

CHAPTER LXXXVII

THE SPIDER AND THE FLY

We have noted Professor Egbert of the University of J. P. Morgan & Company, advising the workers to avail themselves of the existing college system—in other words, to let the capitalists do their educating for them. “Won’t you walk into my parlor?” said the spider to the fly.” Just what labor education turns into when it is superintended by the existing educational authorities was amusingly demonstrated at Bryn Mawr, a very aristocratic college for women located near Philadelphia, and having the president of an insurance company for its treasurer, and for its grand duke the president of a steel company and a trust company, vice-president of a national bank and director of a sugar company.

We have seen President Thomas of Bryn Mawr branded in the Denver “Post” as a dangerous radical, and we now discover the basis of the charge; she started a movement to educate working girls! The idea was that the brightest and most promising members of labor unions should come to Bryn Mawr in the summer and be taught by professors from various colleges. This, of course, was a step in the right direction, and I have no desire to belittle it; though I should have liked to see the further provision that at the same time the young ladies of Bryn Mawr should take the places of the working girls in the factories.

I have no doubt whatever that this experiment was well meant; but in its working out it revealed the impossibility of honesty under our present class system. In raising money it was set forth that the purpose of the plan was to bring the working girls into touch with the cultured classes and break down the spirit of class consciousness. Then, after the money was got, it was necessary to get the girls; and so the unions were told that the purpose of the plan was to make the girls into more efficient and capable leaders of unions.

Bryn Mawr has received a heavy endowment from John D. Rockefeller; a hall is named for him, and also a gateway. The organizers of the summer school were getting up a prospectus telling of the plan, and they put on the cover a photograph, with the name “Rockefeller Gateway.” But at the last moment it occurred to someone that this might not look well to the unions, so the label “Rockefeller” was left off, and the photograph went out with the caption, “A Gateway.”

I met three different professors who were invited to come to Bryn Mawr and teach at this summer session; one of them, Professor H. W. L. Dana, whom we saw turned out of Columbia University as a scapegoat for the pacifism of Nicholas Miraculous. Professor Dana had an interview with President Thomas, in which the terms of 447the

engagement were laid down to him. There were to be no social relationships with the working girls, no tennis dates, no activities outside the classes. His subject was to be literature, and he was to avoid dangerous writers, such as Morris, Whitman and Ruskin; he was to teach literature as art, and not as part of the labor movement.

On the train going home, Professor Dana decided that his academic dignity had been infringed upon; therefore he sent a telegram to President Thomas, saying that he was unable to agree to the terms. He sent a copy of this telegram to Rose Schneiderman, one of the working class leaders, who had been charged with selecting the girls: the effect of which procedure was instant collapse on the part of President Thomas. She wrote saying that Professor Dana had entirely misunderstood her, she had not intended anything of the sort. Dana had asked that there should be student representation on the board controlling the experiment, and President Thomas now said that she had had that idea in mind all along. So they provided a system of student representation, with an open vote, and the balance of power in the hands of Bryn Mawr graduates, who were helping at the summer school with the title of “tutors.” A harmless working girl, not a trades unionist, was selected as representative of the girls.

The union girls, of course, understood perfectly what was being done to them; they would smile to Professor Dana and say: “You must remember, they aren’t used to democracy. You must be gentle with them. You see, they haven’t suffered.” (Stop and think about that beautiful phrase!). The “tutors” would gossip among themselves, telling about funny mistakes which the working girls had made, such as not knowing to what century Shakespeare belonged. They would correct the table manners of the girls—and without ever thinking that the girls also had secret laughter over the mistakes of the “tutors.” Thus, some tutor had asked: “What do the letters A. F. of L. stand for?”—which seemed to the working girls quite as important a matter as the date of Shakespeare’s birth. One of the tutors asked: “Is the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union the same as the Third International?”—and that seemed the funniest thing in the world to these union girls.

More serious matters arose quickly; for you see, these 448 girls have convictions, and take them just as seriously as Bryn Mawr girls take their table manners. The first thing they did was to go to the chambermaids and discover that these women there were working twelve and fourteen hours a day. They proceeded to organize the women, and the college authorities were confronted with a demand for an eight-hour day—which they granted! They granted a number of other things before they got through. Teaching economics and social science to union girls was quite a different matter from teaching it to the daughters of the leisure class. In the winter time Bryn Mawr

professors can get by with formulas, but in these summer months they had to come down to brass tacks; for to these girls an economic theory meant some particular place, some particular set of circumstances: “When I was in such and such a shop,” or, “When I was on strike in New York!” This made an entirely new thing out of the subject of economics.

Also, it made a new thing out of literature. Professor Dana was selected to read poetry to the girls at chapel, and poetry, as we know, is an important source of culture. Dana read one or two poems on Russia, at which the dean in charge seemed shocked. She asked him to read poems at least a hundred years old. Dana thought it over, and answered that he would do so, and next morning he read in chapel two poems which were exactly a hundred years old—Shelley’s “Mask of Anarchy,” and his

Men of England, wherefore plow

For the lords who lay ye low?

This Bryn Mawr experiment was repeated last summer, with much hurrah in the newspapers; but needless to say, Harry Dana was not one of the teachers, and neither was a woman professor who proved too sympathetic to the working girls. Also a Bryn Mawr teacher, who “got the vision” from the girls, and prepared to teach some of them in the winter time, was omitted this year. Nevertheless, the leaven works, and two of the “tutors,” Bryn Mawr students, were arrested during the summer school term while picketing a clothing shop in Philadelphia, during a strike by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Once let the rich girls realize what the 449 poor girls suffer, and some of the rich girls will protest!

I had a pleasant experience in Cambridge. I was guest in a home which is the shrine of pilgrims from all over the United States—that of New England’s favorite poet and Cambridge’s most eminent citizen, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Here lives the poet’s grandson, who is also a grandson of Richard Henry Dana, a born teacher, and incidentally a warm-hearted and most lovable man. Nicholas Murray Butler has not invited him back to Columbia; nor has it occurred to President Lowell to invite him to step around the corner from his home and lecture on the literature of social protest to Harvard students. Nevertheless, Harry Dana has found some teaching to do; he travels over to the Boston Labor College, and teaches workingmen. One Sunday morning I attended a committee meeting of this institution—several college professors and several labor leaders, conspiring in the home of the poet Longfellow to overturn academic authority in the United States!

