sympathetic to labor but in the pay of the college, or persons with a labor background and academic training.

own outlines, textbooks, and so on." This according to Nearing is the real test of what constitutes workers' education. Obviously the first two categories are automatically wiped out by this test. The third category, proletarian culture, seems to belong in the realm of what 'ought to be'! It is a desire, for thus far no proletcult has been developed, though there may be visible some dim adumbrations of it on the proletarian horizon.¹

From a world point of view, workers' education is, on the whole, in the control of trade unions, cooperatives, and labor parties, even in those countries where State grants towards the educational budget are accepted. Nearing inveighs against college professors who use the same material in workers' classes which they disseminate in the academic halls of learning, but he omits to point out the fact that certain subjects can be taught advantageously by professors in graduate schools. And the further fact that it were the part of wisdom and economy for labor students to study particular subjects in universities fully equipped for this task.²

¹ See *Die Tat*, Jena, Nov. 1922, pp. 600-606. Trotsky, L., *Literatur und Revolution*, Vienna, 1924, Verlag für Literatur und Politik. Paul, Eden and Cedar, *Proletcult*, London, 1921, Leonard Parsons, 159 pp. Engelhardt, Dr. Viktor, *Kulturwille*, Leipzig, Sept. 1925, pp. 179 et seq.

² Several American universities have opened their doors to workers' classes. Professor James C. Egbert, Director of Columbia University Extension, declared in an interview with the writer that Columbia University is prepared to work out educational schemes with any labor group desiring the services of the Extension Division. Recently two workers' classes were started under the joint auspices of Columbia University Extension and the Women's Trade Union League. It may interest the European movement that Columbia University Extension is giving a course in *The Social Interpretation of Workers' Education* with academic credit.

In England the labor movement provides several scholarships to deserving labor students who attend the universities.

Dr. Harry Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, after a three months' tour of lecturing before student bodies of American colleges, said: "A responsible economic heretic has much

Why should labor ignore the universities in whose creation the social energy of work people has played a contributing part? One of the indirect effects of the workers' educational movement will likely be the dissolution of the monopoly of learning that matters.¹

In America, for example, organized labor has contributed very little that can be called original research. Even the writing of the first comprehensive history of American labor was accomplished by a university professor and his graduate students. The monographic literature of university graduate departments dealing with economic, political and social phases of labor is increasing yearly. To hold that a university instructor could not communicate such factual data in a more or less dispassionate fashion to a labor group is, of course, contrary to tested experience. And, the mere transmission of cultural heritage occupies an important place in the curricula of labor education. "Ultimately," says David Saposs,² "it may be desirable to train technicians to serve the labor movement. For the present it is imperative to concentrate on educating workers to understand the accumulated knowledge, so that they may use it in the interest of labor, and pass it on to their fellow workers."³

The essential shortcoming of the aforementioned classification⁴ lies not in the reduction to the single element of con-

more chance to address uncensored the students of the American universities today than he has to speak before the average Central Labor Council in the United States."—"What is the College Student Thinking About?", *The Jewish Daily Forward* (English Section), May 12, 1929.

¹ See Tawney, R. H., *Education and Social Progress*. An Address before the Co-operative Congress, Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1912, pp. 12.

² Member of faculty, Brookwood Labor College.

³ *Justice* (Official Organ I. L. G. W. U.), April 13, 1923.

⁴ Some writers disclaim the possibility of classifying workers' education. Kerchen contends that "workers' education like the labor move-

trol, but in the minimum of light which it throws on the entire complex of the trade union, cooperative, political and cultural aims of the workers' educational movement. To illuminate by factual description some of the more important going workers' educational institutions is the object of the next few chapters and we hope that in the process, our classification will be shown fairly to fit the facts.

We have pointed out a dozen characteristics of the workers' educational movement. There are others. In a larger sense the workers' educational movement is of spiritual significance. Broadly conceived, the movement represents a group of human beings in an endeavor to feel at home in the universe. They want to "belong" in the Great Community. We suggested in the first chapter that with the advent of the steam engine and the machine process, labor became uprooted economically and spiritually, and that, one of the major purposes of workers' education is to help the trinitarian labor movement get a deeper, firmer rootage in the economic, political and cultural life of modern society. The trade union, the labor party, and the consumers' co-operative constitute labor's roots; workers' education is the crown of the tree of labor whose spreading branches and foliage seek light and warmth as the essentials of growth.

The movement for workers' education is adolescent, dynamic, groping for forms. Conditions for growth differ somewhat in different countries owing to diverse historical and cultural situations. Allowing for details and deviations there is a perceptible unity of aspiration in diversity. In some countries, workers' education functions through a national center; in other countries, the trade union, co-opera-

ment itself, refuses to be defined, classified, pigeonholed or suppressed. . . . It is its own excuse for being and is here without excuses, apologies or defences."—J. L. Kerchen, "California's Experiment in Workers' Education", *The American Federationist*, August 1926.

tive and political sections carry on educationally independent auspices, though conscious of the need of structural interrelationship for cultural purposes.¹ In many of the smaller countries of Europe, a process toward unity and integration in the educational field is coming to fruition.

We have divided our project into three parts: Part I, Introductory, Part II, Present-Day Workers' Educational Institutions, and Part III, Social Significance. Part II which forms the bulk of this treatise will be devoted to a detailed survey of the more outstanding workers' educational institutions functioning through resident labor colleges, semi-resident schools, study circles, lecture courses, week-end and summer schools, schools for youth, the *Kinderfreunde*, and various forms of "mass education" in the trinitarian labor movement. Several significant schools under mixed auspices, but with distinct labor sympathies have been included.

While the body of our survey describes, in the main, the formal character of workers' education, the larger aspects of education as a quality of social environment have not been ignored. Moreover, we have directed occasional sidelights upon the movement by giving something of the social setting, of the ways of life in the community, of the spirit which would either hinder or promote the progressive development of culture.

Some authors would relegate the narrative and descriptive part of a survey to the appendices. This writer feels, however, that the following material contains enough intrinsic interest for the general reader to be entitled to the present chapter arrangement.

¹ See Theodor Cassau, *Die Gewerkschaftsbewegung*, Halberstadt, Verlag H. Meyer, 1925, 355 p.

PART II
PRESENT-DAY WORKERS EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS

CHAPTER III

CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION ¹

"Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper means; which means are, to a great extent, at the command and under the control of those who have influence in the affairs of men."--ROBERT OWEN.

DURING the summer of 1924, the writer attended the Exposition at the Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance, at Ghent. Approaching the main entrance of the magnificent Palais des Fêtes, one's attention was attracted by the inscriptions on the pillars. The inscriptions proved to be the co-operative slogan: "Each for all and all for each," painted in eighteen different languages. An international spirit of welcome indeed! The I. W. W. slogan: "An injury to one is the concern of all", and the Marxian call: "Workers of all countries unite" came into mind and several questions suggested themselves. What have the ultimate social objectives of the Consumers' Co-operative Movement ² in common with the trade union and political labor movements? Are there any signs of a growing liaison between them? Have these movements a common origin?

¹This chapter has been read critically by Dr. James P. Warbasse, President of the Co-operative League of America, to whom the writer is grateful.

²Agricultural Co-operation is not included in this study, as it is, on the whole, unconcerned with the ideal of the social emancipation of the work people, and unmotivated by Rochdale principles.

The more I saw of the remarkable exhibits of this international co-operative fair, the keener grew a conviction that an account of world workers' education must include the educational aims and doings of the consumers' co-operative movement. This conviction became reinforced in the light of a contrast between several conspicuous features (present or absent) of the Co-operative Exhibition at Ghent and that of the British Imperial Exhibition at Wembley. At Wembley,¹ the writer failed to find any objective recognition of labor's status, of labor's contribution in the building of the empire, while at Ghent, the whole exhibition was a material manifestation and acknowledgment of the part which co-operative labor plays in the world's work. At Ghent one looked in vain for a sixteen-inch naval gun or other bellicose paraphernalia and murder machines so much in evidence at Wembley. In one of the buildings at Wembley, an impressively huge globe indicated graphically that the British and Foreign Bible Society through its 186 depots had circulated the Holy Scriptures in 566 languages—an effort, indeed, not unworthy in itself, though it bespoke rather eloquently of a moral equivalent for imperialism.

1924 is an historic date in the history of the co-operative movement. "The Ghent Exhibition marks a progressive step in civilization" said Victor Servy, one of the leaders in the Co-operative Movement of Belgium. "It records practically a century of groping, attempts, experiments, of self-sacrifice and zealous enthusiasm. The working classes have learnt much and are now possessed of knowledge. They are marching forward resolutely and loyally under the banner of the International Co-operative Alliance towards the expro-

¹ It is not implied that Wembley was not a splendid exhibition; it was. Our criticism is directed against its implications, against completely one-sided valuation of group effort. For a critical discussion of this fair, see *Clarifé*, October 15, 1925, pp. 309-10. Published in Paris.

priation of capitalism, animated by the desire that capital and products become the property of all for the well-being of the community and world peace."¹ "Co-operation", in the opinion of Professor Charles Gide, "is an association tending towards the abolition of profits."² A similar position is taken by Dr. J. P. Warbasse.³ Dr. Arthur W. Calhoun,⁴ speaking appropos of the American situation, thinks that "it is doubtful whether in competition with capitalist chain systems the weak consumers' co-operative movement can get a foothold by any other appeal than proclamation of its value as an agency for the achievement of the Co-operative Commonwealth." In these statements there is apparent a very close kinship of ideals shared by the trade union and political labor movements of the eastern hemisphere in particular.

It is a curiously interesting fact that the early consumers' co-operative associations were initiated by weavers. Priority of beginnings need not detain us. The researches of the spokesmen for the movement are sufficient for our purpose. Though small beginnings of co-operative buying can be pointed out as early as the latter part of the 17th century, it is generally conceded that the earliest known consumers' co-operative society was the Fenwick Weavers Society established in Ayrshire, near Glasgow, in 1769. But the modern international consumers' co-operatives usually claim genealogical descent from the heroic twenty-eight weavers who put together the famous Rochdale principles in 1844. In Belgium the movement was founded by textile workers in

¹ *Organ de la Société Coopérative. L'Exposition Internationale de la Coopération*, June 1924, p. 174.

² Quoted by Professor V. Totomianz, *The Place of Co-operation Among Other Social Movements*, Manchester: The Co-operative Union, Ltd., 1923, 48 p.

³ *Co-operative Democracy*, New York: Macmillan, 1927, pp. 26-27.

⁴ *American Labor Year Book, 1921-22*, p. 114.

1881. The spiritual father of the Rochdale pioneers was the author of the quotation at the head of this chapter. Robert Owen founded the Association of All Classes of All Nations in 1835. "The object of the Association was to effect peaceably and by reason alone an entire change in the character and conditions of mankind."¹ This Association was the first systematic agency on a large scale that was organized for the diffusion of Owenite ideals. Owen and his disciples lectured far and wide. Money was collected. Co-operative colonies were established. Schools for juveniles were set up for the early development of moral character in the young. Owen's influence registered in the New World. While many of his community schemes failed sooner or later, Owen created intellectual ferments that have a leavening influence unto the present time.² His emphasis on the importance of developing a co-operative character from infancy on suggests that modern behaviorism in child psychology is a laboratory echo of Owen's teachings. While there are those who hold that the outstanding characteristic of this great man was his capacity to learn from experience—a bowing to the inevitable—as for instance, the change from an aloof, paternalistic attitude toward labor to a democratic, sharing attitude, the present writer believes that from a social and educational point of view, Owen will grow increasingly in human estimation for the stand he took on the way to social-

¹ *New Moral World*, vol. iii, June 10, 1837. Quoted in the *Yearbook of the I. C. A.*, 1910, p. 7. Anders Örne ridicules "St. Owen" somewhat severely for his "puerile faith in the effete 18th century egalitarianism." Cf. Örne, *Co-operative Ideals and Problems*, Manchester: Co-operative Union Limited, 1926, 143 p.

² "Owen's ethical outlook and his distrust of the centralized State have colored British Socialism to this day."—H. N. Brailsford in *The New Leader*. Professor Gide stresses the need of moral character: "It is necessary that our members become honorable men and women, and then we shall have no need to seek special agents for our defence in public bodies."—*Consumers' Co-operation*, p. 94.

ized character. This end, he held, is attained less by direct preaching than through an opportunity for the practice of co-operative living. He not only emphasized this ideal in words but also in deeds. He knew with Herbert Spencer¹ and other great thinkers that "Life can be carried on only by harmonizing of thoughts and deeds." Owen's activity in behalf of co-operative education for children is finding expression in the modern Kinderfreunde schools, Pioneer Youth, etc.

To credit Owen with producing the co-operative movement would result in a false picture. He played the role of midwife for the idea. The parent of the movement is the modern industrial system. "The Co-operative Movement, which has arisen out of economic circumstances, is directed towards an ideal of social justice. It is profoundly humane having been called forth by poverty and injustice *as well as by individual aspirations*. It has been created by the effort of the awakened proletariat and as result of their persevering and sustained activities it has become an economic and moral power."² Holyoake has written of the dire poverty and unemployment which followed in the wake of the industrial revolution. The despair which accompanies rootlessness, isolation, and insecurity drove the early pioneers of co-operation to seek nothing less than a new social order through the building of co-operative colonies. There was always resort to education. One of the seven fundamental points in the Rochdale program called for the setting aside of a regular amount of money for elementary and adult education. During the first few years the Rochdale society spent its educational fund for newspapers, which at the time, cost from four to six pence each, an amount prohibitive to the ordinary laborer. Reading rooms and libraries were usually operated

¹ *Social Statics*, p. 412.

² Victor Servy, *I. C. A. Report of the 10th Congress, 1921*, p. 163.

in rooms adjoining the store. Later, a school for instructing the young was started. Tuition cost twopence per month per pupil. Evening classes for adults were held regularly during the winter.¹ Great quantities of co-operative tracts were distributed. "The co-operative tracts were not infrequently used as wrappers for tea, etc., with satisfactory results in securing of new members."²

The way out of the industrial chaos was not to be sought through consumers' co-operation alone. Labor looked to political action as another means by which to improve its own situation. The political aspirations of labor found intellectual expression in the revolutionary works of Marx-Engels-Lasalle. Marx-Engels took a lukewarm attitude toward the co-operative movement as a road to the redemption of labor. They considered co-operation as a subsidiary means of limited significance. In the historic Communist Manifesto, Marx-Engels enunciated the need of political power by labor as the first step, after which all other things could follow. As between consumers' and producers' co-operation, Marx-Engels sided with the advocates of producers' co-operation.³ In Germany, Lasalle erred in overestimating the value of producers' co-operation while discountenancing the efficacy of trade union action. At successive congresses Marx asserted that the co-operatives will never transform society from capitalism to socialism. "To convert social production into one large and harmonious system, free and co-operative, general social changes are wanted, changes of the general conditions of society; these changes can never be realized save by the transfer of the original forces of

¹ See Emerson P. Harris, *Co-operation the Hope of the Consumer*, p. 123 (1910 ed.).

² H. J. Twigg, *An Outline History of Co-operative Education*, Manchester: The Co-operative Union Limited, 1924, 67 p., p. 13.

³ Cf. the *Marxian Inaugural Address*.

society, i.e., the powers of state must be wrested from the capitalists and landlords and lodged in the producers themselves." ¹

The Marxian influence persisted in the international socialist and labor movements down to 1910. Experience has now shown that Marx' attitude was ill-founded, though that statement must not be construed as an admission that co-operation is *the* way out. It has limitations under the present economic order. Other premature Marxian generalizations, such as the theory of increasing misery, the iron law of wages, have been discarded by various practical leaders. ² They are ghosts of the past. One contribution, among others, which Marx made toward the advancement of knowledge, viz. the interrelation between economics and politics, remains unassailable.

Interestingly enough, labor in the very country which domiciled Karl Marx, did not share his aloofness toward the co-operative movement. In England, the Owenite tradition prevailed. The Parliamentary Committee of the T. U. C. in 1883 stated that "the interests of our two movements are absolutely identical. Co-operation is essentially a labor movement, the flower of our workmen are its supporters, and many of our prominent unionists are among its trusted leaders. . . . It is undeniably a movement for the elevation of the working people. Duty and self-interest should, therefore, alike prompt the unionists of the country to do all they can to assist its progress and shape its policy by becoming its active co-operators and associates." ³ A similar utterance

¹ Quoted by Riazanov, *The Story of the First International*, New York: International Publishers, 1927, p. 178.

² F. J. Borgjerg, M.P., *Kooperative Foretagender*, Copenhagen: Det Kooperative Faellesforbund, 1923, 40 p. Revised Address delivered in 1909. Also Anders Örne, *Kooperatismen*, Stockholm: Kooperativa Förbundets Förlag, 1924, 64 p.

³ Quoted by John Hamilton, *The Co-operative Movement*, London: The Plebs League, 1924, 40 p., pp. 30-31.

was given by the late Fred Bramley,¹ Secretary of the British Trade Union Congress (B. T. U. C.).

At the Copenhagen Congress of the International Socialist Movement in 1910, a resolution favoring the co-operative movement was passed. This action brought immediate recognition from the I. C. A. meeting at Hamburg: "The International Co-operative Congress without reference to any question of politics greets with satisfaction the resolution of the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen recognizing the high value and importance of the organization of consumers for the working classes, and urging the workers to become and remain active members of the co-operative distributive societies."²

Two years before the Copenhagen Congress of the Socialist International, the Danish Socialdemocratic Party officially recognized (quite belated) the value of the Consumers' Co-operative Movement, for industrial workers. This is significant in view of the fact that the Danish farmers and small-holders had developed a flourishing consumers' movement since the conflict of 1864. Following the above declaration, the movement gained headway rapidly in organized labor circles. F. J. Borghjerg, formerly Minister of Social Affairs in the Stauning Cabinet, in the address previously mentioned, emphasized the educational significance of participation in the co-operative movement. His experience of well nigh unto a half century in the Socialdemocratic Party

¹ "The trade-unionist who is not a co-operator has a limited conception of the value of association, an incomplete knowledge as to how a living wage is determined, and is suffering from a misconception as to where exploitation begins and where it ends. . . . Do not accept the theory of co-operation and then hesitate to act. . . . When you become part of the Consumers' Movement, take your share of the work necessary to push forward the most important example of working-class enterprise in existence."—Quoted in *Co-operation*, Organ of the Co-operative League in America, July 1925.

² *I. C. A. Annual Report, 1911*, p. 185.

had led him to the following conclusion: "When those who do the work of the world also understand and are capable of administering that work, then we shall have Socialism. It will come on the day when labor is unified, able and mature enough to carry Socialism forward and sustain it. It will not come sooner or later. And, the work of emancipation of labor must be accomplished by the workers themselves, and I give to these words an increasingly deeper pedagogical, reformistic meaning."¹

The persistence of the tradition, the mind-set of Marx is illustrated further by Lenin's realistic and frank declaration on the urgent need of developing the co-operative movement in Soviet Russia. "If co-operation were completely developed" admitted Lenin, "we should already be standing with both feet firmly planted in Socialist soil." But he recognized the necessity of a complete cultural revolution among the peasants as a preliminary. He saw the problem of illiteracy hovering over the Russian peasantry like a dark cloud, and he admitted that without a literate population modern Socialism could not triumph. Therefore he urged a radical change of attitude on the part of the older Socialist propagandists. "Formerly" he reminded his followers, "we laid stress on the political struggle (a la Communist Manifesto); while now we must lay all our emphasis on peaceful organization and on cultural work. Without everyone being able to read and write, without adequate insight, without having educated the population to the extent that all can make some use of books, and without having created the material basis for this, without a certain security, let us say against bad crops and famine—without all this we cannot attain our end. Everything now depends on whether we can supplement that revolutionary plan, that revolutionary enthusiasm which we have so often successfully shown and proved, by a capacity—

¹ *Op. cit.*, Foreword.

I might almost say—for acting like a sensible and experienced shopkeeper, which is all that is required of a good co-operator.”¹

Lenin admitted that a cultural revolution was prerequisite to the realization of Socialism in Russia, but he denied the feasibility of inducing the population to become co-operators under the capitalist system, (he even labelled the attempt as “puerile”). At this point co-operators and social-democrats would take issue with Lenin. What course the evolution of the labor and socialist movements will take is a matter for speculation. Bertrand Russell doubts that “people will sacrifice themselves violently for something too remote to inure to their benefit.” And yet, as Anders Örne points out, “though many co-operative undertakings have failed through a disinclination of the members to forego a trifling immediate advantage, yet this shortsightedness has gradually been overwon, co-operators have learned to take a larger view, namely, that their efforts should serve their children who come after them.”² It is now generally conceded that “the willingness to co-operate and the ability to co-operate alike depend upon foresight and upon willingness to work for distant rather than immediate objects; and such foresight and willingness have to be developed by education.”³ By education here is understood not only class instruction, but also education in that broader sense of experience and participation in the movement. E. Anseele, pioneer co-operative leader of the Belgian movement assigned to co-operation a threefold educational role: (1) Education of the individual;

¹ Lénine, Nicolai, *Sur la coopération*. Edité par le comité d'exposition des coopératives russes. Published by Allgemeiner Genossenschafts-verlag, G. m. B. H., Berlin, W 57, 1924 (pamphlet).

² Örne, Anders, *Co-operative Ideals and Problems*, Manchester: The Co-operative Union Ltd., p. 113.

³ Professor Fred Hall, *The Co-operators' Educational League* (leaflet), p. 3.

(2) Education of a class; (3) Education of the community.¹ Thus far we have shown that historically a close relationship exists between the socialist, labor and consumers' co-operative movements as regards general aim and origin, and we have pointed out that whereas in some countries industrial workers held aloof from the co-operative movement, there is today an increasing tendency toward integration. Having gained a conception of the importance of co-operation among the various social movements, the way is now cleared for a description of some selected co-operative educational institutions.

THE CENTRAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN

The Co-operative Union is a federation, or voluntary association, of co-operative societies in the United Kingdom. In 1926 the Union comprised 1,407 societies with an aggregate membership of over 5 million. The union was formed in 1869 for undertaking educational, propagandistic and advisory services on behalf of its members and for promoting the application of co-operative principles generally. It is financed by annual subscriptions from its society members—the usual rate being 2d for each member. The Central Education Committee is granted 20% of this fund. In 1926, the grants made for educational purposes by retail societies affiliated to the Co-operative Union amounted to £180,540.²

Co-operative education caters not only for adults. In the case of the Co-operative Union of Great Britain, fifty per cent of the class attendance is by juveniles from 10 to 16 years of age.

¹ Totomianz, Prof. Dr. V., *Anthologie des Genossenschaftswesens*, p. 254.

² *The People's Yearbook*, Manchester: The Co-operative Wholesale, Ltd., 1928, p. 74.

We have not any data that would give us a distribution of ages and occupations of adults who come under the influence of the Central Education Committee, but we have an authoritative statement from H. T. Twigg¹ in which the implications throw some light on the composition of the adult students. Twigg says: "In view of the fact that the personnel to which the co-operative and trade union educational scheme appeal is largely identical, and increasingly so, it is evident that ere many years elapse, new relationships with these other working-class bodies will have to be worked out in practice without the co-operative movement surrendering the view that it has a distinctive mission in working-class education, which, mission it must continue to perform." Dr. Karl Ihrig² found that "in reality the three most important population groups: the industrial workers, the land workers, and the office functionaries are about equally distributed in the membership of the co-operative movement, thus giving the movement a world stamp."

In the accompanying table of educational statistics five aspects or forms of co-operative education stand out. (1) Co-operative education for minors; (2) Technical education for the personnel of the movement; (3) Organizational education for elected officers; (4) General cultural education; (5) Education and propaganda for consumers.

An elaborately systematic course in the History and Principles of Co-operation has been worked out. This course is

¹ *An Outline History of Co-operative Education*, The Co-operative Union, Ltd., p. 38.

² *Internationale Statistik der Genossenschaften*, Berlin: Verlag Von Struppe & Winkler, 1928, 275 p., p. 78. Dr. Ihrig calculated that the population provided for through consumers' co-operation in the countries following were: Germany 38%, Austria 37.8%, Denmark 39.3%, Belgium 23%, Finland 47.4%, France 25.8%, Great Britain 38.7%, Russia 47.2%, Sweden 19.8%, Switzerland 56.2%, Czechoslovakia 25.8%, America 23%. All Europe averaged 30%.

consonant with progressive age periods. Co-operation for Juniors is presented in three stages. Stage I consists of twelve lessons adapted to the youngest age-group, 10-12 years; Stage II from 12-14 years; Stage III, 16 lessons from 14-16 years of age. In the Intermediate groups three consecutive courses are offered and in the Senior Grade three stages obtain with the same number of lessons as in the Junior Grade. A lesson runs through one and a half hour, though the formal part of class instruction covers only fifty minutes. At the head of the co-operative educational scheme is the Honors Stage in Co-operation admission to which is granted only upon the presentation of a certificate of examination from the preceding Senior Stage III. A plan of certification by examination obtains for all the stages in the hierarchy. Examinations are optional except for those who seek admission to particular stages and who look forward to procuring any special certificate or diploma. A high standard of attainment is exacted for the Honors Diploma in Co-operation. An applicant must satisfy the following conditions: ¹

The candidate must hold—

- (1) The Stage III Senior Certificate in Co-operation;
- (2) A certificate in both parts of the examination in Economics of Co-operation;
- (3) The advanced certificate on the complete course of Economics;
- (4) The advanced certificate on the complete course of Industrial History;
- (5) The advanced certificate in the course on Citizenship;
- (6) The certificate for one of the special co-operative courses; and, in addition, must
- (7) Pass an honors examination which will test his knowledge of industrial history, economics, citizenship, co-operation, co-operative law and administration;

¹ *Educational Programme, Co-operative Union, Ltd., p. 184.*

TABLE VI

CURRICULA AND STUDENT ENROLLMENT UNDER SUPERVISION OF
THE CENTRAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE.The Co-operative Union Limited, Manchester, England.
Session 1925-26.¹

<i>Courses of Study</i>	<i>Number of Classes</i>	<i>Student Enroll- ment</i>	<i>Corres- pondence Students</i>
I. Co-operation			
1. Junior Grade	576	19947	
2. Intermediate			
Course A	19	395	
" B	9	175	
" C	11	306	
3. Adult or Senior Grade	34	571	108
Economics of Co-operation	1	14	—
Co-operative Problems	1	—	1
Co-operation and Social Problems	1	—	1
Co-operative Control of Raw Materials	—	—	—
International Co-operation	—	—	—
Co-operative Statistics and Statistical Methods	2	18	15
Women's Classes in Co-operation and Citizenship	29	1416	5
II. History—Industrial	23	420	6
III. Economics	5	69	6
Economic Theories	—	—	—
The Welfare of the Group	1	14	—
IV. Citizenship	4	63	2
Local Government	1	3	—
Central Government	—	—	—
V. Technical			
Training Co-operative Educational			
Secretaries	1	—	1
Commercial French	—	—	—
Commercial English	10	213	11
Commercial Arithmetic	80	1335	22
Apprentices Course	44	1242	26
Salesmanship	27	482	70

¹ *Annual Report 1925-26*. Figures for 1926 are incomplete; college students are not included. See Appendix I of the *Annual Report*. The number and type of courses vary with different years.

Co-operative Managers' Course I.....	5	57	10
“ “ “ II.....	2	17	7
Committee Members' Course	1	—	4
Co-operative Bookkeeping	143	2627	170
Secretaryship, Co-operative Accounts ..	2	—	6
Commercial Law	2	—	14
Co-operative Law and Administration..	2	26	58
Office Organization	2	20	54
Auditing	1	—	11
VI. Miscellaneous Subjects			
Literature	1	10	—
Public Speaking	4	80	—
Elocution	2	62	—
Folk Dancing	—	—	—
History and Theory of Co-operative Education	—	—	—
Continuation Course	22	256	—
Total	1068	29838	608

- (8) Prepare a thesis on some approved co-operative subject; and
- (9) Attend, if required, and pass an oral examination of his thesis or the subjects in which he has presented himself for examination in qualifying for the Honors Diploma.

The Central Education Committee publishes annually a book of 236 pages which contains detailed information relating to the educational work of the Co-operative Union. This book called Educational Programme is a well-prepared, informative document, containing topically written syllabi in all of the courses, instruction to teachers, etc. If the various local committees on Education follow this programme, it would imply a high quality of curricular content to say nothing of the desirability of a fluent standardization. Among other functions of the Central Committee may be mentioned: Correspondence tuition, publishing and educational quarterly, The Co-operative Educator, organizing week-end and summer schools both for minors and adults, the supervision of the Co-operative College, the awarding of scholarships, and numerous other educational doings.

In 1917 a committee of the Co-operative Union undertook a General Co-operative Survey.¹ In relation to education, the report contains four (among others) important recommendations.

- (1) That in societies with a membership of 10,000 and over, a permanent secretary of education and a permanent secretary of publicity and propaganda should be appointed, whilst for smaller societies the aforementioned offices should be carried by one official (man or woman).
- (2) That joint actions should be entered into with other working-class organizations, e. g., Ruskin College, the W. E. A., the Working Men's College, in providing education of a college type in institutions in which the Central Education Committee, in co-operation with these other working-class organisations, have complete control in arranging the curriculum, in appointing teachers, and working out a policy in harmony with the joint needs of working-class organizations.
- (3) That co-operators are urged to bring greater pressure to bear upon the necessity for reforming the national system of public education so as to increase the opportunity for any student of ability to pass unhindered by questions of expense from the elementary school to the university.
- (4) That a co-operative college be established under the control of the Co-operative Educational Executive. "The committee feel it is not possible that our needs will ever be met in any institution except one over which we have complete control (a) in deciding the curriculum, (b) appointing the teachers, (c) collecting the students, and (d) framing the general policy and maintaining the co-operative atmosphere.

These recommendations are meeting with continued response. The Central Committee reported in 1928 that 20

¹ Pamphlet, *Second Interim Report with Recommendations in regard to Co-operative Education, Literature and Propaganda*, 64 p.

societies have now engaged whole-time educational secretaries. The Co-operative Union has been represented on the governing council of Ruskin College since its foundation. At present two representatives of the Co-operative Movement, one from the Union, the other from the Central Education Committee sit on the Board at Ruskin College. One co-operative society maintains a student at Ruskin, and a scholarship is granted each year by the college authorities, the amount being raised by the response of Societies to invitation for subscriptions (issued by the College) for this purpose.

The Co-operative Union took part in the establishment of the W. E. A and since then has been continuously represented on its executive, at present with one on the executive, and two on the council. Closer relationships are being worked out between the area organisations of the W. E. A. and the Co-operatives. Several joint classes and joint week-end schools have been arranged by co-operative societies and organizations of the W. E. A.

The relationship of the Co-operative Union with the National Council of Labor Colleges is less intimate than is true of the W. E. A. Nevertheless, an increasing number of societies, members of the Co-operative Union, subscribe to the N. C. L. C. and some societies arrange classes jointly with the N. C. L. C.¹

The Co-operative Union was represented at the Brussels and Oxford International Conferences on Workers' Education by Professor Fred Hall, Principal of the Co-operative College.

With regard to the third recommendation, our information does not go deeper than to say that insomuch as the Co-operative Union is working with the W. E. A., it has had an indirect influence on public educational authorities. In two

¹ Private correspondence with Professor F. Hall, Advisor of Studies, Co-operative Union.

respects, e.g., the W. E. A. has been influential as a pressure group. First, it was partly, if not largely, responsible for the creation of the Adult Education Committee which has produced many valuable surveys, beginning with the classical Final Report to the Ministry of Reconstruction. Second, the W. E. A. brought pressure on the Board of Education of England what resulted in a modification of the Regulations of Grants in 1924.

The dream of William Pare,¹ veteran Owenite and co-operator, who wrote a long letter on Christmas Eve, 1867, advocating the establishment of a co-operative college, has now come true.

THE CO-OPERATIVE COLLEGE

The early proposals, that of William Pare among them, were for a college which should promote general education. In 1912, however, co-operative sentiment favored a college specifically devoted to the diffusion of co-operative education. The realization of the plan was frustrated by the dark period of barbarous fratricide. Agitation for the college continued. At the Carlisle Congress of 1919 the college project was given formal endorsement:

This Congress, realising the value and necessity of education on co-operative lines as a means of fostering co-operation in all its aspects, and assisting the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth, approves the work of the Central Education Committee and the proposed development of its activities, including the establishment of a Co-operative College; and is of the opinion that the committee should be provided with the necessary staff and financial assistance to develop its work on the lines indicated in the report to congress.²

¹ Twigg, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

² Twigg, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

The Central Board was instructed to issue an appeal for £50,000 for the purpose of establishing the college. Societies have been asked to contribute at the rate of 4d per member. To date only 20,000 has been paid, or promised. Pending the acquisition of a special building, work of a college type is being developed at Holyoake House, Manchester. A hostel for resident students was acquired in 1924. The dormitory is located in a suburb of Manchester. Instruction takes place in Holyoake House. The college is prepared to accommodate from 40 to 50 students. So far the attendance has been between 20 and 30. Students come also from various foreign countries, as widely scattered as, India, Denmark, Iceland, Manchuria, France, Egypt, Australia and the United States.¹ The College is co-educational. The minimum age for admission is 17 years.

The objects of the Co-operative College are:

To complete the scheme of co-operative education by providing a center for higher education in the specialised subjects required for the full equipment of the co-operator, and the further development of efficiency in the co-operative movement.

To provide a center for the cultivation of the co-operative spirit, the generation of enthusiasm for the application of co-operative principles, and the inspiring of students for service in the cause of co-operation; to assist in all possible ways in the diffusion of knowledge of co-operative principles and practice, and the cultivation of a healthy co-operative opinion, and to cooperate with, and help, all existing organizations having these objects.

To undertake investigations and research that are calculated to aid the general development and progress of co-operation, and stimulate the application of co-operative principles in the solution of social problems.

The College year extends from October to June. A fee

¹ Cf. files of *The Co-operative Educator*.

of twelve guineas is charged for a full session's complete course of about twelve to fifteen hours' lectures per week. In addition to the regular college course, short courses, week-end courses, evening instruction and extension lectures are offered in profusion. The College Teaching staff is composed of the Principal, Professor F. Hall, M.A., and six full-time lecturers, four men and two women. The subjects in which instruction is given are: Co-operation, History, Economics, Sociology, Political Science, Ethics, Education, Methods of Propaganda and Public Speaking, Technical Subjects, and, Special and Emergency Problems. Correspondence tuition is offered in more than fifty subjects. While the College was established primarily for the purpose of promoting the study of co-operation and allied subjects, it is evident that the curriculum has been expanded so as to include a wide variety of liberal studies.¹

We do not intend to enter into a detailed account of the educational activities of local co-operative societies. Moreover, Mr. H. J. Twigg² has covered a good part of this field in England, and withal critically. The following distribution of educational expenditures of fifty selected societies may serve the purpose of comparison. Twigg found that Administration absorbs an average of 11¼% of the total expenditure; Formal instruction absorbs 9¼%; Social-Educational activities absorb 25¾%; Propagandist Activities 28¾%; while the remainder of the educational grant was spent in various ways that do not yield readily to classification.

Before dismissing the Co-operative Union a glance at its political and labor relationships may serve to illuminate certain questions which are germane to this treatise. It will be

¹ *Co-operative College Prospectus 1927-28.*

² *The Organisation and Extent of Co-operative Education, The Co-operative Union Ltd., 1924, 52 p.*

recalled that the Rochdale pioneers agreed that the practice of political and religious neutrality was imperative within their co-operative relationships. This policy has often been a bone of contention, often wrongly understood. The significance of this rule is best understood when it is seen in its own original setting. The historical period in question was one of extraordinary political fermentation and religious division. In those pre-Darwinian days communities were rent into multifarious sects and groups of fanatical anti-religionists. It is common knowledge among adherents of radical and reform movements whose interests in humanitarian problems render these movements especially attractive for the hostage of a variegated assortment of fanatics, half-wits, and aberrant types of outwardly human beings, that these unfortunate folks are more often than not a disturbing factor in dissension.¹ To infer that the Rochdale pioneers did not entertain ideas and convictions of a political nature would be a gross mistake. They were a serious group seeking for the redemption of labor. One of their solutions for unemployment was "To commence the manufacture of such articles as the society may determine upon for the employment of such members as may be without employment or who may be suffering from repeated reductions of their wages."² As the co-operative movement progressed toward a more thoroughgoing social and economic orientation the rigidity of the Rochdale rule has yielded somewhat to new pressure areas. It still holds for Germany and Sweden, even though, in the latter country, the consumers' co-opera-

¹ Verifiable data on the causes of radicalism are quite meager. It is not unlikely that *some* radicals have glandular defects, but those who believe that all radicalism emanates from this pathological source alone, no doubt do so because they like the idea.

² Quoted in the *Handbook for Members of Co-operative Committees*. Compiled by F. Hall, Co-operative Union Ltd., 1924, 456 p., p. 267.

tive movement is overwhelmingly composed of industrial workers.

Nearly 150,000 persons are employed by the constituent societies of the Co-operative Union, the majority being workers in the retail distributive section. Of these workers about 95% are organized into a trade union. This fact is significant in view of the exceedingly small number (2.4%) of organized grocery workers in private trade. A new office, that of Labor Advisor, was created in 1918 at the Liverpool Congress.

In support of our proposition that a distinct tendency toward co-operative relationship between the different branches of the labor movement is discernible, we cite the instance of the Cheltenham agreement between the Co-operative Union and the British Labor Party in 1927. In substance the scheme called for (1) a joint sub-committee of the executives of the Co-operative and Labor Parties, (2) exchange of minutes of the two executives, (3) joint action in campaigns and on issues affecting both parties, (4) eligibility of local Co-operative Parties for affiliation with Divisional Labor Parties with the same rights and responsibilities as other affiliated groups. (5) financial obligations by the Co-operative Parties should be limited to candidatures promoted by them, (6) voting power should be proportional to fees, (7) adoption of the agreement should be optional by local co-operative and Labor Parties.¹ Ten per cent of the societies belonging to the Co-operative Party seceded as a protest against the Cheltenham agreement, but a considerable number of the secessionists who acted on the first impulse have rejoined since. The co-operative group in Parliament have been staunch defenders of the consumers' interest. It is interesting to note in the above connection, that while the So-

¹ *The Peoples' Yearbook*, Manchester: The Co-operative Wholesale Society, 1927, pp. 51-55.

cialist and Labor policy has usually stood for municipal ownership and operation, the labor majority at Sheffield decided to encourage co-operatives in preference to municipal enterprise in the supply of milk.¹

Dr. Laidler in his *History of Socialist Thought* places educational results in the lead of co-operative achievements in Great Britain: "The Co-operative Movement of Great Britain has given to many thousands of workers a valuable training in the conduct of industry and in the art of working together to achieve significant results. It has inspired them with a confidence in the capacity of the working class to control a still greater share of its industrial life. It has shown them who in their own ranks can be entrusted with their cause. To society at large, it has given some conception of the enormous wastes that may be eliminated under a co-operative system. It has shown that many thousands of efficient managers may be induced to do their best work in industry for other than the profit motive."²

There are many interesting local co-operative educational enterprises in Great Britain but the plan of our book cannot take cognizance of these. For instance, in a booklet entitled "A Century of London Co-operation"³ we read that altogether 50 adult classes are held in association with the Co-operative Union, the W. E. A., the N. C. L. C., and the Local Education Authority. The fees are as low as 2 shillings for 12 meetings fortnightly, or 4 shillings for 24 weekly meetings in the session. The fees are refunded if 75% of the possible attendance are made.⁴ Fifty-seven circles for

¹ *The New Leader* (English weekly), February 3, 1928, p. 8.

² Laidler, Harry, *A History of Socialist Thought*, Crowell, 1927, 713 p., p. 628.

³ Brown, W. Henry, *The Educational Committee of the London Co-operative Society Ltd.*, 1928, 179 p.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

the co-operative education of children are conducted. We began our chapter on Co-operative Education with a description of the work in Great Britain for two reasons, first, because Great Britain is generally acknowledged to be the Bethlehem of Co-operation, second, because the Rochdale pattern and the latter-day educational schemes of class instruction and summer schools have been more or less imitated by other countries.¹

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE CENTRAL UNION OF GERMAN
CONSUMERS SOCIETIES

(Die Fortbildungskommission des Zentralverbandes
deutscher Konsumvereine)

"Co-operation and socialization are also in an eminent degree questions of education. Ripeness and maturity relates not only to industries, but much more to people's heads."²

"Every social organization arises first, when the subjective and objective conditions for its functioning are ready," declared Dr. August Müller.³ In our discussion on the beginnings of Co-operation in England, we saw that idea of co-operation found expression in the fertile mind and work of Robert Owen, the philanthropist, and that the objective conditions lay in the wake of the industrial revolution with the laboring class decamped, ravaged and rootless. The workers took little initiative until 1844. Similarly in Germany, the pioneer stages of the co-operative movement must also be associated with liberal-minded, socially disposed individuals of the so-called middle-class, men like Victor

¹ Twigg, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

² *Die Konsumgenossenschaften und die Neuordnung in Deutschland*, an Address by August Kash. Hamburg: Verlagsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine, 1919, 24 p.

³ *Das deutsche Genossenschaftswesen*, Berlin: Zentralverlag, Staat und Wirtschaft series, 40 p. (1922), p. 12.

Huber, Schulze-Delitzsch, and Raiffeisen. These men were sensitive of the hard lot of working people which the entrance of an aggressive competitive capitalist order brought to Germany. Great poverty prevailed in Germany in the latter forties immediately traceable to crop failures, extortionate prices and a bitter winter. In 1849 Schulze organized a co-operative sick and death benefit society for artisans. Three years later he formed the first consumers' society. For many years the co-operative idea drew its following mainly from a few highly skilled groups of artisans, professional people and the middle class. As previously suggested, the general labor movement under the influence of Lasalle and Marx took an indifferent, wary, and betimes hostile attitude toward consumers' co-operation. Even the usually far-sighted and realistic Bebel entertained a sceptical attitude toward consumers' co-operation as late as 1893. In the Reichstag of that year he denied the value of consumers' co-operation as a means in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, and on another occasion he derogated: "To the elevated viewpoint which sees in the consumers' co-operatives and to them the attached productive enterprises, a kind of preparatory transformation of bourgeois society into a socialist society, I am unable to raise myself."¹ Various explanations have been given for the cool reception that greeted the co-operative spirit among the workers of Germany. One factor in the situation has been adduced by Heinrich Kaufman. He observed that many socialdemocrats had been victimized by the Bismark Exception Laws, had lost their erstwhile occupation, and had become established as retail dealers.² This opinion is likely of minor importance as compared with the original pronuncia-

¹ Christensen and Dalgaard, *Kooperation*, Copenhagen: Det Kooperative Faellesforbund i Danmark, 1925, 163 p., p. 33.

² *Idem*, p. 34.

mentos of Marx. The words of Marx and Bebel availed naught against the exigencies of events, for the German work people were busily forming societies for mutual help all over the Fatherland. In 1894 there were over four hundred consumers' co-operatives with a membership approximating three hundred thousand, while at the present time there are three times as many societies and about twelve times the membership.

In 1903 the Central Union of German Consumers' Societies was founded.¹ Up until 1913 the educational work of the Union was principally of a propagandistic nature. Discussion on the need of systematic training for co-operative officials and employees dragged on until 1910 when a commission to probe the question of co-operative education was appointed. Professor Dr. F. Staudinger was dispatched to England on order to make a thorough study of the educational system in vogue by the co-operative movement. The results of his research were published in a pamphlet² of 96 pages. At the behest of Heinrich Kaufmann, Director of the Union, a resolution was passed at the Dresden Congress in 1913 creating an obligatory rate of contribution toward the educational budget. At the 19th Congress of the Union (Eisenach, June 1922) this rate was raised from 10 Pfennig to 20 Pf. per member. To the outbreak of the World War ten short courses of six weeks duration for executive members of the movement were held. During the war some intermittent work in the form of lecture courses kept the idea of co-operative education alive.

In September 1919, the Education Committee decided to establish a Co-operative School in Hamburg, and indeed, that

¹ This is the leading organization. For the other society known as the Reichsverband deutscher Konsumvereine (approx. $\frac{3}{4}$ mil. membership), alas, no data is at hand.

² Kurze, *Übersicht über das genossenschaftliche Bildungswesen*, Hamburg, 1911.

the first six months' course should be given from Oct. 1, 1920 to March 1921. In 1920 the Education Committee appointed two permanent teachers: Heinrich Sierakowsky, formerly an editor for the Central Union, and Robert Schweikert, secretary of the Co-operative Federation.

DIE GENOSSENSCHAFTSSCHULE ¹

(The Co-operative School)

The object of this school should be, to select bildungsfähige (educable) persons between the ages of 25 and 35 years sufficiently familiar with co-operative practice, to endow them with the knowledge essential to responsible positions in the consumers' co-operative movement. The publishing house of the German Consumers' Federation placed a building at the disposal of the Education Committee.

Students are selected in the following manner: The Central Education Committee ask a given number of local societies to suggest possible candidates for the course. The prospective candidates must then submit to an examination

¹ For the data herewith, I am indebted to the Yearbooks of the Central Union of Consumers' Societies, and particularly to the booklet (71 pages) entitled *Das Fortbildungswesen des Zentralverbandes deutscher Konsumvereine* by Sierakowsky and Schweikert, Hamburg: Verlagsgesellschaft, 1925. Dr. August Müller (*op. cit.*, p. 9) points out the etymological significance of the word Genosse or Genossenschaft. It is derived from the Gothic verb *ganuitan* that embraces several meanings: to catch, to eat, to nourish, to drink, to enjoy (geniessen). Rudolf Hildebrandt in *Grimm's Dictionary* says: "Genossen sind eigentlich solche, die eine Sache geniessen, d. h. gemeinsame Nutzniessung oder das Recht daran haben, im alten Sinne einer Rechts und Interessengemeinschaft, gegründet auf gemeinsamen Erwerb und Besitz. Nimmt man die perfektische Bildung genau und denkt sich auch gotisch ganuitan schon vorhanden, so sind es eigentlich die, welche ein Besitz gemeinschaftlich erworben, z. B. eine Jagd oder Kriegsbeute gemeinschaftlich gewonnen haben, denn ganuitan ist eigentlich Gemeinschaft fangen, erwerben, von Jagd und Krieg dann übertragen auf jeglichen Erwerb, besonders an Land und Grund, als man zum sesshaften Leben übergang."

TABLE VII

THE CO-OPERATIVE SCHOOL OF THE CENTRAL FEDERATION
OF GERMAN CONSUMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

(Hamburg)

COURSE OF STUDY¹

<i>Subject</i>	1921-22 ² <i>Hours</i>	1927-28 ³ <i>Hours</i>
The Science of Co-operation	120	120
Seminar in Co-operation	46	38
Co-operative Business Administration	38	50
Co-operative Propaganda	10	—
International Co-operative Movement	8	—
Methodical Thinking	—	14
The Art and Technique of Lecturing and Public Speaking	15	12
Economics	20	11
Knowledge of Products	42	32
Commercial Arithmetic	—	30
Auditing	—	6
Bookkeeping and Accounting	200	108
Tariffs	7	6
Advertising	4	—
Business Practice	8	9
Banking and Finance	36	14
Insurance:		
I. Introduction, Life Insurance	30	25
II. Property Insurance	8	9
III. Social Insurance	22	14
Trade and Commerce	15	16
Wholesale Society:		
I. Organization	8	4
II. Production	4	4
III. Distribution	—	2
Commercial Law	73	44
Miscellaneous	16	—
Total	730	568

¹ Data compiled from *Das Fortbildungswesen des Zentralverbandes deutscher Konsumvereine* von Heinrich Sierakowsky und Robert Schweikert. Verlagsgesellschaft deutscher Konsumvereine m. b. H., Hamburg. No date, but presumably published in 1924. 71 pp.; from "Bericht der Fortbildungskommission des Zentralverbandes deutscher Konsumvereine

before some local official, after which the teaching staff of the school submits a comprehension test to the applicants. It is expected that applicants must be familiar with elementary arithmetic, with written and spoken German, and must possess a legible handwriting. A written biographical sketch with particular stress on the applicant's activity in the movement and his future plans is also required. With this evidence before it, the teaching staff selects the student body. If in the opinion of the staff anyone student cannot measure up to standards, he is dismissed from the school. In this manner a certain homogeneity can be approximated, aside from the control which the school exercises over the selection of related occupations.

Local societies defray the railroad fares of students, and, if the student is married, pay him his full salary while at school; if the student is unmarried, he receives a part of his regular salary. The Central Union meets all other costs, such as board and room, books, etc. Often private families (co-operators) will share a room gratis with a student.

Besides the two permanent teachers previously mentioned, the school uses the teaching services of 14 additional men who are specialists in some phase of the co-operative movement. The course of study is given in Table VII. The method of instruction is by lecture-discussion, questions and answers, profuse graphic material, and practice periods. Dogma of any kind is shunned. The teaching staff emphasizes methodical thinking throughout the course, not only methodical thinking, but co-operative thinking. In fact this latter objective becomes the more important in a co-operative

über das Jahr 1927," by the same two authors who are the leading teachers of the school.

² 61.3% of the instruction hours were given to practical work, while 38.6% were devoted to the theoretical aspects of the curricular content.

³ 58% practical; 42% theoretical studies.

school. For, as far as the technical courses of instruction are concerned, they could be learned in a commercial school.¹

TABLE VIII
STATISTICS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SCHOOL²
Hamburg

Semester	Period	Class Instruction		Number of			Age of Students			
		Practical	Theoretical	Societies	Students	Auditors	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40
1	10/4/20-3/23/21	449	269	14	10	4	3	10	6	1
2	10/3/21-3/23/22	448	282	15	18	2	5	7	1	5
3	10/2/22-2/24/23	390	263	16	25	6	5	9	9	2
4	10/19/25-3/27/26	385	245	16	25	2	4	8	4	2
5	10/11/26-3/26/27	380	256	19	21	1	4	7	8	2
6	11/1/27-3/28/28	329	239	21	24	2	5	11	6	2
6 courses		—	—	101	126	17	26	52	34	14

Semester	Married	Single	Co-operatively Employed					Occupation							
			0-1	2-3	4-6	7-10	Over 10	Book-keeper and Office Help	Department Heads, Purchasing, etc.	Secretaries	Warehousemen	Executive Committees	Managers, Supervisors	University Students	
1	9	11	1	4	6	5	2	10	7	—	—	1	—	2	
2	10	8	2	3	5	4	4	10	1	1	5	—	—	1	
3	15	10	3	8	1	6	4	19	—	1	2	—	3	—	
4	12	6	—	3	3	6	6	10	3	2	2	1	—	—	
5	14	7	1	2	10	7	1	11	4	—	4	2	—	—	
6	15	9	—	4	7	9	4	18	2	1	2	1	—	—	
—			—					—							
75			51	7	24	32	37	21	78	17	5	15	5	3	3

¹ Sierakowsky and Schweikert, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

² *Annual Report*, 1927, p. 18.

Hence, the thorough cultivation of the history and theory of co-operation. The teaching staff of the school is impelled by a conviction of the possibility of a fundamental transformation in the economic life of society. It is held that society can become a telic process; that ability can be trained; that the human will can be stimulated to dynamic social action. Four words guide the process: Erkennen, Können, Willen, und Tat. Psychic forces are thus released which likely exceed in importance any inherent power in material culture itself toward further evolution.¹

A statistical picture of the history of the Co-operative School at Hamburg is given on the overleaf.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SCHOOL FOR THE
SIXTH SEMESTER—NOV. 1, 1927, TO MAR. 28, 1928
24 Students, 568 Class Hours

	Reichsmark	Per Cent	Per Student R. M.
a) Direct Expense;			
Administration (6 mo.)	15,790.50	22.2	658.00
Insurance	1,100.97	1.5	46.00
General Expenses.	2,696.08	3.8	112.00
Light, Heat, Cleaning	1,090.23	1.5	46.00
School Equipment	1,034.95	1.5	44.00
Building Expenses	2,489.49	3.5	104.00
Instruction Materials	2,468.77	3.5	103.00
Per Diem and Railroad Fares	30,809.75	43.2	1284.00
Teachers' Honoraria	3,760.90	5.3	156.00
	61,241.64	86.0	2553 00
b) Participating Expenses:			
School Equipment, etc.	2,500.00	3.5	104.00
Building Expenses, Reserve	7,500.00	10.5	312.00
Total Expenses	71,240.64	100.0	2969.00

The expenses for conducting the Co-operative School

¹ *Idem*, p. 34.

amounts to only one third of the total outgo for regular instructional work carried on by the Central Committee. Seven special courses with a total attendance of 940 participants were given during the year under the latter's auspices.

Again we cannot enter into a description of local educational activities by the various societies. When it is considered that the Central Union of German Consumers' Societies obtained only 413 replies out of a thousand affiliated societies to a questionnaire relating to mass education during the calendar year 1927, it becomes apparent how difficult it is for an individual without the aid of official pressure to procure important data.¹

Lecturers and instructors, connected with the Educational Department of the Zentralverband, are sent out into the field. Germany is divided into co-operative districts. Courses of instruction are given in each district. In other words, the Co-operative School goes out to the people who can not come to the school at Hamburg.

That an extensively organized mass education is carried on in German co-operative circles is brought out in the accompanying table.²

Especially noteworthy from a sociological angle is the great turn-out on festive and ceremonial occasions, and for visual entertainment and instruction. The names of the films suggest a general cultural content. Some of the titles: "Drink Wholesome Milk", "Children's Convalescent Home-Haffkrug", "Pictures from the Northland", "The

¹ Hader and Lindeman (*op. cit.*) remark on the difficulties they met in getting responses, especially from local groups of workers' educational bodies in the United States. They wrote as many as "six times to some". And this with the prestige of the W. E. B. behind them!

Sierakowsky and Schweikert, in their annual report threaten recourse to publishing the entire list of dilatory executive committee men who wrongly hold to the notion that an annual report is unnecessary.

² Sierakowsky and Schweikert, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.

TABLE IX
CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATIVE MASS EDUCATION IN
GERMANY FOR THE YEAR 1927

Type of Arrangements	Number of		Attendance	Women	Children
	Societies	Affairs			
General Public Consumer Meetings	110	247	54,947	22,779	—
Co-operative Lectures in Trade Federations	160	749	69,353	14,860	—
Membership Meetings	363	4,144	299,653	117,553	—
Special Meetings—Women	81	424	78,207	78,207	—
Classes for Members	7	16	831	245	—
Classes for Women	12	28	1,134	1,134	—
Classes for Functionaries	61	215	7,804	1,436	—
Classes for Personnel	119	331	12,921	8,701	—
Entertainments—Members	83	528	185,187	111,196	—
Entertainments—Women	45	405	78,550	78,550	—
Festive Celebrations	104	364	510,490	180,611	117,607
Processional Demonstration	92	133	415,573	151,478	76,315
Lantern Slide Lectures	74	351	99,633	56,704	5,318
Motion Pictures	188	1,807	561,677	315,037	36,495
Lantern Slides—Children	24	166	57,483	1,362	55,887
Moving Pictures—Children	75	421	125,880	3,697	122,718
Excursions—Industrial	91	1,505	122,039	52,758	16,821
Exhibitions in 103 Places (Average Duration 3½ days)	74	113	678,107	312,625	113,428
Totals 1927	418	11,957	3,359,479	1,507,898	544,589
1926	450	12,578	3,165,227	1,555,392	538,314
1925	392	8,311	3,108,746	1,654,265	312,757
1924	280	5,729	2,616,824	1,218,715	138,051

Port of Hamburg", "The German Consumers' Federations", "From the Egg to the Egg", etc. The characteristically limited size of the study classes reappears here as it does everywhere.

In Germany there is less organizational interrelationship between the co-operatives, trade unions and labor parties than in England, or in any other country on the continent.

Relations are, however, very cordial and friendly.¹ Whereas in England the Co-operative Union has often come into conflict with the co-operative employees who belong to the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, over disputes that arise partly because of the keen competition with private business which the Union meets, in Germany, the new Labor Code has, as far as the co-operative movement is concerned, rendered labor troubles practically non-existent. The attitude of the German trade unions toward the co-operative movement was recently formulated at the Hamburg Gewerkschaftkongress, Sept. 3-7, 1928:

The 13th Congress of Trade Unions of Germany views Consumers' Co-operation as one way toward democratization of the present economic system and a step to the practical realization of socialism.²

In politics the German Consumers' Co-operative Movement is theoretically neutral.³ This position is clearly stated in the *Hamburger Echo* as follows: "The Consumers' Co-operatives of German are Socialistic in the sense that they in their way and by their particular means aid in bringing a new social order. They are not socialdemocratic, because they are politically neutral and must be so. In other words, they must do like the trade unions, open their doors to 'right', 'left', and socialdemocrats, in fact to all members of the community who think of co-operation as being useful

¹ "Co-operative Societies and Trade Unions in Germany", by Heinrich Kaufmann, *The People's Yearbook*, Manchester: The Co-operative Wholesale Society, 1924, p. 167.

² Gewerkschaft (*Trade Union Journal*), Berlin, Oct. 12, 1928, p. 1134.

³ Some hold the opinion that the consumers' co-operatives cannot remain neutral, that its objects are tied up with the object of the social-democratic movement. See Reinhard Weber, *Konsumgenossenschaften und Klassenkampf*. With a Foreword by Professor Dr. F. Tönnies. Halberstadt: Verlag H. Meyers Buchdruckerei, 1925, 205 p.

to them. But of course it is not to be denied that the overwhelming part of our membership are workers and social-democratic workers." ¹

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE CENTRAL UNION OF
CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF SWEDEN

(Kooperativa Förbundet)

In origin, circumstance and objective the Swedish movement is very like that of its German neighbor. The Swedish co-operative leaders have preferred to go to the German movement for advice and example. Kooperativa Förbundet dates from 1899, and in its present form of organization from 1904. Like the German movement, its roots can be traced back into the early fifties where the idea first found lodgment in the minds of socially minded persons and liberal members of the middle class. The independent consumers' co-operatives began to flourish in the seventies. As in Germany, likewise in Sweden, the workingclass looked with detached suspicion on consumers' co-operation. The workers held to the policy of 'watchful waiting.' Not until the present century did the work people take a hold of the movement in real earnest. Today Sweden counts over one million members in the co-operative movement, one third of which membership belong to the distributive societies—846 in all. One person of every six in the population of Sweden is a co-operator. Two thirds of this co-operative army are industrial workers, the remainder are farmers, farm laborers, and middle-class people. The movement follows the Rochdale tradition and lays strong accent upon education in the co-operative spirit.

"Co-operative educational activity" warns Axel Gjöres,²

¹ Quoted by F. J. Borgbjerg, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² *Co-operation in Sweden*. Trans. by John Downie. Manchester: Co-operative Union Ltd., 1927.

"must, if it will rightly fulfil its mission, in like measure, pay due regard to both the material and ethical aspects of the movement, and the need of its success will vary accordingly." Or expressed from the highly ethical and social viewpoint of Anders Örne,¹ Postmaster General of Sweden: "The central point in co-operative education is the development of social morality, community feeling, and social responsibility."

THE SWEDISH CO-OPERATIVE SCHOOL VAR GARD
(OUR MANOR)

In the archipelago of Stockholm, that Venice of the North, lies Saltsjöbaden, thirty minutes journey from the capital city. Situated in this idyllic neighborhood is the Swedish Co-operative School "Var Gard", the pride and property of the Co-operative Union, a charming spot, with beautiful buildings, and excellent equipment. The school started in the summer of 1925.² It has become a favorite center where co-operators spend their annual vacation and holiday recesses.

Six different courses are offered:

1. For shop-assistants. One week. Ages of students 17-25 years. Instruction is given in Co-operation, store-work and window-dressing. Cost of course 40 Kroner which includes meals, room and tuition.
2. For shop-managers. Four weeks. Minimum age 20 years. Prerequisites: correspondence courses in bookkeeping, accounting and showcard writing. A thorough knowledge of the statutes of the Co-operative Union and be conversant with the classics on the history and theory of co-operation.

¹ *Det Kooperativa Programmet*, p. 55. Cf. also Hedberg, Anders, *Consumers' Co-operation in Sweden*, Stockholm, 1927, German edition.

² The writer has not any data on the courses given previously to 1925. For the description of the courses, I am indebted to a letter from H. Elldin of the Department of Education of Kooperativa Förbundet.

Students must have several years of co-operative store experience. Two months previous to entrance upon this course, applicants are tested in their knowledge of the problems of their daily work. Between 25-30 of the most promising candidates are then selected. The cost of this course is borne by the Co-operative Union.

3. For managers of co-operative societies. Five weeks. Minimum age 25 years. Pre-requisites: a passing grade in Course No. 2, mastery of the correspondence course in bookkeeping, Part II, be conversant with economics. The students are selected as above. The cost is met by the Union.
4. For older managers who desire a better theoretical foundation. Two weeks. They must possess a thorough knowledge of bookkeeping and of the co-operative system for the control of goods and money. Cost 50 Kroner.
5. For controllers. One week. Required of all persons who are selected for the management and control of goods and money. Cost 40 Kroner.
6. Summer schools. One week. Lessons from one to two hours daily. Discussion periods three times the week. Cost 40 Kroner.

Tuition by correspondence began in 1919. More than 30,000 persons are now studying by correspondence in one or another of the following subjects: Accounting, Banking, Bookkeeping, Business Correspondence, Commercial Laws, Literature, Political Science, Prohibition Question, Public Speaking, Showcard-writing, Swedish Language, etc.

Kooperativa Förbundet is also represented in the *Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund* (Workers' Educational Federation) which carries on an extensive system of liberal education.

Co-operative education in Sweden is not carried on for its own sake but for the sake of a definite function in everyday life. Enter any co-operative store in Stockholm and you

will find objective evidence that the managers and clerks have been co-operatively trained. Unlike the chaotic arrangement of goods, the utter disregard for decent handling of foods, the unsanitary floors, the unkempt, ignorant, discourteous clerks and indifferent haughty managers, the brazen lies and "bunk", one encounters and endures in so many American private stores, the co-operative stores of Sweden and their personnel are by contrast a delight merely to contemplate. Set the opposites of the characterizations aforementioned in a parallel column and you have a fair picture of the Swedish "co-op."

THE CO-OPERATIVE SEMINAR OF FREIDORF, SWITZERLAND

(Foundation Under the Guidance of Bernhard Jaeggi)

The idea of co-operation in Switzerland is very old—it is claimed that a continuous linkage can be shown to exist as far back as the Middle Ages. But consumers' co-operation is comparatively of recent origin. The first brief society based on Rochdale principles was organized in Basel in 1847, by a group of workers. Professional persons have been active in the movement from the start. The Swiss Co-operative Union came into existence in 1890 under the guidance of Professor J. F. Schaer. Workers of every political opinion and philosophical shade, bourgeois intellectuals, and middle-class persons, concurred in the idea that "the organization of the consumers is the lever which is capable of emancipating the workers, transforming society, and setting up the rule of justice in economic relations." By 1926, the Union had increased its affiliations to 517 societies with a membership of 351,997. It had created a powerful publishing concern that sent out 300,000 co-operative papers weekly.

It will be remembered that one of the famous Rochdale principles was to found co-operative colonies whose profits should be applied toward the setting up of other colonies.

This very object has come to fruition in the idealistically inspired work of Bernhard Jaeggi, president of the Co-operative Union. On the outskirts of Basle, is constructed a co-operative village named Freidorf (Liberty Town). There are some 150 houses let out to as many co-operative households who have voluntarily adopted a life of co-operation. The undertaking was set up out of the profits secured by the Union during the war.¹

In this well-nigh ideal setting a co-operative school was opened in August 1926. Mr. Bernhard Jaeggi, Director of the school, donor of a fifty thousand francs trust fund, in his opening address expressed the educational aims and ideals as including the Rochdale principles of co-operative self-help, the Pestalozzian² method of objective teaching, and the continued development of individual character through co-operative education. The plan of the school from the start has been to conduct two short courses, two weeks each for mature co-operators, and one six months course for younger co-operative employees. We shall give a brief description of the latter course.

Students must have passed the eighteenth birthday. The school is co-educational. The course runs through two semesters. In the second semester only such students are admitted who have come through the first semester successfully and who give promise of capacity for efficient service in the distributive enterprises or those who have already se-

¹ For the substance in these two paragraphs, I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness to Monsieur Victor Serwy, Director of the Belgian Co-operative Union, and editor of the *Organe de la Société Coopérative: L'Exposition Internationale de la Coopération*, vol. i, No. 5, Oct. 1923, pp. 64-70.

² It is worthy of note that the first regular course terminated in the year when the entire educational world celebrated the one hundredth anniversary since the death (Feb. 17, 1827) of Heinrich Pestalozzi, true friend of children, and that this co-operative school honors his memory by requiring attendance upon a course in Pestalozzian Education.

cured a co-operative position pending a successful completion of the course. Students room and board in the dormitory of the Genossenschaftshaus in Freidorf. The rate is five francs per day. The curriculum does not differ fundamentally from those we have considered. Along with the theoretical class instruction, students are required to work under direction in variously chosen departments of the local co-operative institutions. Instruction is also supplemented by many excursions both informational and recreative, by lantern slide lectures, moving picture films, discussion evenings, choral singing and orchestral practice, and sports. Anyone desiring foreign language instruction can procure same at his own expense.

Attendance upon the different courses are given below.

TABLE X
CO-OPERATIVE SEMINAR¹
(Foundation of Bernhard Jaeggi)
Freidorf, Basel

Course	Period	Attendance		Total
		Men	Women	
1	Aug. 29, 1926-Sept. 11, 1926	46	15	61
2	Oct. 1, 1826-March 31, 1927	7	16	23
3	Aug. 28, 1927-Sept. 10, 1927	48	28	76
4	Sept. 15, 1927-April 14, 1828. I Semester.	12	13	25
	II Semester.	10	16	26
Total		123	88	211

The Swiss consumers' co-operative movement adheres to the policy of neutrality in politics.² Relations with the

¹ *Report of the Co-operative Seminar, 1923-1928.* Basel: Buchdruckerei des Verbandes schweiz. Konsumvereine. 66 p.

² Warbasse, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

trade union movement are friendly.¹ How closely interrelated the co-operatives, trade unions and the socialist party might be, if at all, the data in my possession does not disclose. But the Swiss Center for Workers' Education² does offer a course of ten lectures on co-operation to its affiliated groups.

CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION IN MANY COUNTRIES

We have described several of the more outstanding co-operative schools. We should have liked to give a detailed account of one of the co-operative schools in Russia, but our data as regards co-operative education in Soviet Russia are fragmentary.³ However, we desire to give a brief running account of our investigation into co-operative education in various countries. A special section will be reserved for the I. C. A. summer schools to which we attribute an extraordinary significance in relation to world-mindedness and international concord. Following an alphabetical order, we shall begin with

Austria

The story of the consumers' co-operative movement in Austria resembles that of Germany with the exception that in Austria the movement articulates with the trade unions and social-democratic party. It is a unitarian and trinitarian relationship. Educationally, the co-operative movement is not comparable with its German brother. Co-operative education is disseminated through short courses given in connection with the National Center for Workers' Education, through the Workers' High School, and through

¹ *The People's Yearbook* (1924), pp. 186-188.

² *Referenten-Verzeichnis 1928-29*, p. 11.

³ The writer regrets keenly his inability to read the Russian language, which bars him from consulting the original sources.

courses and schools conducted independently by the Consumers' Co-operative. Two types of instruction are given, one for the salaried functionaries, another for the general membership, especially the women. Eight-day schools for employees are the more frequent. There are part-time schools for functionaries which meet on regular afternoons during working-time. These schools serve the purpose of selection for attendance upon the Co-operative School which meets during an intersession of the Workers' High School, in the latter's building which is the old "Maria-Theresien Schloss" in Vienna. Thirty selected co-operative scholars (coeducational) take up residence in the school during the four weeks of intensive study. The first residential course was given in the summer of 1927. Scholars must not be less than 22 years of age nor more than 30. From this group, it is hoped, will come the leaders and higher officers of the movement. Below is a sample of a co-operative curriculum for the higher school.¹

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Hours</i>
History and Theory of Co-operation	3
Co-operative Statutes	1
Economics	8
Law (Co-operative rights, taxation, customs, etc.).....	4
Bookkeeping	22
Collective Agreements and Working Conditions	3
Industrial Works	8
Products and Prices	12
Finance and Accounting	3
Propaganda	2
Branch Establishment and Display	2
Quiz and Test periods	3
Total	71

¹ Reported in *Der freie Genossenschaftler* (organ of the Consumers' Co-operative Wholesale Society), Vienna, vol. 25, Nos. 4 and 10.

Belgium

Through the activity of the co-operative movement a Chair of Co-operation has been established in the University of Brussels. The Chair is occupied by M. Louis de Broukère. As in Austria, the Co-operative Center joins with the trade unions, the Socialdemocratic Labor Party and the labor youth movement in educational work. As in Austria too, there is a minor consumers' co-operative movement which is unaffiliated with any political group.¹ It maintains a position of so-called neutrality in politics. Short courses are offered at the Ecole Ouvriere Superieure, and the National Center for Workers' Education offers thirty different lectures some of which are accompanied by lantern slides and films. Belgian co-operatives carry on anti-alcoholic propaganda. They do not sell alcoholic drinks.

China

The first co-operative training school was held at Peking in the early winter of 1925. A similar school was conducted in 1926 at which 301 students representing 159 societies were enrolled; 65 of these registered for the third school which opened in Oct., 1927. Initiative comes largely from students who have studied abroad.

Danmark

Hans Hertel, in his book *Andelsbevaegelsen i Danmark* explains why the Rochdale principle of setting aside a given surplus for cultural purposes was not acknowledged by early Danish co-operators. "They felt" says Hertel, "that a movement might easily become split asunder hence they kept these matters separate. Economics is one thing.

¹ Warbasse, J. P., *Co-operative Democracy*, New York: Macmillan Co., 1927, ch. ii.

Ideals another." It must be remembered that it was the agrarian population that took the initiative in building up the extensive Peoples' High School movement which is justly renowned.¹ The farmers, also, built Agricultural schools where technical instruction was communicated.² True, the movement received governmental aid whenever a particular standard of teaching had been reached. Over a thousand community lecture and recreation centers function continually for the cultural elevation of the Danish rural folk.

Industrial workers in Denmark did not come into the consumers' co-operative movement wholeheartedly until the beginning of the present century. Remarkable growth in membership characterized the movement after 1908 (Social-democratic Congress in Odense) and increasingly after 1910 when the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen pronounced upon consumers' co-operation an unalloyed benediction. The membership is now between three and four hundred thousand out of a population of three and one quarter million. In 1922 a Central Union of Co-operative Societies (Det Kooperative Faellesforbund) was organized with mutual representation from the trinity-trade unions, socialdemocratic party, and the co-operatives. In educational matters the Central Union works harmoniously with the National Center for Workers' Education. In the school year 1927-'28 a special co-operative educational lecture series was carried out by the National Center. This project was the most ambitious co-operative educational

¹ See the writer's "An Introduction to the Danish Folk High Schools", "A Little Journey to Askov Folk High School", published in *The Northwest Journal of Education*, Seattle, Washington, May and June, 1921. Also, "The International High School" (at Elsinore), *The Survey*, May, 1921.

² See the writer's "A Danish Agricultural School", *Survey*, June 25, 1921.

scheme ever brought to a successful conclusion in Denmark. No less than sixty-one towns participated. Local committees could choose from a variety of subjects as follows:

1. The Significance of co-operation for the labor movement.
2. Labor's power as consumers.
3. New ways for the workers' movement.
4. Can the loss in wages be equalized by consumers' co-operation?
5. What advantages does co-operation yield?
6. Can the workers afford to continue their support of private capitalism in production, and exchange?
7. Present-day commodity prices and problems of the home.

The National Center made all arrangements and paid one fourth of the expenses for lecturers while the Central Union paid three fourths. The National Center also conducts an occasional summer school with a curriculum exclusively concerned with co-operative problems.¹

Finland

Co-operation in this country tallies almost in every respect with that of Denmark. The population is about the same as in Denmark, so is the membership in the consumers' co-operatives. One part of the movement works in harmony with the trade unions and labor party. Another part of the movement aims to be neutral; it is chiefly agrarian. Co-operative education is furthered both by the Workers' Educational Federation and at the Workers' Academy, Grankulla. The honor of calling the consumers' movement into life belongs, in the main, to Professor Hannes Gebhard.

France

The principal systematic co-operative education is done by that veteran pioneer co-operator, Professor Charles Gide who lectures weekly at the College de France where the Co-operative Union maintains a chair for Co-operative Educa-

¹ Annual reports, Arbejdernes Oplysnings Forbund, Copenhagen.

tion. Professor Gide works indefatigably in building up a library of co-operative economic literature. His lectures are published by the Co-operative Union and distributed throughout the country. In the year 1927 the National Federation of Consumers' Societies published a pamphlet (24 p.) by Professor Gide, entitled: *La Coopération et L'École Primaire*. Through the co-operation of the Department of Public Instruction 120,000 copies of this pamphlet were distributed among the teachers.¹

Interrelations among the co-operatives, trade unions and labor parties are weak.

Russia

"In 1926 the whole consumers' co-operative movement embraced over 25,000 societies with 11,000,000 members. It distributes 40% of the goods distributed in Russia. For training purposes there are 75 co-operative schools with some 10,000 students. This education is much tinged by political propaganda."² These remarkable figures show that the Russian Consumers' co-operative movement is the largest in the world. The relation of voluntarism to co-operation by decree is of sociological interest. Before the revolution co-operatives were of voluntary organization, but unlike some of the western countries there was no close interconnection between them and the trade unions and revolutionary political groups. Moreover, "the leaders of the old co-operatives met the arrival of the Soviet government hesitatingly and were in some cases even hostile to it."³ But the dictatorship of the communists saw in the co-operatives an economic means by which to strike another blow at private

¹ Private correspondence with Professor Gide.

² Warbasse, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ Tikhomirov, W. A., Secretary Central Co-operative Council, *Co-operatives in Socialist Construction*. Published by the Author, 1927, 31 p., p. 6.

capitalism and to institute a system of centralized control of distributive functions, thereby strengthening its own position. Accordingly, the government by various decrees began to exercise control over the co-operatives. By the decree of April 1918, every consumer was compelled to become a member of his local consumers' co-operative. On March 20, 1919, another decree affected the consolidation of all the consumers' societies and stores, as well as the co-operative productive agencies, into one nation-wide Consumers' Commune . . . In 1920 all distributive organizations, co-operative and non-co-operative, had been taken over by the state. The same fate befell the agricultural co-operatives and the Moscow Narodny Bank."¹ But this attempt at socialization was unsuccessful. The communist government could not efficiently administer the many co-operative stores, hence the government's change in policy.

With the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921 the co-operatives resumed something of their previous voluntary character, their properties were returned, the right to elect their own leaders was restored, and the compulsory membership ceased. Nevertheless, the State continues to exercise an indirect influence in consequence of State production and monopoly of foreign trade.² Emmy Freundlich suggests that the attempt of several western co-operatives, particularly, the English, to effect business connections with the Soviet co-operatives was a modifying factor in the attitude of the Soviet administrative apparatus toward the co-operatives. It seemed to the Russian government, contends Freundlich, that it were the better policy to restore the co-operatives to independence with Soviet aid, than to shatter and lose the sympathy of the world co-operatives and in that

¹ Warbasse, Agnes D., *The Story of Co-operation, The Co-operative League of America, 1921* (pamphlet, 24 p.), p. 10.

² Christensen and Dalgaard, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

way close another door to foreign trade in raw materials and manufactures.¹ This policy appears to be the more fruitful one. Comparison with the Facist dictatorship in relation to the co-operatives of Italy, would be, from a severely critical point of view, quite inadmissible. The cases do not appear comparable, it appears, owing to the difference in the purposes which actuate the respective governments.²

The co-operatives of Russia took a keener interest in education after 1908 when the All-Russian Co-operative Congress at Kiev recommended that assistance should be given to educational enterprises wherever needed, that co-operatives should foster education generally by building schools, by publishing literature dealing with co-operation and subjects relating to it, and that education should be held as of equal importance with co-operative propaganda. The magnitude of the task before the co-operatives is better understood when considered in the light of the fact that the Czar prohibited elementary education for the peasantry.

In 1915, the Shaniavsky University (endowed by the co-operatives) inaugurated three courses in Co-operation. These courses were for advanced students aiming to instruct the peasantry.

After the first Revolution, and just before the Bolshevik regime, under the auspices of the Moscow Union of Co-operative Credit Societies, the Co-operative Institute was founded. Its first year's budget called for one and a half million rubles, in addition to which sum every co-operative society was required to set aside a certain percentage of its profit toward the maintenance of the school. The Co-op-

¹ *Die Geschichte der Genossenschaftsbewegung* (pamphlet), 1923, p. 14.

² Dr. Warbasse here takes a diametrically opposite point of view. Yet, his own description (*op. cit.*, pp. 49-51; p. 139) of the kind of treatment meted out upon co-operators by the several dictatorships seems to establish a presumption of a difference in purpose.

erative Institute aimed to supply highly trained teachers in co-operative enterprises. Its curriculum featured three aspects of the co-operative movement: (1) Co-operative theory and methods of organization; (2) Commercial training for co-operative managers; (3) Courses in co-operative production.¹

This work was interrupted during the reign of terror but with the inauguration of the N. E. P. co-operative educational interest revived. Co-operative groups were sent abroad to study co-operation in foreign lands.² In 1922, a co-operative college was established in Leningrad and supported by the Centrosoyus (Central Union of All-Russian Consumers' Societies.) The course runs through two years and in subject matter resembles the curricula of the Co-operative College of England and the Genossenschaftsschule in Hamburg. Dormitory accommodation is provided for the one hundred regular students in attendance.

In the Ukraine where Deniken forbade government aid for public schools, the co-operatives took over the schools and supported the teachers. Today schools flourish in the Ukraine. A number of technical high schools have been organized recently. These also give technical co-operative instruction.

Centrosoyus, through its enormous printing plant publishes tons of books, pamphlets, magazines and papers. It has established and fully equipped hundreds of libraries for the peasants. Foreign co-operative movements before the Revolution were known in Russia through the prodigious labors of Professor V. Totomianz³ who had translated and

¹ For the substance in the preceding three paragraphs I drew upon chapter ix of *The Co-operative Movement in Russia* by Elsie T. Blanc, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924, 323 p.

² The writer met a delegation studying Danish Co-operation in Copenhagen, 1921.

³ Now connected with the University of Prague.

prepared for publication many of the classical works on modern co-operation. Centrosoyus maintains a lantern-slide and film service. It supports people's theatres and community centers. It broadcasts regularly from the Moscow radio station.

Some observers contend that in Russia the co-operative movement is largely dominated by the communist political government which hampers independent voluntary educational activity; that education has been superseded by communist propaganda.¹ Other observers of the situation in Russia perceive an increasing amicability in the relations between the communists and co-operators. Robert Dunn² found "more than three-fourths of all the union members of the U. S. S. R. are members of the co-operative societies." Other reports and opinions seem to differ radically. Consequently, it is difficult to discuss this subject, and, to await further developments appears to be the more rational alternative. It will be interesting to watch how the principle of voluntarism—a characteristic of the co-operative movement—can be harmonized with a compulsory form of "state socialism."

United States of America

"Cooperation truly succeeds when the people see in it a great social enterprise and are gripped by the desire for justice and the will to make the world a better place in which to live."—DR. J. P. WARBASSE.

A certain well-established co-operative society in America held a meeting for the discussion of co-operative education. The leader of the discussion began by asking the audience: "What is economics?" To his astonishment, only 12% of the co-operators present dared to say what they thought eco-

¹ Warbasse, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

² *Soviet Trade Unions*, New York: Vanguard Press, 1928, pp. 130-133.

nomics to mean. Taken aback by this manifestation of ignorance the leader asked: "Why did you join this co-operative society?" To which the secretary of the Board of Directors replied: "Because I wanted to get into business for myself." And the president of that Board spent one half hour to prove that co-operative business is business for profit.¹

Some years ago, a young teacher, fresh from college, came into one of the rich fruit-growing sections of a far western state to assume charge of a four-year accredited rural high school. He found the curriculum weighted down by four years of dead language matter which he forthwith proceeded to bury and substituted therefore courses in Economics, Civic Biology, Scientific Agriculture and Oral English and Debate. The student responded with alacrity. But some of the farmers held that economics is synonymous with radicalism and therefore undesirable as a school subject. Incredible though it may seem, several of these farmers were chopping down entire orchards because "the commission merchants of the big cities are grafters."

That ignorance of co-operation is not the only factor which has delayed the growth of the movement in America is brought out by Agnes D. Warbasse.² She finds seven factors which must be considered in answering the question, Why is the development of cooperation in the United States slow? These are:

- (1) The belief until recently in unbounded possibilities for individual achievement.
- (2) The seeming possibility of the escape from poverty.
- (3) The adjustment of popular psychology to the profit motive.

¹ *Co-operation* (monthly, The Co-operative League of America), vol. xiii, 1927, p. 32.

² Quoted in the *Internationale Handwörterbuch des Genossenschaften*. Edited by Prof. Dr. V. Totomianz, Berlin, 1927, pp. 10-11.

- (4) The fluctuating character of our population.
- (5) The tendency to "pass the buck" to the "boss" or to the government.
- (6) Our many different nationalities.
- (7) Co-operative endeavor often started without a sound knowledge of co-operative principles and practice.

Cedric Long¹ would supplement these by another factor, viz., the active resistance by vested interests toward the dissemination of the consumers' co-operative idea. He relates the fact that when the co-operative League proposed to the school boards of a particular section of our country that the children be permitted to write an essay on consumers' co-operation in a prize contest, many of the boards gave a cold shoulder to the proposal on account of possible conflict with the chambers of commerce.

As an educational corrective of these difficulties, the Co-operative League of America (Central Union) was organized in 1915 and began to function during the following year. Dr. Warbasse gives a concise, succinct statement of the League's functions:

To collect information concerning Co-operation in the United States; make surveys of failures and successes; publish information; give advice; standardize methods; create definite policies of action; prepare by-laws for societies; maintain a bureau of auditing and accounting; promote favorable legislation; send out advisors to societies; provide lectures; prepare study courses; conduct schools; publish books, pamphlets, and periodicals; and in every way possible to promote practical co-operation.²

The Co-operative League has accumulated a large body of co-operative experience on the causes of failures and successes of the many co-operative business ventures and colony

¹ Secretary of the Co-operative League of America. Interview.

² Warbasse, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64.

experiments that have risen and crumbled in the history of America since the latter part of the eighteenth century. Digests of this experience are made available in the publications of the League. A choice leaflet entitled: *Why Co-operative Stores Fail* appeals to the writer as particularly valuable from the point of view of curriculum construction of objectives. Taking the six main heads and thirty sub-heads of this leaflet with some allowance for expansion, a model course of study could be readily built. It occurs to the writer that the curricula of public education generally could profit by this method of program-making. Emphasis on the errors, the failures, the unsuccessful ways of the past—that includes yesterday—would challenge the ambitious young to attempt a new way of remolding the world “nearer to their hearts’ desire.” For, is not every human being impelled by the desire for success? But the conditions for success and for failure are not, as Professor Giddings deprecated, truthfully laid before young people.

American co-operatives do not show anything approaching the elaborate programs of education which obtain in European countries, but there are beginnings which follow the same general outline of courses as to content and method. According to Cedric Long¹ co-operative education in America is characterized by two aspects: (1) intensive instruction for officials, prospective or present employees, through a full-time training school and by correspondence tuition. The training courses are usually of eight weeks duration. Some fifteen such training courses have been given in various parts of America during the past ten years. (2) The Second type of education is planned for the rank and file of the membership and for the general purchasing public. This form

¹ “Education in the Consumers’ Co-operative Movement.” Address before the Fifth Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers’ Education, at Brookwood, Katonah, New York, 1928. See *Proceedings of the Conference*, pp. 45-47.

of education is better known as propaganda in the best sense. The experience of Mr. Cedric Long is worth quoting for the light it throws on the problem of the education of the consumer.¹ The first step, says Long, is "to establish the right contact with the man in the street and the woman in the home, regardless of whom they may be. In nine cases out of ten, these people have absolutely no understanding of advanced trade-union, political or co-operative terminology. The amount of thinking in terms of social welfare which they have done amounts to almost zero. We go after the wife of the trolley-car conductor; the brakeman who is gloating over his new advance to the position of the conductor, the young fellow just out of Uncle Sam's army, newly married, with a flag and a set of Grand Rapids furniture, with a job as assistant driver on an interurban express line. These are the raw material for the trade union as for the co-operative movement. We must talk to him in terms of the price of sausage, short weight in Mr. A. & P.'s store, the quality of beans packed in the can which bears the label of the American Stores. To the advanced educator or others who think in the language of radical philosophies, this line of talk looks like pretty feeble stuff. It is petty bourgeois to the nth degree and yet the average American worker is also petty bourgeois to the nth degree, (what a sad commentary on the mediocre status of economic intelligence among the petit bourgeoisie!) and we must talk in language which he understands before he can understand the language we *want* to talk." Having once gained the interest of the consumer in the local co-operative, he is supplied with "literature" or enticed into a class for the purpose of enlarging his vision in the co-operative movement, to be made aware of its significance to himself and the community and of its relation to other progressive and radical movements.

¹ See also Harap, *The Education of the Consumer*; Chase, *Getting Your Money's Worth*.

Under this head of propaganda should be mentioned the considerable influence wielded by the co-operative press. Dr. Ihrig¹ presents a partial enumeration in the following table:

<i>Country</i>	<i>No. of Co-op. Papers</i>	<i>Total Edition</i>
United Kingdom	676	1,210,000
Germany	28	1,262,000
Soviet Russia	101	296,000 (?)
France	31	271,000
Czecho-Slovakia	26	449,000
Hungary	12	113,000
Switzerland	13	314,000
Argentina	13	20,000

An indirect form of propaganda but one that registers deeply in the conscience of the labor movement is co-operative aid to labor on strike. The educational consequences of this type of service is of course incommensurate though efficacious. At the time of the great textile strike of 1922 the co-operative bakeries of Massachusetts together contributed 170,000 loaves of bread to the strikers' food kitchens in Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire.² A more voluminous service was rendered to labor by the co-operatives of Copenhagen during the great strike and lockout of a few years ago. Similarly in the case of the recent British miners' strike, the co-operatives stood by with substantial aid.

The most systematically organized consumers' co-operative schools in America are those which the Finnish groups conduct, especially the societies affiliated in the Northern States Co-operative League, organized in 1922. Under the educational leadership of V. S. Alanne an eight weeks' residential course is given annually in the headquarters of the Franklin Creamery Association of Minneapolis. This

¹ *Op. cit.*

² Report of the Fourth Co-operative Congress, *Co-operation*, Nov. 1924, p. 88.

course is taught in the English language. Scholarships are provided by local co-operatives. Mr. Alanne, the educational director teaches the History, Theory and Practice of Co-operation, Mr. Cedric Long, Organization and Administration of Co-operative Stores, H. V. Nurmi and C. Ward Clarke, Bookkeeping and Accounting, Edward Solem, Administration and Management of Co-operative Industries, Louis J. Duncan, Business Correspondence. The school is coeducational. The majority of students are of Finnish extraction. Executives and employees for responsible co-operative positions are chosen from among the graduates most of whom are functioning in the co-operative movement.

