CITIZENS OF TO-MORROW

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Bulletin 31 September, 1917
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The Contribution of the Public Schools to National Preparedness.

COMPRISING

Addresses delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Public Education Association by

JOHN DEWEY
SAMUEL GOMPERS
OWEN R. LOVEJOY

on "Learning for Earning, or the Place of Vocational Training in a Comprehensive Scheme of Public Education," and an introductory statement by

HOWARD W. NUDD

on the Public Education Association as an illustration of what the Citizens of To-day can do for the Citizens of To-morrow in the way of National Preparedness.

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While there has long been throughout the country a general recognition of the necessity of readjusting public school practice to fit children more adequately to meet the economic and civic demands of modern social life, it is but natural that the importance of a well-trained and efficient citizenship should be more fully appreciated in a great national crisis. As the New Republic so well expressed it editorially a few weeks ago, the children are in a real sense “the second line of defense” for the country. America must, for its future safety alone, if for no other reason, see that its future citizens are guaranteed not only the right, but the necessary educational equipment to obtain and enjoy a full measure of the “life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness” for which our Republic was established, and through which only it can endure. To achieve this end in a rapidly changing civilization, it is essential that the old limitations of the traditional school, which make for narrow class education through confining the program almost exclusively to academic training, be removed. The curriculum must be broadened to include a wide variety of work, study, and play opportunities which appeal to individual tastes and not only enable children to grow in health and intelligence and to discover for themselves, through trial and error in practical life situations from the earliest years, the particular things for which they are best suited, but also to secure later the specialized training in their chosen fields which will equip them to fill with the utmost efficiency their places in the community life.

New York City, through its courageous departure from time-worn tradition during the past two or three years, has not only made great strides toward this desired goal in its own
school system, but has stimulated communities throughout the country to similar efforts. The widespread reorganization of the elementary schools on the work-study-play plan under the direction of Superintendent Wirt of Gary, Indiana, the extensive provision of prevocational courses for older children in the intermediate grades, the introduction into the high schools of the cooperative plan between the schools and industry under the direction of Dean Schneider of the University of Cincinnati, and the increase in day continuation and evening school facilities for adults and older children who have left school to go to work are truly epoch making when viewed in the light of the size and complexity of the New York school problem. To weld these elements into a harmonious program and develop them to their highest efficiency in conjunction with the courses already offered in the high and trade schools is a task that will strain to the utmost the energy and ability of the school authorities for some time to come.

The Public Education Association will concentrate its energies, as in the past, upon cooperating with the authorities in the prosecution of such a program. As an important factor in accomplishing this end, we look forward with particular hopefulness to the reorganization of the administrative machinery of the school system on January first next under a small board of education. We have maintained for years, and recent experience has confirmed the soundness of our contention, that a small, effective board of education, which can discuss fundamental questions thoughtfully and formulate policies without recourse to oratory and endless debate based to a large extent on misunderstandings and conflicting committee action, is fundamental to the full accomplishment of practically every reform in the city school system. Because of this conviction we have worked unceasingly, through bulletins, newspaper articles, public conferences and cooperation with City and State authorities, to create intelligent public opinion in favor of such a board and to secure the legislation necessary to establish it. We regard the success of the Lockwood Bill this year, which was prepared and furthered by the State Department of Education and which provides a board of seven for New York City, as due in no small measure to our persistent work during the past three or four years.
Events have steadily strengthened our belief in the fundamental importance of this reform. The personnel of the Board of Education during the past two or three years has been of the highest calibre. Public-spirited men and women of national reputation for vision and broadmindedness in educational and civic affairs have dominated its action. Many of them have devoted an unusually large part of their time to the consideration of its problems. Under such circumstances one would ordinarily expect old weaknesses to disappear and vigor and efficiency in the prosecution of far seeing policies for improvement to ensue. But such has not been the case. The Board has, it is true, formulated a comprehensive program for enriching the school curriculum, as outlined above, and has secured from the Board of Estimate and Apportionment over twelve millions of dollars for the alteration of old buildings and the erection of new ones to make possible the reorganization of congested school districts on the duplicate plan. But, endless red tape and delay in initiating action and carrying out details have resulted in tying up practically all of these funds and kept the Board from achieving more than a small fraction of the results one would ordinarily expect from the time and effort expended. For practically two years, six millions of this amount have been available, and yet only thirteen per cent has been expended. Such delay is clearly due, not to a lack of earnestness or ability on the part of the members of the Board of Education as individuals, but to the system under which they are compelled to operate—to the fact that a board of forty-six, no matter how competent its members may be, is too large to constitute an effective administrative unit. Because of its unwieldy size, the Board has broken itself up into some eighteen committees, with overlapping functions and an established practice of directly administering details, instead of seeing that the expert employees of the system look after them. As a consequence there is not, at the present time—after two years and a half of experiment—a single school in which the duplicate plan has been introduced that has the full physical equipment for which funds have long been available. There are, also, more children at present attending school less than five hours daily than there were over two years ago, when the Gary plan was first introduced to eliminate part-time. It is
therefore obvious, from this single illustration, which could be paralleled by many other instances, that if substantial progress is to be made during the coming year toward providing the facilities essential to a comprehensive program and to the real solution of the part-time evil, a more forceful and effective administrative unit must be provided. The Public Education Association believes that a small unpaid board of seven members, as provided in the Lockwood Bill, will do this, and stands ready to cooperate in every way with the authorities in working out the organization through which such a board can accomplish its purpose most effectively.