Then I traveled across the continent to my home in Pasadena, and found that Professor John Scott had been kicked out of the Pasadena High School in the interests of one hundred percent reaction, and with the help of progressive labor leaders had started a workers' college in Los Angeles. So it goes, in one city after another; any time a group of labor men want to save the brains of their young people, they can find a kicked-out professor; and any time a kicked-out professor is willing to cultivate his self-respect on a little oatmeal, he can manage to get together a group of class-conscious labor men, and can greatly increase his influence and effectiveness. When Dana was fired from Columbia, he lectured to classes of six and eight hundred people at the Rand School; while Scott Nearing assures me that continuously during the eight years since he parted from the University of Pennsylvania, he has had not merely larger audiences, but more serious and more interesting audiences.

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CHAPTER LXXXVIII

THE WORKERS' COLLEGES

I begin this chapter by telling you about a very pleasant enterprise, the resident college which has just been started by the labor education movement, the Brookwood School at Katonah, New York. Brookwood is a co-educational college, with a two years' course and a year of post-graduate work. Its aims are set forth as follows:

Brookwood aims to train economists, statisticians, journalists, writers and teachers, organizers, workers and speakers, for the labor and farmer movements in order that these movements may have people coming from their own ranks, with their own point of view, who are fully capable by training and knowledge of exercising a genuine statesmanship.

Brookwood was organized by Toscan Bennett, a reformed corporation lawyer, and his wife, a reformed suffragette. They purchased a farm, with a beautiful old colonial building, and this summer, while I am writing a book, they are working on new dormitories—and I wish I might be there! If you want to find in this ugly and greedy world a place where the true spirit of comradeship prevails, where men and women, middle-aged and young, consecrate themselves with fervor, and also with fun, to the service of freedom and social justice, take my advice and pay a visit to Brookwood.

The clothing workers' unions in New York and the coal miners in Pennsylvania furnish most of the pupils, and pay a part of their expenses. They are taught by the customary outfit of kicked-out college professors and school teachers. There is Josephine Colby, who organized the teachers of Fresno, California, and was separated from her position

by a superintendent who stated in the newspapers that he didn't believe in using arguments in dealing with union school teachers, the thing to use was a baseball bat. Also there is David Saposs, who was in a student revolt at the University of Wisconsin, when the working students organized and got the business manager of the university fired; as a result, Saposs was told that it would do him no good to get a degree, as he would not be recommended for a teaching position!

Also there is A. J. Muste, a reformed Quaker clergyman, ⁴⁵¹who has received a quite unique training for his career as labor educator. I first heard of him as a theological student, through a little mimeographed circular, "Towards a New Preaching Order." He and a group of three or four young men proposed to go out into the world in the old apostolic fashion, without scrip or purse, and bring capitalism to its knees by moral fervor. It was a most eloquent piece of writing, and I marked this young clergyman for a career. Next I heard of him in the Lawrence textile strike of 1919; his "preaching order" was trying its eloquence upon the president of the Woolen Trust, who came within an ace of going to prison, upon the charge of having had dynamite planted in the homes of non-union workers, as a means of discrediting the strikers. Mr. Wood did not yield to young Muste's apostolic fervor; on the contrary, he had his Cossacks ride the young clergyman down on the sidewalk, and pound him over the head with their clubs and finally throw him into jail. So Mr. Muste preached to the strikers, and following the best apostolic precedents, started a soup kitchen for them, performing the miracle of the loaves and fishes with the help of checks from a few good angels scattered over the country. After he had got through with that strike, he was a trained labor scholar and ready to teach literature in a workers' college!

Four years ago there were only two or three labor colleges in the United States, all of them in New York City; now there are six in the state of Pennsylvania alone. A bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, published in June, 1921, "Education of Adult Working Classes," lists twenty-four such institutions, in places as widely scattered as Washington, Pittsburgh, Rochester, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth and Seattle. The auspices under which these schools are organized are: central labor unions, five; local unions, five; international unions, five; State federations, seven; Socialist and radical groups, one; the Women's Trade-Union League, one.

Mr. Paul Blanshard, secretary of the Rochester Labor College, gives me an interesting account of one such institution, and the vicissitudes of a would-be teacher. Mr. Blanshard got his training in class-consciousness ⁴⁵²during the textile strike at Utica several years ago; he tried to start some classes for foreigners in English, and the interlocking newspapers took him up, and all Utica read that he was starting "a school in Bolshevism"! The Lusk committee went after him—on the testimony of a police

captain who was later released from the force under grave suspicion; also of a detective in the employ of the Helen Ghouls. Mr. Blanshard, of course, was not given a hearing, and the scare headlines in the newspapers frightened away all his pupils.

But the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are powerful in Rochester, and are not so easily frightened; they joined with thirteen other unions to make a college for Mr. Blanshard to run. They make a contribution of one cent per month for each member, a total income of seven hundred dollars a year—which no doubt looks extremely small to Professor Egbert of Columbia University, which has seven millions a year. Nevertheless, on this income the college has weekly educational mass meetings, addressed by the liveliest men in the country, and attended by some fifteen hundred workers; it publishes a four-page educational bulletin every week, and has classes in unionism and public speaking, in English, in current events, in economics, and in labor problems.

That is a glimpse at one city; and you will find the same thing happening in all the others. In Portland, Oregon, the college meets in the Labor Temple, and the Central Labor Council assesses one-twelfth of its total revenue to save its brains for its own uses. In New York City two of the greatest unions, the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have established educational departments, and are carrying out elaborate programs for the benefit of their members. The I. L. G. W. U. has eight "unity centers" in New York public schools, with classes in English, the teachers assigned by the Board of Education. It arranges independent courses in the labor movement, economics, psychology, literature, music, health, etc. Its "Workers' University" meets in the Washington Irving High School, with courses in about twenty subjects, and a registration of three hundred students. Also there is an extension department, which arranges for lectures, concerts, and classes of all sorts at the headquarters of the 453 various local unions. There are branches of this enterprise in Cleveland and Philadelphia, and the whole thing is the growth of only four years.