Before the aforementioned League began to conduct training schools in English (1922), the Finnish people had conducted a school in their own language at Superior, Wisconsin since 1918, under the auspices of the Co-operative Central Exchange. This school is being continued successfully.¹

A joint educational committee consisting of the representatives of the Central Labor Union and the Franklin Co-operative Creamery Association of Minneapolis conducted an evening, non-residential school of twelve weeks in 1926. Reverend E. H. H. Holman (also a union railroad man) instructed in a course of practical economics called, Machinery and Progress, Mr. V. S. Alanne, Educational Director of the Franklin Creamery, gave a course in the History of Industry and Co-operation, while Lewis J. Duncan presented a course in English.

Other Countries

To pursue our description of co-operative schools any further would be disrupting to the ensemble of our plan. We shall merely admit that a deal of significant educational

¹ See the files of *Co-operation*, published monthly by the Co-operative League of America, 167 West 12th St., New York City.

work is being done in many other parts of the world. Our nearest neighbor in the orient, Japan, conducts a college for consumers' co-operation with a full year's course. There are good beginnings in the Latin countries of Europe, but here the co-operators have enormous difficulties to encounter because of a prevalent illiteracy in the population. Without desiring to single out any particular nation, it is, nevertheless of educational interest to read that "Spain is the most illiterate country in Europe, more so even than the Balkan States. The last census revealed the fact that there are 11,145,000 persons in Spain who can neither read nor write."¹ We have now assimilated all of our garnered data and shall therefore terminate our excursus into co-operative education at the headquarters (in London) of the International Co-operative Alliance in a brief interview with the secretary, Mr. Henry J. May.

THE INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE

An extraordinary fact should be indelibly recorded here, viz., the I. C. A. was the only international organization that held together during the world war. It kept in communication not only with the neutral but also with the belligerent countries. What a revelation of recuperative power in the co-operative ideal!

What is the I. C. A.? It is an international organization founded in 1895 for the promotion of co-operative principles and practice in the international field. From the annual report of 1927, we glean that the I. C. A. comprises 36 States, 105 National Unions and Federations, 100,000 Co-operative Societies, 50,000,000 individual members. Its constituentents are mainly consumers' societies. In the continuance of the work of the Pioneers of Rochdale, it seeks in complete independence and by its own methods, to substitute

¹ Gide, Professor Charles, *Co-operation in Latin Countries*.

for the present competitive regime of private enterprise a co-operative system organized in the interests of the whole community and based upon mutual help. Its guiding principles and aims are truth, justice and economy in production and exchange; economic and social emancipation; democracy in constitution and government; neutrality in politics and religion; the fraternity of all peoples without limitation of color or creed. Its motto is: Each for all and all for each. Its emblem and flag: the rainbow with its seven colors—symbol of hope. Its goal: the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

The I. C. A. began to conduct international co-operative summer schools in 1921, the first one being held at Basle. Subsequent schools have been held annually at Brussels, Paris, Ghent, Elsinore (Helsingor), Manchester, Stockholm and Hamburg. A co-operative summer school is a combination of instruction, recreation, holiday and social life, during a fortnight—some time extending through one month.

The Eighth International Co-operative School was held at Hamburg from July 7 to July 21, 1928. The school was organized by a Joint committee of the I. C. A. and the Central Education Committee of the British Co-operative Union and the Fortbildungskommission at Hamburg, which is a joint organization of the German Co-operative Wholesale Society and Co-operative Union (Zentralverband) for educational purposes.

Eighty students were in attendance. Including the lecturers the following countries were represented in the group: Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Scotland, Czecho-Slovakia, Sweden, Switzerland and Wales, twenty in all.

The students roomed and boarded at the Heimstätte, a new Trade Union Hotel. The lectures were delivered in the

same building. The inclusive charge for attendance upon lectures and classes, for excursions, accommodations at the school amounted to £4 per week, per student plus a registration fee of 10 shillings.

An idea of the international character of the school can be gathered from the following program of lectures;

<i>Lecture</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>
1. "The German Consumers' Co-operative Movement"—	Mr. Ferdinand Vieth (Hamburg)
2. "International Co-operative Trading"—	Mr. Albin Johansson (Sweden)
3. "Co-operation and Municipal Trading"—	Professor F. Hall (Great Britain)
4. "Survey of German Co-operation"—	M. Heinrich Sierakowsky (Hamburg)
5. "Educational and Social Activities of the German Co-operative Societies"—	Mr. Robert Schweikert (Hamburg)
6. "Relations between Consumers and Agricultural Co-operative Societies"—	Mr. Axel Drejer (Denmark)
7. "Co-operation in India"—	Mr. M. L. Tannan, M. Com. (Bombay)
8. "Agricultural Co-operation in Germany"—	Mr. Hempel (Germany)
9. "Regional Co-operative Societies in France, and their Future"—	Mr. Maurice Camin (France)
10. "The Training of Co-operative Employees"—	Professor F. Hall (Great Britain)

The lectures were prepared in typewritten form in advance in English, German and French. The students were divided into groups according to language, and the lectures were read through in each group. The students then came together for questions and discussions, any question or discussion being translated into three languages.

Mr. H. Sierakowsky, Principal of the Co-operative School at Hamburg, and his colleague Mr. R. Schweikert, had arranged an interesting and entertaining series of visits, and

one of them always personally accompanied the students. These excursions took the students into the diversified life of the co-operative movement of Germany, especially of the cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen and Berlin, as well as introduced the students to the general, variegated cultural aspects of Germany.¹ Needless to say, that when the Germans once take a hold of some project, be it a school or a reception, they see it through with promptness, dispatch, *gemütlichkeit*, and a finesse that would arouse the envy of the gods.

Friendly relations between the different Internationals, the I. C. A., the I. F. T. U., the I. S. L. are being constantly promoted. Two dates are of importance in this regard, viz. the cordial exchange between the I. C. A. and the I. S. L. in 1910, and the I. C. A. resolution on its trade union relationship at the Basle Congress in 1921. In looking through the *Internationale Handwörterbuch des Genossenschaftswesens*,² the writer was impressed by the fact that many of the leading men in the co-operative movement also occupy leading positions in the trade union and socialist movements, a fact that augurs well for an integrated relationship.

Mr. May, secretary of the I. C. A. observed that there is sometimes a tendency with the economic growth and success of co-operative enterprise to concentrate surplus funds upon the technical instruction of employees and officials or to develop purely propaganda methods, to the exclusion of a fundamental education in the history, principles and ideals of co-operation, but, he concludes: "a glance at the reports from the various countries show that to an ever increasing degree the essential educational activities of our movement

¹ Courtesies by private correspondence with Prof. F. Hall and Mr. H. Sierakowsky.

² Edited by Prof. Dr. V. Totomianz, Berlin: Verlag von Struppe & Winkler.

are being promoted upon common lines, if with varying degrees of intensity and method."¹

Conclusion

The faith which Owen manifested in the transforming potency of direct instruction looks somewhat puerile in the light of modern psychological knowledge. But in that part of his work where he insisted that good character is a by-product of living the co-operative ideal, time and the progress of educational psychology have confirmed him. No exact yardstick is available by which to measure the cultural incidence of participation in the co-operative movement. "It is encouraging to see" declared Henri Askeli of the Finnish Co-operative Trading Association,² "How many indifferent and sleepy employees of the co-operatives become enthusiastic and real hustlers when they become members of some committee with real duties to perform. In the actual work of meetings and committees, exchanging of ideas, meeting of minds, even fighting for our ideals we become educated, and this is education of the highest order." A similar view is held by Anders Örne.³

Sentimental reformers often speak about a "great thirst for knowledge" among the masses. Yes, the masses are thirsty, but not for knowledge. *Leider nicht!* "Everything considered" asserts Anders Orne," the intellectual life of the vast majority of people is extremely slow and torpid, and is roused and set in motion only with much difficulty; it can scarcely be persuaded into any direction except where strong common interests point; on the other hand, once it has been fairly started it will continue to move ahead in exactly the same line for some time even after the original im-

¹ *I. C. A. Report*, 1927.

² *Co-operation*, vol. xiii, p. 153.

³ *Cf. Co-operative Ideals and Problems*.

pulse has ceased.”¹ Örne does not despair of education as a means by which great results can be achieved, but he insists that “however important and indispensable the communication of knowledge in various subjects, we must recognize that the most effective way of educating the community, here just as in other spheres, is inducing its members to take part in the management of common business and to share in the responsibility for the results.”²

This is the significance of the consumers' co-operative movement. It is an opportunity not for giving mere lip-service, but to build the co-operative habit.³ It provides also an area of community contact where different groups can come to an agreement on some common purposes. It affords a cultural leaven for the more conservative agrarian groups. It reinforces the telic idea that man *can* by taking thought. It is a challenge to mankind to build a community ideal for the replacement of class ideals. Both on the formal and informal side of its educational activity, it strives to realize these high social ideals.

The consumers' co-operative movement is the greatest voluntary self-help, non-commercially motivated movement in the world aiming at the abolition of the profit motive. It is most important for social progress generally, for the pacification of the world in particular that this movement is understood and encouraged.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

² “Great social changes that are permanent are those that are brought about by means which are similar in character to the end sought.”—Dr. James P. Warbasse. Preface to *Co-operative Democracy*.

Especially noteworthy in the educational work of Dr. Warbasse is the effort to forestall failure by teaching co-operators how to avoid the errors of unsuccessful co-operative enterprises. This plan has met with a great measure of success. Dr. Warbasse finds very often that of two co-operatives in the same region, the one which neglects the education of its personnel is more likely to fail.

CHAPTER IV

WORKER'S EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WITH A TRADE UNION EMPHASIS

"The ultimate aims of the Labor and Socialist Movement can be realized only on an international basis."—KARL LEGIEN.

INTRODUCTORY

IN pre-industrial revolution days adult workers' education was not the acute problem which it is today. The machinification of industry brought labor face to face with three alternatives: surrender with slow starvation, migration, fight by means of organized solidarity. Labor chose solidarity and enlightenment as the watchwords of the struggle against predatory industrialism.

Perhaps the most sinister attribute of the industrial revolution can be described best in the phrase: rootlessness of the working class, economic rootlessness, and consequent upon it, spiritual and mental isolation and rootlessness. Labor was caught between the nether and upper millstones of economic estrangement and the unspeakably repressive cruelty of the anti-combination acts.¹ And the end is not yet. The

¹ Some of these repressive laws (Koalitionsverbote) are recorded by Karl Legien in a pamphlet entitled, *Materialien zu den Vorträgen*, Berlin: Verlag der Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, 1912, 18 p.

Not until May 18, 1921, did the Belgian Parliament, under pressure from the Labor Party, repeal the infamous Article 310 of her anti-combination acts. See *The International Trade Union Library No. 1*, by C. Mertens. Published by the I. F. T. U., 1925.

embittering process of impersonalization, of economic divorcement, drives relentlessly apace among ever larger areas of human beings, but particularly among the incoherent, inarticulate, unskilled workers in whose mental soil the flower of solidarity has failed to sprout.

The industrial revolution destroyed the individual personality of work-people. It necessitated co-operative labor. Co-operative labor suggested the next differentiation which was organized self-help, i.e. trade unionism. The trade-union movement gave labor a group personality. Through the trade-union movement labor discovered itself and its place in the community. It has demonstrated its capacity for cultivating new habits of adjustment. Organized labor has compelled, in some countries at least, a recognition of its personality—a by-product of an organized consciousness of kind, of solidarity.¹ In Russia, Germany, Austria, and Mexico, the importance of labor's status is constitutionally acknowledged. To protect this newly-won recognition as well as to continue the fight for industrial democracy, has compelled the trade-union leaders to take a serious and active interest in the education of its more promising youth.

Up to the opening years of the twentieth-century trade-union education was almost wholly of the informal sort as contrasted with the formal, that is direct instruction in classes. Some sporadic efforts at schooling there were here and there, but in the main, the education of organized labor came through participation in the union's struggles and day-to-day problems. The educational quality of this union experience was highly estimated by the late Samuel Gompers: "By combining into trade unions, in acting collectively, deciding questions by debate and majority vote, making sacrifices of opinion and individual superiority for the common good of all, the workers receive an education and training

¹ "Through solidarity towards freedom" was a common watchword.

which eminently fit them to take their rightful place in industry and in organized society. Indeed, it is only by this education and training that democracies can live, grow and develop." ¹ That union meetings could be made more educative in effect has been pointed out by Fannia Cohn, ² Secretary of the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. Active membership in a trade union often develops such immeasurable by-products as loyalty, character and responsibility. But, functionaries in a modern trade union also need to command a certain degree of technical efficiency. The method of muddling through leads often to disastrous consequences alike for the individual and for the union. Clinton Golden found that "one of the most regrettable factors with which the union executive has to contend is the ignorance of many of those chosen as lodge officers. Presidents of lodges in many instances do not even understand the rudiments of parliamentary law. Recording secretaries fail to keep an understandable record of the activities of the local union. Important communications, resolutions and petitions are often ignored because of the inability of the secretary, intelligently and effectively to perform his duties. Any trade-union executive can testify to the tremendous difficulties encountered in selecting men who can properly handle the finances of local unions and keep the books in proper shape. Then comes the lack of ability of the average member to express himself intelligently in the meetings of his local union. The exceptions to this rule are few." ³ The answer to this problem today is schooling. Education

¹ *Labor and Employer*, Dutton, 1920, p. 305.

² *The New Leader* (New York), Nov. 12, 1927. On this latter phase see also Frank Tannenbaum, *The Labor Movement*, Putnam, 1921, ch. vii; also Paul Wander, "The Function of Education in the Labor Movement", *American Labor Monthly*, May, 1923.

³ "The Value of the Workers' Education Movement to American Labor", *Labor Age*, April, 1922.

is essential to group agreement on ideals and purposes, schooling furnishes the technique essential to the realization of ends. The demands for education of a systematic sort is usually symptomatic of an increasing differentiation of functions giving rise to problems which cannot be solved adequately except by a resort to education and training.

Following the repeal of the Bismark Exception Laws, the Socialdemocratic Party of Germany and the trade-union movement emerged surprisingly strong. A large delegation of Socialdemocrats were elected to the Reichstag. Political pressure from the labor and socialist movement eventuated in a deal of labor and social legislation. It became clear to the trade-union leaders that in order to derive the full benefit from this legislation a greater number of well-trained functionaries were needed. So in 1905 the German Trade Union Federation at the Cologne Congress decided to found a trade-union school in Berlin.

One course was planned for future trade-union leaders. This was a full-time day course with six hours of instruction running through six weeks. The other course was of a technical character, specifically for "Labor Secretaries." It was likewise a full-time day course but lasted only four weeks. Among the leading teachers in the general trade-union courses were Karl Legien, then President of the German Trade Union Federation, and Secretary of the International Trade Union Movement; Johann Sassenbach, the present Secretary of the I. F. T. U.; and Eduard Bernstein, all were men of international standing in the labor and socialist movement. Karl Legien,¹ whom we have chosen to

¹ That he was capable of a broad-minded attitude is evident in his declaration at the historic Congress at Cologne in 1893: "... dass wir den gebildeten Kreisen, die nicht mit uns sympathisieren, aber die Arbeiterfrage studieren wollen, auch auf diesem Wege Gelegenheit geben sollen sich zu informieren." Quoted by Theodor Leipart in *Die Neue Zeit*, Heft. 23, No. 15, 1915, p. 1157.

honor at the head of this chapter was the first international secretary of the trade-union movement, being elected to that post at the Dublin Conference in 1903. At the eighth international conference held at Zurich in 1913, Legien was elected President of the I. F. T. U. He held this office until 1919.¹

Fortunately we have at hand two detailed syllabi for the above mentioned courses. How well they reflect the era of social and labor legislation will become apparent merely in naming the titles.

TABLE XI

COURSES UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE OF THE
GERMAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENTGEWERKSCHAFTLICHE UNTERRICHTS-KURSE VERANSTALTET
VON DER GENERALKOMMISSION DER GEWERKSCHAFTEN
DEUTSCHLANDS

Fourth Year, 1909-10

1. History and Theory of the German Trade Union Movement	18	hours.
2. The Rival Trade Unions in Germany	15	"
3. Foreign Trade Union Movements, including England, Belgium, Holland, France, Scandinavia, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, Australia, America, and Russia	18	"
4. Sickness, Invalid, and Accident Insurance	15	"
5. Labor Protection	16	"
6. Wage Agreements in Industry	15	"
7. Political Economy	27	"
8. Cartels, Employers' Associations, Collective Agreements..	18	"
9. Introduction to statistics	16	"
10. Trade Union Literature	6	"
11. Banking and Finance	12	"
12. Criminal Jurisprudence	12	"
13. Industrial Hygiene	12	"
Total	200	hours.

¹ Fimmen, Edo., *The International Federation of Trade Unions*, Amsterdam: I. F. T. U. Publications No. 1, 1922, 20 p.

UNTERRICHTSKURSE FÜR ARBEITERSEKRETÄRE¹

1912

1. Labor Insurance Legislation	40 hours.
2. Wage Agreements	14 "
3. Civil Rights	20 "
4. Constitutional Rights	20 "
5. Criminal Jurisprudence and Process	20 "
6. Civil Process and Legal Procedure before Industrial and Commercial Courts	12 "
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 126 hours.

Up to the world war twenty-two schools in the general trade-union courses had been held with a total attendance of 1417 students. The Labor Secretaries' Course began in 1909 and four schools with a total student enrollment of 115 had been held on the eve of the war. Needless to say, the exigencies of the world war compelled a cessation of both courses.

Following the war and the German Revolution, trade-union education became increasingly important. First, because labor was given constitutional status in the Weimar Constitution,² second, because of the unprecedented gain in

¹ "Labor Secretariats in Germany are Bureaus in which workers, salaried employees and others can obtain information concerning all questions relating to labor law, social insurance, and also general law, especially civil law. In these bureaus, established by the working classes, organized workers and employees receive information and often legal assistance free of charge; unorganized workers must in most cases pay a small fee. The secretaries engaged in these bureaus have also, with rare exceptions, sprung from the working class. Since the Revolution the Secretaries receive in many instances special allowances from public funds."—Alexander Knoll, Secretary of the Gen'l Fed. of German Trade Unions, "The Educational Work of the German Trade Unions", *Review of The I. F. T. U.*, vol. ii, No. 1, Jan.-Feb., 1922.

² Article 165 of which the first paragraph reads: "Die Arbeiter und Angestellten sind dazu berufen, gleichberechtigt in Gemeinschaft mit den Unternehmern an der Regelung der Lohn und Arbeitsbedingungen sowie an der gesamten wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung der produktiven Kräfte mitzuwirken. Die beiderseitigen Organisationen und ihre Vereinbarungen werden anerkannt."

trade-union membership.¹ In response to the Works Council Act, numerous short courses and Works Council Schools emerged throughout the Reich.² Many of these schools, mostly carried on during the evening, succumbed during the ruinous period of inflation. But the workers' educationists of Germany had learned from their educational experience that a residential trade-union school is preferable to evening schools even though a given session is limited to two weeks.

We have chosen to begin our survey with five labor schools—four residential and one semi-residential in Germany for the reason that here we find more residential trade-union colleges under trade-union control than in any other country. Justification by chronology is of no particular importance since we are not aiming to give a full history of the movement. However, even from a chronological point of view—as far as our information extends at this moment—the first bona fide trade-union school was organized under the leadership of Karl Legien in 1905 as previously described. It is true that Ruskin College had been organized in 1899, but not with the full initiative, finance and control emanating from the organized trade-union movement. The exodus of the "Plebeians" from Ruskin College corroborates this view. From Germany we pass on to Ruskin College which in later years has come over to the trade-union emphasis. Ruskin College is *the* pioneer in workers' education. In America we have selected two labor colleges with a trade-union emphasis. The reader will notice that our plan holds to the residential and semi-residential labor colleges. Since our course has been in a westerly direction we shall hold to our course and include Japan in our survey. Japan as a more

¹ The membership of the German Federation of Labor in 1914 was 2,075,759; in 1920: 7,890,102 members.

² See "Works Council Movement in Germany" (*Bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 383*) by Dr. Boris Stern, chapter xii.

recent industrialized country affords eloquent support of the hypothesis relative to the connection between industrialism on one hand, and trade-unionism and workers' education on the other. We have also described several trade-union educational efforts under the caption *Miscellaneous Mention* more for the sake of greater inclusiveness and recognition of worth than for the need of adducing additional evidence in the proving of our thesis.

THE BERLIN TRADE-UNION SCHOOL

In 1929 the Berlin Trade Union School celebrated the first decade of its existence. Under the continuous, efficient direction of Mr. Fritz Fricke, the school withstood the ravaging force of the period of inflation. During those ten years some 37,000 persons have come into educational contact with the school. When seen in the light of the fact that the objects of the school turn more on intensive work for a few than on extensive work for the many, the previously mentioned figure assumes a deeper meaning.

The Berlin Trade Union School is *zweckbetont*, i.e. a school with a definite purpose as contrasted with a *Weltanschauungsschule* like the residential school at Tinz. This purpose consists in awakening the minds of the students, in stimulating the capacity for independent thought, to impart a fundamental body of economic information so as to bring out a clear conception of the form and function of economic enterprise, and finally, to train the students for intelligent participation in the socialization of industry. The leadership of the school is frankly socialist in outlook, critical, not dogmatic, not partified. The evil tendency of allowing the wish to become father to the thought is radically inhibited on every appearance and gradually rooted out as the pupils acquire the power of objectivity.

Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of this evening

school from an educational point of view is the achievement of a workable permanent form. Since 1924, the curriculum is arranged in a progressively three-year course, two years of which are given to the pursuit of a special subject. In the primary course, students are first of all introduced to the methods of mental activity. The necessity of trade-union and political education is made clear and an attempt to arouse the will and enthusiasm for learning is made by connecting the immediate experiences of the students with the curriculum. Teachers are free to use various approaches. The endpoint to be reached during the first year is to bring order and sequence into the apperceptive mass, to let it mature and transform it into trade-union energy. The length of this course varies from 10 to 20 weeks.

In the secondary course, students are articulated in accordance with their special interests. Five subjects: Economics, Workers' Rights, Social Economy, Trade Union System, and Educational Policy are offered. Two years of study are required in the secondary course. The classes meet one evening in the week twenty weeks each year. The course provides for an elementary and an advanced group. In the elementary course, most of the time is consumed in transmitting organized information, while in the advanced course, students work for themselves under direction.

For those students who have mastered the primary and secondary grades a higher course in the aforementioned subjects is given in the workers' seminars. Students often pursue seminar studies over a period of three years. These students become eligible, if they do not already occupy responsible positions, to trade-union posts as functionaries, or, to eventual leadership.

Classes are deliberately kept small in number: usually the attendance varies between 20 and 30. Seminar attendance is held down to about half of the regular class attendance.

Every subject is taught by a specialist. Trade-union leaders, high-school teachers, and Socialist Academicians compose the teaching personnel. Lecturing is reduced to a minimum. The method of teaching is by questions and answers, oral reports, written exercises, free discussion, and regular reading of minutes of the previous session. Home work is not obligatory but encouraged. For the purpose of stimulating the solidarity of the class and of fostering a mutual influence between the director of the school and the students, each teacher on opening his class asks for the election of a committeeman (*vertrauensmann*) and an alternative whose duty it shall be to render a report on a form provided for him of each class session. The report must be countersigned by the teacher. In this manner pedagogical snags are cleared out early and students are often prevented from dropping out.

Besides the regular school work a number of special courses are arranged during the year, for trade-union federations, for women, and for trade-union youth. These short courses have proved to be a rich recruiting ground for the more intensive courses.

How is this school financed? In Germany no workers' school, or *Volkshochschule* (Peoples' High School) for that matter, can exist very long without either being dependent upon an income from the state or commune, or with a large organization which sponsors an educational program. These schools, as far as the situation in Germany is concerned, do not disseminate knowledge and information which the student can apply toward a better-paying position in industry. The schools in question are non-vocational. The Peoples' High Schools are on the whole interested in science and art for their own sake, while the workers' schools aim to give an education that shall fructify the work of the trade unions and political labor parties.

It follows then, that if the benefit to be derived from schooling a given number of workers is social, it would be folly to expect the individual worker to bear the entire cost of his education, nor even to ask him to share the major cost. It must also be kept clearly in mind that for the average, the standard of living which obtains in Germany is still on a very low niveau. High fees would therefore exclude a great many workers and employees from the opportunities of education. On the other hand, for pedagogical and psychological reasons, it is considered unfeasible to offer educational opportunities absolutely gratis. Hence a very nominal fee is exacted from all, except from the unemployed; youth under eighteen years, pay one half of the adult fee.

The Berlin Trade Union School is supported financially by two trade-union bodies: (1) the City Central Trades and Labor Council of Berlin—affiliated with the A. D. G. B.; (2) the Local Council of the Berlin Trade Union for Employees. The contribution of these unions per member approximates four-tenths Goldpfennig per year. An abbreviated financial statement for the school year ending 1925 is presented herewith.

THE BERLIN TRADE UNION SCHOOL FINANCIAL STATEMENT 1925

A. INCOME

I. From tuition per year	3,200 Mk.
II. Contributed by the A. D. G. B. for the year	13,620 "
III. Contributed by the Afa-Bund	1,980 "
Total	<u>18,800 Mk.</u>

B. EXPENDITURES

I. Running

1. Salaries to Director and Office Assistant per month	500 Mk.
2. Office expense per month	150 "
Total per month	<u>650 "</u>
Per year	7,800 Mk.

II. School and Teaching

3. Teachers' Honoraria per year	9,000 Mk.
4. Printing and Advertising	600 "
5. Rent for School rooms	1,400 "
	<hr/>
Per year	11,000 Mk.
Total Outgo	<hr/> 18,800 Mk.

The above statement does not include an account of the quarterly magazine published by the school. This magazine must carry itself financially through the sale of subscriptions and advertising space. In Germany, Fritz Fricke, the director of the Berlin Trade Union School, told the writer, a labor school cannot expect financial assistance from affluent individuals in the labor and radical movement. "Solche begüterte Freunde gibt es nicht." And, as for the non-socialists giving money to a labor school! Might as well try to pick sun-kissed apples from a 'family tree'! From the latter group labor can expect either covert contempt or more often an open fight. Unlike in America, German class lines are rigidly drawn.

The significance of this school lies in the fact that it is the first, serious, systematic, and successful attempt to cultivate a fractional part of the evening spare time of Berlin workers. At the close of the first decade of its existence, it can point to the demonstrable fact, that some members of the working class are endowed with the mental capacity, the will, and endurance, to hold themselves to an exacting regimen of study over a period of three or four years. Having weathered the storm of inflation, the school has proved its title to continued support. The school would decline any subvention from the State or other organization, if its acceptance implied a deviation from the socialist principles which are its guiding consideration.¹

¹For the material concerning the Berlin Trade Union School I am indebted to its director, Herr Fritz Fricke, fellow student at the Oxford

THE ACADEMY OF LABOR

Another type of workers' educational institution in Germany grew out of necessity. In 1920, the University of Frankfort A/M became involved in straitened financial circumstances. It was compelled to appeal to the State of Prussia for relief. Labor held the helm in the Prussian government, and it was labor who came to the rescue of the university and saved the institution from going under. As a reciprocating favor, the leaders of the national federations of labor in conjunction with the Ministry of Education in Prussia worked out an agreement whereby the labor movement should be given official status in the university. From the German university point of view—a conservative one indeed this project was well-nigh an impossible innovation! Labor entering the temples of learning! In university circles labor was looked upon as a boor, incapable of learning. None of the German universities responded to the changes and needs which accompanied the revolution. "The universities did not care for these new tasks" wrote Dr. Theodor Cassau.¹ The universities did not understand the world of labor and were, therefore, unprepared to take the initiative. Nevertheless the University of Frankfort agreed to the creation of an autonomous institution known as the Academy of Labor within the university.

International Summer School, for sending me prospectuses, study plans and reports of the school. I have also followed the school's quarterly since its first appearance, January, 1925. The name and address of this quarterly is: *Vierteljahrs Hefte Der Berliner Gewerkschaftsschule*. Edited by Fritz Fricke, Director the Berliner Gewerkschaftsschule, Engelufener 24-25, Berlin SO 16. This magazine contains carefully written articles on economic, social, and educational problems; the annual reports of the school; a section devoted to international notes and a department of book reviews.

¹ "Workers' Education in Germany", *The Highway*, London, vol. 17, No. 2, Spring 1925.

The budget of the academy is met by a grant from the Prussian Ministry of Education, a subsidy from the federal government, and supplementary subscriptions from various national trade unions. The University of Frankfort furnishes the rooms, supplies the equipment and pays the administrative costs. A Committee of Management, composed of union leaders and the three officially appointed teachers, decide on the curriculum. A committee of the student body also have a voice relative to the course of study and general policy of the school. Purely pedagogical problems are left to the teachers. The three head teachers are selected by the Ministry of Education in consultation with the University Board of Lecturers and with due deference to the special points of view represented by the national trade-union bodies which sponsor for the students.¹ The office of principal rotates annually among the three permanent teachers. The principal selects his assistants (often as many as fifty) from the university staff, from the high schools, from among men with special knowledge. An administrative committee consisting of a representative each of the Prussian Ministry of Education, the Trade Unions, the Municipality, and the University, works with the principal.²

The school is co-educational. Only mature students (25-40 years of age) with a great deal of varied experience in life and industry are desired. The school year runs through nine months and is divided into two semesters. A plan for a second year's course is still in the wishful stage.

¹ Alexander Knoll, "Educational Work of the German Trade Unions", *The International Trade Union Movement*, Official Organ of the I. F. T. U., vol. ii, Nos. 1 and 4, 1922. See also Section 4, paragraph 3, *Academy's Statutes*.

² Knoll remarks "in the selection of teachers the trade unions have a preponderating influence; no teacher may be engaged against their wishes."

What is the aim of this institution? Dr. Ernst Michel,¹ one of the teachers lays special stress on what the school is not aiming to do. Its purpose is not to popularize knowledge, to encourage sciolists, to propagandize for any cause, to develop individual personality as such, to produce scientific thinkers, nor to create a proletarian class culture. "The founders of the Academy" declares Michel, "did not aim to make the Academy an outpost of the university among the work people, but a bastion thrown out by the workers, enabled by their political power, into the old educational world."² Positively stated, Michel declares the aim to be: "The Academy must hew out a way of education by which the workers do not become half-baked academicians, dilettantes, but, that they remain workers and leaders of workers, yea, better leaders. The Academy should transmit an original, independent knowledge that could not be obtained in any other higher institution because it is born out of the needs and powers of labor. . . . To graft workers' education as an independent educational branch upon the tree of the People's High School System, rather than to build a proletarian class education, therein lay the actuating purpose."³

It is necessary to dwell somewhat on the aim of this institution because one can detect a sceptical attitude now and then toward it in the writings of other workers' educational leaders in Germany. Moreover, here as in other social affairs, it is purpose that matters. Dr. Wilhelm Sturmfels,⁴

¹ "Die Akademie der Arbeit", *Die Tat*, Jena, vol. 18, Heft 4, 1926, pp. 299-309.

² Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

³ *Idem.* Whether workers' education can be built into the People's High School movement while the former's courses are very short is doubtful, in the opinion of Leipart and Erdmann. See *Arbeiterbildung und Volksbildung*, Berlin, 1928, p. 29.

⁴ "Die Akademie der Arbeit", *Vierteljahr's Hefte*, Berlin, Jan. 1925, pp. 14-17.

another regular teacher at the Academy, explains that the school is a type of super-party school, independent of the different policies of the trade unions. The school is above party but not in the sense that it assumes a neutral attitude toward the critical questions with which man is confronted today in industry, justice, state and society. On the contrary, the school seeks to bring its own decisions to bear upon the solutions of these questions, in the interest of the community. The school is aware that it is dealing with future leaders who are close to the great masses of the people hence it strives to awaken in its students a keen sense of social responsibility. Insofar as the schools can succeed in kindling in the student's mind a tendency toward social motivation, to that extent the Academy of Labor surmounts its working class character and becomes a High School of the spirit of the whole people.¹

Dr. Hugo Sinzheimer,² Professor of Labor Legislation at the University of Frankfurt took a leading part from the very start of the Academy, especially in the formulation of aim and policy. Following the spirit of the Weimar Constitution, he held to the principle of collaboration in public affairs. Professor Sinzheimer viewed the aim, method and problem of the Academy in the light of two propositions:

- (1) that the new democratic order in Germany calls people from all groups to share in the responsibility for social co-operation, that the people have become vocable and must be held socially accountable for the choice which they make in the solutions of economic, political and social problems;

¹ Sturmfels, *op. cit.* (We hope that in this highly compressed statement we have faithfully conveyed the crux of his meaning.)

² *Denkschrift der sozialdemokratischen Fraktion der Stadtverordneten-Versammlung in Frankfurt a. M.* Mit einem Vorwort von Prof. Dr. H. Sinzheimer, Frankfurt a. M., 1920, 16 p.

- (2) that in the new social order work people will always be at the center and that public policy should proceed in relation to labor and economic life as being the concern of all.

That Professor Sinzheimer fathered the aim and function of the Academy is apparent in the prospectus for the seventh year of the school. Here the object of the Academy is given as follows: to educate men and women from the work-a-day world for responsible co-operation in all the provinces of public life, but above all, in the administrative policies of economic, political and social affairs.

From what has been said of the purpose of the Academy, the reader might readily conclude that the Academy should be classed under political emphasis, that is political in the wider meaning of the word. The writer, however, is inclined to place the Academy in this chapter, on the basis of three types of evidence. First, the committee on administration is composed of 11 persons, seven of whom represent the national trade-union federations. Second, the student body is largely recruited from the trade-unions. (Of the 74 students in attendance during the seventh year (1927-28) of the school, 72 were members of trade unions. Of this number 42 students received full scholarships, including finances to cover board and lodging, traveling expenses, and incidentals, from the national trade-union federations. In the case of married students, the trade unions provided a regular allowance for families concerned. 21 students were the recipients of stipendia from various city and provincial governments. 6 students were supported by partial stipendia provided by the Society of Friends and Promoters of the Academy. 5 students relied upon their own resources.¹ In the third place, the course of study has a dominant trade-union

¹ *Mitteilungen VII, Akademie der Arbeit*, Feb. 1928, 16 p.

complexion. Last year's prospectus does not indicate the number of hours devoted to each subject but a statement of the second semester's (1923) time plan does give the number of hours: Economics 177 hours, Constitutional and Legal Rights 152 hrs., Social and Labor Legislation 48 hrs., Political Science 42 hrs., Sociology and Socialism, 179 hrs. The first three subjects are characterized, in the main, by a trade-union and industrial emphasis. And, in the teaching process of the Academy, Dr. Sturmfels maintains that "the point of departure is the organized worker in industry."¹

How are the students selected? By formal agreement between the Prussian Ministry of Education, the Academy and the National Federations of Trade Unions, students are selected by the last named, though with reference to the results which applicants have obtained in a set of test questions prepared by the teachers. These tests are not informational but they are designed to test the applicant's capacity for judging the problems of the world in which he lives. In order to somewhat control the selection of students, the Academy has inaugurated correspondence courses for prospective students in residence.² Homogeneity is not especially desired by the Academy, at least not as to occupation, a given trade-union slant, nationality, point of view (*Weltanschauung*). A certain heterogeneity is favored on the principle that adults grow best through conflict and clash of opinions. This leads us to a consideration of the methods of teaching.

"Propaganda for a definite political or social conviction is barred. We do not want to transform anyone's outlook, but every student is here compelled to verify the foundations of his own standpoint and to accommodate himself co-operatively to the opinions of others."³ Respect for different

¹ *Mitteilungen VI, Akademie der Arbeit, June 1927, 16 p.*

² *Cf. Mitteilungen VI.*

³ Correspondence with the *Kanzlei der Akademie der Arbeit.*

points of view is assured in the statutes¹ where the following declaration is laid down: in substance, when fundamentally important questions relate to the students' Weltanschauung, those teachers whose sympathy stand closest to the particular group, shall deal with those questions. On the Academy's faculty can be found teachers of various political and social outlook, Socialdemocrats, Christian Socialists, Independent Socialists, Hirsh-Dunkers, Republicans, etc. Adult labor education requires teachers who are different from the usual university teacher. The university is chiefly interested in intellectual specialism, in knowledge for its own sake, whereas labor is interested in knowledge for action. Speaking of the German University, Dr. Ernst Michel said: "If the university dominated the labor students, it would only hasten the complete atrophy of interest of those who believe in progress and who want to contribute to it."² The difficulty lies partly in the methods of teaching according to Dr. Eugen Rosenstock, first principal of the Academy of Labor. Dr. Rosenstock was entrusted with the working out of a method of teaching adult workers. The methods of *pedagogy* he found inadequate for adults. Hence he evolved a new theory of teaching, viz. *andragogy*. Briefly summarized the theory of Andragogy contains three fundamental propositions, (1) The adult worker is in possession of a considerable store of ideas, experiences, concepts, general knowledge, misinformation, an accumulation that is more or less chaotic, uncoördinated, more or less unverified, but held with some tenacity because overlaid with a feeling tone that has grown out of struggle and pain. He has also observed a discrepancy between principle and practice which adds to his confusion and sickening at heart. (2) The adult

¹ *Mitteilungen VII*, p. 3.

² "The Frankfort Academy of Labor and the Problem of Workers' Education", *The International Labor Review*, Feb. 1926.

worker's mind operates best in an atmosphere of controversy. Conflict of ideas keeps him alert. Therefore, debate, criticism, discussion, opposition are forms through which he can learn. (3) The adult worker cannot assimilate, cannot harbor new ideas and information unless at the same time he eliminates the old, untenable ideas and cherished notions. He learns best through a living interchange of the substance of thought.¹

Obviously, the teachers do not begin by giving a systematic, chronologically arranged subject matter. It would be quite utopian to expect that scientific thinkers could be developed in the course of nine months. Much time is consumed in clearing up faulty concepts grounded upon antiquated scientific information. For the purpose, then, of bringing order into the mass of experiences which the workers bring, the student body is divided into three groups of about twenty persons each. During the first semester these groups function as *Arbeitsgemeinschaften* supplemented by lecture-discussions. The starting point in such a group led by one of the regular teachers is some particular grievance for which a solution is sought. The skillful teacher introduces relevant subject matter wherever and whenever needed. Mere imparting of scientific information plays a secondary role, the important object is the method of inducting the worker-students into the spirit of objective study.

In the second semester seminar groups are formed. Lectures with questions parallel group study throughout the year. The student body is privileged to attend any of the regular university lectures if time permits. Intensive work

¹ Cf. Dr. Ernst Michel, "Die Akademie der Arbeit", *Die Tat*, Jena: Eugen Diedrich, vol. 18, Heft 4, July 1926, pp. 299-309. See also *Education Through Experience*, Martha Anderson and E. C. Lindeman, New York: W. E. B. Monograph No. 1, 1927, 50 p. "Die Lehrmethode der Akademie der Arbeit", von Dr. Wilhelm Sturmfels, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 478, 1. 3.

is demanded in the seminars. A student chooses a special subject for investigation. New books which are germane to a given problem before the groups are reviewed. These seminars differ from those of the graduate schools in that scientific detachment and sequential development of subject matter is of secondary interest, as compared with the interrelationships which must be considered in a solution of the dynamic problems of the workers' world.¹

In their evaluation of the work of the Academy, Leipart and Erdmann² remark that while much of the theoretical discussion of the learning and teaching process which emanates from the Academy seems highly ideological, in practice the teachers are largely responsive to the definite purpose which the trade-unions demand, and that, the majority of the federations are, at any rate, satisfied with the results.

THE DÜSSELDORF SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND ADMINISTRATION

The Düsseldorf school is a residential institution. It is also definitely a professional school (Fachschule) which trains students between the ages of 28-35 years for positions in works councils, trade-unions, state and local government administration. The school was opened in June 1922 with 25 students in attendance. The municipality of Düsseldorf finances the upkeep of the school buildings while the Prussian Ministry of Commerce pays the teachers' salaries. Students are recruited from all sections of the trade-union movement and in a similar manner as previously described under the Academy of Labor. Dr. H. Seelbach, the director of the school, is assisted by three whole-time teachers who are specialists respectively in economics, social politics, and law. A two-year course was planned from the beginning,

¹ Michel, *op. cit.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

but financial difficulties prevented its realization until 1927. The school year is from May until March, a period of 40 weeks.

Four main subjects: Economics, Social Politics, Law, and Languages compose the curriculum. Under economics is included theoretical economics, principles of economic policy, capitalistic enterprise, the teaching of political economy, world economics, business management, statistics, mathematics, bookkeeping, industrial organization, commercial law, etc. Social Politics includes a study of sociology, social insurance, social and industrial hygiene, trade-union organization, employment exchanges, labor education, labor psychology, etc. The curriculum in law embraces civil law, constitutional and administrative law, labor law, the judicial system, the legal aspects of municipal problems and administration, etc. The school is anxious to exchange students with foreign labor colleges. With this end in view instruction is given in the English and German languages. A total of 1224 hours, exclusive of excursions, museum visits, research tours, under guidance, constitutes a year of class instruction and practical exercises. The weighty character of the program is justified on the ground of the short time available for study and for the psychological reason, viz. that it is possible to accomplish something definite in a brief period if the mental discipline is rigid and the application intense. Only highly selected students are encouraged to go on for a second year of advanced work.

Regular staff teachers must be college-trained men with considerable practical experience in their specialty, the latter requirement is to insure a working combination of theoretical and practical instruction. It is the emphasis on the technical training of the students that differentiates Düsseldorf from Frankfurt, on the instructional side.

Teaching is carried on in the scientific spirit and the gen-

eral outlook of Düsseldorf is, that "workers' education must be fostered as an expression of the labor movement."¹

THE SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AT DÜRRENBURG

(German Metal-Workers Federation)

On Sunday March 14, 1926, the anniversary birthday of Karl Marx, the German Metal Workers Union—largest single union in the world—opened its residential school at Bad Dürrenberg, a former prominent health resort situated in a picturesque vicinity of Leipzig, yes, and what is more, it stands an der Saale, kühlem Strande, so often alluded to in the poesy of Germany. Hitherward a new shift of fifty men from the heavy industries wend their way monthly to submit themselves to a severe course in mental and moral discipline. Only one branch of the industry is represented at one time; e.g. the automobile industry, electrical works, shipbuilding, moulder works, agricultural machine builders, locomotive and wagon constructors, etc. The students come from various parts of the Reich, from the Rhine, Ruhr, and Saar valleys, from Upper Silesia, from the rolling mills, works councils, blast furnaces, from the offices of the trade-unions, all practical men from the workaday world. As a consequence, the teaching process is more practical than theoretical.

Dr. G. Engelbert Graf, member of the Reichstag from Leipzig, is director of the school. Graf was for many years educational director of the Metal-Workers Union. He conducted works-councillor courses throughout the Reich. Graf soon became convinced of the many shortcomings of

¹ Dr. H. Seelbach, *I. F. T. U. Review*, July-Sept. 1925, p. 47. For other articles by Dr. Seelbach concerning the Düsseldorf School, see *Vierteljahr's Hefte Der Berliner Gewerkschaftsschule*, vol. i, no. 1, 1925, pp. 17-20; *Die Tat*, July 1926, pp. 309-318; *The International Labor Review*, Nov. 1922. Cf. *Arbeiterbildung und Volksbildung*, Leipart and Erdmann, Berlin, 1928, pp. 32-36.

evening school work with tired workers. Evening work becomes limited merely to the transmission of knowledge. It fails to promote a coherent bond of community feeling. Evening students are often harassed by various anxieties, insecurity, fatigue, etc. Various diversions also militate against concentrated effort in a desired direction. In a residential college, students can utilize the best hours of the day for study, subject matter can be better co-ordinated, students come from a wide geographical area which gives opportunity for richer interchange of experiences, community living helps to forge warmer and more durable bonds of friendship and understanding. Graf believes that the socialization of human beings is as important as the socialization of industry. "Without the socialization of human beings, socialization of industry remains a lifeless torso."¹

Dr. Graf agitated by word and pen during the five years preceding the realization of his dream of a dormitory school. Graf shares this realization, however, with the late Robert Dissmann, leader of the Metal Workers Union, advocate of a free and untrammelled workers' education.²

A four weeks' course is admittedly very short, nevertheless, much can be accomplished if the course of study is correspondingly reduced to a few studies. Dr. Graf advocates rigid delimitation of workers' educational curricula. Only the most necessary should be taught. The teaching staff is composed of three whole-time instructors, each one a specialist. Dr. Graf teaches Capitalism as an Economic and Social Problem, History of the Labor Movement; Dr. Ernst Fraenkel gives the course in Labor Law; Civil Engineer Richter is the instructor in Commercial and Technical

¹ Graf, "Gewerkschaftliche Schulungsarbeit", *Betriebsräte-Zeitschrift*, Stuttgart, June 24, 1922, pp. 470-5.

² Dissmann, "Une Ecole de Sciences économiques", *Le Métallurgiste*, Bruxelles, May 1926.

Works-Management. In addition to the regular teachers, occasional visiting lecturers and teachers are engaged. The method of teaching is by group study, (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*), free discussion with questions from the students directed to the teacher and to fellow students, and vice versa, during which process the teacher organizes and supplies up-to-date information. An open-minded, critical attitude is encouraged. Slogans, formulae, and proverbs are shunned. The teachers are all socialists but any form of indoctrination is taboo. This does not mean that the teachers are concealing their ideals behind the figleaf of neutrality. Graf is most vigorous in his proclamations that a neutral attitude in the teaching of the social sciences is, from the labor point of view, an absolute impossibility. Graf proceeds on the assumption that, on the whole, in a class society political education is colored, and that, a residential workers college which pretends to neutrality will only serve to unsettle the convictions of the student who comes to feel himself cut adrift from his moorings and driven wherever chance winds may blow him.¹

Recruiting the student body is always an insistent problem. The leadership of the Metal Workers Union selects those of its members who have shown interest and concern for the welfare of the union, who have taken initiative in educational and propaganda activities, members, whose ages vary between 25 and 40 years and who have had a complete public school education supplemented by self-study in trade unionism, political and social sciences. The trade-unions pay for the railroad fares, board and lodging, for books and equipment needed by the students. Married students are reimbursed by the union for time lost to 90% of their wages,

¹ Graf, "Internate und Ferienkurse im Rahmen der proletarischen Bildungsarbeit", *Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit*, Bern, Jan.-Feb. 1926. See also Dr. Ernst Fraenkel, *Kulturwille*, vol. iii, no. 4, April 1926.

unmarried men receive 50% of their wages, while for any unemployed¹ person an allowance for his family is guaranteed.²

It was suggested previously that an undeviating discipline characterizes this school. For instance, the Rules of the School forbid the consumption of alcoholic drinks in or out of school; smoking is also discouraged though the privilege is granted in the reading and billiard rooms. Every student must take his turn at house-cleaning duty. Each student makes his own bed. Absence from the school is excused only when the urgency can be established beyond doubt.³

In the following distribution of a given school-day plan, the cloistered character of the school is apparent.

6:30 a. m. Rise and shine. Make beds. Sweep the room.

7:30 " Breakfast.

8:00-11:30 Class instruction. One half hour recess during the morning session.

11:30-12:00 Gymnastics.

12:00-12:30 p. m. Luncheon.

12:30- 3:30 " Free time.

3:30- 4:00 " Coffee period.

4:00- 6:30 " Instruction.

7:00 " Dinner.

8:30 " Dormitory is locked.

10:30 " Lights out.

During the evenings students usually do their written work, alternating with social evenings, special lectures, and

¹ The school is also used in periods of unemployment for one-week courses for the unemployed. The objective is to sustain trade-union morale and loyalty.

² Correspondence with the director, G. Engelbert Graf.

³ *Hausordnung Wirtschaftsschule*, Bad Dürrenberg. The enforcement of these rules must be something of a heroic task as the age groups would indicate the presence of some pretty firm habit-sets.

occasional instruction. During the course each student is required to turn in from 10-12 essays of varying length. Each group submits to a number of tests, the results of which Dr. Graf says constitute impressively interesting pedagogical material which the school will eventually publish. Sundays are given over to excursions and outings under guidance. On these outings the teachers often learn how well their work is taking.

Four weeks is of course a very brief time in which to accomplish much. However, students are oriented in the nature of their own industry and its interrelation with other industries. They are stimulated to self-help in their quest for knowledge relevant to their problems. In the instruction periods they are shown how to bring sequence into their experiences, observation and random reading,—gaps being filled in by the teacher—they are shown the essentials of an orderly thinking process. Nor does the school lose contact with the students immediately upon dismissal. A kind of correspondence study is kept up for a time. Every four weeks the student must send in an essay treating of some question of the day or on any one of the subjects studied at school. For example, such topics as, the History of the Local Trade Union, Is Justice Possible in a Class Society?, the Aims of the German Political Parties, the Automobile in Relation to Road Construction, etc. In this manner, remarks Graf, several journalistic talents have been discovered who have forthwith become associated with the trade-union press.¹ Three factors enter into the problem of the short course at the Metal Workers' School. In the first place, it is difficult to get students released from employment for a longer time. In one instance, the management of an industry refused pointblank to let the school recruit a group of work-

¹ *Correspondence with Graf.* Also Annual Report in the *Betriebsräte-Zeitschrift für Funktionäre der Metallindustrie*, Stuttgart.

ers. Second, the school is regarded as an experiment, as a test of selection, that is, it aims to sift out the best students who must be secured later when the school proposes to organize a longer course in which prospective leaders will be given thoroughgoing training. Third, in view of the constitutional status which German labor has attained, the education of works councillors, committeemen, etc., on an extensive scale became an imminent necessity.¹

DIE GEWERKSCHAFTLICHE FUNKTIONÄRSCHULE DES VERBANDES DER GEMEINDE—UND STAATSARBEITER

This school is in its third year, having been founded in 1926. Its director is Valtin Hartig who previously directed the work of the Arbeiterbildungs-Institut in Leipzig. The union which sponsors the school has a membership of 225,000. A reconditioned hotel at Buckow (Mark) in the Vicinity of Berlin serves as dormitory and school. It accommodates thirty students. These students come from all parts of Germany and spend two weeks of intensive study for the purpose of serving their local unions more efficiently. Married men receive 80% of their wages from the union treasury during absence from regular employment, single men get 40%, with an allowance of 15 Marks for books. Sometimes the student body is selected with reference to district, at other times with reference to vocation. The average age is between 32-43 years. In the course of study is included: history of trade-unionism, public economics and management, social politics and labor law. The curriculum is elastic and adapted in accordance with the particular needs and wants of the vocational group.

The daily program is exacting. The time schedule is organized somewhat as follows: four hours of instruction, two hours of practical exercises in various forms of writing, par-

¹ *Ibid.*

liamentary procedure, etc., one hour or more is devoted to walking, exploring, and conversation in the open. Evenings are given over to various activities: lantern-slide lectures, recreational entertainment, performances, reading of plays with parts assigned to different individuals, mock trials to test the knowledge of labor law, lectures on social literature, etc. During the second week more time is devoted to practical exercises under supervision "Lernen um zu können", "Er soll nicht nur lernen, sondern sich bilden", active participation in the teaching and learning process, these are guiding considerations in the methods used by Hartig.

Several excursions to Berlin and adjacent points of interest depending upon the vocational composition of the group are carried out during each term. In Berlin, the group visits the many socialist and labor headquarters, consumers' co-operatives, the Reichstag, Health Department, public institutions of vocational interest. Such a day usually terminates by attending a Volksbühne play or other theatrical performance.

The cost per member per day while at school is approximately 10 marks which amount is defrayed wholly by the federation. During the first two years of its existence, 1,000 students partook in the courses.¹

¹ Hartig, Valtin, "Gewerkschaftliche Funktionärschulung", *Arbeiterbildung, Monatschrift Des Reichsausschusses für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit*, Berlin, April 1928, pp. 52-55. By the same author, "Gewerkschaftliche Bildungsarbeit", *Gewerkschafts-Archiv*, Jena, July 1928, pp. 5-13; various articles in *Kulturwille*, Leipzig, especially while Hartig was its editor during 1924-1926.

Note: The labor magazines of Germany announce that a new labor college will be opened in the fall of 1930 under the auspices of the German Federation of Labor. The school is a residential college with dormitory accommodation for 120 students. It is situated in the beautiful suburban neighborhood of Berlin near Bernau, a half-hour ride from the German capital. The course of study has a trade-union emphasis almost exclusively. The basic subjects are: economics, trade-unionism in theory and practice, labor law, social and labor problems.

RUSKIN COLLEGE

(Oxford)

Ruskin College is a co-educational, residential school.¹ It bears only a nominal relation to John Ruskin whose scathing indictments of the capitalistic industrial system and lectures in the Workingmen's College of London has enshrined his name among those who were sympathetically interested in the cause of labor. But the school "holds no brief for Ruskin's teaching on Economics or any other subject." An index to John Ruskin's mental outlook is contained in one of his letters:²

Some day when I've quite made up my mind what to fight for, or whom to fight, I shall do well enough, if I live, but I haven't made up my mind what to fight for—whether, for instance, people ought to live in Swiss cottages and sit on three-legged or one-legged stools; whether people ought to dress well or ill; whether ladies ought to tie their hair in beautiful knots; whether Commerce or Business of any kind be an invention of the Devil or not; whether Art is a Crime or only an absurdity; whether clergymen ought to be multiplied, or exterminated by arsenic, like rats; whether in general we are getting on, and if so where we are going to; whether it is worth while to ascertain any of these things; whether one's tongue was ever made to talk with or only to taste with.

The same source adds this comment: "He never did quite make up his mind what to fight for, or whom to fight—though practically all his political writings, date from a later period than this letter." Obviously, if any part of the labor movement became infected with the spirit of the letter aforequoted, it would succumb as did the starving mule between

¹ Founded in 1899 by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman and Dr. Charles Beard, three Americans.

² Quoted by J. F. Horrabin, *The Plebs*, Nov.-Dec. 1928, p. 252.

the two haystacks. An Olympian aloofness from the workers' organized struggle against reality joined with a condescending patriarchal paternalism hardly entitles John Ruskin to the role of a pioneer in a working-class educational movement.

Ruskin College is not controlled or financed by Oxford University nor does it come under any University regulations. Relations have been friendly from the start. Ruskin students are privileged to attend lectures at Oxford, and may, if they like, take the examination for the University Diploma in Economics and Political Science. Intercollegiate debates and games bring the labor students into contact with Oxford undergraduates.

Ruskin College gives as its object: "to help the students through a good general education to be of greater service to the working-class movements from which they come." "We believe", reads a statement of its ideals, "that men must be educated not merely as workmen, but as men and as citizens. Our students are as rule sufficiently equipped as working men when they come to us, and our object is to help them make the fullest possible use of all their faculties, so that they may recognize more readily and enjoy to the utmost the noblest things that life has to offer, and also to provide them with the knowledge which is essential to enable them to play their part with wisdom as members of the community. . . . Ruskin College holds out a helping hand to all labor organizations and others who are working to sweep away economic oppression, political injustice, and every kind of social wrong, and who are striving to build a new and better social order."¹ Ruskin interprets education to mean: "the development and stimulation of the mind in such a way as to enable the student to think for himself and to do constructive work."

¹ *Ruskin College: What it Is and What it Stands For*, pamphlet, 24 p.

That Ruskin can claim a certain measure of success is borne out by a considerable roll of ex-students who have become Labor Members of Parliament, while others occupy positions of responsibility in the labor movement generally, and still others serve unobtrusively as functionaries in the rank and file.

The college year is divided into three terms of eleven weeks each. Although a majority of students can afford to attend but one year, the school offers a two-year curriculum. The regular courses for the first year include: Economic Theory, Social and Economic History, The Labor Movement, and Constitutional History, Supplementary courses: English Grammar and Composition, Literature and the Arts, Industrial and Political Problems, Industrial Law, The Co-operative Movement, The Club Movement, Public Speaking and Reading, Foreign Languages, Book-keeping. Second year courses are designed to build upon the first year's work by means of more intensive study of some of the subjects which have been treated in a somewhat general way, and by the addition of several new subjects, such as, Advanced Economics, Political Science and Political Organization; Psychology and Foreign Languages as supplementary studies.

The teaching process is carried out by means of lectures and discussions, small classes, reading circles, individual tuition, weekly essays, guided reading, and terminal revision papers.

Five members, university men, compose the regular tutorial staff, and five visiting lecturers present some of the supplementary courses.

During the year 1926-27, 27 men and 5 women were in residence. Of these 7 men and 2 women were second-year students. In the group were three Japanese students, one Dane, one Egyptian, one Peruvian, and one Swiss. That a creditable standard of work obtained is proved by the fact

that ten out of eleven students were successful in obtaining the Oxford University Diploma in Economics and Political Science. A majority of these students were admitted to the Adult Education Teachers' Training Courses at Oxford (University Tutorial Classes Joint Committee) and at Holybrook House, Reading. Successful completion of this course opens the avenue to the W. E. A. teaching field.

Except a very few students who pay their own fees for the whole or part of a year (short courses are arranged down to one month), Ruskin students attend on the basis of scholarships of which the College offers a number. The annual fee amounts to 100 pounds sterling, but students require in addition a sum sufficient for travelling expenses, books, and personal expenses during terms and holidays. The College has no endowments. It is supported by Individuals, Trade-Unions, Co-operative Societies, Working Men's Club and Institute Union, Ltd., Board of Education grants (11 pounds sterling per student), County Councils, Educational Trust Funds, and other bodies. A majority on the governing council are trade-union leaders. A memorandum on the method of selecting scholarship students will be found in the Appendices.

A flourishing correspondence department is conducted in the subjects enumerated under curriculum. More than 14,000 students have received postal tuition in one or more of these subjects since the department was started.

"Ruskin College provided me with new opportunities and ideals", confessed an ardent Ruskinian.¹ "For the first time in my life I enjoyed the luxury of a private room—a place that allowed me to study without having to move whilst my sister swept the floor, or having to read amidst the wails of the eight-month-old member of the family. Besides this

¹ Jack Wood, "A Year at Ruskin College", *The Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, June 1925, p. 423.

blessed peace, I found I had a bed to myself instead of having to share it with two others in a stuffy room—a usual thing in working-class homes in England! Then the food was good and the atmosphere uplifting. My first impressions related me to the general goodness of life—informed me that this was the sort of life owing to every man.” Reassuring words these would be to Mr. Vrooman who in his opening address in 1899 spoke of the objects of Ruskin College as he conceived them :

We shall take men who have been merely condemning our institutions, and will teach them how, instead, to transform those institutions so that in place of talking against the world, they will begin methodically and scientifically to possess the world, to refashion it, and to co-operate with the power behind evolution in making it a joyous abode of, if not a perfected humanity, at least a humanity earnestly and rationally striving toward perfection.

When three of H. M. Inspectors rendered their critical but encomiastic report¹ of the educational work of Ruskin College, they submitted only one significant recommendation, namely, that a larger number of students, say from 60 to 70 (the attendance usually ranges from 25 to 35) should be enrolled so as to make possible a larger full-time staff of tutors (the present staff includes five whole-time tutors and five visiting lecturers) who would then be able to specialize to their individual and the students' advantage. This problem is definitely one, the solution of which depends upon the organized labor movement of Great Britain.

That Ruskin College is meeting with increasing responses

¹ See quotations from the original memorandum, in *The Ruskin College News Letter*, December 1927, pp. 3-4.

Note: The writer wishes to thank the Secretary of Ruskin College, Mr. F. Smith, for his several courtesies, and for the promptness of his replies to inquiries.

from the labor movement is evidenced by the increase of scholarships coming from the trade-union movement. This year (1929) the Trade-Union Congress has increased its scholarships from three to six. Also, the donation by trade-unions to the maintenance fund shows an extraordinary increase over the previous year, though this item clearly fluctuates with the business cycle. Ruskin College is now entirely controlled by representatives of working-class organizations: The Trade Union Congress General Council, The General Federation of Trade-Unions, The Co-operative Union, The Working Men's Club and Institute Union, and several of the larger national trade unions. This control is reflected in the curricular preponderance of economic, industrial, political and trade-union problems.

BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE

Situated in the midst of an old country estate, an hour and one half's commutation from New York City, among the wooded hills with their intervening gulches and gentle brooklets—the pride of the affluent residents of Westchester County, Brookwood Labor College has been experimenting with labor students since the fall of 1921. Into this peaceful, pastoral setting, fifty students are called annually away from the feverish and exhausting struggle in the factories, mills and mines. “Thus isolated”, said Monsieur H. Dubreuil, labor writer from Paris, on his visit to Brookwood, “in the middle of the woods and enveloped in the evenings in the black nights of the country, the life of such a school could be monotonous and sad, but an incessant activity and a variety of occupations makes boredom ignored there.”¹

¹ It would, however, be an error to convey the impression that every member of the Brookwood community is completely adjusted to the isolated situation. On several visits which the writer paid to Brookwood, he heard expressions from teacher and student which indicated that the isolated character of the school constitutes a problem to some. This

The objects which Brookwood pursues are given in the articles of incorporation, as follows:

To provide an education to men and women in the labor and farmer movements; to teach students right methods of approach to their problems, namely: respect for facts, willingness to face facts, ability to determine relevant facts, to solve problems and to make generalizations on the basis of such facts. To assist such persons with the ability and training essential for progressively shaping policies with regards to any issues confronting organized workers. To offer and give training in the technique of labor union administration and to prepare students for activities such as public speaking, writing, organizing and teaching in which such students may be called upon to engage.¹

Brookwood is then primarily a professional school, and indirectly, a Weltanschauungs school in the sense that it believes in a better social order, an order that will be created only by an enlightened and unified working class.² A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Faculty at Brookwood, does not dodge the implication of class consciousness in genuine trade-union education. "Education of the right sort may very well serve to arouse class consciousness in that it gives the student a clearer understanding of his position in the social system. It will not arouse class antagonism, unless the aims of the group to which the student belongs are anti-social. . . . This does not mean inspiring the individual workers with bitterness toward the individual boss. It does not mean inspiring them with a purpose to gain the interests of manual workers in a narrow sense and to wipe out everybody else.

problem of properly locating a residential school exists in other countries. Nearness and remoteness from urban centers can claim respective advantages and disadvantages.

¹ *By-Laws of Brookwood, Inc.*, Article II.

² *Report on Brookwood to the International Conference on Workers' Education, 1922*. Proceedings published by the I. F. T. U., Amsterdam.

We want to inspire the workers with a consciousness of the position, the interests, the aims and the ideals of their group, precisely because it is upon that group and its faithfulness to its mission that the well-being of the whole community is in the long run dependent." ¹ Although Mr. Muste inclines toward an education bearing the trade-union label, he does not ignore the importance of the political and co-operative emphasis. This fact is suggested in the italicised part of the following.

The chief aim of workers' education must be to equip the workers to carry on the daily struggles of the labor movement against company unions, the open shop, the yellow dog contracts, labor spies, injunctions; for higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions of work, increased control over industry, *as well as for intelligent exercise of the ballot and of their power as consumers.*²

Mere preoccupation with a narrow range of problems limited to, say, shop economics, has been proven inadequate in attracting and holding labor students. "I understand that the head of the Philadelphia Labor College is now inclined to question whether any workers' education that does not from the start and throughout, give students some general philosophy of the labor movement, *some vision of wider goals*, some ideology that carries over beyond the considerations in their own shop and craft and makes them feel themselves part of the world movement of workers, will have perman-

¹ "Interview with Head of Brookwood Labor College", *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, April 16, 1925. Supplemented by "What's It All About", by A. J. Muste, *Labor Age*, New York, April 1924, p. 3. It is interesting to note that Muste's statement in reference to class consciousness is quite consistent with the first Preamble of the A. F. of L. In fact this Preamble looks very much as if the writer of it had just emerged from a reading of the Communist Manifesto.

² Muste, A. J., "Workers' Education Bureau Surrenders to Reaction", *Labor Age*, March 1929, p. 8.

ency and accomplish worthwhile results." ¹ Arthur Gleason ² meant the same thing when he pointed out that the dynamic element in workers' education must be an inner core of conviction, a steadfast belief that activates the programs aiming at the social emancipation of work people.

Muste disclaims that Brookwood is propagandistic, except for truth. Passionate pursuit of truth, sincerity, ardor and vehemence in the proclamation of truth, are often mistaken for mere propaganda. "The Labor Movement is the one great movement that can afford to be quite scientific in its attitude, even toward itself." ³

Brookwood conducts a two-year course, mainly in the social sciences. The first-year courses seek chiefly to train the minds of the students as instruments for acquiring knowledge and thinking problems through, and to lay sound foundations in the study of the social sciences. The second year courses provide more direct technical training for work in the labor movement. The privilege of taking but one year's study course (eight months) in selected subjects is granted. ⁴

BROOKWOOD CURRICULUM

(1927)

FIRST YEAR COURSES

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| a. How to Study | e. Current Events |
| b. Training in Speaking and Writing | f. Sociology |
| c. The Use of the English Language | g. Social Economics |
| d. History of the American Labor Movement | h. Labor Dramatics |

¹ Muste, A. J., "Current Issues in Workers' Education", *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education*, Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y., 1928, p. 11.

² "Workers' Education", *The New Republic*, April 20, 1921, pp. 235-237.

³ *Labor Age*, April, 1924.

⁴ *Brookwood Bulletin*, 1927.

SECOND YEAR COURSES

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| i. Sociology | n. Speaking and Writing |
| j. Statistics | o. Trade Union Organization |
| k. Public Speaking | p. Structure, Government and Administration of Trade Unions |
| l. Labor Journalism | q. Labor Legislation and Administration |
| m. Foreign Labor Movements | r. Seminar: Workers' Education |
| | s. Seminar: The Strategy of the Labor Movement. |

Brookwood is coeducational. No definite prerequisites of scholastic preparation exist to bar any student, though prospective applicants are advised to procure a sound foundation in English and Arithmetic, and as much knowledge of history and economics as possible. Experience in industry, membership in a union, and documentary proof of interest in and loyalty to the organized labor movement are requirements for entrance. Thus far, Brookwood has been able to accommodate only one third of those seeking entrance.

During the year 1927, 42 students were in attendance. Their ages ranged between 19 and 51 years, the men averaging 29 years and the women 24. Of these 52.3% were native born, while 47.6% were of foreign birth. These students (thirty-three) came largely from industrial families. Two thirds had fathers who are either miners or factory workers. Six had a trade and business background. Three whose fathers were engaged in the transportation field, one whose father is a "white collar worker", and one came of a farming family. Coal miners' daughters were unrepresented in the distribution. The previous school education of this group (thirty-three) varies greatly. Four students were without any public school education. "A little over

half the students went no further than the grade schools, and only one half of these completed the eight years. Five, three, one and six attended high school for one, two, three and four years respectively." Twenty-five students reported attendance upon workers study classes, while fifteen reported having attended no workers' education classes. The length and frequency of attendance ranges from less than six months to over three years, and from once a week to daily attendance. Seven of the women students had attended the Bryn Mawr Summer school for Women Workers. Nine students went to work (full time, paid work) before they were 14 years of age. Sixteen out of forty-two had held official positions of some kind in the labor movement.¹

What becomes of the Brookwood graduates? is an important question in view of the declared policy of Brookwood not to educate the students "out of their class" but "to educate them for service in the labor movement." A "Record of Graduates" was tabulated by Brookwood August 24, 1927, from which we glean the following notes. The list contains a record of the name, location, occupation before coming to Brookwood, union membership before Brookwood, occupation after Brookwood, union membership since leaving Brookwood, of 92 graduates. Of these 23 have spent all or most of their time since leaving Brookwood in paid trade-union positions, such as, organizer, business agent, local secretary, secretary of a labor college, worker in editorial departments of official labor journals, worker in union unemployment insurance departments, international vice president, etc., while 54 are ranked as active rank and file trade unionists. Of the latter number many occupy

¹The data of this paragraph are condensed from "A Census of Brookwood Students" (twelve typewritten pages) being a study made by a class in Statistics, including tables, at Brookwood Labor College, March, 1927, under the direction of Cara Cook, Instructor.

places of responsibility (unpaid) as presidents, secretaries, executive committeemen, etc. The remaining fifteen are variously occupied, in their own family housekeeping, in co-operative work, etc. "There is not a single case of anyone who was a member of a union before coming to Brookwood who has not continued as such. . . . There is only one case of a Brookwood graduate who is now putting in full time studying at a regular university and who may not in the future continue to have direct contacts with the labor movement."¹ Twenty-six persons in the above number (92) are active in connection with workers' educational classes in the centers in which they live.

The above number is of course too small on which to generalize, but from the point of view of Brookwood's purpose, it is admittedly a formidable showing—especially when taken in relation to the "reputed" facility of vertical mobility in American economic life.

The five regular members of the faculty are college graduates. A director of extension, business manager and field representative, and three tutors, (two of the latter are foreigners, special lectures on foreign labor movements) complete the Brookwood staff for 1928-29. The "teachers are to be accorded the fullest possible freedom to investigate and set forth the truth, since it is clearly undesirable that a school carried on under the auspices of the labor movement and serving that movement should fall into the same error of suppressing freedom of thought and expression which both the labor movement and intelligent educationalists deplore in the case of other institutions of learning."²

¹ Indirectly, he may none-the-less contribute richly.

² By-Laws, Art. VII, Sec. 2. The spirit and letter of this section is being put to a test at this writing in view of the recent recommendation by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for its affiliated bodies to withhold financial and moral support from Brookwood pending a change

There are five classes of membership in the Brookwood Corporation, honorary, student, faculty, fellowship and trades-union whose voting power is 0, 1, 3, 1 and 6 respectively. The trades-union membership in the corporation, on the board of directors, and in the executive committee have numerically the greater voting strength.¹

The educational policy of the school is almost wholly in the hands of the faculty. It has power to engage teachers and to dismiss them; it passes on the eligibility of prospective students; it has the power to dismiss a student who after a probation period proves himself unable to carry the required studies.

Faculty and student body elect a joint committee which meets frequently for the discussion of the problems that arise in the work of the school. During the year the entire faculty and student body meet four times for mutual discussion of school affairs. The student body is held responsible for discipline, control of student activities, and for the performance of certain daily tasks in connection with the physical aspects of the buildings and the routine of the dining and culinary departments.

Brookwood is active in other educational respects. Summer courses of one to two weeks' duration are being held, especially designed for individual trade-union groups. A committee of Local No. 189, American Federation of Teachers, calls an annual conference at Brookwood for teachers in the workers' educational field. The proceedings of these conferences (five have been published by Brookwood since

in its administrative and educational policy. See *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 31, 1928; also, "More About Brookwood College"—*Labor's Answer to Its Critics, Brookwood Defenders* (pamphlet, 6 p.), by William Green, President A. F. of L., Washington, D. C., Jan. 26, 1929; also, *The Brookwood Review*, Katonah, N. Y., Oct.-Nov., 1928. This matter will receive further consideration in chapter 9.

¹ By-Laws, Brookwood Inc.

1924) are important contributions toward an educational sociology and psychology of workers' education in America. The Brookwood Review, official organ of the school, has been published since 1923. Syllabi in various subjects for study classes are available in mimeographed form.

A yearly scholarship at Brookwood amounts to \$450. This amount does not cover the cost per pupil which on the basis of the current budget (1928) is \$850. A scholarship includes board, lodging, and tuition. The annual budget of the school calls for \$50,000. Students contribute a small part toward maintenance by doing regularly assigned tasks seven hours per week. This work includes house cleaning, repair work, diswashing, table waiting, clerical and library assistance, etc. The balance of the budget is met by various groups and well-to-do individuals friendly to the school and to workers' education generally.

WORK PEOPLES COLLEGE

Work Peoples College is a residential, co-educational institution located in Smithville, a suburb nine miles out of Duluth, Minnesota. The buildings and campus stand on the shores of one of those placid, beautiful lakes which abound in the North Star state, the Spirit Lake. The winter climate of this region is healthful and invigorating. Students at the school are encouraged to participate in the opportunities for winter sport, skiing, skating, sleighing, hiking. This emphasis on physical outdoor exercise is characteristic of the Finnish people who compose the preponderant element in the school.

The history of the institution is not without interest. It is one of the oldest workers' educational enterprises in America. Its influence up to 1921 was somewhat restricted, principally to the Finnish language group. The present premises including two large dormitories were built by a body

of Finnish people in 1903 who intended to found a theological seminary. In 1904 the school was duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Minnesota and it was christened The Finnish National College and Theological Seminary. The attempt to propagandize religious doctrine and Finnish nationalism failed. The founders had not foreseen that the Finnish working class, from which the student body was recruited, had moved along with the radical ideas both in the union fields and in political thought, particularly socialist thought. The students rebelled against theological propaganda. They demanded modern knowledge. The board of directors was compelled to change the curriculum as well as the faculty.

When the theological stage had become history and the course of instruction showed a modernized appearance, the progressive Finns in the trade-unions along with the socialists began to take an interest in the school. The Finnish socialist locals purchased stock, one dollar per share, and ere long this group had acquired the majority stock in the corporation. As soon as the socialists had secured their control of the college, the program underwent another change. The name of the college was changed (1908) to Work Peoples College. The purpose of the curriculum should be, the socialists held, to help Finnish people toward articulation with the American labor movement. Hence the study of English was introduced. The other subjects were: Finnish, public speaking, journalism, art and literature, natural science, mathematics, bookkeeping, and above all, social sciences. Not only did the school aim at preparing its students for service in the labor and co-operative movements, but also for admission to higher institutions of learning. The college was also active in promoting education for children. A bright future seemed to lie ahead. Alas! The college could not escape the changing winds of doctrines that blew through

the radical sections of the socialist and labor movement. The agitation which raged around the issues of political-versus direct action, sabotage, etc. came to a focus in the historical Indianapolis Convention of the Socialist Party in 1912. Article II, section 6 of the socialist constitution was the immediate cause of a rupture in the ranks. After the controversy between those favoring political action and those preferring industrial action as the first step toward the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Work Peoples College yielded to the industrialists. This was not surprising at all, for many of the Finnish workers were members of the Industrial Workers of the World which at that time was in the heyday of its great adventure. Having passed through the theological and socialist stage, the college entered upon the industrial stage.¹

In 1921 arrangements were made to have instruction in all the subjects of the curriculum given in English as well as in Finnish. This necessitated in several instances additional instructors. Although the college is organically unconnected with the I. W. W. organization, the latter group has faithfully supported this institution through its press and with hard earned donations, as well as students. As Professor Paul Brissenden² has shown, the members of the I. W. W. follow seasonal occupations. Usually, these men are unemployed during the winter, hence many of the studiously inclined find the Work Peoples College a desirable wintering place. The English instructors, like the Finnish, are drawn from the ranks of the more or less "self-educated" working

¹ There are not wanting of "humorists" and mean fellows who would characterize each stage as "theological", but this is an inadequate, biased description. Some I.W.W.'s would insist that the aforementioned stages parallel the Comtian theological, metaphysical and positive stages, but these are the die-hards among the romantics.

² *The I. W. W., A Study of American Syndicalism*, New York: Columbia University, 1920, 2nd ed., 438 p.

men. In order to facilitate the mastery of the English language, the subjects which the college considers most important, namely the social sciences are taught in joint classes of the two language groups under the guidance of both the English and Finnish instructors.

The curriculum of instruction in the English language for the year 1927-28 was as follows:

Economics—Elementary and Advanced. The works of Marx, John R. Hobson, etc. were studied intensively. Reports and abstracts from various U. S. Government statistical studies were required. In economic history, the works of J. L. Hammond, Scott Nearing, and others were used.

Sociology—Texts and references: Spencer, Ward, Giddings, Ross, Morgan, and Bukharin. In the study of Primitive Society, standard authors and the current scientific monographic literature was consulted.

Labor History—History of American Labor by Commons and Associates, A Short History of American Labor by Mary Beard, Left Wing Unionism by David Saposs, and the pamphlet literature of the I. W. W. and labor movement generally.

Psychology—Text: The Plebs Outline of Psychology. Supplementary reading: The Crowd, Le Bon; Behaviorism, Watson; and other behavioristic studies.

The labor history of foreign countries is communicated mainly through lectures and assigned readings, chiefly through periodical literature.

Other subjects taught are: mathematics, current events, labor journalism, public speaking, biology, bookkeeping, typewriting, geography, English, and the organization methods of the I. W. W. Current standard texts are used. Great stress is laid on the study of the English language. Bookkeeping is taught through

the use of actual budget forms according to the Twentieth Century Nurmi system. The method of teaching in the social sciences is by lecture-discussion. The same subjects and texts apply to the Finnish group.

During the past four years an average of 80 students have attended the college. Courses begin on November 15th and continue until the 15th of April. The success of the college is attributed partly to the low fee of \$39.00 per month which covers board, lodging and tuition. The college has received generous support from the various Finnish settlements throughout the country. The school has served these Finnish groups with organizers, newspaper men, speakers and propagandists for the Finnish industrial unionist movement. In the current events class, many of the students prepare weekly summaries of events which are dispatched to the union press.

Work Peoples College has endeavored to become self-supporting, a worthy attempt that has not so far been successful. The student fees are supplemented by funds variously raised, by entertainments both locally and in many other places throughout the United States by people who are interested in this particular educational undertaking. In 1925, the American Fund for Public Service donated \$1,000 toward the college. This amount was used toward increasing the library facilities for the English-speaking students. A library of 2,000 volumes was destroyed by a fire which also burned the building in 1917.

The management of the college is in the hands of a Board of Directors elected by the stockholders who own the physical assets of the school. Four full-time instructors compose the teaching staff. The student body meets weekly to discuss and settle minor problems about the school. Students exercise an advisory influence in educational matters and the Board of Directors are guided to some extent by these delib-

erations. Admission to the college is open to anyone who can manifest a serious interest in learning. The school sets no barrier such as an entrance test, for the school believes that "the man or woman least able to pass an entrance examination is the one most in need of education." Work Peoples College aims "to equip men and women to carry on an organized class struggle more effectively for the attainment of industrial demands, and ultimately for the realization of a new social order."¹

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN JAPAN

If poverty and oppression were the sole factors operating so as to automatically produce a radical attitude toward the social order, then, the working inhabitants of the islands of Japan ought to have become dyed-in-the-wool socialists. Instead, twenty-five centuries of the habit of obeying orders from "above", of economic imposition by imperial rulers and feudal lords (for the moral equivalent of which, the ethically overrated Confucius was largely responsible)² added to fifty years of capitalistic exploitation had an enslaving effect upon the masses. They were mentally lame, halt and blind. The will-to-change had become paralyzed. Herculean efforts would be needed to rouse them from coma. The story of the awakening of Japanese labor is characterized by persecution, imprisonment, heroism, and martyrdom. It is a bloody history.³ In the labor history of Japan, we encounter another instance of initiative issuing from intel-

¹ *Prospectus of Courses, 1926-27*. For the material herein, the writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Yrjo Koskinen, Director of the Work Peoples College, and to the files of the *Industrial Pioneer* (monthly), *Solidarity* (weekly), and the *Industrial Worker* (weekly)

² Adaghi Kinnosuke, "New Mass Power in Japan", *The Outlook*, Jan. 12, 1927, p. 46.

³ Katayama, Sen, *The Labor Movement in Japan*, Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co., 1918, 147 p.

actuals (albeit "self-made"), exceptional individuals, and students who had come in contact with radical labor and socialist ideas abroad, and who had translated Henry George and Karl Marx (Communist Manifesto) into the vernacular of the Japanese. Radical social ideas were first introduced into the ranks of labor by Dr. Sen Katayama¹ in 1898. He was supported by the now world-famous martyred socialist, Monsieur D. Kotoku,² Professor Dr. Isowo Abe of Waseda University, Dr. I. Kato, Fumio Yano, political writer, Toshihiko Sakai, editor, and others.

It is interesting to note that the students of Japanese universities readily embrace the spirit and ideas of social radicalism. "The Students' Federation of Social Science Study Groups is organized in more than fifty branches and has a membership of 1,600 in the schools and colleges. Its aim is the reconstruction of capitalistic society through the action of the working class."³ The students are particularly violent in their opposition toward militarism.⁴ In the elementary school, pupils are subjected to a chauvinistic propaganda⁵

¹ During the Russo-Japanese War, Dr. Katayama attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam where he shook the hand of the Russian Socialist, George Plechanov. Cf. H. Kano, "Japan Viewed by a Japanese", *The World Tomorrow*, July, 1921, p. 206.

² That Kotoku was an anarchist is denied by Katayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-141. The accusation was, according to Katayama, a frame-up, a fabricated lie. In the interest of truth and justice, the careless use of socialism and anarchism as synonymous terms is discreditable, and it may, as in the instance of Kotoku, lend sanction to governmental murder. "The Socialist and Labor Movement of Japan", by an American Sociologist, Kobe, Japan, 1921, pp. 145 (*Japan Chronicle Reprints No. 2*) infers that Kotoku was an anarchist.

³ Hiroshi Shimidzu, "Organized Workers in Japan", *The Nation*, June 16, 1926, p. 677.

⁴ "Japanese Students Show Their Opposition to Militarism", *The Nation*, July 11, 1923.

⁵ Haring, Douglas G., *Propaganda in Elementary School Readers in Japan*. A study in social control. Master's thesis, Columbia Univ., 1924

that is of a piece with the practices in Prussian schools during the dynasty of Wilhelm II of recent infamy. The jingoistic behavior of the reactionary Minister of Education, Okada, adds more fuel to the flame of student revolt. He is most vehement in his attempt to suppress interest in the social studies.¹ The very subjects which by rational consent ought to be encouraged in the light of the law granting manhood suffrage in 1925! It might not be considered impertinent to ask here: Will a ruling class ever learn anything from history?

Small wonder then, that to Japanese workers' education is ascribed "a propagandistic bias"² when the Japanese working class is viewed against the repressive background herein briefly sketched. Small wonder that "employers and labor leaders meet as in an arena instead of over a conference table."³

Workers in Japan utterly lack training for a round table conference, and many disputes end in strikes which might otherwise have been averted. Workers, therefore, should be educated not merely in the theory of the class struggle, but in the history and characteristics of the industrial system which is so different from that of the 19th century . . . as well as in methods of conciliation.⁴

Several schools and associations from which we have been able to obtain information⁵ are attempting to meet the need

¹ See his Rules published in April, 1926. See also "Policing Japanese Universities", *The New Student*, New York, February 2, 1927.

² *Bulletin World Association for Adult Education*, Japan number.

³ Harada, Shuichi, *Labor Conditions in Japan* (Doctoral thesis), Columbia University Press, 1928, p. 277.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁵ For the data following, I wish to acknowledge my grateful appreciation to: Miss Yoshi Shoder for her interpretation of certain Bulletins, Prospectuses and Statutes relating to the Workers' Educational Association of Japan; to Professor Shintaro Azuma of Kwansai Gakuin College,

which Dr. Harada describes. In 1921, the Nihon Rodo Sodomei (Japanese Federation of Labor) through the efforts of its president, Mr. Bunji Suzuki, organized the first trade-union school for the workers of Japan. The Nihon Rodo Gakko (Japanese Labor School) of Shibaku, Tokyo, opened its doors on the 16th of September. 160 pupils, workers, were admitted. Their ages varied from 19 to 57 years. The school curriculum called for economics, history of trade-unionism, factory management, labor legislation, labor law, English, sociology, history of the labor movement, psychology, social theories, etc. Some of the teachers in the school are: Professor Horié of Keio University, Baron Ishimoto, Bunji Suzuki, H. Asau, etc. The Nihon Rodo Gakko is a one-year evening school. Students meets three evenings per week, usually for three hours. A tuition fee of one yen per month is charged. The admission fee is 50 sen. The school aims to train officials for the rising labor movement and to provide social education which will further the solution of labor problems, to impart to the workers the knowledge required for a thorough understanding of these problems, and generally to disseminate social education among the rank and file. An average of 80 students per year have passed through the school. A school for women is organized separately. Provision is also made for a graduate course.

Mr. Suzuki is a right wing Socialdemocrat. He began to carry on educational work among Japanese laborers while secretary of the department of social welfare of the Unitarian Association in 1911.¹ The educational program of that day

Kobe; to E. K. Nobushima for the material relating to the summer schools conducted under socialist auspices; to Miss F. Ichikawa, foremost feminist writer of Japan; to Captain Yonekubo, fellow student at Oxford International Summer School, Ruskin College, 1924.

¹ Ayasawa, Iwao F., "Industrial Conditions and Labor Legislation in Japan", *Studies and Reports*, Series B, No. 16, International Labor Office, Geneva, 1926 (P. S. King and Son, London).

was concerned in the main with social amelioration. The intense agitation which culminated in the extension of the franchise in 1925 opened up political possibilities for the workers of Japan. Suzuki who is a careful and temperate leader now advocates political development along the lines of the British Labor Party. The uppermost labor problem in Japan is labor organization. Suzuki wants to see labor organized in the millions before he would entertain an idea looking toward a political revolution. In answer to the question: "Do you think Japan is happier now than in feudal times? Has modern industrialism been a benefit?" Suzuki hesitated. "Maybe happier, maybe not," he said. "I don't know. We have thrown off many yokes and put on a new yoke. But we have learned to throw off yokes, and that is something."¹

The Osaka Federation of the General Federation of Japanese Labor conducts a workers' school, the largest of its kind in Japan. Originally, June, 1922 the school was started as a department of Christian Church work in charge of the renowned Christian socialist, Toyoshika Kagawa who is the principal of the school. It aims to prepare students for useful service in the trade-unions. It also declares an ulterior objective namely: "We want to emancipate education from the monopoly of the propertied class. We must re-take the university which has been appropriated by the propertied class. Those who teach and those who are taught in our school are imbued with enthusiasm and a will to activity. Our school is that one which really pleases the goddess Minerva." Courses are arranged for two-hour evening instruction over a period of 3 and 6 months. The curriculum differs very little from the previously mentioned, in fact, the curricula of the various schools in Japan (thirty different schools are scattered throughout the island empire) are very

¹ Strong, Dr. Anna Louise, "Three Men of Japan", *Asia*, March, 1926.

alike. Teachers are recruited from the universities, higher industrial schools, and intelligentsia. Attendance is slightly higher than in the school at Tokyo.

The Workers' Educational Association of Japan maintains its headquarters in Tokyo, and branch offices in various important industrial centers of the country. Its purpose is to spread social education among the work people and to enlighten them with regard to the labor problem and social reformation. Five departments have been set up to accomplish the purposes of the association. The educational department looks after the labor school, organizes study classes, labor libraries, extension courses, calls conventions, etc. A publicity department carries on correspondence courses, publishes lectures, pamphlets, conducts a book store devoted chiefly to books in the social sciences. The home-study courses are advertised by sending out samples of the lectures. Then there is a department of research. An advisory department is prepared for consultation in regard to the establishment or dissolution of labor unions and co-operative societies, as well as the professional affairs of the workers. A legal department serves those concerned in labor disputes or other juridical questions arising out of labor's problems.

General members pay a monthly due of two yen while special members in sympathy with the purpose of the association contribute one hundred or more yen. Officers of the association are elected annually at a membership meeting.