In addition to devoting our energies to the perfection of this fundamental reform, we shall continue our efforts to secure, not only the extensive introduction of the duplicate plan into the city schools, but also the continuous enrichment of the facilities in the schools so organized. We have frequently said, and are pleased to take every opportunity to reiterate, that we are not primarily interested in the economic aspects of the duplicate-school organization. We are primarily interested in enriching the school life of the children; and it is only because it has been clearly demonstrated that a greater variety of educational opportunities and a greater flexibility of program can be secured for each dollar expended through the introduction of the duplicate-school plan than through following traditional methods that we have become interested at all in the financial aspects of the question. Because of this fact we believe that the funds thus far expended and thus far appropriated for the introduction of the Gary plan, however extensive or desirable the new facilities provided may be, mark but the beginning of a sound financial program for continuously enriching the work and improving the physical conditions of the public schools in the future.

There are many other ways in which our experience will enable us to assist the authorities in developing a comprehensive scheme of public education. We shall, for example, continue to cooperate as heretofore in extending the visiting teacher service in the public schools, because we believe that the opportunities which this service offers to handle adequately the difficult, or unadjusted, child are essential to a complete realization of the possibilities comprehended in a program like that
outlined above, which seeks to equip all children to fill efficiently their places in the community life. We have maintained a visiting teacher staff of our own for over ten years, in order to demonstrate fully the value of this work, and we shall continue to do so until it is established on a firm foundation by the authorities themselves.

The Association will always lend its active support to the work of the Bureau of Attendance, School Census, and Child Welfare. We have taken an active part in every phase of the evolution of that work and have always regretted the extreme and unjust financial limitations under which it has been compelled to operate. There is nothing more fundamental in a great school system like that of New York than a sound procedure for locating and keeping tab on all children of school age through a continuous census or registration, and for seeing that all such children attend school regularly until they are legally excused. It is equally important that this work be carried on from the point of view of child welfare rather than from the point of view of police compulsion. The children who come to the attention of this Bureau are of the type who in adult life become liabilities rather than assets to the State, unless their individual peculiarities and environmental limitations are carefully studied early enough to permit the application of remedies which will enable them to become helpful citizens, rather than harmful delinquents and criminals. The present directors of the Bureau, the Association believes, have the right attitude on this point, and deserve the support of every thoughtful citizen who is anxious to make the public schools in every sense an instrument of real civic preparedness along preventive as well as creative lines.

For the same reason, we shall continue our efforts to provide adequate facilities for handling the mentally and physically defective children in the public schools, who require special care and special methods of treatment. No more important service can be done for the normal citizens of a state than to relieve them of the burden of caring for the handicapped and misfits by making such persons as far as possible competent to care for themselves.

We shall also continue our efforts to provide adequate kindergarten facilities for the youngest children in the city.
We have always recognized the value of the kindergarten as an instrument not only for educating the little children but also for changing the point of view of the entire school system. The ideals comprehended in the Gary, or work-study-play, program are practically the same as those of the kindergarten as we know it today adapted to the needs of older children. The kindergarten has thus been a leavener in the real sense of the term, and its spirit should continue to permeate the entire educational program.

It would be interesting, if it were necessary to demonstrate further the willingness and ability of the Public Education Association to assist the school authorities in their difficult task, to outline additional ways in which the Association has contributed to the welfare of the New York City schools. It established, for example, the first evening recreation center in the public schools and assisted materially in organizing the first school luncheons. It initiated as one of its own committees the work now carried on independently by the School Art League and, in cooperation with the Natural Science Committee of the Hunter College Alumnae, the work now conducted by the School Nature League. It has made comprehensive surveys of vocational guidance and of recreation and community centers in New York City and is about to publish the report of a survey of private commercial schools which was made with its active cooperation by a joint committee of representatives of leading civic organizations under the chairmanship of Mrs. Sidney Borg of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment. It has maintained for years a school in the Tombs for boys and young men awaiting trial. In fact, there has been hardly an administrative or budgetary matter or a piece of contemplated legislation of fundamental importance to which the Association has not given its critical attention and for or against which it has not taken decisive action. Many of these activities are treated more fully in the publications enumerated on the cover of this bulletin.

Because of these services in the past and the assurance of their continuation in the future, the Association takes great pleasure in presenting as one of its bulletins at this time the following addresses, which, while they deal specifically with only one aspect of the broad problem of education, nevertheless
indicate clearly its magnitude, and suggest many important ways in which an organization of public spirited citizens like the Public Education Association can further in the immediate future the cause of public education. They were delivered at the annual public meeting of the Association, on February twentieth last, at the Hotel Biltmore. The purpose of the program was to present from three significant angles the broad principles and policies which call for careful consideration in preparing a program of vocational and prevocational training as a part of a comprehensive scheme of public education. They are published at this time because the questions they raise constitute one of the most difficult and most pressing problems confronting the school authorities at the beginning of the new school year. They are particularly timely in view of the industrial survey which has just been completed, under the direction of Dr. C. R. Richards, of Cooper Institute, by an official commission appointed by the Mayor.