In order to realize the deliberate dishonesty of Professor Egbert's statement that "labor education has virtually broken down in America," you should have attended a conference called by the Workers' Education Bureau of America, organized in connection with the New School for Social Research in New York City, for the purpose of co-ordinating these labor colleges, and furnishing them with literature and text-books. This conference was held April 22 and 23, 1922, just one month before Professor Egbert's three columns of treachery were featured in the New York "Times." Here were eager delegates, teachers and students, addressed by speakers as wide apart in their views as Samuel Gompers, James Maurer, Charles A. Beard and

Benjamin Schlesinger. I will list the subjects discussed at one of the sessions, dealing with "Teaching Methods in Workers' Education"—this just to give you an idea of the breadth of view and practical grip of the movement: "The Forum," "The Debate," "School-room Methods," "Discussion Methods," "Health Education," "Methods of Health Education," "The Teaching of Economics," "Journalism," "Mass Education," "Educational Aspects of Work," "Correspondence Education," "Text Books," "Public Discussion," "Trade Union Meetings," "Problems of Adult Instruction."

Also this Workers' Education Bureau is publishing a series of volumes, entitled "The Workers' Bookshelf," to serve as text-books in the labor colleges. They are the kind of books I believe in, for they cost only fifty cents a volume. In the "Labor Age," New York, you will find much news about these movements. Also you should know something about the work in England, where it is twenty years old, and has grown to be the brains and fighting spirit of the British labor movement. The story is told in "An Adventure in Working Class Education," by Albert Mansbridge, founder and general secretary of the Workers' Educational Association of Great Britain. The radicals who are making over the mind of British labor have a magazine, the "Plebs," which American students ought to see.

454 Teaching at these workers' colleges is a very different matter from being an old-line college professor. Here you have students who really want to study. You are back in the twelfth century when five thousand men thronged to Paris and sat on the hillside to listen to Abelard and dispute with him. You are back in the old days in America, when a college was "a student sitting one end of a log and Mark Hopkins on the other end." You are dealing with students who, while they may be painfully deficient in book learning, have acquired much knowledge of life, and are accustomed to assert their point of view. It does not occur to them to defer to authority; they only defer to facts, and you have to produce the facts and convince them. Many times the teacher will find that he himself has become a student, and all college professors who have tried the adventure agreed in testifying how exhilarating they find this.

Labor education offers to the college professor a semi-respectable way to get into contact with the real world. So I plead with professors who read this book to avail themselves of the opportunities existing—or if there are none in their neighborhood, to get busy and make some. I am told of one professor in Pennsylvania who used to travel about from town to town teaching labor groups, a class each night in a different town. That is real adventure, and it lies right at the gates of all our institutions of higher learning. Try it for a year or two, and you may find that you have built up a clientele, and no longer have to shiver in your boots when you hear a rumor that one of your trustees has asked whether it is true that you are a Bolshevik!

CHAPTER LXXXIX

THE PROFESSORS' UNION

The labor movement at its present stage can, of course, not support all the college professors who would like to be free, so it becomes necessary to seek another remedy. This remedy is obvious; the college professor must do what the labor men are doing—agitate, educate, organize. The formula, “In union there is strength,” applies to brain workers precisely as to hand workers. You would think the brain workers ought to have the brains to realize this, but they do not, for the reason that their class prejudices stand in the way, the anarchist attitude which goes with the intellectual life. So it comes about that college professors are only two or three percent organized, while coal miners are sixty or seventy percent organized, and garment workers and railway men from ninety to a hundred percent organized.

The union of our higher educators is known as the American Association of University Professors, and we have seen it at work in a number of institutions. It has a total membership of five thousand, among a possible membership of some two hundred thousand. Thus two or three percent of higher educators pay the cost and bear the burden of representing the whole group. They publish a quarterly bulletin from their headquarters at 222 Charles River Road, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and investigate cases of infringement of academic freedom, and work out constructive programs of faculty control. I have quoted extracts from their reports, the accuracy and honesty of which have never been successfully challenged. So far as this work goes it is excellent, but it represents only a feeble start upon the way.

What spoils the usefulness of the professors' association is precisely that feeling of class superiority, which makes them as fat rabbits to the plutocracy. The first aim of the association has apparently been to distinguish itself from labor unions, whereas the fact is that it is a labor union, an organization of intellectual proletarians, who have nothing but their brain-power to sell. Instructors at the University of California begin on a salary of a hundred and fifty dollars a month, at the University of Chicago on a hundred and thirty-three dollars a month, at the University of Illinois the same, at Yale and Michigan on a hundred and twenty-five, and at Harvard for salaries as low as fifty and one hundred a month—this for the glory of a Harvard record! Men who have to keep their families, and dress as gentlemen, and purchase the tools of a highly specialized trade upon such pay are proletarians, and the bulk of them will remain proletarians all their lives, and the quicker they realize it the better for them. Even though their salaries be raised, and they be put in position to acquire a home and a few investments, they remain dependent for the things they value most upon an

exploiting class, which dominates the industry of the country, and therefore inevitably dominates its thought.

This being the case, the college professor's freedom is bound up with the freedom of the working class. He may protest to the end of time, but his status will remain the same, until the plutocratic empire is overthrown and industrial democracy takes its place. After that, the status of the professor, as of all intellectual workers, will rest in the hands of labor—and this is something which is coming, regardless of anything the professor can do. Such being the case, it would seem sensible for him to study the labor movement and take his place in it—not merely in his own interest, but in the interest of the intellectual life. I have shown you in the labor colleges working-class leaders co-operating with college professors; and the significance of this is not merely that educational men are helping the industrial revolution; it is that the new forces which are preparing to take control of society are coming to understand what the intellectual life means, and learning to trust those who live that life. This is something the importance of which no one can exaggerate; and so I point out to those college professors who shut themselves up in their shell of academic snobbery, that the time is coming, and coming soon, when they will have cause to wish that they had not been quite so haughtily indifferent to the heartbreak of the poor.