We have spoken of a right wing movement. The left wing is represented by the Nippon Roda Kumiai Hiogikai (Japanese Council of Trade Unions). This movement is communistic and propagandist. It stresses the need for emancipation from a bourgeois ideology and to educate and organize the workers on the principle of class consciousness.¹

¹ Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 200. See also *The Labor Year Book of Japan*, 1926.

The right also declares in favor of a class-conscious educational policy. The only perceptible difference between them is likely the difference in temperature at which their views are proclaimed.

Japanese labor is now convinced of the value of workers' education, but there are many difficulties, other than the active hostility of the imperial government,¹ which militate against immediate success. Professor Azuma suggests five obstacles: a. Too long working hours, too little leisure; b. Lack of incentive because no practical advantage can be realized immediately after graduation; c. The lecturers talk too academically; d. Insufficient number of whole-time organizers and secretaries; e. Limited funds.

MISCELLANEOUS MENTION

Educational Work of the National Women's Trade Union League

From 1913 to 1926 the National League conducted a professional training school for active women trade unionists who gave promise for future leadership in their own trade union or who aspired to a place of service within the labor movement as a whole. The school is located in the executive headquarters of the League in Chicago. A co-operative arrangement with the University of Chicago, department of economics, made it possible for the League's students to register in the department of economics at the University

¹ The government is especially vigilant against the socialists. A number of attempts by socialists to conduct summer schools have been suppressed. Kesaya Yamzaki, a socialist lawyer, started summer lecture courses in 1919, 1920 and 1921 running through a week or ten days. Prominent socialists as Sakai, Iwasa, Yamakawa, etc. lectured before the summer groups, usually composed of fifty workers. This form of education was prohibited by the government. The same fate befell the Sekiran-kai, a society of socialist women which commenced a summer course in 1921.

without examination, being entered in the category "unclassified students." The services of public school teachers were enlisted for instruction in English, bookkeeping, business arithmetic, etc. Studies in technical trade-union matters and training in field activities were taught by skilled women organizers connected with the League. The school is under the control of the Executive Board of the N. W. T. U. L. of A., of which a majority must always be trade-unionists. The secretary of the educational department is responsible for the direction of the school. Miss Alice Henry, author and lecturer, directed the school for many years. The present secretary is Miss Elisabeth Christman. The normal term of the Training School was six months. Students were admitted upon evidence of genuine interest in the labor movement. Ability to read and write in the English language and graduation from public school, perfect health, membership in an A. F. of L. union, were prerequisites. The League offered a limited number of scholarships including tuition, maintenance and fare, a total value of \$750. for six months. Scholarships in whole or in part were also sponsored by various trade-union bodies, though the response from the latter source was quite inadequate considering the importance of the work.

From the opening of the school in 1913 up to 1926, the "Who's Who" of the training school showed 44 students entered the school. Of these, two are deceased, 32 are actively engaged in the work of the labor movement. On the basis of 42 students then, 76% have stood by the labor movement. Thirteen students have married since their training. Of these, seven appear to have dropped all trade-union activity.

On the present educational status of the school, Miss Christman reports: "The 1926 Convention of the National League voted to change the emphasis from the training of a

selected few to a wider educational endeavor with the special goal of reaching the unorganized industrial girl in the South, interpreting to her the need for organization. This work is already well under way. Two further educational features were embodied in this convention action: the provision for special training for the League's own potential officers, executives and organizers, and the reaching of the fifty thousand women in auxiliaries affiliated to the National and International Unions."¹

Trade Unions and Education in France

It is a somewhat difficult if not impossible task to epitomize workers' education in France. In the first place, the French labor movement lags behind its neighbors in not having organized a national center for workers' education. No phase of workers' education is co-ordinated on a national scale. There is, however, a great deal of sporadic, local educational activity, some of it, more or less continuous. But the writer is not aware of any extant publication by a French author which summarizes the evidence.

On February 3, 1927, *Le Peuple* published an elaborately ambitious questionnaire prepared by a committee of the confédération Générale du Travail with Professor L. Zoretti as

¹ Correspondence with Miss Elisabeth Christman, Secretary N. W. T. U. L. of A.

Interview with Miss Alice Henry. Other sources: files of *Life and Labor Bulletin*, Official Organ of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, 311 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. The purpose of the N. W. T. U. L. is: "To protect the women workers of America from inadequate wage and extreme working hours through the organization of the workers, and through such legislation as the minimum wage and the eight-hour day; To increase co-operative action among them; To create a public opinion that really understands the labor movement; To supply at all times to all wage-earners assistance in working out their industrial difficulties; To secure definite and accurate information concerning conditions among women and children wage-earners leading to legislative action."

WITH A TRADE UNION EMPHASIS

chairman. This questionnaire was designed to ferret out the most important facts about workers' education. If fully answered, the results would have been of intriguing interest. Alas, the writer has been unable to learn what came of the venture. Since Mrs. Winifred Moore, special investigator for the World Association for Adult Education, published her report on *Adult Education in France*, after an extensive original inquiry, without a mention of the questionnaire, the writer is inclined to infer that the returns were inadequate.

The I. F. T. U. Information Service of July, 1926 states: "Complaints are made that, in spite of the availability of teachers there is inertia among the workers (of France) themselves, which is alleged to be a result of the War which concentrated upon purely material questions."¹ This criticism does not appear to apply to the propagandistic activities which according to Mrs. Moore are widespread and vigorous.

Jean Longuet² attributes the relative weakness of workers' education in France to the lack of unity in the trade-union and political ranks of labor. "Serious progress in workers' education" he holds, "is conditioned upon the re-establishment of a workable unity." It is a commonplace regrettable fact that the war sinned most against youth. The early years of the war robbed the ranks of skilled youth. French trade-unions have therefore been concerned with vocational education.³ Another significant attitude cultivated

¹ The acquisitive impulse was undoubtedly overwrought during the war period. This propensity of human nature needs curbing, not stimulation; socializing, not individualizing. War creates or stimulates some unsocial habits. It is not unlikely that there is a relation between the general disrespect for paper agreements and the pandemoniac behavior of some European parliaments.

² In a letter to the writer.

³ Dubreuil, H. (Secretary La Confédération Générale du Travail), "Exposé De L'Attitude Des Organisations Syndicales Françaises Devant Le Problème De L'Éducation", mimeographed manuscript, 8 p.

by the French Trade Unions and Socialistic Parties which must be taken into account in a discussion of education in France is a fundamental conviction which holds the State responsible for education.¹ Mrs. Moore found the leaders leaning to the view that, "apart from vocational education and propaganda, education is education, and that class has nothing to do with it. It can be safely left to the State, which—as is repeatedly said—is 'bound to be impartial'. . . . Official members of the labor parties replied to inquiries that their members were fully occupied in carrying on their political work, and left education to 'la Mairie'."²

¹ Dubreuil, H., "Workers' Education in France", *Proceedings International Conference on Workers' Education*, Brussels, 1922, Amsterdam: I. F. T. U., pp. 61-5.

² Moore, *op. cit.*, section on Working Class Organizations.

(That the State is "bound to be impartial" cannot be accepted without challenge. On Sept. 8, 1925, the *New York Times* reported that the then Minister of Education De Monzie issued an order forbidding the teaching of arithmetic problems which were calculated to produce an anti-militarist attitude. The following type of problem which pupils had been asked to solve came under the ban:

"A company of infantry is composed of 225 men. If each man costs such and such a sum each day for food maintenance, etc., and such and such a number of companies are required to conduct certain military operations, how much money will be wasted in military operations covering a month of thirty days? How many children could be clothed if clothes for a child cost 45 francs?"

Minister De Monzie interpreted this problem as "simple revolution, not simple arithmetic" and instructed the school inspectors to report the teachers who carried on this form of "veiled propaganda" to the authorities, who would then relieve the teachers of their posts.

If the valuational word "wasted" were changed to "needed", would the problem stand as scientifically legitimate?

One wonders what significance would be given in a French Current Events Class to Locarno, Disarmament, The Kellogg Peace Pact. Would a discussion of these world problems be considered anti-militaristic? Veiled propaganda? So many scraps of paper? The writer asks these questions in the light of Dr. Jonathan French Scott's book, *The Menace of Nationalism in Education*, London: Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1926. Dr. Scott concluded (p. 207) that historians have shown no im-

France cannot show residential or semi-residential labor schools similar to other European countries, nor any particular distinctive contribution to the workers' education movement. On the other hand, a variety of educational activity obtains in the form of local study classes, study circles, lecture forums, workers' art exhibits, trade-union reading rooms, all under trade-union auspices, notably in Lyon, Lille, Bordeaux, and Paris.¹ The so-called "Universités Populaires" or better named "Cercles Populaires" are not, as is sometimes mistakenly believed, "workers' universities." They are merely informal groups, "similar to our literary and debating societies."² A critical view of the Universités Populaires can be found in Romain Rolland's *Jean Christophe à Paris*.

Inspired by the International Conference on Workers' Education at Brussels, the trade-unions on the Seine drew up a grand scheme for the Ecole des Militants (School for Leaders) in Paris.³ The Council of Administration is composed of representatives of the trade union, the co-operative, the teachers', the Chamber of Labor, the labor sports, the

partiality in the countries of his study. Moreover, Dr. Scott found French nationalism to be particularly "vituperative and vehement", while German nationalism was perhaps more deeply rooted and the English "least invidious".)

"Impartiality" and "neutrality" will receive further treatment in chapter ix. If the French State is "bound to be impartial", why are the lycees not thrown wide open to the general population?

¹ *Proceedings International Conference on Workers' Education at Oxford, 1924*, Amsterdam: I. F. T. U., 1925. Report on France by Monsieur Dubreuil, p. 90.

² Moore, *op. cit.* (The Popular Society for Various Studies at Sotteville-les-Rouen seems to be an exception, since it offers formal courses. See H. Dubreuil, *Proceedings International Conference at Brussels*, p. 64.)

³ Dubreuil, H., *Exposé De L'Attitude Generale Des Organisations Syndicales Francaises Devant Le Probleme De L'Education*, Paris: La Confederation Generale du Travail, Rue Lafayette, 211.

mutualist, and the Popular University federations. Its purpose is education for the general emancipation of the working class. The plan calls for eight sections in the labor university. A school for leaders with a curriculum in economics, co-operation, history of labor movement, foreign labor movements, an international language, public speaking and debate. The other sections indicate their respective purposes in the titles: popular university (for popularization of general culture), vocational school, labor law, hygiene and sports, a juvenile section, a woman's section (courses and social evenings with the object of showing the part played in household affairs by the trade unions and co-operative societies) and a library and publicity section.

Aside from a great many series of lectures, the plan is still on paper, but it indicates the direction and range which will likely characterize workers' education in France in the years to come.²

¹ Madame Jeanne Bouvier, writing in *Life and Labor* (Chicago, Oct. 1921) expressed impatience with the slow response to workers' education in France. She declared: "I believe that instruction alone will not inspire the workers with the taste for study. A decree recommending the pursuit of learning is being formulated, but if this decree is to serve its purpose it should be made compulsory. For the workers are not likely to rise of their own initiative from their present condition."

This position in regard to compulsory workers' education is quite contrary to the best thought on workers' education, which holds that the principle of voluntarism must be preserved as essential to growth. The late Arthur Gleason wrote: "Except training of leaders, shop chairmen, etc., excepting technical and vocational requirements, workers' education cannot be compulsory. If compulsory, it falls into the hands of officials. (1) The machinery of selection, the *cursus honorum*, makes officials persons of a vested interest and a reactionary business policy. (2) The nature of workers' education is that it is voluntary, non-compulsory. To win followers it must show a bright goal, an objective that appeals to the group. That vision is held clear only as it is always on trial, always voluntary and not mandatory. If it is dictated, it no longer solicits on its merits. Being over-organized, it fades. The result is one more piece of machinery, instead of a living idea. The real test is that

*The Educational Department of the International Ladies
Garment Workers' Union*¹

The I. L. G. W. U. was the first trade-union of A. F. of L. affiliation to inaugurate a system of workers' education for its membership. The oft-repeated claim of being *the* pioneer in workers' education in America is not justified by historical fact. Various groups had been occupied with one or another phase of workers' education. Three institutions, going concerns today, the Work Peoples College, the Rand School of Social Science, the Workmen's Circle, all antedate the I. L. G. W. U.'s educational scheme which began in 1916. Nevertheless, the particular enterprise in question can be referred to, and justly, as a pioneer effort. Details of the early history of this venture cannot be included within our compass. They have been given adequately by Professor Harry J. Carman,² Arthur Gleason,³ Louis Levine⁴ and Fannia M. Cohn.⁴ We are primarily interested in objectives and the means and ways by which the particular group seeks to realize them.

"We have won the confidence of our members", declares the Educational Committee of the I. L. G. W. U. in its report

workers' education is appealing to free men and women, not that it is 'good for' regimented and docile masses."—*A Symposium on What is Workers' Education?* by Dr. Harry W. Laidler. New York Civic Club, 1921. Typescript, 11 p.

And yet, institution-building is necessary to get ideas embodied into deeds of human welfare. The problem is one of preserving an open sesame for fruitful innovation and growth.

¹ *The I. L. G. W. U. and Workers' Education*, pamphlet, 15 p. Reprinted from *Workers' Education*, issue of Feb., 1926.

² *Workers' Education*, pp. 16-18.

³ *The Women's Garment Workers*, A history of the I. L. G. W. U.

⁴ *Proceedings of the National Conferences of the W. E. B.*, especially for the years 1921 and 1922. Also various annual reports of the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. of which Miss Cohn is the executive secretary.

for 1922-24, "by making clear to them that our educational program is based on the assumption that our members are striving toward a new industrial order, to be based on the principle that production should be carried on for the satisfaction of human wants and not for private profit and that human life is above property. We also made it clear to them that the work of our Education Department is based on a conviction that the aims and aspirations of the workers can be realized only through their own efforts in the economic and educational fields, and that while organization gives them power, true education will give them the ability to use their power intelligently and effectively."

That valuable educational by-products may grow out of active membership in a trade-union, co-operative, or political party, none will deny. A good statement of this fact with reference to the union is given by Miss Fannia Cohn: ¹

It has always been our belief that the trade union itself is the school in which the worker gets his real training and education, if he takes an active part in the affairs of his organizations. It is there, whether at the local meeting, shop meeting, convention or in the councils of the executive committees, that his development begins. It is there that he assumes a great many functions; those of the voter, the legislator, the judge, the administrator. There he comes to realize that he must make his decisions discriminatingly and carry them through carefully, for upon him rests the success or failure of his organization's policy. He learns to take responsibility and thus develops his character and personality. He learns also how to defend his position before the employer, the public and his own fellow workers, when he must explain to them the aims, tactics and policies of the union.

But, as Miss Cohn observes, trade-unions have become increasingly complex and socially important; "the trade-union

¹ *Annual Report of the Educational Department to the Nineteenth Convention of the I. L. G. W. U.*, May 1928, p. 11.

no longer confines itself to purely trade union problems; it is entering the fields of banking, insurance, health work, research, building, co-operative housing, etc." Moreover, "the union has only a small active citizenry." Therefore, it becomes necessary to keep the membership thoroughly informed of the doings in the union, "since even the passive group by its power of suffrage, can, if it be left uninformed, destroy all the constructive plans of the organization, while the active members can be made more effective through the education and special training which the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. supplies." Nor it is enough that the workers should be acquainted merely with the problems of their own industry, but that they should also understand their relation to other industries, to the community, and to the world at large.¹

Under the somewhat ostentatious head of "Workers' University" classes are conducted during twenty-four weeks of the year, at the Washington Irving High school Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings, and at the union headquarters a given number of evenings during the week. In co-operation with the New York City Board of Education, Evening School Department, study classes in English especially for members of the I. L. G. W. U. are held in neighborhood schools, called Unity Centers. The recreational facilities in connection with these schools are also available under direction of regular instructors.

According to the annual report for 1927-28, the following courses¹ were given: 1. The Workers in Modern Civiliza-

¹ In the *Announcement* for the year 1924-25, 39 courses are listed. The enormous decline in the educational work of the I. L. G. W. U. is attributed partly to the depression in the industry, partly to technological changes affecting the industry, partly to the internal dissension in the union, and to other factors, all of which have "temporarily" eclipsed the manifold activities of the Educational Department. A revival of activity is anticipated, though probably not on so large a scale.

tion. 2. History of the I. L. G. W. U. 3. Current Labor Problems. 4. Trade Union Policies and Tactics. 5. Economic Problems of Working Women. 6. Economics of the Women's Garment Industry. 7. Psychology of the Labor Movement. 8. Contemporary American Literature. 9. Shop Economics. 10. Economic Basis of Modern Civilization. 11. Public Discussion. 12. Civilization in America. 13. Lectures on Labor and Social Problems. (The latter were given before regular meetings of local unions).

The instructors are very nearly all university and public school teachers. Labor leaders and technical men are drawn in occasionally when their expert knowledge contributes to the course. Part of the class session is devoted to the imparting of information and part to discussion. Textbooks are rarely used. In their place, each instructor is required to prepare a syllabus¹ of the course, usually in the form of a topical outline interspersed with abstracts of the subject matter and reading references. Mimeographed copies are handed out at each session.

Among educational interests other than systematic instruction under its own control, the I. L. G. W. U. through its Educational Department, supports the Pioneer Youth Movement, the experimental school for children at Manumit, the Workers' Art Scholarship Committee and the monthly publication, *Labor Age*. It also maintains a scholarship at Brookwood Labor College. It arranges summer lectures in several languages at the Workers' Unity House, an all-year recreation center owned by the Joint Board of the Dress and Waist Makers' Union. Unity House is a palatial hotel surrounded by numerous smaller cottages at the summit of the

¹ The writer has examined 12 different syllabi, most of which are evidently of college grade. With few exceptions, however, the writer misses the element of a few thought-provoking questions which might serve the dual purpose of (1) linking the worker-student's experience with the subject matter, (2) stimulating him to consult some of the references.

blue hills of Pennsylvania, in a stretch of 750 acres, containing 80 acres of land and many acres of woodland, at Forest Park, about 100 miles from New York City.

At one time the I. L. G. W. U. appropriated \$15,000, a small sum, to be sure, for a union of 50,000 members, toward two years' work of the Educational Department. A legitimate question suggests itself: What measurable results can be shown for the money and energy expended? Has the instruction registered in terms of organizational loyalty and unity? How many shop chairmen, business agents, secretaries, bookkeepers of union accounts, and various other union functionaries were trained? Did their subsequent service indicate a superior quality? To what extent do some of the "cultural" courses merely duplicate similar courses in other schools, for instance, the Rand School? The answer to these questions is difficult to obtain. In the first place, the Educational Department does not include statistical data in its annual reports describing the composition of its student body as regards age, occupation, previous preparation, attendance, percentage of mortality in attendance and the reasons, follow-up of students, etc. Why are there so few men among the instructors with labor experience? What evidence is there that mere academic instructors can successfully lead the student in the direction of the aims of workers' education? Or does academism in workers' classes tend to lame the will to social change?

*The Workers' Education Bureau of America*¹

Originally founded by liberal-labor elements,²—labor edu-

¹ For an account of the first four years of the W. E. B.'s existence, see Dr. Margaret Hodgen, *Workers' Education*, Dutton, 1925, pp. 248-255.

² The inciting force was due to a small group, Abraham Epstein, James Maurer, Fannia Cohn, Frank Anderson, among others, but more particularly to Epstein who prepared a questionnaire on workers' education

cators, several progressive labor leaders, and some radicals—as a clearing house of information, a center for the stimulation of voluntary study classes, and as a co-ordinating agency of statistics and research, for the general movement of workers' education in America, the W. E. B. has now become restricted in its scope to an educational bureau of the American Federation of Labor. When the W. E. B. began to make overtures to the A. F. of L., the evolution toward its present status was inescapable.¹ Notwithstanding certain criticisms from the "left",² the present developments in the relations of the W. E. B. to the official labor movement are entirely a logical outcome.³ It is an open secret that several of those members of the "inner circle" in the W. E. B. were zealously guarding the infant lest one parent should alienate it from the other. For the infant was to be used admittedly, and with creditable motive, as a cementing link between seemingly incompatible parents, the conservative trade-union movement and the socialistic progressives. Through this child, it was hoped, that new contacts would be forthcoming. It should serve as a progressively leavening influence in the labor movement. But experience often shows that the begetting of children merely for the purpose of holding the

in America, summarized the results, and presented same at the first National Conference on Workers' Education. (See Appendix of the *Proceedings of the W. E. B.*, 1921.)

¹ See editorial, *The Labor Herald*, July, 1923.

² Cf. Abraham Lefkowitz, "The Crisis in Labor Education", *Labor Age*, Feb. 1929; A. J. Muste, "Current Issues in Workers' Education", *Proceedings Fifth Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education*, Brookwood, 1928; Norman Thomas, "On Workers' Education", *New Republic*, May 9, 1923.

³ Mr. James Maurer, the retiring President of the W. E. B., at the Washington Convention (1929) contended that "it would be better to turn the bureau over to the A. F. of L. outright," since the bureau had lost its former autonomous character. See report of the convention in *The New Leader* (New York), April 13, 1929.

family units together leads to disastrous consequences, and eventually to divorce. That is what happened at the last convention of the W. E. B. There are not wanting those who think this course is better so.

For, in the first place, the W. E. B. as an all-inclusive national center for workers' education was born somewhat prematurely, in the sense that the American trade-union movement was unprepared, politically immature, and, limited in social vision.¹ It dared not share its energy and devotion with other phases of the world labor movement, e.g. with the Rochdale Co-operative Movement, or the movement for independent political action.² Hence the basis for a broad, all-embracing national center was inadequate. Subsequent events attest to this fact. In the third revised Constitution of the W. E. B., such educational enterprises as, The Workers' School (Communist), the Work People's College (I. W. W.), The Rand School of Social Science (Socialist),* were excluded by definition. In other words, the A. F. of L. has not developed the inclusive point of view which obtains in some European countries, outstandingly Sweden.

¹ Hodgen, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

² This attitude is deplored by Professor David Saposs: "Just as life cannot be a 'one-track affair', so the labor movement must interest itself in all vital phases of human endeavor. Workers' Education, a wide-awake labor press, workers' participation in management, nationalization of basic industries, independent political action, and a new social order, must also be the intelligent concern of the American Labor Movement. The contention that these additional interests dissipate the energy of unions is wholly unfounded. On the contrary, a close scrutiny will reveal that the successful and constructively militant unions (e. g. the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union—writer) are those that manifest this broader social interest in the hopes and aspirations of the labor movement."—"Trade Union Policies and Tactics", *I. L. G. W. U.'s Educational Series No. 2*, 1928 (pamphlet, 32 p.), p. 32. See also Muste, *supra*, p. 11.

³ See editorial, "Why Narrow the Basis?", *The Labor Student*, New York, March-April, 1925.

Here the national center for workers' education (*Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund*) includes all tendencies in the trade-union, co-operative, socialist and communist movements.

In the second place, recourse to the history of the labor movement gives rather anaemic encouragement to the view that nationally federated and amalgamated organizations constituted of variously differing interests can be created and successfully carried on without previously prepared local bases, without a great deal of preliminary development, fraternization, organic interrelationships among the variegated units, without some conclusive evidence of mutual co-operation among the several leaders. The difficulties toward integration are various and obstinate.¹ England, France and Germany cannot boast of a unified national center as yet. If a homogeneous population presents difficulties, a heterogeneous population like that of America increases them. In Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland the process of integration in the movements for social change proceeds apace.² Systematic workers' education is a novel idea to the A. F. of L. It must be allowed to experiment with the idea under its own auspices. Its policy—including the educational—of guaranteeing complete local autonomy to its constituted units should afford an opportunity for the innovator, the heretic, the man of larger vision. The progressive founders of the W. E. B. were well-intentioned in their plan of organization. They earnestly sought to preclude the possibility of a repetition of the contentious relationship between the W. E. A. and the N. C. L. C. of England. Their plan, for the time being, failed.

This failure may be accounted for partly because the officers and members of the executive committee of the W. E.

¹ Not the least is the ambivalent attitude of some labor leaders toward the education of their following.

² See chapter vii.

B. were at variance in their conception of the aims and policies of workers' education. Mr. Maurer, President of the W. E. B. during the first eight years held that "the basic purpose of workers' education is the role of an intelligent guide to a new social order."

It is distinctly not to be confused with the numerous existing forms for adult education. They are designed for the most part, either to give a bit of culture to the students, or else to lift him up out of his present job into a higher one. . . . Workers' education is education that will stimulate the student to serve the labor movement in particular and society in general and not education to be used for selfish personal advancement.¹

Maurer also opposes allowing the universities to enter a wedge into the workers' educational movement with designs of ultimate control.² In contrast with this view is the statement by Matthew Woll: "We realize that workers' adult education means adult education in general. . . ." ³ Fannia Cohn, another member of the executive of the W. E. B. would take exception to the phrase 'education in general.' She believes that "modern research discloses that there is no such thing as education in general." Though she grants that the worker should have many different purposes, she adheres to the proposition that "The workers educational movement is a movement for special education in the subjects which will enable the workers to accomplish their special job which is to change economic and social conditions so that those who produce shall own the product of their labor." To realize this objective, she prescribes the study of the social sciences.⁴

¹ President's Report, *Fifth National Convention of the W. E. B.*, 1927.

² Maurer, *Address before the Sixth National Convention*, 1929.

³ "Labor's Belief in Adult Education", *Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the American Association for Adult Education*, 1927.

⁴ Educational page of *Justice* (Official Organ of the I. L. G. W. U.), June 1, 1923.

Spencer Miller, secretary of the W. E. B. from its beginning, supports practically the point of view of adult education. He affirms: "Workers' Education, whether in Britain or America, is essentially non-vocational, cultural instruction of a class organized and managed by the voluntary effort of its members, sustained by their collective interest and supported, in part at least, by their funds."¹

Other members of the executive of the W. E. B., Mr. John P. Frey, for instance, advocates an "education which will give the wage-earner that knowledge which will best equip him to solve his problems as a wage-earner."² George W. Perkins, a staunch A. F. of L. conservative, holds that "the purpose of workers' education is to enable the individual worker to get the best possible in life, regardless of the system we live under."³ At the same convention (Boston 1927) where Perkins voiced the aforementioned sentiment, a delegate spoke up in a section meeting as follows: "Shall we remain 'Dubbs' all of our life and stay in the hard-working group?"⁴ Thomas E. Burke, president of the W. E. B. to succeed Maurer, gave as his idea of workers' education to be "mass education which will maintain the existing social order until we know we can produce a better one—which I think we never will."⁵

A clear and definite statement of the aims and policy to be

¹ *The University and the American Worker*, pamphlet (32 pages), published by the W. E. B., p. 14. This definition fails to include the professional education dispensed at Brookwood, Commonwealth or at the Work People's College, nor the special type of education offered by the Rand School.

² *Workers' Education Yearbook*, 1924, p. 99.

³ See the writer's article, "What is Workers' Education?", *The Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, July, 1927.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ "Report of the Washington Convention of the W. E. B." in *The New Leader*, April 13, 1929, p. 4.

pursued by the W. E. B. was recommended by the A. F. of L. Committee on Education to the Forty-eighth Annual Convention.¹ The statement relates to (1) adult education, (2) workers' education. Under adult education, the A. F. of L. favors co-operative relationships with the Extension Departments of Universities on the California plan. This plan provides for a joint committee on workers' education composed of nine members, five representing the State Federation of Labor and four the Extension Department of the University. The majority control lodges on the labor side, which in this instance was arranged so that affiliation with the W. E. B. could be accepted.² Majority control is necessary "to preserve the integrity of a workers' educational enterprise. . . . We believe this not only a sound procedure to follow, but one which will insure to our membership about the country the opportunity of a sound and thoroughgoing program of workers' education under their own direction. We recommend that this plan be followed and direct the W. E. B. to make this the basis of its work."³

¹ *Report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.*, Nov. 19, 1928, pp. 64-5.

² A. J. Muste, "Workers' Education in the U. S.", *The Nation*, Oct. 1, 1924.

³ *Executive Council Report*, p. 64. The same report quotes from a survey made in 1919 which throws additional light on the A. F. of L. attitude toward education: "Your committee recommends that central labor bodies, through securing representation on board of education and through the presentation of popular demands for increased facilities for adult education, make every effort to obtain from the public schools liberally conducted classes in English, public speaking, parliamentary law, economics, industrial legislation, history of industry, and of the trade-union movement, and any other subject that may be requested by a sufficient number, such classes to be offered at times and places which would make them available to the workers. If the public school system does not show willingness to co-operate in offering appropriate courses and types of instruction, the central labor body should organize such classes with as much co-operation from the public schools as may be obtained. Interested local unions should take the initiative when necessary."

The California plan is now in its fifth year. The Director of Workers' Education of the Extension Division is a member of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the A. F. of L. His function is to organize study groups throughout the state, help in the selection of teachers and books. The principle of voluntarism is observed in all matters of administration. Study classes determine upon the curriculum. The following subjects are usually chosen: Labor Problems, Economics of Wages, Public Speaking, Parliamentary Practice, English, Modern Civilization, and several vocational subjects as, Electricity, Diesel Engines, etc. Attendance shows a constant increase since the co-operative plan began.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Classes</i>	<i>Attendance</i>
1924-25	11	300
1925-26	12	372
1926-27	14	430
1927-28	16	490

The budget for this work is covered by a state grant and by student fees, the latter never exceeds \$3.50 per course. The policy of accepting state grants for workers' adult education is practiced in many European countries. It is felt in many labor circles that the state is responsible for the education of its citizens.

G. W. Perkins said at a convention of the W. E. B.: "If we had a system of public education thoroughly enforced, we should have no need of workers' adult education." It is interesting to note that the A. F. of L. policy in regard to education has always insisted that this function belongs to the state. This is the more interesting in view of its reluctance to demand state social insurance. That state-supported universities are prepared to teach a great variety of liberal and technical subjects better than labor colleges are at present capable of doing, perhaps, none will deny; but that certain

phases of workers' education can be treated more effectively under labor's own auspices, is contended by the A. F. of L. whose point of view will be given below. In reply to that part of the President's Report at the Washington Convention which deprecated university control of workers' education, Mr. John Kerchen, Director of Workers' Education at the University of California delivered this extraordinary observation:

If the labor movement were in advance of the colleges, President Maurer's fears might be justified. The fact is however that there is more progressive thought in the colleges than there is in the labor movement. There are some things we teach in the University of California we wouldn't dare teach in the labor classes. We have classes in the study of social reform. That wouldn't be tolerated in the A. F. of L. Why, in the university we have a class in the history and theory of revolutions. Imagine my teaching that in the trade union classes! If we tried to we would get into trouble with the A. F. of L. We give the classes what the A. F. L. desires. There is no demand for classes in Marxism, radical economics, or questions of the control of industry. The A. F. L. accepts the present order of society. We are living in bad air, but we have to breathe it. We are not trying to change the air.¹

Mr. Maurer in opposing university control suggested that it is quite unnecessary to "vilify or attack existing universities indiscriminately" for even though their intentions be of the best, "they (the universities) cannot do the job required of workers' education. They are built to develop the individual for personal advancement, while workers' education is a social process, organized to develop the individual for the sake of the group."

When Maurer stresses the point that the universities are unequal to the problems of workers' education, he does not

¹ Quoted in *The New Leader*, April 13, 1929, p. 4.

appear to differ widely from the following expression of the Education Committee of the A. F. of L. :

But not all educational work can be delegated to the public school authorities. *There is a specific trade union field.* There are problems of making the trade union more effective, of meeting specific industrial situations, of managing a union most efficiently, of formulating union policies, etc. These are matters which must be under union control. Facts, information and discussion are necessary for the solution of these problems. *Such matters are properly within the field of workers' education* and the more closely that educational work is connected with union activity and union meetings the more effective it will be.

The committee also recommends a method of procedure.

A very simple way to begin this sort of study in a union is to invite experts on various phases of work with which the union is concerned to address union meetings. Such addresses will naturally lead to discussion, to study of specific problems and to desire for more speakers.

This latter statement seems to carry the implication of education of an extensive type. And it tallies on the whole with the kind of expansive educational work carried on under the aegis of the W. E. B. at present. The trend, for the time being, is not toward multiplying study classes¹ for consecutive courses studied intensively over a long period. The Report of the Executive Committee of the W. E. B. for 1927-29

¹ It is unfortunate that the bureau has not evolved a method of taking a correct census. An estimated number of 250 study classes for the year 1927-28 is reported by the secretary, but without reference to previous years. What has been said regarding the inadequacy of statistical reporting applies emphatically to the labor schools in America, not excepting the W. E. B. The secretary states that an increasing number of paid state and local directors and field representatives are being appointed, and that this fact will likely be reflected in a steady growth in the number of study classes as well as in accurate numerical reports.

indicates that the bureau is concentrating on the promotion of forums, week-end conferences, labor institutes, labor chautauquas, summer schools, vacation courses, women's auxiliaries, and publications.

How is the bureau financed? There are affiliated with the bureau:

<i>Organizations</i>	<i>Dues Paid</i>
47 National and International Unions...	½ cent per member annually
22 State Federations	\$10.00 per year
132 Central Labor Unions	5.00 " "
428 Local Unions	1.00 " "
25 Study Classes	2.00 " " per class

Other classes of membership are: Honorary \$100.00; Sustaining \$25.00; Contributing \$10.00; Co-operating \$5.00; Associate \$2.00. The amount of income from these sources is not published. In 1927 the bureau received from all unions \$9,861.39, in 1928, \$8,047.65. The budgets for the corresponding years totaled \$38,476.62 and \$24,776.55 respectively. Labor's contribution to the budget represents a minor item. The budget is balanced by donations from sympathetic and socially-minded individuals, grants from Foundations, and sale of publications. The Carnegie Corporation makes unconditional¹ grants; Miss Evelyn Preston sponsors a Labor Text Book Fund; etc.

¹ The Boston Convention accepted the principle of unconditional grants, though not without a few dissenting voices. Professor E. C. Lindeman, formerly Director of Research for the W. E. B., is of the opinion that "if labor organizations are to control educational enterprises, they should also furnish the finances; they cannot at one and the same time exercise control and then force these enterprises to secure funds from other sources. In so far as they shrink from financial responsibility they must be willing to accept the consequences of disaffection. No organization can permanently maintain its power and its integrity if its financial resources come from without. Workers' education which is subordinated to the executive elements in the labor movement becomes honest when it is fully supported intellectually and financially by those who exercise the

The W. E. B. favors the principle of state-aid for workers' adult education. This is the policy of the W. E. A. of England and is not unlikely that a similar policy will be worked out in America. In such event, we may look forward to great expansion in the movement, for, as we have seen, it takes paid directors to keep the wheels going.

Problems other than finance have come before the W. E. B. A vital problem is that of the W. E. B. policy toward labor colleges in the light of their relation to the labor movement. In how far is a labor college, affiliated with the bureau, justified in criticizing the A. F. of L.? Can the principle of academic freedom be observed in a labor college? Or, is discretion the better part of valor in the workers' education field, as it is in the academic world generally? These questions, among others, are being asked since the expulsion of Brookwood Labor College from the W. E. B. Discussion on both sides of the Brookwood Labor College case will be found in the references below.¹

power."—*Proceedings Fifth Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education*, Brookwood, 1928, p. 68. This matter is in the controversial stage. As previously remarked, various European workers' educational movements accept state grants, and without moral scruples, for it is accepting from a fund to which labor has contributed directly and indirectly. Even the obdurate N. C. L. C. of England, whose slogan is Independent Working Class Education, would not refuse government grants if there were "no strings attached".—See *The Plebs*, July, 1924, p. 270. Also, in Europe, labor and socialist parties are gradually rising to the helm of state and local government; then, why should the workers' education movement refuse grants from its own?

¹ At the Washington Convention of the W. E. B., the paragraph on Membership in the constitution was amended as follows:

"All workers' educational enterprises under trade union control approved by city central bodies and state federations of labor and *not antagonistic to the bona fide labor movement* and devoted to general education for workers shall be eligible for membership."

How much latitude will be given to the interpretation of the italicized phrase? Would the A. F. of L. consider a critical pamphlet such as *Die Amerikanische Arbeiterbewegung im Lichte Amerikanische Kritik*,

von Professor A. W. Calhoun und Horst Berenz, Berlin: E. Laubsche Verlag, 1927, 48 p., as antagonistic? Other references: *Report of the Executive Committee to the Sixth National Convention of Workers' Education Bureau*, 1929, pp. 88-92; John Dewey, "Labor Politics and Labor Education", *The New Republic*, Jan. 9, 1929, pp. 211-14; William Green, *Labor's Answer to Its Critics, Brookwood Defenders*, Washington: A. F. of L., Jan. 26, 1929, 6 p.; *Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.*, 1928; Brookwood pamphlets: *The Injunction Against Brookwood, Where Brookwood Stands Now, Still More About Brookwood College; The Brookwood Review*, vol. vii, no. 2, Dec. 1928-Jan. 1929; *Labor Age*, New York, vol. xviii, nos. 2 and 3, Feb. and March, 1929.

CHAPTER V

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WITH A POLITICAL EMPHASIS

“Der Arbeiter muss eines Tages die politische Gewalt in der Hand haben, um die neue organization der Arbeit zu begründen. Er muss die alte Politik umstürzen, welche die alten Christen, die solches vernachlässigt und verachtet hatten, auf das Reich von dieser Welt verzichten soll. Aber wir haben nicht behauptet, dass die Wege, um zu diesem Ziel zu gelangen, überall dieselben seien. Wir wissen, dass man die Institutionen, die Sitten und das Herkommen der verschiedenen Gegenden berücksichtigen muss, und wir leugnen nicht dass es Länder gibt, wie America, England, und wenn ich Eure Einrichtung besser konnte, würde ich vielleicht hinzufügen Holland, wo die Arbeiter auf friedlichem Wege zu ihrem Ziele gelangen können. Doch nicht in allen Ländern ist dies der Fall.”—KARL MARX.¹

INTRODUCTORY

THE cradle of the various movements for social change has usually been attended by the nursemaid of education. Owenites, Chartists, and Fabians in England, Proudhonists in France and Belgium, Marxists and Lasalleans in Germany Ploists in Denmark, all staked the future growth of their respective movements on education. In Germany, the Socialdemocratic party grew out of the Arbeiterbildungsvereine in which Liebknecht and Bebel were the leading spirits. Victor Adler once said: “To win votes is useful and neces-

¹ Quoted by Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, *Les Problemes de La Democratie*, pp. 123-4. Marx wrote the paragraph in 1872.

sary, but to educate socialdemocrats is more useful and more necessary." It is no mere historical chance that these social pioneers championed the efficacy of education. They were sensitive to the harmful and useful consequences and future possibilities of the industrial revolution; they perceived education as a social necessity that should be used in the struggle for freedom, peace and plenty. The importance of the political emphasis has become urgent for all groups living in civil communities, especially in view of the invention of printing, the extension of the franchise, and the interdependence of peoples. Some writers¹ feel that labor throughout the world must become politically conscious of itself unless it would deserve the collective epithet, "Stimmvieh." Political emphasis in workers' education implies study and training in the social sciences so as to issue in executive social intelligence; it implies a knowledge of scientifically established social necessities, of the possibilities of movements for social change and participation in them. Mere party politics is but one phase of political activity in the wider sense as here employed.²

Up to the War political education among the work people consisted largely of programmatic indoctrination, of traditional Marxian phrases and dogmas, and abstractions which the masses could not grasp.

¹ Professor Max Adler affirms: "Alle Bildung muss politische Bildung sein, weil sie ein Kampfobject der Klassen ist, und erst in einer sozialisierten Gesellschaft löst sich die politische Bildung in gesellschaftliche Bildung auf, die dann gleichzeitig sittliche Bildung sein kann."

² G. E. Graf contends that "he is politically active who takes an interest in education, who in the works council, in the trade union, and in the co-operative, fights not solely for his own interest but for the interest of his group and the community, who as citizen protects his rights and fulfils his responsibility." See *Winke für die proletarische Bildungsarbeit*, Stuttgart, 1924, published by German Metal Workers' Federation, p. 6.

Generally, the masses are not politically minded, that we have learned. However, those men and women who are ready for scientific socialism also stay away. Why? Because the dry, uninteresting tedium and on-sidedness of the social-democratic lecture courses scares them away, as they are seldom offered anything but the eternal monotony of half-understood Marxistic phraseology.¹

Friedrich Engels was fully aware of this problem when he wrote :

It is the specific duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer understanding of the theoretical problems, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old conception of the world, and constantly to keep in mind that Socialism, having become a science, demands the same treatment as every other science—it must be studied. The task of the leaders will be to bring understanding, thus acquired and clarified, to the working masses, to spread it with increased enthusiasm, to close the ranks of the party organizations, and of the labor unions with ever greater energy.²

That the pre-war political education of the German masses was faulty is reflected in the partial failure of the German revolution. The masses and some of their leaders proved to be immature and lacking in courage for the task of revo-

¹ Dr. Hertha Siemering, *Arbeiterbildungswesen in Wien u. Berlin*, 1911, Karlsruhe: Braunsche Verlag, p. 168. Political-mindedness shows substantial increase in the following report: Socialdemocratic seats in the Reichstag, 153; Socialist Deputies in the different state legislatures, 532; Socialist Mayors, 947; Socialist municipal Deputies, 9,057 in 1,372 cities and towns; and thousands of representatives in other administrative capacities.—“German Politics”, *New York Times*, July 23, 1930.

A problem is suggested here: Will this vast officialdom work energetically for the realization of the ideals which elected its members, or will it constitute merely another office-holding bureaucracy?

² *The Peasant War in Germany*. Preface to the second edition, July 1, 1874, p. 29.

lutionary political administration.¹ There were too many Micheal Unbeschwerte, (Micheal Easyconscience), Ernst Toller's personification of the man with an ever-ready, simple formula.

The new order of society will be just another phase of the historical development of human affairs. Just as the Baltic and the North Sea are eating away more and more land, without our being aware of it inland here, so will the Socialist State grow up in the midst of the old order without our noticing it. And that is no guess either. It's scientifically established! . . . Our party-platform says the same thing. It's all simple enough.²

Post-Revolutionary events played havoc with the utopian shirkers. The great crisis showed the folly of relying on the education of tradition and it (the crisis) thrust up the necessity of considering education as a problem of social dynamics instead of social dogma. The disciples of Marx were confronted with the famous dictum of their master: "Circumstances may be altered by man and the educator has himself to be educated."

What some of the political educational responses were, our survey will attempt to bring out.

Again we have begun with Germany, this time for the reason that the political mission of an enlightened working class, as formulated by Karl Marx in *The Communist Manifesto*, found its most powerful objectification in the political labor movement of Germany. The effectiveness of the political education of the European labor movement registered first in the election of a group of Social Democrats to the

¹ Cf. Dr. Anna Siemsen, "Psychologische Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus", part iii of *Der Lebendige Marxismus*, edited by Dr. Otto Jenssen. Thüringer Verlagsanstalt, Jena, 1924, 610 p.

² Hinkemann, *A Tragedy in Three Acts*, Potsdam, Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1924, act ii, scene iv, p. 24. By the same author, see his address *Deutsche Revolution*, Berlin: E. Laub'sche Verlag, 1925, 16 p.

Reichstag, later in the MacDonald, Stauning, and Branting ministries. These elections gave a fresh impetus to the demand for workers' education of both an intensive and extensive sort. It is not an exaggeration to claim that wherever the workers' educational movement keeps growing you will generally find the presence of a voluntary missionary spirit, a political animus or a socialistic impulse.¹

THE GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND WORKERS' EDUCATION

In the proceedings of the various congresses of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany one notices repeated proposals for the creation of a party school. At the Gotha Congress in 1876, Dr. Dulck moved that a Genossenschule should be established in Leipzig. Bebel, however, was not receptive to the idea, as "the party could not afford the necessary finances." At the Erfurt Congress in 1891, Dr. Rüdli proposed a propaganda school for the city of Berlin.

¹ The official A. F. of L. economic philosophy contains the fundamental assumption that the present relationship as between capital and labor is practically permanent. The A. F. of L. also pretends to political "non-partisanship". Is it possible that there may be a connection between these characteristics and the comatose state of workers' education in the A. F. of L.? A. J. Muste of Brookwood in his "Labor Day Message" (*The New Leader*, August 30, 1930) seems to think so. Muste found most activity in the "various summer schools for women workers, at Barnard College, Bryn Mawr and the University of Wisconsin, the Southern Summer School for Women Workers, the Rand School, Brookwood, the southern work of the C. P. L. A. (Conference for Progressive Labor Action), the Denver Labor College, etc. These are all enterprises wholly or in large part independent of control by the official trade-union movement, though of course thoroughly sympathetic with the aims of labor. Furthermore, in all these surviving workers' education enterprises freedom of teaching prevails, in the sense that no effort is made to 'put over' arbitrarily the views or policies of one section of the labor movement, but all points of view, tendencies and developments are analyzed critically." Muste further declares significantly: "We may add that *it will be found that progressive laborites and Socialists are prominent in the activities of all these enterprises.*" (Italics ours.)

This suggestion also fell upon deaf ears. Meanwhile the Bismarkian exception laws had been lifted and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (abbreviated in the German as S. P. D.) increased its membership by leaps and bounds, with the consequence that a shortage of propagandists and organizers became an imminent problem. At the Congress of Mannheim in 1906, the executive of the party recommended the organization of a school for party functionaries. Heinrich Schultz and Clara Zetkin were the leading spokesmen for the committee on education. On November 15, 1906, August Bebel formally opened the school in Berlin. A six months course for thirty scholars was planned for a day school. Students were selected from the party and the trade-unions. The party bore all of the expenses including students' family support. At the Congress of Essen. Ebert reported that 66,616. Mark had been spent on the first school.¹ During the first year 13 students attended, the second 34, and during the third year 26 students (3 women). Students were not lodged in the school but at the homes of various fellow party members. The number of students was limited to thirty so as to profit by the seminar method. Lectures and discussions began at 8 a. m. and continued until 1 p. m. During the afternoon the students studied for a period of two hours under supervision. Scholars were selected by the party executive and the teaching staff. Most of the scholars came from the provinces. They were expected to fill out an application accompanied by a biographical sketch and in some instances an essay. Some weight was attached to the needs of the places from a propaganda stand-

¹ Monthly allowances to scholars 26,500 Mark, Honoraria to teachers 12,400 Mk., Family support of scholars 11,835 Mk., To rent, light, and cleaning 3,150.15 Mk., Miscel. 1,025.91 Mk. These data concerning the early history of socialist education in Germany are gleaned from the *Handbuch der Sozialdemokratischen Parteitage von 1863-1909*, by Wm. Schroeder, München, 1910, 591 p.

point. About two-thirds of the scholars occupied minor positions in the party and trade unions.

The program of studies for the second year of the party school called for:

Political Economy and Economic History (200 hours) Dr. Rudolf Hilferding.

Historical Materialism and Social Theory (200 hours) Dr. Anton Pannekok.

History of Political Parties (50 hrs.) Dr. Franz Mehring.
Social Legislation, Constitutional Government.

Labor Law (50 hrs.) A. Stadthagen.

Criminal Law (50 hrs.) Dr. H. Heinemann.

Civil Law (50 hrs.) Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld.

Trade Unionism, Co-operation, Community Policy (70 hrs.) S. Katzenstein.

Oral and Written Expression, Journalism (75 hrs.) Heinrich Schultz.

The secretary of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, S. P. D., Müller, contended at a convention of the party, that the party-school should not take on an evangelical character like a Jesuit School.¹ Other criticisms contained references to "profundity", "erudition", and "abstract generalization." One delegate declared that "the instruction should begin with daily problems, not with abstract theorizings. "There were also some criticisms levelled at the method of selecting students, but in general, there was an expression of satisfaction with the school. In the third year of the school, the trade-unions sent scholars with full scholarships. The party and trade-unions co-operated in educational matters up to the War. In 1909-10, there were 172 such co-operative arrangements out of 187 reporting. (Since the split in the party, national trade-unions have in-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

WITH A POLITICAL EMPHASIS

dependent educational enterprises). The party school continued uninterruptedly for seven years during which time the S. P. D. appropriated 331,845 Mark toward the venture. Of the extensive educational work (mass education) carried on under the auspices of the Reichsausschuss für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit,¹ account will be taken only of its recent work. The War, of course, terminated both the intensive and extensive educational activities.

THE SOCIALIST CULTURE LEAGUE

(Sozialistische Kulturbund)

The Kulturbund is an attempt to integrate the cultural activities of the social democratic labor movement. It comprises the Social Democratic Party (Reichscommittee on Education), the German Socialist Teachers Associations, the Socialist Federation of Labor Youth, the Society of the Friends of Children (Kinderfreunde), and the National Committee for Workers' Welfare. On the co-operating committee is also represented, (one member each from) the General Federation of German Trade Unions (ADGB), Workers' Choral Society, the Society for Labor Sport and Physical Hygiene, and the Federation of People's Theatres. Its aim has been defined as follows: "to concentrate all friendly and allied organizations into a great Culture Alliance, which, while guaranteeing all its component parts their full independence and their own life, yet combines them for the purpose of defining the Socialist view of life, strengthening the Socialist cultural ideal, deepening the Socialist cultural consciousness, and, wherever possible, uniting for common action."²

¹ Evidence of the extensive character of its educational work is contained in the following: In 1909 there were 124 local education committees in the SPD., in 1911: 218, 1913: 364, 1922: 450. From 1909 to 1913 these local committees spent a total of 2,376,509 Mk.

² I. F. T. U. News Letter, *Educational Notes*, Oct., 1926.

The beginnings of this Kulturbund dates back to 1924 in the summer of which year a Sozialistische Kulturwoche was held in Leipzig and in which the writer was privileged to participate. The first formal congress with delegations from the aforementioned groups took place at Blankenburg, Thüringen, Oct. 2-3, 1926. On the agenda were three principal topics: (1) The Cultural status of the work-people. (2) Socialism and cultural problems. (3) Ways and means of socialist educational activity.

The Free Socialist High School

DIE FREIE SOZIALISTISCHE HOCHSCHULE

This school is the successor to the previously described Parteischule (Social Democratic Party School) though not operated as a day school. It was opened in Berlin, February 13, 1926 with a series of lectures by foremost social democrats.¹ In October of the same year five seminars with thirty enrolled students in each were conducted weekly for a six-month period. This type of evening seminar for advanced students proved a success and is now a regular institution. During the year 1927-28, four seminars were held. The instructors and the subjects were as follows:

Prof. Heinrich Cunow: "German Economic History".

Dr. Carl Mierendorff: "History and Sociology of the German Party Systems".

Herr Fritz Naphtali: "Money and Credit in Capitalistic Economics".

Herr Alexander Stein: "Contemporary Socialism".

One valuable feature of these seminars for Berlin students is the contact with first-rate teachers and thinkers. The

¹ Prof. Dr. Anna Siemsen, Dr. Karl Renner, Prof. E. Lederer, Prof. G. Radbruch, Prof. B. Kuske, Prof. K. Vorländer, Prof. Hermsberg, Prof. Dr. Hugo Sinzheimer.

hope is expressed in the annual report that these seminars will multiply sufficiently so as to make it worth while to select students from other parts of the Reich for whole time enrollment.

VACATION SCHOOLS

(Summer 1927)

A vacation school usually lasts from 7 to 10 days. These schools are organized in various districts throughout Germany under the auspices of the Reichsausschuss. 29 courses were held in the summer of 1927. Attendance: men—593, women—187. In addition to the above courses, five special schools for definite party functionaries, namely, one for editors, one for women, two for party secretaries and one for Sprechchorleiter. Both types of courses deal exclusively with one phase or another of theory and practice in the social sciences.

Sixty-six *Wissenschaftliche Wanderkurse* were given in ten different districts in the Reich, with a total attendance of 4606 (3680 men, 926 women) or an average attendance of 70 persons. The subjects presented by the two travelling teachers for the year 1927-28 were: Marxian Economics, World War and World Economics; Development of the German Economic Life; World Economics before the War; What is Socialism; The German Constitution and Political Parties; History of the German Labor Movement; the Heidelberg Program; An Introduction to Political Science; Socialism as a World Outlook.

TRAVEL TOURS

Since the War, various national education centers have stimulated a desire for international understanding through the organizations of Workers' Travel Associations. The tours are carried on very systematically and under expert guidance so as to make them of high educational value.

While the places visited include all the interesting enterprises under labor and co-operative control, community sights and achievements are not neglected. During 1927-28 there were tours carried out as follows: To London, Rhine, Vienna, Copenhagen, Tyrol, Hamburg-Heligoland, Brussels-Paris, Riviera, Switzerland. Description of the group presents the following picture: total number participating 717; 498 men, 216 women; occupations; manual laborers 195, mental workers 338 (259 men, 79 women), employees in the labor movement 31, married women 110, others 43. Classified according to age groups there were 235 under 30 years, 338: 30-50 years, 126 over 50 years. It is evident that the overwhelming majority belongs to the working class. The Reichsausschuss encourages those of modest means to make monthly payments in anticipation of a tour. The movement has grown to the importance of an International Conference of Workers' Travel Associations initiated by the London group in Jan., 1928. Six countries were represented in the conference. A system of mutual co-operation was decided upon, also the publication of guides. Ramsay MacDonald greeted the conference and pointed to international solidarity as one of the desirable by-products of the movement.

The Reichsausschuss' Department of Slide and Film Pictures finds the demand for visual instruction far in excess of the financial capacity of the S. P. D. In 1927, 12,725.84 Mk. were spent for new slides, and 31,753.60 Mk. for the production of films. In the same year 471,100 meter of film were distributed as against 28,300 meters of the previous year.

Not the least important of the work of the Reichsausschuss is the monthly publication *Sozialistische Bildung Mit Den Beilagen Bücherwarte und Sozialistische Erziehung*. The magazine caters especially for educational functionaries, labor librarians, socialist booksellers, teachers and general

readers. It is valuable also to the student of social science for its leading article and bibliographical sources.

The Kinderfreunde (Friends of Children) and the Young Socialist Movements which are closely allied with the Reichsausschuss will be described in chapter viii.

In addition to its 131 members of the Reichstag, of whom 16 are women, the Social Democratic Party has 468 members, including 49 women, in the various State Legislatures; 482, including 20 women, in the Provincial Diets; 3,146, including 295 women, in City Councils, and 20,090, including 452 women, in the town and village councils. It also has 24 Deputies in the Prussian Council of State, 708 Mayors of cities and towns, 637 heads of local administrations and 340 salaried City Councilors.¹

According to the educational statistics of the Reich, in the winter semester of 1924-25, the number of students in the High Schools were 73,136. Of this number 681 or less than one per cent represented work people's families.²

These two sets of facts suggest several propositions. It is evident that if the S. P. D. makes increasing inroads upon public power, the workers' schools must prepare its students for practical administrative and legislative work. A problem arises: How can the S. P. D. correlate its ultimate object—the social emancipation of labor and the establishment of a class-less society—which is a revolutionary object, a fighting object, with the practical necessity of training youth for places in the party apparatus and public office? An attempt is being made to meet the latter need by intensive education and the former by extensive mass education. The

¹ *New York Times*, June 12, 1927. The same source also records that the SPD. owns 104 printing plants, 27 publishing concerns, and publishes 184 daily newspapers.

² Quoted by Alexander Stein, *Proceedings of the Blankenburg Conference of the Socialist Kulturbund*, Berlin, 1927, p. 10.

emotional drive toward solidarity is given expression in ceremonial celebrations, mass play, sprechchöre, labor community pageants and drama, singing and sport societies, etc. The problem cannot be approached with an either-or attitude, both are essential. It would be difficult to assign an order of importance or priority, though our study to this point seems to prefer the intensive education as a more fertile source of initiative.

The low percentage of work people's children in the higher schools suggests another question, namely: If the avenues toward public higher education were open and free, would workers' education assume a less important role? It has been claimed that the workers' education movement in England flourishes because opportunity for secondary education is open only for the economically privileged, and that, in America where secondary education is free, the workers' education movement is comparatively small, and that therefore an inverse connection exists between the phenomena. However the proposition is untenable for lack of reliable data. What the fact does indicate is the great need for public pressure to destroy the monopoly of knowledge and make all educational institutions available to those who can profit by the instruction. The argument that the one per cent which originates in the working class probably furnishes many of the leaders of the labor and radical movements cannot be ignored. Moreover, a very strong case could be made out for the observation that often it is the intellectual group within the labor movement that has sacrificed, suffered, and withal remained relatively righteous, while many leaders who have come out of the ranks of labor have turned apostate.

In Germany the slogan is still "Wissen ist Macht; Wissen macht Frei." The meaning of that slogan has changed somewhat since Liebknecht gave it currency. In his day, "Wissen" often became "vielwissen." The radicals were

concerned with knowledge that would make them feel at home in the universe. In the untutored mind of labor "Macht" was understood in the sense of physical force which prompted Bebel to warn that "clear heads are more important than clenched fists." The carnal experiences of the Great War chastened the bellicose impulse. "Macht" became differentiated from physical and violent force. Henceforth, "Macht" takes on a psychological connotation; it means rational choice and co-operative control. Therefore, as Otto Janssen observes,¹ political education at the present time is characterized by a deeper and broader meaning—a long, inclusive point of view that can foresee the reciprocal consequences of a given political policy upon the party, the trade-unions, and the co-operatives. Political education from this point of view becomes a larger concept, than say, trade-union education. The latter is essentially limited to an interest group, especially a non-political-minded group, like the A. F. of L. which cannot be accused of harboring a revolutionary aim but is satisfied to adjust itself to the existing social order.

HARRISLEEFELD—A WORKERS' HIGH SCHOOL

Harrisleefeld is located near Flensburg (Schleswig-Holstein) and within one half hour of the Danish boundary line. Unlike the Folk High School at Askov, Jutland, which was founded originally in the spirit of nationalism—the school was placed close to the German boundary (after 1864) so as

¹ "Politische Schulung", *Arbeiter-Bildung* (Monatsschrift Des Reichsausschusses Für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit), Berlin, Oct. 1927, pp 146-148. The substance of this section on Social Democratic education is abstracted from the annual reports of the Reichsausschuss, its official organ (*Sozialistische Bildung*), and from observation and personal interviews in Germany. It is a particularly pleasant obligation to thank Mr Richard Weimann, Educational Secretary of Reichsausschuss for his several favors in directing the writer toward the more outstanding workers' educational institutions of Germany.

to serve the purpose of a beacon light of Danish culture partly for the estranged children under the Prussian yoke in Slesvig—Harrisleefeld was founded on the ideal of socialist internationalism.¹

This school proceeds on the principle that the organized labor movement, in the light of the Weimar Constitution, is confronted with definite problems of political and economic administration, and that, Harrisleefeld conceives its aim to be the equipping of the younger workers and employees for the practical performance of such political and economic tasks arising within the political, trade-union, and co-operative movements as well as in public bodies. This aim shall be achieved not through ideological indoctrination, but through a scientific introduction to the technique of law-making and administration, through a study of: the inter-relations of politics and economics, social jurisprudence, and international agreements.

Two courses of five months each are offered. In the foundation course all students pursue studies as follows:

1. Political and economic geography. 2 hours per week.
2. Political and economic history of recent times. 2 hours.
3. Main problems of international policy and German foreign policy. 2 hours.
4. Outstanding political and social theories. History and program of the political parties. Special reference to the history of the political labor parties, the trade unions and the co-operatives. 2 hours.
5. Comparative study of constitutional governments. 2 hours.
6. Problems of administrative law with particular reference to self-government in the nation, state and community. 2 hours.

¹This ideal may serve as an antidote to the nationalism of a People's High School in the province of Holstein not far distant from Harrisleefeld.

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7. Labor law, jurisdiction, international labor law. 2 hours.
 8. Economic theory and problems. 2 hours.
 9. Gymnastics, sport and song. 4 hours.
- Elective: English.

Advanced Course:

Pre-requisite: Foundation course or its equivalent.

1. Written themes dealing with problems of economic theory and policy, labor law, domestic and foreign policy, in consultation with instructors. Various hours.
2. Seminar for the discussion of individual papers. 4 hours.
3. Legal exercises in connection with certain questions from civil and labor law. 2 hours.
4. Essay writing and journalism. 2 hours.
5. English—chiefly translation and fundamentals of grammar. 6 hours.
6. Gymnastics, sport, song. 4 hours.

Admission requirements:

Workers and employees between 18 and 30 years of age must submit an application giving reasons for their desire to attend the school. A fairly detailed biographical sketch and a recommendation from a publicly responsible person must accompany the petition. Tuition, board and lodging for a five months' course cost 300 Reichsmark. Upon proposal a number of free places (scholarships) either wholly or in part are granted. Every prospective student must also sign a copy of the House Rules.¹

The school opened its doors for the first time to twenty-six students on June 1, 1928. The Reichsausschuss für sozialistische Bildungsarbeit delegated ten students who in addition to their scholarship received allowances for books and

¹ The Rules occupy two pages (foolscap) of single-space typed matter. Considering that the average age of the student for the first course was 24, some of these rules appear to be somewhat rigid. On the other hand, fostering the habit of taking thought for the community is not only desirable but consistent with socialist ideals

personal expenses. Sixteen students came with stipendia granted from the budgets of their various home towns. Of these twenty-six students," six especially capable and ambitious students" were selected for the advanced course. It is notable that 30 applicants who sought admission on the opening day of the school could not be accommodated.

On the side of methods of study and teaching, Harrisleefeld appears to be in the vanguard, not only in workers' education but also in general public education. At Harrisleefeld the student consults original sources almost exclusively, keeps a daily protocol subject to frequent inspection, writes a weekly report of his findings, difficulties, etc., reads his report in a seminar or discussion group. The reading and digesting of documentary data prevents the evil of dilettantism and mere superficiality.¹ "Gründlich" is the word at Harrisleefeld. To favor the cultivation of thoroughness, the library is carefully built up of original documents in the social sciences. The basis of the curriculum are the problems of the day. The student searches independently, is helped over snags by the tutors, formulates his own conclusions and defends them before teachers and fellow students. In this process, slogans are of no avail, nor the mere 'gift of gap,' only the weight of evidence, facts, proof.

The principal of Harrisleefeld is Studienrat Erwin Marquardt, a social-democrat.

Harrisleefeld is symbolic of the great change in political education that has come over Germany since it became a

¹ Karl Bugdahn, a graduate of Harrisleefeld, points out the current evil of superficial talk about everything under the sun, the League of Nations, World Peace, Disarmament, Mandates, etc. without having read the peace treaties, the Covenant of the League of Nations, international agreements, etc. Cf. his article, "Arbeiterjugend und Volkshochschulen", *Arbeiterjugend* (monthly), Berlin, Feb. 1, 1929, pp. 28-29. The first annual report of Harrisleefeld by Erwin Marquardt is printed in *Sozialistische Bildung*, Berlin, Jan. 1929, pp. 21-23.

republic. Gone are the overbearing authoritarianism, the interminable lectures, the dogmatic slogans, the repetitious phrasemongery.¹ A new appeal has come, an appeal to the critical spirit, group discussion, scientific judgment, individual contribution and social co-operation.

The school is controlled by the Society of Friends and Promoters of Workers High Schools. Organized labor maintains majority control in the Society.²

As far as we know, the only socialist educational offspring born directly out of the revolution is

DIE HEIMVOLKSHOCHSCHULE TINZ³

Tinz is social-democratic resident labor college in Thüringen. Its general educational aim meets the definition of education given by Bertrand Russell:⁴ "Education is the formation by means of instruction, of certain mental habits and a certain outlook on life and the world." Its outlook on the world is from a socialist point of view, hence the school is called a socialist *Weltanschauungsschule*, though not strictly a party school.

The story of Tinz is not without a glamor of romance and contrasting colors that emerge from the vicissitudes of historical events. In the year 1748, Count Heinrich XXV of the house of Reuss built a castle in the vicinity of Gera, in the valley of the Elster. He owned large land-holdings, some of which constitutes the forested park that surrounds the castle today. Numerous serfs worked the cultivatable acreage. The castle is an imposing four-story structure built of heavy red sandstone in the Baroque style. For nearly

¹ See Rudolph Laemmel, *Die Erziehung der Massen*, Jena: Thüringer Verlagsanstalt, 1923, p. 148.

² *Arbeiterbildung*, Feb., 1928, p. 28.

³ Located near Gera, Thüringen.

⁴ *Mysticism and Logic*, p. 37.

one hundred years the house of Reuss and their retainers lived here in leisure and splendor. In 1870-71 French captive soldiers were incarcerated in the castle. Later the building was used as a lodging house for seasonal workers from eastern Europe. During the Great War, it served as a hospital. After the war, the Prince of Tinz had planned to turn the castle over to the Young-Germany movement. The plan was frustrated by the Soldiers' and Workers' Council of Gera in control of the State Reuss in 1919. The Prince was compelled to abdicate and relinquish a part of his large estate. Approximately 1100 Hektar of agricultural and wooded land was ceded to the Foundation People's High School Reuss of which Tinz is the residential part of the school.

In their plan to start a labor school, the Soldiers' and Workers' Council turned to Denmark for aid. Tinz should be modeled somewhat after the Northern designs of the Folkehøjskoler. The Danish Ministry of Education named J. P. Sundbo, M.P. to go down and present the Danish idea of a People's High School. Mr. Sundbo had founded the labor college at Esbjerg, Denmark, in 1910. In May of 1919, Mr. Sundbo addressed an interested audience in the city hall of Gera. Reconstruction of the castle began in August, and in March 1920 the new school opened, G. E. Graf organized the first curriculum and served as principal for the first term. On April 1, 1923, due to the inflation of the German Mark, the school was taken over by the state of Thüringen, and is therefore supported as all other public schools. The life of the school has been endangered several times, but it can be closed only on the vote of two thirds of the upper house. The state of Thüringen grants the school approximately \$10,000 annually. The teaching staff is composed of three whole-time instructors and four part-time or visiting lecturers. Tuition for German students amounts to

150 Mark for the school period, namely five months, foreign students are charged 200 Mark. Tuition includes lodging, board and books, and instruction. A garden which supplies vegetables is cultivated by the students who contribute $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour daily of manual labor toward the various aspects of upkeep.

Tinz considers itself a kind of preparatory school, a stepping stone to the higher schools of economics at Frankfort A/M, Düsseldorf, Berlin, etc. Admission requirements are limited to common school graduation. Students between the ages of 20-25 years are most desired, the upper limit being 30 years. Tinz is co-educational; therefore two separate sessions are held during the year. Applications outnumber the capacity of the school with three regular instructors. Fifty students are accepted as a compromise, though the teachers are fully aware that classes are too large.

The course of study for the eleventh session (Jan. 15-June 15, 1923) for men included the following: 1. Economics and Economic Problems, 180 hours; 2. Industrial, Social and Labor History, 190 hours; 3. Psychology, Literature and Art, 148 hours; 4. Socialism and Education, Child Psychology, Trade Unionism, Civics, Labor Law, approximately 92 hours. Courses number 1, 2, and 3 are given by the regular teachers, both to the men and women. When the women are in attendance the courses under number 4 are varied somewhat in accordance with the special interests of women.

Classes being large, the method of teaching is by lectures, seminars and individual consultation. Students are required to produce a short essay every week. Tinz does not claim to prepare for any definite efficiency in some vocation or profession. Its aims is more to select educable (*bildungsfähige*) young people and attempt to open their eyes, to expand their horizon in range and depth, and to familiarize

them with the social and cultural problems of the day as well as those of the socialist and labor movement.

The Board of Control of the school is social-democratic. The Socialdemocratic Party of Germany sends a majority of the students who are also members of various trade-unions. Communists and independent socialists are also admitted. Most of the students receive a full scholarship from the nominating groups. Needless to say, 125 Mark for five months board and lodging lends a severely Spartan tone to the physical life of the school. Limited resources make "plain living and high thinking" a stern necessity. Withal, a spirit of mutual co-operation though of serious mien pervades the institution. Students are represented on the governing council of the school community but the faculty reserves the privilege of final decision. Students are also responsible for the social life of the school. Disciplinary problems are infrequent.

For an objective attempt at judging results of the teaching process at Tinz, Dr. Alfred Braunthal, the principal, sent out a questionnaire which was summarized in chapter 2, section 8.¹

In pre-war Germany the idea of imperialism and the idea of social democracy, personified respectively in Bismark²

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 75. References: Personal observation, interview with the principal, Dr. Alfred Braunthal; *Annual Reports*, reviews. Richard Seidel, "Männerkursus der Heimvolkshochschule Schloss Tinz", *Gewerkschaftliche Archiv*, Aug., 1924, pp. 216-219. Georg Holzhauser Hannover, "Schloss Tinz", *Arbeiter-Jugend*, Berlin: Arbeiter-Jugend Verlag, Feb. 1926, pp. 52-4. Dr. Alfred Braunthal, "Die Heimvolkshochschule Tinz", *The Labor Student*, New York, March-April, 1925. Cf. also *Die Tat*, Jena, July, 1926, for a review by Dr. Braunthal; same author in *Arbeiter-Bildung, Monatsschrift Des Reichsausschusses Für Socialistische Bildungsarbeit*, Berlin, Nov. 1927, pp. 164-7.

² A sidelight on Bismark's character is given in a favorite saying by him, a sentence from Virgil: "Plutere si nequeo superos, acheronta movebo." (Wenn ich die Götter nicht beugen kann, werde ich die Geister der Unterwelt in Bewegung setzen.)

and Marx contended for supremacy. Bismark's attitude toward education is contained in the statement: "Whatever you would like to see objectified in the life of the nation, put that something into the public schools." Bismarkian propaganda was disseminated by military teachers in the guise of education. What was the Marxian attitude toward public school education? Marx advocated the neutralization of the public school. At a meeting of the General Executive of the First International in 1869 devoted to a consideration of the problem of education, Marx declared: "Political economy and religion should not be taught in the primary and secondary schools. These subjects are for adults only. They belong properly in the lecture-halls, not in the public schools. Only the natural sciences, only truths, that are independent of party-preconceptions and that permit of but one interpretation, belong in the school."¹ How far did the revolution in Germany succeed in neutralizing the public school system? A brief unqualified answer would be unfair, but there are not wanting of writers² who have expressed disappointment at the revolutionary leadership for the lack of an aggressive public educational policy. While the Weimar Constitution guarantees freedom of thought and expression in the public

¹ Quoted by Karl Kautsky in *Die Proletarische Revolution und ihr Programm*. Stuttgart: Dietz Verlag, p. 273. Reviewed by A. Jalkotzy in *Die Sozialistische Erziehung*, Vienna, Feb. 1923, pp. 53-55.

² "Schulprobleme in der revolution", by Alexander Schwab, *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, Tübingen: Verlag Mohr, Band 45, 1918-19.

"Die Revolution selbst ist als Ganzes noch nicht abgeschlossen, und unter ihren Teilen ist die Revolution des Schulwesens vielleicht derjenige, der noch am wenigsten weit fortgeschritten ist. Nicht nur, dass im gegenwärtigen Augenblick in der äusseren, staatlich-rechtlichen Regelung der Schulverhältnisse noch so gut wie gar nichts revolutionäres getan wurde; auch die innere soziologische Lage in diesem Gebiet hat sich noch fast kaum geändert, und von einem eigentlich revolutionären, d.h. zur Zeit: sozialistischen Programme der Schulpolitik ist so gut wie nirgends etwas zu sehen."—p. 629.

school system (see Article 148), it recognizes the continuance of the wasteful process of Biblical and Catechetical instruction (Article 149). Evidently, the German Social Democrats were not prepared to act (unlike the Russian Communists) upon the oft-quoted Marxian aside: "Mit den lieben Gott sind wir einfach fertig." Article 130 of the Reichsverfassung which grants freedom of political thought is ignored in Bavaria where "the Bishop Ordinariat of Würzburg announced that a public declaration in favor of Social Democracy would disqualify any teacher."¹ When the reactionaries of state and church regained their power, the majority of teachers sided with the reaction, though a great number of courageous and liberal-minded teachers were ousted for holding to a belief in the democratic conception of God and politics. The workers' education movement is now trying to make amends through the Kinderfreunde and Labor Youth educational activities for the neglect of the revolutionary leaders who failed to pull in the slack at a favorable moment.

Since J. P. Sundbo, editor of West-Jutland's *Social-Demokraten* and member of parliament, was honored and sent to Tinz as an emissary of the Danish Workers' High School, it seems logical to follow him back home in order to learn something of the school which he founded in 1910.

THE WORKERS' HIGH SCHOOL

Esbjerg—the western commercial window of Denmark—is the home of the social-democratic Workers' High School. Under the leadership of Sundbo, the Social-Democratic Federation and trade-unions of Esbjerg, the school started in rented quarters of the city. By 1916, it was possible to begin the erection of a permanent building with dormitory ac-

¹ *Yearbook of the German Social Democratic Party*, Verlag: Dietz Nachf., 1926, p. 389.

commodation, class rooms, reading room, etc. for 70 students. In 1917 the present sturdily built structure—red brick, facetiously called the “red castle”—was ready for occupation. Building and lot are valued at 80,000 Kroner. The school stands in the midst of a community plantation, on a knoll that was formerly a sand-dune, a leisurely twenty-minute walk from the city.

The animating purpose behind the school is a belief in the possibilities of a socialistic society, in a socialist world-outlook. Like Tinz, party dogmas are eschewed. The school conceives its object thus: “To equip Danish labor-youth with social enlightenment. Students shall not only revive and freshen certain forgotten but relevant knowledge, but they shall be encouraged toward independent thinking. Special value is attached to a clear understanding of the history of the labor movement and contemporary social problems. The work of the school rests upon two supports: good comradeship and thoroughgoing study.”¹

Three courses are offered: (1) a winter course for men, five months; (2) an advanced course for men, seven months; (3) a summer course for women, three months.

FIRST YEAR CURRICULUM

Required foundational studies: Danish (6 hours weekly), Theme writing and arithmetic (5 hrs. weekly), Bookkeeping and foreign language—English or German.*

Other subjects studied: The New History (60 hours), History of Labor since the French Revolution (40 hrs.), History of the Trade Union Movements (English, German, French and Scandinavian, 20 hrs.), Co-operation (15 hrs.), Social Economy (40 hrs.), State and Local Government (40 hrs.), Labor Law,* Economic Geography (20 hrs.), Social Forces in Literature (40 hrs.), Workers' Education Movement (Lectures).*

¹ *Prospectus*, 1928.

* Indicates omission of hours.

ADVANCED COURSE

Sociology, Biology, Social Hygiene, History of Art, Practical Journalism, Public Speaking, and practice in leading a study circle. A student may also select a social study from the first year curriculum for advanced treatment.

SUMMER COURSE

The girls are given an orientation course in public school branches. This is followed by social history and literature, the story of work, etc. Special stress is laid on cookery, household economics, and the art of home-making. Laboratory instruction is provided for in a special school kitchen.

The teaching process is characterized by various methods, such as, the study circle with a teacher in charge, lectures, quiz and discussion periods. Students lead their own discussion evening (Wednesday), also their entertainment evening (Sunday). They edit their own paper, and share responsibility for a co-operative group department. Esbjerg offers numerous advantages for observation of industrial processes and trade, while the immediate vicinity invites to sight-seeing and sportive outings.

Julius Bomholt,¹ the principal, is assisted by five teachers.

Since the school moved into its own building, that is, 12 years ago (1929), 1,014 students have received instruction in the Workers' High School. Many of these men are now holding responsible positions in the social-democratic party, the trade unions, the co-operatives, community councils, workers' education movement, while others serve in the rank and file as trustees, (Tillidsmaend), committee-men, etc. During the past few years the school's resources, particularly the teaching personnel, have been overtaxed. As many as 100 men have been admitted which is in excess of the comfort level of the dormitory. Nearly 200 additional appli-

¹ Has been succeeded by Poul Hansen.

cants sought admission but could not be accommodated.¹ Curiously enough, the summer course for girls has been less eagerly sought. 83 Kroner covers tuition, board and lodging. Local and County Councils grant the needy students one half of the total cost.

The school is financed from a per capita dues of the local Social-Democratic Union and the Trades Union Council of Esbjerg; a nominal state grant; a grant from the city of Esbjerg; and student fees.

To the outside world, adult education in Denmark is identified almost wholly with the Folk High School movement,² yet adult workers' education has become thoroughly established in the usual forms of residential, semi-residential, and summer schools, study circles, lyceums, mass education, etc. Even the Folkehøjskole and that Northern Light, Grundtvig, had not become sufficiently known to receive mention in the textbooks of the History of Education until quite recent years.³ Dr. J. K. Hart⁴ tells with admirable candor that

in 1915-1916, while I was writing my "Democracy in Education", which was basically a history of education, and which should, in all conscience, have included a large chapter, at least, on the Danish Folk High Schools, I wrote nothing about Denmark, because at that time I knew nothing about her schools.⁵

¹ Many of these men came from the ranks of the unemployed for whose attendance upon higher schools government grants were available.

² Even the worthy report (*Bulletin XVIII*) of the World Association for Adult Education omitted any suggestion of the existence of the Workers' High School.

³ See, e. g. *The History of Education*, Ellwood P. Cubberley, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920, p. 713.

⁴ *Light from the North*, Holt, Introduction, p. xviii.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. xvii. The United States Bureau of Education published an informative survey of "The Danish Folk High Schools", *Bulletin No. 22*, in the year 1914, by H. W. Foght; Professor A. Hollmann published "Die dänische Volkshochschule" in 1910, a book considered

Dr. Hart remarks with justice that whatever that new chapter (referring to the workers' education movement in Denmark) may turn out to be, nothing therein to be written can dim the story of the important part played by the Folk High Schools in elevating an agricultural community to a position of relative spiritual and economic independence.¹

Evidence is beginning to accumulate that the Folkehøjskole is, to use the Spenglerian cyclical description, in its final stage, viz. civilization or what is synonymous, decadence. The venerable Holger Begtrup, one of the greatest Folk High School teachers in Denmark admits as much when he says: "it cannot be denied that there are signs of a lowering of their (high schools') inner vitality."² Originally conceived as a people's high school in the inclusive sense by Grundtvig and Kold, the Folkehøjskole became a school for the sons and daughters of the rising farmer class (Gaardmaend).³ The recent accretion in the attendance at the high schools due to the state grants given to those unemployed who would go to school would be an abnormal criterion. In

to be among the few good books on the subject extant. Small countries as minor tributaries of the main stream of development have often contributed richly to the treasure-house of knowledge, as Viscount Bryce contended. See also a recent number of the *Forum* for an article by J. B. S. Haldane entitled "Nationality and Research", which supports this point of view. The Danish Folk High School Movement began in 1844. This movement gained world attention at the very moment when it is being challenged by a rising working class. That fact, by itself, however, does not detract one jot or tittle from its historical achievement. It is not likely that the workers' education movement will wait as long for recognition by historians of education.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

² *The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community*, Begtrup, Lund and Manniche. Introduction by Sir Michael Sadler. Oxford University Press, 1926. 168 p., p. 125.

³ Julius Bornholt, "Moderne Højskoleformer", a radio lecture, Copenhagen, July 29, 1926. Published in *Social-Demokraten*, København.

a statistical distribution the effect would be looked upon as spurious. Moreover, Frode Kristensen¹ points out that the Folkehøjskole attitude, on the whole, toward the problems of the working-class is quite utopian.

Grundtvig conceived the problem of the folk high school to lie at that point where the teacher's skill and knowledge meets with the pupil's wants. Leaders in Danish workers' education perceive the incidence at that point where the knowledge and means of workers' schools meet the needs of the individual organizations. The difference is obvious, one is for the individual, the other is for the group. The following conceptual characterizations, not necessarily absolute contrasts, may throw some light on the essential differences between the folk high schools and the workers' high schools:

<i>Folk High School</i>	<i>Workers' High School</i>
	-emphasis-
Individual	Group
Tradition	Problems
Agriculture	Industry and small holdings
Church ²	Library
Neutrality (ostensibly)	Emphasis on labor and community
Cultural	Purposeful
Religion	Rationalism
Personality	Solidarity
Nationalism	Internationalism

That the Folk High Schools have not succeeded in attracting large numbers from the working class is brought out in the following data from the Statistical Department of the Government of Denmark.

¹ "Arbejderne og Højskolen", *Socialisten*, vol. 25, no. 5, May, 1928, pp. 121-124.

² In the sense that inspiration is drawn from that source, whereas labor inclines to tie up with the library and reading room.

TABLE XII

STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN THE DANISH FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS AND
AGRICULTURAL HIGH SCHOOLS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
OCCUPATION OF PARENTAGE

Year	Percentage According to Parents' Profession				
	Farmers %	Small Holders %	Workers %	Artisans %	Others %
1905-06.	52	22	3	10	13
1920-21.	57	15	3	9	16
1925-26.	54	16	4	9	17

During 1925-26, there were in Denmark 59 recognized (i.e. state grant receiving) high schools and 22 recognized agricultural schools. In the five-year period preceding the increase in going concerns over failures amounted to one school of each type. During the 82 years since the first folk high school (1844) was started, no less than 95 schools had been closed. 23 of the existing high schools are owned by societies, 36 by their respective principals. The manual training departments of the high schools have retrogressed while the household economics departments have progressed. The attendance of men has decreased while that of women shows a relative increase. 52% of the attendance are women. In 1925-26, but 7% of the students came from the larger cities (43% of the Danish population is urban).

It is too early to venture an opinion on whether these old, established folk high schools have the far-sightedness, the capacity and desire to adjust their program to the needs of industrial workers. Workers' education and the social-democratic press seem to have an edge on the workers and Husmaend (cottagers or small-holders). The political alignment of the Gaardmaend (large holders), and the con-

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clusions reached by Dr. Stuart A. Rice¹ do not warrant an uncritical optimism in the premises.

THE SWISS NATIONAL CENTER FOR WORKERS' EDUCATION (Die Schweizerische Arbeiterbildungszentrale)

The decision on education of the Social Democratic Party of Germany at the Mannheim Congress in 1906 stirred a similar impulse in Switzerland. Various party branches and trade-unions started Arbeiterbildungsvereine which were more or less successful in promoting mass education such as artistic evenings of opera, drama, music, and world literature. Complete success in this field depends, at least, upon a well-developed, freely accessible richly stocked library. This, from the point of view of the working class, was still a hope to be realized. Systematic study in classes there was not. "Education" consisted of political and trade-union propaganda. In 1910 the executives of the Swiss Federation of Trade-Unions and the Social Democratic Party met to lay down a policy of reciprocal co-operation in the matter of intensive propaganda, agitation and education in order "to raise the educational status of the work people as high as possible." These committees met in joint session once a year but their work remained in the propaganda stage. It began to dawn on some of the members that real educational procedure requires professional skill, special organization, etc. A committee of the two previously mentioned organizations met in 1912 and worked out the following theses:

(1) A special committee of equal representation from the party and trade union federation shall be appointed for two years and whose duties shall be to organize local and regional

¹ *Farmers and Workers in American Politics*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1924, 231 p.

education committees; co-operate with the Workers' Unions, the Party and the Trade unions; to construct curricula and model courses and supply teachers and lecturers; to organize special lecture courses; to aid in artistic affairs; to promote a library system, furnish bibliographies and special research; to carry a uniform system of statistics of the educational activities in the labor movement of Switzerland.

(2) The creation of a secretariat of workers' education.

(3) The party and the trade union federation shall share expenses until the various organizations are prepared to submit to a regular levy for education.

(4) The secretary shall be elected at a joint meeting of the two executives.

Both the party and the trade-union executives agreed on these theses which in spirit, if not literally—there have been lapses—are in force at the present time. Unlike Germany, in Switzerland the party and trade-unions held together in matters of education. Nor could workers' education progress in this little country without mutual aid. It is somewhat surprising to find the consumers' co-operatives of Switzerland outside of the National Center for Workers' Education (Swiss abbreviation: S. A. B. A.). This situation leads to uneconomic, and unnecessary duplication and waste. When will the Swiss workers' education movement attain to the unified state of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Austria?

This we shall not attempt to answer. Workers' education in Switzerland is beset with several difficulties whose roots must be sought in the geographical, economic, political and cultural circumstances of the land. Switzerland estimates its present population in round numbers to be 4 million. Roughly one-fifth is agricultural; three-fifths are engaged in industry and business; one-fifth goes to school. The extreme decentralization of industry has militated

against the development of mass solidarity. The cottager or small holder, even though his entire household is industrialized, is not readily converted to a classconscious outlook. In the second place, the Swiss Constitution is broadly democratic. The work-people, even with an incomplete suffrage, can, if they will, bring their own influence to bear in the councils of state. Consequently many of them are unconvinced as to the necessity of further political education, in addition to the party propaganda on definite issues. Another factor is the thorough primary schooling followed by compulsory continuation school attendance. After going to school for some twelve years, the average human is about "fed up" on schooling, and he has to be re-impressed with the need of continuous, life-long study. Moreover, the Volkshochschulen which emphasize a liberal, humanistic aspect of education, and their location in university towns, offer a kind of competition to workers' education. The percentage of wage earners attending the courses and lectures of the Volkshochschulen are, when compared with Denmark or Germany, unusually high.¹ Among other difficulties, may be mentioned the heterogeneity of the population as regards language and religion, internal dissension between left and right, and an indoctrinated youth.²

¹ A. J. Pressland in his *Education and Social Welfare in Switzerland* (London: Harrap, 1927, 109 p.) gives a table as presented on p. 274.

² Dr. Ernst Reinhard, "Die bisherige Entwicklung des Arbeiterbildungswesens in der Schweiz", *Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit* (monthly), Bern, January 1925, pp. 1-3. Dr. Reinhard correctly holds that "Workers' education cannot progress as a matter of belief and authoritarianism, it can endure only as it seeks truth and freedom." Up to this point in my account of workers' education in Switzerland, I have leaned almost wholly on the opus aforesaid and on several issues of the magazine also named above. *Die Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit*, official organ of the S. A. B. A., was discontinued, regrettably, in 1926. Occasional articles and news items concerning workers' education in Switzerland appear now in *Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau*, published monthly in Bern, and edited by Dr. Max Weber.

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO SEX, OCCUPATION, ATTENDANCE, AT
SIXTY EXTENSION LECTURES IN THE CANTON ZÜRICH, 1924-25

Subjects	Enrollment		Wage Earners per cent	Occupation	Men	Women
	Men	Women				
Exact Sciences. . .	432	167	73.6	Wage Earners. . .	632	319
Descriptive Eco- nomics.	505	636	72.9	Salaried Em- ployees	827	776
Hygiene	155	393	74.9	Teachers, Nurses	143	268
Art and Literature	336	858	62.4	University Stu- dents	147	27
History	92	148	65.3	Shopkeepers . .	271	45
Philosophy	169	276	69.2	Housewives . .	—	1226
Law and Eco- nomics.	331	81	83.4			

2,512 of the total enrollment (4,574) were over 30 years of age.

Industrialization progressed during the War and after. Newer tasks were required of the leaders and functionaries in the labor movement. Not the least among many problems was the restoration of morale, of solidarity, of serious mindedness, in the rank and file of work people. The economic crisis due to the War had a demoralizing influence on labor. The older workers had become afflicted with apathy, with an inarticulate futility, while the younger workers abandoned themselves thoughtlessly to a stupefying indulgence of commercialized amusements and general senseless "recreation." A new appeal was necessary to win youth. This appeal took the form of travel, sport, choral singing, artistic exhibitions, sprechchöre, recreation societies, etc. The educational implications were never lost sight of. Another method of attracting youth is by way of summer schools usually of one or two weeks' duration. In 1927 three summer schools were successfully held. Economics, Trade Unionism and Problems, and the History of Socialist Thought were studied.