Dr. Dewey speaks primarily from the point of view of the educator, Mr. Gompers from the point of view of adult labor, and Mr. Lovejoy from the point of view of those who are familiar with the child in industry. All deliver essentially the same message: Elementary education must be broadening in its influence. It must not too early lead children into narrow channels by permitting or causing them to specialize along specific vocational lines before they have fully comprehended their aptitudes and powers. After the children have received a fundamental training through a great variety of experiences which afford the rich background essential to a wise choice of a career or vocation, the city should provide public high schools and day and evening vocational and continuation schools which will enable them not only to enter their chosen fields well equipped but also to grow in efficiency and, if later desired, to change or make such readjustments in their life work as will enable them to correct a wrong choice and fill their places in the community life to the best advantage.

To the prosecution of such a program of national preparedness through education, which will be of equal value in peace and war, the Association can well devote its energies and pledge its unstinted cooperation with the authorities who must see it through.

Howard W. Nudd, Director.
LEARNING FOR EARNING

The Place of Vocational Education in a Comprehensive Scheme of Public Education

I—DR. JOHN DEWEY

Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.

II—MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS

President, American Federation of Labor.

III—MR. OWEN R. LOVEJOY

Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.

Addresses delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Public Education Association on February 20th, 1917, at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City.
I

JOHN DEWEY

Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University

The title assigned and announced, "Learning to Earn," has a pleasant jingling sound. The "Earn" part of it is attractive also. It is, however, objectionable to some persons to see earning brought into close connection with learning. Since words frequently hide facts from us, we inquire at the beginning what the practise has been in this respect in the past. Contrary to the general opinion, popular education has always been rather largely vocational. The objection to it is not that it is vocational or industrial, but that it serves a poor, one may say an evil, ideal of industry and is therefore socially inefficient. So-called cultural education has always been reserved for a small limited class as a luxury. Even at that it has been very largely an education for vocations, especially for those vocations which happened to be esteemed as indicating social superiority or which were useful to the ruling powers of the given period. Our higher education, the education of the universities, began definitely as vocational education. The universities furnished training for the priesthood, for medicine and the law. The training also covered what was needed by the clerks, secretaries, scribes, etc., who have always had a large part of the administering of governmental affairs in their hands. Some portions of this original professional training ceased to be vocationally useful and then became the staple of a cultural and disciplinary education. For it will be found true as a general principle, that whenever any study which was originally utilitarian in purpose becomes useless because of a change in conditions, it is retained as a necessary educational ornament (as useless buttons are retained on the sleeves of men's coats) or else because it is so useless that it must be fine
for mental discipline. Even to-day it will be found that a con-
siderable part of what is regarded in collegiate education as
purely cultural is really a preparation for some learned pur-
suit or for the profession of teaching the same subjects in the
future, or a preparation for the profession of being a gentleman
at large. Those who object most bitterly to any form of voca-
tional training will often be found to be those whose own monop-
oly of present vocational training is threatened. What concerns
us more directly, however, is the fact that elementary education,
the education of the masses, has been not only "Learning for
Earning," but a badly conceived learning, an education where
the ability of the learner to add to the earnings of others rather
than to his own earnings has been the main factor in selecting
materials of study and fixing methods. You are doubtless
weary hearing the statistics of our school morbidity and mortality
rehearsed: the fact that of the school population only one in nine
goes through the eighth grade; one in sixteen enters the high
school, and only one in a thousand goes to college. We don't,
however, ask often enough what these figures mean. If we did
ask, we should see that they prove that our present scheme of
elementary education is in the first place a scheme of vocational
education and in the second place, a poor one.

Reading, writing, figuring, with a little geography and a
smattering of other things, are what the great mass of those who
leave our schools leave with. A few get something more. These
things, when nothing else is added on to them, are pretty nearly
pure economic tools. They came into the schools when the better-
to-do classes discovered that under the conditions an elementary
ability to read, write and figure was practically indispensable for
salesmen and shop workers. He who is poorly acquainted with the
history of the efforts to improve elementary education in our large
cities does not know that the chief protest against progress is
likely to come from successful business men. They have clamored
for the three R's as the essential and exclusive material of
primary education—knowing well enough that their own children
would be able to get the things they protest against. Thus they
have attacked as fads and frills every enrichment of the cur-
riculum which did not lend itself to narrow economic ends.
Let us stick to business, to the essentials, has been their plea, and
by business they meant enough of the routine skill in letters and
figures to make those leaving the elementary school at about the
fifth or sixth grade useful in their business, irrespective of whether pupils left school with an equipment for advance and with the ambition to try to secure better social and economic conditions for their children than they had themselves enjoyed. Nothing in the history of education is more touching than to hear some successful leaders denounce as undemocratic the attempts to give all the children at public expense the fuller education which their own children enjoy as a matter of course.

Of late years, the situation has changed somewhat. The more intelligent employers have awakened to the fact that the mere rudiments of the three R’s are not a good industrial training, while others of the community have awakened to the fact that it is a dangerously inadequate industrial education from the standpoint of the community. Hence there has arisen a demand for vocational and industrial education as if this were an entirely new thing; while, in fact, it is a demand that the present industrial education be so modified as to be efficient under the conditions of present machine industry, rapid transportation and a competitive market.