I have on my desk an interesting letter from a Stanford professor, discussing a problem in etiquette which I submitted to him: the story of a young Columbia instructor who refused to obey the casual command of Nicholas Miraculous and escort old Pierpont Morgan to his car. Says the Stanford professor:

As I view it, the essence of wage-slavery lies in the acceptance (on both sides) of the assumption that the man who happens to “pay” the wages for work done thereby attains a right to dictate in the fields of all other thoughts and acts of the employe. This is passively so generally accepted that I have always refused to consider myself in the light of an employe of the president and board, but rather as a co-worker in a mutual administration of a trust in which they have their part and I have mine—and this despite the fact that they have the undoubted legal power to “dismiss” me and I have not that to dismiss them, this being merely one of the differentiations of function in the administration 457of the trust. Authority is an insidious thing. Few can possess it without being ruined, and I never heard that Butler was among the exceptions.

This, you will admit, is the dignified attitude of a scholar; and I have no doubt that many college professors seek to maintain that attitude. All I can do is to tell them how they seem to me—as men swimming against a powerful current, and it is only a question of time before their energy gives out and they move the way everything else is

moving. An individual may hold out, his prestige enabling him to be regarded as a harmless eccentric; but the young man who tries to take such an attitude will go out and write life insurance or make wash-boards.

The effect of economic inferiority is inescapable and automatic; it produces a psychology of submission, it produces a set of customs and manners based upon that, and Mrs. Partington, who tried to sweep back the sea with her broom, was no more foolish than the college professor who imagines that he can have an institution with wealthy trustees dominating its financial existence, and preserve in that institution a real respect for the intellectual life, or a real democratic relationship between the trustees and their hired servants.

If this be true, then the dignity of the intellectual worker depends upon the establishment of industrial democracy; freedom for the college professor awaits the overthrow of the plutocratic empire. And since the only force in our society which can achieve that overthrow is labor, it follows that the college professor's hopes are bound up with the movement of the workers for freedom. A college professor who imagines that he can work for faculty control and academic independence, while at the same time remaining a conservative in his political and economic ideas, is simply a man with water-tight compartments in his brain.

The forces of industrialism compel the worker to organize in larger and larger units, and to take into solidarity a wider and wider proportion of the population. Exactly the same forces are compelling the college professor, first to realize himself as a class, and second, to study the movements of other workers for freedom, to become more sympathetic toward them, and more identified with them in interest and action. College professors must join their own union; they must set before themselves the same goal as miners and railwaymen—to organize one hundred per cent of their trade, and develop a spirit of class loyalty and class discipline. I have shown you the indignities endured by college professors, and how pitifully they submit and hold on to their jobs; I have shown you individuals and groups unceremoniously kicked out, and obediently going out and seeking for new jobs. Perhaps it never occurred to you to notice what was lacking—I have not been able to tell about a single strike of college professors in America! There have been several cases of student strikes—the young are impulsive, so that it has been possible for them to act like human beings; but if there has ever been a group of college professors in the United States who have banded themselves together and said: "If one of us goes, all of us go," I have not been able to learn of that instance.

No, college professors are like actors; they have their individual idiosyncrasies, their jealousies and personal superiorities. They do not think of themselves as a class; each one thinks of himself as something impossible to duplicate. An official of a school-teacher's union remarked to me that the price of a teacher is fifty dollars—meaning thereby that an increase of that amount in salaries would cause a group of teachers to foreswear their union and place themselves at the mercy of a school-board. Just what is the price of a college professor I do not know, but I could cite thousands of cases of men who should have stood by a colleague in some flagrant case of oppression, but who stayed on and got rewarded for loyalty to their masters.

The all-important fact in the situation is this; any time the college professors of America get ready to take control of their own destinies, and of the intellectual life of their institutions, they can do it. There is not a college or university in the United States today which could resist the demands of its faculty a hundred percent organized and meaning business. Even Nicholas Murray Butler would bow his haughty head if the faculty of Columbia should rise up and demand for that plutocratic empire a system of constitutional government. Chancellor Day may pound on the table and tell his faculty that he could replace them in an hour and a half, but he would find that he could not replace them in a century and a half—especially if they took another leaf out of the notebook of labor, and set pickets at the gates of Heaven! When the college professors of America get ready to go on strike, they will have their reasons and their program; they will put these before the student-body and before their colleagues in other institutions; nor will they be so easy to intimidate with policemen's clubs and court injunctions as are the wage-slaves of factories and mines!

A humble beginning has been made. The American Federation of Teachers, which is a labor union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has a local, No. 120, at the University of Montana. This union was a result of the Levine case, and it comprises practically the entire faculty. There is a similar local at the University of North Dakota, a consequence of the class struggle there. And in New York City is the Teachers' Union of New York No. 5, which includes a number of social minded college men, including Dewey of Columbia, Ward of the Union Theological Seminary, and Overstreet and Stairs of the College of the City of New York. The president of the American Federation of Teachers writes me:

We have had a few other collegiate and university locals but they did not prove very long-lived, and it was very difficult for us to get detailed reasons for their decline. I presume fear would account for most of them.

CHAPTER XC

THE PROFESSORS' STRIKE

The final purpose of this book, you will now realize, is to bring about a strike of college professors. The next question to be considered is, what are the principles upon which this strike shall be based?

First and foremost, the question of tenure; which is exactly the same thing as the claim of the worker to security in his job. The college professor must not forfeit his standing except for cause, and upon due and reasonable notice. He must have the right which every criminal possesses, of knowing what are the charges against him, and of having a hearing in which he is confronted by his accusers, and given the right to cross-question them, and to answer their charges and prove them false if he can. The decision in his case must rest, not with his masters and exploiters, but with his fellow-workers; in other words, the ancient right embodied in Magna Carta, to be tried by a jury of his peers. These rights are elemental; there can be no freedom, no dignity or self-respect for any man who does not possess them. They are possessed by scholars in all other civilized countries; it is only in our sweet land of liberty that scholars are slaves. Says James McKeen Cattell:

That a professor's salary should depend on the favor of a president, or that he should be dismissed without a hearing by a president with the consent of an absentee board of trustees, is a state of affairs not conceivable in an English or a German university.