Of the 61 local education committees reporting ¹ to the National Center for the year 1927-28, it is seen that educational arrangements were carried out as follows :

52 courses with 2243 participants, 248 lectures with 18,623, 97 lantern-slide lectures with 16,664, 40 theatrical performances with 27,470, 33 lecture-concerts with 9230, 31 selected film shows with 8730, 30 excursions with 1445 and 4 travel tours with 313 participants. A grand total of 84,718 persons took part in 535 arrangements.

As previously remarked the trade-unions and the Social Democratic Party work together harmoniously, through a joint body called the Workers' Union. This central body organizes the local education committee which becomes a component part of the State (Cantonal) Educational Committee. At the head of all stands the National Workers' Educational Committee whose duties have been given. Teachers are recruited from the labor movement and public schools. Teachers must be members either of the party or trade-unions. Outside lecturers are also engaged, for special subjects. The social sciences are taught with especial reference to the socialist point of view. Education is considered as a means for the intellectual emancipation of the workers, and for general heightening of the educational niveau among them. The ultimate aim is to make every town and village an infectious center of socialist culture.²

The National Center for Workers' Education in co-operation with the Cantonal Education Committee publishes an-

¹ *The National Center* often complains of a chronic laziness, slovenliness and disregard of local secretaries in making out their annual reports. Many reports come in so slovenly filled in as to vitiate their usefulness.

² Dr. Max Weber, "Workers' Education in Switzerland", *Justice*, April 22, 1921. Also, interview with Dr. Weber at the Oxford Conference.

nually a pamphlet¹ which proposes a list of study courses, single lectures, lantern-slide lectures and films. A list of available teachers and lecturers with addresses together with recommendations concerning the arrangement of courses and lectures is included. This pamphlet is distributed among the local education committees who must select the subjects and teachers and make all arrangements direct with the teachers and lecturers. In order to give a rapid overview of the type of subjects offered the contents of the pamphlet have been given numerical condensation as under:

COURSES		SLIDES AND FILMS		SINGLE LECTURES	
<i>Subject</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>No.</i>
Socialism	6	Political Questions	7	Political Questions	36
Trade Union Problems	7	Trade Union Questions	5	Trade Union Questions	33
Organization and Propaganda ..	4	Social and Labor Legislation	1	Economic Questions	22
Economics	9	Education	3	Social and Labor Legislation	18
Social and Labor Legislation	4	History	4	Co-operative Questions	10
Constitutional and Civil Rights ...	9	Geography and Travel	27	Woman Question ..	16
History	6	Natural Science ..	11	Constitutional and Civil Rights ...	25
Religion and Philosophy	4	Art and Literature	6	History	19
Art and Literature	4	Miscellaneous	8	Education	29
Miscellaneous	1	Total	72	Natural Science ..	6
Total	54			Sport	21
				Geography and Travel	7
				Religion and Philosophy	13
				Literature and Art	26
				Miscellaneous	2
				Total	283

Special courses for teachers and lecturers of workers' edu-

¹ *Referenten-Verzeichnis, 1928-29, S. A. B. Z., Bern, 20 p.*

cation have been given at various times so that a considerable staff of home talent is available, a condition which lightens the financial costs. Grants are accepted from the municipalities and cantons. A petition for a Federal Grant has been rejected several times and may not be honored until the Social Democratic Party can muster a majority in the Federal Council.

The Institute for Workers' Education

HET INSTITUUT VOOR ARBEIDERSONWIKKELING (HOLLAND)

Before Nov. 1924, the date when the Institute was founded, the education of the workers had been in the hands of committees attached to the local branches of the Social Democratic Party and the trade-unions. The Institute started to function as a separate organization. As a national center for workers' education it is framed somewhat differently from many centers of the kind, for it admits individual membership, various clubs and groups which promote the welfare and cultural life of work people, as well as, the former local committees on education which of course form the backbone of the Institute. Dues for the individual worker are 10 cents per month. The annual report for 1927 gives the number of branches affiliated as 89, and the total membership as 21,065. The Executive of the Institute was chosen from the members of the executive of the Socialist Party and the Federation of Labor. These bodies and the Central Labor Bank contribute about one half of the budget of the National Center. As for the financing of the local branches, the Executive urges them to apply for subsidies from municipalities. The Executive contends that the high standard maintained in the workers' educational field is just as much entitled to a city subvention as any other educational organization, such as, e.g. the Volksuniversitet.¹

¹ *Annual Report of the Institute for Workers' Education, 1927, p. 38.*

The same report itemizes the various activities during the year and gives the number of persons participating :

<i>Type of Activity</i>	<i>Number of Participants</i>	
Film showings	58,100	
Sunday morning meetings	34,966	
General courses	27,845	
Concerts	23,770	
Theatricals	11,411	
Festivals, Ceremonials	11,192	
Excursions	8,959	
Tentoonstellingen	6,600	
Film Exhibitions	2,194	
Special courses	1,637	
Dr. Henri de Man lectures	1,186	
Other activities	430	
		<hr/> 188,290
Prof. R. Kuyper Correspondence course	1,739	
De Wilde Roos (Educational Magazine)	1,421	
Study Clubs	1,120	
Week-end courses	820	
Other activities	150	
		<hr/> 5,250
Total		<hr/> 193,540

The Institute established its own movie service. A special automobile was built, named the "Red Auto" in which the operator and his assistant travel to all parts of Holland exhibiting films. Admission charges are low. In remote places without electricity the current is produced by the motor of the "Red Auto." Interest among rural youth is stimulated and if response warrants, a study circle is organized.

Fifty-eight branches reported on their general courses.

The secretary of the Institute, P. Voogd qualifies the large interest in group number 3 among the courses as being due to featuring Sexual Hygiene. Group number 8 is also in need of a footnote, namely, such topics as Socialism as World Outlook, the Psychology of Socialism, Socialism and Athe-

Course	Number of Attendance				Attendance Average
	Courses	%	Total	%	
1. Biography, Memoirs, and Miscellaneous	18	3.2	878	3.1	49
2. Lands and Peoples, Geography, Travel	59	10.6	3134	11.2	53
3. Natural Science, Health, Sport, Play	57	10.2	3428	12.4	60
4. Political Science	52	9.2	2212	8.	43
5. Economics	26	4.7	1066	3.6	41
6. Socialism and Labor Movement	114	20.5	5112	18.5	45
7. Technics, Business, Agriculture, etc.	27	4.9	1143	4.2	42
8. Philosophy, Religion, Education	95	17.1	4734	17.	50
9. Art, Literature	109	19.6	6138	22.	56
Total	557	100.	27,845	100.	50

ism, etc. were included in rubric number 8 rather than in group 6.

A word about the Kuyper-Course. Professor R. Kuyper, an outstanding economist and Marxist of Holland, is responsible for a two-year course by correspondence entitled *De Ontwikkeling in Natuur en Maatschappij* (Evolution in Nature and Society). Professor Kuyper distributes his lectures (16 pages in print) every two weeks. Study groups form for the purpose of discussing the problems suggested in the lectures. The leader of the group keeps in constant communication with Professor Kuyper during the progress of the course. Questions and difficulties submitted to him are faithfully answered. 69% of the registrants for this course are members of the trade-union movement. 71 who do not belong to the labor movement are associated with the Institute as donateurs. Their ages varies from 16 to 56 years.

In world outlook, the movement in Holland is substantially identical with that of the German-speaking labor movements on the continent.

References: P. Voogd, *Workers' Education in Holland*. Paper presented at the Brussels Conference on Workers' Education, 1922. Proceedings published by the I. F. T. U. *Arbeiders Ontwikkeling*. Report of a committee of the Socialist Party and the Federation of Labor on *Workers' Education in the Netherland*, Amsterdam, 1924, 109 p.

Voogd, "Das holländische Arbeiterbildungsinstitut", *Arbeiter-Bildung*, Berlin, Sept., 1926, pp. 134-5. *Annual Reports of the Institute*, 1924, 1925, 1926 and 1927.

THE NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY AND WORKERS' EDUCATION ¹

Marcus Thrane, a Norwegian school teacher influenced by Wilhelm Weitling and the French utopian socialists, was the pioneer of socialistic thought in Norway. In his program, the secularization and modernization of the public school, the establishment of libraries and reading rooms in all communities were prominent demands. He believed with Henrik Wergeland, that "the book-shelf is a ladder by means of which one can become the peer of the overman." But the Thrane movement, which covered only the period from 1848-1851, was not essentially a movement of the industrial workers, but of the cottagers, the marginal strata of poor peasants, farm laborers, and some timber workers. A permanent industrial labor movement failed to get a foothold in Norway until 1884.

The Norwegian labor party has waged a fight, consistently, for the neutralization of the public school system. A school election campaign in Norway is entered into with the same vigor that goes into an election for the Folkething. "The Norwegian Labor Party" according to Betzy Kjels-

¹ The writer desires to thank Professor Edv. Bull of Oslo University for several critical suggestions, and for his part in having certain data dispatched to me.

WITH A POLITICAL EMPHASIS

berg,¹ "has always had an eye open to the fact that knowledge is a great instrument of power. . . ." Yet, the same writer notes that adult workers' education has been somewhat intermittent. Crises of various sorts have militated against a permanent workers' educational movement. An internal crisis, is of course, the more serious, if not death-dealing in its effect on educational effort. For instance, the controversy between the socialists and communists resulted in a rupture of the labor party from 1923-1927. During this period various schools including a labor correspondence school were compelled to cease functioning. In January, 1927, the social-democrats rejoined the labor party and established practical unity in the labor movement. As a consequence of this union, the educational work of the party and the trade-unions got a fresh start. The Socialistic Party School which was founded in 1920 as a day-school reopened in Oslo. There was also a general revival of socialist evening schools, study circles and lectures, single and in series.

A joint committee of the labor party, the national federation of trade-unions and the socialist and labor youth organization are responsible for the administration of the school.

The Socialistic Day-School offers a course occupying 11 weeks, from January to March. 25 students are selected from the labor party and trade-union membership only; the organization which delegates a student usually finances the necessary scholarship.

Elective short courses and single lectures are offered on subjects, such as, Labor Law, Community Politics, Cooperation,¹ Evolution, History of Religion, Health, Industrial Problems, etc.

Teachers are recruited from active members in the labor

¹ "Educational Activities Among Workers of Norway," *Life and Labor*, Oct. 1921, p. 239.

<i>Curriculum</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Socialism and the Socialist Movement	55
History of the Trade Union Movement	20
Norwegian Language	45
Norwegian Literature	8
Social Economy	33
Marxian Economics	16
Practical Organization Work and Practice in Public Discussion	25
History of the Norwegian Labor Movement	10
Modern Political History	8
Economic Geography and Imperialism	22
Total	242

party or trade-unions. Some of the teachers and lecturers are professional men.

THE SOCIALISTIC EVENING SCHOOLS

These schools are usually organized by a joint committee of the local labor party and trade-union. The normal plan calls for a three months' course with sessions twice weekly, each class sessions lasting two hours. The length of the course normally comprises 48 hours. Instruction is gratis to the students. The joint educational committee of the Labor Party and the National Federation of Trade Unions grants 100 kroner to every evening school sending in a report accompanied by a financial statement.

<i>Study Plan</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Socialism (theory and history)	24
Practical Organization	12
Norwegian Language	12

Students are required to write essays and to submit to examinations in those studies where a textbook is used. Teachers are cautioned to restrain an inclination merely to lecture, but to stimulate interrogation and active participation by the student group.

¹ References: *Annual Reports of the Norwegian Labor Party. Plan for Socialistiske Kveldskoler* (leaflet, 8 p.). *Det Norske Arbeiderparti Jubi-*

WITH A POLITICAL EMPHASIS

THE LABOR COLLEGE (LONDON) ¹

London became aware of the death of Karl Marx, one of its distinguished exiles, through a Parisian newspaper. Forty years after the passing of Marx, the British Labor Party moved into Whitehall in the name of the socialist ideal. British labor had become politically-minded. Economic necessity and the failure of the recent general strike are insufficient to account for the political trend of labor psychology, though the loss of the miners' strike will likely strengthen political conviction.² The diffusion of Marxian thought has undoubtedly stimulated a susceptibility in the labor movement toward political action. Morris, Hyndman and Bax, pioneers in the Social Democratic Federation, developed Marxian thought. The Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain carried the work of propaganda forward, penetrating deeper than the S. D. F., into the rank and file of the labor movement.³ The Fabian Society with its circulating book-cases helped to educate the members of the Independent Labor Party,⁴ and to create a demand for education in the

Levins-Skrift, edited by Professor Edv. Bull, Oslo, 1927, contains a special article, "Arbeiderbevegelsens Kulturkamp", by Ole Oisang.

Norway was unrepresented at any of the International Conferences on Workers' Education, but if the spirit of Oisang's inspiring article reflects the general educational outlook in the labor movement of Norway, she will likely be counted among those present at the next world conference on workers' education.

¹ For an extensive treatment of the origin, development, point of view, and the controversial situation existing between the labor college movement and the W. E. A., see the works of Yeaxlie, Hodgen, J. & W. Horrabin, Sweeney, Hermes, E. & C. Paul, the *Plebs* and *Highway* files.

² Cf. Lewis L. Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism*, MacMillan, 1929, pp. 443-4.

³ J. Reynolds, "Two Pages of Labor College History," *The Plebs*, Feb. 1929, pp. 39-41.

⁴ Report of Margaret Bondfield to the Convention of the A. F. of L. July 29, 1919.

trade-union branches. The propaganda for education bore fruit. At the turn of the century Ruskin College and the W. E. A. were born and in 1909 the Labor College was founded in Oxford but was moved to London two years later. It was established "with the object of equipping the organized workers with the knowledge adequate for the accomplishment of their industrial and political tasks." This knowledge, the Labor College claims, is to be sought by investigating the theoretical foundations of the social sciences. For, "the problems of labor are social problems which arise from the work of men, not of nature." The method of inquiry, according to a statement of Principles and Policy by the principal of the Labor College, is objective. It is the method of science "which has proved so fruitful in the realm of Natural Science, and which Marx has shown to be equally effective in Social Science." The Labor College does not evade the charge against it of being "tendentious." It replies to the "impartial" educationists: "What kind of education would that be which occupied itself only with what men had in common and declined to give a verdict on the difference? An education for abstract men! Such an education could have no practical value for the solution of those economic and political problems that arise from these differences. We are concrete men living in a concrete and tendentious society." The Labor College point of view contends further, that awakened elements in the labor movement perceive from a study of social evolution a tendency toward the socialization of humanity, and that working-class education stimulates the conscious recognition of that social direction in the minds of the work people. It concludes therefore, that "it can be candid but not impartial."¹

¹ Marx declared: "Die bürgerliche Erziehung ist eine Klassenerziehung." Both sides of the controversy could likely profit by acting upon the Marxian imperative: "The teaching of the materialists that man is the product of circumstances and education, that changed men are, there-

The Labor College stresses working-class unity and solidarity in action enlightened by a sound theoretical knowledge as constituting "the means toward the accomplishment of its historic task." It is the function of the school and "the duty of the Marxist to see that solidarity continues to grow, by providing the intellectual grounds for it, not only on the industrial field but on the political as well—for a mass industrial fight is also a political fight."

The curriculum according to the *Annual Report for 1927-28* comprises the following subjects :

Sociology, psychology, philosophy, economics, history, English grammar and composition, public speaking and special lectures. The latter includes a series on The Co-operative Movement, Labor Party Work, the Municipality of London, Literature, etc. A co-operative arrangement with the Kensington Natural History Museum and the British Museum makes available the instructional services at these institutions.

The Labor College is owned and controlled by two unions, the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners Federation. These unions have twelve students in residence at the College for a period of two years' study and training. Other trade-unions provide some scholarships and participate in the educational work of the College. The cost of a resident scholarship is £125 per college year. Non-resident students who take all the tuition and educational facilities offered to resident students (exclusive of board and lodging) pay a fee of £25 per college year. Students in residence on scholarships are usually allowed certain monies for text-books, railway fares, and personal expenses from the union treasury. The college year is somewhat longer than in most labor colleges. It begins Sept. 15th and closes July 31st.

fore the product of different circumstances and changed education, forgets that circumstances themselves are changed by men, and that the educator himself must be educated."—*Marx on Feuerbach*, Brussels, 1845.

In order to keep in touch with the actual problems of the labor movement, second-year students devote some of their time to practical tasks, such as, tutoring in local classes of the N. C. L. C., addressing trade-union and labor party branches, assisting in the Labor Research Department.

As to methods of teaching, the Labor College offers nothing that is superior to any other school aforementioned.

Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the present sponsors will continue to support the college. The Executive of the N. U. R. has never favored wholeheartedly the point of view of the Labor College Movement, though the rank and file of that union has on several occasions overruled its Executive on the Labor College issue. In fact, it was the rank and file that compelled the Executive to take over the College originally. Support from the S. W. M. F. has been seriously curtailed since the general strike. The latter union, however, is in accord with the Labor College outlook. If the N. U. R. should withdraw, the N. C. L. C. will find it incumbent upon themselves to run a residential college for the purpose of developing tutors and organizers for its extensive system of classes. The Labor College is allied with the Plebs League and the N. C. L. C. of which a description will follow.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOR COLLEGES (ENGLAND)

Under the aegis of the Plebs League in 1921, it was decided to form a national center of the labor college classes in Great Britain called the N. C. L. C. in whose constitution the object is given: "to provide Independent Working-Class Education in order to enable the workers to develop their capacities and to equip them for their trade-union, labor and co-operative activities generally, in the work of bringing to an end the system of capitalism and enabling the workers to achieve their social and industrial emancipation." The N.

C. L. C. is financed and controlled largely by 35 trade-unions with a membership of well over two million. This fact would on first sight appear to place the N. C. L. C. under trade-union education. But the N. C. L. C. does not cater exclusively to trade-unions. Co-operative Societies, Socialist Organizations, Working Men's Clubs, Local Labor Parties, Co-operative Guilds, etc. are also affiliated to the labor colleges and classes forming the N. C. L. C. While the N. C. L. C. holds determinedly aloof from becoming either a political body or a part of a political party, yet the aim and content of its teaching is political in the larger sense. "The labor colleges are concerned with creating an atmosphere for Socialism among the workers, and not with splitting hair over questions of immediate policy. The latter is the task of political parties. . . . It is essential to have at least one body which can be neutral ground to which anyone can come. The only discipline that is demanded for him is that he shall accept the principle of the class struggle. . . . The task for those who see the full implication of the class struggle is to educate the masses, who make up the rank and file of the British Labor Party, to an understanding of history and of modern social and economic problems in the light of this struggle. This task is best performed by an educational and not by a political body. The Labor Colleges fulfil this qualification."¹ The other element which characterizes Independent Working-Class Education (I. W. C. E.) is the principle of non-acceptance of state grants.² The acceptance of state grants, it is claimed, would impose restraints on the teaching process, especially in the subjects concerned with social change, i.e. chiefly the social sciences. Education in the latter disciplines, from the I. W. C. E. point of view, is

¹ M. Philips Price, "Independent Working-Class Education in Britain", *The Plebs*, Sept. 1925, p. 343.

² For the relation of this principle to a Workers' Education International, see chapter viii.

class education: neutrality and impartiality are watchwords and "smoke-screens" of the defenders of the status quo.¹

For purposes of administration, Great Britain is divided into 12 divisional councils each with a whole-time secretary-organizer-tutor. One representative from each of the divisional councils, one each from the Labor College (London), from the Plebs and N. C. L. C. Students' Association, and from the nationally affiliated organizations having educational schemes with the N. C. L. C. constitute the executive committee. Final control is vested in the annual meeting of the N. C. L. C. A class group may send a representative to the annual meeting in which he is allowed a voice but not a vote, a rule which applies also to non-delegated tutors.

The progress of I. W. C. E. in recent years among the trade-unions with N. C. L. C. schemes is indicated in the table following:

1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928 (Sept.)
9	22	28	27	29	32

In addition to these national union schemes, local educational schemes are arranged for a great many trade-union branches, trade councils, labor party branches, co-operative societies, etc. The extent of class work² is revealed below. The drop in the number of classes during the two years following the National Strike and Miners' Lock-out (1926) is attributed to industrial distress, internal antagonisms in the labor movement, and the apathy consequent upon unemploy-

¹ *What Does Education Mean to the Workers?*, Plebs League pamphlet (16 p.), 1918. (Out of print.)

² Mr. J. P. M. Millar, Secretary of the N. C. L. C., in his annual report for 1927-28, observes that "Our work must steadily rise in quality. The proportion of students willing to do written work is much too low. (Dr. L. P. Jacks told a New York City audience that "an extensive survey of mature persons indicates that not more than twenty per cent of them are adapted to book learning."—Writer.) This unwillingness is due, to a considerable degree, to a poor command of written English."

	No. of Classes	Students
1922-23	529	11,993
1923-24	698	16,009
1924-25	1,048	25,971
1925-26	1,234	30,398
1926-27	1,201	31,635
1927-28	1,108	27,147

ment.¹ Experience has shown that economic insecurity militates against a program of sustained study over a long period of time. Hence, the increasing popularity of summer school and week-end conferences. (See table following).

MISCELLANEOUS EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY UNDER N. C. L. C. AUSPICES

	No. of Day and Weed-end Summer Schools	No. of Students	No. of Lectures to Union Branches and Others	No. of Students Taking Corres- pondence Courses
1923-24....	—	—	—	90
1924-25....	71	5,414	976	645
1925-26....	105	6,154	1,125	1,459
1926-27....	114	6,506	1,206	2,702
1927-28....	140	7,370	1,018	2,385

An N. C. L. C. educational scheme entitles the contracting group to the following facilities: (a) free access to classes, (b) free correspondence courses, (c) occasional Branch lectures, (d) free access to non-residential day and week-end schools, (e) free outline Lectures for study circles. Some schemes also provide for residential tuition. Under such schemes, the union, as a rule pays a sum of about 3d per member per annum.

The curriculum includes: Biology, Bourgeois and Marxian Economics, Class Tutoring, Conduct of meetings, Co-operation, Economics, Economic Geography, English Grammar and Article Writing, Esperanto, Evolution, Evolution of Capitalism, History of the Family, History of the British Working Class, History

¹ Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

of Trade Unionism, History of British Socialism, History and Theory of Socialism, Imperialism, Industrial History, Labor Journalism, Literature and Social Conditions, Local Government, Marxism, Modern Problems, Modern European History, Psychology, Public Speaking, Revolutionary Periods in History, Social History, Sociology, Science of Reasoning, Theory of History, Trade Union Law, etc. Twelve of these subjects are also given by correspondence.

The N. C. L. C. publishes many of its own textbooks, outlines, and syllabi, besides, a monthly magazine, *The Plebs*¹ which has been issued regularly since 1909. *The Plebs* was until 1927 the spokesman for the Plebs League, an organization engaged in propagandizing for the principles of I. W. C. E. Among the moving spirits in the League are the versatile J. F. and W. Horrabin, Mark Starr, R. W. Postgate, and J. P. M. Millar. These spirits became a leaven in the orthodox lump (a canonization of Marx and Dietzgen) which threatened the Labor College (London) with stagnation. They responded to the newer knowledge in the field of psychology, human geography, imperialism, etc. They wrote popular textbooks (more often than not with scientific precision) which have gone into many editions including several foreign languages. In 1927 the Plebs League changed its title to the "Plebs and N. C. L. C. Students' Association."

It is not necessary to enter upon an exhaustive narrative of the relations between the W. E. A., the N. C. L. C. and the British Trades Union Congress. Suffice it to say here that the N. C. L. C. which derives almost the whole of its income from unions affiliated to the T. U. C., was (and is) prepared to hand itself over to the T. U. C. on the basis of the scheme worked out by a subcommittee consisting of representatives of the N. C. L. C., the W. E. A., The Labor College (Lon-

¹ Edited by J. F. Horrabin.

don), the Co-operative Union, and the T. U. C. Education Committee.¹ Up to this moment nothing has come of the plan which as Cole points out, "is only a basis on which an educational scheme . . . has subsequently to be raised." Whether or not, centralized control by the T. U. C. will reconcile the differences² between the two bodies whose antipathy is of twenty years standing, it is difficult to say. To predict at this distance would be presumptuous. If the labor party becomes a government, and eventually a power, it is not unreasonable to anticipate that state grants will be forthcoming "without strings attached"—neither overt nor implied, except as relating to a given quality and quantity of work performed,—and that the N. C. L. C. very likely will turn about face on the principle of non-acceptance of state grants from an opposition party. Even the staunchest of Marxists would fain disparage the value of general cultural education³ which, in the main, is promoted by the W. E. A. (See chapter following). Moreover, the case of knowledge for its own sake has not been disproven. There are still folks who seek understanding in order to feel at home in the universe while others pursue knowledge and understanding for the sake of control. One aims more at contemplation, the other more toward action. Both are human pursuits,

¹ See *The Plebs*, May, 1925. Also N. C. L. C., *Annual Report*, 1927-28, pp. 10-12.

² From one point of view the difference between the W. E. A. and the N. C. L. C. on the question of education for social emancipation can be expressed figuratively: the former has developed milk teeth only, while the latter has a permanent Gebiss.

³ Gertrude Hermes in *Die Geistigen Grundlagen Der Erwachsenen Bildung* (Rohland & Berthold, 1927, 143 p.) questions whether working with bourgeois culture will inspire the working class sufficiently to see its program through—p. 102. This opens up the whole controversy of proletarian culture versus bourgeois culture, if culture needs these modifying adjectives, a controversy which we shall consider in chapter ix.

and appear to be necessary. So let it be with the N. C. L. C. and the W. E. A.¹

THE VICTORIAN LABOR COLLEGE²

(Australia)

Independent Working-Class Education was first introduced on the Australian continent by W. P. Earsman³ who was supported by Maurice Blackburn, M. L. A., F. Sinclair, M.A. (a radical parson), and G. Baracchi (a radical university student).⁴ These men founded the Victorian Labor College in 1917, "amid the storms of the great strike and the Conscription Referendum of that year." The college is a non-residential evening school, financed and controlled by affiliated trade-unions—all the unions of Australia are politically vigorous. Students are recruited from the unions and the Labor Party Branches. The school is permanently located in the Trades Hall, Melbourne. No fees are charged for tuition. Teachers are drawn from the labor movement.

The policy of the school proceeds from the concept of the class conflict in society, hence it holds aloof and maintains an active, articulate attitude of non-co-operation toward university extension and W. E. A. The labor college grants

¹ G. D. H. Cole, "The Future of the W. E. A.", *The Highway*, vol. xvii, no. 3, 1925.

² Mr. R. A. Crouch, President of the Australian Labor Party (Victoria), was a delegate to the International Conference at Oxford. The writer had several interviews with Mr. Crouch, and several letter exchanges since, for which he is grateful. Some of the other Australian states can boast of a labor college, but concerning these no data has come to hand.

³ In his pamphlet (16 p.) *The Proletariat and Education*, he sets forth the "necessity for labor colleges."

⁴ Baracchi reported on the labor college movement in Australia at the International Conference on Workers' Education at Brussels, 1922. See *Proceedings*, published by I. F. T. U., Amsterdam.

that "in its best form university extension teaching seeks to be honest, impartial, scientific. But in any form it refuses to recognize the class division in society, and the political consequences of this division."¹ I. W. C. E. charges the university extension teaching with obscuring the class conflict, with diluting the ardor for social change, with pretending to be "above the battle." The labor college conceives education not as an anodyne but as means toward social emancipation.²

In the Annual Report for the year ending December, 1927, a table presents a picture of the class activities.

THE VICTORIAN LABOR COLLEGE (1927)

	FIRST TERM		ATTENDANCE	
	<i>No. of Classes</i>	<i>Enrollment</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Average</i>
Social Theory	11	13	33	3
Industrial History	12	27	125	10.6
Economics	14	25	98	7
	SECOND TERM			
Social Theory	12	19	66	5.5
Industrial History	12	17	74	6.16
Economics	12	27	129	10.75
	THIRD TERM			
Social Theory	10	19	43	4.3
Industrial History	14	20	77	5.5
Economics	12	38	122	10.2

In 1928, a fourth study, Political Science, was added to the above curriculum.

The secretary comments on the small number of serious students. "The attendances bear favorable comparison with those of most union meetings. But, to judge the College only by the number of students it enrolls is wrong. The College cannot be compared with public educational institutions. Attendance here is not compulsory; it offers no re-

¹ Mimeographed statement about the Victorian Labor College.

² *Ibid.*

ward in the shape of "better jobs" as a result of taking its course of study. Its appeal is to the enquirer, the person desirous of making a better world, to the thinker. Under conditions of modern life the thinker is a rarity. In the main, therefore, the College can deal only with the limited material available. The supply of material is governed by conditions outside of the control of the College."

Among those conditions are undoubtedly, the seductive climate of Australia which draws the people into the open spaces, away from the hearth and study table. The universal Saturday half-holiday leaves the week-end for picnicking and outdoor sports.¹ Another factor is the extreme isolation of Australia from the European and American areas of vital thought.

THE WORKERS SCHOOL

(New York City)

A resolution of the Workers Party (Communist) Central Executive Committee summarizes briefly the aim and policy of the Workers School. "The C. E. C. conceives the New York Workers' School as a fighting instrument for the bolshevization of the party. It must not be a neutral academy standing between various tendencies, but a weapon of the party in the struggle against all deviations from the line of the Communist International. It must consistently promote an understanding of the principles and tactics of the Communist International and take upon itself the task of permeating the party membership with the doctrines and spirit of Leninism. All subjects in its curriculum must be dealt with from a clearly defined and intransigent revolutionary standpoint. . . . The teaching personnel must consist of reliable, active party comrades, who have demon-

¹ It will be interesting to watch how the week-ends, and activities in the open spaces of Australia can be made truly educational.

strated by their relations to the party and by their record of activity that they are themselves active and conscious followers of the Communist International and capable of imparting the living spirit of Leninism. . . . The C. E. C. considers it undesirable that the teaching staff should consist of either non-party members or of party members who take a passive or scholastic attitude toward the problems of the party and the Communist International since such teachers would be incapable of developing and promoting a real, genuine Leninist ideology among the students."

The Workers' School is now in its sixth year. Its annual registrations indicate steady increase. In 1923-24, 40 students; 1924-25, 60; 1925-26; 700; 1926-27, 1000; 1927-28, 2000; 1928-29, 2591. 60% of the attendance are women. A considerable section of the enrollment is attracted to the courses in English and Literature. Eight courses in English, with eighteen sections and as many teachers are listed as given during the current year.

Seventy-three courses are offered for the year 1928-29. These are grouped in the Announcement for 1928-29 as follows:

- I. English, Public Speaking and Journalism, 12 courses
- II. General History, 6 courses.
- III. American History, 10.
- IV. Trade Unionism, 5.
- V. Economics, 6.
- VI. Marxian Theory, 14.
- VII. Special Problems of the American Working Class
 - a. Courses for Pioneers and Workers' Children, 2.
 - b. Courses for Leaders of Children's Movement, 3.
 - c. Courses for Young Workers (Communist) League, 3.
 - d. Courses for Women Workers and Working-Class Housewives, 3.
 - e. Miscellaneous, 4.
- VIII. Literature, 5.

Total number of courses 73, of which 23 are lecture courses varying four to six lectures each; all others are study courses. The school year consists of two successive evening terms of three months each, and mid-summer day courses of two and four weeks respectively.

During the year 1927-28 the Workers' School organized a Full-Time Training Course, which was attended by 30 active workers in the labor movement. The students came from various states of the union, three from Canada, and one Negro from the West Indies. Occupationally they represented the textile, steel, food, painting, and barbering trades. Four were professional Communist organizers, one was an editorial writer on a Farmer-Labor Party organ. These students attend classes daily from 9 a.m. to 1 p. m. over a three month period. In the evenings they take part in practical work under supervision. In this way, the school aims to develop organizers, speakers, tutors, trade-union and political party functionaries.

Two intensive evening courses, one for Communist Party functionaries, another for trade-union officials and active trade-union members, are given. Students enrolling for these courses are obligated to attend four classes a week on two evenings. The fee of \$25 for either course is usually paid by the organization which delegates a student, or the amount may be covered from a scholarship fund. The average fee for any single course of three months (12 sessions) is \$4.00.

The Workers' School like every workers' educational institution is obliged to cope with certain problems. Bertram D. Wolfe, Director of the Workers' School discloses some of these problems in a published article.¹ He found that the training of party functionaries involves a proper selection of

¹ "Problems of Party Training", *Workers Monthly*, June, 1926, pp. 124-7.

students. "The kind of student that first presents himself is either the drifter and floater who has plenty of spare time because he never works, but who is worthless to the party because he has no contact with masses of workers and no disposition to do anything. Or the academic 'student' type who is a willing receptacle for learning, registers for six nights a week of courses and reads every spare moment and who therefore has neither time nor disposition to put his study to practical use for the party. Both types are worthless. Whenever we discover such a type, we get rid of him." Another type: "Leading party functionaries engaged in trade-union activities, newspaper editorship or other mass activities, often believe that they know enough, that the school cannot teach them anything, that "experience is the best teacher" or that they are "too busy working to learn how to work." This type, he finds more desirable, adding, "only those who have 'no time to study' are really worth wasting much time on." Admission to the more important courses ("the party training courses") is conditioned upon evidence that the applicant is an active party member and that he intends to remain so.

The problem of getting the right teacher is also serious. "The ideal teacher must combine a broad grasp of theory with much practical experience and sure political understanding. If his teaching is not to be purely academic he must be actively engaged in party work. But those who are engaged in party work have little or no time to prepare and give courses and *often do not know how to teach.*" (Italics mine). Checking through the current Prospectus, one can name at least a dozen teachers as having been college-trained, as well as several public school teachers.

Mr. Wolfe comments also on teaching methods. "There is a bad tradition in the party schools and in workers' education generally of lecturing in place of teaching. It is the

path of least resistance. *But the aim of teaching is to make the student think, not to do his thinking for him.*¹ (Italics mine). . . . The lesson should consist of problems to be solved and questions to be answered. . . . Even where students have done no outside reading it will be found that the students have a fund of experience to draw upon and proper questioning will produce results. . . . The teacher should prepare an outline of the things he would like to tell the class and then a list of questions which will make the class tell him those things. The method of distributing questions and answers is fatal. It produces parrots not Communists."

"Courses" Mr. Wolfe contends, "should center around American conditions, and serve our practical needs. The question and answer book prepared as a study aid for the A. B. C. of Communism by the American Party bears no relation to American conditions. This is typical of most of our past work. It makes for pedantry, academic abstraction, divorce from life and the class struggle. The American Party has still to 'discover America.'" Stressing the Leninist slogan, "Every member an active member", i.e. educationally, an intelligent member, and pointing to the need of raising the theoretical level of the party leadership, Mr. Wolfe concludes: "We cannot solve our problems without making ours the theory and experiences of the proletariat of other countries—and in this our leadership has, it must be confessed, a big task before it. But even the sum total of experiences of the proletariat of other countries will not solve all our problems. We must make specific American contri-

¹ This most desirable aim loses some of its scientific savor when placed parallel to the following: "Without allowing the party members to develop into mere fault-finders, the (Workers') School must help them to acquire the faculty of criticism, of subjecting every action and every utterance of the party to criticism from the standpoint of its conformity to the basic theory of the movement."—James P. Cannon, "The Bolshevization of the Party", *The Workers' Monthly*, November 1924, p. 37.

contributions to the world theory of the workers in solving new problems that reach new and more complicated forms in America."

THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

"Unless enthusiasm crystallizes into an institution, it gets no hold on the world—unless it retains some of its primitive fervor it dies, even as an institution."¹ Something of this sound sociological principle undoubtedly motivated the group which founded the Rand School. A number of factors were present in the situation which inspired the creation of the pioneer² school of Workers' Education in America. Certainly, among those factors must be mentioned the presence in New York City of a large group of radical German and Russian-Jewish immigrants; of socialistic intelligentsia and Marxians; the fact of the Socialist Party doubling its number of votes in the Presidential election of 1904; the increasingly open interest in Socialism manifested by American middle-class intellectuals; and, not the least important, the generous benefaction of Mrs. Carrie D. Rand.³

¹ The Master of Balliol, a paper in *The Groundwork of Adult Education*, 1925, p. 15.

² The writer is not unmindful of the one-time existence of the ill-fated Ruskin College, at Trenton, Missouri, which antedated the Rand School. In answer to an inquiry concerning that venture, the present Librarian of the Public Library at Trenton sent a quotation from the *History of Grundy County* which reads: "After a struggle of over a half dozen years, the Avalon College was closed and the building was turned over to a band of Socialists under the leadership of Walter Vrooman who rechristened it in 1900 Ruskin College. They undertook to run not only the school but the town as well on socialistic principles, and got possession of a number of business institutions of the city which they ran on a co-operative plan. Their doctrine did not take with Grundy County people and the school broke up. Some of its leaders attempted to establish another in the suburbs of Chicago." The Librarian adds that the mention of the Co-operative School to any of the old settlers is like touching "a sore spot".

³ Dr. Margaret Hodgen in her book *Workers' Education in England and*

"The Rand School", writes Morris Hillquit, a charter member of The American Socialist Society which controls the school, "came into being primarily in response to a generally felt need of an educational institution in the Socialist movement. The plan of forming a school was frequently discussed before Mrs. Carrie Rand's bequest was made available for that purpose, and some modest beginnings were made in the form of systematic lecture courses. Professor George D. Herron and Mrs. Herron were among those Socialist Party members who showed a great interest in the movement from the beginning and frequently discussed it with their comrades. It was undoubtedly at their suggestion that Mrs. Rand set aside the income of a substantial part of her estate for that purpose."¹

"In the summer of 1905, Mrs. Carrie Rand, mother-in-law of the well-known socialist writer and propagandist, George D. Herron, bequeathed the income of a fund of about two hundred thousand dollars for the establishment of an institution for the teaching of socialism and social sciences."² The donor designated the American Socialist Society, Inc. as the administrator of the bequest for workers' education.

Inquiry into a rumor to the effect that the Rand School is excessively solvent proved the alleged report to be entirely without foundation. It appears that the Rand estate was responsive to periods of business depression, to the caprices

America, page 216, says: "Its (the Rand School) founders, inspired by the success of Ruskin College, Oxford," etc. Unfortunately the genesis of some institutions cannot be ascertained completely, but in the present instance, several of the charter members have a vivid recollection of the inciting influences. Mr. Hillquit, in effect, would take exception to Hodgen's statement, but he grants that the sponsors of the Rand School "in a general way followed the lines of Ruskin College".

¹ Letter to the writer, Dec. 20, 1927.

² Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States*, rev. ed., 1920, pp. 322-3.

WITH A POLITICAL EMPHASIS

of the weather with consequent crop failure, to other uncertainties, which made this source of income an extremely variable item in the budget, often precarious, because un-dependable.¹

The first meeting to discuss the organization of the school was held in the home of Morris Hillquit, Nov. 24, 1905. Present at this gathering were: Ben Hanford, John C. Chase, Henry L. Slobodin, Courtney Lemon, Joshua Wanhope, P. A. Levene, W. J. Ghent, and Morris Hillquit. A tentative classification of subjects for lecture courses was drawn up. The list indicates greater emphasis on the Socialist point of view than is true of the great range and variation that characterizes the present curriculum. Twelve main heads were set down: Economics of Socialism, Social Evolution, History of the Socialist Movement and Theory, Methods and Tactics of the Socialist Movement, Socialist Ethics, Socialism and Art, The Socialist State, Socialism and Social Problems, Social Theories, History of the Labor Movement, Social History, The Fine Arts, Composition-Rhetoric-Elocution.

It was agreed that the purpose of the school should be to foster the socialist movement, but that in the carrying out of this purpose, the administration should be kept clear of interference by the party. It was proposed at this meeting that the American Socialist Society, Inc. which had been conducting lecture courses for some years should be responsible for the school.

At a meeting of the A. S. S. on Dec. 8th, Professor Charles A. Beard who had been invited to attend, was present. Beard became a member of the advisory board. A resolution prevailed that the school should offer courses in Astronomy, Geology, and Biology, and that "courses in

¹ W. J. Ghent, "The Rand School", in the *New York Call*, Nov. 1909.

Art and Physical Sciences should be given in a manner and to an extent necessary to facilitate the proper understanding of Socialism." Considerable discussion on the methods of teaching preceded a general agreement that in the more systematic class instruction formal lecturing was taboo, that teachers should vary their methods by means of text-books, questions and answers, examinations, and personal tutoring.

On April 5, 1906, Mr. W. J. Ghent was elected Director of the Rand School of Social Science, so named in honor of Mrs. Carrie D. Rand. The first school year closed April 28, 1907, with gross attendances totaling 6,819. Two hundred sixteen students were registered for regular class work. The popular lectures were also well attended. It is interesting to note among the popular lecturers such distinguished academic specialists as: Professors Charles A. Beard, Franklin H. Giddings, James Harvey Robinson, David Saville Muzzey, A. A. Goldenweiser, Lester F. Ward, David Starr Jordan, etc. Professor Giddings, Dean of American Sociologists, is mentioned in the minutes of those early days as the lecturer who drew the largest audiences.¹

In 1909 Mr. Ghent resigned and he was succeeded by Algernon Lee, Educational Director, and Bertha Maily,² Executive Secretary.

Previous to 1911 little coherence had been attained in a curricular scheme. It lacked a central core. Class instruction was admittedly fragmentary and study somewhat desultory. Upon his resignation, Mr. Ghent detailed some of the difficulties.³ In the first place, the school was frankly experimental. Unlike public schools, it could not exercise a

¹ Minutes of the American Socialist Society.

² The survival of the Rand School is very largely due to Mrs. Bertha Maily, her boldness of imagination, her ingenuity in the creation of efficient plans for the financial sustenance of a difficult voluntary enterprise.

³ In the *New York Call*, Nov. 28, 1909.

measure of disciplinary control through the medium of degrees and certification. The modern schemes of scholarships which holds the recipient responsible to the group granting such aid had not been evolved. Students came and went as they pleased. That kind of education has not been inaptly referred to as a "lunch-counter education." Again, one half of the regular classes were members of the Socialist Party which created a divided attention between the engrossing interest (from the students' point of view) of party affairs, and the more exacting demands of study. Unlike the homogeneous group of tutorial class students in England, the heterogenous student body of the Rand School would not bind itself to a protracted plan of study covering a three-year period. In the second place, the school lacked means for expansion. The income from the Rand Fund had carried the school through its period of infancy, though, as has been remarked before, this source was sensitive to the rhythms of the business cycle. Moreover, the Rand Fund was not a permanent endowment. As the respective legatees attained specified ages and withdrew their denominated quota, the principal decreased proportionally, yielding less and less toward the revenue of the school.

There were other difficulties! Ghent mentions a disappointing feeling among some of the supporters on the ground that only a restricted number of educated and effective leaders had thus far been produced for the movement, when a whole regiment had been expected. These folk were seemingly under the eighteenth-century delusion of the swift and magical potency of schooling in the leavening of ignorance and the ushering in of millennial success! Experience has now largely dissipated such infantile utopianism. Being a school with a political slant, it could not escape the internal issues and factional fights over theoretical questions such as, Immediate and Ultimate Demands, Political Action versus

Industrial Action, Evolution versus Revolution, Industrial Unionism, Sabotage, The General Strike, Intellectual and Proletarian, etc., issues which made the National Socialist Party Convention at Indianapolis in 1912 a memorable forensic combat of intellectual scintillation.

In 1911 the school organized the first Workers' Training Course. The purpose of this course was (and is) to attract serious-minded men and women; to enrich in depth, in range, in scientific correctness their experiential and educational background; to stimulate and equip them for better service in the political, trade-union, and co-operative activities of the labor and socialist movements. The Rand School does not guarantee nor promise an education that will eventuate in positions of leadership. It recognizes the correlative problem of educating intelligently co-operative followers. However, many Rand School graduates have attained to high places of responsibility in one or another field of labor and political activity.¹

In 1917 the Rand School had outgrown its old home and in the fall of that year the school moved into its present quarters in the Peoples' House at 7 East 15th Street. The change did not follow as simply as that, but to give the story of that particular achievement would perhaps have more local than general interest, though when this feat is seen in a setting of a world at war, with the future boding naught but darkness and uncertainty, it becomes the more remarkable for evoking a generous and idealistic response.

It is often true that a crisis bestirs a group toward fresh inquiry. The world war itself with the several concomitant revolutions brought a constantly increasing multitude of eager minds to the school, men and women, young and old, seeking for light on the new problems which had emerged from the great conflict. This fact together with the growth

¹ Cf. "An Old Story", *Rand School Publications*, 1922, p. 16.

of the socialist movement throughout the world, the Russian Revolution, caused a ferment of apprehension among the profiteers who had extracted their ill-gotten gains from the follies of mankind. War hysteria was still in its heyday. Fear and sadistic impulses were easily aroused. The Rand School, rendezvous of socialists, must be suppressed, lest our country go the way of Russia! It was somewhat flattering to the school to be told that it could become the cause of something so sweeping as a political revolution.

On May 1, 1919, some uniformed soldiers and a motley mob raided the school. Meanwhile certain politicians under the leadership of Senator Lusk was planning a formidable attack upon the school. With Senator Lusk as the spokesman, the Legislature of the State of New York had appointed a committee to investigate radical activities in the state. This committee ravaged the school on June 21, 1919 and confiscated various properties. The next move was an attempt to close the school by injunction and place the property of the school in receivership. This move was contested and defeated in the courts. Being thus frustrated in their madness, Lusk and his followers proceeded to the next alternative, the time-honored American method of legislating an "evil" out of existence. The Legislature passed a law requiring all private schools to take out a license, and that no license should be granted to a school if it taught "the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force, violence or any unlawful means." Again the Rand School was compelled to go into court to test the constitutionality of the law. When Adfred E. Smith was elected Governor of the State in 1922, relief from persecution was in sight. Smith had vetoed the measure two years previously. Now the repeal of the law followed during 1923. "The cause of liberal education was won, not in the courts but at the polls."¹

¹ Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *The Inquiring Mind* (1928), p. 73.

Paradoxical as it seems, while the school was being persecuted for its radical point of view by the Lusk group, it had to meet a flank attack by the so-called left wing, almost concurrently, who accused the school of not being radical enough. "But the school survived because it had its work to do and because it was supported and defended by men and women in whom there burned a passion for justice and for Socialism."¹ The which confirms the generalization by the Master of Balliol cited in the beginning of this article.

Having withstood the onslaughts of foes without and within, it was not surprising that the school lay like a ship in the doldrums for several years. It is not necessary here to account for all the factors in the situation. The evil years of the War, misfortune, oppression, persecution, and general prosperity on this side of the Atlantic produced a diseased wake, a spiritually unhealthy atmosphere. Many radicals (so-called) lost their heads and their former ideals. Their values and attitudes were muddled and confused. Some became outright defenders of the fratricidal horror. Others yielded to cynicism. Weyl discovered the "tired radical." In the offices of state sat reactionary chauvinists, an executive committee of the profiteering "plunderbund." While in some areas of the broad populace, the grosser forms of materialism reigned supreme. In some of the labor unions we saw prosperity, then conflict, division, demoralization, and disintegration. Everywhere idealism seemed shattered beyond revival.

But just as in the very heart of the Dark Ages little coteries of men kept the torch of progress burning, so in the dark aftermath of the War, a few men and women held their heads serenely above the general chaos. Future historians will likely point to the men and women of the workers' edu-

¹ Wm. M. Feigenbaum, *The Forward* (English Section), Sept. 11, 1927.

cation movement as the heralds of the twentieth-century renaissance of labor.

On the 21st birthday in the academic year of 1926-27, the Rand School was enabled to re-establish the Workers' Training Course. A subvention for the scholarship fund donated by the American Fund for Public Service helped toward this realization. For the following three years, the number of students enrolled under the scholarship plan were 65, 86, and 112 respectively. A scholarship covers tuition and library privileges. Students so enrolled are classified as juniors and seniors. They pledge attendance on two evenings the week or a total of four sessions. Those juniors who belong to unions must take Trade Unionism and either Social and Labor Problems or American History or Socialism. Juniors who do not belong to unions must take Socialism and any one of the other subjects previously mentioned. Additional studies may be freely elected. Seniors, regardless of the organizations to which they belong, are required to take Research Methods or one of the seminars in each term. The remainder of their work is elective. The aim of the course is to impart as much useful knowledge as time and other limitations permit, to attempt a theoretical grounding, but especially to introduce the students to sources of information and to train them in habits of independent thinking and individual research so that they may know how to get further knowledge and how to put it to use.

An evening school for workers faces many difficulties, such as the conservation of the workers' spare time, fatigue, irregularities due to seasonable occupation, overtime work, congested travel over long distances, etc. (Evening schools should branch out into the neighborhoods.) For those whose energy, time and interest permit only one evening's attendance, the school offers a number of serious study courses. There are attended by large numbers, and the motive is

chiefly cultural. Fees for such courses are nominal, varying from 20 to 30 cents per session. Only a minority, about one third, it has been estimated, will do any of the suggested assignments.

A third feature of the curriculum caters for the popular lecture goers. A popular lecture series varies from six to twelve sessions. Single lectures on current problems are given at the Saturday forum.

The school is in session during eight months of the year which is divided into three terms. With a few exceptions, the instructors and lecturers are university-trained men. Elementary and advanced English classes are usually conducted by public school teachers.

The following table conveys an idea of the rank of certain grouped subjects according to the number of students registered for the same.

TABLE XIII
GROUPS OF COURSES PURSUED BY REGISTERED STUDENTS
DURING THE THREE-YEAR PERIOD 1925-28
THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Number of Registrants*</i>
History, Economics, Sociology, Social Psychology	948
Literature, Drama, Art, English	796
Philosophy, Psychology, Child Study, Psychology of Personality	767
Trade Unionism, Labor and Social Problems, Studies in Socialism	306
Public Speaking, Correction of Accent	218
Science, Evolution, Health	194
Total	3,229 †

* Single admissions to courses and popular lecture series are not included. The enrollments in Physical Education and Music have not been included since those departments were discontinued in the spring session of 1926.

† The total is not the significant point here because of duplication in the registration and because it includes the registration of several so-called popular lecture series. Statistics of attendance upon non-registration

The Rand School operates on an annual budget amounting approximately to \$35,000 of which one-fourth is derived from fees and admissions. The balance is raised from various sources, trade-unions, individuals, Camp Tamiment, the Jewish Forward Association, the Workmen's Circle, The Women's Committee of the Rand School, the Rand Book Store, etc.

In 1920 the People's Educational Camp Society—a sister institution of the school—was organized under the leadership of Bertha Maily. The Society acquired a camp site (2,200 acres) around Lake Tamiment in the hills of Pennsylvania. Camp Tamiment has been a decided success from the start (1921). It yields an increasingly larger income toward the school's budget. The Rand School conducts summer lecture courses during July and August for the guests at the camp.

The Rand School also maintains a Research Department and Information Service.¹ Among the publications of the department are: The American Labor Year Book (published since 1916), The American Labor Who's Who, Political Issues of 1928, American Labor Press Directory, Monthly Index of Labor Periodicals, etc.

"The Rand School as an experiment in education for laboring people, whatever else may be the result of it, is historically important and has without doubt been a stimulus to the whole movement."² Partly for that reason among others, the rather extensive treatment here given is justified.³

courses and lectures are not available. Hence, this total affords an inadequate numerical expression of the number of contacts which the Rand School effects with the population of Greater New York City.

¹ See Appendix VI for the varied character of inquiries received by the department.

² Wm. L. Stoddard, "What labor wants to know," *Industrial Management*, March 1, 1921, pp. 208-210.

³ A statistical description of the composition of a sample of the Rand

As an independent auxiliary of the socialist and labor movement, the Rand School has often been considered a partisan institution. A writer in *School and Society*,¹ for instance, said: "The motive of advancing dogma dominates the work in the Rand School. . . ." To the charge of partisanship, the Board of Directors of the school would likely reply: "Yes, we are partisan to the aims of the social democratic movement of the world." Another answer is given as follows: "The function of the Rand School has been and is distinctly educational. It has refrained from interference with or direct participation in the propagandistic and organizational work of the movement. At certain times this abstention has given it an air of aloofness, of seeming indifference to the struggles in which the party was engaged, and has been censured by comrades whose good will the school wished to retain. Yet in the long run its policy has been justified. By limiting its activities to its chosen field it has preserved its power actually to strengthen the party's work of propaganda and of organization."² The Educational Director would repudiate the method of indoctrination in the classrooms, as he believes that "students should think questions out for themselves or frankly suspend judgment upon them."³ A glance at the names of the great number of known teachers and lecturers who have been connected with the school would tend to discredit the above-cited allegation. While the Rand school is officially socialistic, it nevertheless caters to a large group whose interest is predominantly in a liberal education.⁴

School students together with other statistical data about the school will be found in Appendix V.

¹ September 10, 1921, article by Herbert Feb.

² Memoranda to the Board of Directors by the Educational Director, April, 1929.

³ *Ibid.*

What becomes of the Rand School students? "A certain percentage" says the school's Announcement for 1928-29, "have made their studies a stepping-stone to college and to a profession; and in most cases this does not mean that they have cut themselves off from interest and participation in the movement. It would be possible to make a considerable list of former Rand School students who have come to occupy responsible offices in various trade-unions, though by far the greater number of students remain rank and file members of their respective unions."

My experiences as a lecturer in Sociology at the Rand School have contributed original value to this thesis. I appreciate the association.

CHAPTER VI

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WITH A CULTURAL EMPHASIS

"To tell the Frenchman that it is his duty passionately to prefer France, the German that it is his duty passionately to prefer Germany, the Englishman to prefer England, the Italian to prefer Italy, the Chinaman to prefer China, is to create amongst the peoples a condition of fixed blindness, infatuation, injustice and violence. He who deliberately prefers himself to another recognizes in others only inferior rights; this is the principle of all crimes, of all iniquities. It is the formula and doctrine of nationalist barbarism, and, teachers who... spread this base idea commit the crime of lèse-humanity and lèse-fatherland."—JEAN JAURES.

IN previous chapters it has been shown that work-people organize their own educational facilities for their mutual improvement as consumers, industrial workers, and political beings. The present chapter will describe several groups whose immediate interest is in man, the human being. These groups emphasize the cultural factor in life.¹ They hold to the proposition that the level of culture rises as the individ-

¹ In one respect the whole workers' educational movement is a concerted effort to liquidate the ages-old monopoly of culture. Jaures often spoke against the monopoly of culture. A sentence from his *Pages Choisies* reads: "Ah! les aristocrates du dehors connaissant toutes les delicatesses de la langue francaise, et la civilization d'aujourd'hui a refuse aux paysants et ouvriers le moyen de penetrer ces tresors accumulés par le genie des generations."

Dr. William Temple (now Archbishop of York), upon retiring from the presidency of the W. E. A. in 1924, said: "The great chasm or class division is not economic but educational. We need to develop fellowship and intercourse between the educated and ignorant."

ual personality becomes socially adequate. They seek understanding also for the sake of control, but as a somewhat remote possibility. At least, they are less vociferous, less vehement in proclaiming the new social order as their ultimate objective. Education from the point of view of these groups is something more than a means to an end, in that the educational process itself must gratify the cravings of creative impulses and yield emotional satisfaction. The cultural emphasis is identified by certain interests that transcend the mere professional or vocational, as well as by qualitative attributes. If the cultural emphasis could be characterized briefly, it is, the more or less dispassionate¹ pursuit of knowledge for the sake of "intrinsic" interests, the social personality, the good of the whole community.

¹ In the sense of wide, expansive interests, and a long point of view. In an ultimate sense disinterestedness is non-existent, even if the interest is in disinterestedness.

It is neither necessary to our purpose nor desirable to enter upon a discussion in terms of the philosophical niceties of distinctions in the meanings of culture as "refinement" as "Weltanschauung", as "achievement" (Lester F. Ward), as "mental growth", as "the sum of behavior patterns", etc. It is sufficient for our purpose that the conception includes a critical view toward life and the harboring of "intrinsic" human interests to which individual "extrinsic" objectives are subordinate. (See R. M. MacIver, *The Elements of Social Science*, pp. 76-79, for a fine distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic.)

There is a great deal of unclear writing in the workers' educational field especially from the cultural point of view. A few samples: "Education has been regarded as the process of development of body, mind, and spirit." "Education is reaching out toward the things which are eternal." "A cultured person is one with a complete personality." The latter is quite indefinite. Complete personality, for what? A Junker considers his personality best! Some writers identify education with life. This is true of several American workers' educationalists who are zealous and somewhat voluble in their championship for "impartiality." To say that "Education is Life" is neither profound nor enlightening; quite the contrary, it is obscurantist. If it were true, why workers' education at all? If life is education, why the surplus of ignoramuses? Again, if life is education, how can it be impartial? Is life immortal?

**THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
GREAT BRITAIN**

As an outstanding group, exemplifying the category which has just been defined, the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain and Dominions ranks foremost both historically and numerically. The mother organization in England can trace its roots back to Robert Owen, William Lovett, the Christian Socialists and the Fabian Society. It is not intended to produce an historical treatment of the movement. Of these there are several extant.¹

In the constitution of the W. E. A., the objects of the Association are stated as, (1) "To stimulate and to satisfy the demand of workers for education, and (2) To work for a national system of education which shall provide for all children, adolescents and adults full opportunities for complete individual and social development."

"The W. E. A. is a working-class body in the sense, not that all its members are members of the working-class, but that it is educational expression of the Working-Class Movement, and looks on education not only as a means of developing individual character and capacity, but as an equipment for the exercise of social rights and responsibilities."

In the furtherance of its objects, the W. E. A. co-operates on the one hand, with the Board of Education, the Scottish Education Department, Local Education Authorities, Universities, and other educational bodies. On the other hand,

¹ Albert Mansbridge, *An Adventure in Working-Class Education*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920, 73 p.

University Tutorial Classes. Same publisher, 1913, 197 p.

T. W. Price, *The Story of the Workers' Educational Association*, London: The Labor Publishing Co., 1924, 94 p.

Oscar Olsson, *Folkbildningsarbetet i England*, Stockholm: Oskar Eklunds Forlag, 1924, 376 p.

Margaret T. Hodgen, *Workers' Education in England and the United States*, London: Kegan Paul; New York, R. P. Dutton, 1905, 312 p.

it also co-operates with Trade-Unions, Co-operative Societies, Political Parties, and, other organizations. Its object in such co-operation is "to provide working-class education in order to enable the workers to develop their capacities and to help them for their Trade-Union, Labor, and Co-operative activities generally in the work of securing social and industrial emancipation."¹

The W. E. A. was founded by a small group of trade-unionists and co-operators in 1903 under the leadership of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Mansbridge. Mansbridge was a clerk in the Co-operative Wholesale Society and a co-operative tutor in the History and Principles of Co-operation. He had also come under the influence of the educational work in the Settlements of London. He, as F. D. Maurice before him, was dominated by the idea of an independent organization that should serve partly as a liaison between labor and the universities. This purpose began to take form in 1907 when a joint committee of the W. E. A. and Oxford University met to draft a plan for conducting tutorial classes. "The creation of such classes in connection with the universities is the achievement which, more than anything else, has justified the educational reputation of the Association."²

The first step in the organization of tutorial classes is the formation of a joint committee consisting of an equal num-

¹ This statement of policy appears to be a trifle too radical for some sections of the W. E. A. "Only recently, a branch of the W. E. A. seceded because the phrase 'emancipation of the working-class' was introduced into its constitution and even so well known a Liberal as Graham Wallas uttered a cry of alarm at the phrase."—Professor Harold J. Laski. "On the Prospects of Adult Education," *The New Republic*, Feb. 22, 1928, p. 48.

Professor Laski would not worry about a declared aim "so long as any class is conducted on a high level of sustained effort,"... and if the teaching process breeds "scepticism of authority."

² Albert Mansbridge, "The Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain," *International Labor Review*, Sept., 1922, p. 339.

ber of university and working-class representatives. This University Joint Committee supervises the provision of tutors and the standard of work done in each class. The recruiting of students, organization and control of classes is the work of the W. E. A. and the students. The students select the subject for study and the time and place of class-meeting, etc. Students also have a voice in the selection of the tutor. Classes are co-educational, and limited to 32 students, and meet for two hours on each occasion. The course of study covers three winter sessions of 24 weekly class-meetings. Any subject may be chosen, provided it is non-vocational in aim. Usually the social sciences are most in demand. (See Chapter 2, section 5.) All students are required to pledge themselves to attend regularly throughout the three years and to do a given number of essays. Fees are very nominal (2s. 6d. to 5s. for 24 class meetings) and no student is debarred from joining a class through inability to pay even this small amount. Tutorial classes are financed, in the main, through contributions from the Universities via their Joint Committees, through grants from the local education authorities and the Board of Education. Overhead expenses, for administration, recruiting of students, are borne by the W. E. A. The rules of the Board of Education provide for inspection of the class work. The financial assurances of the classes rests entirely upon the responsibility of the student group in its diligent observance of the regulations which make possible full grants-in-aid. Tutorial classes are conducted by the lecture-discussion method, one hour lecture being succeeded by an hour of questions and answers. Controversial questions are not avoided, but special pleading is.¹

¹ The writer sat in for one week on tutorial classes at Oxford Summer School, 1924. He found the conduct of the classes not seriously unlike a well-conducted seminar at Columbia University.

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In keeping with the pioneering spirit, Rochdale started the first tutorial class with R. H. Tawney, President of the W. E. A., as tutor. There are now Joint Committees in connection with every University in Great Britain.

A numerical statement of the growth of the W. E. A., number of classes with twelve or more lectures, student enrollment, etc. is contained in the table¹ as under.

	1907	1914	1919	1924	1926	1928
Classes	3	145	229	1100	1614	1917
Students	60	3343	5320	26272	30998	35730
Branches & Student Groups	13	179	219	489	617	676
Affiliated Societies	283	2555	2526	2540	2173 ²	2359
Individual Members	2612	11430	17136	23595	24827	26300

TUTORIAL CLASSES 1927-28

Type	No. of Classes	No. of Students
Advanced	9	105
Three-Year	581	9999
Preparatory	82	1686
University Extension	21	469

NON-TUTORIAL³ CLASSES 1927-28

One-Year Classes	468	9585
Terminal Courses	522	9746
Short Courses	176	3409
Study Circles	58	731

¹ The first four columns were taken from a W. E. A. leaflet entitled: "Education for Trade Unionists—A Call to Action", the remaining, from *Annual Reports*.

² Industrial depression shows its face in the declining number of affiliated societies in 1926, but the general downward trend is attributed partly to amalgamation of trade unions, partly to a relaxation of propaganda for affiliations, partly to scanty finances for such purposes, and to other causes. Cf. *The Highway*, Nov., 1928, p. 23.

³ A One-Year Class meets for 20 weeks, one and a-half hours each meeting, and observes tutorial standards of study. This type is to accommodate those who cannot pledge themselves to a longer course. Terminal courses are for the purpose of stimulating students to enroll for the more intensive study classes. Groups of not less than twelve

In 1927, the W. E. A. conducted a residential summer school at the Holybrook House, Reading. 21 men and 7 women received training for teaching in One-Year Classes and Study Groups. 26 were either past or present members of Tutorial Classes, 2 had studied at Ruskin College. 9 residential summer schools were held under the auspices of the various Joint Committees; 3 under other auspices. A total of 970 students were enrolled in the 12 schools. The Southern District of the W. E. A. conducted its annual summer school at Frankfurt A/M with 53 English students in attendance. The same district also arranged for a party of German students to visit parts of Great Britain. Over one hundred Week-end and One-day Schools were held during the year.

For the type of subjects studied, the distribution of occupations and ages of students, the reader is referred to the statistical tables in Chapter 2. It will be noted that the W. E. A. students are preponderantly of the so-called 'white collar' class and the more highly skilled working-class. There may be a connection between this fact and the popularity of the humanistic studies. The high percentage studying literature and government suggest two objectives, viz. education for leisure and education for citizenship. Good Citizenship (including a desire for a better social order) was the objective stressed by the Adult Education Committee's Final Report.¹ Mr. Mactavish, general secretary of the W. E. A. from 1915-1927, conceived the purpose of workers'

students meet for not less than 12 weeks during the year. Written work is optional, though encouraged, partly for the sake of realizing a higher rate of grant. Short courses and study circles are non-grant-earning. These are conducted informally, and serve a valuable purpose in effecting contact with the elementary and broader areas of the masses.

¹ Cf. also Arthur Greenwood, *The Education of the Citizen* (Being a summary of the proposals of the Adult Education Committee). London:

education to be "training for world citizenship through the development of world consciousness of a kind that will fit the workers to play a useful part in helping the workers' organizations and institutions to adapt themselves to world industry, solve international problems, and work for the liberation of the workers on an international basis."¹ The curricula of the W. E. A. are rather understocked with subjects dealing with world problems. Mr. A. A. Purcell, M. P. deplors the dearth of interest in world affairs. "It is sad", admits Purcell,² "that one should have to say it—but it nevertheless is true—that there exists little enthusiasms for International knowledge among our British Working Class." Beginnings in the cultivation of a wider outlook are seen in the Workers' Travel Association and in the arranging of summer schools in different foreign lands, by the W. E. A., the N. C. L. C., and the Co-operative Union.

"The desire for education, as a way of life rather than as a means of livelihood or a mere intellectual exercise, is instinctive among English people and ready to reveal itself, under favorable conditions, at any moment." Thus began Albert Mansbridge in his Preface to University Tutorial Classes in 1913. It will be noted that Mansbridge wrote this long before the "Behaviorists" had all but eliminated instincts from psychology, if not from the human body. Subsequent history of workers' education shows that Mansbridge was more wishful than critical.³ "It is an illusion" says R. H. Tawney, "to talk as though there were a general demand for the type of education which the Association ex-

¹ Mactavish, "The Aim of Workers' Education," *Justice*, 1925.

² In his Preface to Edo Fimmen's booklet, *Labor's Alternative*, London: The Labor Publishing Co., 1924, 182 p.

³ Mansbridge admits that the belief "that every normal man or woman was ready to seek knowledge..." "made the work of the Association possible."—*International Labor Review*, Sept., 1922, p. 339.

ists to provide. There ought to be, but in fact there is not, No one who has any experience of working-class movements—to take only a single aspect of the question—can fail to realize that day by day they are crippled and stultified because they still too often refuse to take seriously the business of ensuring that educational facilities are available for their members.”¹ The founders of the W. E. A. recognized that the movement could succeed only as the bulk of its membership were of the working class. But there were difficulties. In the first place, G. D. H. Cole explains that the working class was “only faintly interested” and not ready to take the initiative on any large scale, nor would labor contribute adequately to the cost of the movement.² Moreover, some of the active persons in the labor movement looked upon the W. E. A. alliance with the universities with studied suspicion.³ Financial stringencies forced the Association to diverge somewhat from its original working-class intentions. Turning to individual sympathizers deflected the movement from its true course. Cole finds that many individuals who came into the Association had no appreciation of the real objectives. “Sometimes, indeed, they gave their support in the mistaken belief that doses of education could be administered as a specific against the epidemic disease of industrial unrest. Such influences could not help affecting the character of the movement, or the outlook of the administrators dependent on their support for the means to keep the work going. In many areas, and at the centre, the confident tone of appeal went out of the movement’s educational propaganda; and in some quarters too close an association with the

¹ *The Highway*, Oct., 1923, p. 2.

² *The Place of the W. E. A. in Working Class Education*. A paper read at the Coming-Of-Age Convention, July 15, 1924. W. E. A.

³ Margaret Bondfield, Speech as Fraternal Delegate from the British B. C. to the A. F. of L., 1923 in 1925.

organized working-class bodies came to be dreaded as a thing that might alienate worthy, but politically suspicious, subscribers." ¹

In 1916 Mr. J. M. Mactavish, a former shipwright, succeeded Mansbridge as general secretary of the W. E. A. Mactavish set about to effect connections with the trade-union movement. When the War had finally exhausted itself, the Adult Education Committee had completed its classic Final Report, the labor movement was confronted with economic and political problems for the solution of which it needed fundamental educational equipment, the moment for the laborization of the W. E. A. had re-begun. Mactavish organized the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee on which he had majority control. The W. E. T. U. C. was a sort of gang plank to the greater trade-union field. Four important trade-unions arranged educational schemes with the W. E. A. through the W. E. T. U. C. Practically the same machinery of the W. E. A. was employed in the new schemes. On the initiative of the W. E. T. U. C. in 1920, the Trade Union Education Enquiry Committee was created which extended the gang plank directly into the Trade Union Congress itself, and thus compelled the labor movement to face the problem of its own education. Of course, it is not easy to measure the force with which the militant and sharp propaganda of the N. C. L. C. for I. W. C. E. (Independent Working Class Education) spurred the W. E. A. out of isolation and into the arena of labor.

The annual proceedings of the T. U. C. since 1921 bespeak labor's serious interest in education. At the Southport Congress in 1922 a resolution was passed empowering the General Council of the T. U. C. to take over the Labor College, Ruskin College and the W. E. T. U. C. schemes at such

¹ Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

time when financial and other arrangements could be negotiated opportunity. By 1925, the Education Committee of the General Council of the T. U. C. consisting of representatives of the N. C. L. C., W. E. A., the Labor College (London), and Ruskin College, presented a T. U. C. Educational Scheme which in effect would mean the integration of workers' education in Great Britain.¹ The object of workers' education as given in this scheme is "to provide working-class education in order to enable the workers to develop their capacities, and to equip them for their Trade-Union, Labor and co-operative activities generally, in the work of securing social and industrial emancipation." The scheme provides for the control of education by trade-union, labor and co-operative organizations, through a national committee of education bodies, but it leaves the present organizations wholly intact and free to carry on the above object, provided that joint action is taken whenever or wherever considered desirable and efficacious. The various educational bodies concerned have assented to the plan. Executive action by the T. U. C. awaits a more propitious industrial situation.

Financial straits were the principal reason for the T. U. C. declining to accept the generous offer, by the Countess of Warwick, of Easton Lodge as a University of the British Working Class. Some perturbation was expressed also from many ardent supporters of the Easton Lodge proposal at the idea that the T. U. C. should make itself responsible for such an ambitious project before having accepted financial responsibility for the evening classes of the W. E. A. and N. C. L. C. Cole also reports another form of opposition, ill-considered, prejudiced, and of minor importance, an

¹ The untimely death of Fred Bramley, Secretary of the T. U. C. and President of the W. E. A. (elected 1924) undoubtedly has contributed to delaying the consummation of the scheme.

opposition emanating from "reactionary obstructionists" in the labor movement, the type that sneers at any kind of college education.¹

Two other aspects of the W. E. A. will be considered briefly ere this altogether inadequate account is concluded: one, activities other than class instruction; two, certain problems of the Association.

First, among the varied activities of the W. E. A. must be mentioned its serious concern for creating progressive public opinion in favor of the expansion of general educational opportunities. The W. E. A. is well aware that the progress of workers' education is conditioned not only upon the incidence of the business cycle but also upon the educational "shortages" in the adult population due to an inadequate primary school system and the absence of a free secondary education. The force of the latter problem is vividly portrayed in the following table.²

It appears from this table that at the age of fifteen years, the overwhelming mass of juveniles sever their connection with the school. The reluctance with which some youths pledge themselves to attend evening school reflects partly upon the primary school and suggests a failure to inculcate a love of learning. The W. E. A. has learned from too much repeated experience of how difficult it is for adults to regain the habit of study in later years. Since the W. E. A. believes that education should be continuous and life-long, it co-operates with other voluntary organizations to provide "some form of education combined with social amenities." Some organizations cater only for adolescents; others for adults, with junior sections attached thereto. The program

¹ "Bournemouth and Easton Lodge," *The Highway*, Oct., 1926, pp. 9-10

² With acknowledgment to Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders and D. C. Jones, *A Survey of the Social Structure of England and Wales*, Oxford 1927, 246 p. Table LII, p. 119.

TABLE XIV

PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION, AT DIFFERENT AGES,
ATTENDING OR NOT ATTENDING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1921

Age Group	Proportion Attending		
	Public Elementary	Other Schools, etc.	No. Educational Institutions
9-10	913	47	40
10-11	912	51	37
11-12	892	73	35
12-13	853	115	32
13-14	684	186	130
14-15	160	230	610
15-16	10	150	840
16-17	1	92	907
17-18	—	58	942
18-19	—	33	967
19-20	—	23	977

pursued by these groups include: dramatics, games, folk dancing, lantern and film lectures, handicraft classes, outings, music, domestic science, sports, museum visits, etc. An attempt is made to keep alive an educational spirit in all of the activities.¹

The W. E. A. has played the part of a pressure group in the reform of public educational policies. Its part in the Fisher Act and the Ministry of Reconstruction Adult Education Survey is well known. It carries on propaganda for a free secondary school system. There are those who hold that if secondary education were as free in England as it is in America, attendance upon workers' educational classes would diminish. No convincing evidence has been adduced in support of that view. Statistics gathered at the Rand School seem to indicate that about half of the attendance there have the equivalent of a high school education. Con-

sider also the large percentage of school teachers who register in the W. E. A. classes throughout the Empire.

The W. E. A. publishes a series of "Outlines" for use in beginners' classes; an official organ called *The Highway*. It operates a Students' Bookshop at the national center in London. It corresponds with the W. E. A. overseas, in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, South Africa, and The Transvaal.¹ Through the influence of the W. E. A., the Oxford and Cambridge Boards of Extra-Mural Studies award annually a number of scholarships for adult students in residence. A great many scholarships are available through the W. E. A. for ex-students of Tutorial Classes and others to various University Colleges.² Gertrude Hermes³ questions whether pre-occupation with "bourgeois culture" will inspire the working-class sufficiently to see its own program through. This is not the proper place⁴ to enter upon that problem, but the recent election on the British Labor Party ticket of several university-trained youths is, at least, suggestive. The W. E. A. holds to the point of view that labor must be acquainted with the social heritage before it can recreate a culture bearing its own stamp. In this task it virtually follows the precepts and example of Marx and Lenin and Jaures.⁵

¹ When the writer collected data from these distant parts some years ago, he fully intended to describe their several achievements. In the interim, however, the material has aged somewhat; nevertheless grateful acknowledgment is due to those who willingly responded. Suffice it to say, for the reader, that the work of the W. E. A. overseas differs in nowise from the parental Association treated of herein, except, of course, in size and variety of effort.

² Cf. *The Highway*, "Scholarships for W. E. A. Students," March, 1927, pp. 111-113.

³ *Die geistigen Grundlagen der englischen Erwachsenen-bildung*, Crismitschau, Rohland & Berthold, 1927, 143 p.

⁴ See Chapter IX.

⁵ In a passage from *Pages Choisies*, Jaures says: "Tant que le so-

A study of some of the problems which confront the W. E. A. may prove enlightening to voluntary educational bodies generally. The W. E. A. is now in its twenty-seventh year. It employs sixteen full-time secretaries in as many districts into which Great Britain has been divided for administrative purposes. Each district is governed by representatives of branches (these are trade-union locals, co-operative societies, labor party locals, and educational bodies) in the district, of affiliated societies, and of individual members. The national center is governed by a Council consisting of representatives of the districts and of the national organizations affiliated with it. The administrative and organizing work of the W. E. A. is shouldered by a paid staff of only 45 persons. As we have seen the W. E. A. caters for over 35,000 students. The annual report of 1928 calls attention to the need for expansion in the machinery of the W. E. A. "The Association can command the ungrudging services of a large and increasing body of voluntary workers, but voluntary enthusiasm and self-sacrifice, if it is not to become labor in vain through lack of systematic guidance and direction, must be backed up by stable and efficient organization." Routine office business due to an understaffed personnel hampers supervision, co-ordination of branches, and pioneer developments. True, the W. E. A. receives a great many grants from public authorities, educational trusts, etc., but these are "applied almost entirely to the cost of classes and do not increase the resources at its own disposal. The grants which it receives from Trust Funds are similarly earmarked for special purposes, and seldom bear any charge for administration."¹ Business depression, the

cialisme n'aura pas complété l'éducation populaire jusqu' à donner à tous les travailleurs le maniement complet, la perception subtile de toutes les richesses de notre langue, le prolétariat ne sera pas encore élevé à la hauteur de l'art."

general strike, extensive unemployment have dried up a number of sources of income. It appears that whereas individual benefactors are readily prepared to give toward scholarships, they are reluctant (often due, perhaps, to unawareness, if not ignorance) to provide for the executive without whom their will cannot be carried out. In Sweden the Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund receives a grant for administration. It will be interesting to observe if the British Labor Party in office, if not in power, will make a similar response.

Professor Laski¹ points out that "the Board of Education, especially since 1924, is not notable for its generosity; and since the Board contributes half of local expenditure, its present zeal for parsimony is reflected in the attitude of local authorities. . . . But local authorities and the central government do not easily part with money save in return for control.² The former show signs of short-circuiting the voluntary movement by creating institutions which they themselves direct." One way out of the financial difficulty, which Professor Laski would not magnify, the same author suggests, is "a vital improvement in the standard of working-class life" which "will depend upon events in the political world."

Another problem. "The danger of adult education today is not that, as in the past, it will be ignored and cold-shouldered. It is that it may be gently asphyxiated in the embraces of supporters who forget that life requires, not

¹ "On the Prospects of Adult Education," *New Republic*, Feb. 22, 1928, p. 49.

² According to my notes on the Coming-of-Age Convention, 1924, a gentleman who spoke on "The Function of the Local Education Authority in Adult Education" (he was himself a member of a local education board) said: "The State can afford to pay for adult education in part, if the existence of the State is not challenged thereby."

only warmth, but air and freedom of movement." ¹ This touches the principle of voluntarism which is the life-blood of the workers' educational movement. This is the conclusion of the Adult Education Committee. "We attribute the great development of adult education since the war largely to encouragement given by political, social and religious associations to their members to participate in educational activities. Such encouragement is likely to be a chief agent in extending the range of adult education, and in ensuring its stability in the future." ² "Voluntary associations it seems to me will always be the seed plot of new ideas, the rallying ground of the advanced guard of civilization." ³ The problem of how to preserve the voluntary principle is a real one, for in order to get things done in the world, institutional structures are necessary. The machinery of institutions tend toward conservatism, inflexibility, bureaucracy, often due to the incapacity of leaders to multiply themselves. This is true as much in the labor as in the capitalist world. The problem is, according to Laski, not yet a serious one for the W. E. A. though it can quite easily become serious. For, it is true the central government, i.e. the Board of Education, makes certain stipulations along with grants-in-aid. It demands the enforcement of certain rules regarding methods of teaching, control of numbers taught and types to teach, and the privilege of inspection of the educational process. This, as Laski says "may easily destroy the need for self-government." ⁴ Cole found very few restrictive interfer-

¹ Professor E. H. Tamm, "The Future of the W. E. A." *The Highway*, Oct., 1928, p. 3.

² Paper No. 9, paragraph 21.

³ Professor J. H. Muirhead, "The Place of Voluntary Association in a State System of Adult Education." Paper read at W. E. A. Convention, 1924.

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ences.¹ Obviously public authorities have the right of ascertaining whether grants are being spent for serious educational effort.² Beyond that, Tawney, Cole, Laski, and the Master of Balliol, agree that educational bodies should be let alone. Beyond that, they are not molested in the Scandinavian countries. In the W. E. A. a spirit of self-criticism prevails which will likely assure a healthy and progressive development.

The writer heard several criticisms from young ex-students of Tutorial Classes and Ruskin College who had been victimized upon returning to their original work places. (The trade-unions have not job control). Hence they had desired to enter the Workers' Educational Association as tutors, but they found such chances unfavorable, for, as they contended, tutors are almost wholly recruited from university students³ who incline toward the maintenance of "a self-perpetuating oligarchy." Though it were unscientific to generalize from a few instances, yet there may be a grain of truth in the charge, for as Cole affirmed: "We have at present too few tutors drawn from the ranks of the students, and too much of the University atmosphere in our work. I value the University connection as a means of maintaining standards of work; but we must not allow it to overshadow us or to obscure the essentially working-class character of our problem and our organization. . . . There are quite as good brains to be found in our classes as in any University; and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

² See Appendix VII which contains a survey of ten national ministries of education as to grants-in-aid to workers' education.

³ English university groups and areas have not shown progressive spirit when such distinguished men as Bertrand Russell, Wells, and Shaw stood for Parliamentary election, nevertheless, since the Labor Party is bidding for public power, many university men have become active in the Labor Party.

we must help our students to the means of using them in the service of our movement."¹

Our problem arising out of a purely academic teaching staff for work-people is that the teaching process will become too academic and abstract.² Not all academicians practice the true academic spirit as defined by the Adult Education Committee: "The essence of the best academic spirit is a willingness to face facts, to discard cherished theories when fuller evidence no longer makes them tenable, to suspend judgment upon matters upon which certainty is unobtainable, to welcome criticisms and to hear difference of opinion with tolerance."³ To teach in this spirit requires both professional training and experience. Teaching in the up-to-date sense is a highly significant professional task. It used to be quite a common practice in America that failure in such professions as law, medicine, etc. could be compensated for by entering the teaching profession. Just as failure in business or other vocation was compensated by the thought: "Well, we can always go west and take up farming." Those days are also over. Successful farming is also a scientific business. Adult teaching especially, of workers presupposes not only conversance with a wide field of knowledge and its interrelation, but also a sophisticated worldliness, professional teacher-training, contact with organized effort, labor experience, and a sympathetic point of view with all forms of struggle toward social freedom. If the mere academic man has shortcomings for adult teaching, so does the ex-student of Tutorial Classes. "If he shares the experience and outlook of the class members, he may be less able to widen it, owing to the limitations of his own education. Lack of confidence may make him over-dependent on books,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 14. See also *The Tutor in Adult Education*, pp. 70-75.

² See *The Yorkshire Bulletin* (W. E. A.), March, 1923, pp. 7-8.

afraid of departing from his notes and of experimenting in new methods of teaching. Ex-student tutors may tend to over-emphasize their academic attainments; while their residence as students at the University may help them to lose sight of the world of working men and women."¹

Our statistical data on age, occupations, and previous schooling, indicates great variation and scatter and lack of uniformity. The which increases the difficulties for the tutor. Thus far we have seen that the professional training which tutors in the workers' educational movement receive extends rarely over a month, usually from one week to a month. The teacher-training course at Holybrook House, Reading, England, previously referred to, covers a period of four weeks. Two such courses are given annually during July and August under W. E. A. auspices. Only 14 students are admitted to each course which comprises 30 hours of tuition and private study weekly. Students receive practice in methods of gathering material, in arrangement for presentation, in delivery of a lecture, preparation of syllabi, curriculum construction, methods of teaching, and in the development of workers' education.² The scheme should include practice teaching under supervision,³ not unlike the methods of regular Normal Schools and Teachers Colleges.

That the methods used by the W. E. A. do not meet the needs of all the work-people of England is attested to by the enormous growth of the N. C. L. C. which is numerically the equal of the W. E. A. Mansbridge admits that "for certain

¹ *The Tutor in Adult Education*. An enquiry into the problems of supply and training. Report of a joint committee of the British Institute of Adult Education and the Tutors' Association. Published by The Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, 1928, 237 p. If other groups would undertake similar studies, the workers' educational movement could eventually work out its own educational psychology.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

types of mind there is a great advantage in the existence of educational effort based upon partisan or sectarian institutions. There are many who would not study at all without the desire to serve some sectional interest." ¹ Or as Laski has it "some students require opposition to prick them into thought." ²

On the other hand, the large percentage of adult students who voluntarily elect to study humanistic subjects, literature, poetry, etc., shows that the W. E. A. fills a distinct want in the working-class population, therefore, a good deal of criticism ³ of the so-called "purely cultural slant" in the W. E. A. is not justified. Call these subjects "denatured" or "escape," if you like; literature often presents a better picture of reality than history, and when presented in a social setting, its value in conserving and quickening the emotional drive essential to changing reality is unquestionably great. Charles Darwin wrote: "If I had my life to live again, I would have made a rule to read some poetry, and listen to some music at least once every week; for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied would thus have been kept active through use. The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness, and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature."

¹ *Cambridge Essays*. Edited by the Vice Master of Trinity College, University Press, 1926.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

³ See *W. E. B. Yearbook*, 1922, p. 163. Also, H. M. Kallen, "Education, The Machine and The Worker," *New Republic, Inc.*, 1925, section 6.

Would those who deprecate the "cultural slant" in workers' education give the field to commercial agencies which prostitute the recreational life of the masses. The workers' education movement says, no. strenuous efforts are being made, on the continent in particular, by workers' educational movements to enrich the workers' leisure through mass activities, choral music, dramatics, group travel, etc.

WITH A CULTURAL EMPHASIS

Intelligent citizenship, cultural pursuits, are objectives which have attracted to the W. E. A. 35,000 students from widely diverse elements¹ in the population. Social bonds between the four social movements of labor, the co-operative, the trade-union, the labor party and the workers' educational movement, are being continually strengthened. The four strands are nearly ready to be spun into a single rope. Cultural education might also afford a trysting ground for the population at large when it finally chooses to take a trial balance of resemblances and differences, and as far as public issues are concerned, to act and frame public issues on the resemblances.

THE SCANDINAVIAN WORKERS EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE OF AMERICA²

(Scandinaviska Arbetarnas Bildningsförbund)

Before the war very little of purely educational activity in the workers' education sense was carried on by Scandinavians in America except for some 20 study circles of the International Order of Good Templars. In Sweden, the I. O. G. T. is affiliated with the Workers' Educational Federation. The study circles in America were copied after the Swedish model, hereinafter described. (Cf. chapter following, section on A. B. F.).

Following the war a number of Grand Lodges in America co-operated for the purpose of book circulation. Several other study clubs, such as, Verdandi (Waukegan, Ill.), The Swedish Study Club (Chicago), and the Educational Committee of the Vasa Order (New York), were active.

In 1926, the Scandinavian Workingmen's Club of Rockford, Ill., a local of the Scandinavian Workers' Federation

¹ See occupational distributions, Chapter II.