I have made these bald statements because they indicate to my mind the real issue at the present time concerning industrial education in public education. It isn’t whether it shall be introduced in order to supplant or supplement a liberal and generous education already supposed to exist—that is pure romance. The issue is what sort of an industrial education there shall be and whose interests shall be primarily considered in its development. Now, I quite understand that I am here to speak from the educational standpoint and that Mr. Samuel Gompers who is to follow is quite competent to take care of the question from the standpoint of the workers affected by the issue. But to understand the educational issue is to see what difference is made in the schools themselves according as we take the improving of economic conditions to be the purpose of vocational training, or take its purpose to be supplying a better grade of labor for the present scheme, or helping on the United States in a competitive struggle for world commerce. I know that those who have the latter ends chiefly in view always make much of the increased happiness of the industrial worker himself as a product to result from better industrial education. But after all, there is a great difference between the happiness which means merely contentment with a station and the happiness which comes from the
the struggle of a well-equipped person to better his station. Which sort of happiness is to be our aim? I know, also, that stress is laid upon ability which is to proceed from a better industrial education to increase earnings. Well and good. But, does this mean simply that laborers are so to have their skill to add to the profits of employers increased, by avoiding waste, getting more out of their machines and materials, that they will have some share in it as an incidental by-product, or does it mean that increase in the industrial intelligence and power of the worker for his own personal advancement is to be the main factor?

I have said that the way these questions are answered makes all the difference in the world as to the educational scheme itself. Let me now point out some of the particular educational differences which will be made according as one or other idea of industry in education prevails. In the first place, as to administration, those who wish, whether they wish it knowingly or unknowingly, an education which will enable employees to fit better into the existing economic scheme will strive for a dual or divided system of administration. That is to say, they will attempt to have a separate system of funds, of supervisory authorities, and, as far as possible, of schools to carry on industrial education. If they don’t go so far as this, they will at least constantly harp on the difference between a liberal or cultural and a money-earning education, and will endeavor to narrow the latter down to those forms of industrial skill which will enable the future workers to fall docilely into the subordinate ranks of the industrial army.

In the second place, the conception that the primary object of industrial education is merely to prepare more skilled workers for the present system, instead of developing human beings who are equipped to reconstruct that scheme, will strive to identify it with trade education—that is, with training for certain specific callings. It assumes that the needs of industrial education are met if girls are trained to be skilled in millinery, cooking and garment-making, and boys to be plumbers, electric wirers, etc. In short, it will proceed on a basis not far removed from that of the so-called prevocational work on the Ettinger plan in this city.

In the third place, the curriculum on this narrow trade plan will neglect as useless for its ends the topics in history and
civics which make future workers aware of their rightful claims as citizens in a democracy, alert to the fact that the present economic struggle is but the present-day phase taken by the age-long battle for human liberties. So far as it takes in civic and social studies at all, it will emphasize those things which emphasize duties to the established order and a blind patriotism which accounts it a great privilege to defend things in which the workers themselves have little or no share. The studies which fit the individual for the reasonable enjoyment of leisure time, which develop good taste in reading and appreciation of the arts, will be passed over as good for those who belong by wealth to the leisure class, but quite useless in the training of skilled employees.

In the fourth place, so far as the method and spirit of its work is concerned, it will emphasize all that is most routine and automatic in our present system. Drill to secure skill in the performance of tasks under the direction of others will be its chief reliance. It will insist that the limits of time and the pressure for immediate results are so great that there is no room for understanding the scientific facts and principles or the social bearings of what is done. Such an enlarged education would develop personal intelligence and thereby develop also an intellectual ambition and initiative which might be fatal to contentment in routine subordinate clerical and shop jobs.

Finally, so far as such a training concerns itself with what is called vocational guidance, it will conceive guidance as a method of placement—a method of finding jobs. It will measure its achievements by the number of children taking out working papers for whom it succeeds in finding places, instead of by the number whom it succeeds in keeping in school till they become equipped to seek and find their own congenial occupations.

The other idea of industrial education aims at preparing every individual to render service of a useful sort to the community, while at the same time it equips him to secure by his own initiative whatever place his natural capacities fit him for. It will proceed in an opposite way in every respect. Instead of trying to split schools into two kinds, one of a trade type for children whom it is assumed are to be employees and one of a liberal type for the children of the well-to-do, it will aim at such a reorganization of existing schools as will give all pupils a genuine respect for useful work, an ability to render service,
and a contempt for social parasites whether they are called tramps or leaders of "society." Instead of assuming that the problem is to add vocational training to an existing cultural elementary education, it will recognize frankly that the traditional elementary education is largely vocational, but that the vocations which it has in mind are too exclusively clerical, and too much of a kind which implies merely ability to take positions in which to carry out the plans of others. It will indeed make much of developing motor and manual skill, but not of a routine or automatic type. It will rather utilize active and manual pursuits as the means of developing constructive, inventive and creative power of mind. It will select the materials and the technique of the trades not for the sake of producing skilled workers for hire in definite trades, but for the sake of securing industrial intelligence—a knowledge of the conditions and processes of present manufacturing, transportation and commerce so that the individual may be able to make his own choices and his own adjustments, and be master, so far as in him lies, of his own economic fate. It will be recognized that, for this purpose, a broad acquaintance with science and skill in the laboratory control of materials and processes is more important than skill in trade operations. It will remember that the future employee is a consumer as well as a producer, that the whole tendency of society, so far as it is intelligent and wholesome, is to an increase of the hours of leisure, and that an education which does nothing to enable individuals to consume wisely and to utilize leisure wisely is a fraud on democracy. So far as method is concerned, such a conception of industrial education will prize freedom more than docility; initiative more than automatic skill; insight and understanding more than capacity to recite lessons or to execute tasks under the direction of others.