The reason for this anomaly is that the American college has not been organized on the principles of American government, but on those of American business; the college is not a state, but a factory. I have compared Columbia and Minnesota to department-stores and Clark and Johns Hopkins to Ford factories; and in so doing I was not merely calling names, but making a diagnosis. They are organized upon that basis, and run upon that basis, and the problem of changing them is simply one of the problems of Americanization. The college must become a democratic republic, run by its citizens and workers.

That brings us to the second demand of the college professor; not merely must he have security in his job, he must have collective control of that job, he must say how the college shall be conducted, and what higher education shall be. That means that he must take from the trustees, and from their hired man, the president, the greater part of their present functions.

I say democracy in education, and you have a vision of a great university turned into a debating society, all the time which should be spent in "getting things done" being

devoted to squabbling and bickering among various factions and cliques of the faculty. That will happen sometimes, inevitably; it is one of the incidentals of all beginnings of democracy to function. But we have been trying out democracy in this country for three centuries, and we do not have to begin all over again with the blunders of our childhood. We know today what a constitution is; we understand the differences among the three functions of government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial; we understand how an executive can be democratically chosen, and given authority for a reasonable period of time, and loyally obeyed for that time. We understand how it is possible to have a thorough and free democratic discussion of policy, and to decide by majority vote, and then to carry out the will of the majority. If we do not know how to do these things, the students will teach us, for they are accustomed every year to organize a football team, and to thresh out its policies, and elect a captain, and then do what he says. On the football field they do not stop to argue about signals; they play the game.

The question of a constitution for universities is one of detail; you will find a very thorough exposition of it in Professor Cattell's book, "University Control." Professor J. E. Kirkpatrick of the University of Michigan has worked out practical suggestions. Also the matter is being frequently discussed in "School and Society," and in the bulletins of the professors' association. We have not the space in this book for anything but a brief statement. It is a problem of reconciling the rights of many different groups, which perform many different functions. The largest single group upon the board of a college should obviously be the faculty, who know most about the institution, and have its interests most at heart. The alumni should be represented, for their interest is real, and their services will become more valuable as colleges become democratic, and as the spirit of class is broken in our society. Likewise the students are entitled to representation, especially the upper classes, which have come to know the institution. If the purpose of the college is to train men to live and serve in a democracy, then manifestly there should be democracy in their training; they should be given encouragement to discuss their own needs and purposes, to arrive at collective agreements, and to make their will [effective](#).

So long as we have a system of private ownership of natural resources, we shall of course have to have trustees who represent money interests. But we should endeavor to pare down the powers of this special privilege group as much as possible; and especially all faculty members should set their face against the idea of any interference with teaching, or with the opinions or outside activities of the faculty, by monied men who represent ownership and not service in the institution.

You have followed me from college to college, listing the grand dukes and the interlocking directors, and you have thought perhaps that I condemn these men because they are rich, and consider that people who have money are ipso facto unfit to have anything to do with education. All I can answer is that I number among my friends some rich people, who are ardently striving to abolish special privilege from the world; and if any rich man wants to come into a college and work for faculty control and academic freedom, for the right of service and true scholarship to guide our education, I will bid that man welcome, and will promise to make no complaint because he happens to be president of six national banks, director of eight railroads, ten steel companies and a dozen pickle factories and sausage mills. The world for which I am working is a world of freedom and fair play; my kingdom of heaven is open to all, and any man may do his part to make it real on earth. All that I insist is that the rich man shall renounce his class and his class interests; he shall turn traitor to that predatory group which now controls our country and its thinking.

I do not expect many of the interlocking trustees to accept this invitation. I do expect, however, that developments in our public affairs will force a constantly increasing number of college professors to realize the intolerable nature of their present position, and to take up the work of educating their colleagues and the general public. These men will come to realize the broad nature of their task; how the roots of our academic problem go down into the very depths of our political and economic life. The need of the college professor is one with the need of the citizen and the worker; and so, when you agitate for academic democracy and freedom of teaching, you are educating the community and taking your part 463 in that class struggle which is the dominant fact of our time.

You will find that the struggle calls for its heroes and its martyrs, in universities as in factories and mines. To college professors who read this book—and especially the young ones—I say: what is life without a little adventure? You will not starve; no educated man need starve in America, if he keeps command of his inner forces, and uses but a small quantity of that shrewdness with which his enemies are so well provided. And surely it is not too much to ask that among the two hundred thousand instructors in American colleges there should arise just a few who are capable of combining intelligence and self-sacrifice!

What are you? You teach history, perhaps; you handle the bones of dead heroes, the ashes of martyrs are the stuff with which you work. Or you teach literature; the spirits of thousands of idealists come to your study, and cry out to you in your dreams. Or perhaps you are a scientist; if so, remind yourself how Socrates drank the hemlock cup with dignity, in order that men might be free to use their reason; how Galileo was

tortured in a dungeon, in order that modern science might be born. Is it then too much to ask that you should risk your monthly pay check, to save the minds of the young men and women of our time? Think of these things, the next time you are summoned by your dean for a scolding, and tell him that a college professor remains an American citizen, and that he does not sell all his brains for two or three hundred dollars a month!

I ask for a little personal boldness, also a little for your institution. What if the new endowment does not come, and you cannot get the new buildings you had hoped for? The best work of men's brains has been done in garrets, and not in marble halls. Remember the glorious example of Johns Hopkins and Clark in the old days! It is really possible for a university to remain small, and for everybody in it to starve along and serve the unfolding spirit of man. You do not know the possibilities of sacrifice that lie in a group of scholars and thinkers until you try; even your students would be willing to work and earn money for their institution, if it were put up to them as a new crusade. Yes, and you would find here and there an alumnus who would understand and help. I do not urge that you should refuse money when it is offered on honest terms; all I mean is that you should make plain your policy, that money has no voice in the control of the institution, which knows but one loyalty—to the truth—and but one instrument—the open mind—and but one method—investigation and free discussion. Say to your would-be benefactors: we are educators; we know what the pursuit of knowledge is, and we teach it; if you wish to help in that, well and good; otherwise we go our way alone. I conclude this chapter with three stanzas written by Ralph Chaplin, one of America's greatest poets, whom the United States government has held in prison for the last five years, and plans to hold for fifteen years longer, on account of his political opinions.