² Headquarters of the National Committee at 6315 Harper Ave., Chicago, David Ivar Johnson, Secretary.

of America, proposed to the Grand Lodge (I. O. G. T.) of Illinois that the latter should call a conference for the consideration of forming a Workers' Educational League. At the second conference, Jan. 31, 1927 a league for the state of Illinois was organized. One reason for working through the I. O. G. T. was the patent fact that here was a widespread organization with an active membership to insure strong backing from the start. Another league sprang up in New England. The two leagues joined in an effort to procure the services of Professor Oscar Olsson, Minister of Education in the Branting Cabinet, who came over to help in the integration of sentiment for a national league. Professor Olsson lectured throughout the country in most of the American Scandinavian centers. Sixty single lectures and short courses totaling 30 days in which 8,000 persons participated were the quantitative showing of the tour. His subjects included: "Aims and Methods of Modern Public Education"; "The Educational Value of Fine Literature"; and various specific writers of Swedish and Norwegian Literature. At the same time he wrote several articles for the Scandinavian Press on "Workers' Education," "How Does a Study Circle Work?" Although his six months' stay did not afford him the opportunity of officiating at the formation of the Scandinavian Workers' Educational League of America, he had prepared the way for its birth in Chicago, April, 28-29 1928. Groups in Michigan, Illinois, New England, New York, Minnesota, Canada, California, Oregon and Washington were represented. Among the supporting organizations are: The I. O. G. T., the Vasa Order of America, the Independent Order of Vikings of America, the Independent Order of Swithiod of America, the Scandinavian Fraternity of America, the Scandinavian Workers' Federation of America (the first and last named are the most active), in addition to various co-operative organizations and local

WITH A CULTURAL EMPHASIS

The league carries on by way of lecture courses, conferences and classes. Throughout America some 60 study circles are active. Those circles are self-governing groups. The members select their own project for study and appoint their own study-circle leader. The National Committee has collected an extensive number of Study Plans and Outlines.¹ A list of these is sent out to the circles for selection. The National Committee conducts also courses by correspondence.

The national center of the S. W. E. L. of A. is given to a neutral policy, in the sense, that it does not interfere with the rights of self-determination of its affiliated units. It cannot propagandize for the study of prohibition, socialism, communism, religion, or any particular issue. Its function is to supply requests for literature, study plans, speakers, etc. Consequently, it can invite affiliation from all societies with cultural interests, with interests as fellow citizen seeking enlightenment on the problems of daily social life. In this way greater resources are made available for all.

In proclaiming a policy of neutrality for the national center, it must not be inferred that local units should attempt to exclude controversial questions. Even agitation were better for society than no educational activity whatsoever. The problem is one of the spirit of approach. If controversial issues are approached with an open-minded seriousness, then let the conclusions be what they may. This is the true scientific spirit. It is the genuine will, the sincere attempt to ferret out the truth that matters. "In the struggle for freedom, in the fight for a class-less society, the workers have gathered strength and nobility as their interests have projected themselves beyond the domain of the economic and

¹ Including those in use by the Workers' Educational Federation of Sweden, the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago Public Library, The Field Museum of Natural History, the Scandinavian Workers' Educational League of America. The subjects range over the entire Dewey Decimal Classification.

political. Therefore, workers' education in many lands has reached into the fields of literature, music, drama, natural science, in order to satisfy those whose inclination demands the fruits of these cultural disciplines." ¹

¹ S. W. E. L. of A. Press Release: "Workers' Education" by Professor Oscar Olsson. Acknowledgment for the data of this section in general is due David Ivar Johnson, National Secretary of the S. W. E. L. of A.

CHAPTER VII

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WITH AN INTEGRATIVE TENDENCY

"In the more than thirty years since I began to participate in socialistic education, all that I have heard, seen and read, experienced and thought, has strengthened my conviction: The labor movement must be three and yet one, one and yet three. This trade-union-co-operative-political trinity has become a foundational idea in all modern labor movements of the industrial and politically progressive countries."—
FREDERIK BORGJENSEN, Minister of Education, Denmark.

THE WORKERS EDUCATIONAL FEDERATION (DENMARK) (Arbejdernes Oplysnings-Forbund)

LOUIS PIO, pioneer of the socialist movement of Denmark, in the very first number of his paper *Socialistiske Blade* (1871) pointed out the kind of knowledge which he conceived to be of use to labor: "Teach the laboring man how he can employ the few legal means at hand to protect himself against capitalist oppression; give him the knowledge which is essential, so that when the time is ripe, he can help to manage the factory in which he is now but an involuntary tool; inform him of the achievements of his brothers in other lands, and open opportunities for him to express his meaning and his wishes, his hopes and demands, both in the daily press and in parliament—these are objects which he may justly demand that an organization which claims to champion workers' education and culture should work toward."¹

Pio's hopes and wishes have been realized in part during

¹ Quoted in *Socialisten* (Socialdemocratic Monthly, Copenhagen), vol. 24, no. 7, July, 1927, p. 223.

the nearly three score of years since he wrote. The Social-Democratic Party has consistently pursued an evolutionary policy of parliamentary¹ reform both as a minority pressure group and now as the majority party in Denmark. It would seem that the telic policy of the Social-Democrats, the successful wresting of social reform legislation vitiates the oft-quoted but more or less incorrect aphorism (attributed to Morley) which condemns small reforms as being the worst enemies of great reforms.² The outstanding factor in the parliamentary progress of the social-democratic party is undoubtedly the extraordinary organization and development of the Social-Democratic Press. In this little country of Denmark with its 3¼ million souls, the Social-Democrats control 60 daily papers. The Copenhagen *Social-Demokraten* owns two of the largest Hoe Presses (likely the only two) in all of Scandinavia. Even with a powerful and well-

¹ Cf. *Det Danske Socialdemokratis Historie*, by E. Wiinblad and Alsing Andersen, København: Forlag Fremad, 1921, vols. i and ii, 352 and 365 pp. It is interesting to note that the Socialdemocrats are staunch defenders of democratic parliamentary procedure when the clamor for the so-called "strong man" is so widespread. One explanation of this situation is to be sought in the gradual transformation of the old State from within by social-democratic measures. "We have compelled an amount of social legislation which in effect has changed the old Police State to become increasingly identical with Society." * Socialization and democratization of the State (the process is not completed, by far) in the interest of the masses of workpeople appears to stimulate loyalty toward the State of Denmark.

From an educational point of view, those who advocate democratic citizenship as the summum bonum of publicly financed education while aiding and abetting undemocratic forces must face a sharp contradiction.

² A criterion would seem to consist of an affirmative answer to the question, Is the particular reform measure sought going to be a solid link in a progressive chain that leads ultimately to a fundamental social change?

* Quoted from an Address by Marinus Kristensen, the late Editor-in-Chief of *Socialdemokraten*, Copenhagen. An abstract of the address appeared on the editorial page of *Socialdemokraten*, Feb. 2, 1926.

edited press, the labor movement was confronted with the necessity of systematic class-study and schools. Throughout the country work-people were being elected to public offices. The responsibility for the adequate education of these public servants devolved upon the labor movement itself. Another problem was the education of the work-people, especially the women who spend the contents of the pay envelopes, in the principles and practices of the consumers' co-operative movement, whose progress is conditioned upon co-operative enlightenment and loyalty. Likewise, the trade-unions after the war became something more than mere fighting organizations for the protection of their wage standard. New labor and industrial legislation called for the education of a large group of trade-union functionaries. With Belgium as a model, leaders of the labor movement, the Social-Democratic Party in particular, determined to create a special organization for workers' education. This organization should not be independent of the labor movement; it should co-ordinate the scattered energies through a joint organ called The Workers' Educational Federation, W. E. F. A committee representing The Danish Federation of Trade Unions, The Social-Democratic Federation, The Co-operative Union, and the Danish Social-democratic Youth formulated the objects and rules¹ for a national center of workers' education.

A brief summary of the statutes follows:

1. The object of the W. E. F. shall be to disseminate education among the working population of Denmark.
2. In addition to the four aforementioned organizations, the center shall invite affiliation from national labor organizations unconnected with the Danish Federation of Trade Unions, and individual trade unions.

¹ Published in the *Protokol* of the 19th Social-Democratic Party Congress in Odense, Sept. 2-4, 1923. Copenhagen: Forlag Fremad. Appendix I, 30 p.

3. A governing committee of 18 members shall be elected and apportioned: 6 members from each of the Social-Democratic Party and Trade Union Federation, 3 each from the Co-operation Union and Danish Social-Democratic Youth. This committee shall elect a small executive committee, a full-time secretary and assistants.

4. Financial support derives chiefly from a levy upon the affiliated organizations. The first two organizations (as above) pay 12 öre per member annually; the last named pays 6 öre per member the year, while the Co-operative contributes a lump sum.¹

5. Local committees on education may be created on local or upon the initiative of the national center.

Since 1924, workers' education in Denmark has been carried on through an integrated organization. By integration, for our present purpose, is meant co-ordinated initiative and control by the trinity referred to in the quotation from Minister Borgbjerg. These organizations consider education as a common task. Workers' education in Denmark functions through (1) General social education with single lectures, lecture series, and lantern-slide lectures. (2) Study circles. (3) Evening Schools. (4) Special courses, such as, week-end and summer schools. (5) Residential High Schools for workpeople.

For details under these heads, we shall draw mainly upon the Annual Report of the W. E. F. for the year 1927-28. Anyone interested in the previous history of workers' education in Denmark will find the references² listed below, helpful.

¹ During the Stauning Government (1924-26), the W. E. F. received a subvention from the state treasury. With a change in the Danish Ministry, the amount of the subvention was radically diminished—the principle remained intact only through a powerful defense of social-democratic representatives.—See C. V. Bramsnaes, Chairman of the W. E. F. and Minister of Finance, "Workers' Education in Denmark," *Arbeiterbildung*, Berlin, May, 1928, pp. 71-3.

² *Annual Reports* of the Social-Democratic Party Congresses and the

Lecture Courses

Every year a special course of lectures is organized by the W. E. F. During 1927-28 the topic was "Our Community's Household Economy." The series were given in 125 centers, that is in the smaller villages, with a total attendance of 26,250 persons. The series comprises six lectures. The following are the titles and the sub-titles of the series in question. 1. The Population Problem. (Family and Home in Denmark). 2. Our Raw Materials and Their Use. (Our Danish Earth and other sources of Value). 3. Working Conditions. (Forms and Technique of Production.—The Human Factor). 4. Little Denmark and the Great World. (Commerce and Trade—Domestic and Foreign). 5. Economic Crises—Their Causes. (The Unemployment Problem). 6. New Forms of Community Household Economy. (Collaboration, Co-operation, Socialization). Three of the lectures were illustrated by lantern slides, if desired. The only cost to the local centers consisted of advertising, rent and light of meeting place. The other expenses were defrayed by the national center. The local education committee must guarantee an attendance of 30 persons. Each lecture was epitomized in the form of a syllabus which began

Danish Federation of Trade Unions, Wiinblad and Andersen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 65-70. Vilhelm Rasmussen, *Report of the High School for the Unemployed in Copenhagen*, 1918, 8 p. "Educational Work of the Trade Unions in Denmark," Report by the Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark, *The International Trade Union Movement* (Official Organ of the I. F. T. U.), vol. ii, no. 1, Jan.-Feb., 1922, pp. 47-50. *Proceedings of the International Conferences on Workers' Education for 1922 and 1924*, Amsterdam: I. F. T. U. O. Bertolt, "Workers' Education in Denmark," *The Plebs*, Sept., 1925, pp. 355-7. Marius Hansome, "How Danish Labor Won Power," *The Locomotive Engineer's Journal* for April, 1926. *Annual Reports of the W. E. F. since 1924*. Department on Workers' Education in *Socialisten*, published monthly by the Social-Democratic Party, Copenhagen. Harald Jensen, "Arbejderoplysning i Danmark För Og Nu," *Socialisten*. July-August. 1928. no. 230-50.

and closed with a song in which the audience joined. The syllabus was distributed for 10 öre per copy. The topic for 1928-9 was announced as "Our Community's Cultural Life." Lecture activity in the towns and cities, including Copenhagen is, of course, quite extensive, but complete reports are lacking. (In the year previous, 90 city education committees arranged for a total of 520 lectures with an attendance of 50,960 auditors).

Study Circles

The study-circle idea was borrowed from Sweden where it is perhaps most highly developed relatively of any place in the world. A study-circle is composed of a group of twelve to twenty persons who manifest an interest in plumbing the depths of a given subject, or reviewing critically a certain book, old or new. (An attempt is made to constitute a fairly homogeneous group, as regards age and previous education.) In the case of a very young group a leader who is familiar with the subject is selected. Older and advanced groups carry on like a seminar. Syllabi, pamphlets, and books unavailable in local libraries are sent out from the national center. During the winter of 1927-8, 320 study circles were active. Of this number 77 were distributed in rural areas, 123 in towns, and 120 in Copenhagen. Total attendance, approximately 3,840. The subjects most frequently chosen for intensive study in the order of frequency were: Political and Social Science, Social Legislation, The Land Question, Program and Policies of the Social Democratic Party, History and Practice of Trade-Unionism, History and Theory of Socialism, Local Government, Works Councils and Socialization, Foreign Languages and Esperanto, Social Literature, Educational Problems, Co-operation, The Alcohol Question, etc.

Evening Schools

Ten cities outside of Copenhagen instituted evening schools and classes. Aarhus, second largest city in Denmark, boasted a full-time educational secretary who has put into operation a three-year consecutive study course, while Odense promotes a two-year course. 13 classes with a total enrollment of 248 students received 678 hours of instruction.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' SCHOOL

(Copenhagen)

This school has just closed its 16th year (1927-8). A three-year course of study has been evolved as a permanent form.

FIRST YEAR		SECOND YEAR		THIRD YEAR	
<i>Subject</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Hours</i>
History of Socialism and The Materialistic Interpretation of History	16	Social Economy and Marxian Economics	16	Industrial Development ...	10
History, Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism	16	Civil Law	8	Industrial Enterprise and Accounting	10
Social Science and Statistics	20	Practical Book-keeping	18	Labor Law	10
Co-operation	8	Study Circle Practice	36	Socialization	10
Danish	20				

In the winter of 1927-8, 261 students were enrolled. Books are given gratis to the students. Most of the textbooks have been written by intellectual leaders within the trinitarian labor movement. Most of the teachers are professional men with university training though with labor affiliation. Students are selected from the trade-unions, the party, and the labor youth organization who sponsor the cost of tuition. The W. E. F. grants 25 Kroner for every student sent

from its affiliated units. Various consumers' co-operatives provide scholarships. Harald Jensen,¹ M. P. and Secretary of the W. E. F. is director of the school.

The Workers High Schools of Copenhagen

These schools were born of the unemployment period in the winter of 1917-18. On the initiative of Vilhelm Rasmussen, M. P., now Principal of the State Teachers College of Copenhagen, a day school was started for the unemployed and supported by grants from the city and state. A free noon-day meal was included. Later the school continued in the form of five evening schools. Classes meet in the gymnasiums of the public school buildings. Control is vested in a joint committee of the various branches of the labor movement in the city. The curriculum is devoted to general education in the form of lectures on history, literature, music, social psychology, geography, history of the labor movement, and study classes running through three years, 36 hours per year with instruction in German, English, Danish, Composition, Arithmetic and Bookkeeping. In each of the five schools conducted by the lecture-discussion method, four different courses of ten evenings each were given during the past year. One and one half hour to each session allows 60 hours for the winter's course. Students pay a nominal fee of 5 Kr. for each course. Attendance for the season numbered 575. Ib Kolbjörn succeeded Rasmussen in 1927 as director of the school.

Summer Schools and Special Courses

Every summer the W. E. F. conducts 8-day courses in different high schools of the country. Since its organization, the W. E. F. has carried out the following:

¹ Died January, 1930.

- 4 courses for local public officials.
- 3 " " study circle leaders.
- 2 " " shop stewards and trade union functionaries.
- 2 " " workers' co-operative functionaries.
- 1 " " workers in socialistic culture.

We shall describe only one of these courses, namely, the summer course held jointly with the Co-operative Union at the Castle Hindsgavl in 1927. 89 students of whom 28 were married women co-operators came from 20 different towns to participate in the course. The program for the week assumed a general knowledge of the historical side of the co-operative movement, and addressed itself, as the topics show, to the current problems. Some of the topics were: The Economic Ideas of Co-operation; Productive and Consumers' Co-operation—Their Reciprocal Position; The Region of Hindsgavl—History and Significance; In What Spheres Can the Agricultural Co-operative Enterprises and Town Co-operatives work together? What Does the Co-operative Union Offer its Members and What Does it Demand of Them?; Co-operative Finances; What Factors Determine a Thriving Workers' Co-operative?; The Co-operatives in Relation to Trade Unions and Employees; Fundamental Trends in the Present-day English Co-operative Movement: Production, Trade, and Education; Is it Possible to Bring the Working-class to Become Co-operators?; Forms and Conditions for Co-operative Agitation; Future Problems of the Co-operative Movement.

The Co-operative Union and the W. E. F. work together in other forms of educational activity. During the spring of 1928, the W. E. F. organized a series of lectures on Problems of Workers' Co-operation. 61 towns committees responded with a request for a lecture. Audiences varied in size from 50 to 800 persons. The Co-operative Union paid $\frac{3}{4}$ of the lecturers' fees and expenses, the W. E. F. $\frac{1}{4}$.

Special courses are arranged with various individual unions for consideration of their current problems.

In order to enrich the time for unemployed workers, the Social-Democratic Party procured the passage of a law which permits government grants for those unemployed who elect to attend schools for adults. The government grant covers $\frac{2}{3}$ of the cost (tuition, meals and lodging), while the other $\frac{1}{3}$ can usually be secured from county or local authorities. During the winter of 1927-8 when unemployment was widespread, it is estimated that some 1,200 availed themselves of the five months schooling offered by various folk high schools. A total of 55,000 Kr. was appropriated by the Government¹ for this purpose. A writer² in *Socialisten* comments that "This winter brought the first extensive contact between the workers and the people's high schools." Incidentally this writer suggests also that the application of the supplementary state grants tided over many a financially unstable folk high school. Be that as it may. Another far more important question has come out of the experiment, viz. Is a closer approachment between labor and the farmer high schools possible? It is difficult to say but will be interesting to watch. The late Georg Brandes' pronouncement on the farmers' psychology may turn out to be somewhat unduly pessimistic. "The folk high schools" wrote Brandes, "are very nationalistic in their teaching and as a consequence the Danish farmer is quite impervious to

¹ Government grants for scholarships and subsidies to folk high schools, agricultural schools, and workers' schools approximate nearly one million kroner. $\frac{3}{5}$ of the amount go to scholarships. The W. E. F. received a grant of 12,000 kr. during 1927-28. During the same period, the Workers' Educational Association of Sweden received from public sources 304,206 kroner. (Cf. *Socialisten*, Dec., 1927, p. 364 for a comparative statement of Danish and Swedish State grants).

² Frode Kristensen, "Arbejderne of Hojskolen," *Socialisten*, May, 1928, pp. 121-4.

the international revolutionary ideas. . . ."¹ Statistics of the folk high schools' approach to labor are not encouraging.

"During the financial year 1920-21 (i.e., April 1st-March 1st) there were in Denmark 58 recognized (i.e., State-subsidised) high schools with 7,006 students, and 21 recognized agricultural schools with 2,379 students. Total: 9,385 students. The following table covers students at all People's High Schools and Agricultural Schools during two representative years:²

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO PARENTS' OCCUPATION OF STUDENTS IN DANISH FOLK AND AGRICULTURAL HIGH SCHOOLS

Year	Actual Totals	Percentage According to Parents Profession				
		Farmers %	Smallholders %	Workers %	Artisans %	Others %
1905-06	7,886	52	22	3	10	13
1910-21	9,385	57	15	3	9	16

It would appear from these figures that the folk high schools' influence among industrial workers has remained static during a period of ramifying industrialization in Denmark, even of agriculture itself. In view of the flood of publicity which the Danish folk high schools have been given of late, in America for instance, we anticipate a question like this: "Why workers' education, when Denmark already has so many people's high schools?" The question is reasonable and inviting, and the answer may be inferred

¹ Quoted from an article by George Brandes in *These Eventful Years*.

² Quoted in *Bulletin XVIII*, The World Association for Adult Education, p. 19, from *Folkehojskoler og Landbrugsskoler*, 1916-21. Issued by the Statistical Department, Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1922.

partly from the prodigious but healthy growth of the workers' educational movement. But it is not within our purpose here to attempt an explanation of an historical phenomenon deserving of an elaborate treatise.

Although the workers' educational movement of Denmark encourages a free-thinking critical-mindedness, it does not pretend to neutrality. When a motion for the continuation of allowing a state grant to the W. E. F. was debated in Parliament, the opposition asked: "To what extent is your educational activity neutral?" To which a representative of the W. E. F. replied: "A neutral work! That is: a work without character, without a life-outlook, without belief, without strength, without enthusiasm, without love, and without spirit. No, in truth,—it is not a neutral work! But it is certainly more neutral than any other folk education that lives in this land. It is more real and more objectively searching in history, economics, politics and religion than is true of the Folk High School. Education does not become neutral merely because it agrees with the ruling economy, philosophy and morals of the times. Nor does it become unneutral because its stem leads to other roots and its crown seeks other light than the radiance from the strong soul of Grundtvig. Neutral education is performed on the moon—not in Denmark, nor in any other part of the world. The Folk High School has been educating farm youths for more than fifty years. The product is not especially neutral. If there is reason to support a cultural work, that proceeds from the desire to elevate the Danish working-class, awaken in it a sense for books, nourish its want for knowledge, develop its healthy mental facilities, give it something more to live for than daily toil and depressing worry,—yes, you who manage the state's finances must decide that."¹

¹ *Annual Report of the W. E. F., 1926-27, p. 44.*

NOTE: As we go to press The Workers' Educational Federation of

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL FEDERATION (SWEDEN)

Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund (A. B. F.)

From the standpoint of unified effort in workers' education Sweden will probably be accorded first rank. Unity in diversity has a concrete foundation in the A. B. F. It is not an empty slogan. Unity in Sweden means getting something done. When the A. B. F. celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1927, it reported a membership of 1,086,964. Allowing for overlapping membership, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of this number is genuine, or 600,000 members. What does this figure signify? The population of Sweden in round numbers is approximately 6 million persons. Therefore, one out of every ten inhabitants is a member of the A. B. F. (Workers' Educational Federation). Not even England,¹ whose workers' educational movement antedates the former, could approach this numerical achievement.² The A. B. F. is more inclusive

Denmark reports the purchase of the People's High School at Roskilde for 125,000 Kroner. This school will be equipped as a residential labor college similar to the Esbjerg Workers' School which has recently increased its capacity by building an annex.

¹ It has been estimated that about 100,000 persons in England partake of the benefits of workers' education in one form or another. (Cf. R. H. Tawney's Introduction to *The Story of the W. E. A.*, p. 6.)

² Among the larger groups affiliated with the A. B. F. are:

The Swedish Federation of Trade Unions	414,859
Co-operative Union	339,273
Social Democratic Labor Party	187,565
Swedish Workers Central Organization	36,175
Social Democratic Youth Union	24,811
Swedish Textile Union	22,634
Communist Party	11,883
Communist Youth Union	11,425
Temperance Society (Verdandi)	9,200
Swedish Agricultural Workers Union	4,830
Miscellaneous National Workers Organization ...	24,509

Total 1,086,964

than its neighboring organization in Denmark, in that, among the A. B. F.'s affiliations are the Communistic Party and the Union of Communistic Youth. A dip into the early history of the movement would likely produce a more complete picture.

Workers' education in Sweden undoubtedly owes much to the various Workers' Institutes¹—the first one having been started by Dr. Anton Nyström in Stockholm in the year of 1880—and later to the writings of Hjalmar Branting² who urged the organized working-class to take education as a serious business without which they could never hope to achieve political power. The Workers' Institutes were of the nature of lyceum centers where systematic "popular science" lecture series were dispensed. In 1883, the Swedish Riksdag was sufficiently impressed with the usefulness of the enterprise to vote a grant-in-aid. Also, the folk high school movement of Denmark had stimulated visiting Swedes to set on foot a similar movement at home, although somewhat less democratic in that the students were recruited almost exclusively from the securely situated farmers (Gaardmaend).³ The founding of Brunnsvik High School in 1906 represented a reaction against the exclusiveness of the existing schools for wealthy farmers' youths. Of Brunnsvik more in a later place.

The first plan⁴ for a co-ordinated, centralized organization within the Swedish labor movement for the purpose of

¹ *Folkets Studie Handbok*, Number 3, Oscar Olsson and Yngve Hugo, Stockholm, 1918, 74 p.

² Marius Hansome, "Hjalmar Branting—Leader of Men," *Locomotive Engineers Journal*, April, 1925.

³ The World Association for Adult Education, *Bulletin XIV*, "Adult Education in Sweden."

⁴ Yngve Hugo, "Arbetarnes bildningsförbund 1912-1922," *Bokstugan* (Organ for the Study Circles), vol. vi, nos. 6-7, Aug.-Sept., 1922, pp. 158-165.

promoting a systematic work of education was introduced by Rickard Sandler in 1912, at which time he was director of Brunnsvik High School, later Premier of Sweden. *Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund* as a national organization was constituted on Nov. 16, 1912, and included the trade unions, the labor party, the co-operatives, and certain cultural organizations within the Swedish labor movement. Altogether 20 national organizations are affiliated, and within one of these, the Federation of Trade Unions, there are 33 national trade-unions, hence the actual number of affiliations is 53. The membership in 1912 numbered 293,633.

Control is vested in a national committee of 22 representatives of the affiliated national units. Apportionment is as follows: 5,000 members are entitled to one representative; organizations with a membership of 20,000 and less than 50,000, two; 50,000 and less than 150,000, three; over 150,000, four representatives. Smaller organizations with less than 5,000 members may pool their numbers for purposes of representation.

According to the By-laws of the A. B. F., the purpose of the national center is to organize library and lecture activity in the labor movement, to purchase books, and to distribute plans and syllabi for study circles and lecture series.

The A. B. F. follows the practice of the Swiss and Belgian centers in the preparation of a catalog containing a list of names and addresses of available lecturers together with topical arrangement of the subjects. The catalog for 1927 lists 96 lecturers, and 218 series of lectures which when grouped under 7 categories present the following distribution:

252 WORLD WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENTS

<i>Subject Category</i>	<i>Number of Lectures</i>
Economics (including Co-operation	51
State and Local Government	49
Socialism and Labor Movement	27
History	27
Literature and Language	24
Philosophy and Religion	12
Natural Science, Health Education	28
Total	218

An upward trend of interest in lecture courses is revealed in the table ¹ as under :

Years	Number of Series with			Average Length of the Series
	8-10 lectures	11-15 lectures	16-25 lectures	
1922-23	5	2	1	4.6 lectures
1923-24	12	3	—	4.8 lectures
1924-25	13	4	3	4.9 lectures
1925-26	12	7	3	5.1 lectures
1926-27	9	8	7	5.4 lectures
1927-28	16	4	6	5.5 lectures

339 courses with 1,931 lectures in 239 places were attended 31,643 persons in 1926-27. 17 localities failed to report, therefore on the basis of 342 courses reported, the average attendance would be 92.

It is interesting to note the progress of this phase of educational activity by constructing a table of selected statistics from the annual reports :

¹ A. B. F. (Official Organ of the Workers' Education Federation), August, 1928, p. 1. (Published in Stockholm, Barnhusgatan 16.)

WITH AN INTEGRATIVE TENDENCY

Subjects	Number of Lectures				
	1913-14	1918-19	1919-20	1926-27	1912-27
Economics and Co-operation.	176	153	467	318	3,992
State and Local Government.	48	155	401	427	3,306
Education	103	9	70	110	1,331
Socialism	76	39	160	195	1,220
Trade Unionism	21	3	27	246	939
Literature	17	32	73	148	820
History	31	—	—	203	760
Natural Science.	4	3	31	172	514
Others	25	31	42	112	637
	501	425	1,271	1,931	13,519

Constitutional reform and the 8-hour day gave impetus to the educational work in 1919-20. The numerous demand for the first two subjects in the above table compels one to pause and ponder the Biblical saying: "Man does not live by bread alone. . . ." Strindberg qualified the saying by admitting that "Man lives *also* by bread."

A significant aspect of the lecture activity is the relation it bears to the study circles and labor libraries. The national center is constantly trying to interstimulate the three phases of local workers' education by relating each to the other. In this way, it is hoped that the usual evanescent effect of *mere* lectures is overcome. Enthusiasm aroused by a spirited lecture—discussion is canalized by the local librarian and study circles leader. If a lecturer can succeed in getting some people's "noses" into good books, he has met the initial requirement of adult education. Study-circle leaders and labor librarians serve the purpose of a corral at the close of the meeting, and later as guides among the treasures of knowledge.

In Denmark, the disciples of Grundtvig extol "the living

word" as *the* method of the Folkehojskole. Uncritical observers from the outside have often made "the living word" synonymous with a "cut and dried" lecture—needless to say, not all the lectures in the folk high schools could reach the high quality of Kristen Kold, Ludwig Schröder, Poul la Cour, Johan Borup, Holger Begtrup, J. P. Sundbo, and Jeppe Aakjær. Some disciples of Grundtvig failed to get the full implication of "the living word." They assumed that "the living word" proceedeth only out of the mouths of the lecturers. They forgot the social aspect, namely, in the German phrase "wir müssen alle mitreden." (Let us hope that they have something to say). Grundtvig wrote: "It is the mouth that must be used, partly because it is the only living tool which the mind possesses here on earth, and partly because we shall never get more in common with the people . . . than what passeth from mouth to mouth, and education succeeds only in the degree that the lecture becomes a conversation (discussion, interview, dialogue) between old and young, and among the young themselves. . . ." ¹ This is precisely what occurred after the formal lecture. Teachers and students mingled in small groups to clear up difficult points and to suggest readings. True, in the early days of the Folk High School, textbooks were avoided, even note-taking in class was prohibited. But with the development of science and book publishing the early practice subsided. Professor Oscar Olsson notes in his book ² that the Danish Folk High Schools are as eager for books now as they were for the mere "living word" then.

In Sweden, the study circle is the most widespread form of voluntary workers' education. The form is not unique. It

¹ N. F. S. Grundtvig, *Bøn of Begreb om en Dansk Hojskole i Soer*, Copenhagen, 1840, 40 p., pp. 19-20.

² *Folkbildning och Självruppföstran*, Stockholm: Eklunds Bokförlag, 1921, p. 141.

has elements in common with the "Arbeitsgemeinschaft" in Germany, and with the personal side of the tutorial classes in England. A writer in Bokstrugan¹ suggests that the study circle method originated in America in the Christian Student Movement and Missionary Societies where small groups congregated in order to deepen their knowledge of Biblical lore. These Bible-Circles were then transplanted to England where they became known as "Adult Schools", and as "Sunday Schools for Adults" in Wales. Whether this is the line of descent is not important to our inquiry, though we should like to suggest that shortly after printing had been invented, books found their way into Iceland and were read in groups, as the Sagas were related through "the living word" in days of old. In Sweden, the study circle made its appearance through the Order of Good Templars,² later (1906) in the Union of Social Democratic Youth. In 1912, the A. B. F. took hold, and under its leadership the study-circle has become an effective organ for self-culture.

Approximately two thirds of the total number of circles are promoted by members of the following organizations: The Swedish Federation of Trade Unions, Co-operative Union, Social Democratic Labor Party, The Swedish Workers Central Organization, Social Democratic Youth, Communist Youth, Communist Party and the Temperance Order Verdandi.

What do these groups study? To throw light on that question, and to show something of the importance attached to particular studies, we have computed data from the annual report of 1926-27 for presentation as under.

¹ Vol. 7, No. 3, 1921, p. 61.

² Oscar Olsson, *Studiecirklar* (Folkets Studie Handbok), 3rd rev. ed., Stockholm: Eklunds Forlag, 1922, 75 p.

TABLE XVI

CURRICULAR CONTENT OF WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL STUDY CIRCLES
IN SWEDEN

(1926-1927)

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Percentages of Total Number Studying</i>
State and Local Government	13.2
Literature	12.1
Organization	11.1
Swedish Language and Composition	8.3
Accounting	6.8
Trade Unionism	6.7
Socialism	6.7
Bookkeeping	5.3
English Language	4.9
Communism	4.3
Public Speaking	3.2
Song and Music	2.9
Political Economy	2.7
Esperanto	2.5
History	1.5
German	1.4
History of Literature	1.3
Alcohol Question	1.0
Historical Materialism	0.9
Geography	0.8
Syndicalism	0.7
Sociology	0.6
Manual Arts for Women	0.6
Social Questions	0.5
	100.0

A study circle is essentially a group of friends, neighbors and acquaintances who desire mutual stimulation through intensive study and discussion of books, old and new, bearing on a given subjects. The different types of circles which have developed within the A. B. F. are here shown:

(1) University Study Circles	3
(2) Lecture-Reading Circles	39
(3) Correspondence Circles	250
(4) School Circles	662
(5) Circles with Study Plan	1,075
(6) Discussion and Library Circles	361

Total Number Active Circles 2,390

Characterizing these several forms briefly, the first is under joint control with the universities. University teachers give the instruction, which, to the present, has been limited to economics and political science. An extra grant is allowed by the state for this type of circle.

The second is conducted like a tutorial class. It aims at the same standard of work as the university circle. This type is particularly favored in the cities where the facilities to well-stocked libraries and supply of highly prepared teachers conduce to thorough study. A lecture is followed by discussion or practical exercises. The session lasts from 2 to 3 hours. The class size varies from 20 to 30 students. Control is vested in the Central Bureau of the A. B. F. but the subject of study is chosen by the group.

Correspondence courses are offered in: Community Civics, National Economy, Swedish Language, Art of Public Speaking, Practical Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Alcohol Question, Esperanto and Trade Union Organization.

School Circles thrive also in the larger cities where professional teachers are available. These circles occupy themselves with the study of foreign languages (usually German and English), Mathematics, Music, Song, Bookkeeping, Physical Culture, and Stenography.

Study Circles with a Syllabus are popular voluntary groups who choose their own leader. The Central Bureau has had some twenty study plans—of college standard—prepared. Brunns-
vik High School gives special short courses for study circle leaders. 50% of those who have taken this course are now

functioning as leaders of local groups. From 1923-27, 501 students attended the study circle leaders' course.

The sixth type is somewhat informal. Topics are decided upon at each meeting in advance of the next. It often takes the forms of a controversial discussion. Opponents are invited. Sometimes the group reads aloud from a book, usually on social science or literary theme. In distant parts, the group becomes a library circle for the circulation of books.

The annual report comments on the increasing interest among Swedish women in study-circle education, however, only 4,943 women, or 16.5% of the total active membership participated.

TABLE XVII

PERCENTAGES OF MEMBERSHIP OF SOME SELECTED NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVE IN STUDY CIRCLES AFFILIATED WITH ARBETARNES BILDNINGSFÖRBUND

Year	The Nat'l Fed. of Trade Unions (414,859)	Soc.-Democ. Labor Party (187,565)	Union of Communist Youth (11,425)	Temperance Order Verdaandi (9,200)	Teleg. & Telephone Union (2,604)	Union of Soc.-Dem. Youth (24,811)	Communist Party (11,883)	Union of Electrical Workers (4,158)	Union of Land Workers (4,830)	Swedish Central Labor Union (36,175)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1912-13..	0.08	0.32	5.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1913-14..	0.36	0.29	6.53	2.78	—	—	—	—	—	—
1914-15..	0.43	0.57	11.02	4.49	—	—	—	—	—	—
1915-16..	0.56	1.12	9.81	6.03	—	—	—	—	—	—
1916-17..	1.05	2.04	10.62	8.84	0.29	—	—	—	—	—
1917-18..	1.36	2.08	12.43	9.52	0.24	3.54	—	—	—	—
1918-19..	1.39	1.82	9.56	10.12	4.92	6.32	3.45	—	—	—
1919-20..	1.87	2.49	12.87	13.88	3.79	14.63	10.19	—	—	—
1920-21..	2.45	3.75	14.79	16.46	4.87	19.73	13.62	0.72	1.60	—
1921-22..	3.35	4.83	16.22	19.90	4.58	21.99	23.01	2.85	2.34	2.96
1922-23..	3.31	5.18	17.42	21.11	10.72	18.98	19.93	3.53	4.29	3.58
1923-24..	3.29	5.20	15.77	22.88	4.03	23.5	19.00	4.30	4.12	3.75
1924-25..	3.46	5.65	19.71	23.76	5.41	26.51	31.92	4.24	4.33	3.67
1925-26..	3.81	5.90	17.43	25.84	5.69	27.38	23.38	4.60	4.52	4.13
1926-27..	3.68	5.87	17.33	24.52	3.92	25.57	19.98	3.63	3.91	4.26

Eleven other national organizations are not accounted for in the table.

The percentage of their membership that is active in the circles varies from 2.09% of the Co-operative Union to 8.73% for the Swedish Union of Young Socialists. Note is also made of the fact that many of these organizations carry on educational work under their own auspices. For instance, extensive educational schemes with full-time secretaries obtain in the Co-operative Union (see chapter 3 on *Vår Gård*), in the Communist groups, the Union of Social Democratic Youth, *Verdandi*, the Union of Land Workers, and the Swedish Workers Central Organization, etc. In the 2,390 circles reporting for 1926-27, there was a gross membership of 38,083, and a net membership (corrected for duplication) of 29,893. Though the table above presents ups and downs, a very gradual progressive trend is discernible. The active membership, is however, relatively far from impressive.

Another important function of the A. B. F. is the purchase and distribution of books for the study-circle libraries of which there are 933 (end of 1927). The total number of volumes on hand is 241,266. Books loaned during the year numbered 537,585 or 233 per 100 volumes.¹ The study circle and library activity operated during 1927 on a budget of 417,928 kroner, nearly one half of which represents state and community grants that are earmarked for libraries.

The lecture activity budget amounted to 76,084 kroner, $\frac{1}{3}$ of which was met by state and community grants, the balance from appropriations by the A. B. F. and local centers, and from admissions, and literature sales.

The financial basis of the A. B. F. is established by an annual contribution of 5 öre per member, in addition to the other sources of income mentioned above, i.e. subsidies from the State, the Provinces, and the Communes. The total budget for all activities of the National Center for 1927 was very nearly one half million kroner.² The State contributes

¹ "We have over seven hundred labor libraries with a book collection totalling 145,000 volumes. During the year 1922-23, 398,000 loans were registered."—Report of Delegate S. Hansson, author and editor, at the Oxford Conference.

² "Sweden i. e. the government, is not parsimonious in financing edu-

26,000 kroner toward administrative expense at the National Center.

We have described the principal functions of the A. B. F. Limitations of space constrain us from detailing the summer courses, special courses and other supplementary activities. Nor can we describe the several local labor colleges and the great variety of local workers' educational effort, the new residential school which opens this year (1929) under the auspices of the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions. We shall, however, tell something of Brunnsvik High School because of its prestige and high educational influence in the life of the Swedish work-people.

BRUNNSVIK FOLK HIGH SCHOOL

Brunnsvik was founded simultaneously with the Rand School in 1906, and as workers' education history would have it, generally, the initiative came from a member of the 'intelligentsia,' from the poet, Karl Erik Forsslund. Unlike the then existing people's high schools in Sweden, Brunnsvik should be completely modern; it should be democratic, inclusive, free-thinking, and it should accent the social sciences. Rickard Sandler, another pioneer of Brunnsvik, in an address entitled, "What We Want" said of the school's aim: "A folk high school is supposed to be a 'school for life'. As modern life is developing, (this phrase) means to an ever increasing degree, a school for *social* life.

education. She spends annually over 2 million kroner on adult education alone. In 1922 Sweden spent (not including local grants) 81,000 pounds sterling on the People's High Schools, or 27 pounds per scholar. This is ten pounds per head more than the state and local authorities spend in England on each child receiving a secondary education."—Fred Tait, *The New Leader* (London), Jan. 18, 1924. This liberal policy is partly attributable to the energetic propaganda and statesmanship of Hjalmar Branting (deceased, Feb. 24, 1925) and the recent Prime Minister Rickard Sandler.

... Education for social builders is what we desire to give our students."¹

Opposition from conservative quarters grew vehement against the founder who was known for his radical views. State grants were denied him until 1910. The fight attracted the attention of the trade-unions and the Social Democratic Party who rallied to the support of Brunnsvik with subsidies, but particularly by providing scholarships and students. The inevitable result was that Brunnsvik became the first workers' high school in Sweden. Prominent teachers also aligned themselves with the school from the beginning. This fact accounts largely for the high educational estimate which Brunnsvik has earned.²

During the school year 1927-28, 77 students were in residence. 51 men and 6 women were registered for the first year's course; 19 men and 1 woman for the second. The average age of the students at the beginning of the school year was: of men in the first year, 24 years, women 22 years, in the second-year course, men 24½ years, women 30 years. Of the second-year students, 7 had passed from the first year's course at Brunnsvik, one had completed the middle-school, one a higher public school, one gained admission through an examination, 9 had taken correspondence courses, participated in study circles and self-study. All had submitted to an entrance examination. Occupations were represented as follows:

¹ Quoted in his speech at the 20th anniversary of the school from an address which Sandler had delivered in defense of Brunnsvik while it was getting its first foothold. *Midsommarskrift*, 1927. Published annually by the Brunnsvik Fellowship, 80 p., p. 23.

² *Bulletin XIV*, Adult Education in Sweden. The W. A. A. E., London: Nov., 1922, p. 5.

<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>
Agricultural and Timber Workers	8	—
Artisans and Industrial Workers	43	1
Business and Office Workers	12	3
Seamen	2	—
Domestic Workers	—	3
Other Workers	5	—

Stipendia are liberally granted to the students from the State, the labor movement, the Communes, and from Brunns-
vik school. One German student was in attendance.

Since 1919 Brunnsvik has offered a two-year course. In-
struction in the first year (6 months to a school year) com-
prises 38 hours per week, of which 24 are for lectures, 10
for tuition in elementary branches, and 4 hours for singing
and gymnastics. In the second year more responsibility is
thrown upon the student's will to self-study, hence tuition,
besides singing and gymnastics, is limited to 24 hours per
week. Second-year students may elect to pursue a human-
istic course (including psychology and problems of world-
outlook, foreign languages—English and German and biol-
ogy) or a social science course (including economic and poli-
tical geography, state and local governments, economics).
For the year under review, 8 students took part in the hu-
manistic, 12 in the social science course.

Eight teachers, nearly all university men, compose the
faculty. Sigfrid Hansson, author and editor, and Rickard
Sandler, sometimes Prime Minister of Sweden, represent the
A. B. F. on the school's board of control.

Two observations in regard to workers' education in
Sweden will bear restatement while bringing this account to
a close: first, the A. B. F. is outstanding, if not unique, in the
creation of an educational movement that includes such di-
verse groups as socialists, communists, syndicalists, etc. We
have seen movements in other countries (with homogeneous

populations) estranged, divided, dissevered on issues of objective, form, content, and method. How many of the political and religious parties of Europe are prepared to consider public education above party or church prejudice! The Swedish A. B. F. affords verifiable evidence of the proposition, that society realizes its higher aspirations in the crucible of education.

Second, through the correlation of lecture-series with the study circle and library, the A. B. F. achieves a meeting of minds—the man and a book. This process encourages individual study without which the mass cannot become leavened.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN FINLAND

In the life of peoples who suddenly bestir themselves to educational activity, one may look, as a general rule, for the stimulus in some sort of imminent or transitory crisis, be it of minor or major intensity, domestic or foreign.¹ Events from the educational history of Finland, our northernmost republic, yield demonstrable evidence in support of the probable correctness of this observation. Paralleling a similar situation in Denmark, though a half century later, the "Kansanvalistusseura" (Finnish Folk Enlightenment Society) originated as a response to the encroaching designs of the Russian Emperor (Alexander III) upon the national life and liberties of the Finnish people. This movement developed strong bourgeois nationalistic tendencies which repelled the workpeople who had come under the influence of international socialism. Hence, organized labor founded its first

¹Vaino Tanner, sometime Prime Minister of Finland, pointed out that the fundamental political changes and reforms by which Finland had benefited in recent decades were traceable to revolutions in foreign countries. In a speech to the Finnish Workers' Educational Association of New York City. Reported in *The New Leader* (New York City), Dec., 1925, by Adolph Salmi. Reprinted in *The Nation*, Dec. 23, 1925.

Workers' Institute in 1899 (same year as Ruskin College) at Tammerfors. The Russian Revolution of 1905 sent a radical impulse through the labor movement. In 1906 the socialist and labor movement had grown sufficiently strong to wrest complete extension of the suffrage to men and women. Political enfranchisement brought new problems, and the attempt to face them registered in the establishment of more Workers' Institutes, one at Vasa in 1906, another at Uleaborg in 1907, at Abo and Viborg in 1908, at Kotka in 1911, etc. Today, the number of these institutes exceeds 40.

A Workers' Institute¹ is an evening school, not very unlike the more ambitious labor colleges here in America. The aim is "to spread intellectual and moral enlightenment among the broad masses, to stimulate and assist independent study." The spirit of these schools is educational. Political and religious party quarrels are eschewed. The non-class-conscious worker is welcomed as much as the class-conscious, in fact, no person seeking education is excluded. Special departments exist for young people in study circles, library, and athletics. The Institutes set no hard and fast limits to the period in which an individual should complete his studies, though the general plan is to lead the students to a given achievement in the course of three years. Opportunities for continuous study are open, and students have been known to attend from ten to fifteen years. All students

¹ For the material on Workers' Institutes, I have drawn upon the sources following, for which acknowledgment is gratefully given. *Die Arbeiterinstitute in Finnland*, Von Magister phil. T. J. Wuorenrinne, *Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit*, Bern, Aug., 1922, pp. 3-4. *Social Tidskrift*, Helsinki, no. 5, 1922, pp. 347-355. *The Workers' Institutes and Other Free Institutes of Finland*, Board of Schools, Government Printing Office, Helsinki, 1924. Hynynen, Ville, "Adult Education in Finland," *Workers' Education*, New York: W. E. B., May, 1926, pp. 1-5. Niilo, A. Mannio, "The Utilization of Leisure in Finland," *International Labor Review*, April, 1924, pp. 573-586. (Mr. Mannio is Director of the General Department of the Ministry of Social Affairs.)

have free choice of courses and subjects, and those who desire may submit to examination, for which the successful are granted a certificate. The more numerous study classes are in the social sciences, public speaking, practical writing and arithmetic, the History and Language of Finland, foreign languages, Esperanto, bookkeeping, drawing and singing. Popular lecture courses (6 to 15 hrs.) on social ethics, sociology, economics, natural sciences, medicine, hygiene, art, literature, history, geography are well attended.

The Board of Schools' Regulations concerning grants in aid prescribe that "An institute shall have an owner as contemplated by the law, such as a Commune, Guarantee Association, Company, Foundation or Individual. It shall have a definite duly appointed managing body, a definite superintendent who, when conditions are sufficiently advanced should make this post his principal occupation but may under more modest conditions hold it as a subsidiary position." Among several other requirements may be mentioned that a minimum of forty students shall be in attendance (exceptions allowed only at the discretion of the Board of Schools), that a regular protocol shall be kept and an annual report rendered. It is also recommended that the director or directress (opportunity is equal for both sexes) shall be personally suited and qualified for the profession of popular enlightenment and through an adequate education including pedagogical training and familiarity with public educational problems.

Instructors are usually recruited from the teaching staff of the local schools.

Workers' Institutes originate chiefly in the municipalities, and especially in those which are administered by the Social Democratic Party. Control of the school is vested in a governing committee composed equally of students and representatives of the workers. The director or directress, branch

librarian, and the chairman of the membership association are entitled to attend and to speak at all of the meetings of the governing committee but they are excluded from voting. Toward the budget of the school the municipality is obligated for one half, while the State grants the other half. This makes the Institutes subject to periodical inspection as to educational standard by the Board of Schools. Mutual financial responsibility makes it possible for the Institutes to enjoy exclusive premises. Their centers resemble "people's houses" with class-rooms, library, bookshop, office, and canteen. Whole time directors are employed in more than one half of the Institutes. The school year is from Sept. 15 to Dec. 15, and from Jan. 15 to April 15th.

In order to unify the work of the Institutes, the membership of all are organized into the Union of Workers Institutes which holds national conferences for the promotion of efficiency. Membership in each Institute varies from 50 to 150 for the smallest town, 300-500 for the middle-sized town, up to 6,000 in the largest city, Helsinki. A nominal fee is usually charged to members, though in some instances no charge is exacted, while the poor and indigent are always exempt upon request.

Much importance is given to the communal social life at these centers. Sunday evenings are devoted to dramatic performances, choral singing, declamation, popular lectures, and music recitals. Every come-together of Finnish people would be incomplete without a social chat over a cup of coffee. One evening in the week is characterized by debate and discussion at which time the students practice the elements of public speaking. On one evening the central emphasis will be on content, another on form, another on decorum, etc.

(The Workers' Educational Federation)

TYÖVÄEN SIVISTYSLITTO (T. S. L.)¹

Like the Swedish A. B. F., the Finnish National Center is constituted of the different organizations concerned with the education of the masses. It was founded in 1919 under the guidance of the distinguished Professor Väinö Voionmaa, Finnish representative in the League of Nations, and by Magister Hjalmar Eklund, a teacher, both of whom have served as chairman and secretary respectively since its inception. 18 national organizations with a total membership of 430,000 are affiliated with the center. A few of the names may throw light on the varied composition and interests of the federation: The Social Democratic Party, The Federation of Socialdemocratic Young People, The Co-operative Union, The Abstinence Association, (these four were the charter members in the national center), The Federation of Swedish Workers of Finland, the Workers' Sport Federation, The Trade Union Federation of Finland, The Music Federation of Workers, Socialdemocratic Women's Federation, The Federation of Workers' Theatres, etc.

The Finnish W. E. F. like its Swedish prototype aims to disseminate social education among the masses by means of study circles, lecture courses, libraries and postal tuition, and, to support voluntary educational effort wherever found among the workers. Since 1920, the national center has organized two-week courses for study-circle leaders from two to four times every year, besides a great many week-end and summer courses. Leaders of circles are usually "self-educated" laborers. In Finland, the study circles are largely rural. Owing to the sparsely settled regions of Finland, the

¹ Cheerful acknowledgment is due Mr. Eklund for certain Swedish inter-linear translation of Finnish text, and for other materials.

study circle is an apt form of adult education.¹ The number of circles and membership show a steady advance.²

	1920	'21	'22	'23	'24	'25	'26	'27	'28
Circles	63	75	103	100	121	186	230	244	342
Membership	700	850	1,300	1,387	1,789	2,411	2,949	3,475	4,462

Subjects most in demand in the circles are: literature, economics, history of socialism, local government, general history, sociology, history of literature, public speaking, book-keeping, arithmetic and Esperanto.

Postal tuition is given in the Finnish, Swedish, and German languages, in Esperanto, in the principles of organization, and in some elementary subjects. A correspondence student is a potential nucleus for a study circle.

613 popular science lectures were delivered during the year 1927-28.

How is this educational activity financed? Partly by the income from a levy on the membership, 20 penni per individual per annum, partly by donations from co-operatives, and from several funds, but by far the greatest financial support comes from State grants. During the year 1927-28, the State allowed grants as follows: for popular lectures 60,000 Finnish Mark, to study circles 90,000 Mk., and to administrative costs and general purposes 125,000 Mk.

The various federations for sport, drama, music, receive liberal grants from the State. For instance, The Labor Theatre League operates 150 labor theatres in different localities on the strength of State support. Local talented amateur players employed for the supporting roles while professionals play the leading parts.³

¹ Helli Suominen, "Studiecirkelarna i Finland," *Social Tidskrift*. Published by the Ministry of Social Affairs, Helsingfors, vol. 23, no. 3, 1929, pp. 165-176.

² *Annual Report*, July 7, 1928.

³ Anyone living in the neighborhood of Finnish settlements in America,

Having given a résumé of the workers' educational movement of Finland in general, there remains yet the task of describing what is considered the crowning achievement of all, The Workers' Academy.

(The Workers' Academy)

TYÖVÄEN AKATEMIAN ¹

A vigorous campaign for the establishing of a high school for labor students was begun by the Workers' Educational Federation in 1921. One year later, a committee of representatives of various labor, co-operative, socialdemocratic, and cultural groups was convened. At this meeting, it was decided to form a Workers' Academy Sustaining Company. Shares were distributed among workers' organizations and individuals, after which the statutes for the company were approved. A cigarette manufacturer, P. C. Rettig and Company, became interested in the project and donated a sum of 200,000 Finnish Marks, while the State granted 150,000 Fmks. These contributions and others received from the Co-operative Wholesale Stores and different labor organizations made possible the opening of the Workers' Academy at Grankulla, near Helsinki, the capital city of Finland, in November, 1924.

The academy is classified as a second-year peoples' high school which carries a government grant amounting to something in excess of 100,000 Fmks. yearly. The valuable

e. g. in New York City, Astoria (Oregon), Quincy (Mass.), in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin and Illinois, can witness for himself the possibilities for adult education that inhere in amateur theatrical work. Anyone interested should consult with Mr. Vilho Hedman, Secretary of the Finnish Workers' Educational Association of America, 2056 Fifth Ave., New York City.

¹ The present account is based upon the annual report of the school for 1927-28, supplemented by correspondence with Mr. Hugo Mäkinen of the Workers' Academy.

premises owned by the Academy at Grankulla in addition to the liberal donations from co-operatives, communes, private individuals, trade-unions, etc. provides a sound economic basis for the academy's immediate future.

The Workers' Academy aims to equip intellectually active worker students for responsible offices in the important workers' movements—the trade unions, the socialist party, the co-operatives, the workers' education movement, and, for governmental and public functions. The college devotes much attention to political science but not in the partisan spirit. Its aim is rather constructive critical-mindedness.

The school term lasts six months (from Nov. 1st to April 30th). All the pupils live in the academy's modern dormitory. In the year of our report, 11 women and 31 men attended. The students came from all parts of Finland and belonged almost exclusively to families of work-people.

OCCUPATIONS OF PUPILS

Blacksmith	1	Smallholder	1
Office Workers	2	Dressmakers	3
Clerk	1	Tanner's daughter	1
Factory Worker	1	Farmers' sons	6
Woodworkers	2	Domestics	3
Auto driver	1	Laborers' daughters	2
Tailor	2	Business man's son	1
Filer	1	Metal driller	1
Notary	1		
Laborers	12		

Scholarships and stipendia granted by organizations of labor, communes, individuals, and the state covering all expenses relieves the students of any worry of a financial sort. The ages of the students for the year under review varied from 16 to 35 years, with an average age of 23½ years. Previous education: 5 were graduated from commercial schools, 34 from grammar school, 3 had not been graduated from any school but had been active in study-circles, and

other educational groups. Students are usually selected by the organizations which sponsor all or part of a scholarship. Those who desire entrance without recommendation must submit to an examination. On the whole preference is given to students with the best preparation, both academic and practical.

The Workers' Academy has worked out four course divisions; socio-political, municipal, co-operative and educational. The purpose of this scheme is to forestall superficiality and to direct the studies of an individual student so that he really comes to grip with the matter he reads and studies. A course division is illustrated as follows: political science, sociology, economics and social politics form a course. The students may carry more than three subjects of study if capability is proved.

CURRICULUM

1. The Social-Political Sciences

Sociology	12	lectures	
Social History of Finland	6	"	
Labor Legislation	12	"	
Trade Union Movement	8	"	
Finnish Labor Movement	2	"	
Alcohol Question	4	"	
Land Question	2	"	
Political Science	38	"	
Municipal Politics	51	"	
Co-operation	43	"	
Political Economy	60	"	238

2. The Natural Sciences

Geology	14	"	
Biology	20	"	
Anatomy	14	"	
Physics and Chemistry	14	"	62

3. The Humanistic Studies

History	28	"	
Literature and History of Literature	62	"	
Ethics	16	"	106

4 "Practical" Subjects

Finnish Language	80	hours	
Public Speaking	46	"	
Elocution	24	"	
Arithmetic, Bookkeeping	48	"	
Domestic Economy (women)	20	"	
Gymnastics and Physical Culture (for women)	36	"	
Same (for men)	38	"	302
			<hr/>
Total			708 hours

Instruction at the school is given by means of class recitation, lectures and seminars. What are called "practical subjects" are taught by the recitation method. Lectures are often accompanied by lantern slides, and usually followed by group reviews and discussion. A certificate is granted at the close of the term on which is indicated the particular grade achieved in each study.

Teachers at the academy are nearly all of them university-trained men. Grankulla is only one half hour by rail from Helsingfors, the seat of Finland's great university. Many of the lecturers at the Academy hold a professorship at the university. Two of the teachers live at the academy. Dr. Julius Ailio is the superintendent and Magister T. I. Wuorenrinne, the rector. The regular teaching staff numbers ten persons and the lecturing staff, sixteen persons. Each lecturer delivers two lectures per week. The school hours are from 9 to 11 a. m., 3 to 5 and 6 to 8 p. m. Students hear three different lecturers daily except on Saturday on which day only four hours are given to class-work. Saturday is general cleaning day. Sunday is observed as a free recreation day.

The library at the academy contains four thousand volumes. It receives gratis fifty different newspapers and magazines.

THE WORKERS' EDUCATION CENTER OF AUSTRIA

(Arbeiterbildungszentrale)

The great human adventure which Giddings¹ romantically denominates as history occasionally plays an ironic prank which in some instances is accompanied by far-reaching educational consequences. During the Austrian Revolution, the city of Vienna acquired several properties, among which was a former castle at Heiligenstadt, a refuge at the pleasure of the Empress Maria Theresia.

At the beginning of the 15th century a pretentious mill occupied the castle site. Three hundred years later von Hildebrand converted the mill into a small castle, architecturally in the Baroque mode. Here the members of the despotic house of Hapsburg indulged their appetites in Bacchanalian abandon. A retinue of 35-50 servants attached to the castle were needed to minister to the jaded tastes of these corrupt "Royal" epicureans. Contrast this picture with the present-day situation at the castle. A committee representing the Socialdemocratic Party of Austria, the trade-union and co-operative movements negotiated with the City of Vienna for the lease of the castle with the object of founding a workers' high school. The city made the necessary changes for dormitory accommodation, class-rooms, library and social room. On Jan. 17, 1926, the Workers' High School celebrated its opening with a class of 32 students. Mayor Seitz of Vienna in his address of welcome recounted with pride the rapid strides which characterized the growth of the Socialdemocratic Party, its influence on the progress of freedom in education. "Thirty-seven years ago", he reminisced, "as a young man, I delivered a series of lectures in this district. The topic was: 'What does Socialdemocracy

¹ Franklin H. Giddings, *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, New York: Macmillan, 1922, Chapter V.

Want? A dozen of us fled hither. We registered our course at the police station, taking care to throw the police off our trail by decoying our series as Commercial Arithmetic and German Business Writing. Should the police pay us a call, we actually busied ourselves with arithmetic and composition. Having satisfied themselves as to the political unimportance of these studies, the police departed, and we proceeded with the study of socialism."¹

Education by stealth! Today, as Carl Seitz, Mayor of Vienna pointed out, students may move freely, think freely and speak freely, and gather the fruits of knowledge unmolested.

The Workers' High School crowns the system of labor education in Austria. A more or less coherent scheme of workers' education is now divided into three stages, the lower, middle and upper. The lower stage embraces the various classes, week-end schools, and summer schools of the district branches of the labor party; the middle school is the Parteischule in Vienna; the upper stage is study in residence at the Workers' High School. In trade-union education a three-year consecutive evening course leads to the Workers' High School. The consumers' co-operative movement has not as yet perfected an extensive graduated scheme of education. It carries on by intensive short courses.² But it must be remembered also that the co-operative movement works in intimate relationship with the Socialdemocratic Party. Moreover the Workers' High School is a synthesis of the three movements, political, trade-union and co-operative, and that all three are reflected in the curriculum of the high school. A co-ordinated progressive curriculum to suit the stratified plan is in process of construction. Its

¹ *Bildungsarbeit*, Vienna, Jan., 1926, p. 7.

² See Chapter III.

successful completion will place Austria in the forefront of world workers' education. The greatest difficulty as will appear, is to secure unity in the lower stage.

A résumé of the last annual report¹ (May, 1928) will convey an idea of the prodigious energy put into workers' education in this little republic, and disclose the outlines of a coherent system. The single lecture is the elementary form whose purpose is, mainly, to awaken an interest in the more intensive types of courses. 3369 single lectures were arranged by the national center with the subjects and frequencies as follows: Literature and recitations 918, Socialism and economics, 625 history 324, current political issues 321, educational questions 333, the labor movement 140, natural sciences 139, health and hygiene 193, religion and church 133, trade-union movement and social legislation 107, community policy 36. 3,098 of these lectures were given in greater Vienna.

Lecture courses form the second step in the Austrian workers' educational scheme. 134 courses with a total of 694 lectures were given, of which 106 courses with 530 lectures took place in Vienna. There were eight different series from which to make a choice: Main Currents of Present-day Socialist Thought, Ideas and Interests in the Political Battle, Socialist Economic Policies, Russia's Way to Revolution, The Sociology of Justice, Individual and Society, the Origin and Development of Religion, The World, Life and Man.

¹ Cognizance must be taken of the fact that the annual report relates only to those functions in which the national center co-operated. Obviously the greater amount of educational endeavor obtains in Vienna, where $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population is concentrated and where the best teaching talent is available. A discipline that can enforce full and accurate statistical reports from all local groups is among the objectives of the national center. Three districts outside of Vienna maintain independent secretariats of education which do report regularly.

Selection begins in the so-called schools and short courses for trade union, and labor party committeemen. Of such schools there were conducted 63 with 559 evening sessions. The form of instruction is by lecture-discussion. The topics considered were generally: World Politics and World Economics, The Party Program, History of Vienna. 23 schools with 187 evening sessions were arranged for works councillors. Special schools for women numbered 47 with 381 sessions. In the latter, such topics as, Problems of the Proletarian Wife, Educational Policy, Household and Economics in the Present and Future, Women's Life and Illnesses, Revolutionary Women.

Nineteen schools for youth with 100 sessions were organized. Also, 11 courses of 100 hours in public speaking. In Vienna 3 courses of 6 evening sessions were held specially for aldermen and sworn officials. Supplementary to the lectures, courses and schools, 728 visits under competent guidance were made to museums, collections, exhibits, industries, etc. The national center also conducted sight-seeing tours through "The New Vienna" in which 17,000 persons took part.

The afore-described activities, in addition to summer schools, forms the basis upon which is built the first stage of workers' educational effort in Austria. In the next several paragraphs, we shall present an abstract of the more deep-going education in the middle stage.

The Vienna Socialdemocratic Labor Party School

This school is out to instruct political functionaries in the social sciences. The course runs through nine months, three evenings per week. 101 students, (83 men, 18 women) attended the course during 1927. Six teachers instructed in the following: Economic Problems of the Present, Marxian Economic System, State and Social Development Since the

War, Economic Statistics, Public Speaking, Literary History for Workers. Altogether 198 hours of instruction were participated in regularly until the close of the course by two thirds of the enrolled students.

THE VIENNA TRADE-UNION SCHOOL¹

Dr. Richard Wagner, the leader of this school, has worked out a three-year consecutive evening course of study for young and capable functionaries, and employees, men and women, of the trade-union movement. The course is in its third year at this writing. In the first year: students receive instruction in World Economics and the Economics of Austria (20 hours), Trade Unionism in Austria (20 hours), Civil Government of Austria (20 hours). In the second year, Economic Policy (30 hours), Trade-Union Administration (30 hours). In the third year, Labor Law (35 hours), The Science of Labor (25 hours), History of Trade Unionism (10 hours). Seminar in Journalism (15 hours), Seminar in Public Speaking (20 hours). Classes meet one full evening a week during 7 months. Every session begins with a discussion of current events with daily labor paper in hand. A general convocation of the students and teachers takes place monthly at which time some student introduces a previously prepared subject for discussion. A monthly essay is required of all students. Lessons are vivified by various devices, such as, lantern slides, charts, maps, and guided study tours. Every school year closes with an eight-day trade-union study tour throughout Austria. A careful diary must be kept of the events along the tour. At all points, trade-union leaders and organizers addressed the stu-

¹ This type of school was created out of the necessity of preparing labor's representatives in the Chambers of Labor—legal bodies for the protection of labor's interests. See *Die Arbeiterkammern in Österreich*, Vienna: Verlag der Arbeit und Wirtschaft, 1926, 191 p.

dents on the industry, conditions of labor and the status of organization.

In the table following several characteristics of the student group are brought out.

<i>Age Distribution</i>	1ST YEAR		2ND YEAR	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
20 years and under	7	1	4	2
21 - 25 years	12	2	3	1
26 - 30 "	6	1	3	—
31 - 35 "	4	1	2	—
36 - 40 "	—	1	—	3
	29	6	12	6
<i>Previous Preparation</i>				
Public School	26	6	9	6
Continuation School	21	3	6	2
Commercial School	3	2	2	3
Lower Real-School	4	—	2	—
Business Academy	1	—	1	—
Technical Industrial Museum	1	—	1	—
University (3 Semesters) ...	1	—	1	—
Trade Union Courses	3	—	1	1
Party School	3	—	1	—
Realschulmatura	1	—	—	—
Nursing School	—	1	—	—
Folk Enlightenment Course..	—	—	—	—
<i>Functionaries in:</i>				
Trade Unions	16	5	9	11
Youth Movement	11	2	2	2
Works Councils	2	—	2	1
Political Party	11	1	3	2
Educational Organizations ..	4	—	7	—

The diverse interests of the student body, Dr. Wagner finds, to be fructifying in the learning and teaching process. He suggests, however, that selection of first-year students

should be somewhat more refined, heeding such qualities as, capacity to learn, will to learn, and perseverance.¹

THE VIENNA WORKERS' HIGH SCHOOL

The second session of this school covered the six months between October 1926 to March 1927 with 27 men and 4 women in residence. Ages varied from 20 to 36 years; 27 were unmarried, 4 were married. Tuition, lodging, board, allowances for personal needs and for dependants were defrayed by the respective organizations which delegated the students.

Instruction was given in National Economics (41 double hours), State Government and Constitution (31 hours), History (88), Trade-Unionism, Co-operation, and Organization (44 hours), Labor Law (36), Seminars in Labor Law Journalistic and Rhetorical Practices, and Statistics (63 double hours). Extra-curricular activities included: Museum and Industrial visits, evening lectures, theatrical parties and socials.

A highly qualified teaching staff of 19 persons is one of the extraordinary features of the Workers' High School. Some of the men and women teachers are known international figures. To mention a few: Professor Max Adler, Friedrich Adler, Dr. Karl Renner, Otto Bauer, Helene Bauer, Emmy Freundlich, Dr. Max Winter and Dr. Josef Luitpold Stern, Director of the school.

The Workers' High School is never idle. In the months between regular sessions, the school is used by the cooperative movement, national trade-union federations and other groups for short courses.

Above the antique entrance gate to the labor school-castle a latin inscription can be deciphered: "Das ist das Tor der Mühle," (This is the gate to the mill). Where the old mill

¹ Annual Report, published in *Bildungsarbeit*, Vienna, Sept., 1926.

once refined the grain for bread, today the transformed mill refines worker-students for the just distribution of bread.

MASS EDUCATION UNDER AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL
CENTER

A great deal of miscellaneous activity by the national center is well worth our attention. First, a lantern slide section made 1,692 loans as against 1,318 of the previous year. Second, a film section loaned 1,561 films in 1927 (1,098 in 1926). Third, the Vienna Labor Libraries loaned out 1,089,271 books. These libraries aim at 3 million loans. It is held that every worker should read at least five books the year. The same service is also quite extensively patronized in the country. The national center is making an attempt to correlate these features with the lectures and courses, just as we found the A. B. F. doing in Sweden. The center publishes a monthly organ called *Bildungsarbeit*, a twenty-four page magazine which is, from the workers' educational point of view, highly instructive. Fourth, the Workers' Travel Bureau (stimulated by the legalization of annual labor vacation periods) organized 10 different tours to various European countries. 305 men and 353 women participated. Under expert guidance these tours, which have become popular in many European countries since the war, are designed to foster international understanding and solidarity among the national labor movements. Fifth, and finally, The Socialdemocratic Art Center in Vienna promotes theatricals, concerts—the Workers' Symphony Orchestra,¹ it is said approaches the excellent quality of bourgeois symphony orchestras, exhibits, choral singing societies, and *sprechchöre*. The Art Center procures tickets at reduced rates for its labor membership, and it has to come to have a powerful influence

¹ (over 200 symphony concerts have been performed.)

on theatrical productions through a demand for the cultural type of play.

We have been discussing workers' education in Austria—education that is distinctly working-class because it is financed and controlled by the organized workers. Vienna also contains a great many other institutions which cater primarily for the education of work-people. For instance, the Folk Enlightenment Institutes (Volksheime) or (Volksuniversitäten). These schools are politically neutral, even though a socialdemocrat, Ludo Hartmann was instrumental in their development.¹ Five of these folk high schools are situated in districts where work-people reside. Their budgets are met partly by contribution from the trinity of labor and the Chambers of Labor, partly from fees, from private persons, and from the city treasury. Labor is represented on the committees which control the schools. Besides general education, special vocational courses are given with the view to helping labor people attain higher qualifications in their calling.²

Few persons will gainsay that natural science, foreign languages, mathematics, stenography and technics are subjects which some labor students need to know, and that these disciplines can be taught as well, if indeed, not better, under present circumstances, by the so-called neutral Peoples' High Schools. The Austrian Workers' educationalists favor a given area of neutralization in education. They are ceaselessly interested in neutralizing the public school.³ In workers' education, they insist on a clear demarcation when ques-

¹ Otto Bauer, "Die Arbeiterhochschule," *Bildungsarbeit*, Jan., 1926, p. 4.

² Correspondence with Dr. Fritz Brügel, Vienna. Dr. Brügel is leader of the Social Science Studies Library which caters especially for the representatives in the Chambers of Labor.

³ Cf. Otto Glöckel, *Die Österreichische Schulreform*, Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1923, 56 p.

tions of Weltanschauung, social values, social purposes are involved. That is: in the social sciences, absolute neutrality in a class society, they hold, is impossible. Hence, they would delimit the field between workers' schools and people's high schools on the basis of the social sciences. In the latter area workers' education becomes, from the point of view of the national center of Austria, essentially socialist education, not in the sense of rigid party dogma or doctrine, but a critically class-conscious labor education.¹

Post-war Austria, with its more or less homogeneous, industrial population, if undisturbed, hopes to perfect a coherent system of workers' education that other centers will want to emulate.²

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia has long been interested in education. Five hundred thirty years ago, John Huss became a lecturer in the University of Prague. Nearly three hundred years ago, John Amos Comenius, one of the greatest of modern educational reformers, gave us *The Great Didactic*. In 1895 The Labor Academy was founded with the aim of educating the working people to a higher intellectual and social level. The father of this institution was the distinguished intellectual, Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovakian republic. Associated with him was Josef Steiner, a leader of the labor party. The Labor Academy was created by the socialistic labor movement, the Social Democratic Party and the trade-unions. "Several social reformers belonging to university circles participated."³ Educa-

¹ Correspondence with Dr. Käthe Leichter, Vienna.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Social Policy in the Czechoslovak Republic*, edited by the Social Institute, for the International Congress on Social Policy in Prague, 1924, 261 p., chap. iii, "Leisure Time of Czechoslovak Workers", by Dr. Vladimír Procházka.

tionally, it represents now all sections of the organized working people, the political, trade-union, co-operative and sports organizations.

Membership in the association supporting the Labor Academy is direct and indirect. Financially, the academy is autonomous. It derives its income from a cultural tax levied on the affiliated organizations, from fees, gifts, subventions. The school receives a substantial grant from the State toward that part of its educational work which has to do with civic education.

Although the general aim of this institution is "to qualify the worker in the struggle for new social forms", and although it is founded on a socialistic labor movement, yet, "its party and class character is rather faint." The school does not conceive its aim to be merely to educate the members of the party. "It wants to bring knowledge anywhere, where there is a craving for education and who cares for the education of the masses in accordance with the socialistic ideas."¹ "Among the members of the teaching staff as well as among the pupils, there are many who are unattached to the political party which supports the school."²

The Labor Academy is constituted of ten departments which are classified as follows:

1. Socialist School. Courses:

- (1) Socialism as a conception of future society.
- (2) Principles of Socialist policy.
- (3) Current political developments.
- (4) The principles of Socialism.
- (5) The history of the Czechoslovakian Socialist movement.

¹ *Report of the Labor Academy (Delnicka Akademie)*, Prague, 1921, p. 8.

² Correspondence, Czechoslovak Ministry of Education.

- (6) The principles of modern Socialist policy.
- (7) Workers' legislation.
- (8) Marxism.

2. Lectures on sociological subjects.

- (1) Training for association officials.
- (2) Training for public speaking.
- (3) Social subjects for women.
- (4) Rights of citizenship.

3. Practical lectures.

- (1) Commercial science.
- (2) Shorthand.
- (3) Bookkeeping.
- (4) Typewriting.
- (5) Instruction in various European languages.
- (6) Specialised lectures.
- (7) Housewifery.
- (8) Treatment of defects in speech.
- (9) A series of lectures on Books and their preparation.

4. Artistic education.

- (1) Singing.
- (2) Amateur theatricals.
- (3) Opera singing.
- (4) Chorus singing.
- (5) Artistic education of children.
- (6) Music teaching.

5. Lectures on sanitary science.

- (1) Precautions against tuberculosis.
- (2) Dangers of alcohol.
- (3) Personal hygiene.
- (4) First aid.
- (5) Venereal diseases.
- (6) Hygiene of women.
- (7) Hygiene of children.

6. Courses of lectures.
 - (1) Social education.
 - (2) Citizenship.
 - (3) Natural science.
7. Single lectures.
 - (1) Sociology.
 - (2) Political economy.
 - (3) Trade-union movement.
 - (4) Cooperative movement.
 - (5) Literature.
 - (6) Public education.
 - (7) Political science.
8. Occasional lectures on national interests.
9. Theatres, concerts, artistic performances.
 - (1) Socialist theatres.
 - (2) Special celebrations and artistic matinees.
 - (3) Popular artistic performances.
 - (4) Singing competitions.
 - (5) Excursions to places of artistic interest.
10. Care of children and young people.
 - (1) Children's entertainments and social festivals.
 - (2) Excursions, country walks, etc.

Courses and schools are not uniform but adapted to local conditions. Courses extend over a period from two to five months with not less than two meetings a week. Classes meet in the evenings. So far, Czechoslovakia has not achieved to a resident college like Ruskin or Tinz. The outstanding school is the "Higher Socialist School" in Prague, founded in 1926, and upheld by the Labor Academy.

THE HIGHER SOCIALIST SCHOOL

has a two-year curriculum. Its object is to train officials, leaders, and specialists. Only university professors and

those prominent in different branches of public activity teach in this institution. Only fifty students are accepted yearly. Students meet 8 hours per week. The principal subjects taught are: sociology, political economy, social politics, history of socialism, civil and labor law, history and philosophy. The school is a self-governing body. Professor Dr. J. Macek, M.P., is the director of the school. It is stated¹ that the school's courses are much sought after since the regular universities do not offer courses in socialism. The school is open to anyone who manifests a genuine interest in acquiring knowledge about the socialist and labor movement. In a way this school may be said to consummate the idea expressed by President Masaryk at the founding of the Academy of Labor (also called, The Labor Institute). He held that the object of this workers' educational enterprise should be, not only the popularization of the sciences, but a higher political training of the electorate which resolved itself into a problem of the intensive education of political leaders of the masses.

The general plan² of the educational work of The Labor Institute may be presented schematically as follows:

(a) Extensive education

The object here is mainly to create interest for adult education and for continued training and intensive work.

(b) Special schools and courses

Assisting the workman to comprehend more fully that branch of labor in which he earns his daily bread. Special schools for technical instruction that will help the worker to increase his income.³

¹ Interview with Ing. Jaroslav Vacek.

² From a report issued by *The Labor Institute*.

³ Special technical courses have been organized for workers in the

Instruction in the main problems of the working-class. Interesting the worker in the higher study of scientific socialism.

(c) The Higher Socialist School.

A numerical statement¹ of the activity of the branches of the Labor Institute is reproduced herewith:

	Year	Number of Courses	Hours of Teaching	Students present
Courses providing general education ...	1926-27	71	1235	4381
	1927-28	82	1492	4420
Special courses	1926-27	114	4302	4072
	1927-28	124	6834	5391
		Lectures		
Lectures	1926-27	1646		129,780
	1927-28	2397		174,557
Art studies, Music, Theatre	1926-27	152		58,433
	1927-28	211		89,963
Other educational activity	1926-27	383		41,381
	1927-28	257		38,624

Nor is this all of workers' education in Czechoslovakia. The Union of Labor Gymnasts grew out of the Labor Institute. This group is a large corporation with over 100,000 members, 50% of which are adult, the other half is below the age of eighteen years. This sports federation owns hundreds of homes and carries on an immense activity both physical and cultural. In 1926 there were 1,032 branches in

following industries: woodworking, electrotechnics, locksmiths. Special courses for officers in the trade unions are organized. The Academy of Labor has also observed that workmen are very much interested in courses on their native language and literature, foreign languages, book-keeping, typewriting.

¹ Report of the Labor Institute.

the republic. Their libraries contained 53,595 books. Their educational activity for the year 1926 included: 9,762 speeches, 2,426 lectures, 3,243 discussions, 2,362 theatrical performances, 430 performances for children, 571 Punch and Judy shows, 806 musical evenings, 224 social evenings, 508 artistic representations for children, 963 excursions with educational lectures, 543 parents' meetings.

Numerous other activities must be merely mentioned, for instance, the special courses for women, choral singing, labor libraries, education in the rural sections, recreation centers, summer camps, summer schools, evening clubs, socialist debating societies, publicity, foreign travel bureau, the League of Socialist Boy-Scouts, the socialist youth groups, the Social Democratic Students Organization, the Kinderfreunde, the latter being modeled on the Austrian and German plan.

Two matters deserve special mention: The publishing activity and the Labor Broadcast. In 1907, the Labor Institute issued its first number of a monthly magazine called "Education for the Workers." The attempt to aid speakers and teachers is noteworthy. In order that public teachers and speakers shall keep abreast of the times, the Labor Institute issues every year 25 new lectures of 20 printed pages each. These contain up to date material in various fields of interest. In 1925 a labor broadcasting station was built near Prague. During the following year the trinity of working people met to create a center for the Labor Broadcast. Mr. E. S. Hokes, secretary of the foreign department of the Institute, was appointed central editor of the broadcast programs. Within the three years of its existence, the station has broadcasted 1,940 lectures by 543 lecturers, university professors, members of Parliament, engineers, doctors, etc. of both sexes. The single, informative lecture is supplemented by a course of lectures. In the same period courses were given on the following topics: The A. B. C. of Foreign Policy,

How to Avoid Accidents in Industry, Problems of Democracy, Agricultural Problems, Occupational Diseases, Prominent Foreign Statesmen, the Parental School, courses for Functionaries, Speakers, Members of Industrial Councils, courses in Social and Political Law, etc. A comprehensive weekly radio-review is communicated: Labor Press Service, The Labor Market, Conditions in Industry, Of Interest to Women, News from the Board of Social Work, Workers' Gymnasiums, Relations to Co-operators, Information for Trade-Unionists, Youth, etc. The educational broadcasting is re-enforced by a publication, called *Radiojournal* in which a résumé of the lecture or speech is given, accompanied by a picture of the speaker, and occasionally by pictures illustrative of the topic. The Czechoslovak Labor Broadcast has developed into a school for adults whose experiences are being shared by neighboring countries, Austria and Germany.

While the Academy of Labor or The Labor Institute is the dominant workers' educational center in Czechoslovakia, it is not a unified national center in the sense of the Swedish A. B. F. which includes the communists. The Republic of Czechoslovakia is composed of several nationalities, numerically about as follows: Czechs and Slovaks, nearly 9 million; Germans, three million; Magyars, 800,000; Russians, 500,000; Jews, 200,000; Poles, 80,000; miscellaneous, 25,000. The German Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia maintains its own center for workers' education. The Communists conduct a school in Prague for Proletcult—proletarian culture. The Czechoslovak Socialist Party conducts the Central Labor School in Prague, but this group is practically identical with the Social Democratic Party; at least educationally there is no valid distinction between the two groups. In the Labor Institute is represented: the trade-unions with 34,000 members; the League of Labor Gym-

nasts with 107,000 members; the Central League of the Czechoslovak Co-operative Societies with about 250,000 members; and the membership of the Social Democratic Party. The trinitarian relationship with reference to education is improving, but the Director of the Academy of Labor expresses ¹ the wish that the interrelationship and collaboration will become more whole-hearted and intensive than it now is.

Obviously, since the President of the Republic, Dr. Thomas Masaryk, was a founder of the Labor Institute, it is logical to expect that the government would advance the cause of workers' education. We have mentioned a state subsidy. This is given on the condition that the receiving organization shall submit an annual report of its activity and a statement of how the subsidy was expended. The wider use of the school plants in the republic is not a controversial issue, for the government has ordered that all schools and school equipment shall be gratis at the disposal of any group whose purpose is popular education.

The Labor Institute cultivates contact with foreign workers' educational affairs through delegates sent to different international congresses, international summer schools, special delegates sent abroad for the study of particular educational questions and methods, international camps, organized holiday excursions and vacation travel, and through the exchange of printed materials.

There remains now only to speak of The Masaryk Institute for Adult Education. This institution grew out of the National Cultural Federation of Adults organized in 1906. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday, President Masaryk established a fund toward the founding of the Institute. It was formally opened on March 7, 1925, the anniversary of the President's birthday. This Institute is a non-political

¹ Professor Josef Macek, in a letter to the writer.

center for adult education. It collaborates with the principal cultural organizations of the republic: the Labor Academy, the Central Labor School, the Slovak Educational Federation, the Farmers' Free University. The Communist Party and the Roman Catholic Clerical Party are not affiliated with the Institute.

The Institute is an autonomous organization. It is financed from a gift by President Masaryk, grants from the State, from the fees and contributions of the regular, honorary and sustaining members, and donations from individuals friendly to the project. It is governed by a general assembly and an executive committee, the latter consisting of representatives of the four constituent cultural organizations previously mentioned.¹

The Institute functions in the Republic of Czechoslovakia similarly to the World Association for Adult Education of which Dr. T. G. Masaryk was the first president.

THE INTEGRATIVE WORKERS' EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN BELGIUM

It will become clear presently, why, in this descriptive study, reference has often been made to Belgium. For, this little country of eight million inhabitants, one third of whose population belongs to the organized labor movement, affords

¹ *The Masaryk Institute for Adult Education, 1906-1926*. A booklet published by the Institute, Prague, 1926.

For the substance of this condensed report, I am deeply indebted to Mr. Josef Vacek for an interview which, beside giving me a clearer perspective on workers' education in his home country, also initiated the valuable contact by letter with Dr. Josef Macek, Director of the Academy of Labor, and Mr. E. S. Hokes, Secretary of the Foreign Department of the Labor Institute, who sent me several reports on Labor Education in Czechoslovakia. An acknowledgment is also due Mr. J. Mauer of the Ministry of Education. Other references will be found in the Bulletins of the World Association for Adult Education, in the Proceedings of the International Conferences on Workers' Education, and in several issues of the *International Labor Review*.

a forceful illustration of the proposition that workers' education is essentially a phenomenon which has to do with the realization of the immediate and ultimate purposes of the entire labor movement, and the social well-being of the community.

Belgium is the example par excellence of what we have termed the trinitarian conception of the labor movement. This achievement may be attributed to several factors, among others, an energetic, far-sighted leadership (Emile Vandervelde, in the Labor Party, Edward Anseele, in the Co-operative Union, Cornelius Mertens, in the Trade-Union Commission), the compact character of its industrial life which is closely knit by a network of railroads and other means of intercommunication (every industrial center of importance can be reached in a two-hour ride by rail from the capital), a long period of rule by an arrogant, oppressive, exploiting capitalist class, the anti-combination law and the infamous Article 310 which imposed punishment and fine upon all those who "with the object of increasing or reducing wages, or who tried to prevent work from going on freely." "This article was never applied at all to employers; but was on the other hand always applied to the workers, and that with the greatest stringency."¹ Not until November, 1918, when the Belgian Labor Party was asked to participate in the government was this article 310 repealed. The repeal of Article 310,² the unconditioned freedom of association both for workers in private industry and public services, and universal suffrage, these three measures were wrested by the Labor Party as conditional upon the acceptance of sharing in

¹ Mertens, C., *The Trade Union Movement in Belgium*, Amsterdam: I. F. T. U., 1922, 46 p., section 3, p. 11.

² On May 18, 1921, Parliament repealed Article 310, and, on the same day, passed a law which penalized any attempt to obstruct free association. *Ibid.*

the responsibility of the government.¹ To the credit of the Labor Party, public elementary schooling was also made compulsory after the war.

The progressive movement in this tightly populated land had to contend with several stubborn difficulties, such as, a bilingual population, clericalism, and a dense illiteracy. J. Wauters reminds us that in an earlier day Belgium was "a capitalistic paradise, a land with the longest working-day and the meanest conditions, a land where ignorance was more wide-spread than in any of the western and central European countries."²

Against this background, the present achievements in the fairly unified labor movement may well seem heroic. Moreover, it is freely granted that workers' education has contributed an important influence toward the progressive elevation and unification of the Belgians labor movement.

That workers' education in Belgium is a serious and growing enterprise was accentuated by delegate H. Masson at the Oxford Conference. "In 1911", he reported, "the Labor Education Committee of Belgium employed one secretary. We had six local committees and spent 20,000 francs per year. Now our full-time staff, including the National Labor College, numbers twenty-six persons. We have two hundred local committees and we spend for central administration purposes alone, about one million francs a year. There is hardly a single national or local leader in the Belgian labor movement who has not in some way gone through the mill of the Labor Education Committee."

How this educational work is carried on, we shall now attempt to skeletonize.

¹ "Die Vereinigung der verschiedenen Formen der Arbeiterorganisation in der Belg. Arbeiterpartei," in *Sozialistische Kultur*, Jena, August, 1925, p. 2.

² De Man, Henri, "How Belgian Workers Educate Themselves," *The Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, March, 1923, p. 197.

It is interesting to note again that the drive for the beginning of systematic workers' education came from the political wing of the labor movement. There were sporadic efforts at the formation of study classes as far back as the forties of the previous century when such notables as Karl Marx, Guillaume de Greef, and Cesar de Paepe lectured to groups on political economy. But it was not until 1908, according to Monsieur Mertens, Secrétaire Commission Syndicale, that the organization of education was seriously considered. In that year, the Belgian Labor Party founded a national socialist school which conducted study courses in political, social and economic problems during the week-ends. In 1910, two citizens with socialistic leanings sent a gift of 95,000 francs to Emile Vandervelde to be used in the methodical development of workers' education. Accompanying the gift was a promise of additional financial support if the educational venture progressed. The donation was accepted by the Labor Party, and the executives of the Co-operative Union and Le Mouvement Syndical Belge were invited to formulate a mutual program and statutes for the guidance of a national workers' educational committee. In February, 1911, a body of statutes were agreed upon. The name chosen for the education committee was "Centrale d'Education Ouvrière", (National Center for Workers' Education).¹

The Belgians conceived of workers' education, from the beginning, as an instrument for social emancipation.

La Centrale d'Education Ouvrière a pour but d'organiser et de coordonner l'activité de toutes les oeuvres d'éducation ouvrière

¹ Mertens, C., "Working Class Education in Belgium," *The International Trade Union Movement* (Review of the I. F. T. U.), vol. ii, no. 5, September-October, 1922, pp. 260-270.