The theme is an endless one. But it seemed to me that the best thing which I, from my standpoint, could do, is to point out that the real issue is not the question whether an industrial education is to be added on to a more or less mythical cultural elementary education, but what sort of an industrial education we are to have. The movement for vocational educations conceals within itself two mighty and opposing forces, one which would utilize the public schools primarily to turn out more efficient laborers in the present economic regime, with certain incidental advantages to themselves, the other which would utilize
all the resources of public education to equip individuals to control their own future economic careers, and thus help on such a reorganization of industry as will change it from a feudalistic to a democratic order.

At the present moment, the first bill appropriating federal funds for industrial education in schools below the grade of the college of agriculture and mechanic arts has been passed by the two houses of Congress. So far as provisions for the representation of employers and employed is concerned, the act is a fair one. So far as the interests of education is concerned, the representation of educators is scandalously inadequate. As passed, the original bill, which safeguarded unified control on the part of the states which take advantage of federal financial aid has been changed so as to make a dual scheme optional with each state. I do not say these things to cast any discredit on the act. I refer to them only to indicate that the passage of the bill illustrates the whole situation in which we find ourselves. It settles no problem; it merely symbolizes the inauguration of a conflict between irreconcilably opposed educational and industrial ideals. Nothing is so necessary as that public-spirited representatives of the public educational interests, such as are gathered here tonight, shall perceive the nature of the issue and throw their weights in municipal, state and federal educational matters, upon the side of education rather than of training, on that of democratic rather than that of feudal control of industry.
MORE than one problem has been waiting for the workers to solve. I mean workers in the larger sense—those who do the creative work of the world. These are the great masses of all nations—they represent the essence of democracy.

There have been many educational theories and plans, but they did not deal with life; they were concerned with abstractions, general principles, things and conditions no longer in action; in short, the static side of the world. There has been a delicate shrinking from mixing intellectual training with the crude, or as some think the "sordid" details of earning a livelihood.

It was only in response to a democratic demand, general though vague and inarticulate in many places yet definite in others, that there came a real effort to develop education that was concerned with life—the vital processes of living. This democratic educational movement is comprehended under the term "Industrial Education."

The organized labor movement has been an insistent proponent of industrial education and vocational training. There is involved in this proposal the same fundamental demands and ideals found in the organized labor movement itself. Permeating both and giving them directing purpose is the spirit of democracy. There is but one institution in the world that is truly democratic in the large sense and that is the organized labor movement. It is the only agency through which the masses of all nations can express themselves freely, fully and can exercise self-government.

The labor movement reverses principles as generally viewed by other organizations. It places economic power and the pro-
cesses of production first. Upon this economic basis is built the superstructure of life. Material civilization, the product of creative power, becomes the instrumentality to serve all interests and desires in life. The labor movement recognizes that while men cannot live by bread alone, bread is that which enables them to coordinate their physical power in order to achieve their purposes and spiritual ideals. The economic furnishes the basis to maintain life and to satisfy purposes and ambitions of living.

The labor movement recognizes the rights of each individual. Its purpose is to collectively maintain and protect these rights. Its plan is practical organization and collective self-governed action.

The demand of the labor movement for industrial education seeks to make these same principles the basis for education. Instead of attempting to inspire students with unswerving reverence for authority and with undue respect for abstractions and the metaphysical attitude of mind, the labor movement wants an education that begins in a scientific way to understand and control environment.

Only through control of environment comes independence of thought and action.

Only with independence is there opportunity for personality.

The labor movement appreciates the transcendent importance and power of personality.

We are fully aware of the tremendous dangers growing out of the fact that now only a few are granted the opportunity to develop personality. There is no greater or rarer thing in the world than personality, but the way to safeguard us against undue power attaching itself to any individual or group of individuals who have this greatest of all boons is to accord the same opportunity to all.

Industrial education is education that gives each boy and girl firm grasp on natural facts, and therefore, ability to use these facts in order to make their environments serve their needs and purposes. Such education provided for all has a vital relationship to our Republic's destiny. It places the nation on a stable foundation and gives it opportunity to solve the problem upon which the nation's salvation depends—economic justice.

The fundamental purpose of the labor movement in advocating industrial education is to enable the masses to attain such a degree of information and development that they can mobilize
their creative power and earn such participation in the direction of production as will enable them to raise the standard of living for all.

There have been high walls separating the schools from the city streets. The new education must tear down that wall and connect life in the school with life in the city.

Men are organically connected with the materials of civilization. This fact should be fundamental in education.

Education is part of the child's life and, like all living, is preparatory for the rest of life.

Industrial education in the wide sense demanded by organized labor means such knowledge of environment as will enable the individuals to control the material and productive forces of the world. That knowledge implies both technical information as well as spiritual understanding and imagination that connects the daily processes and routine of life with the great purpose toward which all life is moving. Such industrial education in the elementary schools will give to children enough driving force to produce and utilize forces for satisfactory living. It means the ability to produce results as well as that imaginative intuition that glorifies life and gives purpose and confidence.