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie—

Dust unto dust—

The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die

As all men must.

Mourn not your captive comrades who must dwell—

Too strong to strive—

Within each steel-bound coffin of a cell,

Buried alive.

But rather mourn the apathetic throng—

The cowed and meek—

Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong

And dare not speak!

CHAPTER XCI

EDUCATING THE EDUCATORS

There is another group in the colleges which must help to reform them, and that is the students. I have already shown that the student-body alone cannot dominate a college for any length of time; but in the student body is always a little group of thinking men, and these constitute a leaven which can work mighty changes in a great mass of solid dough.

The first organized effort of college students to educate themselves, and incidentally to educate their educators, was the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, which was founded by the writer some eighteen years ago. That was after I had come out from nine years of college and 465 university life without knowing that the modern Socialist movement existed; I resolved to do what I could to make it less easy for the plutocracy to accomplish that feat in future. Some twenty or thirty people got together in New York City, and elected Jack London as president, and he delivered his famous address, "Revolution," within the shuddering walls of the Universities of California, Chicago, Harvard and Yale. We were careful to specify our purpose: "to promote an intelligent interest in the study of Socialism"; but even with that moderate statement, only a few institutions would let us in under our own evil name, and we had to disguise ourselves as liberal societies, and open forums, and social science clubs.

The name Socialism became so unpopular during the recent flood-tide of patriotism, that the organization has now called itself the League for Industrial Democracy. It has as its directors the Reverend Norman Thomas, editor of "The World Tomorrow," and Harry Laidler, author of an excellent text-book, which ought to be used in every college, "Socialism in Thought and Action." The purpose of the league is declared to be "education for a new social order, based on production for use and not for profit." It undertakes "research work, the development of pamphlet literature, and the thinking through of concrete problems of social ownership." The president is Professor Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago, and the vice-presidents are Charles P. Steinmetz, Evans Clark, Florence Kelley and Arthur Gleason. The league holds a winter convention in New York and a summer conference lasting a week, at Camp

Tamiment, belonging to the Rand School. The address of the league is 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Recently another student organization has entered the field, the National Student Forum, product of the labors of a group of young Harvard liberals, with John Rothschild as secretary. They publish a fortnightly paper, "The New Student," at 2929 Broadway, New York; they have drawn up a "preamble," which is so much to the point that I quote it in full:

"Realizing that these are times of rapid social change, the liberal spirited students of America are building this organization as an instrument of orderly progress.

"It is apparent to them that if the social changes now in process are to proceed sanely, those whose education is fitting them for positions of leadership must be better informed than hitherto regarding the contemporary affairs of the world in which they live. The students who founded The National Student Forum are aware that already in almost every institution of learning there is a group of students whose interest in social problems has brought them together into some local organization. It is their belief that to be of influence in the student life of America the scattered groups must effect an association through which they may learn from one another's experience, and publicly share the search for new light.

"With this in mind they have founded and now maintain The National Student Forum. They dedicate this organization to the cultivation of the scientifically inquiring mind; they declare it unbiased in any particular controversy, yet permitting within itself the expression of every bias; they declare its one principle to be freedom of expression, for they realize that without intellectual liberty the students of America cannot attain the completeness of vision and the social understanding which will enable them to be effective in the progress of the community."

As an illustration of the activities of this group I mention that the Harvard Liberal Club, during the year 1922, had sixty luncheon speakers in five months, including such radicals as Clark Getts, Lincoln Steffens, Florence Kelley, Raymond Robins, Frank Tannenbaum, Roger Baldwin, Percy Mackaye, Clare Sheridan, Norman Angell, and W. E. B. Dubois; properly balanced by a group of respectable people, including Admiral Sims, Hamilton Holt, President Eliot, and a nephew of Lord Bryce. What it means to the students of one of our universities to have such a corrective to the provincialism of its curriculum is something which only the students themselves can tell you, after they have had a chance to notice the difference. They come with bright eyes and eager faces, they listen and applaud, and they stay for hours to ask questions. They go away, knowing at least this much: that there are ideas in the world which are not tedious

and dusty, and that the free use of the intellectual faculties can be as interesting as fraternity gossip and waving flags at gladiatorial combats.

So to the little group who come from free-thinking homes, or from the working classes, and do not mean to sell out their own people, I say: face the gales of ridicule and scolding, and see to it that while you are in college the students become acquainted with modern ideas. Get together a little group, and invite in speakers of all shades of opinion, and if the radical ones are barred, make an issue of it, and agitate for freedom of discussion. Join with those members of the faculty who are sympathetic to your point of view, extend their influence among the student-body, and back them up in controversies with the administration. Constitute yourself a ferment and leaven the dough-heads! I do not mean by this that you should be “fresh,” or should go out of your way to seek trouble. Take the time to study, and know what you are talking about, so that when you take a position you will not be easily put down. When you have really studied and thought, then do not be afraid of being laughed at; for you will surely never do anything new or worthwhile in your life without being laughed at by fools and idlers.

Choose the big issues, and choose men and women who really have something to bring to the student-body. You will find them nearly always willing to come—all except the conservatives; but invite these also, and keep after them, and advertise the fact that you have done it. You have nothing to fear from their arguments, however masterful may be their air; we can handle them, I promise you—I have been through the whole question from A to Z, I have read the best that the opposition has to produce, and they cannot refute the claims of the workers for freedom, for social justice, and for light. If I had only one message to give to college students, it would be this: there exists in the modern revolutionary movement a vast treasure of idealism and inspiration, which your elders seek by every means in their power to keep from you. This treasure is your birthright, and to make it yours is your life's great success.

That they cannot answer the arguments of the social rebels, is something which the League of the Old Men knows perfectly well, and that is why they are afraid of 468us. In the literature of the Better America Federation of California it is again and again admitted that the immature minds of the young cannot be trusted to resist the temptations of idealism; if they meet these beautiful-sounding ideas they adopt them—and so they must be kept from knowing that the ideas exist! The soundness of this fear has been proven, wherever free discussion has been tried out. For example, in the state of Colorado, one of the great centers of metal mining and corruption in our country, the various colleges organized a State League for Debating, and they held a debate on the “open shop,” and one of the teachers reported to me the results. There

were eleven members of the “team,” and they came from the homes of the employing classes, and everyone of them believed in the “American plan.” At the end of the debate two were in doubt and nine opposed to the plan! Another team consisted of four women, and three of these were converted.