Cf. also, *Le Mouvement d'Education Ouvrière En Belgique* par Henri de Man, Bruxelles. Centrale D'Education Ouvrière, 1922, pamphlet, 32 p.

précitées en procurant aux travailleurs les connaissances et les qualités qui les mettent le mieux en état de mener la lutte pour leur émancipation comme classe dans tous les domaines.¹

The Statutes provide for an executive consisting of 3 representatives of the Belgian Labor Party, 2 of the Belgian Federation of Trade Unions, 2 of the Federation of Co-operative Societies, and 1 from the National Federation of Socialist Youth.² A progressive three-step system of schools was introduced throughout Belgium. First, the local labor school, second, the regional school, and third, the national school, the latter being specialized into trade union, co-operative, socialist and municipal schools for the higher functionaries, officials, and public office holders. Dr. Henri de Man was appointed secretary. Under his dynamic direction the work of coordination and organization of labor schools made rapid strides, so much so, that in 1913, Monsieur Ernest Solvay, philanthropic capitalist and one of the original donors, was so well impressed with the results that he gave outright one million francs toward the cause of workers' education. There was a minor condition attached to the donation, viz. the expenditure of the money should be spread over a period of 33 years.³

The Great War mania swept over Europe. Many indi-

¹ *Statuts du Parti Ouvrier Belge* (1920), Chapitre V, Art. 46.

² The Report (1928) of the S. Y. I. credits La Federation nationale des Jeunes Gardes Socialistes with a membership of 13,000.

"The Belgian Labor Party comprises more than 650,000 members, workers who are either socialist trade unionists, or members of the Socialist National Union of Mutualists, or members of the socialistic co-operatives (some members may belong to all the organizations mentioned); approximately 250,000 heads of families are socialistic co-operators, 450,000 workers are members of the workmen's sick-fund. Of the 600,000 trade unionists, 450,000 are socialists."—J. Wanters, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

³ Mertens, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

viduals and groups were torn from their spiritual moorings, regardless of which layer, in the strata of thought, word and deed, held them. Some of the leaders in workers' education enlisted. The promising start was interrupted. Despite the difficulties which Belgium experienced during the war, Monsieur Mertens¹ relates that labor "schools were formed in 30 Walloon and 15 Flemish localities."

When general peace was restored, trade-union membership began to surge. At the time of the declaration of war, the Belgian Federation of Labor numbered only 129,177 members. A year after the war this number had risen to 629,736.² Universal suffrage swelled the ranks of the Labor Party. In the local elections following the granting of suffrage (1921), the Labor Party increased its number of elected representatives to municipal and provincial councils from 1172 to 3379.³ Labor and social legislation increased—Belgium has an unemployment insurance law, an industrial accident compensation law and an old-age pension law. Belgian labor failed to proceed as far on the road to "workers' control" as the German labor movement with its general works council system. Nevertheless, the gains in trade-union membership and public offices presented an educational problem of considerable range and depth. The need for trained leadership led to the creation of a Higher School for Workers. But before we describe this resident "labor college", a few facts concerning the work of the Centrale d'Education Ouvrière (C. E. O.) will take precedence.

In his Annual Report⁴ for 1926, the secretary of the C. E. O. presents the following table:

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

² *Idem.*, p. 265.

³ De Man, Henri, "Labor Education in Belgium," *American Federationist*, November, 1925, p. 1023.

⁴ Covers the French-speaking section only. It is a more important section than the Walloon numerically.

TABLE XVIII

RÉSUMÉ OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE C. E. O. FROM 1922-1926

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Number of Branches of the C. E. O.	160	193	202	205	224
Number of Schools	59	34	49	63	81
Number of Courses	92	50	65	91	125
Number of Lessons	—	—	—	—	653
Number of Pupils	—	—	—	—	3500
Number of Meetings:					
(a) Extension lectures	388	540	800	607	636
(b) Study Circles	—	—	457	369	409

This table is silent on the enormous extent and development of mass education in Belgium. It tells us nothing about the great number of labor libraries, reading rooms, the local education committees' activities in the fields of art, concerts, dramatics, choirs, special schools for city office holders, travel and excursion, sports, children's camps, etc. This general cultural activity among the masses is of local and regional origin.

The procedure of the more formal and severer type of education is not unlike the ways and means of other countries. First, there is local stimulation through the single lecture provided by the extension department of the C. E. O. A list of lecture topics with the names of the lecturers is sent to all local committees who choose the lecturers and arrange a program. Many of the lecturers are accompanied by lantern slides and moving pictures. A summary statement of the variety and number of single lectures offered for the season 1927-28 shows widespread interest in general culture.

¹ A lesson includes: (1) a one-hour lecture; (2) discussion, oral dictation, writing, reading of passages from books, and critical recitation from textbooks, 50 minutes.

<i>Subject Classification</i>	<i>Number of Single Lectures</i>
1. Natural Sciences	31
2. Philosophy, Morals, Religion	30
3. Education	25
4. Laws: General, International, Labor	33
5. History: General, Ancient, Modern	47
6. Socialism: History, Socialization, Co- operation, Syndicalism, Workers' Educa- tion, Woman and Socialism, Biography of Socialists, Imperialism, Youth and Socialism, War, etc.	160
7. Literature: General, Belgian, French, Foreign	53
8. Art: Music, Architecture, Sculpture	40
9. Travelogues of the World	22
10. Diverse	11
	<hr/>
Total	452

Second, the organization of the Socialist Schools is one of the principal objects of the C. E. O. Dr. Nellie M. Seeds¹ has described these schools. "The name", she says, "is perhaps a bit pretentious, since they consist in many cases merely of a series of weekly courses, of two hours each, during a term of six or seven weeks. The schools admit only a limited number of students, who must be chosen by the local labor organizations. These students are required to show sustained effort and active participation in the teaching that they are deriving real profit from the instruction. Class-room discussion, assigned reading, and home work are a part of the requirements. The course follows a syllabus, which is put into the hands of the students before the lecture. The blackboard is utilized. In short, the method is quite formal and pursuant of the more modern precepts of pedagogy. The teachers are sent by and paid for by the Centrale (later reimbursed by the local group), who also provides the

¹ *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education*, Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y., 1927, p. 71.

syllabi and see to it that the courses are consecutive and co-ordinated."

The first year courses usually comprise:

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>No. of Lessons</i>
Elements of Socialism	7
Co-operative Action	5
Trade Union Action	6
Social Insurance	5
History of Belgian Labor	5
Economic History—Belgian	6
Belgian Political Organization	7
Elementary Marxism	4
Miscellaneous (4 courses)	12

Second Year Course:

Money and Finance	5
Labor Legislation	6
The Class Struggle	6
Economic Doctrines of Socialism	5
Workers Control	3
Socialisation	4
Economic Causes and Results of the War	6
Imperialism	6
History of International Labor Movement	3
League of Nations	8
International Labor Bureau	3
Contemporary Revolutions	6
Evolution of Democracy	3

Special Schools for Youth:

Youth Movement	6
Youth Secretarial Course	3
Industrial Organization	4
Foreign Literature	4
Education and Socialism	3
Fiscal Problems (Belgium)	6
Library Organization	3
History of Art	5
History of French Literature	5
Art of Thought	3
Psychology of Socialism	5
Socialist Agrarian Policy	4
Forms of Religious Thought	5
Sexual Question	3
Miscellaneous (Four courses)	12

Special Course for Women:

Education of the Family	12
Reform of Material Life	4
Socialism	6
Child Culture	4
Protection of Women in Industry	6
Miscellaneous (3 courses)	9

The absence of courses in natural sciences is conspicuous, though some consideration is given to this discipline in the Extension Lectures. Even if laboratory equipment and space is prohibitive, it has been found in other workers' schools and the folk high schools, that the natural sciences can be taught in their historical aspects so as to be of fascinating interest to the students.¹

The prospectus for 1927-28 lists the names and addresses of 86 available lecturers and teachers. The teachers are largely recruited from the labor movement as a whole but there are also many professional instructors, lawyers, doctors, authors, and artists, who are unaffiliated with the organized labor movement.

In 1923, the C. E. O. created a Woman's Department with a whole-time woman secretary in charge. The object of the Woman's Section was to arouse cultural interests among the women of the labor movement. Special week-schools and courses, children's departments in labor libraries, are among the doings of the women. It has been necessary to specialize the work among women. In 1926 the C. E. O. decided against co-education. The belief is still current in Belgium that woman should function in a definite sphere, but that her education should aim to equip her so that she may function well.² The Higher School for Workers experienced several difficulties at a summer week-school for women.

¹ Cf. La Cour, Poul, *Historisk Undervisning i Matematik of Fysik*, Stockholm: Verdandi (Tidskrift), 1885, pp. 97-106.

² *I. F. T. U. News Letter*, June, 1926.

The married women felt apprehensive at being separated from their family, while some of the unmarried women displayed a refractory attitude toward the dormitory rules of discipline. Moreover, the variation in the ages of this particular group ranged too widely from 16 to 36, the majority being 20 years and under.

In order to win the women's interest many local education committees are promoting musical evenings, choral societies, gardening clubs, poultry-farming clubs, etc. The degree of genuine educational value to be derived from these pursuits would depend entirely upon an intelligent leadership. The curricula which we have had an opportunity to examine do not disclose that leaders are being prepared for a comprehensive program of recreational activities with an educational slant. Mayhap that this work is being done apart from the C. E. O., as it is true that the trade-unions, co-operatives, sport and youth groups perform educational tasks under their own auspices. While there is centralization in the Belgian movement, there is also an enormously decentralized, local preoccupation. How to co-ordinate, and keep this work on an educational plane where it can be made to articulate with the purposes of workers' education is one of the perpetual problems confronting the C. E. O.¹

Upon one important aspect of education, the Belgian movement is clear. It is, that education is different from propaganda. Monsieur P. Landsvreugt wrote:

We have told our committees that they do not have to appeal to the general public; we are opposed to sensational topics and to exaggerated eloquence. We do not want the lectures followed by conjuration or amusement parties. We want, in an atmosphere of study, to induce the hearers, to reflective thought and inquiry. For years, we have been insisting that lectures

¹ See Educational Notes, *I. F. T. U. Press Reports*, July, 1926.

with big attendance do not give the maximum effect, that it is an error to think that the big mass can suddenly be placed on a superior plane. Certainly, results will be attained in big assemblies. Sentiments can be appealed to, enthusiasm can be provoked, which for propaganda, is not to be despised. But this is not education.¹

The C. E. O. publishes a monthly organ called *L'Avenir Social*, in French, and *Ontwikkeling* in Flemish. Twenty per cent of the budget of the national center is derived from the Solvay Fund, the remainder from the affiliated adult groups. "In 1911, the C. E. O. employed one secretary, had six local committees and spent 20,000 francs a year; now, its staff (together with the National Labor College) numbers 26 people, it has 200 local committees, and spends for central administration purposes alone, about one million francs a year."²

The Flemish department of the C. E. O. reported for the year 1928-29 as follows: 383 extension lectures, 25 courses, 131 lessons, an average attendance at the courses of 25 pupils. The number of courses and lessons indicated an increase over the two previous years.³

Formerly, the bilingual situation demanded the services of two secretaries, one for the French, another for the Flemish speaking population. Beginning with August, 1929, the office of general secretary was created. Monsieur Max Buset, a former instructor in the Higher School for Workers, was appointed to the new position of general secretary.

¹ "Les Progres de l'Education ouvrière dans les Flandres," *Le Peuple* (daily newspaper), November 13, 1924.

² De Man, *op. cit.*, pp. 1027-8.

³ *Verslag van het Bureau van den Algemeenen Raad der Belgische Werkliedenpartij*. XXXX* Jaarlijksch Kongres. Brussel: Nationaal Uitgevershuis De Wilde Roos, 1929, pp. 318-336.

We have now arrived at the apex of the educational pyramid, i.e. the *École Ouvrière Supérieure*, the central labor college of Belgium.

ÉCOLE OUVRIÈRE SUPÉRIEURE

At the International Conference on Workers' Education in Oxford, Monsieur Leon Delsinne, director of the Belgian central labor college, gave a paper on "The Advantages of Residential Colleges in Working Class Education." In it he made a strong plea for the proposition that moral character, tolerance, esthetic appreciation, hygienic living, the feeling of solidarity, genuine studiousness, and kindness are qualities which, given the proper place, persons and things, can be developed more easily in the labor student while attending a residential school than is possible in a non-resident evening school. M. Delsinne spoke from experience in the labor college at Uccle, a suburb that can be reached by surface car in one half hour from the heart of Brussels.

The National Labor College stands in the midst of a 21 acre campus, part of which is laid out as a park, athletic grounds, flower and vegetable gardens, orchards and henery. Five main buildings, separate dormitories for men and women, the director's cottage, an annex for teachers, and the school building, a three-story structure. All buildings are painted white. As one approaches the entrance to the park and comes within view of the college, one receives the impression of entering upon an estate of a retired baron. Stepping inside the buildings, it becomes apparent at once that no energy was spared in making the surroundings modern, comfortable, hygienic, and artistic, even to the slightest detail. If the material surroundings stimulate those qualities which M. Delsinne enumerated, the Belgian labor college ought to realize its objectives.

The purpose of the school is to train young men and

women of promise with respect to intelligence and character, and with a penchant for leadership in one or another form of social action. "An endeavor will be made to form, not learned men, but men and women able to unite thought and action, characters imbued with the sense of the responsibilities of the present time, and possessing a higher and nobler conception of human life."¹

The conditions of admission include:

1. No pupil must be under 18 years of age.
2. Evidence of good physical and moral condition.
3. Ability to read and write.
4. Demonstrable intelligence. (Pupils must submit to an entrance examination.)
5. Previous activity in the labor movement, membership in any one of its branches.
6. Applicants must be proposed by representatives of one of the following:

The Belgian Labor Party, the Co-operative Union, the Trade Union Commission, the National Union of the Federation of Socialistic Mutualists.

The organization which nominates a student also defrays all the expenses of the student including an allowance for his dependants and a certain percentage of his regular wages toward personal expenses.² A scholarship for the 36 weeks amounts to 3,000 francs. The school's income is further derived (about 50%) from the per capita tax which is levied on the members of the affiliated organizations, from the Solvay Fund, and about one quarter of its budget is met by the State, County and Community subsidies.

¹ Statutes of the school.

² The leaders of the Belgian labor movement seem to be of the same mind as L. F. Ward who wrote "The world has nothing to fear from the relief of cultivated brain from the cares and wants of vegetative existence." *Dynamic Sociology*, vol. i, p. 699.

Being partly subsidized by the State does not mean any interference with the freedom of the teaching process. In return for the State subsidy, the labor college must give several courses in social and labor legislation, in the administration of social welfare bureaus, and those students who desire to qualify for the state diploma in social welfare must submit to an oral and written examination by inspectors of the Ministry of Education, and in the presence of the teachers of the college.

CURRICULUM OF THE BELGIAN LABOR COLLEGE

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Hours</i>
French	30	Constitutional and	
General History	30	Administrative Law	18
Economic and General		Civil Law	10
Geography	30	Psychology	18
Economic and Social History		Hygiene	20
of Belgium	18	Elements of Bookkeeping	
History of the Labor		and Accounting	15
Movement	30	History of Art	18
History of Socialism	18	Literature	8
Modern Industry	30	Political Questions	18
Political Economy	30	Workers' Education	8
Trade Union Movement	18	Workers' Relief, Poor-law ...	12
Co-operation	18	Housing	6
Social Insurance and		Statistics, Investigation,	
Mutualism	12	Office Technique	12
Social Legislation	18		
		Total	445

A two-year course, nine months in the first year, and three months in the second, is arranged for those who aim to specialize in social welfare legislation and administration. Only about one third of the students return for the second year term. Paula Lohagen¹ remarks that the diploma has had little practical value as yet, owing to the limited achieve-

¹ "Die belgische Arbeiterhochschule," *Arbeiterbildung*. Monatsschrift Des Reichsausschusses Für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit. Berlin. Vol. III, No. 10. October, 1928, pp. 155-157.

ments of the Belgian labor movement in matters of social and labor legislation, and to the further fact that other schools compete advantageously with the labor college for the same objective, i.e. placing its students in the social service field.

The method of instruction is almost exclusively by lectures. These are supplemented by a weekly two-hour recitation and "quizz" period, also by a two-hour seminar in which special reports are read and criticized. A syllabus is prepared for each lecture course, and mimeographed résumés of each lecture are given out after delivery. This practice makes note-taking unnecessary. The whole teaching process is of a very "practical" nature, theories receive but a passing consideration.¹ An average of 3 lectures per day are delivered. Students are required to take one hour of physical exercise daily, and to give three hours weekly of manual labor to any assigned task. Besides, students rotate their services as waiters in the college dining room. Regular weekly visits are paid to various industrial plants and public institutions. At the close of the year, the student body (which is limited to 30, and usually averages 20) is given a study tour through Belgium and foreign countries.

Workers' education in Belgium has to contend with a bilingual people. This necessitates a double faculty in the labor college.

What becomes of the labor college students? Of 163 graduates, 81 have found permanent positions in the labor movement, 34 in trade-union offices, 11 in the mutualist movement, 15 in the co-operatives, 6 in the Labor Party, 5 in workers' education, 5 in socialist journalism, and 5 have become public inspectors.² Another source of evidence of the useful services which the labor college renders the labor

¹ Lohagen, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

² *Proceedings of the Congress of the Belgian Labor Party, 1929*, p. 326.

movement through its students is revealed through the superior quality of the contributed articles in labor journals.¹

There may be persons in the labor movement who feel that membership in several groups would tend to loosen the cohesive quality of the bond between the group and the individual. The evidence, however, does not seem to support the notion of a divided loyalty or a weakened solidarity. If we grant that membership in diverse groups diminishes the intensity of the relationships to any particular one, we are reminded of certain compensations which from the point of view of society are perhaps more rewarding. Of these compensations may be mentioned: a widening of social perspective, a deepening of appreciation, an increasing need for deliberation leading toward orderly social change. To the individual thus affiliated, an opportunity is offered "to pass from a narrower to a wider circle of community; to pass from one association to another so that none can claim his whole allegiance, so that each membership will include only an aspect of his being, so that personality may be free to express itself not only through associations but also away from associations."²

¹ I. F. T. U. *Educational Notes*, August, 1923.

² MacIver, *The Modern State*, Oxford University Press, 1928, p. 490 *et seq.*

CHAPTER VIII

TOWARD A WORKERS' EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IN THE MOVEMENT

"Internationalismus ist daher nicht eine Summierung von einzelnen Nationen, sondern es ist eine neue Gesellschaftsform, die auch zu einem neuen gesellschaftlichen Bewusstsein führen muss, weil dieser Gesellschaftsform neue, durch die Nationen hindurchgehende Wirklichkeiten der Wirtschaft, der Gesellschaft und der Kultur zugrunde liegen. . . In der Erziehung kommt es nicht darauf an, für eine bestimmte Form, für einen bestimmten Inhalt zu erziehen. Das ist einer werdenden Zeit nie möglich. Es kommt vielmehr darauf an, das heranwachsende Geschlecht in dem Bewusstsein der Tendenz internationaler Wirklichkeiten stark werden zu lassen."—DR. KURT KERLÖW-LÖWENSTEIN.

TOWARD A WORKERS' EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL

In December, 1913, upon the initiative of the Centrale d'Education Ouvriere of Belgium, a preliminary international conference on workers' education was convoked. The occasion was the inauguration of a new building, la Maison du Peuple, erected by the Co-operative Society of Brussels to house its educational offices and institutions. Anatole France addressed the festive meeting. The conference met at the headquarters of the C. E. O. and lasted two days. It was attended by:

Heinrich Schulz, representing the Social-Democratic Party National Educational Committee, Germany.

Piet Voogd, representing the S. D. P. National Education Committee, Holland.

Marie Hüni-Walter, representing the S. D. P. National Educational Committee, Switzerland.

C. M. Lloyd, representing the I. L. P. National Educational Committee, England.

Alice Jouenne, representing the Educational Committee of the Co-operative Societies, France.

Dr. Henri de Man, representing the C. E. O., Belgium.

Belgium, Germany and England had permanently established national committees on workers' education at the time, the other countries represented in the conference were, in this respect, entering preparatory stages.

The conference was devoted chiefly to hearing reports and plans in the countries represented, to the discussion of educational methods with a view to mutual information. In this purpose, the conference was admittedly successful, the small number of participants allowed for thorough exchange of facts and opinions. No resolutions were carried, but Dr. de Man was instructed to call another conference after a lapse of one or two years. A shorthand report was taken of the proceedings but it has remained unpublished.¹

Alas, the war interrupted with savage rudeness any plan for the international co-ordination of labor's quest for culture. Eight months after the conference, Europe was launched into an ocean of bloody fratricide.

To the credit of the Belgian Centrale d'Education Ouvrière, it summoned another international conference in 1922. A Congress of Socialist Youth scheduled to meet in Brussels during August, 1922, suggested the presence of a nucleus of foreign delegates. From the adjourned assemblage of youth some would (several did) remain for the educational meeting. The C. E. O. invited delegates from all socialist parties affiliated to the Second International or to the Vienna Working Union, also the trade-union centers belonging to

¹ Dr. Henri de Man in a letter to the writer, dated Jan. 4, 1928.

the I. F. T. U., and all the co-operative national societies associated with the International Co-operative Alliance. A total of 35 delegates from 11 countries were convened. Dr. de Man again served as chairman.

The greater part of the time of the conference as the proceedings show was given to reports and discussion of workers' educational enterprises in the different countries. The most important resolution adopted was the one which requested the Belgian C. E. O. to act as a center of intercommunication between the educational bodies represented in congress, to call another conference within two years, to cooperate with the I. F. T. U. in the selection of a committee for the promotion of international workers' education.

A few months later, the I. F. T. U. organized a department of education with John W. Brown as secretary. The Belgian National Center relinquished its international responsibility, conveyed all reports to the I. F. T. U. Educational Department which published the proceedings from the Brussels' conference and assumed henceforth the leadership in the international field.

A provisional committee consisting of R. Weimann (Germany), E. Reinhard (Switzerland), M. Jauniaux (Belgium), J. W. Bowen (England), and John W. Brown, secretary of the I. F. T. U. proceeded to work out plans for summer schools (three were held in 1923) and for a more comprehensive international conference. Meanwhile the secretary, John W. Brown, (June, 1923) began to give out a supplement of Educational Notes with the regular Press Reports of the I. F. T. U.

While the provisional committee was preparing to call another conference, a Belgian representative submitted a request that the conference be called in the name of the trade-union, political co-operative, and youth internationals, but his proposal was not honored. Later, the Belgian C. E. O.

advocated that the permanent committee to be selected at the coming conference should be composed as follows: six members to be elected by the conference, and one each from the four internationals aforementioned. At a sitting of the I. F. T. U. secretaries, Mr. John W. Brown was instructed to speak and vote against the proposal when presented in conference.

On August 15, 1924, 61 delegates and guests from 20 different countries and five internationals met in Ruskin College, Oxford, under the auspices of the I. F. T. U. For the purposes of this section, the first and fourth items on the agenda are selected for somewhat detailed discussion. These items included *The Formation of a Workers' Education International* and *The Specific Character of Workers' Education* respectively. The resolution which moved the formation of a workers' education international was as follows:

- (1) The International Workers Education Conference resolves to establish an International Federation of Labor Organizations concerned with Workers' Education, for the purpose of assisting workers' educational associations in the various countries and co-ordinating their activities, and this Conference therefore appoints an International Education Committee, with instructions to draw up a constitution for an International Workers' Education Federation, for submission to a future inaugural conference, to be called at the discretion of the Committee; and this conference further resolves that the Committee shall consist of seven members to be appointed by the Conference.
- (2) This Conference requests the International Federation of Trade Unions to continue to undertake the task of co-ordinating the work of the educational organizations in the various countries, *until such time as the Workers' Educational International can function.* (italics mine)

- (3) This Conference instructs the International Workers' Education Committee, whilst working under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions to consult with the Labor and Socialist, the Co-operative, the Socialist Education, and the Youth Internationals, when drawing up the constitution of the Workers' Educational International.

These paragraphs strongly suggest that initiative and supervision shall be lodged in the I. F. T. U., at least, until an independent workers' education international can function.¹ The Belgian delegation agreed substantially with paragraphs 1 and 2, but it felt that paragraph 3 should be strengthened by enlarging the International Workers' Education Committee to 10 members, of which 6 should be appointed by the Conference, the remaining 4 to be selected from the respective internationals as enumerated above. The logic of the

¹ A more detailed description of the organizations represented and their relations or lack of relation to the I.F.T.U. will illuminate the need for a comprehensive policy in the building of an International of Education. In the first place, our study has not revealed a single country in which the workers' educational institutions are all under the control and leadership of the trade-union federation. In America, for instance, some of the permanent workers' schools, and Rand School, Brookwood Labor College, Commonwealth College, The People's College at Duluth, The Workers' School (Communist) are not affiliated with the W. E. B., an A.F. of L. institution. In the second place, in such countries as Denmark, Belgium, Sweden, Finland, Austria, the trinity of co-operatives, trade unions and labor parties are responsible, in the main, for workers' education (certain individual unions do educational work under their own auspices). Thirdly, in Great Britain, the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C. are independent, voluntary organizations receiving financial support from the trade unions, co-operatives, and, in the case of the W.E.A., from the state. The Co-operative Union Ltd. is entirely independent. Obviously, some of these bodies could not be fully represented by a pure and simple trade unionist. In the fourth place, a number of countries, United States, Australia, India, Japan, Ireland, and British Guiana sent delegates to Oxford even though the trade-union federations of these lands are outside of the I.F.T.U. Had Russia been invited to send delegates yet another type of relationship would be introduced.

Belgian delegates' point of view is readily understood. We have seen that in Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, and Austria there exist a co-operative pattern of interconnection and integrative functioning between the trade-union, political, co-operative and youth movements. No such bonds have been welded in the lands of the so-called "great powers." Hence, few delegates from the "great powers" were psychically receptive to the Belgian plan¹ which consequently failed of passage.

The significance of the Belgian proposal, in its bearing on international unity, became obscured by an amendment which called forth a heated discussion. The secretary of the N. C. L. C. proposed that the International of Workers' Education should be constituted of such associations which avowedly recognized the class-struggle. The N. C. L. C. amendment rekindled the smouldering embers of an old controversy between the W. E. A. and the N. C. L. C. Though the latter's point of view did not prevail, it was not without support, especially from a group of continental delegates. Dr. Luitpold Stern proposed a slightly different wording of the first paragraph giving the aim of the international as below :

for the purpose of the co-ordination and support of workers' educational organizations in the various countries, and the systematic awakening and strengthening of the class-consciousness of the workers of the world.

A vote on this amendment resulted in a tie. The Chairman (C. Mertens of Belgium), in accordance with parliamentary practice customary on the continent, declared the amendment rejected. The original statement was then adopted. Those in favor of the original formulation by the Provisional Committee argued that the scope of the International should be broad, inclusive and tolerant, that the growth of the infant

¹ This point of view will likely prevail ere very long.

should not be inhibited by imposing the burden of a dogmatic and controversially charged phraseology. For instance, if membership in the International were rigidly limited, a dispute could easily arise on the issue of the acceptance of state-grants toward workers' education. If it were decided to exclude all those groups receiving state-grants, such a decision would affect adversely many of those states in which the political power of the Social-Democrats makes available grants-in-aid for genuine educational enterprises; obviously, the result would become abortive.

Limitations on time prevented a complete airing of views upon the topic: "The Specific Character of Workers' Education." Four resolutions relating to this topic were submitted by four somewhat dissimilar delegations: the N. C. L. C., the W. E. A., the Palestinian and the American. The substance of these resolutions may be briefly summarized. Workers' education aims to equip workers for the daily struggle in industry, to cultivate the newly gained leisure, to emancipate labor "from the moral and intellectual domination of capitalism", to promote democratic citizenship, to break the monopoly on our cultural heritage, "to give an intelligent impetus to their demand for a new social order", to change social environment in accordance with the needs of human beings, to awaken a consciousness of labor's important status in the community, to stimulate labor toward fundamental thought and more effective action in the solution of social problems. On three characteristics all the resolutions agree, first, that workers' education should be under workers' control, second, workers' education is considered as an instrument for social emancipation, third, the ultimate aim is a new social order.

Among other problems which the Oxford Conference considered were: the founding of a center for research in workers' psychology and the theoretical basis of workers' educa-

tion, the advantages of residential schools in working-class education, the international exchange of labor students and teachers, the organization of an international labor college, the cinema as a medium of workers' education, the introduction of courses in Esperanto, and the creation of an international fund toward the realization of the aforementioned projects.

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOLS

Under the stimulus of the International Conference on Workers' Education at Brussels, 1922, the Educational Department of the I. F. T. U. with J. W. Brown as secretary, organized three summer schools in 1923, one in Schönbrunn (Vienna), a second in the castle of Brühl, a third, in the castle of Tinz. In June of the same year, Mr. Brown began to issue the first number of the International Educational Notes¹ (in English and German) as a supplement to the Press Reports of the I. F. T. U.

In the year 1924, two summer schools were conducted, one at Schonbrunn. 38 students from 12 countries attended. The summer school at Ruskin College, Oxford, followed immediately upon the close of the Conference. 60 students from 21 countries were enrolled. The students enjoyed the advantage of listening to various leaders in the labor movement. The two weeks' course was not concerned with theoretical or political questions but mainly with story of the trade-union movements of many countries. Every forenoon was devoted to a lecture which was translated either into French, German or English, after which questions were asked. Afternoons were given to sports and sightseeing, evenings to improvised social affairs and special events.

¹ These valuable and informative Notes were discontinued, unfortunately, following the reorganization of the I.F.T.U. after the Paris Congress.

The students resided in the dormitory of Ruskin College which facilitated mutual acquaintance and friendship, as well as an opportunity for interviewing foreign fellow students.

In the following year, 1925, two schools were held, one at Brunnsvik, Sweden, another at Prague, with 30 and 70 students, respectively, in attendance. Denmark, Great Britain, Holland, Latvia, Poland, Switzerland, Ireland, Germany, and Czecho-Slovakia were represented in the student bodies. In 1926, one summer school was organized at Uccle, near Brussels in the *École Ouvrière Supérieure*. There were more applications than could be accommodated. Austrian, Czech, Danish, English, German, Hollandish, Japanese, Spanish and Swedish were the nationalities represented. For some reason French labor students have been in evidence only once, at the summer school following the International Conference at Ruskin College. Of the 68 students in residence, 13 were women. The course of study dealt principally with a thoroughgoing consideration of the trade-union, co-operative and political labor movements of Belgium.

Space forbids us to narrate the praise spoken in behalf of the international summer schools. It was at the International Conference and summer school at Ruskin College, Oxford, largely, that the writer affected the many generous world contacts which facilitated the gathering of the data for this contribution.

We shall now return to the doings of the International Workers' Education Committee.¹ This committee held its first meeting two months after the Oxford Conference. It occupied itself chiefly with the task of composing a constitu-

¹ Composed of: C. Mertens and J. W. Brown, I. F. T. U.; C. V. Bramsnaes, W. E. F., Denmark; J. W. Bowen, T. U. C., England; A. Jauniaux, C. E. O., Belgium; Weimann, Reichsausschuss für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit, Germany; Spencer Miller, W. E. B. of A.

tion. A preliminary draft was approved by the I. F. T. U. Secretariat. Meanwhile, it became known that the German national trade-union center discounted the idea of a separate International of Workers' Education while holding rigidly to the notion of trade-union control in the international area. In order to preserve whatever of forward movement the idea of an International had attained, a revised body of statutes were prepared. These vested sole control in the I. F. T. U. The executive committee of the I. F. T. U. ordered that the various affiliated national federations of trade unions should be sounded out on two points, first, "Is your federation prepared to continue the work of building an International of Workers' Education with control residing in the trade unions? Or, do you prefer that any educational activity in the international field should function through the agency of a subordinate department of the I. F. T. U. under the supervision of an advisory committee?"

The replies are extraordinarily interesting, especially from the point of view of the possibilities of international unity in the labor world. A translation of the answers would occupy more pages than we are prepared to allow. Suffice it to record here that 8 national federations declared in favor of the carrying forward of the Oxford resolution, while four expressed themselves more or less against further procedure. Those countries favoring an international were: Denmark, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Memel, Poland, Palestine, Sweden, and the United States with reservations. Those opposed for various reasons were: Germany, Switzerland, Canada and Holland. The following national centers failed to make returns: Austrian, Belgian, French, Czech, and Spanish.¹

¹ It is of course impossible to ascribe a definite reason for the non-committal attitude of these centers. However, in the Oxford Conference the Belgian proposal for an inclusive International was seconded by Professor J. Besteiro, delegate from Spain. In Austria and Czecho-

In the face of this situation, the I. F. T. U. executive¹ decided to hold the matter in abeyance pending a more widespread demand for continued action, and to appoint an advisory committee on workers' education. At a sitting of the aforementioned executive, November, 1926, it was decided to merge the advisory committees on Youth and Workers' Education. The new committee is known as the Committee for Youth and Educational Questions. The task of the committee is to assist the executive of the I. F. T. U. with counsel in matters affecting labor youth and educational problems. One member, J. W. Bowen (England) of the erstwhile International Committee on Workers' Education was renamed on the new committee. Unquestionably, Mr. John W. Brown,² one of the former secretaries of the I. F. T. U., was the moving spirit behind the urge toward an International of Workers' Education. Since his resignation in 1927, the idea has lain fallow.

An attempt to cultivate the broken ground for an International was made by C. Bramsnaes (Minister of Finance, Denmark) while attending the International Socialist Congress at Brussels, (August, 1928). Bramsnaes has been active in workers' education for many years and is seriously interested in education from an international point of view. (He is known to favor an International of Workers' Education organized on a fully free basis, and not alone on a trade-union basis). Bramsnaes succeeded in convening a meeting of various educational leaders. It was agreed that

slovakia, there exists an increasing tendency toward an integrated functioning of the co-operative, trade union and political labor movements. Therefore, the inference that these centers disapprove of an International limited to trade union control purely is at least within the realm of probability.

¹ Except Purcell and Brown who demurred.

² To whom I am sincerely grateful for the documentary data upon which most of this section is constructed.

an appeal should be addressed to the Sozialistische Kulturbund of Germany urging it to take the initiative in convoking a representative international conference. Naught came of the proposal. Inquiry at the Amsterdam International revealed that no definite plans were contemplated there.

From which it must not be concluded that the idea is not germinating. For, a communication from M. Max Buset, the secretary of the Centrale d'Education Ouvriere, Belgium, assures the writer that the Belgian center will likely call another international conference in 1931.

At this writing (September, 1929) the Danish Social-Democratic Monthly, *Socialisten* (August number) carries a report by Hans Hansen, member of the I. F. T. U. Committee for Youth and Educational Questions.¹ From this report we learn that the aforementioned committee has recently been in session and made a series of recommendations to the executive of the I. F. T. U. We shall summarize in part.

The Committee for Youth and Educational Questions has been preoccupied with the questions of how trade union education can be promoted in the different nations and to what extent an international educational activity can be furthered. The committee assumes that workers' education presupposes a thorough elementary schooling, at least 8 years. That this should be supplemented by obligatory attendance upon continuation schools until the pupil has reached his eighteenth year. Wherever these conditions have not been met, the various national federations of trade unions should fight for the achievement of these objectives.

In addition to the general agencies for workers' education there is a need for special trade union schools under trade union direction. It is recommended that each trade union school desig-

¹ The other members of the committee are: Walter Maschke, Germany; Joseph Pracek, Czechoslovakia; C. van der Lende, Holland; Pierre van Maldere, Belgium; and J. W. Bowen, England. (The French members' name is unknown to me).

nates one person who shall be responsible for submitting a regular report in accordance with a scheme of categories to the I. F. T. U. It is suggested that trade union education should have a definite place on the agenda of trade union congresses, as well as receive frequent consideration at the various sittings of the executive of the I. F. T. U. at which time the Committee for Youth and Education should be present. The I. F. T. U. secretariat should collect study plans, curricula, outlines, and similar teaching materials and place these at the disposition of the schools in one of the three commercial languages. International exchange of students to residential schools shall be encouraged.

The committee also recommended that arrangement be instituted for the coming together of young trade unionists, for a period of one week at the start. Such gatherings should be constituted as a residential school. Lectures of a theoretical sort should be avoided; instead the actual industrial and trade union problems should be studied and discussed.¹ Topics might well be assigned for preparation by the students previous to coming to the school. A different country should be chosen for each school, and the teaching process should preferably be conducted in the language of the country of meeting. Translations should be given as summaries merely. Opportunities should be provided for getting acquainted not only with the labor movement, but also with the economic and cultural situation of the visited country. The expenses should be met by means of full scholarships. The committee urges upon the I. F. T. U. the inauguration of the first international trade union school during the year of 1930, and out of practical reasons that a German speaking land be selected.

Another significant resolution suggested that steps should be taken toward creating opportunities for the interchange of young functionaries, for the purpose of gaining an intimate knowledge

¹ Eschewing theoretical problems, it may be pointed out, is diametrically opposed to the Oxford Resolution V which deals with the establishing of an International Institute of Workers' Psychology. (See *Proceedings*, p. 55).

of the ways and doings of foreign trade unions. These functionaries should be employed in the various trade union offices and should be granted the privilege of "sitting in" on executive meetings.¹

While no conclusions could be drawn with reference to the character of an International of Workers' Education, since the report of the committee in question is only in the nature of recommendations, yet if these recommendations are indicative of the 'way the wind blows' at the trade-union centers, it would appear that the trade-union movement desires to work its international educational problems out by itself, though not necessarily precluding co-operation with other international groups within one inclusive International of Education.

Obviously, the problems of the world are not all trade-union nor economic; man is a consumer as well as a producer; man is a member of a community, a fact that gives rise to political problems. A truly cultural international must take account of the total social situation. How nearly prepared is the trade-union movement to take this larger point of view? It is difficult to say. The political socialists throughout the world have the advantage of a half century of grappling with international matters while the trade-unionists are just beginning to have 'vague adumbrations' of their world relationships. Nor are these world relationships simple and easy to act upon, a fact that is cogently

¹ Would it be considered irrelevant to remark here that the great Social-Democratic Press of Copenhagen began a plan, years ago, by which a group of young staff writers were sent to foreign capitals so as to become somewhat expert, not only in the language of the particular country but also to gain familiarity with its economic, political and cultural situation. Some of these young persons were rotated from one European capital to another. As a consequence, the daily *Social-Demokraten* carries a distinctive intellectual tone of high quality in its foreign features and news articles.

brought out by Paul Levi, a Social Democrat, who wrote an article on the limited possibilities of international solidarity during the British miners' strike in a German magazine. A quotation from the article was relayed by the I. F. T. U. Press Reports, January 13, 1927, and is here reproduced verbatim:

What was ideally called for were demonstrations of international sympathy ranging from a refusal to work for British coal imports to a sympathetic strike. But however closely these may represent our ideals, I cannot feel that either in May, 1926, or later, there was any chance of calling for such action with reasonable hope of success. We must remember the state of affairs at the beginning of 1926. The German workers were nearly all either unemployed or on short-time work; those who still had work were trembling in fear of the day when the hard fate of the unemployed would be theirs also. What would have been the consequences of issuing such a call? Most probably, that the great majority would simply have refused to obey it, and remained at work; the trade unions would have suffered great internal upheavals without profit to anyone. Or, supposing that all or some of the organized workers had obeyed the call: the unemployed would have taken their places. I cannot feel that either among the employed or the unemployed the sense of international solidarity would have been strong enough to put any serious check upon production in Germany, and the employers would certainly not have minded if it had—they would have sold out their pithead stocks to Great Britain just the same. What does all this mean? It means that the sense of international solidarity is not a factor which is always present among the working class, as is obedience in the army. It is a factor whose strength is contingent upon political and other factors. One of the most distressing results of the wave of counter-revolution which has spread throughout the whole world is assuredly this decay of the sense of solidarity—but it will not be reconstructed with the mere issue of a call; it will grow up in the rank and file, as the working class regains

strength, confidence and security. On the 4th of August, 1914, we certainly wished that the soldiers would turn their guns against their own officers. Did anyone give the word for it? No, because we all knew that it could not be the beginning, it must be the end—as indeed it was. It may be that there is still much to be done in the international trade union movement, to prepare the minds of the workers for similar and successful action in the trade union world. But 1926 was not a year in which any such success could be dreamed of. It is a painful fact, of which we may well feel deeply ashamed. But it is a fact which can only be altered if it is recognized.

George Bernard Shaw, speaking before the Summer School of the Independent Labor Party at Welwyn, England, made several piquant—perhaps to some, unpalatable—observations which are pertinent sidelights on our present topic. Among other difficulties which the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald must face, in the opinion of Mr. Shaw, is a certain weighty inertia within the trade-union movement including some trade-union secretaries. The great mass of trade-unionists, declared Mr. Shaw, “are saturated with capitalist ideas.” “The majority of trade unionists have joined their union for direct self-protection. . . . Their business is to get as much money as they can for labor. . . . They have never studied society at large. . . . The trade unionist side is apt to be national . . . protectionist . . . ignorant.”¹ In contrast with the pure and simple trade-unionist, Mr. Shaw finds that the intelligent socialist is likely to be an internationalist, a free trader, largely; the socialists have studied the larger aspects of society; they have a more

¹ Quoted from an address by George Bernard Shaw, extracts of which were reported in *The New York Times*, August 25, 1929. Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., seconds G.B.S. “Trade union leaders have got ‘things-as-they-are’ fairly well taped, and don’t want drastic alterations that may upset all sorts of well-arranged applegarts.”—*The New Leader* (England), Oct. 4, 1929.

scientific outlook, and therefore the socialist leadership of the British Labor Party is able to hold its own.¹

But there is something more to be said for the side of the trade-unionists. Some trade-union leaders have seen clearly enough that the political enfranchisement of the masses, even the rise of labor to public office, if not to complete power, was not accompanied by industrial liberation or economic democracy. They have learned that the new social order cannot be inaugurated by one fell swoop, but through an evolutionary process that may be accelerated only by an increase of social intelligence among the masses.² From the trade-unionist standpoint this progressive enlightenment expresses itself through an effectively closer organization of labor and workers' control in industry. Hence the trade-union man's preoccupation with economic matters.³ There is of course a danger in this preoccupation, namely, that the idea of economic action will become a dogma, a fetich, an *idée fixe*, a result which from the viewpoint of general social progress should be averted. Nevertheless, the curricula of a number of trade-union schools which we have studied yield ample evidence that trade-unionists are beginning to take larger views, a fact that might blunt the Shavian stinger. The days of the one-track mind, the either-or strategy are receding rapidly. Intelligent men everywhere are beginning to factorize social situations.

¹ *Ibid.* (On the continent, trade union leaders have admittedly a more comprehensive socialist tradition than is true of the English-speaking countries. See speech of Johann Sassenbach, Secretary of the I.F.T.U., before the 59th British Trade Union Congress).

² Cf. Fritz Tarnow, "The Functions and Organization of the International Trade Union Movement," *I.F.T.U. Review*, July-September, 1925, pp. 153-172. (Tarnow is President of the International Union of Woodworkers. Berlin.)

³ History affords us similar responses from labor groups. See, e. g., the period following the defeat of the Chartists' political aspirations.

In our introductory section, the point was brought out that workers' education is not only concerned with adults but also with the education of children and youth. This fact leads us to a brief consideration of The Socialist Educational International and The Socialist Youth International.

THE SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL INTERNATIONAL (S. E. I.)

On the 5th and 6th of January, 1924, a conference of socialist educational societies met in the city hall of Hannover, Germany. There were present 19 delegates who came from: Austria, Germany, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Palestine, Armenia. Both the I. F. T. U. and S. L. I. were represented. This body proceeded forthwith to organize the S. E. I. A constitution was drawn up. Vienna was chosen as the seat of the executive. Dr. Max Winter was elected president, and A. Jalkotzy secretary, both at home in Vienna. The objects of the international will be:

- (1) to unify the cultural work of the affiliated organizations.
- (2) to foster socialist education in unaffiliated countries.
- (3) to create independent educational organizations in which socialist educationists, teachers and parents, can promote the physical, mental and moral well-being of children, teach the socialist Weltanschauung which comprises such virtues as, the feeling of solidarity, of internationality, and of upright manhood.
- (4) to democratize education and to abolish all form of educational monopolies.
- (5) to stimulate the public in socialist criticism of bourgeois educational policies in their evil aspects, and to campaign for child welfare and against all forms of child exploitation.
- (6) to expand all public facilities for education and schooling; to keep any anti-labor influence (imperialism, clericalism and capitalism) down to a minimum; to train the children in open-minded search for truth,

and to foster a critical outlook with especial reference to the facts of social life, to socialize the feelings and to strengthen the will toward discriminative choice and decisive dealing.

The socialist educationalists must work with the children after school and other free time. They arrange outings, play days, excursions to foreign countries, Sunday Schools; they establish libraries, reading rooms, camp-retreats, children's homes, vacation homes, kindergartens. Magazines and papers are published for children and parents. The latter are exhorted "to take a hand in the education of their children and not leave it solely to the enemies of their class." These educational organizations of the laboring class demand that the socialist parties, the trade-unions, the co-operatives give freely of moral and financial support.

How widespread is the socialist education movement? Associated with the S. E. I. are the following countries: Denmark, Germany, Latvia, Austria, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Approximately one half million children come under the direct influence of the movement. The greatest activity obtains in the German-speaking countries where the *Kinderfreunde* movement is held in high esteem. Of the *Kinderfreunde* more will be said later.

Dr. Max Winter, President of the S. E. I., who will visit America in 1930, is at present engaged in the creation of an international library, in which will be published 100 books for children (from 6 to 16 years) in 10 different languages. These will be carefully selected. The criterion emphasizes: a tendency toward altruism, international understanding, high literary merit, and pleasing format, material get-up, pressmanship and illustrations. And yet, they must be sold at a very low price, not to exceed 10 cents. 100 first-class authors of all nations will be represented in the edition.

The selection of the stories will be done by international experts.

Dr. Max Winter is working out another idea which deals with the international exchange of children, a plan by which he hopes to bring the families of different nations on terms of friendliness and sympathy, thus inhibiting any disposition toward mutual extermination which the Great War called out. Dr. Winter has evolved an ingenious method of financing the project. He has collected stamps for the last two decades for this laudable purpose. He has accumulated over one million stamps which he has donated to the S. E. I. The proceeds from sales of these stamps will be applied on the international exchange of children.¹

The headquarters of the S. E. I., as also the national seat of the Austrian Kinderfreunde, is located in Schloss Schönbrunn, a former Austrian Kaiserhof, which in splendor and magnificence can be compared only with Versailles or with Fredericksborg Slot (near Copenhagen). The surrounding gardens with the primeval trees rival paradise itself. The present castle has passed the two-century mark. It fairly reeks with historical traditions as few remaining castles in the world do. It was here that the House of Habsburg reigned. Maria Theresa had the castle completed in its present form. Napoleon stayed at the Castle in 1805 as an unwelcome, self-invited—not as a guest—intruder and conqueror. Later Napoleon married Maria Louise, the ceremony being held in the Kaiserhof. The Duke of Reichstadt, son of Napoleon died unhappily in Schönbrunn. Bismarck, the Reichskanzler, was a guest here. Schönbrunn, beautiful well, where the Royal sportsmen and hunters would tarry to quench their thirst, is now a trysting-place for the Kinderfreunde, pioneers of the new social order.

¹From a letter to the writer. Dr. Winter suggests that friends of children may send their individual stamp collections to the headquarters of the S. E. I. as a contribution to the realization of his plan.

THE KINDERFREUNDE MOVEMENT

is the stronger section within the S. E. I. In Austria the movement was founded by the late lamented Anton Afritsch.¹ His childhood was unhappy. He was "self-educated", an ardent student of natural sciences, and a zealous advocate of total abstinence. In 1907 he began to take his own children on hikes through the woods and fields. Soon neighboring children asked to join these rambles over hills and dales. The group grew into the first "Kinderfreunde" organization on February 23, in Graz with 65 members and 100 children. Twenty years later the organization has spread throughout Austria and counted a membership of 95,308 with 200,000 children, 3,800 voluntary helpers and 305 professional educators. Everyone of the 361 local organizations maintain a library. The total number of volumes in all libraries amount to 100,000. Total income of the movement in 1927 amounted to one half million dollars.² Approximately 6,000 children, 14 years of age, pass annually from the Kinderfreunde into the labor-youth organizations.

The Kinderfreunde was started "with the intention of brightening the existence of the workers' children, and, at the same time, modifying their education towards Socialism—and, be it here understood, that by Socialism we do not mean a political programme or a political creed, but a condition of life and a state of mind founded on clearness, liberty, responsibility and friendship."³ In this connection a quotation from Karl Marx is illuminating:

¹ Born in 1873, died July 9, 1924. He became leader of the Woodworkers' Union, later editor of the socialdemocratic paper, *Arbeiterwille*, and town councilor of the city of Graz.

² Derived mainly from membership dues, appropriations from the trade unions, social democratic labor party, the consumers' co-operatives; from unconditional public grants, individual contributions, the proceeds from affairs and collections.

³ *How the Austrian Working People Care For and Educate Their Children*, Workers' Society of Children's Friends, Vienna, leaflet, 8 pp.

Politische Ökonomie und Religion sollten in den niederen Schulen nicht gelernt werden, ja auch nicht in den höheren; man müsse es den Erwachsenen überlassen, sich auf diesen Gebieten zu bilden; die Belehrung darüber gehöre in den Hörsaal, nicht in die Schule. Nur die Naturwissenschaften, nur Wahrheiten, die von allen Parteivorurteilen unabhängig seien und bloss eine Deutung zuließen, gehörten in die Schule.¹

With the Kinderfreunde is amalgamated a group, with similar objects, called Freie Schule, hence the name of the Reichsverein is "Freie Schule-Kinderfreunde." The objects of the amalgamated association can be summarily stated: (1) the organization of parents for the purpose of securing the fullest possible development of the physical and psychological well-being of their children, and their education toward socialistic thinking, feeling and willing. (2) the abolition of all educational privileges, and (3) the freedom of the public school and its separation from the church.²

As means to the reaching of the aforesaid goal, the association seeks to educate the parents through evening courses of lectures with free discussion, through papers, magazines, and leaflets, through specially selected libraries, through educational conferences of parents with teachers and a free educational information bureau. Special courses and schools are conducted yearly for professional teachers and for the volunteers in the movement.

¹ A declaration on education which Marx made at a meeting of the General Council of the First International in 1869. Quoted by A. Jalotzky in *Die Sozialistische Erziehung*, vol. 3, 1923, p. 54, from Kautsky's *Die Proletarischer Revolution und ihr Programm*, p. 273.

² Satzungen, *Sozialdemokratischer Erziehungs- und Schulverein, Freie Schule-Kinderfreunde*, Section 2, p. 1. This movement goes out from the standpoint that bourgeois society is not only a political and economic phenomenon, but that it is not less a forceful and influential psychological power that is exerted over the minds of the children of labor. See Kanitz, *Kaempfer Der Zukunft*, 1929, p. 9.

What the association offers to children has been brought out partly in our treatment of the S. E. I. Supplementing that discussion, it might be suggested here that Vienna and other large cities offer many possibilities for what Professor Dewey has designated as "informal education." All sorts of play and sport activities are emphasized under supervision of either public school teachers or volunteer *Kinderfreunde*. Due to the War and post-war poverty, numerous children of labor received an unfair physical start in life. Many fell victim to the dreaded plague of tuberculosis. For this reason, and to alienate the children from the crowded streets, from the temptation to indulgence in alcohol and nicotine, the *Kinderfreunde* made every effort to entice the children into the open country, to playgrounds, swimming pools, etc. Organized visits to museums, industrial centers—factories in order to observe their parents at work, theaters, libraries, musicals are frequent. Instruction in various skills is offered. Numerous lantern-slide lectures, film showings of an educational turn, readings, and chorals are given. The prodigious activity in behalf of child well-being suggests the correctness of Ellen Key's phrase: "The Century of the Child." But we have had only the prelude to the century. Great areas of beckoning childhood await *Kinderfreunde*.¹

The association is a sworn enemy of all forms of parental abuse of children whether it be corporal punishment, threats, or forced tasks beyond the capacity of a growing child. The social significance of this fight is far-reaching. Ignorant laborers who have been chided during the day by their bosses or fellow workers often come home and wreak their vengeance, if not on the wife, then on the children, thus over-compensating a feeling of inferiority in themselves while in-

¹ "Man accumulates property and bequeaths it to his children, so that the children of the rich have an advantage over the poor in the race for success, independently of bodily and mental superiority."—Charles Darwin, *Descent of Man*, p. 152.

ducing a feeling of inferiority in their children. Hence the vicious circle. The literature of the *Kinderfreunde* repeatedly stresses the need for adults to set a correct example for their children, to practice a kindly, social spirit in the home, and to exemplify the ideal of solidarity. Strengthening the bond of solidarity, it is held, gives the individual personality a chance to count for something in an age that tends toward impersonality and psychic rootlessness. Without minimizing the force of intellect, and *Kinderfreunde* lay stress on the importance of canalizing the great emotional reserves in human nature and directing it so that it may issue in acts of solidarity. They see with Herbert Spencer that reason without feeling leads to a mere intellectualism. "Whatever moral benefit can be affected by education" said Spencer, "must be affected by an education which is emotional rather than intellectual."¹ How to get on helpfully in co-operation with others is the problem which the *Kinderfreunde* seeks to work out through school republics, collective administration of camp life, stimulating the feeling of loving-kindness in the home, school, playfield, and workshop, etc. The *Kinderfreunde* have learned one lesson from those efficient pedagogues, the Jesuits,² and that is, begin with the young

From Austria the *Kinderfreunde* movement spread throughout the German-speaking peoples. In Germany, under the able and far-seeing leadership of Dr. Kurt Kerlöv-Löwenstein, the movement has leaped ahead to where it outstrips the mother organization. The social democratic executive gives freely of financial support. Moreover, Germany enjoys a sea coast that is well adapted to camp-sites, an attraction and comfort which is geographically foreign to Austria. The *Kinderrepublik Seekamp bei Kiel* with 2,300 children has been a huge success that advertises itself.

¹ See his essay on *National Education*, Social Statics.

² Their *Ratio Studiorum* has a deal to teach modern educators.

On its theoretical side, the movement has drawn most
 ily on sociology, second, on the newer psychology. The
 work of Professor Max Adler, Dr. Felix Kanitz, Dr. Kurt
 Löwenstein, Dr. J. L. Stern, among others, has given theo-
 retical sanction to the aims and methods of the movement.
 Below ¹ is indicated a list of the sources upon which we have
 drawn and which privilege we gladly acknowledge.

¹ The files of *Die Sozialistische Erziehung, Reichsorgan des Sozial-
 demokratischen Erziehungs- und Schulvereins "Freie Schule-Kinder-
 freunde"*, (monthly), Vienna. Continuous since 1921. *Kinderland*
 (monthly for children), Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna. Edited by the
 secretary of the S. E. I., Alois Jalkotzy.

Sozialistische Bildung (Beilage-Sozialistische Erziehung), Berlin.

Proceedings and Publications of the S. E. I., Vienna.

Die Rote Saat (Seventh Annual Report of the Kinderfreunde, Reichs-
 verein, Austria, 1927). Published by the Kinderfreunde Verlag, Schloss
 Schönbrunn, Vienna, 1928.

Kanitz, Felix, "Die Erziehungsaufgaben des Arbeitervereines Kinder-
 freunde." Pamphlet, 16 pages.

Winter, Max, "Was wollen die Schul- und Kinderfreunde?" Schön-
 brunn, Vienna. Pamphlet, 20 p.

Löwenstein, Kurt-Kerlów, *Das Kind Als Träger Der Werdenden*
Gesellschaft. Jungbrunnen Verlagsbuchhandlung, Vienna, 112 p.

Kanitz, Felix, *Kämpfer der Zukunft*. (Eine systematische Darstel-
 lung der sozialistischen Erziehungsgrundsätze). Vienna: Jungbrunnen,
 1929, 95 p.

Adler, Max, *Neue Menschen*. (Gedanken über sozialistische Erzie-
 hung). Berlin: E. Laub'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926, 256 p.

Graf, Georg Engelbert, *Ein Märchen vom Rhein und von den Men-
 schen*. Illustrated. Jena: Thüringer Verlagsanstalt, 1925, 81 p. (This
 book is a good example of how one phase of Human Geography can be
 made interesting and informing to children and youth.)

Rühle, Otto, *Grundfragen der Erziehung*. Dresden: Verlag Am anderen
 Ufer.

Rühle, Otto, *Umgang mit Kindern*. Dresden: Verlag Am anderen
 Ufer.

THE PIONEER YOUTH OF AMERICA ¹

Recognizing that the highest aims of organized labor and progressive education can best be served by socially minded and creative individuals who are prepared for participation in the work of establishing a better social order, Pioneer Youth of America aims in its work with children:

1. To build strong, healthy and well-balanced bodies and minds.
2. To cultivate, through creative activity, power to think clearly and freely and to act courageously.
3. To engender a love and understanding of nature.
4. To acquaint them with the social and economic problems that face mankind.
5. To develop in them a sense of social responsibility and justice.

Pioneer Youth aims are similar to those of the Kinderfreunde Movement in Europe. Pioneer Youth is an organization sponsored and supported by progressive labor unions, individuals, parents and educators. It was founded in 1924 by Joshua Lieberman, director and secretary of the organization. During the school year, Pioneer Youth functions through various club activities; during the summer months it conducts a coeducational camp for children in the foothills of the Catskill Mountains.

A number of other groups in the labor and radical world carry on more or less organized educational work among their children. Among these may be mentioned. The Finnish Socialist Federation, The Workmen's Circle (a Jewish radical fraternal order), The Communist Party through its auxiliary The Young Pioneers, The Socialist Party through its auxiliary The Young People's Socialist League

¹ For a more complete account see the writers' two articles: "Die Pionierjugendbewegung in Amerika", in *Die Sozialistische Erziehung*, Vienna, Vol. 5, 1925; "In Amerika entsteht eine Kinderfreundebewegung," Vol. 9, No. 7-8, July-August, 1929, pp. 160-164.

—abbreviated to Ypsel—, Die Freie Deutsche Schulverein von Yorkville, and The Manumit Associates. The last mentioned represents an organization of trade-unionists, progressive educators, and liberal individuals who conduct an experimental school for the children of labor and radicals, workers by hand or brain, at Pawling, New York. Dr. Nellie M. Seeds is director of the school.¹

THE SOCIALISTIC YOUTH INTERNATIONAL (S. Y. I.)

“Many a trade-unionist has known the sorrow of seeing his children brought up under influences utterly indifferent, if not hostile, to the labor movement, so that they had no interest, when they grew up, in the organization to which their parents were devoted, and so that they were possessed of ideals of money-making and mere personal advancement *foreign to the labor movement's ideals of solidarity and brotherhood.*” (Italics mine.)²

One of the reasons for this ill-informed state of mind of the children of labor movement, Mr. Muste would ascribe to the fact that “The type of hero usually held before our children is that of the successful money-maker or the soldier.”

¹ The Manumit school is described by the writer in an article entitled: “Educating Labor's Children,” *The Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, July, 1928.

² Muste, A. J., *The Labor Movement and Youth*. Leaflet distributed by The Pioneer Youth of America. The Bible House, New York City. The writer italicized the final phrase because he doubts the validity of the generalized statement for America, at least. The statement is true for sections of the labor movement in America, perhaps, but certainly not for the dominant section. Caste and class in America are not as yet crustified. The better paid members of the trade unions send their children to college to prepare for the various professions. The slogan of this group, as for any other, is “get on in the world” so that you will have a better time of it than your parents have had. And who will gainsay the value of the slogan? Who among us does not care for making a success of life? But the question should be asked, “Success, for what?” What the children need to learn is how our individual success is bound up with the success of the group.

Whereas, continuing the same paragraph from Mr. Muste, "we desire that our children shall know the heroism of the scientist, the engineer, the statesman, the artist, the rebel against evil and most of all the heroism of the masses of the toilers who build our houses, raise our food, weave our clothing, lay our railroads, sail our ships, those silent heroes on whose work all life is built."¹ There is implied here that labor as a group has failed in one of the elements which constitutes, according to Professor Giddings, "the true ethical family", namely, "a high sense of the privilege and the duty of transmitting their qualities and their culture to their children."² There is implied, further, that the business of education is a task which the home alone cannot cope with. And, if the public school cannot be relied upon to give a fairly unbiassed presentation of social facts, it devolves upon the progressive element in the labor movement to start voluntary organizations for that purpose.

We have seen that in Europe the labor movement has been alive to this necessity for some time. Up to the present, the official trade-union movement of America has not launched a young workers' movement similar to the European which has shown striking developments in recent years.

Internationally, the first evidence of a labor-youth movement appeared simultaneously at the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, August, 1907. The conference was geographically representative, though the membership totalled but one fifth of the present number. Moreover, the national movements of youth were inadequately developed. A beginning was made by setting up an International Secretariat at Vienna. Its activity was restricted to communicating bulletins concerning the doings of its affiliated units.³

¹ Muste, *op. cit.*

² *Principles of Sociology*, p. 322.

³ Korn, Karl, *Die Arbeiterjugend-bewegung*, Berlin: Arbeiterjugend-Verlag, 1923. In three separate parts. Part I, p. 91.

The world war and the immediate post-war years with their turbulent keel-water of revolution, reaction, and the split in the international socialist movement made co-operative work on an international scale impossible.

On May 26, 1923, following the Labor and Socialist International Congress at Hamburg, a unity conference of youth resulted in the present Socialist Youth International. The aim of this international is education in the socialist Weltanschauung, the elevation of the economic status of working youth as a pre-requisite to the full development of body, mind and soul; education that promotes international-mindedness, a will to peace, and co-operative help in the struggle for social emancipation; education in political science and activity. The program emphasizes that political education should as a rule be of intensive character, slogans and dogmas should be excluded from the class-room. The theoretical part of political instruction should be carried out in the spirit of scientific socialism in the form of courses, lectures, and discussion evenings. To the subjects which are specially calculated to further the objects of the international belong all the branches of social and natural sciences which contribute to a clearer understanding of the socialistic world outlook.¹ Social responsibility, social will and character shall be developed through participation in the self-administration of independently organized youth.²

As an indication of the distribution and strength of the organizations affiliated with the S. Y. I. we reproduce a table from the last biennial report ³ of the secretary.

¹ *Proceedings Hamburg Congress, 1923*, pp. 106-115.

² *Idem.*, p. 113.

³ Pp. 24-25.

TABLE XIX

Country	Membership as of Dec. 31, 1928			
	Local Groups	Male	Female	Total
Belgium	221	11,000	2,000	13,000
Bulgaria	60	1,400	200	1,600
Denmark	126	8,000	2,642	10,642
Danzig	19	285	145	430
Germany, S. A. J. ¹	1534	33,964	19,409	53,373
Germany, J. S. ²	150	—	—	4,000
German Austria	332	21,000	11,000	32,000
Estonia	—	—	—	656
Finland	188	2,432	1,893	4,325
France	135	—	—	3,296
Great Britain	106	2,200	1,800	4,000
Holland	98	3,388	3,231	6,619
Latvia	27	590	206	796
North America	38	—	—	1,077
Poland, T. U. R. ³	131	5,500	1,500	7,000
Poland, Soz. J	20	600	400	1,000
Sweden	802	—	—	42,422
Switzerland ⁴	46	800	90	890
Spain	57	1,450	50	1,500
Czechoslovakia:				
Czechs	200	4,410	1,775	6,185
Germans	248	4,930	2,650	7,580
Polish	36	1,254	227	1,481
Hungary	22	3,419	216	3,635
Total	207,507

Two other organizations are affiliated with the S. Y. I., The International Federation of Socialistic Students (5,600 members), and The Union of Jewish Socialistic Youth Organizations (7,611 members). This makes a grand total of 220,718 members in the S. Y. I. The Communist Youth

¹ Sozialistische Arbeiter-jugend.

² Jungsozialisten.

³ Jugendorganisation des Arbeiter-Universitäts-Vereins.

⁴ Affiliated with S. Y. I. since Jan. 1, 1928.

have their own international. Facistic groups are excluded on general and technical grounds. Several national groups, e.g. the Norwegian which falls neither under facism nor communism, may seek admittance at any time when they are prepared to articulate with the statutes of the S. Y. I.

The S. Y. I. stands in close relationship to a number of other internationals. It has a representative on the executive of the S. L. I. It works, harmoniously with the Socialist Labor Sports International¹ through joint meetings, exchange of important papers, decisions, plans, etc. Mutual friendship obtains also with the S. E. I. through reciprocating seats on the executives. The S. Y. I. has been represented by a special delegate on the I. F. T. U. sub-committee on Youth and Educational Questions. A permanent seat on this committee had been expected by the S. Y. I., but the promise was made in 1927 when the sub-committee was formed that whenever questions came up for discussion within the province of the S. Y. I., its counsel would be sought.²

The S. Y. I. is not a *mere* auxiliary of the S. L. I. It is an independent organization having its own dues-paying system of finance supplemented by subventions from the political and trade-union internationals. It organizes international events, such as the great Amsterdamer Jugendtag in 1928, international conferences for leaders of youth—the last conference was held at the Castle Hindsgavl, Fün, Denmark in 1927. 50 delegates from 11 countries took part. The secretariat publishes a monthly "Die Internationale Sozialistische Jugendkorrespondenz" in the German, French and

¹ Secretariat in Prag II, Hybernska 7. We have been unable to procure an annual report of this international. The British Labor Year Book for 1927 gives 1,300,000 as the membership of the Sports International. These are distributed in 18 national organizations. Germany leads with 913,786 members.

² *Biennial Report (1927-28) of the S. Y. I., Part I.*

English languages. It carries on propaganda against militarism, dictatorship in government, and reactionary forces, and for the protection of youth in industry and on the farm;¹ it urges youth to join trade-unions and labor party locals.

The work of this labor-youth movement is of importance to educators generally who are trying to find a solution to the problem of the adolescent youth who has outgrown the program of the Scout Organization. What extra-school activities will engage the varying interests of the different age-periods from 14 to 17 years, from 17 to 21 years? How old should the leaders of the different age groups be? Dr. Felix Kanitz of Vienna, who is noted in the youth movement for his keen insight into the psychology of youth, spoke on these questions at the conference in Denmark.

An account of specific youth movements cannot be given within the scope of this book. In Germany, Austria, Belgium and Scandinavia, special courses for leaders of youth have been given since 1924. The literature of the movement on the continent is extensive.

Before closing this section we anticipate a query in the reader's mind, namely, "After all, 200,000 organized youth for Germany is not an astounding figure?" Correct. But we have limited our treatment to those unions affiliated with the S. Y. I. We have omitted to speak of the trade-union youth of which, in Germany, there are over one half million under 18 years of age within the General Federation of German Trade Unions (A. D. G. B.). From 1908 to the time of the war, the Allgemeine Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund, A. D. G. B. and the Socialdemocratic Party of Germany (S. P. D.) maintained a joint center for the education and wel-

¹ The program for the protection of youth in industry is identical with that discussed under the I.F.T.U. sub-committee on youth and educational questions. See *supra*, p. 419 *et seq.*

fare of youth. The consequences of the war and revolution brought certain changes within the labor movement of Germany that necessitated separate agencies for the aforementioned work. There are no independent youth organizations within the A. D. G. B., only subordinate youth commissions. Every youth in industry is admitted to membership in the union of his vocation. The A. D. G. B. maintains a general secretary of trade-union youth. Many trade-unions publish magazines and papers especially designed for youth.¹ To list these would require a printed page. The educational work of the trade-unions in Germany is considered an integral part of the cultural development of the working people generally, an education given in the socialistic spirit, though not from a partisan political standpoint. Trade-union youth is urged to work with the socialistic youth and sportsorganization.²

England, where trade-unionism originated, presents the anomalous situation of the complete neglect of a trade-union youth movement. "Boys and girls" complains a writer in the *Plebs*,³ "who have entered industry are not told that it is their duty to join their respective trade-unions, and it will be quite true to say that a very small percentage of the youth in industry is organized." If the youth does join a trade-union, continues this writer, he comes to grief because the discussions are adult, intricate, and unattractive to him. "If to these disadvantages the general lack of toleration extended by journeymen to apprentices is added, the result

¹ Maschke, Walter, "Die Jugendlichen im Allgemeinen Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbund," a paper contributed to *Die Deutschen Jugendverbände*, edited by Dr. Hertha Siemering, Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1923, 228 p.

² See *Gewerkschaften und Jugendbewegung*. Published by the A. D. G. B. Berlin, 1923, 40 p.

³ Coppock, R. (General Secretary, N. F. B. T. O.), *Towards a Trade Union Youth Movement*, London, December, 1924, pp. 452-454.

would be almost to break the courage of the most spirited youth." ¹ The same writer suggests that English trade-unions could learn from the A. D. G. B.'s method of interesting and educating their apprentices.

In 1924, the Independent Labor Party (I. L. P.) organized an auxiliary called "The I. L. P. Guild of Youth," membership in which is limited to youth between the ages of 14 and 21 years. Curiously as it may seem, again we behold the political wing ² of the labor movement taking the initial, progressive step. "The object of the Guild shall be to promote the physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral welfare of the young people in the socialist movement." ³

We believe that sufficient evidence has been adduced in support of our statement in the introduction that workers' education differs from adult education in this important respect: that workers' education is not only concerned with adult education but also with the education of youth and children, and that unlike the adult education movement, it actually sets up structural arrangements and relationships for the furtherance of its ideals among youth and children. ⁴

¹ *Op. cit.* (The world cannot be too often reminded that progress and harmony in life depends more often than not upon the observance of a consistent relationship between preaching and practice.—Writer).

² The writer is not unmindful of the fact that The Co-operative Union, Ltd. of England started its Co-operative Junior Guilds some three decades ago.

³ Constitution of the I. L. P. Guild of Youth.

⁴ The incidence of the indirect effect—through pressure—upon the public educational system toward progressive changes is not in question here. We grant that both the adult and the workers' education movements will eventually produce changes. We grant also that both movements can co-operate in the solution of many problems pertaining to public education.

SOME MISCELLANEOUS WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Commonwealth College

The idea of Commonwealth College has its roots back in the Ruskin College enterprise.¹ The College opened originally April, 1923, at New Llano, a co-operative colony near Leesville, Louisiana, but owing partly "to objections of the co-operators to class-room criticism of co-operation and other differences"² it was moved to its present site, a three

¹ In the interest of historical correctness as to certain pioneer labor colleges in America, we trust the following quotation from an article on Commonwealth College by Dr. William E. Zeuch, Educational Director (*The Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, December, 1923), will clarify certain misunderstandings on the claim of priority. "About twenty years ago Dr. George McK. Miller and his wife, Addie Dickman Miller, both educators with years of training and experience, established Ruskin College, which was, so far as we know, the first distinctly resident workers' college established in the United States. At Ruskin an attempt was made to develop industrial and agricultural pursuits that would support the students while they were in residence for academic work. The school moved from Trenton, Missouri, to Glen Ellyn, Illinois, and finally to Ruskin, Florida, a community which was organized for the purpose of getting the proper climate and agricultural basis for such an institution. About five years after the Millers had made a start at resident workers' education, F. P. and Kate Richards O'Hare became interested in the problem of resident workers' schools and began a study of the needs and conditions necessary for the success of such institutions. In 1913 the writer turned his attention to the problems of workers' education and began to prepare himself for that work. The next year (1914) Job Harriman and his associates established Llano Colony in an attempt to work out a successful technique of co-operative living. . . Due to previous errors in the organization and promotion of Ruskin and to the death of Dr. Miller (1917), Ruskin College closed its doors before a combination of interests could be effected. The war then cut across all plans and nothing definite in the way of a workers' school could be undertaken for some years. The successful portions of the Ruskin experiment in workers' resident education were taken over and incorporated into the plans of the group which continued its efforts to find a proper location for a resident school. Llano Co-operative Colony satisfied the requirements as a suitable location for such a resident workers' college as we wished to establish."

² From the *New York World*, September 20, 1925.

hundred twenty acre farm in the vicinity of Mena, Arkansas, on March 29, 1925. One half the farm is cultivatable acreage which lies in the fertile Mill Creek Valley, while the other half represents forest and pasture lands. The College campus is laid out on a ninety-foot bluff which affords a fascinating view of the level bottoms of Mill Creek Valley, of the rolling lands which disappear in the rugged contours of the Southern Ozark mountain ranges. There are twenty buildings on the College campus; all have been erected by the labor of the resident students and teachers. There are dormitories for men and women, cottages for the faculty and community members, a library, class-room building, a store, an administrative building, a laundry, a Commons, warehouses, barns, etc., all giving the appearance of a small village nestling amid the pines, oaks and hickories of the Quachita hills. A mild climate allows a long growing season—a God-send to a community which eventually aims at material self-sufficiency. At Commonwealth everybody works four hours per day, including "Father" a patriarchal sobriquet by which the director, Dr. William E. Zeuch, is known to all. When the progressive school for children from 10 to 12 years of age) of working people opens this fall, the youngsters also will be given physical tasks to perform in relation to their ages and development.

Commonwealth "aims to develop the personality and power of its students for efficient service in the labor movement. It is not a propaganda institution. It sponsors no particular religious, political or economic dogma. It seeks to put within the students' grasp demonstrated facts and to develop in them the scientific attitude which challenges an unthinking acceptance of ideas and institutions. Commonwealth strives to make its students realize that intelligent experimentation carries the only hope of adjustment or solution of personal and social problems. In those fields of

human interest that are beyond the realm of possible experimentation it attempts to cultivate a full measure of tolerance." ¹

When Commonwealth was started, it undoubtedly would have been classified under the category of "cultural". Judging from its literature and curricula of an earlier day, Commonwealth dispensed a general cultural education in the scientific spirit. After some five years of experimentation with curricula, Commonwealth has evolved into a Professional College for farmer-labor students. The announcement for the current academic year reads that Commonwealth will give a three-year College course correlated with four major lines of study: (1) a course for those who desire to prepare for the profession of labor educator; (2) labor organizer; (3) labor journalist; (4) labor lawyer. Commonwealth has inaugurated the quarterly system, i.e. the academic year will consist of three quarters of twelve weeks each. Aside from the four lines of study offered, an Orientation Quarter will be given "for those who are seeking to place themselves academically, and a One-Year Labor Course will be available for those workers who cannot spend three years in college."

Entrance Requirements

Student applicants must be 18 years of age and in good physical condition. For admission to collegiate standing, a secondary preparation or its equivalent is required. For the One-Year Labor Course no formal educational requirements are asked, but each applicant is considered on his (or her) merits. In fact, only students who give evidence of serious interest and promise will be admitted. Those incapable of holding to a high standard of work are eliminated.

Students are permitted to take from three to five subjects,

¹ *College Prospectus.*

or a total of fifteen hours a week. Class-periods extend through fifty minutes. Small classes permit much discussion and tutorial work.

Fees

Tuition costs the student \$40 a quarter. Room, board, and laundry service are furnished by the college to all students in return for four hours of industrial work daily (except Sunday) twenty-four hours a week. No student may pay cash for board, room, laundry service. Students must provide their own textbooks, bedding and linen.

Industrial Work

"The industrial work is not designed to teach a trade but to enable the student to earn maintenance while in residence. Such work may be at the household tasks, or in any other necessary community labor. A reasonable efficiency is required of all students as a condition of continued residence."

*Composition of Students*¹

During the six years of its existence, (it should be interpolated here that during this period Commonwealth conducted also a preparatory department which has now been eliminated) Commonwealth has matriculated 186 students. Of this number: 63% were male and 37% female; 65% entered the college department and 35% the college preparatory department.

Of this student group 45% ranged between the ages of 16 and 20 years; 30% between 21 and 25 years; 25% were 26 years old and above.

"The students derived from 14 nationalities; some were of mixed nationality, seven with Indian blood. Bulking large were the Germans with 27%; the Irish, 21½%; and

¹ Quoted and condensed from *Commonwealth College Fortnightly*, Feb. 15, 1929, p. 3.

the Jews, 21½%. The other nationalities in the order of their percentages were: English, Scandinavian, Dutch, French, Italian, Scotch, Slav, Polish, and Armenian."

"The 25% of foreign-born who attended Commonwealth emigrated from eleven European countries and Canada. Of the American-born students, as many came from the "sticks" (backwoods) as from the cities. Thirty-five states have been represented at Commonwealth. 30% of these were born in the Southwest; 17% on the Pacific Coast; 15% in the East; 11% in the Middle West; 10% in the Rocky Mountain states; 10% in the Northwest; and 7% in the Southern states."

Twenty-five per cent of the students had completed a four-year high school course; 25% had taken a part of a high school course; 33⅓% had studied in college and university; 10% were grammar school graduates; the remainder had had no formal education."

Occupationally, the following distribution obtained: 50% of the students were skilled; 25% were unskilled; the remainder, semi-skilled. The percentage of skilled females exceeded that of the males; the same held for the unskilled group. 42 different trades were represented in the total for the six years (farming included). Male students were predominantly farmers, machinists, printers, carpenters and miners; while the female students were garment workers, stenographers, nurses, farm girls, and teachers.

Definite statistics as to membership in trade-unions and political groups were not procured, but it is stated that the A. F. of L., the I. W. W., the railroad brotherhoods, were represented along with the Communists, the Socialists, and the unorganized ranks of laborers and farmers.

During the year 1928, 25 men and 10 women students were in residence.

An inquiry as to the academic preparation of the faculty

revealed that of the five whole-time teachers, two were Ph.D.'s, one an A.B., one a C.E., and one a M.S. (Engineering). Several senior students assisted in the teaching process.

The moving spirits behind this unique venture in the education of working people were Dr. W. E. Zeuch, the director of Commonwealth, and that pioneer feminist and social reformer, Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare. The Commonwealth Association is the legal owner of the college properties. In that body the teachers have five seats while the students have ten. A Board of Trustees is responsible for the administration of the college. The Board is composed of three members, the director, a teacher who has been with the institution since its founding, and a student. The constitution of the Association prohibits the use of school property for any purpose other than workers' education, and its sale for the benefit of any person or persons. The present Board does not favor the growth of the student body in excess of 150. Before that number is reached, it is planned to organize a regional college for the education of labor on the Pacific Coast.

In the selection of students (aside from previous educational preparation) Commonwealth will apply the following criteria henceforth: (1) Persons who are active in the labor movement (2) farmers, (3) Persons who have knocked about on their own (initiative).¹ The explanation given in support of a more careful system of selection is sociologically interesting. In the words of Dr. Zeuch: "Commonwealth is not merely a college, but also a communal group. We must therefore consider student applicants not only on their scholastic merits but also on their personal merits. We must determine whether an applicant can fit into our social and industrial scheme. If he thinks kitchen work or laundry

¹ *Commonwealth College Fortnightly*, Feb. 1, 1929, p. 1.

work beneath his dignity, no matter how brilliant he is intellectually we will turn him down. Six years of experience have made it plain to us that farmers adapt themselves to communal ways more readily than urbanites. Of the urbanites, those persons who have been disciplined into team-work by organizational activity and those persons who can discipline themselves make the best group members."¹

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY IN THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

The Workmens' Circle is an American-Jewish radical, fraternal order composed of work-people, with hand and head, and which has a socialistic objective, the social emancipation of labor. It is a fraternal order, but not a lodge in the usual sense. It is an adult group which looks upon the paraphernalia of uniforms, insignia, ritual, all the make-believe and rigmarole, characteristic of lodges, as so much infantile playboy hocus-pocus. It is a self-help group, the outgrowth of numerous immigrant labor clubs which flourished on the East Side at the beginning of the last decade of the preceding century. In 1892 these clubs merged into the Arbeiter Ring Verein. At this time, the history of immigration relates, great streams of Jewish immigrants came to America from eastern Europe. That was before the organizations of the now powerful needle trades. Being strangers to the American situation, they banded together for mutual

¹ *Commonwealth College Fortnightly*, Feb. 1, 1929, p. 1.

Dr. Zeuch throws a sidelight on the community problems in another issue of the *Fortnightly* (Oct. 1, 1928, p. 3) where he observes philosophically: "Fifteen hours a week of intensive academic work plus twenty to twenty-four hours a week of muscle-hardening industrial work seems to be about the right prescription for extremists of the right and left." Dr. Zeuch and Kate Richards Cunningham have embodied the varied experiences in building this unique institution into a sociological treatise "Communal Living" which will be published in the near future.

Note: The above account of Commonwealth College has been read critically by Dr. William E. Zeuch.

protection, for light and love. By 1900, the Arbeiter Ring Verein decided to launch out upon a national scale, and the present Workmen's Circle was organized with 1,500 members. Headquarters were established in two uninviting tenement rooms in Henry Street with Mr. B. Feigenbaum as General Secretary.

The failure of the Russian revolution in 1905 sent a new quota of Russian-Jewish immigrants to New York City. These immigrants had had organizational and political experience. Forthwith the Workmen's Circle showed a strong numerical increase. An impetus was given to the trade-union and socialist movement in New York City.

Within this organized group originated the many Jewish labor institutions, such as The Jewish Daily Forward, the Garment Workers' Unions, the Mutual Insurance Plan, the Labor Lyceums, the Summer Camps for children, the sanitarium for tubercular patients, etc. The Workmen's Circle counts now 740 branches with a membership of 80,000, and a net capital of five million dollars.

The educational work of the organization is extensive and important. 70 Labor Lyceums are maintained in as many cities throughout America. It conducts about 100 schools for children. The annual expenditures on educational activities including maintenance of schools amounts to \$300,000. The educational department under the direction of Philip Geliebter publishes a monthly magazine, *Der Freund* (with an English supplement) which is received free of charge by every member. Large editions of books are issued in Yiddish,¹ on a variety of subjects, technical, scientific, social and literary. During the fall, winter and spring

¹ The Workmen's Circle has recently published an English edition of a guide to reading for children and youth. This book, which includes 1,600 titles with descriptive lines was prepared under the editorial direction of Solon De Leon.

months of the year, a dozen lecturers are kept in the field which extend through the length and breadth of the United States. Vocal and instrumental musical entertainers circulate wherever the branches demand such talent. From five to six million dollars have been invested in Labor Lyceum buildings many of which are quite pretentious. These are centers of labor and radical activity: lectures, entertainments, mass meetings, debates, amateur theatricals, etc. We have spoken of education from the informal and general point of view. The education of the children merits more specific treatment.

The Jewish Workmen's Circle schools for children and youth are not parochial in character, nor does the element of religion obtrude. Their aim is ethical character development. These schools convene after the public schools have been dismissed. The curricula for the elementary group consists of Jewish History, Literature, Art, Music; for the advanced group, History of Jewish Culture, Economic Interpretation of History, Social Forces in Literature, History of the Labor Movement, and special lectures. Instruction is in Yiddish. Textbooks are highly selected and translated into Yiddish for use in the schools. Works of history are specially prepared.

Every winter, the Workmen's Circle conducts a seminar in teacher-training. Graduation from a high school and a broad knowledge of Jewish culture, is a minimum requirement for admission. In the Workmen's Circle, a teacher becomes a "Kulturträger." He devotes his whole time to various phases of educational work. He is the head of a school, of a Young Circle Club. He brings parents together and speaks before various groups. He is remunerated in accordance with the scale prevailing in the public school system.

Needless to say, this scheme of supplementing the public

schools by adding several hours a day to the child's school work (which some consider excessive as it is) is a subject of perennial controversy within the organization. It has never had the unanimous support of the entire order. Just as there are Zionists and anti-Zionists in the order, so you will find a considerable group which holds that since the children must live and work in America, it were better to forget Yiddish and use the American language as the medium of instruction. While the contest often becomes spirited, it has never assumed the proportions that would lead to a rift in the fraternal spirit of the order.

The Jewish people are confronted with another problem, a problem that looms before all language groups in America who harbor a desire to pass on their own native culture to their children. There are signs of serious difficulties in the realization of this objective. The second generation, i.e. the native-born of foreign parentage, seemingly prefer to respond exclusively to the American situation and look with resentment or indifference upon other cultures. Parental preoccupation in this instance is regarded as an unnecessary restraint added to an appalling lot of obstacles that hamper youthful aspiration. Perchance, the increasing tensivity of the struggle to 'get on' and the fear of non-adaptation is a factor in the situation? This whole problem is in need of scientific exploration.

The Workmen's Circle is making a small beginning to face the aforementioned problem. In support of this statement, the following evidence is germane: (1) the English supplement in *Der Freund*, (2) an English supplement to the *Sunday Jewish Forward*, (3) publication of pamphlets and leaflets in English, and the publication, previously mentioned, of a book entitled: "What Shall I Read?", (4) giving an entertaining slant to the lecture courses, (5) the organization of the Young Circle League, and (6) the national conven-

tion's action ordering a widespread organization of Women's Clubs. We shall describe briefly the work of the Young Circle Clubs.

The Young Circle League is an autonomous¹ national organization of Jewish youth. It was founded in 1927 and now numbers its membership between one and two thousand. Its object is: "To teach the Jewish youth of America to understand the world we live in; pride in the pioneering work of their fathers, a broad humanitarian point of view, to train leaders of young folks, to transmit the soul of the Workmen's Circle, its accumulated tradition and social idealism, and generally to foster opportunity for cultural and recreational development."

For the purpose of its educational work, clubs are classified according to age groups. There are three groups: 1. Juniors, ages 12 to 14 years; 2. Intermediate, 14 to 16; 3. Seniors, 16 to 20 years. At the age of 16 years, a young person of ambition and promise may join the parent organization with full privileges and benefits.

In the Young Circle Clubs, English only is spoken. The motivating principle behind this movement is to develop a desire for higher culture in the minds of the young. As means calculated toward awakening such desire, clubs meet to analyze and discuss the contents of books, old and new; to read and criticize dramatic literature and current plays; to discuss artistic and educational films; to participate in a guided discussion of certain current events. Musical entertainments, dancing gymnastic sports, and amateur theatricals

¹ "Autonomous" must be slightly qualified. The Constitution of the League specifies that on the executive committee five seats shall be occupied by members of the Workmen's Circle Youth Committee. This allows supervisory powers to the parent organization. Moreover, the League is not financially autonomous, being subsidized by the Workmen's Circle, in addition to a monthly dues system.

provide the lighter forms of recreation. There is no attempt at indoctrination of political ideas in these groups.

The Workmen's Circle co-operates freely with various radical and labor enterprises. It donates large sums annually to socialist and labor organizations in need of financial aid. For example, the Rand School receives a substantial subvention annually. In 1927, the Workmen's Circle created a Meyer London¹ scholarship at Brookwood Labor College. It also supports the cause of the Pioneer Youth of America.

In the Declaration of Principles of the order, two major requirements must be lived up to: (1) every member who is eligible must join the trade-union of his vocation; (2) in any election, every member must vote for that political party which has for its ultimate objective, a new social order based upon the social ownership of the collectively used instruments essential to progressive social living. Whilst the Workmen's Circle is avowedly a socialistic institution, as far as the auxiliaries, the schools, study groups, and Circle Clubs are concerned, political propaganda is eschewed.

MASS EDUCATION IN CHINA

Many Chinese students have entertained the hope that their people could be directed into a socialistic co-operative society without having to pass through a period of bitter class conflict. Many have been actively trying to steer China toward that goal. Signs and opinions are not want-

¹ The late Socialist Congressman from New York City.