But education that stops with that achievement is not sufficient. Production alone does not insure proper standards of living. There must be stimulated in all of the citizens initiative and ability to do what the labor movement calls team work. Information of technical knowledge is the basis, but in addition there must be social, democratic intelligence.

One of the greatest revelations of the present European War has been the marvelous effectiveness of the team work of the German people. Technical information and industrial skill in Germany, and now in all of the belligerent countries, has been put at the service of all of the people through their marvelous cooperation. That same thing in peace though permeated and directed by a democratic spirit, is what the organized labor movement asks the public schools of the United States to accomplish. In other words, we ask that in addition to broad industrial education, the schools shall conscientiously endeavor to give opportunities for the development of personality in the democratic masses. This will result in genuine self-government, in production and in all economic relations of the nation. It will mean democracy in all the vital relations of life. It will result in a nation which has
power of organic action, a systematic whole functioning for the welfare of the masses. There is a most dangerous movement which seeks to pervert the proper purposes of industrial education and to make the whole movement undemocratic. The spirit of that movement is the same as that which underlies all efforts to exploit and to establish special privilege for a few. That movement seeks to limit industrial education, to turn it into channels of narrow trade training. Such a mistake would restrict the mental life, understanding and personality of the majority of the citizens of this country. It would mean that the masses would be prevented from becoming as intelligent and as powerful as they might be from living the broad lives of usefulness to which they might attain in order that a few employers might more quickly amass fortunes and secure profits at the expense of human life opportunities.

After this broad primal education, vocational education should be provided for those who wish to find it necessary to begin remunerative work. Vocational training should be an addition to elementary education—not a substitution or a limitation. For it should never be forgotten that the elementary schools are the universities of the masses.

Specialized training in the form of instruction along vocational lines is necessary, but it is supplementary and must follow the broad, general instruction comprehended in the term of industrial education.

Girls and boys go out of the school into the city's work. The school has failed if the pupil cannot attack work in the factory or in the shop with the same feeling of mastery and personal significance with which a professional exults in his ability and accomplishments.

The girl in the shoe factory who performs the same infinitesimal process thousands of times a day has a right to an education that assures her grasp on her personality and protects her mind from the grip of the machine with which she works. The same principle applies to the boy.

The workers need the protection and the wisdom assured by knowledge of scientific laws. They need to understand the development and conservation of their bodies. Education can inculcate the attitude of mind that regards a human being as sacred, created for the joy of living, for cooperation in production and
for action in all affairs of life as well as fortify each boy and girl with information to realize the ideal.

One thing more, the public schools nourish the fountain head of democracy—if they are corrupted then the cause of freedom has suffered a mortal injury.

It is therefore fundamental that money for public education should come from public funds. Money from any other source or under private control has bred and must inevitably breed suspicion and poison the well and source of information. School taxes must be adequate to provide proper educational opportunities for all. Schools must be democratically managed, organized and financed.

If there be philanthropic friends of education who desire to bestow a portion of their enormous holdings to the cause of education, let them arrange for a graduated income tax or some other effective means. But public agents must be given control of the money. The taint of capitalistic exploitation can only be purified by restoring to the public ill-gotten gains to be used by the people for the people.

Public schools of a democracy serve a great function, we want to keep them free from domination by big business—free to serve humanity, freedom, truth—free to make of the cosmopolitan masses within our country a united, effective nation capable of doing great deeds and living greatly.
III

Owen R. Lovejoy

Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

The place I occupy is rather embarrassing because it is a unique experience to find myself on a program where I am compelled to agree with all the preceding speakers have said. If I could find some place to attack some of their utterances or to take issue with the principles they have advanced, I should find it very much more spicy and perhaps easier.

The place of vocational training in a comprehensive scheme of public education, which is the general topic, would be rather easy to define. It would involve training for life's vocations on the assumption that all the other kinds of training needed by the members of society were being provided. Since we have not in this country developed a comprehensive scheme of public education, but are only struggling along toward it and trying to develop it, and since there is a disposition in some quarters to make vocational training a kind of separate educational development, or a separable appendage, apart from the general plan of education, our discussion becomes more complicated.

A simple analysis of the purposes of education, seems to me to indicate two of chief concern.

First, children should be trained to live. This is the purpose of a comprehensive scheme of public education. Nothing less should satisfy the demands of a city, concerned as we are with the broad and useful intelligence of all its citizens.

Second, children should be trained to make a living, or to secure a livelihood. This also is to be applied in its broadest possible way, with no relation whatever to class distinction. I am just as sure that the son of the millionaire should be trained to some useful occupation in life, just as the son of the so-called
day laborer is to be trained to some useful occupation in life, as
I am that both of these children have an inalienable title to all the
finest culture and refinement that a comprehensive scheme of
public education can provide.

But certain difficulties stand in the way: the poverty of many
parents; the unwillingness of most of us to allow ourselves to be
taxed sufficiently to provide this comprehensive scheme of edu-
cation, with all that is involved; the lack of training on the part
of many teachers to carry out the provisions of such a scheme;
the disposition of a great many members of school boards
throughout the country to project the experiences and surround-
ings of their own childhood into the present, and to think what
was good enough for them in their boyhood or girlhood is cer-
tainly good enough for the children of the present day.