There is another interesting college movement, which has taken its rise in the West, under the leadership of B. M. Cherrington, a young Y. M. C. A. worker of the new type, who has seen the light and is preaching the social gospel. This organization is taking college students out into industry in the summer-time, not merely to earn money, but to learn the facts about labor conditions, and to understand them. The students are required to read books on the subject, and to prepare papers on what they have found. There was a street railway strike, in which more than sixty persons were shot. The students attended the conferences over this strike, and heard both sides presented. At the end of the summer’s work they held a convention and drew up a statement, as follows:

“Having been associated, under the leadership of men of high ideals and Christian motives, for the purpose of intensive study of the human factor in industry, and having, as a result, come to a realization of the present seriousness and possible disastrous results of the turmoil and unrest which is now gripping the industrial world; and further realizing that those who are to become the business, professional and political leaders of tomorrow, the present college men, are, through lack of knowledge of and interest in these conditions, not only neglecting a vital part of their education, but are actually committing an injustice against humanity in failing to prepare themselves to meet the inevitable crisis, we, the members of the Denver Summer Study Group of 1920, undertake to expand that organization under the name “The Collegiate Industrial Research Movement.”

The same thing is being done by the Young Women’s Christian Association. There was a movement of this kind under the direction of Miss Caroline Goforth, and I heard an interesting story about one of the girls, who was running an elevator, and had her foot caught and injured. She was dressed like a “lady,” and looked like one, and the surgeon took her for a passenger, and was courteous and helpful—until he discovered that she was an employe, when he became abrupt and negligent. Our interlocking newspapers profess to wonder at the existence of “parlor Bolsheviks” and “pink tea Socialists,” and may be interested to know how such creatures are made. Here was one made in a few minutes, by sharing the actual bitter experience of the workers!

I have narrated how the working class students at Bryn Mawr proceeded to unionize the “help” at that college. This is another work which liberal students may undertake

with profit at many American colleges and universities. I have already referred to the experience of a group of students who set out ten years ago to reform conditions of labor at the University of Wisconsin. They organized an industrial union of all working students; the university authorities tried to break it up, and threatened to expel a group of forty active students from their jobs—and therefore from the university. They locked out a hundred and fifty from the University Commons. But the students succeeded in getting publicity; they brought in labor organizers, who surveyed the working conditions, and showed up the graft in the running of the university dining-rooms, the purchasing of milk and other supplies. They showed that two carloads of potatoes had been allowed to rot, that a car of apples had been allowed to freeze; also that the university was working girls in violation of the state industrial law.

The interlocking regents were called in, and also the board of visitors, and there was great excitement. One of the students reminded President Van Hise that the Milwaukee Trades and Labor Assembly controlled a 470 hundred and fifty thousand votes; which apparently produced the effect intended, for the business manager of the university retired. The interlocking trustees showed their appreciation of his fidelity to the principles of exploitation by immediately calling him to become president of Tufts College! Tufts gave him an honorary degree, and Brown and Clark followed suit, and now he is chairman of the Massachusetts Security League!

CHAPTER XCII

THE LEAGUE OF YOUTH

I have ventured to suggest student representation on boards controlling our colleges; and perhaps you thought I was showing too much confidence in student wisdom. Fortunately I can show you a few places where students are beginning to take up the problems of their own educating, and to find fault with the courses served out to them by the interlocking directorate. For example, Mt. Holyoke, a woman's college with a thousand students, located at South Hadley, Massachusetts; they have organized the "Mt. Holyoke College Community," governed entirely by committees of students and faculty. I note that they are fully aware of the various functions of government, and how to make a democracy work. They have arranged "an executive body consisting of the acting President of the College Community (a student) and the presidents of various student and faculty organizations; a legislative body consisting of one member for every fifteen students and one for every five members of the faculty; and a judicial body consisting of five students and two members of the faculty." Also these students have organized a committee on the curriculum, and three hundred and forty of them have reported "a strong demand for the elimination of required Latin and

mathematics, and for the requirement of physiology and economics; also for modern government and hygiene.”

More significant yet, the students of Barnard have got busy, right under the nose of Nicholas Miraculous! They organized a committee on their own initiative, and have constructed an “ideal” curriculum. Listen to what these progressive young ladies purpose requiring of freshmen: 471 a course on the history of mankind, counting ten points, “a synthetic survey course designed to bring out the chief aspects of man’s relation to his environment by tracing present conditions and tendencies to historic processes; the physical nature of the universe ... man as a product of evolution ... the early history of man ... the concept of culture ... the historical processes leading to present cultural conditions ... modern problems, political, economic and social.” Next they want a course, counting six points, in human biology and psychology, “giving an outline of human development and distribution on earth, man in relation to his nearest kin, a survey of human powers and functions, an introduction to general biology, the structure of the human body, outlines of embryology, functions of the body and their inter-relationships”—and laboratory work on all these problems. Also—imagine young ladies actually putting such things on paper!—they ask for:

“Specific human development of the sex-reproductive-child bearing function.

- a. “The facts of structure, functions, development and hygiene of the sex and reproductive apparatus of the male and female.
- b. “The outstanding facts of maternity and paternity.
- c. “Effects of sex on individual human development from fertilization to maturity.
- d. “The nature and power of the sex impulse.
- e. “The gradually developed sex controls imposed on the individual by society.
- f. “The pathological effects of perverse and unsocial uses of sex in society.
- g. “The facts underlying a satisfactory adjustment in marriage and homemaking.”

Also they want a course in “general mathematical analysis,” counting six points; “the technique of expression,” counting two points; and “Engliliterature,” counting six points, with the aim “to present literature as an aspect of life; the emphasis throughout is therefore on subject matter rather than on technical or historical problems.”