Note: The writer obtained these data from several interviews with Philip Geliebter, the educational director of the Workmen's Circle, from their published literature (especially, "The Workmen's Circle and Its Future," a pamphlet (24 p.) by Nathaniel Zalowitz, English editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*; from a special article by W. M. Feigenbaum, "The Workmen's Circle Is 25 Years Old," in *The New Leader*, May 2, 1925; from the files of *The American Labor Year Book, 1916-1929*; and from several experiences as lecturer before Young Circle groups.

ing which indicate that these well-meaning students may meet defeat of their noble purpose. For as Sherwood Eddy pointed out in his *The New World of Labor*, the entrance of the competitive system and machine-culture leads inevitably to radicalism and class-struggles. "If you do not give men justice" warns Mr. Eddy, "they finally rise in fury to take more than justice; if you do not allow evolution, you force them to revolution."¹ Mr. Eddy's graphic account of the dire effects of the factory system in the orient contains a suggestion for those who would build an effective international for workers' education. It would seem that the textile workers of Lancashire and Europe generally, would take a serious interest in the education of their fellow laborers in the orient! Have they? Not so that it is noticeable. In their ignorance and limited vision, many of them even support imperialism and exploitation. "This process of continuous exploitation" says Dr. S. K. Tso, "is breaking down the oriental habits of docility and patience and labor has been compelled to resort to unionism in order to defend itself against exploitation."² Withal, Dr. Tso takes an optimistic view when he points out that "Chinese employers are for the most part humane and amenable to reason, and the conditions have not become so impersonal as in the West."³ Whether China can forego the class-struggles of the West depends upon the policy of conciliation and co-operation between capital and labor.⁴ Whether Dr. Tso will be vindicated in his optimism, it is difficult to divine. It is true that

¹ Eddy, Sherwood, *The New World of Labor*, New York: Doran, 1923, p. 30.

² Tso, S. K., "The Labor Movement in China," *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, August, 1928.

³ Tso, S. K. Sheldon, *The Labor Movement in China*. (Ph. D. thesis, University of Indiana, 1928). Published in Shanghai, 230 p.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

in China, the intellectuals—as in England are not only sympathetic with the rising labor movement but they are active in the mass education movement.¹ Every writer on the conditions in China usually begins and ends with the well-nigh overwhelming problem of the liquidation of illiteracy. Dr. George Ransom Twiss² found the Chinese people “hungry” for an education, but poverty is a stubborn obstacle in the way of compulsory education. Dr. Twiss estimates Chinese illiteracy to be characteristic of about 80% of the population. Dr. Twiss concludes very significantly, “In the development of Chinese education, science must take a leading part, but economics and finance, economic and social history, politico-economic geography, political science, sociology, and enlightened ethics, are just as necessary, otherwise the discoveries and inventions of science will be used by the unscrupulous as a means of exploiting the laborers and the public for the enrichment of themselves alone.”³

Another drawback to mass education in China and second to poverty has been the classical Chinese language. While the educational system was theoretically democratic, practically, its rigid selective characteristic has been pathetic, if not utterly preposterous. While the western progressive labor world is experimenting with international languages, Chinese progressives are obliged to face the problem of making their language intelligible to their own people. In this task, Chinese educationalists owe a lasting debt to the “Father of the Chinese Renaissance”, Dr. Hu Shih with whose name the “1,000 Character Movement” is associated. “Evening classes for workers have been organized in all parts of the country. Rooms in schools and universities are

¹ *China Christian Yearbook*, 1926. Chapter XXVIII.

² *Science and Education in China*. (Ph.D. thesis.) Published by The Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai, 1925, 361 p.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

to be had for the mass education movement and, in addition, ancestral homes and temples are being used to accommodate adults who are studying the thousand characters. By learning ten characters a day, it is estimated that the basis of their language can be learned in four months."¹

"In the provinces south of Hankow, the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), through the Peasants' Educational Reform Movement, is establishing evening school courses for the people. . . ." ² In this work of creating a literate people, the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. and kindred community movements are making an estimable contribution.

Literacy also creates its own problems. For instance, in *The Popular Educational Bulletin* ³ under the heading: "The Necessity to be Faithful and Honest" is recorded: "Since the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest was introduced into China, people have discarded their old principles of morality and adopted the individualist view of life. The old relations between fathers and sons, husbands and wives, etc., have all been broken down. . . . Honesty and faithful-

¹ Beasley, Gertrude E., "China Goes to School," *The New Leader* (London), March 11, 1927.

(This equipment will enable him to read the average newspapers, ordinary letter correspondence and a great range of books upon cultural and technical subjects which have been especially compiled for mass education students. Of course this four-months study of one hour a day does not change the illiterate into an educated person, and the average adult reads little but the newspapers. Nevertheless even this fragmentary beginning of an education is a vast advance over absolute illiteracy and ignorance enlightened only by gossip and rumor."—Special Correspondence to the *New York Times*, Peking, China. August 20, 1928).

² *Ibid.* (This writer (Beasley) had observed the movement in its earlier stages.)

³ Volume 20, Publication of the National Popular Educational Association under the auspices of the Ministry of Education for China. I am obliged to my fellow-student, T. L. Lee of Columbia University, for giving me a résumé of the (Chinese) contents of this Bulletin.

ness are fundamental virtues, without which co-operation is impossible." ¹

The writer has been unable to unearth any data that would reveal a workers' education movement similar to the one we have been describing. Under the aegis of the Kuomintang, there have been spasmodic attempts here and there, particularly in Canton. The great problem for any workers' educational movement in China is the same problem which Lenin saw clearly after the Russian Revolution, viz. literacy, the first step toward democratic procedure.

Progressive Chinese students ² are fully aware of the part which the inequality of education plays in staving off the coming of social justice among all men, an awareness which they share with workers' educationalists of the West. Confucius wrote:

Man is not determined by nature but by education. . . . Since education determines the standing of men, it determines also their wages. . . . The difference between the most dissimilar characters, between a philosopher and a common street porter, rises not so much from nature but from habit, customs, and education. ³

THE EDUCATION OF WORKING-PEOPLE IN MEXICO

In several particulars, the problem of the education of the masses in Mexico is comparable with that just described in China. Categorically expressed, we find in Mexico, an illiterate population, distressing poverty, frequent political dis-

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-4.

² Of these one must recognize Mr. Y. W. Wong, Director of the Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, who was personally responsible for bringing out "The Complete Library".

³ Quoted by Dr. S. K. Sheldon Tso in *The Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1928. (The controversial nature of the first sentence, and the economic observation of the second sentence—faulty from a Western viewpoint—need not blind one to the wisdom contained in the third.)

location which hampers support of a persistent policy and continuity of effort, lack of transport and communication, a fatalistic view of life (and, in Mexico, the procrastinating spirit of *Manana*), an overwhelmingly peon population, (in China, peasantry). Geographically, the two countries have much in common: variation in temperature and rainfall, regions of salubrious fertility, deserts, abounding natural resources. Both populations lack the scientific and technical knowledge necessary to the full utilization of their resources. Both countries have to contend with a predatory imperialism.

“The fundamental problem of Mexico lies in bringing to an understanding the several ethnic groups forming the Mexican region. Out of its fifteen million inhabitants, three million speak only their own dialects (over fifty such languages remaining today); from seven to eight million speak Spanish but they can neither read nor write it, and a large majority of them prefer to use the native tongue of their tribe to the Castilian. Civilization cannot spread in Mexico so far as the language—the most important means of expression to define a view of life, an attitude of mind, a feeling and even an action—is not one for all the Mexicans.”¹

“What the masses needed”, said José Vasconcelos,² “was not alphabets and theoretic postulates, but something which could show them the way to get enough to eat. Education, for the enormous majority of the Latin-American people, is inseparably linked with economic betterment.” The Committee on Education aforesaid recognizes that literacy, the

¹ *The Problem of Education in Mexico*. Vincente Lombardo Toledano, Chairman, Committee on Education, Mexican Federation of Labor. A report to the 6th Convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor held in C. Juarez, Chih. in November, 1924, 30 pp.

² *Aspects of Mexican Civilization*, by José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio. University of Chicago Press, 1926, p. 132. (Lectures on the Harris Foundation.)

unification of language in Mexico, is basic to the solution of economic difficulties.¹

The enormity of the problem of education in Mexico can be seen when 62% of the population is illiterate. Only 40% of the 3 million children of school age are in school. Enact a compulsory school law? Mexico has had a compulsory school law for, lo, one half-century, but what avails such a law when there are no school buildings with seats, tables, and equipment! Such is the legacy which the Diaz obligarchy bequeathed to modern Mexico! Yes, Mexico is facing some very elementary, but fundamental problems. Nearly eighty per cent of her population is more or less Indian. To integrate these people with the other elements in the population is one of the important sociological experiments going on in the world today.²

With the predominantly rural population, Mexico stands in need of a Grundtvig today. (So does Ireland, as Tom Johnson, labor leader of Irish trade unionism admitted to the writer). A Grundtvig, whose "living word" would inspire the peasantry to community development through folk education. How luxuriantly richer is the soil beneath the feet of the peons than the sandy heath of the Jutland peninsula! Calles saw the problem when he gave an impetus to the establishing of agricultural colleges and experiment stations, as well as model rural schools. Under his regime, the Federal Government of Mexico spent 8½ per cent of the budget on education. This amount exceeds what the Diaz dictatorship allowed for education at the peak of his power, prosperity and pomp. And be it remembered that he never

¹ Toledano, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² I am indebted here, as in several other places, to Moises Saenz, Sub-Secretary of the Department of Education of Mexico, for his illuminating lecture on the Harris Foundation, 1926. The lecture is entitled: "Integrating Mexico Through Education." Published in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Wash., D. C., August, 1927, pp. 762-777.

built one rural school during his entire reign.¹ The need of education is 'catching on' in Mexico. The twenty-eight states which compose the Mexican republic allocate 40% of their respective budgets to public education.

The report of Toledano and his committee to the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (C. R. O. M.) suggests clearly that organized labor holds to the principle of the State's responsibility for the education of the people, and that labor seeks to exert pressure on the government for the education of the oncoming generation and the adults. This position is understandable in view of the fact that the present constitutional republic emanated from the organized labor movement, political and economic. Aside from technical schools and evening schools for adults, the Federal Government aids workers' education by establishing special labor libraries, by furnishing equipment for sports, by encouraging various skills, and the cultivation of the aesthetic side of human nature.

Labor unions themselves have developed their own schools, classes, libraries, shops, orchestras, bands, etc. Some have erected special buildings for educational purposes. The Mexicans, like the Chinese, construct many meritorious plans which often remain mere plans on paper. Albeit in 1920, an Institute for Social Science, modelled after the Rand School of Social Science was founded in Mexico City. It began with an enrollment of 1,200 students.² It failed of survival. However, in 1926, the C. R. O. M. celebrated the first of May by re-organizing the Institute, this time as a workers' college for the development of leadership. One difficulty which the trade-unions had to meet was, how to procure teachers who were convinced of the worth-whileness of workers' education. The National Teachers' Federation, which

¹ Saenz, *op. cit.*, p. 776.

² *The American Labor Year Book 1921-22*, p. 352.

in 1928 comprised 68 unions of primary, federal and local school teachers with a membership of 12,000 co-operates with the workers' educational enterprises.¹ The aim of this college for the training of labor leaders was stated by Toledano in an address before the Fourth National Convention of the W. E. B. of A.² as follows: "The education which will be given by this college will be dogmatic. Its objective is to demonstrate the justification for the class struggle on the part of the proletariat, the cultural value of study and the necessity for the development of individual personality and the ability to co-operate with the other elements in the collective life of society."

EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

In the light of Russian experience, it appears that the Co-operative Commonwealth cannot be reached by elevator, but only via the stairway of education, a more tedious process to be sure, nevertheless the more certain and safer way in the long run.

We have spoken of the difficulties with illiteracy in China, India and Mexico. In Russia, the problem of illiteracy is more obstinate owing to the complexity of the cultural pattern of that vast, sprawling region. The extreme variation in national cultures—the Department of Education prints textbooks in sixty languages—is economically burdensome and a hindrance to psychic unity. The soviet government grants general cultural autonomy but exacts conformity in the economic and political aspects of sovietism. "What a legacy of ignorance and darkness the old order bequeathed to the soviets"³ is self-evident when on the morning after the

¹ *Correspondence with V. Lombardo Toledano, Mexico, December, 1928.*

² *Proceedings, Part II, p. 78.*

³ N. K. Ulyanova (Madame Lenin) in *The Socialist Review* (I. L. P., London), Jan.-March, 1920, pp. 16-22.

revolution Lenin was confronted with a population eighty per cent of whom were illiterate. To aggravate this well-nigh baffling problem, he had to quell various counter-revolutionary activities. The country was financially bankrupt and morally disintegrated. Only a man of great moral courage could hold the helm of state. In his speeches of those days, Lenin urged the liquidation of illiteracy and ignorance. He pointed out that the consolidation of the powers of the new state through the dissemination of political wisdom could make little headway against a non-reading population. Nor was he under a delusion that a Proletkult could be created forthwith, or that bourgeois culture contains no useful values. Lenin pointed out to the younger students that to be a full-grown communist presupposes something more than a knowledge of the writings of political communists, viz. a thorough understanding of the accumulated values of life and of the social evolutionary forces which culminated in the change toward communism. Trotsky and Lunarcharsky shared Lenin's point of view.

Ten years after the revolution the status of literacy in Soviet Russia can be seen in the following table:¹

LITERACY OF THE POPULATION OF U. S. S. R. IN TOTAL FIGURES
AND PERCENTAGES

<i>Total male population</i>			
<i>over 7 years</i>	<i>Literate</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>
54,967,715	35,940,975	65.4	19,026,740
<i>Total female population</i>			
<i>over 7 years</i>			
60,075,239	22,038,261	36.7	38,039,978

The greater literacy among the males is likely due in part to the efficient schools of the Red Army. 1934 is the year set for the complete conquest of analphabetism, as well as for the inauguration of a system of compulsory education.

¹ *Soviet Union Review*, Washington, D. C., July-August, 1928, p. 112.

"The most striking achievement of revolutionary Russia" declares Professor George S. Counts, "is not to be found in the extension of the formal educational system. It lies rather in the organization of the institutions of political and adult education."¹ The need for literacy and the character of A. N. Lunacharsky, first People's Commissar of Education, contributed to the extraordinary development of adult education in Russia. Lunacharsky is not a schoolman in the formal sense. His interest lay in what the German's so aptly term *Volksbildung* (People's Education) which functions through libraries, theaters, museums, exhibitions, the moving picture, the radio, the press, debate and declamation, etc. In the formulation of objectives and policy of the system of public instruction, Madame Lenin has played an important role.² We are not here concerned with the public school system of Soviet Russia³ except as related to the social objectives of education. We are primarily interested in giving a summary treatment of adult education, particularly that phase which deals with "political enlightenment," and a brief description of the movement corresponding to the *Kinderfreunde* of central Europe. The voluntary educational work of the Soviet trade unions and co-operatives and the general cultural activities of Soviet Russia bear more of resemblance than difference to similar movements in the west.

¹ "Education in Soviet Russia", Chapter XII, in *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade*. Edited by Chase, Dunn and Tugwell. New York: The John Day Co., 1928, 374 p.

² Cf. Lucy L. W. Wilson, *The New Schools of New Russia*, New York: The Vanguard Press, 1928, 230 p.

³ See Dr. Albert Pinkevitch, *Education in Russia*. Published by The John Day Co., New York, 1929. Dr. Pinkevitch, Rector of Moscow University, has written an intensely interesting, and from the Soviet point of view, authoritative book.

THE AIM OF EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Madame Lenin has given her version of "What a Communist Should Be Like."¹

First of all a Communist is a social person, with strongly developed social instincts, who desires that all people should live well and be happy. He may be a member of any class in society but is more apt to be a member of the working class because life trains workers in knowing common ends. Second, a Communist must understand the mechanism of the existing regime, must know the history of the growth of human society, the history of economic development of the growth of property, the division of classes, the growth of state forms. He must clearly picture whither society is developing. Communism must appear to him not only a desirable regime but exactly that regime to which humanity is going, where the happiness of some will not be based upon the slavery of others, and where there will be no compulsion except strongly developed social instincts. And the communists must clear the road, as you clear a path in the wilderness, to hasten its coming. Third, a Communist must know how to organize creatively. Suppose he is a medical worker. Then he must know medicine, its history both at home and abroad, the communist approach to medicine which means: how to organize and agitate widely among the masses of the population so as to create in the ranks of the toilers a powerful sanitary organization in the cause of health. He must know not only what communism is, and that it is coming, but what his own job in it may be and his own approach to the masses. Fourthly, his personal life must be submitted to and guided by the interests of communism. No matter how much he regrets giving up the comforts and ties of home, he must if necessary, cast all aside and go into danger wherever assigned. No matter how difficult the problem, he must try to carry it out. He fights with everything that harms the cause of communism. Nothing can leave him indifferent. Body and soul, he must

¹ Quoted by Dr. Anna Louise Strong. *Haldeman-Julius Quarterly*, p. 91.

be devoted to the interests of the toiling masses and of communism.

The aim of nurture and general instruction in Soviet Russia [writes Dr. Pinkevitch] ¹ is to aid in the all-round development of a healthy, strong, actively brave, independently thinking and acting man, acquainted with the many sides of contemporary culture, a creator and a warrior in the interests of the proletariat and consequently in the final analysis in the interests of the whole of humanity.

In the period of transition from a class to a class-less society, Dr. Pinkevitch declares that "the aim of all workers in the sphere of public education will be to instill into the growing generation socialistic (communistic) ideas and thereby to increase the ranks of those who are fighting for the establishment of the socialistic state."² This amounts to saying that the object of general education in Soviet Russia is to create a socialist Weltanschauung. Under the rule of the Tsars, the few schools then in existence were centers for the promulgation of the greater glory of the Romanoffs. Under soviet rule, the constantly increasing number of free schools have become incubators of socialist attitudes, germinal centers of a new social order. Although both systems use the schools to promulgate their purposes, there is definitely a difference. The difference is precisely in the ultimate purpose and intent of the respective regimes. The Tsarist system was static, the Soviet, dynamic. The former wanted to retain the exploitative element which is characteristic of a class society with the consequent repression of the masses. The latter aims toward a co-operative, class-less society. It is experimental and progressive-minded. The former repressed creative energy while the latter liberates. The gain

¹ *Op. cit.*, Chapter I.

² *Ibid.*

in literacy is elementary proof of that fact. A different sense of values is being taught in Russia. Pecuniary acquisition for its own sake is considered vulgar. Soviet officials work for a nominal labor wage. Membership in the elite comes not by way of possessions, but by virtue of being engaged in the realization of a social project. Youth is sensitive to social selection. It is not difficult to foresee a probable transformation in the character of public servants when these will eventually be recruited from the ranks of youth who grew up with the aforementioned values ingrained in their nature.¹

The soviet official educational scheme is organized under three heads: (1) General or Social Education—like our public educational system, this section is concerned chiefly with the transmission of the social heritage; (2) Technical—similar to our secondary schools, but the natural sciences receive more emphasis; (3) Adult Education, including vocational and civic.

Adult education in Soviet Russia is a state enterprise which, on the vocational side, is carried on in close co-operation with the trade unions and co-operatives, and on the civic side, with the Communist Party. Two schemes of progression provide opportunities for the literate adult, one course via the vocational-technical schools and the Rabfac² leads to the higher professional schools and universities, the other course via the various political and party schools leads to the Communist University. The lower vocational-technical schools, designed to equip industrial workers for efficient participation in the industrialization program of Soviet

¹ " 'Careerism', in the sense of material pursuit is not characteristic of the Russian student. He is motivated by the need of a trained working class for the new social order."—Thomas L. Dabney in *The Brookwood Fellowship Review*, April-June, 1927.

² Special four-year courses for young adults who wish to prepare for entrance into higher professional schools.

Russia, are sometimes referred to as workers' educational institutions. While the schools of civic education are called schools for "Political Enlightenment", i.e. schools for adult education.¹

Our study has revealed that in the large, workers' education is conceived as an instrument for social emancipation, as a means by which the organized working people seek to realize their 'historic mission.' From this point of view, the soviet educational aim corresponds with the movements of the west. Soviet Russia may use the term adult education instead of workers' education because the soviets can control the content of education. There are those who consider soviet education essentially different from the western brand of workers' education. But the differences are perhaps not as great as would appear. Voluntary effort is widespread.² True, adult education in Russia enjoys a special section in the Commissariat of Education, but we have shown that many western states allow grants in aid to workers' education. In Russia elementary vocational-technical education is given in "workers' educational institutions"; in the co-operative movements which we have described, a great deal of their educational work is vocational. So is part of the instruction given in the works council schools of Germany, and the social service courses in the Belgian Labor College. Technological unemployment compelled certain unions in New York City to institute training centers where trade-union members could be instructed in a new occupation. In Russia, the scope of adult education includes also

¹ Pinkevitch, *op. cit.*, chapters xv and xvi.

² See Dunn, Robert W., *Soviet Trade Unions*, New York: Vanguard Press, 1928, chapter xiv. *Cultural-Educational Work*, pp. 178-203. Cf. also, M. Tomskey's pamphlet on *The Russian Trade Unions*, published by The Trade Union Educational League, Chicago. Cf. *Hvad saa vi i Sovjet-Rusland*. Report of the Danish Trade Union Delegation to Russia. Copenhagen: Ny Tids Forlag, 1926.

the vocational education of adults. Adult education there is under state auspices, partly. In the west, vocational, technical and industrial education is, in the main, a function of the state system of education, and the individual is theoretically supposed to be trained either in school or in industry before he becomes a full-fledged, bona-fide worker. In some respects, vocational education for adults in Russia is an endeavor to make up for the serious "shortages" and the deplorable inheritance of ignorance from the brutal days of Czarism. And yet, the rapid flux and changes in technology and labor-saving devices may compel every state to organize a formal system of industrial re-education of adult workers. Therefore, "The question of adult education," says Dr. Pinkevitch¹, "occupies an important place in the system of soviet pedagogy. As already stated in earlier chapters, our pedagogy does not limit itself to the education of children, but transcends the limits of the traditional school age and embraces all the important educational influences which affect the individual at any time during his entire life."

Under adult schools are included (1) Day schools, (2) Week-end or Sunday Schools, (3) Political schools. The Day schools offer courses in industry and agriculture running through a three-year period. The week-end schools are an adaptation of the Day schools for those peasants and workers who are unable to be in attendance during the week. Correspondingly, they extend through a longer period. The Political schools are of four types: the school of political literacy, the Soviet Party schools elementary and advanced, and the Communist Universities. The school of political literacy functions largely through the Cottage Reading Rooms. The local teacher in co-operation with representatives of the trade-unions, co-operatives, the youth group

¹ *Op. cit.*, chapter xv. (The writer is unable to indicate the page numbers of this work as it is in the galley-proof stage of publication.)

and the Communist Party is usually the leader. The Soviet Party schools aims to train organizers, propagandists, and administrative functionaries for the local, district, county and provincial soviets, as well as for the trade-union, co-operative and party branches and departments. The Communist Universities offer advanced training in the theory and practice of communism. A statistical view of the activity in Political Enlightenment, for the period 1926-27 is given below: ¹

<i>Adult Schools</i>	<i>Number of Institutions</i>	<i>Number of Pupils</i>
Schools for Illiterates	46,759	1,516,000
General Schools for Adults	866	99,347
Political Schools	309	31,605
Political Courses	9,989	265,175
Cottage Reading Classes	22,085	
People's Houses		
Club Schools	5,639	
Libraries	19,240	6,099,000
Total	<hr/> 104,887	<hr/> 8,011,127

Self-help groups for home study are somewhat similar to the study circles which have been described in other sections. Whether these groups are conducted on the systematic plan as those in Sweden, e.g., we have no documentary evidence from which to infer. The Soviet Union Yearbook reports that in R. S. F. S. R. during the year 1926-27 there were 27,000 societies for self-education with a membership of 1,200,000 persons.

The cinema, the theater, the radio and the circulating library are being used extensively for mass educational purposes. In 1927, Russia had 47 broadcasting stations. The spirit of the programs is predominantly cultural. Trade unions initiate a great deal of recreational activity for the

¹ *Soviet Union Yearbook for 1928*, Washington, D. C., p. 462.

workers' leisure hours, such as, dramatics, concerts, sports and games. 10% of trade-union income is allocated to the cultural-educational fund. A part of this money is distributed in the form of scholarships for trade-union students. The industrial establishments also contribute a given percentage of their net proceeds toward this fund. The government budget allows for buildings.¹

"The Red Army is an important center for disseminating culture. Those who enter the Red Army receive, besides purely military instruction, a good general education. There are 1,509 libraries in the Red Army, 719 Clubs, 47,000 reading circles. Political instruction is offered daily. After he leaves the Red Army, the soldier becomes a carrier of culture, bringing to his village enthusiasm for knowledge, the habit of reading newspapers, eagerness to raise the cultural level of the village."² An extensive amount of intelligence testing in the Red Army ought in time shed some light on the psychological status of the peasants and workers in Russia.

The Rabfac schools or workers' faculties are forms thrust up by the revolution of 1917. Russia needed professional workers and technicians. These should be recruited preferably from the ranks of the working people. But the young adults lacked a secondary schooling. Hence the Rabfac became a type of preparatory school leading to college entrance. Graduation from a primary school or its equivalent admits the young adult worker student to the four-year course in the Rabfac. In 1926-27, there were 109 of these institutions with an enrollment of 45,702 students.³

¹ A Cottage Reading Room is often the nucleus for a prospective People's House.

² "Soviet Achievements in Public Education," N. Krupskaya (Madame Lenin). *The Nation* (New York), Nov. 9, 1927, pp. 501-2.

³ *Soviet Union Yearbook*, p. 464.

The problem of proper selection of students presented serious difficulties. Dr. Pinkevitch regards the workers' faculties as relatively permanent institutions, though he is aware that in the course of time, the special function of the Rabfacs may become assimilated into the regular public secondary school system.¹

The various party schools and communist universities are not strikingly different from the labor colleges described herein, except, in the emphasis given to Marxism and Leninism, and the time factor. Communist University courses extend through a period of from two to four years. In 1926-27 there were 15 such universities with 6,294 students in attendance.

In the table² following, an interesting sidelight is thrown upon the composition of all students in Soviet Russia:

CLASSIFICATION OF STUDENTS ACCORDING TO SPECIALIZATION
AND STATUS

Industrial and Technical	36%
Agricultural	17.5
Socio-Economic	11.3
Medical	16.5
Pedagogical	15.5
Artistic	3.2

Social Status of Students:

Workers	25.3%
Peasants	25.3
Government Employees	37.5
Others	11.9

Political Enlightenment in Russia aims at the economic, political and cultural regeneration of the country. This is an objective which the working people of the western nations share with the Russians. But the Russian working people, unlike most of their fellow workers in the west, have

¹ Pinkevitch, *op. cit.*, chapter xv.

² Russian Educational Exhibit, New York City, Feb. 15, 1928.

won the fight for status. They know and feel that they have a social stake in their country. These conditions would likely release the fettered spirit of Czarist times and issue forth in creative initiative alloyed with zest, joy and aspiration.¹

Political Enlightenment in Russia proceeds by three distinctly different methods, viz. agitation, propaganda and education. The distinctions between the several methods are drawn by Dr. Pinkevitch.² "Political agitation", he writes, "means to stir, to awaken, to call forth a certain mood, to create a will to action. It involves the arousal of the feelings and emotions of the masses by means of images and pictures; it compels men and women to throw off inertia and arise from slumber. . . . The process of propaganda differs from agitation in that it possesses greater penetration, objectivity, and calm. Though falling somewhat short of teaching (education), its primary appeal is not to emotion but to the intellect. The aim of propaganda is to stimulate to action not by means of images and pictures but by means of conviction, logical persuasion, and critical examination of the mottoes and slogans proclaimed by the agitator. But in either case the work is of relatively brief duration, the most important topics of the moment receive attention, and only certain aspects of these matters are analyzed. . . . The prolonged and many-sided study of fundamental considerations, as well as the examination of supplementary questions, lies not in the field of propaganda but in the domain of teaching (education)."³

¹ The observations of Dr. Horace M. Kallen ("The Arts and the Artists in Fascist Italy and Communist Russia" *The Advance*, March 1, 1929, p. 3), confirms the inference.

² *Op. cit.*, chapter xvi.

³ Dr. Pinkevitch here seems to be in accord with the W. E. A. which holds that propaganda will be done better if a good job is made of education.

THE YOUNG PIONEERS

The Children's Communistic Organization of Young Pioneers of the Name of Comrade Lenin is composed of boys and girls between the ages of 10-16 years. Children under ten years join auxiliary groups. Much of the technique of the Boy Scout organization (General Baden-Powell) has been borrowed and adapted to communistic purposes. Every young pioneer declares under oath:

I, a Young Pioneer of the Soviet Union, in the presence of my comrades solemnly promise that, (1) I will firmly defend the cause of the working class in the struggle for the liberation of the workers and peasants of the world; (2) I will honorably and unfalteringly carry out the covenants of Lenin and the laws and customs of the Young Pioneers.

The Pioneer laws are as follows:

- (1) The Pioneer is true to the cause of the working class and to the covenants of Lenin.
- (2) The Pioneer is the younger brother and helper of the Komsomol and Communist.
- (3) The Pioneer is a comrade to Pioneers and to the workers' and peasants' children of the world.
- (4) The Pioneer organizes the surrounding children and participates with them in the enviroing life: the Pioneer is an example to all children.
- (5) The Pioneer strives for knowledge. Knowledge and skill are power in the struggle for the workers' cause.

Aside from the recreational life of the organization, the Young Pioneers, as budding communists, have civic duties to perform. A Pioneer Youth is a kind of liaison missionary between the school and the adult community. Under the sanction and encouragement of the People's Commissariat of Education, foreposts are organized in the schools. "Its ob-

ject is to bring the pupils of the school under the Pioneer influence. . . . The Pioneers attempt to draw the school into the surrounding social and political life and to connect the school with the various communist organizations, with the nearest factory and professional union, with soviet economy, and with the committee of mutual aid. The Pioneers stimulate the school to launch desirable campaigns and to celebrate important holidays; they strive to widen the cultural and political horizon of the children, to bring about self-organization of pupils, and to combat smoking and profanity; they correlate their work with the program of studies of the school; and finally they co-operate with the liberal members of the teaching staff and with the school soviet in the building of the new school.”¹

It becomes necessary now, to bring this survey to a close. We realize that we have omitted to speak of many ventures into workers' education, and our silence on some worth-while agencies, although not directly under labor control, must not be construed as a deliberate attempt to ignore, or that we are oblivious of their existence and merits. For instance, we have said naught about the pioneering work of the Fabian Society in England, nor of the valuable pamphleteering of the League for Industrial Democracy in America, nor the study-circles and summer schools of the Independent Labor Party. A body of valuable experience is being accumulated also in the many summer schools for women in industry, in America under university control. Our neighbors in Canada take pride in the tutorial classes of the W. E. A. and the Frontier College of Toronto. The W. E. A. of England is represented in South Africa. In Palestine, the Waadat Hatarbout (Jewish Education Committee) of the General Federation of Jewish Labor, has developed a many-sided educational movement among adults, youth, and children. The

¹ Pinkevitch, *op. cit.*, chapter ix.

national congress of the Roumanian trade-union center in 1926 created a national workers' educational committee and resolved that 10% of the national center's income should be earmarked toward an educational fund. Poland has been struggling with analphabetism but the workers' education movement has been continuous since 1923. In 1926, a central workers' school was established and a course of 11 weeks' duration for functionaries in the labor movement was given. Luxemburg founded its national center for workers' education in 1921. It consists of a trinitarian representation. The center began the publication of a monthly named "Arbeiterbildung" in 1926. Only casual notices concerning workers' education have come before us from our southern neighbors, the South American Republics. A co-operative association of fishermen in the State of Sao Paulo, Brazil has been combating illiteracy and founded night schools for youth and adults. In Argentine, the Union of Tailors and Allied Trades have been active in workers' education. So have the railroad union men. Across the Andes, in Chile and Peru, trade-unions conduct evening schools. The Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress founded a Workers' Educational Institute in 1926. Its work is confined chiefly to Dublin and environs. The N. C. L. C. of England prevails in Ulster, especially in Belfast. In the main, however, the policy of the Irish Labor Party is to bring pressure upon the Universities and Public Education Authorities for the establishing of Folk Schools (Danish type), tutorial classes and University Extension lectures.¹ Spain is as yet without a national center. Wherever a syndicalist group is organized, there you will invariably find their Escuela Racionalista, the school founded by Francisco Ferrer Guardia. Whether the extensive workers' educa-

¹ See *Labour's Policy on Education*. Published by The Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. Dublin, 1925, 24 p.

tional activity of *La Universita Proletaria Milanese* in Italy, has been revived since the Fascist coup, the writer has been unable to learn.¹

In the following chapter, an attempt will be made to present some of the problems of workers' education.

¹ It should be part of the business of a Workers' Education International to ferret out what is going on, educationally, in the various parts of the world and to transmit the same through an educational journal.

PART III

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF WORLD WORKERS' EDUCATION

CHAPTER IX

PROBLEMS OF WORKERS' EDUCATION INTRODUCTORY

"In general, nobody under forty-five should restrain himself from trying to learn anything because of a belief or fear that he is too old to be able to learn it. Nor should he use that fear as an excuse for not learning anything which he ought to learn. . . Age, in itself, is a minor factor in either success or failure. *Capacity, interest, energy, and time are the essentials.* . . Public welfare depends as truly on who goes to school after fifteen as on how many go to school till fifteen."—E. L. THORNDIKE.¹

"If those of us who are not in the ranks of labor do not go out with sympathy and understanding to apprehend the human meaning of these (labor) discontents, we are but helping to give them narrower, more bitter, and more explosive character."—R. M. MACIVER.²

In the foregoing eight chapters we have tried to convey, fairly, we trust, a description of the development and present situation of the world workers' education movement. In this chapter we shall essay to state several problems which our survey and exploration among workers' educational periodicals suggest, as well as offer certain critical comments which may be helpful toward a solution.

The problem of workers' education which arises in connection with the trinitarian labor movement toward social change and adjustment, are many, diverse and difficult. For, in a wider sense, they are related to a vast complex of political, economic, and social problems sometimes classified in sociology under the head of social adequacy.

¹ *Adult Learning*, Macmillan, New York, 1928, chapter xiii. (Italics ours.)

² *Labor in a Changing World*, Dutton, New York, 1919, p. 11.

Cultural progress in the labor movement is intimately conditioned upon such factors as: adequate housing (permitting privacy for study), health and recreation, transit facility, leisure, economic opportunity and security, a socially efficient public school system, etc. Then there are conditioning factors within the workers' educative process; common agreement on aims and purposes, curricula, methods of teaching, student and teaching population, administration, finance, measurement of results, etc. An attempt to come to grips with the workers' educative process is as yet inchoate. Few of the curricula herein-cited reveal any concern with this problem, one that requires systematic and scientific attack. Workers' educationists are seriously hampered both in curricula construction and teaching procedure because an objectively conceived and synthesized body of knowledge which we have termed *adultgogy* is non-existent. To build up the principles of *adultgogy* will require much sharing of concrete experience in the teaching of adults, a great deal of experimental data, methodological procedures, critical evaluation of concepts, and scientific attitude. In this task, both the workers' and adult education movements could enlist, with mutual advantage, the co-operation of the professional educational psychologists and sociologists.

The great work of Professor Thorndike applies equally to workers' and adult education. "Age", he found, "is a minor factor in learning."¹ He did not specify either "bourgeois" or a "class-conscious worker", for membership in a "class" is of itself negligible in the premises. The techniques for testing capacity and intelligence are being perfected gradually by educational psychologists. Similarly,

¹ Cf. Coghill, G. E., *Anatomy and the Problem of Behavior*, N. Y.: Macmillan, 1929. This author holds that growth and differentiation probably continue through the life time of the organism, until the decline of old age sets in.

for tests of energy and fatigue. The other two factors mentioned by Thorndike, interest and time, are partly individual matters, and partly of concern to the group which selects and sponsors the student. Labor groups supplying stipends to labor students will find little difficulty in devising objective measures for ascertaining the intensity of interest and the amount and value of the time element.

A workers' educational psychology or adultgogy must not be confused with the principle expressed in the oft-repeated phrase 'the psychology of the worker.' We cannot here enter into a protracted discussion of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the latter phrase. While industrialism compels labor eventually to substitute a group-conscious or a co-operative class-conscious outlook for a personal outlook, this fact, of itself, does not validate fundamentally a separate Psychology of the Worker as contrasted with a psychology of any given member of another group in the human family. We should infer that the phrase 'psychology of the worker' embraces merely the different social attitudes engendered in the workers' mind because of his present status (or the absence of status) in present-day economic society. (Be it said, also, that some of those social attitudes in the worker's mind are frequently shared by those who are more fortunately placed economically. For example, social radicalism is not the monopoly of the worker. In fact, in America, it appears that the small farmers and middle-class folk are more susceptible to the appeal of social radicalism than are the membership of the official labor movement.). Those who insist on a separate and distinct psychology of the worker would take cognizance only of the difference between areas and levels of human beings and ignore their likenesses as human beings.¹ Pseudo-science would be the result.

¹ Cf. Shylock's longest speech in Scene I of Act III, *The Merchant of Venice*.

A number of writers have attempted to construct a 'psychology of the worker' upon the basis of some one single all-inclusive category, such as insecurity, technological divorce, inferiority complex, status, economic rootlessness, mental enslavement, etc. These one-sided, partial approaches are scientifically invalid and practically suicidal. Even a synthesis of all the categories mentioned would result in a false picture. Moreover, while they partially describe the worker (in the limited sense) in modern capitalist society, each of the categories applies to other groups in human society. The complexities of social life transcend the limits of a single category for explanation. Witness the distorted characterization which the instinct approach produced in an attempt to understand the Industrial Workers of the World. Carleton Parker rushed in with a bag full of Freudian categories by means of which he would bring forth an explanation of the psyche of the I. W. W., the seasonal migratory workers of the west, a peculiarly placed economic group. Parker forgot his economist's spectacles while he fitted the I. W. W. into his libidinous categories. The magic of instincts was the fashion of the day.¹ A new avenue to publicity had opened, and the undergraduates groaned during successive years at the reams of required reading. Some of them took up graduate study in order to learn what wasn't so.

A great number of students and investigators have been preoccupied with the study of the working class in a more or

¹ Even the academic world does not escape the impact of fashion. Curiously too, some sociologists have not acquired immunity to its seductive influence, as evidenced by the fact that the concepts of "social engineering" and "social psychiatry", practically led some to pawn, if not to sign away their own budding science.

We do not wish to write disparagingly of Parkers' work as a whole. We grant that his psychoanalytic kit of tools did throw much light on the problem under investigation. Our point is that his perceptual technique or scheme of constructs were insufficiently refined and inclusive to produce an adequate explanation.

less systematic manner. The Utopian Socialists, Marx-Engels, Sombart, Hunter, Rowntree, Booth, Brissenden, Burns, de Man, and numerous labor leaders, have contributed toward an understanding of the life and problems of the working class.¹ Literary men, such as Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Ernest Toller, Martin Anderson-Nexö, and Jeppe Aakjær, among others, have shown extraordinary insight into the behavior patterns and mental attitudes of work-people. What appears significant in some of these studies is that facts of other orders than the merely psychological seem to be responsible for the plight of the life of labor. In other words, the differences between economic classes are not psychological, but economic, social, and, above all, educational.

Before taking up the problems of workers' education seriatim, we desire to share with the reader certain studies which we have come across in our reading and which merit critical summarization. Among the first of these studies are the works of Alfredo Niceforo,² and Adolf Levenstein.³ Niceforo undertook to investigate the notion that the rich and the poor constitute separate types, and that the poor are anthropologically inferior as compared with the rich. By means of anthropological measurements of bodily structures, bony framework, height, weight, mortality, mental condition, etc., he came to the conclusion that a definite disparity ob-

¹ Here should be mentioned also, *The Equipment of the Workers* (An Enquiry by the St. Phillip's Settlement Education and Economic Research Society), London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1919, pp. 334. This book contains excellent case studies into "The adequacy of the adult manual workers for the discharge of their responsibilities as heads of households, producers and citizens."

² *Anthropologie Der Nichtbesitzenden Klassen*. Translated by Prof. Dr. Robert Michels and Dr. Adolph Köster. With a special introductory article entitled: "Das Proletariat in Der Wissenschaft und Die Ökonomische Anthropologische Synthese" von Robert Michels. Leipzig and Amsterdam: Maas and Van Suchtelen, 1910, pp. 512.

³ *Die Arbeiterfrage*. Verlag Ernst Reinhardt, Munich, 1912, pp. 406.

tains as between the rich and poor, that the difference between the classes is greater than the difference between the nations. Niceforo attributes the "inferiority" of the proletariat largely to economic circumstances. He concludes essentially, that the poor in goods are the poor in spirit. This leads him to raise the questions: Is this psychic and physically inferior proletariat ripe for emancipation as a class? Is the proletariat generally educable?¹

While Niceforo's pioneering work is thought-provoking, it will not stand the test of scientific verification. In the first place, his sample is inadequate. Niceforo identifies the poor with the proletariat, an incorrect delimitation. His concept of class is questionable. Occupational groups are not classes. Income is not a sufficient criterion of class, as W. J. Ghent showed in his *Mass and Class*.² What he says about "typengemeinschaft" is vulnerable at several points. Did he test small shopkeepers and other members of the bourgeoisie in sufficiently large numbers? Niceforo concludes that a proletarian girl reaches puberty later than a girl of the bourgeois class, and he attributes the "fact" to the standard of living. One might reasonably ask here: Has the author taken into account the fact that malnutrition is found in different degrees in all classes? Finally, various groups and layers within the working population, not excepting the women, should have been included in his study.

Adolf Levenstein's suggestive study was carried out by

¹ It has often been said that "workers are a dumb lot" that they can't learn, etc. The answer is frankly: Some are, some can't. Our study shows, however, that many workers have interests apart from bread, beer and 'backy, church, circus and cinema. Professor Thorndike's research (*Adult Learning*) has given us a new emphasis. The question now is not: Can they learn? but more emphatically, Will they learn?

² Macmillan, 1909, chapter 3.

means of an enquete¹ sent to 8,000 workers in the mining, textile and metal industries of Germany. He was interested in learning what influence is exerted by modern large scale industry under the pressure of private ownership upon the psycho-physical life of the workers; and, what powers form a counterpoise against a possible physical and psychic deterioration. His inquiry sought to elicit the spiritual problems of workers, their feelings, wishes, thoughts and aspirations. The subjective element is therefore preponderant in the replies. Of the 8,000 questionnaires sent out 5,040, or 63% were returned. The distribution of replies accord-

¹ We quote a few of the 26 questions, freely translated:

The psychic relation of the worker to his regular vocation and working conditions—

What would you rather do, contract or day labor? Why? Do you work on machines? What kind? Do you derive pleasure from this work or do you take no interest in it? Do you sense fatigue or other difficulties from this work? After how many hours do you sense fatigue? Do you think while working? On what? Or is it impossible to think while at work? What oppresses you more, poor wages, dependency upon the employer, lack of opportunity for advancement, or your inability to offer your children a brighter future?

Positive wishes in relation to a change of economic status—

How many hours would you prefer to work? What kind of work? What would you do if you had more leisure? What kind of things would you buy if you had more money? What hopes and what wishes have you?

Social relationships—

Do you find your pleasure more in the family or saloon and, do you consider the consumption of alcohol indispensable? Do you work better after drinking alcoholic liquor? What influence do you have on the industrial and political movement? Do you hope for better things through these agencies or are you without hope?

Attitude toward problems of life and non-material aspects of culture—

Do you believe in God or have you stepped out of the state church for certain reasons? Do you wander into the forest very often? What do you think about when you lie on the forest floor surrounded by silence and deep loneliness? What books have you read?

ing to the industry, was as follows: Miners 2,084, textile workers 1,153, and metal workers 1,803. A friendly, explanatory letter accompanied each questionnaire which was handed to the worker by a functionary or fellow worker in the industry, the latter being known to the author. Not all of the answers could be numerically tabulated. We quote several items from the author's trial balance of results which are of socio-psychological interest to our study.

TABLE XX

<i>Debits</i>	<i>Number of Persons</i>	<i>Credits</i>	<i>Number of Persons</i>
No joy in work	3,154	Joy in work	707
Dependence depressing	1,834	Not depressing	814
No joy in family	243	Joy in family	1,867
No hope in political and economic organization	968	Hope in political and economic organization	2,530
Disbelief in God	2,530	Belief in God	668
Uninfluenced by literature ..	780	Influenced by literature	3,615
No ethical uplift in woods ..	1,393	Ethically uplifted	3,298

In answer to the question: Which is more depressive, low wages or dependency?, the latter category prevailed. 831 expressed indifference as to joy in work. Of the grand total of questions, 5,591 were unanswered.

Since the question relating to 'joy in work' or 'joyless work' is of educational significance we shall quote from Levenstein's table of percentages:

	<i>Miners</i>	<i>Textile Workers</i>	<i>Metal Workers</i>
	2084	1153	1803
Joy in work	15.2%	7.1%	17%
Distaste	60.5	75.5	56.9
Indifferent	17.6	13.6	17.1
Non-committal	6.7	4.2	9.0

These results raise the question: What may be the causes of the phenomenon of joyless work? Is it due to: low wages, impudent bosses, poor tools and materials, atomization, intensity, inferior status, unadjusted familial life, absentee owner-

ship, insecurity, uncreative and inadequate leisure, inadequate fellow workers, robotage, long hours, inefficient trade union leadership, preferential treatment of co-workers, personal inadequacy—physical, psychic, vocational, educational, etc.?¹ An answer to this question demands objective studies by workers' educational research and personnel students.

In addition to the work of Niceforo and Levenstein, we shall summarize several other samples of inquiries calculated to elicit what is and what is not in the 'mind' of the worker, hoping thereby to stimulate improved methods of investigation and research.

A highly philosophical treatise by Gertrud Hermes² adds several candlepower toward the illumination of proletarian mental attitudes. Frau Hermes distributed a questionnaire among the adult students of several schools in Leipzig. These students belonged to the working-class office workers, laborers and artisans. They were adherents of the Marxist school of political thought. The information blanks were handed out at one evening's sessions and were returned to the instructor at the following class meeting. Frau Hermes secured 1255 returns—from 902 men and 353 women. The questions were as follows:

In what course was this blank filled out? Sex? Birthplace? Occupation of father? Where have you attended school? What schools have you attended? Occupation? Position in your vocation? What courses in folk high schools or similar schools have you frequented? What books have you read during the past two years? Why have you read these particular books? What is your outlook upon life and what do you conceive to be the meaning of life?

¹ Cf. Anderson, Nels, *The Hobo*, Chicago, 1923.

² *Die Geistige Gestalt Des Marxistischen Arbeiters und Die Arbeiterbildungsfrage*, Verlag: J. C. Mohr, Tübingen, 1926, 331 pp. In her stimulating study, Frau Hermes suggests that the bourgeois class has spent its culture-forming power; it has realized its ideals and is now merely marking time.

Frau Hermes gives many valuable leads to the research student, but she commits a methodological error in that she ignores her data at the start, thus treating the results of her questionnaire merely as a matter quite incidental to another purpose. Even so, the answers to the three last questions throw many sidelights on the students' Weltanschauung.

Another attempt to ferret out the problems of adult education is reported in a little book¹ by Leon Trotzki. He called together some twenty-five speakers, organizers, and industrial secretaries in Moscow. The group met during a period of three days. Nearly all of the men were in close contact with the masses. A stenographer reported the proceedings verbatim. Trotzki had formulated a series of questions to which written and oral answers were given. A liberal rendering of the enquete is produced herewith.

What books do the masses read? What is your criticism of the books as to make-up, contents and style? What newspapers are read? Which need change? How widespread is the trade union press? How do the masses react toward the New Economic Policy? What is the attitude taken by the masses toward the bourgeois reaction? Are the workers interested in geographical knowledge? In western labor movements? What are the chief reasons advanced by non-party men for not joining the Communist Party? How has the revolution affected family life? What ceremonials have been adopted since the revolution? To what extent are the old ceremonials practiced? Are there evidences of improvement in the daily round of behavior in life, such as, politeness, sanitation, manner of speech, hygiene, etc.? How do the trade unions promote educational and cultural interests? With what success? What is the status of national and religious prejudices? How do the workers spend their leisure hours? Are celebrations of special occasions overdone?

¹ *Fragen Des Alltagslebens*. Verlag Carl Hoym, Hamburg, 1923, 169 pp.

While these questions were addressed with the Russian situation in mind, yet the answers, comments and discussions bring out points of general application in the adult workers' education field.

Information tests have shown that teachers of adult workers often err in assuming that his learners possess a given amount of knowledge.¹ George E. Graf, principal of the School of Economics at Dürrenberg, Germany, supports this observation by the results of several thousands of tests which he has collected throughout Germany. The writer was an auditor in a course which Graf presented at Hildesheim in 1924. The class was composed of 43 participants of whom 10 were women, 2 academicians, 3 teachers, 3 editors, the remainder being functionaries in the social democratic labor movement. Graf opened the course by giving the following test (the number of correct and incorrect answers are set opposite):

<i>Question</i>	<i>Satisfactorily answered</i>	<i>Incorrectly</i>
1. Who is Sam Gompers?	24	19
2. What are Devisen?	33	10
3. Who is Masaryk?	14	29
4. Who is Minister of Finance for the German Reich?	40	3
5. What period, from what year to what year, is usually called the Middle Ages?	9	34
6. What is the meaning of the abbreviation Hapag?	33	10
7. What is a chair? (Definition)	15	28
8. What do you know about the party of the Cadets?	17	26
9. Who is John D. Rockefeller?	34	9
10. What do you know of Walter Rathenau?	41	2
11. What books did Marx write?		

¹ The writer who has taught adults during the past decade can underline this statement. Some adult pupils want to know the Einstein theory of relativity without having command of the four fundamental processes. Others are ignorant of geography while expatiating on world economics and imperialism.

<i>Number of works</i>	<i>Number of students mentioning</i>
0	1
1	10
2	7
3	12
4	6
5	2
6	3
7	1
9	1

Only two of the participants answered all questions correctly.

Dr. Ernst Reinhardt¹ gave an information test to 20 students in a Swiss labor school. The students were members of Committees² in the labor movement. The first set of 12 questions had appeared in the newspapers, the second set was selected from the embalmed historical facts taught in the public schools.

1. Who is Vice President of the Federal Council for 1925?
2. In what year was the first Swiss factory law passed?
3. Which is the largest Swiss trade union?
4. Where is the headquarters of the I. G. B.?
5. What is a share of stock?
6. What is vertical concentration of capital?
7. Who was Hugo Stinnes?
8. Who is John D. Rockefeller?
9. Who is the President of the German Cabinet Council?
10. Who is Prime Minister of England?
11. Do you know of a book by Frederick Engels?
12. Who is Friedrich Adler?

¹"Was Wissen unsere Vertrauensleute?", *Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit*, Feb., 1925.

²Vertrauensleute are equivalent to the "Jimmy Higginsons," so-called, in America.

1. Who was the general in charge of the Sonderbundskrieg?
2. In what battle was duke Leopold von Österreich killed?
3. Who was the leader of the Luzernes in the Murtenkrieg?
Who was captain in Murten?
4. What was the name of the Swiss reformationist in Zürich?
5. Who discovered America?
6. When did the battle of Neuenweg take place?

	<i>Correct</i>	<i>Wrong</i>
The average per cent of answers in the first set were:	35.3	64.6
The average per cent of answers in the second set were:	51.6	48.3

Here is an indication of the powerful influence of the drill methods of early schooling in dead knowledge, knowledge that doesn't matter one whit in contemporary life.

We have cited these several explorations for the purpose of suggesting to workers' educationists the need for a critically scientific attitude toward their work, for the production of more experimental data, and for a liberal sharing of their findings with their fellow educators. We must also recognize that, since the sons of Adam, by and large, are congenitally undistinguished for veracity, we are not likely to get at the raw, unvarnished truth by *merely asking* them what they think. Therefore it becomes necessary to devise checks that will prevent deviation from the straight and narrow path. To further this professional object, more teacher's institutes should be held; the larger labor colleges should afford an opportunity through courses in workers' educational psychology; more teachers should publish the results of experimental inquiries; more international conferences of teachers in workers' education are needed to clarify concepts and to standardize a nomenclature; steps should be taken to realize the Oxford resolution quoted later.

The working class, whether it knows it or not, is a definite economic and social group. But, uncommon observation is not essential to perceive that the working class is not a unified

educational group. To unify the work-people educationally is one of the problems of workers' education. Hence the urgent need for a workers' educational psychology, or adultgogy.

The International Conference on Workers' Education at Oxford was aware of the need of a workers' educational psychology. Dr. Max Weber of Switzerland presented a paper entitled: "An International Institute of Workers' Psychology," the substance of which was embodied into a resolution unanimously adopted by the conference. A research center of this type, according to Dr. Weber, should seek an answer to such questions as: "When is the worker least fatigued and able to obtain the best results from educational work? What is the most rational arrangement of the curriculum for evening classes? How can the interest of the worker be aroused? What are effective teaching methods? What are the criteria for the selection of subject matter? How may the mental capacity of the worker be determined?, etc." A start in this direction was made in the form of a resolution, as follows:

The Conference considers it as the duty of any Workers' Education International that may be formed to examine, jointly with the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Labor and Socialist International, and with any other international organizations and institutions serving the interests of the workers, the question of the foundation of a Center for Research in Workers' Psychology and the theoretical basis of workers' education.

The function of such a center should include:

1. The publication of scientific studies of Workers' Psychology and the theoretical basis of workers' education.
2. The publication of textbooks and lesson material.
3. The exchange of notes on practical experience in workers' education through a special international journal.

4. The publication of a news sheet which will deal scientifically with questions relating to workers' education.

Pending the formation of a permanent workers' education international, the above resolution will likely remain a fervent hope.

In the consideration of the problem of workers' education it is important to keep in mind the perspective which has been held throughout this study. Too many of those who are concerned with worker's education belong in the tale of the Five Blind Men and the Elephant. The trade-union man, the labor party man, the co-operator, the culture-for-its-own-sake man, the socialist, the propagandist, each and all, are often blind to factors or phases other than the one immediately perceptible to themselves. They fail to take in the total situation and to apprehend the larger implications of the movement. This is deplorable. It is the source of too much acrimonious controversy. But it is remediable. The integrative emphasis points a way out.

The problems of workers' education group themselves chiefly about the aims and purposes, curricula, methods of teaching, the student and teaching population, administration and control.

AIM OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

Mere verbalism and traditional ideologies aside, in the catalogue of variously couched objects of workers' education there is implied a primary aim, a common denominator, namely, organized and informed effort toward a better social order.¹ At the Oxford Conference four resolutions on the

¹ We do not wish to minimize the divergencies among some labor spokesmen, neither shall we lay ourselves open to the charge of lacking in diligence for the search of likenesses which are necessary to a program for action. . . The individualistic declarations of several American labor leaders are too feeble to deflect the world trend of workers' education.

Character and Aims of Workers' Education were submitted by the N. C. L. C., the W. E. A. (jointly with the co-operative Union and Ruskin College), the Palestinian and the United States delegations. Scan these resolutions and two points will stand out in each, first, that workers' education must be controlled by the labor movement, second, it must aim toward a new social order. Differences among associations, there are, but they are mainly differences of degree, of emphasis, of vigor and vehemence with which each pursues its objective. Government grants-in-aid are accepted by many associations especially in those states where the labor parties exert a political influence, and this aid is accepted on the sound principle of public responsibility for the continued education of the citizenry. Even the Marxistically disposed N. C. L. C. would accept public grants, provided that no strings are attached.¹ At the Oxford Conference considerable discussion hinged on the language to be used in stating the object of a workers' educational international, particularly as to whether "the recognition of the class struggle"² should be the password of admission to membership. The debate developed a general consensus that the policy of an international should be broad and inclusive, allowing for certain national differences. It was well known that the workers' educational movement is in various stages of infancy, adolescence and maturity, in the many countries represented, and that it would be futile to invite disagreements at the very start by insisting on any pet phraseology. Interestingly too, the German and Scandinavian speaking delegates whose penchant for Marxism is an historic fact voted largely for the broader policy. Their action should not be interpreted, however, as a decline in Marxism, rather as a better understand-

¹ See *The Plebs*, July, 1924, p. 270.

² More recognition of the group struggles and their prevention within the labor movement is becoming increasingly important.

ing of Marxian thought and practice, as well as an appreciation of diplomacy—in its truthful sense.

Lest we forget: it is one thing to declare the aim of workers' education to be a better social order in which the Good Life will be possible for all; it is quite another matter to act as if we really want the new order. Here we place our finger on the nub of the problem of aim and purpose. It is the age-old challenge of how can we relate our performance to our profession. No movement is exempt from this challenge, be it ever so idealistic. The human race cannot be reminded too often of the Spencerian dictum: "Life cannot be carried on without greater harmony between thoughts and deeds." Bertrand Russell holds that the most treasured value in life is loving-kindness, but, "how can we gain kindness, unless we ourselves are kindly", he demands. Professor Giddings assures us that "if we will face the facts that the social sciences are making known to us, and will make better known, it should enable us to diminish misery and to live more wisely than the human race has lived hitherto." Dr. L. P. Jacks feels and sees the evil consequences of the divorce between the world of work and the world of culture and he has set about to effect "the great union between labor and learning, the congregation that should ne'er break up." We hear critics saying: "Learning, yes, but beware of learning considered as a thing apart, as a magic of escape from the unpleasant obstructions in life." The virtue of learning is social action followed by periodical orientation and audit with reference to an ideal. The Kinderfreunde movement seems to the writer to afford pure evidence that within the soul of some leaders within the labor movement, there is a genuine, unalloyed social cause of which noble purpose is the guide. For, a real Kinderfreund, oblivious of self, is out on the firing line trying to effect a change in culture so that his children may live a fuller life

than the restrictions of his own civilization have allowed him to live. Another sign of mental health in the workers' education movement is the spirit of self-criticism, a spirit that is notably awake in such thinkers as, R. H. Tawney, Harold Laski, G. D. H. Cole, D. A. Ross, Georg E. Graf, Luitpold Stern, Kurt Löwenstein, among others, men who are constantly active in the movement of workers' education and the *Kinderfreunde*. Like Ernst Toller, these men set up signs at unsuspected points along the trail saying: "This is the way, here is reality that must be changed." They prick the faltering wanderer. They challenge him to face reality and hold him to his purpose. It is the effort to realize a great social purpose that matters in the workers' education movement.

WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL CURRICULA

"Give them what they want" is a common formula often heard in educational conferences. The champions of this slogan warn the labor educator that if he wants to make his teaching "attractive" his attitude should be governed by "what the workers want," and not by "what they ought to study." An obvious answer, in the light of our survey, is that both points of view prevail. "Give them what they want" is a primary stage of education; it often runs into semi-entertainment and dilettantism in order to secure attention to what is more serious. This policy is decidedly applicable to "mass education", so-called, to the study and reading circle, to the sports groups, to week-end and summer conferences, to popular lecture courses and forums. Undeniably, all of these activities can be suffused (they frequently are) by an educational tone and directed toward high social purpose. A different policy is needed in the case of resident and semi-resident labor colleges. Here the labor movement cannot brook a loose, lackadaisical, yielding atti-

tude. It must insist on prerequisites and requirements. An instance to illustrate our meaning.

A German trade union grants a number of full scholarships—including board, lodging, personal expenses, and allowances for dependents of the delegated student. Students are selected from the point of view of energy, capacity, interest, previous activity in the movement and future promise. They attend a labor college for a period of five or nine months, not for the purpose primarily of developing their own personality to the end that they may rise in the world (or "get out of work"), but for the purpose of gaining certain definite qualifications which they will use in the service of the group¹ which supplied the stipendia. Labor leaders owing to their strategic place know pretty well what the workers need. These needs are generally reflected in the curricula of the resident labor colleges, though it cannot be gainsaid that workers' education leaders have bestowed insufficient time to subjects of study which are indubitably needed to carry forward a progressive relationship between immediate and the more remote ends of the labor movement.

Let us turn to a brief review of our statistics on courses of study, and let us keep the following question in mind: Could the courses of study be brought into closer correspondence with the immediate and ultimate needs and purposes of the labor movement? If we compare the curricula with the

¹The criticism that the individual personality becomes merely a means and not an end, that he must completely efface his individuality, is not germane. In reality the relationship as here understood becomes reciprocal. The individual is both means and end. In modern society with its teeming populations, its depersonalizing process, men and women of the working class find it necessary to join trade unions, consumers' co-operatives, and labor parties, in order that their individual personality may count for something. A powerful trade union, e.g., is like an individual writ large though not in the sense in which Gompers expressed it: "An institution is the shadow of a great man," as the continuity of institutions and associations massively and forcibly testify.

problems that agitate the conventions of the trade-union, co-operative and labor party congresses, certain shortcomings in the curricula seem to suggest themselves. One of these subjects is *organization*. It may be contended that organization is treated in courses on sociology, social and labor problems. The condition is admitted. We are not unmindful that labels are not always a true description of the contents, as we have pointed out previously. For example, the Co-operative Union of Great Britain offers a course: *The Welfare of the Group* in which organization is strongly emphasized. But, when we look at the enormous number of unorganized workers throughout the world, myriads of men and women whom the light of education and organized idealism never touches,¹ the workers' education movement must accept partial responsibility for the improvement of these conditions. Moreover, in every group of organized human beings, it is important to minister to the health and strengthening of the bond which unites the units of the group. This problem becomes the more urgent in a country like America where social mobility among the classes is somewhat freer than in countries like Germany and Austria where the class-lines are more rigid and where the middle-class elements are perhaps more subservient and inarticulate. In America, work-people are less conscious of a community of interest as work-people, hence the bond of solidarity lacks cohesiveness. But there are other problems of organization; struggles and jealousies within the labor movement, jurisdictional disputes, an attitude of assumed superiority as between the skilled and the lesser skilled, the highly skilled and the unskilled, problems of industrial, craft and regional unionism. More study of the theory and practice of organizations and movements is

¹ The statistics which we have cited under *Occupation of Labor Students* show a pitifully small attendance from the ranks of the unskilled manual laborers.

needed. "Movements decay, as they grow, from within" observes Tawney wisely, "They begin as an adventure and end as a system or a machine, and the difficulties which surround their infancy are small compared with the perils which confront them in success." He calls attention to several dangers; the danger of conventionality, of routine, of bureaucracy, of vested interests, of self-satisfaction, of sectarianism, etc.¹ The Master of Balliol warns against the dangers of institutionalism which may crush the spirit of voluntarism and spontaneity—the life-giving qualities of any movement.² These matters, and others, are properly the data of a course in Organization.

In some European countries a large discrepancy between the number of votes cast for the labor and social democratic parties and the number of politically organized members suggests the need for increased organizational study and activity, on the principle of equal sharing in the gains and burdens of organized effort. The table below will bring this suggestion into numerical relief.

Another shortcoming in the curricula under observation is the scattered mentioning of natural science. Knowledge of the natural sciences is very limited among adult students. And, much of what they know in this field isn't so. Small wonder that, as Dr. Ruth Strang has convincingly shown, a deal of pseudo-science pervades our textbooks on hygiene and physiology. Small wonder too, that a number of our states pass legislation for the preservation of ignorance of the fundamentals of natural science. Therefore adult students ought to have enough knowledge of the findings of science so as to immunize them against the grosser illusions and ignorant quackery.

¹ "The Future of the W. E. A.," *The Highway*, London, November, 1929.

² "The Present Position of Adult Education." In *The Groundwork of Adult Education*, The British Institute of Adult Education, 1925, pp. 127.

TABLE XXI

NUMBER OF VOTES AND MEMBERSHIP IN CERTAIN
LABOR AND SOCIALIST PARTIES ¹

I. Parties with Trade Unions as Collective Members:

<i>Country</i>	<i>Votes</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Great Britain	8,362,594*	3,388,286
Belgium	817,622*	597,971
Hungary	122,156	138,472
Iceland	4,500	4,900
British Guiana		1,073

II. Parties Based on Individual Membership:

Germany	9,146,165	867,671
Austria	1,539,635	683,786
Sweden	872,500	202,338
Czechoslovakia ²	2,243,718*	184,960
Denmark	593,000*	148,492
France	1,717,212	99,106
Poland	1,411,000	63,406
Holland	804,818*	52,904
Finland	257,572	37,722
Switzerland	220,000	36,072
Bulgaria	60,000	30,126
Palestine		4,000
Poale Zion (World)		22,500
United States	267,835	15,000
Roumania	(Coalition)	13,000
Argentine	90,000	10,000
Spain		7,964
Danzig	61,588	5,014
Latvia	260,000	5,000
Estonia	119,914	4,500
Yugoslavia	25,000	4,000
China		3,500
Greece	7,800	2,800
Portugal		2,500
Lithuania	170,000	2,000
Luxemburg		1,155

¹ *Reports and Proceedings of the Third Congress of the Labour and Socialist International, August 5-11, 1928, p. 156.* An asterisk signifies: supplemented from the election returns of 1929.

² Includes the votes of the National Socialist Party which is unaffiliated to the International.

Note: The labor parties of Norway and Japan are not affiliated to the

Foreign language study is receiving more attention of late in workers' educational groups but there is need of greater cultivation of this subject, as anyone who has attended international conferences will agree. Perhaps this subject could be taught more advantageously in University Extension and Evening High Schools, whenever public teachers learn more of how to teach adults. There are critics who contend that the Rand School of Social Science and the Workers' School of New York City should abolish their graded classes in English. The fact is, however, that those labor students "feel more at home" studying English "with a sympathetic teacher" who "treats us as adults" and whose materials of study are more adapted to a given age-group. A similar argument applies to the subject of arithmetic for adults. The latter are not interested in arithmetical puzzles but in learning how to read and understand numerical problems which they encounter in the daily round of life. It is trite to stress the importance that attaches to the knowledge of reading and the reading of numbers since the days of Gutenberg and Quetelet. Plenty of adult students cannot read an ordinary statistical table that involves a knowledge only of the four fundamental operations. It would be too much to expect a majority to be able to read newspapers critically, that is, reading between the lines, for this feat presupposes a background of varied knowledge. All of which leads us directly to the problem of "shortages," but we shall discuss this matter in a separate section entitled: The relation of workers' education to the public schools. Our discussion here also suggests the feasibility of co-operating with existing educational

S. L. I. These parties polled 367,000 and 492,177 votes respectively. Australia is unaffiliated but elected a majority of the representatives to the lower house in 1929. Ireland is also unaffiliated but has several hundred thousand members in the Labor Party. Statistics for Mexico are not available; for Australia, Ireland, Norway and Japan, the statistics are incomplete.

agencies, the University Extension Departments, the Afternoon and Evening High Schools, in the study of certain subjects for which the established public school system is endowed with ready and superior equipment.¹

At the outset several misapprehensions must be cleared away. First, it is the height of infantile folly to condemn indiscriminately all of the departments of a university be it state-endowed or privately financed, merely because its political science or history division harbors some illiberal defenders of the status quo. Second, if the organized workpeople aspire toward the social direction of public affairs, they will need science and technique as handmaidens, and therefore, an uncritical opposition toward the extension of university instruction to the workpeople would, in the terminology of the Russian communists (who ought to know from their experience with the post-revolutionary exodus of the "intellectuals") be considered "counter-revolutionary," or in plain English, damned foolishness. That the aforementioned myopic attitude is losing ground is evidenced by the fact that the trade-unions and co-operative societies of Great Britain have created fellowships in several English universities. And, as we write, (December, 1929), the Federated Press of America carries a report of the establishment of a graduate fellowship at a leading American University by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union. Various trade-unions also provide scholarships for students attending the several Summer Schools for Women in Industry conducted in connection with American colleges and universities.

A third likely misapprehension resides in the proposition currently held in labor and radical circles, that all of the social sciences are *necessarily* tainted or tinted with a capitalistic protective coloration owing to an impossibility of main-

¹ Cf. "Workers' Education: Why and What?", Alexander Fichandler, *The Socialist Review*, April-May, 1921 (ceased publication).

taining a fairly impartial and dispassionate temper in the study of these particular sciences, not exempting some of the natural sciences. Human nature being what it is, in a class society, it is claimed, any pretension to neutrality and disinterestedness is absurd. Let us see.

From a philosophical point of view, it is somewhat difficult to see how anyone can entertain an absolutely disinterested attitude, unless forsooth, his mind is a *tabula rasa*, which modern psychology calls a form of self-delusion. For, does not a critical point of view presuppose the presence of an hypothesis, an interest, a philosophy, albeit tentative? Can we get very far in this seeming chaos without guide lines? Without some sort of pattern by which to regiment the manifold facts? Does the holding of an hypothesis during research necessarily involve its acceptance? Obviously mere observation and piling up of isolated facts does not give us significance. When a fact enters a system of knowledge it partakes of the characteristics of a conclusion. Even the process of fact-finding involves criteria of selection, a process that cannot preclude the subjective element. What is to be done then? How may we approximate a relatively objective point of view?

Over in England, a group known as Plebeians frankly announce: "We can afford to be *candid*, but not impartial." What implications inhere in that word "candid"? Does it afford us a clue? Perhaps. To be candid suggests that the entire deck of cards be spread out upon the table. In other words, let none of our assumptions be concealed, let us purge ourselves of all presuppositions. Lay them bare. This practice would have a clarifying effect on the investigator and critic, as well as tend to objectify the first step in the investigation, viz. the fact-finding process. Group research would aid in the determination of the adequacy and representative character of the sample and thereby tend to eliminate

bias at the outset. That some persons are capable of a fair degree of objectivity is attested to, seemingly, by the fact previously mentioned, namely, that much of the materials used in American labor colleges, has been gathered by graduate students in the seminars of our large universities. Especially matter pertaining to labor history and labor problems.¹

A relatively objective point of view is undoubtedly attainable in the social sciences, indeed, quite as much as in the biological sciences. It may be difficult to sustain an objective standpoint throughout the successive stages of: fact-finding, categorization, interpretation, and application. However, if account is taken of instances seemingly at variance with the provisional proposition, it should be possible to gather the factual data in a manner that is scientifically detached. A rational being might find it possible also to point out significances, meanings, implications, trends, without being under the compulsion of prejudice. Greater difficulties arise at the moment of the public announcement of a given truth, especially, if the newly discovered truth contains some unpleasant aspect of reality. If, for example, the social scientist observes a trend in the dynamics of society that points toward fundamental social change, and if he attempts, in his capacity of a good citizen, to get the public to face the consequences of the signification, then the barometer of bias is likely to rise. For, as we have been reminded often, 'the cake of custom', the 'folkways and mores', and 'the vested interests' in any association are adamant in their resistance to change, unbending as steel. Overcoming an iron-clad resistance generates heat, and if the voltage be high enough, light will radiate, and that is what the social innovator is seeking. More often than not, this light is his only compen-

¹ See also the approval given by the A. F. of L. to certain textbooks in the social studies.

sation. It is in the application of truth under class rules that the white light becomes refracted and people perceive only their favorite spectral color. Therefore, absolute neutrality in social and political action in a class society is impossible.¹ If this is what moved William James to write: "Anyone who pretends to be neutral writes himself down as a fool and a sham," we would say, Amen. Woodrow Wilson echoed James when the former wrote that defiant slogan: "There can be no neutrality between right and wrong."

One of the problems of education is how to cultivate a fairly rational, open-minded, critical, unprejudiced attitude. It is an enormous task, and for the teacher's welfare, hazardous. How can it be done? One answer is given in the promotion of an understanding of the process of socialization. This process is finely expressed by Professor Robert MacIver: "Socialization is the process by which social beings establish wider and profounder relationships with one another, in which they become more bound up with and more dependent on one another, in which they develop the sense of their obligation to and responsibility for others, in which they grow more perceptive of the personality of themselves and of others and build up the complex structure of nearer and wider associations."

Walt Whitman approached a dispassionate attitude in his passionate love of humanity as exemplified in his great poem: "To You Whoever You Are." Whitman's interests were wide, expansive, humane and democratic. In his identification of himself with mankind he attained to a relative impartiality, in identifying self with the universe he reached absolute impartiality.

We shall conclude this section by suggesting that society

¹ Those who advocate 'education for life' and 'education for neutrality' are involved in a contradiction. Is the reality of life neutral?

has nothing to lose by fostering objective search for truth and its communication. And as for those among the social radicals¹ who are impatient with the universities, it would seem the part of wisdom for them is to train their broadsides against the reactionary forces that would stifle freedom in the objective pursuit and diffusion of truth. To keep a vigilant eye open for those who in public places would pervert the freedom of inquiry is perhaps more efficacious and doubtlessly preferable to wholesale condemnation of institutions which labor helped to create and which labor could profitably use more fully. Objectivity matters far more than impartiality.

INTERNATIONAL AND WORLD-MINDEDNESS²

"So seht doch hin, wo die gute Welt zusammenhält!
Seht hin, wo sie auseinanderfällt."—GOETHE.

"In the modern world, crises are forced upon it (the labor movement) by circumstances not of its own making and it is compelled to make momentous decisions on matters unrelated to collective bargaining. . . . Think of the crises not made by labor leaders but hurled upon them by an outside destiny. Can we doubt that in the future—in the long sweep of centuries—labor will have to make decisions and take actions more fraught with human destiny than any thus far taken!"² Problems of a scope wider than wages and hours are facing the labor parties come-to-office at this moment. The internationalization of our economic order, peace, disarmament,

¹ By a social radical, we mean a person who wants to apply the fruits of research in the interest of human welfare.

² Worldmindedness may be defined as a seeking for the resemblances among peoples, an awareness of a central unity in the soul of mankind, and a sympathetic response toward differences.

³ "The Potency of Labor Education," by Charles A. Beard. Reprint from *The American Federationist*, July, 1922. (The quotation is from a reprint privately revised by Dr. Beard.)

the interdependence of nations in the equitable distribution of raw materials, imperialism, migration, the organization of labor in large areas of recent industrial development, these are problems which defy solution by trade-union action alone.¹ Of late years, workers' educational agencies reflect an awareness of these problems in their curricula, but there are lamentable shortages and shortsightedness that need to be remedied. Human Geography, Foreign Languages, History of Science, History of Culture, are subjects which need more intensive and extensive cultivation as background materials essential to an intelligent world outlook. The historical treatment and presentation of art, music, and mathematics in the primary and secondary schools would help to build a foundation for a world outlook. In respect of the historical method of teaching, educational research would find "good panning" in the folk high schools of Denmark. The historical approach to various subjects has proved a fruitful means of awakening appreciation of the contributions to culture by foreign peoples.

International-mindedness is being fostered in the workers' educational movement by means of the exchange of students and teachers, and by various Workers' Travel Bureaus.

Karl Marx, founder of the First International, was well aware of the necessity of the capital-labor conflict being resolved in accordance principally with the conditions in the separate countries. In the *Communist Manifesto* we find a statement of policy which prevails in social-democratic parties unchanged to this day. Marx-Engels wrote: "Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is, at first, a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle

¹ "Most of us realise the limitations of industrial action—its almost invariable failure in times of bad trade, its comparative uselessness in an industry exposed to foreign competition."—H. N. Brailsford, *The New Leader* (London), November 26, 1926.

matters with its own bourgeoisie." It is interesting to compare this statement of policy with an observation made by Dr. James T. Shotwell¹: "The question of migration and exclusion of the East or West in the future will be based not on race but standards of living. We must maintain our standards of living. Low wages and long hours of working as against higher standards here—that is the competition. *Economic justice, raising the standards inside the nation, tends to solve international problems... The question of international justice will become the criterion for the settlement of international problems of justice.*"

PROBLEMS IN THE METHODS OF TEACHING

Pedagogy is historically concerned with the teaching process of minors; Adultgogy is an attempt to create a technique for the teaching of adults. There are those who would discount the value of teaching methods, contending that a person who is thoroughly conversant with his subject matter can, therefore, *ipso facto*, teach it. Bertrand Russell took the latter stand a few years ago, though it is doubtful, in the light of his recent experience in the conduct of an experimental school for children, whether he would now endorse that view. With our increasing complexity of knowledge and consequent upon it, the selection of contacts from tested human experience, teaching is becoming more and more a highly professional task demanding for the success of the learning process special preparation and training. The danger of the untrained "teacher" is in his reliance on the merely formal lecture method which often encourages superficiality in the students because they delude themselves into thinking that the lecturer saves them the trouble of reading. The laws of

¹In an address following his return from the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, *The New York Times*, January 10, 1930. (Italics ours.)

learning decree that truth must be found out, not merely given out. Here is the essential difference between the educative process and propaganda—in the true sense of that word. The method of 'telling' contrasted with the 'finding-out' method robs the student of that exhilaration and delightful mental thrill of discovery which spurs him on toward greater attainments. Elsewhere we have pointed to certain values in the lecture method. A persistent shortage of textbooks adapted to workers' classes, the narrow limits and value of the workers' leisure which necessitates compression of data often compels resort to the lecture method. Nevertheless, lectures should invariably be followed by questions and discussion.

Adultgogy can learn much from pedagogy and modern educational psychology, but there are many differences between the two, enough to justify the organization of a separate body of methodology. Adults have a background of experiences, a larger so-called apperceptive basis. They react differently from children and adolescents. They have different purposes, and often, they are motivated by a determined will-to-learn. The adult education curriculum contains more controversial matter. In workers' evening schools, there are few of the means of control exercised over pupils and students in the public school system, such as, the striving for "grades", "promotion", "certificates", "honor standing", etc. Control over adult students follows upon arousing in their minds a conviction that the teaching process which you are guiding evokes something that is invaluable to them. The teacher of adults must adapt his teaching to the capacities, attainments, interests, energies, time, and also to the circumstances under which they must carry on their studies, as well as to the forms of particular workers' educational enterprises. He must connect up with the immediate experiences and problems of the adult student.

Other factors such as, insecurity, unemployment, vocational differences, fatigue,¹ overtime work, housing and home problems, lack of privacy, provincial or urban background, inadequate equipment (maps, globes, blackboards, lantern slides, song books, library facilities), unattractive rooms, unsanitary noisy buildings, poor light and ventilation, etc., must receive earnest consideration, their difficulties must be surmounted if the purpose of workers' education is to be served.

The various forms of workers' education, residential, semi-residential and evening schools, study circle, and mass

¹Owing to the nervous tension and strain of metropolitan existence with its time-consuming distances and the loss of relaxation and sufficient sleep which nightly commutation entails, only the physically and mentally strong should undertake an arduous program of evening-school attendance, unless it is possible to attend a school in the neighborhood. Here, again, we meet the problem of the more extensive use of existing public school plants.

Some of the difficulties which workers' education faces were clearly seen and felt by Dr. Otto Bauer when he wrote (in his book, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, 1907):

"Wir dürfen uns jedes Versuches, ein Stück unserer Wissenschaft unserer Kunst Arbeitern zu vermitteln, gewiss freuen. Aber nur Schwärmer werden vergessen, dass der einzelne, ungewöhnlich begabte Arbeiter wohl heute schon zum Kulturmenschen werden kann, dass der Vollbesitz unserer Kulturgüter der Masse aber heute notwendig versagt bleiben muss. Wer jemals unsere Arbeiter gesehen, wie sie nach neun oder zehnstündiger körperlicher Arbeit sich mühen, ein Stück der ungeheuren Reichtümer unserer geistigen Kultur sich anzueignen, wie sie mit der Müdigkeit kämpfen, die ihnen die Augen schliessen will, wie sie mit dem furchtbaren Hemmnis der schlechten Vorbildung ringen, die jedes Fremdwort ihnen zur Schwierigkeit macht, wie sie soziale Gesetze begreifen wollen, die nie von Naturgesetzen gehört, nie Mechanik gelernt, wie sie exakte ökonomische Gesetze verstehen wollen, obwohl sie nie Mathematik gelernt haben, der wird nicht zu hoffen wagen, jemals unsere Kultur zum Besitztum dieser ausgebeuteten Menschen machen zu können. Nur Höfinge des Proletariats können den Arbeitern einreden, dass sie heute, als Proletarier, alle Wissenschaft begreifen, alle Schönheit genießen können."—Quoted by Otto Jenssen, *Kulturwille*, vol. i, no. 9, October, 1924, p. 165.

educational efforts, etc., call for different methods of teaching, to cite the more prevalent: lecture-discussion, seminar, *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, group discussion, persuasion, tutorial, problem, situation, Socratic, and recitation. Mass education employs such means as, the radio, the cinema, the press, the illustrated lantern-slide lecture, debate, *Sprechchor*, and propaganda leaflets.

That there are differences of opinion as to what constitutes propaganda and education is inevitable in a class society whose distinctive characteristic is exploitation in various forms. "The ruling ideas of each age" said Marx, "have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." And the leading idea of a given ruling class is to perpetuate itself in power. Any attempt to persuade a considerable group of social injustice is labelled "propaganda" by the ruling class—be that "propaganda" the noblest truth and aspiration of the age. "Propaganda aims primarily at shutting up the mind against other conclusions than those which the propagandist designs to implant. Education, on the contrary, aims to open the mind, to prepare it, to make it receptive, and to urge it to formulate its own conclusions. Propaganda would at last mean intellectual paralysis; education is, when properly employed, intellectual stimulus. It is better that men should think than that they should accept conclusions formulated by other men for them. We have need in these times that men should think deeply, that they should realize the necessity of settling their own problems."—President Warren G. Harding in a letter, September 8, 1921, to Governor Farrington, of the Territory of Hawaii, on the occasion of the Press Congress of the World held at Honolulu. With the general spirit of this letter one cannot find fault. Mr. Harding, as a newspaper publisher, could hardly escape contact with designing propagandists. But his conception of propaganda is

neither critical nor inclusive. This will become clear as we proceed.

One difficulty with the above definition is the failure to account for a situation in which propaganda and education become practically identical. For instance, the process of public school education is primarily a transmission of our social heritage. A faithful but critical communication of social tradition is essentially both education and propaganda. An uncritical transmission would be ignorance. Dewey finds that "current schooling does much to favor susceptibility to a welcoming reception of social bunk," and that, "it fosters a systematic, almost deliberate, avoidance of the spirit of criticism in dealing with history, politics and economics." Harding did not specify whether he meant current education. Harding urged openmindedness. Open for what? Mark Twain in *Puddin'head Wilson* suggests: "Openmindedness is commendable; but use it sparingly." The intellectually timid and moral cowards when confronted with a socialist challenge ever hide behind a camouflaged defensive: "We must inquire further until all of the facts are in." These folks are the type the Apostle Paul had in mind when he wrote in his Second Epistle to Timothy III: 7: "Ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." They are forever seeking, but they never find, or pretend that they haven't found. Those who find out and declare what they have found are branded as "propagandists," especially if the communicated evidence would disturb the "Pillars of Society."

Harding's definition is inadequate in another respect. All forms of propaganda do not "close the mind." Take the propaganda of Galileo, Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Columbus, Robert Owen and Karl Marx. Their work opened new vistas for the creative imagination as well as for the adaptive imagination. They did not close their minds to all other

possible solutions of their respective problems, but having found a possible solution, they proceeded to demonstrate why they perceived the soundness of their solution and the unsoundness of their adversaries' standpoint. This suggests that the true educational process must take account of controversial issues, as we shall show later. This point is recognized by the Adult Education Committee of Great Britain in whose report we read: "In the realm of adult education, controversial studies cannot be ruled out, for their exclusion would cut the heart out of the social impulse which has been so largely responsible for the growing demand for adult education. . . . The basis of discrimination between education and propaganda is not the particular opinion held by the teachers or the students, but the intellectual competence and quality of the former and the seriousness of the latter." Professor Harold Laski thinks that "too much verbal distinction" enters into the so-called controversy between the respective advocates for "education" and "propaganda." "All education", he contends, "is, in a vital sense, propaganda, once we pass from the origin of such sciences as mathematics. . . . For no teacher can avoid the influence of his personal preferences, and these will constitute what a great lawyer has termed the 'inarticulate major premises' of what he has to say."¹ Labor's challenge to the prevailing public school system is precisely directed against the preferences which curriculum makers exhibit for that particular set of beliefs which are agreeable to a class that "owns for a living." And, from the point of view of Harding's definition of propaganda and Dewey's observation of the actual school process, the public school system is engaged in "propaganda" and not "education." All this follows from a restricted notion of propaganda. It would seem that we must

¹ "Research in Adult Education," *Adult Education* (English Quarterly), September, 1926, p. 16.

look for a new name for the unsavory connotation grafted onto the word propaganda since the world war.

Another writer¹ suggests that "propaganda differs from 'education' with which it is purposely confused, in that in the case of the former the aim is to spread one doctrine, whereas in the case of the latter the aim is to extend a knowledge of the facts as far as known." What becomes of the difference when you consider the operation of, say, the Anti-Tuberculosis Society of America? Again, Professor Strong says: "Propaganda is mainly concerned with the subtle presentation to the public of information so chosen and so focussed that among many individuals there develops a general 'point of view' which is favorable to the aim of the propagandist² and leads to action in that general direction." Is not the process called "education" also supposed to lead to action? To some modification of behavior? If not, what is the virtue of education? Can the quarrel be resolved without reference to the large social purposes of conflicting groups in society? "Our 'doxy' is not your 'doxy,'" is a dividing issue, but is there not a larger 'doxy' in the general welfare of mankind? If propaganda³ be defined as a form of dissemination of ideas that will awaken the mind to understanding and stimulate to action or restraint in behalf of the general welfare, how can we exclude from the public school curriculum a free and full consideration of the claims and aspirations of the labor movement? The dispute will

¹ Professor Edward K. Strong, "Control of Propaganda as a Psychological Problem", reprint from *The Scientific Monthly*, March, 1922.

² A sophisticated education would teach: "When you drink from the stream, remember the spring."

³ Bad propaganda might perhaps be defined as "any inculcation which refuses to discuss, examine, or justify its premises." The distinction between propaganda and education is not of the either-or type; it is not either disciples or inquirer, rather, a both-and relationship.

For examples of bad propaganda, see *Vier Jahre Politische Mord*, by Dr. E. J. Gumbel, Verlag Der Neuen Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1922, 150 pp.

not then be clouded by the mutual exchange of epithets and vituperation, but we shall come to grips with the real issue: Which way to the general welfare of humanity? It is well to remember also that there is a difference between inflaming and stimulating the emotions. Godwin said: "Without feeling we cannot act at all; and without passion we cannot act greatly." Sincerity, informed conviction, and a passion for social justice personified have been calumniated often and given a bad name as "pernicious propagandist" or "a dirty little agitator." Jean Jaures rests now in the Parthenon. Society atones e'en though tardily.

PROBLEMS OF WORKERS' EDUCATION IN RELATION TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

"There can be no safety for these states without innovators, without free tongues and ears willing to hear the tongues; and I announce as a glory to these states that they respectfully listen to propositions, reforms, fresh views, and doctrines from successions of men and women."

—WALT WHITMAN.