I have been brought face to face with this disposition, ex-
pressed by men of leading positions in a great many common-
wealths. It has been my privilege, during the past ten or twelve
years to appear before the Legislatures of some thirty or thirty-
five states to appeal for better child labor laws, and I think in
almost every instance, while the bill was pending, some man was
sure to get up before the Legislative Committee and make this
speech, almost in the same words, and always in the same spirit.
He would say, "Now gentlemen, about this child labor business, I
want to tell you I went to work when I was eight years old and
it never done me no hurt." And then he proceeds to swell up
to show how he was not hurt by going to work when he was
eight years old, and his assumption is that because he found em-
ployment that not only trained him to make a living, but added to
the resources of his life every day, in the little corner grocery or
blacksmith shop, or doctor's office, or in ninety-nine cases out
of a hundred, out on the back forty acres of his father's farm,—
because he had that kind of an environment in his boyhood, he
jumps to the conclusion that all the children who are employed in
the variety of industries, entirely different from those, must be
benefited today. Therefore why should we make all this disturb-
anee about taking children out of industry and putting them into
school?

In addition to the handicaps I have mentioned, there is a
rather general belief that certain kinds of labor are the appointed
lot of certain kinds of people and that it would be a mistake
to ever educate those destined for these lower careers.
In order to have vocational training find its proper place in this comprehensive scheme, I want to submit a few propositions which have already been discussed by the preceding speakers. All I can do is to state them in cruder and different terms.

First. The school period must be lengthened. I am assuming all the time that this vocational training presupposes a comprehensive scheme of public education. "Learning for Earning" presupposes such a comprehensive scheme.

The school period must be lengthened. So long as the average American child leaves school in the sixth grade, we cannot instill the principles of life nor impart the skill to earn. Both are impossible. Fortunately, we are not quite in that position here in New York City, and if you are thinking solely about the local application of this problem, this point does not quite apply because our children here get six, seven or eight, and some of them more, grades of schooling, but taking the children of the country as a whole, the average boy leaves school in the 5th grade, and the average girl leaves school in the 6th grade and they never return.

When we look out upon the life our nation is living, in many states we find that running all through, from the position of those who do the cruder forms of hand labor, those who do the finer kinds of manual trades, and on through our professions, through business, through politics, even through our diplomatic service, we bear the awkward hallmark of a sixth grade education, and we are only reaching out towards the national greatness we boast so much about, and we will never attain it so long as we are complacent about allowing the bulk of the children of this country to leave school in the fifth or sixth grades.

Second. The school curriculum must be stripped of much of its formality and deadly routine and quickened with features that reflect actual human experience. To contend that the child who sleeps by the hour over the Greek root he is supposed to be pulling out is adding culture to his life, while the child who is quivering in every nerve to try to discover the real mechanism of the latest type of carburetor is getting nothing but training for a job, is simply pedagogical nonsense. One boy goes to sleep and does not learn anything, and the other boy stays awake and is sure to get something. He is adding to his life and he is beginning to prepare himself to keep himself alive by earning a living.
One of the difficulties with this fifth and sixth grade education we have been giving our American children is not only in its extent, but in its motive. To a large extent we have been training all our children for a vocation, the vocation to which Professor Dewey referred when he mentioned the fact that the whole educational curriculum has for years, in a way, been vocational; that is, we have been training for the professions, we have been training for certain kinds of business. But, we have taken it for granted in preparing our curriculum that every child who first enters the kindergarten is going up through the elementary school, and from the elementary school he is going through the high school, and from the high school he is going through college and from college he is going to the university and take some post-graduate work. We know, as a matter of fact, that but a small percentage of the college students get any further in their educational career, and that a very small percentage of high school graduates go through college, that a small percentage of those who are in the elementary school go into high school and yet we have been going on that theory, and the result has been that we have been building educational ladders. When the child was able to go clear through and climb over the top, he came into the kingdom. The whole thing was rigged up for the lucky five per cent.

What we need today is to grow a tree of knowledge, instead of building a ladder of knowledge so that if the child has to get off at any of the lower rungs of the ladder, it won't be a ladder that he gets from, but it will be the tree. A branch of that tree cut off at any point will bleed life, and the child will be getting something significant today; he will not simply be preparing for something that is going to be significant in ten or twenty years from now. He will be living while he is studying.

Third. The classes must be reduced in size. A part of the fault of this formality and deadly routine in the school curriculum is due to the burden of numbers. Just as our cities have been boasting of being big, and being proud of it—I made a terrible blunder the other day out in Lincoln, Nebraska, by mentioning that there was one large city in the State, and they pricked up their ears immediately and were all bristles until I hurried to make myself right by making it "inordinately big, of a diseased size", and then they were mollified—in the same way we have been boasting of the bigness of our schools. We have been proud
that they have a large number of children. We should remember that a mother is supposed to be doing a full day's work if she takes care of one, two or three children, and yet, in the school a sixteen-year-old girl, who does not have any children of her own, is capable of taking care of forty or sixty of them. That is preposterous. We ought to rid ourselves of that fallacy in our educational plan. The result of these large classes has been the inevitable tendency to turn out a factory product. Our children are "mill-run". Instead of that we need them "hand-educated", individualized, because there are no two alike. You will never find two children in your own family alike, much less children of neighboring families.