Adult and workers' education have become a mirror into which public educators would do well to look if they would correctly interpret the efficacy of their own work. Professor David Snedden is one, among the few educators of America, who has looked into the problem of what he has aptly termed "shortages". He insists, rightly, that curriculum makers should do their bit in preventing gross educational inadequacies in the oncoming generation, for it is quite doubtful whether adult and workers' education can totally compensate for educational loss in childhood. That there are lamentable "shortages", a host of teachers in the adult educational field will testify to. True, in some elementary forms of adult teaching, certain prerequisites can be waived, e.g. in definite empirical situations where the starting point is the situation itself. But one cannot proceed very far if the pupils do not

even possess the tools of learning, the three R's. And, how important reading and arithmetic have become with a cheaply purchased newspaper and the prevalence of the statistical table! In science and social education our adult population is appallingly ignorant. The public school system will become obliged to teach more science or the adults will be unable to comprehend the work of scientists. Press reports have estimated (we cannot vouch for the correctness of the estimate) that only a dozen mathematicians in the whole world can grasp and appreciate the mathematical genius of Einstein. Another serious "shortage" is suggested by William S. Learned in his study "The American Public Library. . . and the Diffusion of Knowledge". He suspects that "the daily losses in energy and material that result from sheer ignorance on the part of otherwise intelligent persons of how to avail themselves of the contents of books must be colossal, beyond all calculation." Where and how to find the information one seeks ought to constitute an important part of education.

Small wonder that so few acquire the means toward continued self-education when we contemplate the statistics of school mortality. A study of survivals made by the United States Bureau of Education in 1918 showed that:

Of every 1,000 children entering the first five elementary grades 830 reach the sixth grade, 710 the seventh grade, 634 the eighth grade, after due allowance is made for retardation.¹ . . . Of the original 1,000, 342 enter high school, 246 reach the second year, 181 the third year, 150 the fourth year, and 139 finally graduate from high school. . . Of the original 1000 only 72 enter colleges and universities, not including normal schools and teachers colleges, 52 reach the second year, 39 the

¹"The Bureau has no figures showing how many complete the eighth grade".

third year, 30 the fourth year, and 23 finally graduate from college.¹

Teachers in the adult education movement will have to contend with many problems as long as the majority of our children stop short of completing a secondary school. Why do so many pupils quit school? For economic reasons? Health? Personal? Curricular? It is difficult to establish definitely since the U. S. Bureau of Education does not collect uniform statistics under this category. The Iowa Bureau of Labor reported in 1925 why children in industry attending part-time schools quit to go to work, as below:

¹ Cf. Thorndike's scale of Expectancy Survival in his *The Elimination of Pupils from School*, p. 111. Also, U. S. Bureau of Education *Bulletin No. 28*, 1918, which shows that of 100 pupils entering the public schools in Columbia, S. C., 7 were finally graduated from high school. It is altogether probable that the survival rate has risen somewhat throughout the whole country. "Of the 550,000 children who leave the elementary school each year, 9.5% of an age group proceed to secondary schools. one-third exempt from fees and two-thirds fee-paying, while 1 in 1,000 reach the university. Of 2,800,000 adolescents in England and Wales, 80% are not in full-time attendance at any school. . . . From the evidence of these pages, at least 50% of the pupils in elementary schools can profit by some form of post-primary education up to the age of 16; second, something under 10% of the jobs done by the ex-elementary school leavers can be described as skilled work. . . It has been conclusively proved that success in winning scholarships varies with almost monotonous regularity according to the quality of the social and economic environment."—KENNETH LINDSAY, *Social Progress and Educational Waste*, London, Routledge, 1926, 215 pp.

² Accurate records should be kept by workers' evening schools in answer to the question: Why do adult pupils drop out of a course? Teachers of adult classes are often perplexed as to the cause of this problem. Some teachers find that one-third of the enrollment drops out sooner or later, and that a teacher must be satisfied if one-third attend regularly throughout the course. Cf. G. E. Graf, *Vierteljahrs Hefte*, no. 2, 1925, p. 49.

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL¹

	Boys		Girls	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Disliked school, studies too difficult, behind in work	106	60.5	84	40
Economic reasons: parents dead; father out of work; large family ..	46	26.3	50	23.8
To help in home	4	2.3	39	18.6
Illness on part of child	11	6.3	28	13.3
Moving from school district	8	4.6	9	4.3
	—	—	—	—
	175	100.	210	100.

We cannot generalize from this one instance of observation, but we can emphatically state, as we have insisted before, that the educational lag cannot become an educational lead unless we give our attention also to the solution of problems outside of the school, i.e. to problems of our social order. "Most of the boys and girls—eighteen millions or so—who leave school between the ages of twelve and fourteen do so because they have to earn money or help others to earn it. The only way to secure a longer and better chance for our future citizens, is to revise, not the curriculum, but the economic system."² We would, however, also revise the curriculum, giving it a core of social education from the kindergarten to the graduate school. Either revision requires above all the education of adults. For it is they who control the agencies for conscious change. The adjustment of the curriculum to our changing world is nowadays a professional educational function, yet behold an increasing encroachment and usurpation of this function by ignorant state legislators, political boards, the priesthood, and even the judiciary.³ Therefore, if the adult educational

¹ Quoted in the *Monthly Labor Review*, U. S. Department of Labor, Wash., D. C., January, 1927, p. 127.

² Professor James T. Shotwell, *Intelligence and Politics* (Pamphlet, 53 p.), New York: The Century Co., 1921, p. 22.

³ Cf. Bessie Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the*

movement would have the curriculum reflect the varied interests in the community, if the movement would revise the objectives of education, it must enlighten and arouse the interest of every adult member of the community who is related in this or that way to education or the schools. It would call for more effective participation in school election campaigns which of all campaigns should be characterized by educational discussion and social deliberation. In this respect, the W. E. A. of England has proved itself an important pressure group. Improvement in the public educational system is conditioned upon a progressive diffusion of knowledge among adults. Lester Frank Ward¹ rightly pointed out in that rich pioneering chapter of educational sociology: "The methods and the teachers have always been as good as the popular notions of education, and they will doubtless continue to be so. . . ."

THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES' CURRICULUM

Theoretically, the public educational system—from Kindergarten to University—ought to suffice for the transmission of our social inheritance. But the character of our social organization with its conflicting group interests, its differentiation of functions and specialism has occasioned, for the labor movement in particular, a supplementary form of education. Our survey exhibits this form of education

United States. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1926, 380 pp. Cf. Otto T. Hamilton, *The Courts and the Curriculum*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, 1927, 168 p. Jesse K. Flanders, "Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum," *T. C. Contributions No. 195*, 1925, 242 p. See also remarks on the Bavarian Concordat in the *Yearbook of the German Social Democratic Party*, Verlag Dietz Nachf., 1926. The spirit of the Concordat is clearly contrary to Article 130 of the Reichsverfassung which grants freedom of political thought as well as the right to organize.

¹ *Dynamic Sociology*, chapter 14, p. 627.

to consist chiefly of the social sciences, a group of disciplines which seek an understanding of the forces and trends in human society. If we agree that the purpose of modern education is primarily to understand human society, it would seem then, that to ignore the working-class and its contribution to the community well-being, would produce a skewed representation of social reality. This is precisely labor's indictment. Labor charges that the public school curriculum of social studies is an inadequate sample of our social heritage. Therefore, one of the objectives of labor education is to bring pressure upon the public educational system for the recognition of labor's claim to status.¹ Labor education seeks to change the whole attitude of society toward manual work, to establish the importance of the working-class in a progressively changing community. Evidence abounds which points to a myopic if not overtly biased attitude in the selection of those social contacts which constitutes the social studies of the primary and secondary curriculum.

Several inquiries into the contents of textbooks in the social studies by the American Federation of Labor appear to support the statement that many textbooks omit any reference to labor, that facts pertaining to labor struggles are falsified, and that history, civics and economics' texts are given to the indoctrination of bias and propaganda for the status quo.²

¹ Unless the writer is historically mistaken, the first time in the history of the world that labor received mention in a peace treaty was at Versailles in article xiii which created the International Labor Office.

² *Social Studies in the Public Schools*, Report of the A. F. of L. Committee on Education, Wash., D. C., 1923, 37 p. (This report recognizes that the newer textbooks in social sciences take more cognizance of the industrial and social life of the people.) That there is need for revision, even of the newer text books in civics and social problems, is brought out forcibly by Messrs. Herskovits and Willey: "What Your Child Learns", *The Nation*, Sept. 17, 1924, pp. 282-284. It is interesting, though not surprising, that the W. E. B. of the A. F. of L., finds difficulty in observing a policy of complete frankness in the editing of its textbooks.

Professor Charles E. Merriam¹ seems especially sensitive to this problem when he says: "It is distressing to observe that in the greater part of the world the education of the youth is not in the science but in the prejudices of government, steeping them in special hatreds and special forms of bitterness. If political education is a form of training in prejudice or even hate, the inevitable outcome will be a low level of governmental attainment."² Professor Robert A. Milli-

An instance is brought to light by Dr. H. M. Kallen in a footnote of his book, *Education, The Machine and the Worker*, page 57: "The meeting (of the Executive Committee of the W. E. B.) had been called to consider the text of an essay on science by a well-known American historian and sage. There were present representatives of the teaching forces and of the trades union constituencies, including the American Federation of Labor. The meeting developed, on the part of the trade-union leaders, unfavorable comments regarding those points in the text that raises issues of current moment. The name of the well-known publicist was declared to be unmentionable because he had many enemies. The statement "man is an animal" was declared unwise because a great many people didn't agree with it. A reference to papal indifference to scientific truth was condemned because so many members of the labor organizations were Roman Catholics. Let not, it was urged, the publications of the W. E. B. print anything controversial. Let not the Bureau antagonize people through their ideas. Let contentious matter be kept out of books for workers."

¹*New Aspects of Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 204.

²*Cf.* "Die Schule in der neuen Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches" von Dr. B. Bergevoort, Frankfurter Zeitgemässe Broschüren, Band 40, Oct. 1920—Sept. 1921. This pamphlet contains a decree by the ex-Kaiser of unsavory memory. "Im Erlasse Kaiser Wilhelms II vom 1. May, 1889, an das Preussische Staatsministerium heist es: 'Die Schule muss bestrebt sein schon der Jugend die Ueberzeugung zu verschaffen, dass die Lehren der Sozialdemokratie nicht nur den göttlichen Geboten und der Christlichen Sittenlehre widersprechen, sondern in der Wirklichkeit unausführbar und in ihren Konsequenzen dem einzelnen und dem ganzen gleich verderblich sind.'" The writer who attended a public school in the bi-lingual province of Slesvig under the Prussian yoke, can testify to the fact that two Prussian teachers acted on this decree. It was not an uncommon event to hear the teacher swear out loud, while gesticulat-

kan is also concerned with the need for truthful history as a basis for international amity. "I recently asked a prominent schoolbook publisher", he says,

if it would be possible to begin a slow process of eliminating the misunderstandings which lead to war between peoples by inducing publishers of school histories in all countries to submit their proposed school books to three or four international historians of world repute who would endorse them, if they were able to do so by the statement that these histories present essentially correctly the portions of the field of history with which they dealt. His reply was 'No. It is not yet possible to take such a step in the United States, for the reason that school boards do not yet in this country want history taught as it happened. They want something to be called history which pleases their pride and appeals to their prejudice, and I know it because we are ourselves just having our histories attacked in the State of _____ on the ground, not that they are incorrect but that they are unpatriotic.'⁴

Fortunately the indictment contained in the quotation does not apply to all histories. Certainly many of the books used in graduate departments of universities can be absolved from a general charge of deliberate bias. This fact is readily granted by some labor leaders.² Fortunately, also, a com-

ing, against "die verdammten Socialdemokraten". That vituperative history was the most dynamic part of the lesson. It stuck. Later I satisfied my curiosity as to who these "verdammten people" might be. It is now 40 years since that imperial ignoramus issued the decree. Today, as I write, Ramsay MacDonald, a social democrat, is preparing to officiate at a world disarmament conference.

See also Jonathan French Scott, *The Menace of Nationalism in Education*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1926, 223 p. Rudolf Laemmel, *Die Erziehung der Massen*, Thüringer Verlagsanstalt, Jena, 1923, 151 p.

¹ *Science and Life*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1924, pp. 73-74. Cf. also J. A. Hobson, *Free Thought in the Social Sciences*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1926, 284 p.

² James H. Maurer in *Bulletin No. 1*, 1925, Department of Education, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, Pa.

mittee of the World Federation of Education Associations is engaged upon an investigation of history textbooks in use throughout the world. Nevertheless, progressive groups cannot afford to relax their vigilance toward purging history textbooks of errors. For, progress in this matter, as in general politics, the late Professor J. Allen Smith¹ maintained throughout his teaching career, is the result of intelligent activity and criticism by advanced minorities.

Another criticism often levelled at curriculum makers both in the public schools and in labor schools is that the curriculum is overstuffed, a characterization that prompted a sophisticated schoolma'am to substitute the word 'queericulum' for curriculum. In view of our varied and complex life, there is much to be said for a richly varied curriculum. A pertinent criticism of curricula makers is the fact that they often neglect to scrap what is irrelevant to the life of man in a changed social setting. To retain the antiquated, the inapposite, the obsolescent, is like failing to discharge a ballast of sand before taking on a new cargo. Thus our courses of study run on weighted down by an unnecessary ballast. In our discussion on 'shortages' we suggested that the problem of education is also one of unlearning. Therefore more emphasis is needed upon how to change the irrelevant, the irrational, and the unjust in society. A curriculum should be a perpetual audit of the major objectives essential to community welfare. In a dynamic society, pupils must be shown that whatever is socially irrational and obstructive must be cleared away before the socially rational can be made to function. This problem leads to a brief consideration of the so-called controversial matter in the curriculum.

The inclusion of controversial material in the curriculum

¹ *The Spirit of American Government*, Macmillan, 1907; *The Growth and Decadence of Constitutional Government*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1930.

is itself a controversial proposition in the educational world. One report¹ purporting to speak for the Middle West of America declares that "debatable theories are not in order", and that "nothing besides the presentation of such (the factual distillations of physical science or of medicine) factual residues is appropriate to social science teaching in the lower schools." Labor would find no fault if a reasonable proportion of its factual residues were selected for social science teaching material. When labor hears the ponderous phrase: "the tested experience of the ages" a question mark rises before its eyes. From what has been said about the shortcomings of the memories of the historians, it would seem that the so-called 'tested experiences of the ages', otherwise known as the curriculum, is in need of, not only a more refined redistillation, but also, it is in need of a goodly accretion of the factual residues that have accumulated in the labor movement. Another report² comes out boldly for the inclusion of controversial questions. "We believe", says this report,

that curriculum makers are obligated to consider definitely the merits and deficiencies of American civilization. . . . In so far as this consideration is in conformity with the dominant public opinion, little, if any, difficulty will be encountered in introducing materials into the curriculum for the purpose of using the school as a conscious agency for social improvement.

But when controversial issues are raised in the school curriculum (as they must be raised), opposition may be encountered. At this point the curriculum makers must take care that the material presented and the treatment given shall be fair to all

¹ *Committee on Teaching Social Science in High Schools and Industrial Classes, Monographs on Vocational Education, 1921 series, no. 1, 30 p. Published by The Vocational Education Association of the Middle West.*

² *The 26th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, part ii, Edited by Dr. Harold Rugg.*

sides. The chief aim will not be to reach final solutions for such problems—but to build in the children methods of attacking controversial issues and increasingly to develop attitudes of openmindedness and sympathetic tolerance.¹

In the raising of controversial issues for consideration in the school, careful attention should be given to the educative effect upon the children and to the sensitivity of the community.

No, the last half of the aforegiven sentence is not of a piece with the German saying, "Wash mir den Pelz aber mach ihn nicht nass." It amounts to common sense only.

If education is to foster an openminded search for truth including the freedom to publicly report the findings, then it would seem that the exclusion of controversial matter would be self-defeating. How can we sharpen our critical thinking without taking part in controversial discussion, discussion that is informed and based upon the resources of science? Upon these matters on which the experts are in violent disagreement, the layman should be taught to suspend judgment and to keep his mind open for new evidence.

Finally, to bring this section to conclusion, no social studies curriculum can claim scientific adequacy unless it includes the social and labor problems of our time. All the great and nobly declared purposes of political and industrial democracy will suffer arrested development in the denial of an honored status in our cultural heritage to those who do the hard and gruelling tasks of our civilization. It seems a moral perversion to esteem an impersonal absentee ownership above those who by hand and brain do the actual day-to-day work in industry. If labor has been negligent hitherto in seeking to correct this inequality on moral and humane grounds, today it challenges the educational fraternity on scientific grounds.²

¹ *The Social Science Pamphlets* edited by Dr. Harold Rugg, The Lincoln School of Teachers College, point the way.

² Workers' education calls also to the moral obligation of the superior intelligenced.

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND LABOR'S CHILDREN

Working-class families often fail to transmit their culture, i.e. the aims, ideals and achievements of the labor movement, to their children. This fact tends to aggravate the conflict between youth and age, to the unhappiness of both. Not long since, the Department of Sociology at the University of Washington conducted an investigation on what college students think about modern affairs. The women students of the University, the majority of whom belonged to homes of work-people, betrayed an extraordinary ignorance of trade unionism and industrial life. 31.4% of the women students believed that the strike is a legitimate method of bettering working conditions, while 67.6% of the college men approved it. Some 72% of the women thought scabbing perfectly proper, while 47.1% of the men approved of taking a job away from union workers. Industrial radicals or "disturbers" of any kind should be imprisoned thought 32.8% of the women, while only 13.2% of the men favored such an antiquated solution of industrial dislocation.¹ Facts, such as these, (they can doubtless be multiplied throughout the country's schools) ought to cause concern among working-class families. Behold the spectacle of a daughter favoring the incarceration of her trade-union father who happens to be on strike for a higher standard of living! Behold the mockery of a son of a trade-union labor leader who became secretary of a company union formed to combat his father's long established trade union!² For the sake of consistency, which is not a class ideal, a rational being would wish that the principles of the International Kinderfreunde and the Pioneer Youth of America may penetrate the minds, and strengthen the wills of working-class parents.

¹ Reported under the caption, "What does Your Daughter Think?" in the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, Cleveland, Ohio, Nov., 1926, p. 809.

² See editorial, *Advance* (Weekly), New York, December 27, 1929.

MORAL WEAKENING OF THE OPPOSITION

It is undoubtedly true, that many individuals, non-members of the working-class, in the restricted sense, are sensitive to social injustice, to the immorality of the dominant class which deliberately undervaluates and ignores labor's claim to industrial and social status. In America, curiously, young women students of middle-class origin often exhibit a stronger liberal tendency than their college sisters from working-class homes. Note, for example, the abundant initiative manifested in the organization of summer schools for women in industry.¹ Perhaps the organized labor movement should give more heed to the suggestion by Pareto that "the permeation of a dominant class by humanitarian ideas, which lead that class to doubt its own moral basis, demoralizes its members and makes them inapt for defense."² Several groups do act upon the suggestion. Two associations, among others, the W. E. A. of Great Britain, and the League for Industrial Democracy of America,³ are giving persistent attention to the diffusion of social education in university circles, the former through co-operation with the universities in adult educational matters, the latter through organized contact with various social problems and liberal study clubs in American colleges and universities. This work, though largely incommensurable, is socially important, as it affects an age-group (18 to 23) that is seeking—as Grundtvig taught—for an orientation and Weltanschauung.

¹ These efforts are significant in that they reveal a feeling of social responsibility, of moral obligation of those individuals who are better endowed, perhaps, and whose opportunity and superior excellence is at the service of those less fortunately placed in the community.

² Quoted by Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, p. 255, from Vilfredo Pareto, *Les Systemes Socialistes*, vol. i, pp. 37 and 57. See also, *The Profit Motive* (pamphlet, 1924), by Prof. Harry F. Ward.

³ Under direction of Dr. Harry Laidler, 112 E. 19th St., New York City.

SOCIAL USES OF LEISURE

"It is those moments that pass by us almost unconsidered which give us the opportunity to attain education and peace of mind. You never can acquire anything in this world except by your own efforts and sacrifices. High offices in State and business will never come to you as a gift. The way is hard and only men and women of courage and stability can attain the results."—JAMES RAMSAY MACDONALD.¹

"Guidance in the right use of leisure is vastly more important than what is now called vocational guidance" is the sage observation of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University. If the public educators would act upon the significance of this fact, the educational curriculum would have to undergo a revolution and truant officers of the schools would likely to go on the "dole." The implications here are tempting, but we decline and pass to another phase of the problem which is relevant to adult labor education.

Aristotle contended that the cultivation of scholarship, of research and science was a prerogative of a favored few. A Jewish contemporary² of Aristotle thought and wrote in a

¹ Prime Minister of Great Britain, in response to the conferring upon him of the honorary degree, Doctor of Laws, by the George Washington University.—*The New York Times*, Oct. 10, 1929.

² Jesus the son of Sirach exalted the glory of work and leisure:

"The wisdom of the scribe cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise. How shall he become wise that holdeth the plough, that glorieth in the shaft of the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labors, and whose discourse is of the stock of bulls? He will set his heart upon turning the furrows; and his wakefulness is to give the heifers their fodder.

So is every artificer and workmaster, that passeth his time by night as by day; they that cut gravings of signets, and his diligence is to make great variety; he will set his heart to preserve likeness in his portraiture, and will be wakeful to finish his work.

So is the smith sitting by his anvil, and considering the unwrought iron: the vapor of the fire will waste his flesh; and in the heat of

similar vein. In this attitude, they were probably correct relative to their historical situation. The material conditions of their time and place allowed for a comparatively negligible social surplus. While at the present time, productive forces have made possible the creation of a considerable surplus which means increased opportunities for a relatively greater number of individuals to seek learning and perfection in the higher excellences. For the labor movement, the shortening of the work-day offers a minimum of spare time in which to indulge cultural pursuits. In truth, the shorter work-day has been a contributing factor in the progress of the trinitarian labor movement itself.

Labor's struggle for increased leisure has been interpreted

the furnace will he wrestle with his work; the noise of the hammer will be ever in his ear, and his eyes are upon the pattern of his vessel; he will set his heart upon perfecting his works, and he will be wakeful to adorn them perfectly.

So is the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet, who is always anxiously set at his work, and all his handiwork is by number; he will fashion the clay with his arm, and will bend his strength in front of his feet; he will apply his heart to finish the glazing; and he will be wakeful to make clean the furnace.

All these put their trust in their hands; and each becometh wise in his own work. Without these shall not a city be inhabited, and men shall not sojourn nor walk up and down therein.

They shall not be sought for in the council of the people, and in the assembly they shall not mount on high; they shall not sit on the seat of the judge; they shall not understand the covenant of judgment; neither shall they declare instruction and judgment; and where parables are spoken they shall not be found.

But they will maintain the fabric of the world; and in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer."

—From *The Wisdom of the Apocrypha*.

(Approximately twenty-three centuries have elapsed since these lofty poetic sentiments were spoken. The prediction, however, has miscarried. Today, their prayer is not only in the handiwork of their craft, but also in the council of the people.)

by some as manifesting a propensity to laziness in human nature.¹ The notion that humans are naturally lazy is discredited in modern psychology.² Moreover, a sweeping survey of the history of western civilization seems to point to industriousness rather than indolence as a common characteristic of men. The ancient Greek ideal of life is symbolized, not in the sleepy-headed Endymion, but in the magnificent defiance of Prometheus and in the dynamic inquiries of Socrates—control and understanding, twin objective of progress. "Wir müssen streben" urged Goethe. "The problem is to change the world" insisted Marx. "Hail the innovator," warned Walt Whitman. While Lester Frank Ward extolled "the efficacy of effort." "Getting on" in the world is then the prevailing philosophy of the west. We believe in "progress", though perhaps more often than not, our political behavior is either indifferent or reactionary. If we believe in progress, how can we consistently abhor work, since progress is unattainable without work, without movement in the direction of our ideal? If we believe in the manhood of work, what logical reason remains then for denying status to the workers of the world? Do we properly value work when we underpay for the hard and menial tasks? When we create conditions of insecurity and unemployment? Do we not show a disdain toward work when we detail

¹ A bit of intelligent laziness seems not an undesirable virtue to cultivate in a go-getter age of grab, graft and grovel. . . Was it Pascal who observed that many troubles in the world could be avoided if people would only learn to sit still for a while in a room? The wearisome, carnal contemplation of St. Simeon Stylites would hardly mean survival in a speed-crazy motor age. Hence, he must be rejected as an object for imitation. But, something of the contemplative spirit of Pater compounded with the aspiration suggested in Browning's lines "T'is not what man does that ennobles him, but what he would do", added to our gospel of work might result in a somewhat more balanced and genial Weltanschauung.

² See Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*.

transgressors of the law to the rock pile? Or when we assign to a child some disagreeable manual task wholly unrelated to a given infraction of behavior?

One of the sins against youth is to indoctrinate it with the formula: "Go to school, and get out of work."¹ This slogan, quite prevalent in America, is both false and vicious. It is hypocritical too, for most men are obliged to go to work. The slogan ought to read: Go to school so as to learn to work creatively and thereby acquire the art of significant living.

It may be contended that leisure, not work, is what produced the achievements of civilization. This is a one-sided view. The reality of the matter is that both work and leisure are reciprocal; they constitute two sides of the same shield. There is no dignity in leisure apart from the dignity of work. Plato was wrong in his contemptuous attitude toward manual and mechanical labor. He was right when he submitted that "The test of a civilization is the amount of fruitful leisure at the disposal of its citizen," if by "its citizen" we include today every sane adult member of the community. Aristotle agreed that "there are branches of learning and education which we must study with a view to the enjoyment of leisure, and these are to be valued for their own sake; whereas those kinds of knowledge which are useful in business are to be deemed necessary, and exist for the sake of other things."

The conception of leisure which these Greek philosophers entertained is essentially modern. Leisure connotes self-command of one's time, freedom from enforced labor, self-directed interests. Leisure does not necessarily imply inaction or what Veblen satirically termed "the non-productive consumption of time." But the modern labor movement

¹In another breath demagogic self-seeking politicians come out at election time mouthing the mocking phrase: "*the dignity of labor!*" What cruel and diabolical sarcasm!

aims not only at the enrichment of its spare moments, it aims to carry the idea of self-directed interest into industry. This is the significance of "workers' control", of "self-government in industry", of "co-operation with management", of the consumers' co-operative movement. The organized labor movement is fast becoming a social power. The sense of power, of personality, of "counting-for-something", of "being the cause of something", may partly compensate for whatever is stereotyped, humdrum and hazardous in economic enterprise. It is by way of co-operative control, of industrial democracy that labor hopes to find an increasing direct interest in its workaday tasks. To effect this happy conjunction is a major problem of workers' education and of increasing workers' leisure.

The growing leisure in the ranks of labor has occasioned expressions of alarm in certain quarters.¹ However, the history of the labor movement shows that the problem is not so much what shall be done with spare time as how can labor gain more leisure. Our own study and observation demonstrates the need for shorter hours of work so that labor may attend more thoroughly to the different phases of the movement. There is little time for "idle curiosity" if in the course of a week a workman must attend his trade-union, co-operative, political, and educational meeting. Even though labor has achieved a shorter workday, it must be remembered that the tempo of modern industry has been accelerated. Such factors as, speed, intensity, pressure, insecurity, longer commuting distances, necessitate more time for recuperation and therefore a very small margin, if any, remains for serious reading other than the daily and trade paper.

What has been said here applies to women workers as well as men workers. Working women often work longer than

¹ See George Barton Cutten, *The Threat of Leisure*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926, 149 p.

men. Consider the army of 150,000 trained nurses, and as many partly trained, in America. There is no eight-hour law for the nursing profession. Twelve hours of duty is the more common practice. Even student nurses-in-training put in twelve hours. Irregular and uncertain employment (enforced leisure) of private duty nurses is not conducive to "further study and recreation".¹ Country school teachers are notoriously overworked. They do not find time to catch up with a minimum of the newer professional knowledge in their own field, let alone dipping into the larger field of social science and general culture. As for farm women, they have less leisure than the above groups. A circular² of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, reports that farm women of Northern U. S. work 13.1 hours in the summer, and 10.5 hours during the winter season. Are the many middle-class women of abundant leisure discharging their moral obligation to the community by investing a part of their spare time in the fight for social justice? Or are they merely leading a parasitic existence of consuming without producing?

The trinitarian labor movement, while fighting for more leisure, is also giving careful attention to the enrichment of the leisure which the masses have won. This is more particularly true of the European movement. As we have pointed out, the European labor movement feels that it cannot entrust the free-time of the masses wholly to bourgeois sources of informal recreation and amusement which are operated for profit and not ostensibly for the elevation of taste.³

¹ Janet M. Geister, R. N., "Hearsay and Fact in Private Duty Nursing". Address delivered before the American Nurses' Association, Atlantic City, May 18, 1926.

² Number 148, *The Farm Woman's Problem*, by Miss F. E. Ward.

³ Obviously this is not a matter of black and white. The writer observes regularly in the workers' educational magazines of Europe, references to the selection of the better type of American cinematographic productions.

In fact, it is claimed that the bourgeois taste is decadent and that the bourgeoisie aims to corrupt the taste of the masses by pandering to sexual and bacchanalian interests. There is also a charge of "propaganda" against many film showings. Therefore, the labor movement abroad conducts a vast amount of activity in the field of the cinema, the radio, people's theaters, choral singing, symphony orchestras, amateur dramatics, children's theaters, sport societies, reading circles, summer camps, foreign travel societies, etc. Various workers' educational magazines contain regular departments under the captions: Films, Dramas, Radio, and Books, which guide the reader to the best offerings. In America, the labor movement, excepting certain language groups, such as the Finnish, to cite an outstanding example, has made no concerted effort comparable to the European labor movement in behalf of the more wholesome and cultured forms of adult and juvenile recreation and entertainment. Initiative in these matters seems to emanate more from the professional and cultivated sections of the middle-class in America. It seems to the writer that on the solution of this problem both the adult and workers' education groups could very well co-operate effectively. Finally, may we point out that in those countries where workers' education is under a unified management in which the various sections of the trinitarian labor movement are represented, there you will find the most efficient utilization of workers' leisure.

The worker is not 'a gentleman of leisure', hence he cannot command status on that ground. On the basis of the useful work which he performs,¹ he has a claim to recogni-

¹"The average wage earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage earner. He has given up the hope of a kingdom to come, where he himself will be a capitalist, and he asks that the reward for his work be given to him as a working man."—John Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, Philadelphia: American Book and Bible House, 1903, p. 436. (A considerable majority in the organized labor movement of America do

tion which is unassailable. Marx was clearly aware of this fact when he constructed his labor theory of value which, regardless of its economic validity in detail, is the most complete glorification of work ever penned. That apostrophe to work will one day triumph over that ancient brutal curse which would deprive man of a normal composure while eating his daily bread.

SOME MISCELLANEOUS PROBLEMS IN BRIEFER MENTION

Success in workers' education depends in a large measure upon the high quality of the teaching personnel.¹ Inspiring teachers made the Danish Folk High Schools. That there is a scarcity of good teachers for the workers' educational schools is illustrated in an account by Georg Engelbert Graf. When he started the School of Economics at Dürrenberg, he received 172 applications for teaching positions. Of these applicants only three could be given serious consideration, according to the principal. Most of the applicants fell short either on the side of experience in adult teaching or they lacked practical contact with the workaday world.²

The complaint is often made that labor leaders³ should help more with the teaching. This complaint is hardly justifiable. Labor leaders are preoccupied with trade-union, co-operative and political policies. They are generally unfamiliar with

not act as if they agreed with their former leader. Nor have the curriculum makers of American public schools heeded Mitchell's suggestion.)

¹ See the excellent Report of a Joint Committee of the British Institute of Adult Education and the Tutors' Association (*The Tutor in Adult Education*) published by The Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, 1928, 237 p.

² *Wirtschafts-Schulblätter, Düsseldorf*, vol. 4, Heft 1, Oct. 1928, p. 14.

³ That some labor leaders hold an ambivalent attitude toward workers' education is undeniable, but the apathy in the rank and file is far more serious. See leaflet "Workers' Education in Pennsylvania" by Richard W. Hogue. Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Also, Louis Levine, *The Women's Garment Workers*, Huebsch, 1924, chapter 36.

the formal aspects of an educational process. An occasional lecture is about all that can be expected from this source.

The recruiting of highly qualified teachers for workers' education presents difficulties as long as the movement can afford only a limited number of whole-time men. An institution that will grow requires not only volunteers but capable men and women who will devote their lives to the work. As it is, teachers unaffiliated elsewhere enter the movement quite at their peril. It is a more or less hazardous, precarious, (withal adventurous) exacting career, except for the permanent teachers in the residential colleges, and for a few who are indispensable to the administrative apparatus—and those few are overburdened. Many of the faithful are often unpaid volunteers. They are overworked and become truly "tired radicals." This situation may modify as labor gains more control of public office which will allow for increased grants to education. But for some time to come teachers will likely continue to be recruited from among volunteer sympathetic public school and university instructors especially for the semi-residential type of evening school. This plan has drawbacks, for the instructors come to their evening work burdened by the fatigue of the day's teaching, and evening instruction of adults requires reserves of energy in order to bestir the fatigued worker to cerebration.

Teaching in the workers' educational field must be accompanied by continued study and research. This is appreciated by most residential labor colleges whose teachers are usually university trained men and women who also contribute to various publications.

The selection of students is a problem that is being fairly successfully met in Germany by a system of correspondence preparatory to acceptance for study in residence.

Related to the student population is the problem of victimization, a serious problem that must be faced. Perhaps

trade-union control of jobs is the only answer. Victimization robs the labor student of his ardor. In a labor college in Germany catering mainly to the metal workers' union an experiment with lengthening the course from one month to four months resulted as follows: only one student was allowed to re-enter his former position, one half of the students became unemployed, while the other half were compelled to change jobs. The writer encountered several students in England who had been victimized for attending a labor college.

In the occupational statistics cited in chapter 2, we note how little inroad has been made into the manual labor group. Of all groups, the manual laborers and their wives hath need of the appeal which workers' education can give.

There are problems incident to administration, finance, textbooks, proper housing for schools and classes; there is the problem of preserving intact the spontaneous voluntary spirit which regenerates the movement and the correlative problem of keeping the administrative machinery flexible and sensitive to suggestion; but we regret that we cannot now give the extended treatment which these important topics deserve. May we suggest that in the future as Labor Temples are planned, the needs of a labor college should be given expert criticism with due regard for such physical characteristics as lightning, ventilation, sanitation, library facilities, isolation, recreation rooms, and a faculty room.

In conclusion we wish to suggest that we hope to receive sufficient responses from the field as to warrant the expansion of the present chapter into a larger treatise which might be of greater service directly to the workers' educational movement.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

"Our only hope lies in social education, in the inculcation of social responsibility, in the insistence on the value of all personality, on the primary worth of sponteneity and the secondary worth of compulsion, on the expediency of waiving those claims the insistence on which, though legally and politically permissible, would create deep or abiding oppositions and diminish the strength of community."

—ROBERT M. MACIVER.¹

"We have found reason to believe that the growth of European civilization is solely due to the progress of knowledge, and that the progress of knowledge depends on the number of truths which the human intellect discovers, and on the extent to which they are diffused."

—THOMAS HENRY BUCKLE.²

When Karl Marx proclaimed that the emancipation of the working-class must be achieved by the working-class itself, he set going an impulse that has stirred the work-people around the world.³ The force of that impulse is registered in labor's rise to public office in many countries, England, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Estonia, Australia. That impulse has not spent itself; it is still going strong. The hands of labor, Briarean-like, are multiplying: first, the

¹ *Community*, p. 143.

² *History of Civilization*, I, p. 288. (It would seem that a gross injustice has been done to Buckle in associating his name almost wholly with the geographical interpretation of history. The quotation from Buckle might fittingly have headed chapter 14 of Lester F. Ward's *Dynamic Sociology*.)

³ Without seeming to prophesy, it is not unlikely that the discovery of *enlightened solidarity* as an instrument for the social emancipation of work people will rank second only to that magnificent discovery of the nineteenth century associated with the name of Darwin, viz. the scientific method.

trade-union, then the consumers' co-operative, followed by the labor and socialist party, a cultural movement, and now, labor has attained to the helm of state. That these facts are connected with the consequences of the technological achievements of James Watt, did not enter the latter's awareness when he procured the first patent on a steam engine 160 years ago. The far-reaching significance of that event dawned clearly in the mind of the author of *Das Kapital* just a century later. Marx pointed out with consummate penetration that industrialism is the legitimate parent of the labor movement, that economics, politics and education are interrelated.¹

¹ An observation, the significance of which has been admitted with grudging reluctance unbecoming of reflective scholarship—an activity which Giddings has referred to, properly, as a form of morality. Marx gave a pregnant lead to the methodology of the social sciences in his description of the various social interconnections of economics, technology, politics and education. Many of the more fruitful social studies of today are obviously indebted to the Marxian lead.

“Es ist nicht das Bewusstsein der Menschen, das ihr Sein, sondern umgekehrt, *ihr gesellschaftliches Sein, das ihr Bewusstsein Bestimmt.*”—Karl Marx Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. (Italics mine.) It would be interesting to speculate upon the course of the development of social science, if some of the early fathers of sociology had reflected rigorously upon the various implications of the italicized portion of the Marxian generalization. This statement was generally misinterpreted to mean an historical fatalism. A reference to Marx's works and practical activity will disclose the error of the attribution. Spencer and Sumner, for instance, reflect an influence from the natural and physical order of inevitability, of necessity; an influence that issued in an extremely conservative political outlook. Marx saw a social order, historically conditioned, an order in which “men also make their own history, not out of whole cloth” but out of the possibilities inhering in the material and social conditions at a given historical moment. Marxian determinism is a social determinism which admits of the interplay of human wills and social intelligence with a material and social environment. Unlike those sociologists who would derive social laws upon the same basis as the laws of the physical sciences, Marx, perceiving the continuity and the dynamic variety of social change, held that social laws are independent and unique. Granted that it was in the social relations of production that Marx would seek for the first key to an understanding

Marx inspired the workpeople with a new social vision. By his own example, Marx showed, in the words of A. D. Lindsay, "if you want to make the world better, you must first understand it, and that to understand it is to learn that all problems which seriously confront men are determinate problems, dictated by historical conditions." Some misguided disciples of Marx have given currency to the comfortable notion that a new social order would inevitably and automatically issue from the womb of the old society.¹ They would excuse their laziness by blaming the slow pace of historical necessity. Marx labored under no such delusion. On the contrary, while Marx, the enthusiast, often wrongly gauged the time element in social evolution, he showed by precept and practice that events can be influenced by education. Marx emphasized the reciprocal relation between labor and learning as the *conditio sine qua non* of a better social order.²

I have dwelt upon this aspect of Marxian thought for the reason that, the modern workers' educational movement—the part of it that really moves—is, directly and indirectly, spiritually descended from the Marxian influence. (There

of the social process, he was, nevertheless fully aware of the relevance and importance of other factors, as our various quotations from his works throughout this book amply corroborate. Not one master key, but a bunch of keys is needed to open the gates of the social labyrinth.

¹ Cf. Ernst Toller's drama "Hinkemann", Scene IV, character, Michel Unbeschwert.

² In the posthumous works of Marx edited by Franz Mehring we find this extraordinary paragraph:

"Wie die Philosophie im Proletariat ihre materiellen, so findet das Proletariat in the Philosophie seine geistige Waffen, und sobald der Blitz des Gedankens gründlich in diesen neuen Volksboden eingeschlagen hat, wird sich die Emanzipation der Deutschen Proletariat zu Menschen vollziehen. . . . Die Philosophie kann nicht verwirklicht werden, ohne die Aufhebung des Proletariats, das Proletariat kann sich nicht aufheben ohne die verwirklichung der Philosophie."—Quoted by Professor Dr. Bela Földes in his *Hauptströmungen der sozialistischen Gedankenwelt*, Berlin, 1923.

is no puerile intention here to minimize the importance of other spiritual godfathers, e. g. Robert Owen). Even the late conservative Samuel Gompers frankly acknowledged his philosophic debt to Marx.¹

From a world point of view, the modern organized labor movement seeks to achieve its objectives via the economic, political and cultural approaches. It is noteworthy again that these three activities are basic characteristics of the life of any community. The economic aspect is paralleled in the labor movement by the trade union and consumers' co-operative movements, the political by the labor and socialist parties, the cultural by the workers' educational movement. Workers' education is, in the main, a function of the trinitarian labor movement and the components in the trinity place their educational emphasis in accordance with their several interests. Conditions vary in different countries—lines of thought are refracted by their media. Generally, there is a tendency to create special organizations for the carrying on of education, certainly for the formal aspects of education, though a deal of important formal educational work is being done under the auspices of individual trade-unions, and this without impairment of the original functional solidarity of the union as a militant group constituted for purposes of offense and defense on the industrial battlefield. However,

¹In his *Autobiography*, Gompers tells of how he learned the fundamental principles of the labor movement from the social radicals of New York City during the seventies. "As the days went by", writes Gompers, "my mind was groping for something fundamental, something upon which one could base a constructive program. I spoke to Laurell of my need. He replied, 'If you wish to know, I will give you something that will give you a background philosophy.' He placed in my hands a copy of the Communist Manifesto. As it was in German and my knowledge of the language was still inadequate, he translated and interpreted it for me paragraph by paragraph. That document brought me an interpretation of much that before had been only inarticulate feeling." (The first preamble to the constitution of the A. F. of L. leaves no doubt as to its kinship with the aforementioned document).

when an individual union gets involved in a crisis precipitated by the business cycle or by internal conflict or both—as in the case of the I. L. G. W. U.—the first to suffer drastic curtailment of financial allowance in the budget is, anomalously, the educational department. The same fate does not so readily befall those trinitarian labor and youth movements which are integrated for educational purposes. Our survey points to a growing awareness in the labor movement of the world that a reconstruction of society cannot be achieved by any one isolated group but only through a concerted, integrated effort for all organized work-people.

We are not oblivious, however, to the existence of persons and groups within the triadic labor movement whose vision is limited to their own organization and who fail to perceive a wider range of interrelations. The trade-union man is often prone to look upon his union as affording the only road to freedom. Contemporaneity and urgency characterize his interests and these frequently eclipse the longer view. Other groups discount trade-unionism and advocate co-operation as the only way out. Another group despairs of the efficacy of economic action and looks to political action for emancipation from oppression. Like the five blind men and the elephant, these men fail to see the whole animal; they do not grasp the interdependent elements in the total situation. But the best thought in the workers' educational field takes a more comprehensive and far-sighted view. It seeks to correlate and synthesize the social aims and purposes of the several groups. It understands that social personality can be built only through the vital interplay of all organized groups, through the ability to get on helpfully in associated co-operation with others. Significantly, the cultural aspect of the organized labor movement fosters the socializing tendency among the several units.

From this point of view the trade-union, the consumers'

co-operative and the political labor party are simultaneously means and ends. In the trade-union, habits of solidarity and loyalty and efficiency are cultivated; in the co-operative, habits of mutual aid and economic administration; in the political movement, habits of social responsibility, of community welfare. In the educational activities, particularly in the formal school or class, the interrelations of means and ends are clarified, evaluated and enriched. There is an effort here, however halting, to actualize the proposition that democratic ideals in industry and politics are realizable only as the means correspond somewhat closely to the ends sought. "It is the possession by the working-class movements of such strong and purposeful forms of organization as Trade Unionism and Co-operation that make their inheritance of the task of reconstructing society almost certain," ventures G. H. D. Cole.¹ To deny the trend of labor's advance is to be astigmatic of the transitional attributes of social history. Labor feels it has an historic mission. This mission was stated by Marx as follows: "Die Bedingung der Befreiung der arbeitenden Klasse ist die Abschaffung jeder Klasse." This becomes a problem of social dynamics, of political and social change.

It follows that the scope of workers' education goes considerably beyond the problem of selecting and training of trade-union leaders, important as that is. Trade unions, in their own sphere, are concerned, more or less, with adaptation to industrial change. They compromise frequently. They confer with management over technical and knotty problems of industry. They enter into agreements with their bosses. They receive partial recognition by the state

¹ *Social Theory*, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1920, p. 207. Cole finds 'the first maxim of social wisdom' contained in the following imperative which he quotes: "Keep your eye on the new movements and organizations, and always estimate them in accordance less with what they actually are than with what they seem capable of becoming."—p. 206.

through a Works Council law in Germany, or through the Whitley Councils of England. Nevertheless, they remain organs of adaptation. They cannot, in their trade-union capacity, perform the revolutionary function essential to their social emancipation.¹ To accomplish the latter is a function of political enlightenment and organization. In an immediate sense, co-operative and trade-union education is opportunistic; it is, in German terminology, *Zweckbildung*. While schools featuring the political emphasis are schools with a radical world outlook. The latter also devotes more time to social, economic and political theory. From the point of view of the residential labor college, it would be difficult to classify into mutually exclusive categories, for experience reveals that residential labor colleges sooner or later, in spirit if not in curriculum, assume a given world outlook.² The more progressive countries in which the integrative tendency is fostered do not waste time discussing whether this or that distinction is the more important. They are all important because each is necessary to the full development of community. The co-operators are educating the consumers. The trade-unions are preoccupied with the hard realities of daily life in industry. The political schools are aware of the historical fact that without a spirit of idealism no fundamental social change can be accomplished; they have learned that idealism rallies a following while education and

¹ Cf. H. N. Brailsford, *The New Leader*, London, Nov. 26, 1926. See also Address by George Bernard Shaw reported in *The New York Times*, August 25, 1929. Dr. Charles A. Beard said: "In the modern world, crises are forced upon it (the labor movement) by circumstances not of its own making and it is compelled to make momentous decisions on matters unrelated to collective bargaining." — Leaflet, *The Potency of Labor Education*, distributed by the W. E. B. (Progressive labor movements have created their own political organs through which the larger decisions of a public character are expressed.)

² See G. E. Graf, *Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit*, Bern, Jan.-Feb., 1926, p. 10.

practical achievements hold a following. The social democrats have learned, particularly since the world war and the aftermaths of revolutions, that (paraphrasing Engels ¹) whenever a social transformation is contemplated, the masses must be informed; the masses must understand the objectives and clearly appreciate the price of the advancing step. Until the whole lump can be leavened, one obvious function of workers' education will be to advocate and discipline the organized portion of the working class and thus control the direction of the caprices and aims of the unorganized masses. Workers' education, therefore, becomes a factor in social change.

Workers' education contains a challenge not only to the public educational system, but it challenges the present social order. "Since these (working) classes are rapidly growing in political and economic power, and since to many it seems obvious that with them lies the future of Western Civilization, *it is important to examine the main beliefs amid all the manifold radical proposals for social change.*"² We are concerned for the moment only with the method of social change as it relates to education. We have pointed out that the monopoly of knowledge that really matters is a denial of the principle of equality of opportunity. From this standpoint the state fails to perform its duty ascribed to it by Plato, viz. to see to it that justice prevails in the community. When the traffic signals prevent the people in the side streets and alley-ways from gaining access to the avenues of knowledge, the state is guilty of class justice. Convinced that the principal badge of distinction between the classes is educational, progressive labor and socialist leaders have set their minds upon the democratization of educational opportunity.

¹ Introduction to *The Civil War in France*. German edition.

² J. H. Randall, *The Making of the Western Mind*, p. 619. (Italics mine.)

A century has passed since Robert Owen demanded education for the masses. Only an ignorant man would deny that labor has come a long way up despite the meager educational opportunity which the hoarders of knowledge have been compelled to grant. Is there any justification for the view that 'nothing good can come out of trying to educate work-people' as long as we withhold educational opportunity from all who have the capacity and will to learn? Evidence is not lacking to show that when the springs of opportunity are released "unsuspected resources of native leadership exist among the people."¹ MacIver contends that "the born leaders of men arise within no class."² It is in the interest of orderly social progress, to say naught of subserving the elemental principles of social justice, that labor's claim for enlarged educational opportunity should be freely and unreservedly met.

The trinitarian labor movement advocates parliamentary democratic procedure and education as means whereby to develop a better social order. We are speaking here of the various socialist and labor organizations other than the communist. From an educational point of view this political labor movement adheres to the principle that the fumbles, waste, and slower pace of democratic procedure are preferable to a reign of oppression, violence, fascism, dictatorship. It grants that revolution by a vigilant minority may be the elevator to the Great Change, but it would rather use the stairway of education. Moreover, there are those who strongly question the wisdom of the policy of expecting the masses to endure great present sacrifice and suffering for the sake of an ultimately propitious yet uncertain future. It is interesting to note that the friends of parliamentary democracy are now found in the ranks of the Labor and Social

¹ Stuart Chapin, in the *Journal of Social Forces*, November, 1924.

² *Elements of Social Science*, p. 143.

Democratic Parties. Regardless of what they failed to accomplish, the Social Democratic Party of Germany saved the infant republic from complete disintegration. In the Scandinavian countries, in the Netherlands, where workers' education has reached a high plane of effectiveness we find the true defenders of parliamentary democracy in the Social Democratic Parties.

Certain areas of the bourgeoisie have of late years flouted the principle of parliamentary democracy. In various countries the bourgeoisie show an impatient disposition toward rule by the demos. Mixed tendencies toward anarchism, fascism, dictatorship are perceptible. Without attempting to account fully for this changed attitude toward a former friend (parliamentarianism), the opinion has been expressed that the bourgeoisie is envious of labor's rise to power. Labor parties have wrested from the ruling class a great deal of social legislation beneficial to the whole community. Speaking for the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, the late editor of *Social Demokraten* of Copenhagen said: "We have transformed the State by conquering society from within. We have penetrated all of the institutions of the State, into the village, town and state councils. By the aid of education and a growing popular following we have compelled and created social legislation that has changed the old police State to a State which has become more and more identical with community."¹ The achievements in Denmark demonstrates the possibility of affecting certain social reforms under the present social order. The Danish Socialist educators ask: if great masses can be propagandized into fratricide, why not into fraternal behavior, co-operative consciousness and humanely civilized procedure? The po-

¹ Marinus Kristensen, editorial *Social-Demokraten*, Feb. 2, 1926. See also Premier Theodor Stauning, *Parliamentarisme eller Diktatur?*, Copenhagen: Forlag "Fremad", 1923, 39 p.

litical aspect of workers' education teaches civic enlightenment promotive of the good life. The ruling element of the bourgeoisie pays much lip-service to education for citizenship, for civic democracy. Too often this lip-service is pharisaical. These pharisees, the disciples of dictatorships and "strong armed men" in the bourgeois class as well as in the working class have yet to learn the first principle of habit formation. If the end of social living is democratic freedom, the means must be educational democracy.

The contention that a great social change can come only as an accompaniment of war, fratricidal catastrophes, and terroristic dictatorship is the cry of those who lack the patience to try out genuine social education on a world scale. "Social education", says MacIver, "may not engender the spirit of humanity, but it directs it, justifies it, and thereby stimulates it."¹ It may be difficult to resist the feeling that much of the humaneness and so-called brotherhood which obtains in the world today has been unavoidable, but this very observation argues eloquently for a social arrangement that would give a chance for all personality to live the good life spontaneously.

It is often asserted that ruling classes never abdicate voluntarily, never relinquish their place of power without a violent struggle, without a revolution. The validity of this generalization has not been established. It is a difficult one to parry. This unverified generalization assumes that a ruling class is incapable of learning from history. Robert Michels² declares that "class egoism" is impenetrable by mere words. Professor Henry R. Seager³ argues: "The reactionary spirit represents a menace to the stability of our established institutions vastly more serious than that of so-

¹ *Labour in A Changing World*, p. 223.

² *Political Parties*, p. 260.

³ *The Survey*, May 15, 1923.

cialists, communists or bolshevists or any other group of labor agitators. The fulminations of the agitator will carry little weight provided the legislation of the country is permitted to develop along progressive lines." "To forestall revolutions", advises Paul Pégibord, "there is only one way, as history testifies. It is not the use of violence and oppression, nor is it the blind and obdurate opposition to all social reforms, but the release in due time of the forces that will bring about an orderly evolution." The question suggested here is: Will the ruling classes learn from history? Do they care enough for the community to keep it from becoming engulfed in a vortex of revolution? Or will they bow, as did the stupid beneficiaries of the Czar in the film play "Potemkin", only before the relentless reality of a righteous revolution?

2400 years ago, Plato prophesied: "There are but two nations, the rich and the poor, who shall sometime become one." 60 years ago, another prophet, Dr. Karl Marx, granted the possibility of peaceful evolutionary political progress in those western nations where a democratic tendency was in evidence. Daily events disclose that middle-class elements are sensitive to the need of social change. In England, there seems to be a noticeable exodus of upper and middle-class folk into the labor party. In America, small farmers, professionals, and some inheritors of great wealth, appear to be more susceptible to radical political ideas than the official labor movement! We are not tempted to draw any conclusions from these happenings; we are quite cognizant of the fact that aristocrats have previously thrown their lot in with the "underlying population." Could someone throw light on the comparative extent of intermingling of social classes at different periods and measure the effect on either the progress or retardation of a radical movement? How often do we hear the self-assured statement: "That

wealth breeds conservatism is self-evident," "That labor ought to be radical is self-evident." Well, is it? But there may be hope for progress whenever self-evident truths turn into problems.

FINALE

Since the reader has followed us patiently, we shall attempt to reciprocate for his kind attention by stating succinctly some additional social implications and conclusions which have been precipitated in the crucible of our survey.

In the introduction we raised certain questions which we hope have been answered satisfactorily. Some characteristics of workers' education were set forth in chapter two. The probable objectives of workers' education emerging from this study are: (1) to train leaders for disinterested service in the trinitarian labor movement; (2) to diffuse knowledge and information that will stimulate the collective will toward a construction of a better social order; (3) to disseminate social education among children, adolescents and youths; (4) to change the whole attitude of society toward manual labor, in other words, to establish the importance of labor's contribution in a progressively changing community; (5) to supply the masses with cultural opportunities which economic necessity or other reason curtailed in adolescence and youth, as well as to foster a labor and socialistic culture—in the sense of *Weltanschauung* (world-view). It is granted that certain features of objectives (4) and (5) are catered for in general public and adult education, but this fact is interpreted as indicating an inchoate response to pressure from the trinitarian labor movement, as evidence of the justice of labor's claim on educational opportunity, and as sufficient reason, not for the relaxation of, but the more vigorous pursuit of these objectives.¹

¹Increasingly, labor is becoming aware that free public education is also a form of redistribution of wealth.

Workers' education on its cultural side is filling a need which ought to be the function of liberal education generally, viz. leading to an understanding of life. Plato and Aristotle prescribed vocational education for the masses, and liberal education for the philosopher-statesman and gentleman. Today, it appears that, particularly in America, the colleges go in for vocational and professional education to the utter neglect of a genuine liberal education. Workers' education, in its integrative aspect, is endeavoring to see the whole life of man, to preserve the total personality. It ministers to the workers' need for psychic orientation in a world of atomization, of fragmentary existence—forces that would disintegrate the individual and social personality. Workers' education is a reassertion of independence from the enslavement of the machine. It is the mobilization of intelligence that will eventually compel the machine to do our bidding. Workers' education reminds us that the material instrumentalities shall not dictate our ends or social purposes, for they (the machines) are but means, possibilities revealing opportunity for the expression of the larger social life. If we are adults, if we are men (anthropologically, upward-lookers), then we shall realize with MacIver: "That which is created by necessity is created to relieve us from necessity". Workers' education is a challenge to all workers by hand and brain to become the masters of social direction.

The attention given to labor youth is significant. It indicates a feeling of responsibility. Labor is beginning to understand that the gains of struggle can be preserved only by the multiplication of social leadership. It is evidence of a conviction that leadership cannot be left to chance. Youth is to the labor movement what every twenty-minute rise is to the life of the cetacean. The great war sinned against youth. The speculative mania during that period corrupted great areas of youth. In many countries the regular process

of apprenticeship and training was thrown out of gear. Hordes of young people entered into salesmanship, advertising, and the futile game of getting rich quickly. Many of these youths are today in the ranks of the unemployed, the unskilled, the dissatisfied, the unadjusted. Educational agencies owe these misguided folk a chance.

Workers' education affords a chance, albeit hazardous, for some of the variants, the social innovators and heretics. Social progress becomes short-circuited when we make life relatively hard for the social radicals. Economic and political variates ought to be welcomed just as hospitably as the prodigies in music, poetry and art. Wherever societal selection is sensitive to this fact, there we find the materials for the creation of a Great Community. Labor as well as bourgeois leaders cannot be reminded too often of this neglected social principle.

The increasing contact between labor and intellectuals is a wholesome sign, for the mingling of the two types of experience tend toward mutual enrichment. Labor and learning is the new synthesis that will put an end to an unfortunate and vicious dualism. Workers' education is a demonstration that knowledge is no longer confined to the ivory towers.

That 'labor cannot learn'¹ is another of those 'self-evident truths' which has been blasted by the logic of events. Scan the pages of the history of adult education and note how grudgingly the ruling classes granted to labor the right to learn the three R's. It was assumed repeatedly that an elementary knowledge of the three R's would constitute the

¹Once a distinguished Belgian priest was escorted into a foundry. Observing the workers at their perspiring tasks, he quite impulsively exclaimed: "What a slave's life!" "Hush, they will hear you," cautioned the manager, "they will organize and make demands." Repeating the experience some years later, the priest added: "They have heard; it is too late."

limit of mental capacity of labor and its children. Back of this assumption lay another, namely, that workers, as such, had nothing to contribute to the community. Before passing judgment on whether or not labor can make a contribution, labor must have an opportunity to prove its metal.¹ It appears that the Labor Party of Great Britain, the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, among others, have already placed those who doubted labor's capacity to govern on the defensive.²

Extraordinary importance attaches to the Kinderfreunde and Pioneer Youth movements. There is here an attempt to face the insistent reality of the problem of socializing the habits of children and adolescents. Since the differential birth-rate weighs numerically on labor's side, it becomes socially important that the aforementioned movements should universally receive expert scientific guidance and ample financial encouragement.

We have shown that labor education is a challenge to the public educational system. As J. S. Mill said: "Both teachers and learners go to sleep at their post as soon as there is no enemy in the field." But workers' education can also render contributions both to public, and adult education. It

¹ "The writer (Kenneth Lindsay) therefore concludes that proved ability to the extent of at least 40% of the nation's children is at present being denied expression, that the full extent of the unproved ability is not yet known, only because a sufficiently comprehensive test has not been applied, and that if a very conservative estimate of 20% may be described as below average ability, social environment, in many instances remediable, is the main contributing cause."—*op. cit.*, p. 23.

² "If the socialists want a serious trial for their views they ought, like every other great movement of opinion, to strive for a commanding position in the domain of thought, and to justify the preponderance of the working class by its educational achievements."—Sir Paul Vinogradoff, in his *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, vol. i, London: Humphrey Milford, 1920. A reading of this study of workers' educational movements should convince any openminded person that the organized labor movement is at least *striving* educationally.

reveals certain shortcomings in public education and it helps to develop an adult educational psychology. It promotes the idea and method of discussion, co-operative group thinking, Arbeitsgemeinschaft, etc. Teaching by the historical method as is done in the Danish folk high schools, in the labor schools throughout the world is partly a training in morality, for it reveals how much we owe to our social heritage which is the work of others. Workers' education reveals the need for constant revision of textbooks. Much time is consumed in having to unlearn out-dated information. Many of the cobwebs and spooks lodged in the workers' brain are often traceable to antiquated books and pamphlets which have been 'picked' up in second-hand book stalls.

It is true that much energy is required in order to arouse an interest in education among the masses, yet our survey has convinced us that a considerable area of the working population is interested in self-education. Carnegie observed: "You cannot push anyone up a ladder unless he is willing to climb a little himself." But Carnegie knew also that ascent is impossible without a ladder (nor are the broader and expansive contacts possible without a highway—to use the favored metaphor of the W. E. A. of England) and therefore he gave material encouragement to the founding of libraries. We hope not to be misunderstood in conveying an impression that as far as the progressive work-people are concerned, the libraries seem to be more popularly attractive than the churches. This is indefeasibly true of the labor libraries of Europe. The voluntary character of the workers' educational movement is socially desirable and highly commendable. For, as the Master of Balliol¹ points out, it is precisely upon the spirit and vitality of voluntary associations that the evolving purposes of democratic society depend.

¹A. D. Lindsay, *The Essentials of Democracy* (William J. Cooper Foundation Lectures), University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929, 82 p.

Another significant aspect of workers' education is a growing interest in education as a good in itself. The Danish folk high schools pioneered in stimulating this ideal which is carried forward now both in the cultural and political phases of the workers' educational movement. "Get an education to avoid hard work", "Learn more to earn more" are false slogans to set before the youth of our day. The better educational leaders conceive the purpose of education in terms of living a richly varied individual and community life.¹ The latter purpose is also at the back of the demand for more leisure. Cultivated leisure for all is important to an orderly progress of social life, as well as to the conservation of humor, conversation, amenities, and general conviviality.

Workers' educationists have learned that the 'lump can be leavened' only as individuals become educated. This recognition is to the good, as some extremist radicals have often overstressed, theoretically at least, the notion that sociality can be achieved only through the sinking of all individuality. At the same time, these extremists would demand an 'equal opportunity to become unequal.' "Sociality and individuality advance together", says MacIver,² who finds that "herein we have the first clue to the understanding of social evolution. Sociality and individuality are the two aspects of the one reality, which is personality. Personality is the final value, the only thing in the world worth having in itself. . . . A society is best ordered when it best promotes the person-

¹ If enrollment in our high schools and colleges is continuously stimulated, which is likely, educationists will be compelled to face seriously the problem of educational guidance, and of education for its own sake. Maybe the Danish experience in adult education as a good in itself will then receive general recognition.

² *Elements of Social Science*, p. 153.

"No perfection is real which is not general perfection . . . individual perfection is impossible so long as the rest of mankind are not perfected with us."—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

ality of its members. . . . Personality is the synthesis of sociality and individuality, and as it grows the forms of society evolve."

Finally, workers' education is another bar in the capstan that will lift the anchor out of ignorance. It is a rediscovery of the idea that man *can* by taking thought. It emphasizes, in the words of Bebel, the preference of clear heads over strong fists. It demonstrates that the organized labor movement is now interested not only in the idea of power and its redistribution, but also in the power of ideas.

There are those who would cast a spell of gloom over the world by contending that education cannot effect a social change. These gloom dispensers tell us that a new social order is all a mirage. The sailor sees many mirages; he also knows that beyond the mirages lies solid reality: somewhere there is land, and if he is master of navigation, if he will persevere with intelligence and courage, he will eventually reach harbor.

The characteristics of that harbor are described by Bertrand Russell:

"The world that we must seek is a world in which the creative spirit is alive, in which life is an adventure full of joy and hope, based rather upon the impulse to construct than upon the desire to retain what we possess or to seize what is possessed by others. It must be a world in which affection has free play, in which love is purged of the instinct for domination, in which cruelty and envy have been dispelled by the happiness and the unfettered development of all the instincts that build up life and fill it with mental delights. Such a world is possible; it waits only for men who wish to create it."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LIST OF THE NAMES OF THE SCHOOLS AND ASSOCIATIONS CARRYING ON WORKERS' EDUCATION UPON WHICH THIS STUDY IS BASED

- Australia — The Workers' Educational Association; Victoria Labor College.
- Austria — Arbeiterbildungszentrale; Die Parteischule; Die Gewerkschaftsschule; Die Arbeiterhochschule.
- Belgium — Centrale d'Éducation Ouvrière; École ouvrière supérieure.
- Canada—Workers' Educational Association of Ontario.
- China — Peasants' Educational Reform Movement; Popular Educational Association.
- Czechoslovakia — Delnicka Akademie; Zentralstelle für das Bildungswesen der Deutschen Socialdemokratie in der Tschechoslowakei.
- Denmark—Arbejdernes Oplysningsforbund; Esbjerg Workers' High School; Social-Democratic Workers' School; The International Peoples College.
- England — The Workers' Educational Association; Ruskin College; The Labor College; National Council of Labor Colleges; The Co-operative College.
- France—École Socialiste Supérieure; Educational Work by the Confédération Générale du Travail; Educational Department of the Fédération Nationale Des Coopératives De Consommation.
- Finland — Työväen Sivistysliitto (Educational Federation of Workers).

Germany—Reichsausschuss für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit; Der Berliner Gewerkschaftsschule; Die Heimvolkshochschule Tinz; Akademie Der Arbeit; Die Wirtschaftsschule des Deutschen Metallarbeiter-Verbandes (Bad Dürrenberg); Die Arbeiter Bildungs Institut; Bildungsarbeit des Verbandes Der Gemeinde und Staatsarbeiter; Bundesschule des ADGB; Genossenschaftliches Bildungswesen.

Holland—Instituut Voor Arbeidersontwikkeling.

India—Social-Democratic School.

Ireland—Educational Committee of the Labor Party.

Japan—Rodosha Kyoiku Kyokai (Institute for Workers' Education); The Osaka Workers' School; Educational Activities of the Nippon Roda Sodomei (General Federation of Labor), and, the Nippon Roda Kumiai Hiogikai (Japanese Council of Trade Unions).

Mexico—Educational Activity of the Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana (Mexican Federation of Labor).

New Zealand—Workers' Educational Association.

Norway—Arbeidernes Korrespondanseskole (Workers' Correspondence Schools).

Palestine—Waadat Hatarbout (Educational Committee) General Federation of Jewish Labor.

Russia—Educational Activity in the Trade Unions, Communist Party, & Co-ops.

Sweden—Arbetarnes Bildningsförbund (Workers' Educational Federation); Brunnsvik Folkhögskola; Vor Gord (Our Manor) the Cooperative Union College.

Switzerland—Arbeiterbildungszentrale; Genossenschaftliches Seminar.

United States of America—Workers Education Bureau; Brookwood Labor College; Co-operative League of America; Commonwealth College; The Work People's College; The

Rand School of Social Science; The Workers' School; National Women's Trade Union League of America; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Educational Department; The Workmen's Circle, Educational Department.

International—The International Federation of Trade Unions, Summer Schools; The International Co-operative Alliance, Summer Schools; The Socialist Educational International, Kinderfreunde; Der Sozialistischen Jugend-Internationale; International Conferences on Workers' Education.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN FOUND USEFUL IN THIS SURVEY OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

International

(W = weekly; f., fortnightly; m., monthly; sem-m., semi-monthly; q., quarterly; irreg., irregular. * one star denotes that the publication is chiefly an organ of Workers' Education; ** two stars indicates that Workers' Education is featured more or less regularly in its columns).

The International Trade Union Review (q.), **, 31 Tesselshadestraat, Amsterdam Holland.

Socialist Youth International (m.), Lindenstrasse 3, Berlin SW 68, Germany.

International Labor Review (m.), **, League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

Bulletin of the World Association for Adult Education, (irreg.), 13 John St., Adelphi, London, W. C. 2.

Bulletin De L'Internationale Des Travailleurs De L'Enseignement (m.), **. (Published in French, German and English), 33, Rue de la Grange-aux-Belles, Paris Xe, France.

The New Era (q.), (An international review of creative education): 11, Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1.

Australia—*The Australian Highway* * (m.), Education Building, Bridge St., Sydney.

Austria—*Die Sozialistische Erziehung* (m.) *, (Reichsorgan des Sozialdemokratischer Erziehungs- und Schulvereines "Freie Schule-Kinderfreunde"): Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna.

Bildungsarbeit (m.) *, Blätter für Sozialistische Bildungswesen, Vienna, 5, Bezirk, Rechte Wienzeile 97.

Belgium—*L'Avenir Social* (m.) *;

Ontwikkeling (m.) *, Maison du Peuple, 17 Rue Joseph Stevens, Brussels. (The former *Éducation-Récreation*, organ of Workers' Education in Belgium, was fused with *L'Avenir Social* in 1927).

Canada—*Western Clarion* (f.) **, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Denmark—*Socialisten* (m.), (Carries a regular department of Workers' Education): Rosenørns Allé 12, Copenhagen.

Kooperationen (m.), (Devoted to co-operative education): Det Kooperative Fællesforbund, Axelborg, Copenhagen.

England—*Journal of Adult Education* (half-yearly), British Institute of Adult Education, London.

The Co-operative Educator (q.), Co-operative Union Limited, Manchester.

The Plebs (m.) *, 324 Gray's Inn Road, London W. C. 1.

The Fabian News (m.), 25 Tothill St., London S. W. 1.

The Highway (m. Oct.-March, and July) *, 16 Harpur St., London W. C. 1.

The Labor Monthly (m.) **, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London S. W. 1.

The New Leader (w.) **, 24 High Holborn, London W. C. 2.

The Labour Magazine (m.) **, 33 Eccleston Square, London S. W. 1.

Germany—*Kulturwille* (m.) *, Arbeiter Bildungs Institut, Leipzig.

Sozialistische Erziehung (m.) *, Der Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft Der Kinderfreunde und Der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Sozial Demokratische Lehrer und Lehrerinnen Deutschlands, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstrasse 3.

Vierteljahrs Hefte (q.) *, Der Berliner Gewerkschaftsschule, Berlin S. O. 16, Engelufer 24-25.

Die Bücherwarte Mit Beilage *Arbeiter-Bildung* (m.) *, Reichsausschuss für Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit, Berlin, SW 68, Lindenstrasse 3.

Betriebsräte Zeitschrift (sem-m.) **, Vorstand des Deutschen Metallarbeiter-Verbandes, Stuttgart.

Die Gesellschaft (m.), J. H. W. Dietz, Nach., Berlin SW 68.

Holland—*De Toorts* (m.) *, Reguliersgracht 78, Amsterdam.

Norway—*Mot Dag* (irreg.) **, Folkets Hus, Oslo.

Sweden—*A. B. F.* (m.) *, (Organ of the Workers' Educational Federation) : Barnhusgatan 16, Stockholm.

Bokstugan (m.) *, (Organ of the Study Circles); edited by Oscar Olsson and Rickard Sandler, Djursholms-Ösby.

Switzerland — *Sozialistische Bildungsarbeit* (m.) *, Monbijoustrasse 61, Bern.

Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau (m.) **, same address.

United States—

The American Federationist (m.) **, A. F. L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

The American Federation of Teachers Monthly Bulletin, 512 Webster Bldg., 327 So. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Adult Education and the Library (q.), American Library Association, 86 East Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

Advance (w.) **, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 31 Union Square, New York City.

The Brookwood Review (m.) **, Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y.

Commonwealth College Fortnightly,* Mena, Arkansas.

Co-operation (m.), The Co-operative League of America, 167 West 12th St., New York City.

Industrial Pioneer (m.) **, (Organ of the Industrial Workers of the World) : Chicago, Ill.

The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators (m.) **, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.

Justice (w.) (Organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. A special page is regularly given to Workers' Education) : 3 West 16th St., New York City.

Labor Age (m.) **, 3 West 16th St., New York City.

Life and Labor Bulletin (m.) *, (Organ National Women's Trade Union League): 311 So. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Locomotive Engineers' Journal (m.) **, 806 B. L. E. Bldg., Cleveland, O.

Monthly Labor Review (m.), U. S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D. C.

The Modern Quarterly, Baltimore, Md.

The Nation (w.), 20 Vesey St., New York City.

The New Republic (w.), 421 West 21st St., New York City.

The Survey (m.) **, 112 East 19th St., New York City.

The Seaman's Journal (m.), 525 Market St., San Francisco, Cal.

Social Forces (q.), Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Workers' Education (m.) *, 476 West 24th St., New York City.

APPENDIX III

A SUGGESTION ON HOW TO VITALIZE ARITHMETIC FOR ADULTS¹

Many facts, social and other, of a more or less constant nature can be taught through the medium of arithmetic. Fundamental facts from the physical and social sciences taught in the junior high school arithmetic would result in a conservation of time from the pupil's standpoint. In teaching adults better responses will be elicited if the subject matter concerns adult problems. A valuable by-product of this procedure is a certain familiarity which the student acquires with varied sources of useful information. A few suggestive examples of an elementary character will indicate the possibilities.

1. The population of the world is approximately 1,700,000,000 persons. Consult the World Almanac for the number of persons in each of the races of the world and calculate the percentage of each.

2. Consult the statistics of religious adherents of the world religions. Calculate the percentage of Christians and non-Christians. What fractional part do the Protestants form?

3. In the 1920 Presidential Election the various political parties received the following number of votes, etc. How many voters in every thousand are Socialist? See the American Labor Year Book for statistics of growth of the Socialist Party vote. Can you discern anything as to the rate of growth? Can this rate be applied to any succeeding election? Why? If not, why not?

¹ The writer tried this plan out with a class of young adults, mostly immigrants, and found the process productive of more interests than when using the dull and lifeless puzzles of the common school arithmetic textbook. Problems relating to wages, hours, budgets—individual and public, trade union membership, housing, etc. evoked an interest from the start.

4. The population of the United States according to the last census is —————. A certain chewing-gum manufacturer spends five cents per person annually in advertising his product. How much of an item would this amount to in his budget of expense? If it costs from five to ten times more to sell an article than to produce it, what might be the relation of this fact to need and demand for the article?

5. Consult a geography for the distance between Hamburg and Iquique. A clipper ship in the nitrate trade sailed from Hamburg via Cape Horn to Iquique in 57 days. How many knots did it put behind daily on the average? By approximately how many miles has this route been shortened since the opening of the Panama Canal? How does the annihilation of distance influence the cost of shipping operation?

APPENDIX IV

NUMBER OF FOLK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS RETURNING TO THE COUNTRY AND TO THE SAME OCCUPATION

ROSKILDE FOLK SCHOOL ¹

<i>Previous Occupation</i>	<i>Returned to Same Occupation</i>	<i>Different Occupation</i>
Farmer	103	
Market-gardener	1	
Dairy Work	2	
Agricultural Agent	1	
Carpenter	1	
Windmill Carpenter	1	
Blacksmith	3	
Mechanic	2	Teacher
Painter	1	Agric. Ag't
Fisherman	1	Merchant
Saddlemaker	1	Postman
Typist	1	Undesignated
Not designated	14	
—	—	—
Total	132	118
		14

¹From The Danish Folk School, Olive D. Campbell, Macmillan, p. 339.
Number of students enrolled 1910-1911, 155.
Alumni Association, 1922, 132.

APPENDIX V

A SAMPLE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE STUDENT BODY THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, 1924-1925 ¹

<i>Age groups</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Under 20	12	37
20 and under 25	44	113
25 " " 30	22	37
30 " " 35	17	10
35 " " 40	14	5
40 " over	2	3
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>		
Total	111	208

<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Number</i>
American born	122
Russia	104
Poland	45
Other	48
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	
319	

(Other includes: Japan, Mexico, Porto Rico, Cuba, England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Austria, Italy, Greece, Germany, France, Holland, Norway, Belgium, Hungary, Roumania, South America.)

Studies now Pursued in Rand School:

Social Science	98
English	91
Psychology	58
Physical Education	38
Literature	34
Science	34
Public Speaking	27
<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>	

¹ The writer collected these data from the returns of 319 information blanks circulated among various classes of the registered student body. Blanks were given out at the beginning of a class session and collected at the close.... The project is suggestive merely of the type of record which it is desirable for labor schools to keep. Other categories should be added, e. g. Why do students drop out toward the end of the term? etc.

Purpose in taking Courses:

General Culture	187
Service in labor movement	41
Political activity	10
In doubt	3
Non-committal	78
	<hr/>
	319

Years of Attendance at Rand School:

First year	200
Second year	33
Third and more	43
	<hr/>

Heard of the Rand School:

Through friends	193
Advertisements	12
Press	28
Union locals	35
	<hr/>

Trade Union Affiliation

27 different unions were named in 69 declarations.

Previous Education Number Attended:

Public Evening School	11
Grammar	141
High	126
College	47
	<hr/>
	319

(38 had also attended foreign schools. 50 indicated technical school attendance.)

APPENDIX V

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>
Office worker	91
Clothing	44
Professional	37
Store and Selling	20
Technical	18
Students	14
Business	12
Millinery	11
Housewife	6
Furrier	6
Nurse	3
Model	1
Other	56

 319

<i>Available Hours</i>	<i>Hours for Reading per Week Frequency</i>
1	5
2	16
3	11
4	17
5	10
6	39
7	10
8	1
10	13
12	21
14	1
17	1
18	7
20	1
24	4

Students Declaring Political Affiliation:

Socialist Party	27
Y. P. S. L.	10
Workers Party	7
Progressive	11
Young Workers League	1
Non-committal	263

APPENDIX VI

SAMPLE QUERIES ANSWERED BY THE LABOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, THE RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, SEPTEMBER, 1928-JUNE, 1929¹

Workers' education in England; Women in Industry; Fascism; Industries in New York City; Socialism and education; Third International; Recent activity of women in trade unions; Number of Negroes in industry and in trade unions; Data for and against tariffs; What nationalities of workers were engaged in digging the Panama Canal; Effect of industry upon youth; Socialist and Communist platforms, 1928; Trial by jury in injunction cases; Information on persons nominated for U. S. Radio Commission; Invasion of Nicaragua by U. S.; Material for debate on compulsory arbitration of labor disputes; Biographies of several American and European labor leaders; Arguments for a labor party in the United States; Profits of American industries in recent years; Data on coal and iron police; French labor and socialism; Program of the British Labor Party; Distribution of income now and under socialism; Congress candidates endorsed by the A. F. of L.; Data on the life of George D. Herron; Socialist Party activity for amnesty after the war; Lists of foreign and American labor leaders for inclusion in the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences; Wages and cost of living in 1927 and 1928; Number who joined the Communist Party at the time of the Socialist Party split in 1919; Youth movement in various countries; Material on Red International of Labor Unions; Data on International Transport Workers' Federation; Reports on British Minority Movement; Labor poems for an anthology; Information on labor banks; Plays with a social purpose for children; Editors of various labor periodicals; Unemployment in textiles, steel, farming; Reports of the International Miners' Secretariat; Workers' education in America; The workers' co-operative movement; Export and import figures.

¹ Submitted by Solon De Leon, Director of Research.

APPENDIX VII

PARTIAL RETURNS OF AN INQUIRY ADDRESSED (1927) TO VARIOUS NATIONAL MINISTRIES OF EDUCATION ANENT STATE AND COMMUNITY GRANTS TOWARD WORK- ERS' EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISE, AND SOME OF THE CONDITIONS ATTACHING TO SUCH GRANTS

Australia—New South Wales, Department of Education,
Sydney.

The work of the Tutorial Classes is carried on under special appropriation of £6,370 per annum which enables the organization of classes of not less than twenty-four evening students who desire to follow a University Course of Study in a selected subject. The establishment of these classes and the appointment of tutors is carried out on the recommendation of a joint Board consisting of representatives of the University Extension Board and the Workers' Education Association. The latter body is responsible chiefly for the organization of the classes and they are assisted by grants both from the University and from the Government. The Government subsidy amounts to £400 per annum and is paid on a £ for £ basis in respect of voluntary contributions.

Austria—Bundesministerium für Unterricht, Vienna.

The Workers' Educational Movement receives no grant, but a small appropriation is given to the Folk High Schools of Vienna where some workers attend for the study of so-called neutral subjects.

Belgium—Public grants are quite nominal when compared with the financial resources of the Belgian educational committees, central, regional and local. The policy of public subsidies for workers' education began in post-war days, with the increasing importance of the Labor Party, and the election to public office of many Socialists.

Among the conditions imposed are: The particular educational group seeking a subvention must have existed one year; must be directed by a committee of five members; must not aim at political propaganda or religious or anti-religious proselytism; must be open to everyone; accept inspection by the State authorities; admit a representative of the Ministry of the Sciences and Arts when formulating a program and determining upon a budget.

(" . . . ces subsides n'ont eu d'influence sur le caractère et les tendances des oeuvres qui en profitent." Henri de Man, "Le Mouvement d'Education Ouvriere En Belgique", p. 31.)

Czechoslovakia—Ministry of Education.

The State subventions granted to workers' educational institutions are given according to the general principles governing the distribution of subsidies among the institutions for civic education. Workers' educational institutions are therefore recipients of the State subvention in that part of their activities which have for their subject: civic education.

There are in Czechoslovakia two educational centers for workers: the Czech Workers' School and the Academy of Labor, affiliated to the National Social and Social-Democratic party, respectively. The State subvention for both of them amounted to 1926 to Kc. 90,000.

Denmark—Undervisningsministeriet, Copenhagen.

Public grants to labor colleges and educational activities under labor's auspices are given to the following institutions:

The State grants amount to nearly one million kroner, part of which is subsidy, another part is given as scholarships.

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. The Laborers's School in Fred-
ericksberg | 1,800 Kr. |
| 2. The Workers' Educational
Federation | 18,000 " |
| 3. The Labor College of Esbjerg | 4,293 " |

Students in the Esbjerg Labor College may also apply for scholarships from the Government, national and communal. These scholarships may include fees, and amounts sufficient to cover board and lodging in the school. The grants mentioned in 1. and 2. are fixed in the annual State Budget, while the grants to the Labor College at Esbjerg are calculated in proportion to certain expenses of the school such as salaries of teachers, educational apparatus and expenses concerning the buildings.

(There is not any officious interference by the State with the teaching process.)

England—Board of Education, Whitehall, London.

The Board's Estimates for the total grants payable by them under the Adult Education Regulations in the years 1925-26 and 1926-27 were respectively, £ 36,000 and £ 52,000. Expenditure is also incurred by Local Education Authorities on the direct promotion of Adult Education facilities and on assistance to the Workers' Educational Association and other bodies in receipt of grant under the Adult Education Regulations. The Board have no information as to the amount of expenditure so incurred.

The Adult Education Grant Regulations occupy the space of a sixteen-page pamphlet which is too extensive for reproduction here. A few suggestive rules of eligibility for recognition follow:

- I. In order to be recognized under these regulations a course of instruction must be:
 - a. designed for the *Liberal education of adults*, i. e. persons of at least 18 years of age:

- b. of sufficient public interest to be accepted as part of the public provision of higher education:
 - c. so arranged in respect of duration of the several lessons and the duration of the course as a whole as to offer to the students opportunity of making a continuous and progressive study:
 - d. so conducted in respect of methods of instruction as to demand individual effort on the part of the students; e. g., instruction by means of lectures only will not as a rule be approved, and the arrangements should provide for the participation of students in one or more of the following activities as may be appropriate, class exercises or discussions, tutorial instruction, practical exercises, reading under guidance, essay writing or other forms of home work.
2. Among the courses not eligible for recognition may be mentioned:

“Courses of instruction in religious subjects without prejudice however to the recognition of Courses which aim at the scientific study of the documents, history or philosophy of religion.”

(Note: The National Council of Labor Colleges adheres somewhat vehemently to a financial policy independent of government grants.)

Finland—The State budget for 1924 contained the following credits:

150,000	Finnish Marks	for study circles.
331,000	“	“ for various propaganda societies.
600,000	“	“ to gymnastic and sport societies.
700,000	“	“ to workers' institutes and free schools.
850,000	“	“ to State libraries.
1,870,000	“	“ for domestic schools and other courses.
2,255,000	“	“ for dramatic societies, youth associations and brass bands.

Quoted from Niilo A. Mannio, Director of the General Department of the Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs, "The Utilization of Leisure in Finland", *International Labor Review*, April, 1924, pp. 573-586.

For Regulations Concerning Public Grants, see "The Workers' Institutes and Other Free Institutes of Finland", Published by the Board of Schools, Helsinki, 1924. Government Printing Office.

Germany—No reply.

But certain grants are appropriated, as we have seen in the case of Die Akademie der Arbeit, the School of Economics at Düsseldorf.

Holland—De Ministrie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen reports that workers' educational courses are not subsidized by the State.

Sweden—Ecklesiastik Departementet, Stockholm.

State and Communal grants to the central organization, i. e. The Workers' Educational Federation (A. B. F.) in 1926-27 amounted to some 305,000 Kr. This amount was distributed approximately as follows: (percentages are mine).

67% for book purchases and labor libraries.

9% for lectures.

8.5% for administration.

7% for study circles.

8.5% miscellaneous.

Regulations concerning grants were published by the Ministry of Education in December, 1922.

Switzerland—Department Federal de L'Economie Publique, Division de l'industrie et des arts et metiers, Enseignement professionnel, Berne.

To public labor colleges or workers' educational enterprises, the State pays forty per cent of the grants which these schools receive during the same year from other subsidizers—canton, district, parish, corporations, or private donors.

The rules and regulations concerning grants were published in an eight-page pamphlet, November, 1900.

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¹ The main bibliography of this book consists of the references mentioned in the text and footnotes. For the benefit of the student and the interested reader a list of bibliographies are appended. The combination gives a well-nigh exhaustive bibliography of the movements.

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Enseignement populaire en France. Typescript, 3 p.
(Courtesy of Prof. A. E. Zimmern.)

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¹ The present study was complete to the tenth chapter when this book appeared in America.

NOTE—Most of the periodicals listed in Appendix II carry bibliographical material and book reviews.

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VITA

MARIUS HANSOME was born near Ribe, Denmark, March 15, 1887. He attended a rural school in the then bi-lingual province of Slesvig until the age of fourteen. During the following five years he sailed "before the mast", under four different flags, attaining to the status of an able-bodied seaman. He left a ship on the Puget Sound, Washington, and went to work in a sawmill. The following year he located in Chinook, Washington where he worked on fish traps, seines, pile drivers, and gas boats. He was graduated from the public school of Chinook in 1908. He worked his way through the State Normal School of Bellingham, Washington, and secured a teacher's life diploma in 1914. At the latter institution he won two annual prizes in oratory. He became a citizen in 1912. He served four years as principal and superintendent of elementary and high schools in the states of Washington and Idaho, and during 1918-1920 he was superintendent of schools and industrial director of the native village of Hydaburg, Alaska, for the Alaska Division of the United States Bureau of Education. In the period 1914-1920 he attended several summer sessions at the University of Washington, spent a full calendar year in residence at the university during 1916-17, and was graduated as a Bachelor of Education in 1920. The winter of 1920-21 was spent in travel abroad, particularly in connection with a study of the Danish Folk High schools. A half-dozen articles were contributed to American magazines and periodicals as a result of this study. From 1921-25 he pursued graduate study in the Department of Social Science at Columbia University. He was granted a University Scholarship during 1922-23. The

summer of 1924 was devoted to travel in six different European countries, and study mainly in the field of workers' education. He sat as a delegate in The International Conference on Workers' Education at Oxford, and later enrolled for the International Summer School at Ruskin College, Oxford. Before departing for America he attended the Trade Union Congress at Hull and wrote his impressions for an American labor magazine. In 1921 he became an instructor in the evening sessions of The Rand School, giving courses in successive years in English, Human Geography, and Descriptive Economics. Since 1925 he has served in the same school as a lecturer on Sociology. During the same period he studied the world workers' educational movements, contributed articles to various periodicals, such as, the *Survey*, the *New York Times*, *Current History*, *The Nation*, etc. He has also contributed articles to the labor press, both here and abroad: *The New York Call Magazine*, *The Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, *Socialisten* (Copenhagen), *Die Sozialistische Erziehung* (Vienna), etc. He was also a lecturer on illustrated travel topics for the New York City Board of Education, Department of Public Lectures. The last two summer sessions he has been an instructor at Hunter College, in the city of New York. He is a member of the American Sociological Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. At the 1929 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society he presented a paper on the Social Significance of World Workers' Education. Since 1929 he has been a lecturer on Sociology and Social Movements in the Extension Division of Columbia University.