Fourth. Industry must become a social service. There has been a great deal of criticism in this movement for vocational training. A part of it has emanated from the school man criticizing the business man, and a part of it has emanated from the business man criticizing the school man. Business has been quick to say that if our schools were properly organized and had the right kind of curriculum, as soon as the boy got to his fourteenth birthday and had been through five or six grades, he would fit himself into his niche in life and proceed immediately to be a power in the business world. That is unfair to the school, because no school can be so equipped, no school can furnish either the broad general education, or the more specialized industrial training that will fit a child at fourteen years of age either to know what his life is to be, or if he did know it, to undertake it. He is still an infant, and he ought to be treated as an infant.

School men are inclined to say that the business world is so devoid of educational features, or is so separated from the whole program of social development that a broad kind of education is not needed if children are to learn to labor. Both these criticisms are, in my judgment, unfair. The school wants to reproduce as nearly as possible the conditions that are faced by the individual in the life of the community, so that the school will be a sort of mirror of the community life, industrial and otherwise.

Business, on its part, must become so social that its processes and motives will not mean the sacrifice of life and health and personal independence and self-respect for those who have to engage in it. We know that to-day there are several million people of this country living on a wage that is considerably below
what experts claim is absolutely necessary to maintain life, to keep soul and body together. As long as that is the fact, we cannot talk about the sacredness of that kind of labor. It is not sacred, it is profane; it is profaning the human body, it is profaning the human soul. It is an insult to God who made the human being to confine people to that kind of life.

Fifth. We must recognize the necessity of a broad foundation as a pre-requisite to vocational training, that is, the particular kinds of vocational training that are being discussed. This is already recognized in the professions, but I wonder if you have noticed a tendency to create a widening breach between the professions and the manual trades in the matter of preparation.

The boy who is going to be a doctor or a lawyer or a clergyman or a teacher needs very much more time to prepare for that profession than his father or his grandfather needed. He must lay a broader, general foundation. He must get himself more generally equipped. He must have more general knowledge, and then upon that general preparation he superimposes the structure of his professional specialty.

In the manual trades exactly the reverse is the tendency today. Instead of having the child who is going to be a shoemaker learn the trade better than his father did, or than his grandfather did, he needs to learn about one-sixty-fourth part of the shoemaker's trade, to learn how to drive one kind of a peg into one part of one kind of a shoe. So the tendency in a great many trades is—instead of laying a broad, general foundation before he is sent out on the particular mission of earning his living, instead of superimposing his special training upon the broad foundation—to substitute that special training for the general training, to make it take the place of a broad educational foundation, and send him out earlier and more poorly equipped than his ancestors were into the highly specialized work into which he is supposed to be predestined.

If all kinds of labor that need to be performed by human beings are sacred, then we ought to see to it that the child who is going out to work in any trade should have his childhood secured to him first; that the territory of childhood should be inviolate; that he should have an opportunity to see this world, to comprehend as much of it as he can, to absorb into his soul as much knowledge of the universe as he is able to comprehend, and then upon this, go out to the specialty. As Mr. Gompers
said, the girl whose job is to work day after day at one power machine needs the fortifying influence of this previous training to save her soul from becoming dwarfed and stunted and ingrowing as a result of that specialized kind of work.

Formerly, with that old educational system that did not recognize these so-called modern vocations, we used to go around through the schoolrooms, or teachers did, with little scissors and snip off the unpromising buds of the schoolroom and throw them to the limbo of unskilled labor. The school did not complain because the dull children were weeded out and the bright ones remained, and the children who were sent out to unskilled labor did not complain. They had been sand-bagged into acquiescence; they did not know any better.

Now, instead of snipping them off, there is a tendency on the part of some who are agitating for industrial education exhibits to make it a separatist movement—to keep all these other kinds of vocational education right where they have been in the general curriculum of the school, but for those who are to go into certain limited kinds of trade, set them off as a sort of unholy group of manual workers. I want to protest against having the ambitions, or the idealism, or the possibilities of any child frustrated either by the poverty of his home or by the predestinating disposition of the community, to be put at certain tasks, or upon certain jobs which may be entirely alien to his spirit.

If the nation were facing a deficit, I should not feel it proper to take this position, but we are not facing a deficit. We are now struggling to find how we can invest our rapidly accumulating surplus. The nation is richer than ever before. We can afford to care for our children, and the proper time for us to begin on a broad basis to do it, and to see that all the children of the present day have a fair chance, is now before some crisis comes.

When a crisis comes, as has been threatened in the last few days we shall soon find ourselves lapsing into the same state of mind the European nations are in.

People ordinarily think the great war is a war in which the lives of men are being sacrificed, but the children are being sacrificed, also.

Lord Ashley, the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, began a hundred years ago, to agitate for child labor laws in England,
and for a century they have been building up laws to protect the little children of that country. Now, under the stress of war the structure is being torn down. The same is true in France and Austria and Italy and Germany.

I saw a statement the other day from a source that purports to be authentic but is probably somewhat exaggerated that in the city of Budapest alone four thousand children under eight years of age are working a twelve-hour day in munition plants.

I am not going to blame those people, assuming that they were right in entering upon the experience on which they have entered. Perhaps there was nothing else for them to do, except to grind up the seedcorn, but I want to protest at this moment, before the storm breaks, if it does break, we shall see to it that the children of our country are secured or kept within the safety line, and that first of all we shall see that they get enough of an educational foundation so that they will be able to participate in all that we mean when we talk of the duties and possibilities of American citizenship.
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