Yes; and also these young ladies of Barnard have taken up the problem of having Nicholas Miraculous tell ⁴⁷²them whom they may listen to. It was declared to them that the good repute of the college must be preserved, and after an argument they submitted to that imposition; but one thing they laid down very emphatically—they want the college authorities to give up the idea of protecting their tender young minds! As they put it:

“Resolved, that it is the feeling of the Student Council:

“That there is nothing gained in shielding students during four years from problems and ideas they must face during the rest of their life, and

“That if they are considered incapable of rational judgment upon theories presented to them, the solution lies in further training in scientific method rather than in quarantine from ideas, and

“That a reputation for fearless open-mindedness is more to be desired for an academic institution than material prosperity.”

Also the Harvard students are waking up, under the influence of the Liberal Club. They have been discussing the subject of education, calling in various professors and deans to address them, and last spring the members of the corporation and the board of overseers were the guests of the club, to consider inaugurating the English tutorial system at Harvard. Also Harvard has a cooperative society, with three students upon its board of directors, and the Barnard students are planning a cooperative book-store, to be run entirely by themselves.

Such things as this have a way of spreading; they are spreading rapidly in Germany, where there is a movement of insurgent youth, taking steps to form a “World League of Youth,” to make over the thinking and the social life of mankind. You will no doubt admit that the youth of Germany have justification for being discontented with the management of their Fatherland. Let me quote from their manifesto:

“Comrades! We are united in the hatred of the institutions of our social life and of our time. We ask ourselves: Whose fault are these institutions, this civilization? On whose conscience rest these political systems, these schools, these churches, these politics, these [newspapers](#) and so much else? The ‘adult’ people....”

⁴⁷³Again, here is a statement from one of the leaders of this new and vitally important movement:

“The unifying characteristic, indeed the only sense of the youth movement is this: we no longer want to obey laws, coercions, customs that come to us from the outside

and that have aims without a living, inner meaning to ourselves. We want to form our lives in accordance with laws that are within us, laws toward which alone we feel a responsibility.”

Our own country has been more fortunate than Germany; we have still a great measure of prosperity, we are not yet in the pit of hell with Central Europe. But we are sliding, and sliding fast, and those who run our country do not know how to stop the process. I have shown you the League of the Old Men, suppressing thought and wrecking the world; and now here is the answer—the League of Youth! The Old Men were raised in the old order, their thinking is bound by its limitations. But we, the youth of the world, live in a new age, and have new problems to deal with. We cannot well do worse than our elders have done; we may very easily do better. Since we have longer to live in this world than our elders, we have surely the right to save it if we can!

CHAPTER XCIII

THE OPEN FORUM

I am writing in a time of reaction, but already the streaks of dawn are beginning to show. We are soon to witness the social revolution in Western Europe, and it will not be possible to keep these ideas from stirring the minds of young America. Our politics will change, and with that change will come freedom in our state universities, and the privately endowed institutions will be forced to come along. Just what will happen in the great centers of snobbery, such as Columbia and Princeton and Pennsylvania, I do not attempt to predict; perhaps their faculties will wake up and take control of their own destinies, or perhaps we shall see in our political life some violent revolutionary change, which will sweep the plutocratic endowments out of existence all at once. I am ⁴⁷⁴not advocating such a procedure, but I see our ruling classes doing everything in their power to force it, and if their efforts should succeed, we may see very quick reforms in American higher education.

What is it that I want? What should I do if I had my own unhampered way? Should I kick out all the reactionary professors, and turn Columbia and Princeton and Pennsylvania into Socialist propaganda clubs? If I could have my way, I should not commit a single violation of the principles of academic freedom for which I have pleaded in this book. The trustees and the presidents should of course be laid on the shelf, for these are administrative officials, and properly removable when a change of policy is desired. This would apply equally to the deans as administrators; but so far as the teachers are concerned, I would do them the honor to set them free, and plead with them to open their eyes to the new dawn of social justice. Just as there are thousands of members of the clergy who would jump up with a shout if they knew they

could cease preaching fairy tales without losing their jobs, so there are thousands of college professors who would consider the truth if it were presented to them, and would teach it if they were encouraged.

As for the aged-minded ones—what I should do with them is to compete them out of business. I really believe in truth, and in the power of truth to confute error; I take my stand on the sentence of Wendell Phillips: “If anything cannot stand the truth, let it crack.” What I ask is free discussion; what I want in the colleges is that both faculty and students should have opportunity to hear all sides of all questions, and especially those questions which lie at the heart of the great class struggle of our time. What I should do to the college would be to introduce a few live young professors who know modern ideas, and would lecture on modern books and modern political movements, explaining the revolutionary spirit which is vitalizing history, philosophy, religion and art. You would see in a year or two how the students thronged to these live men, and how the old men would have to wake up and fight for their prestige.

This is the plan of the open forum, and I urge groups of young professors and students everywhere to take their stand on that. We desperately need men to lift their voices in this cause just now, for in the last eight bitter years the American people have shown that they have no idea what free speech means—no trace of such an idea! We sent one or two thousand men to jail for the crime of expressing unpopular opinion; as I write, four years after the armistice, we are still holding seventy-six such men in torment, and the great mass of authority which controls our politics, our press and our pulpits shows that it has no conception whatever of the right of a man to advocate an unpopular belief, or of the danger to society involved in the crushing of minority opinion.

It is not too much to say that in America today it is a general and firmly held conviction that to believe and teach certain ideas is a crime. And from where shall we expect opposition to this survival of savagery among us, if not from our universities, which are supposed to be dedicated to the search for truth? It is the shame of our time that our colleges and universities have been silent while freedom of opinion has been strangled in America. Right here is the crucial issue, here is where the call for academic heroes and martyrs goes out. The few of us who believe in the truth have an organization, which will back you and furnish you with ammunition in this fight; if you do not know its literature, write to the American Civil Liberties Union, New York City.

I have heard the arguments of the reactionaries, their cries of horror at the idea that the sensitive minds of the young should be exposed to the corruption of vicious and incendiary ideas. To this the answer is plain: if any parent wants to keep his child from

thinking, there is no law to deny him this power, but he should keep that child at home, and not send it to an institution which exists for the purpose of training young men and women to use the faculties of the mind. Colleges and universities are places, or should be places, for those who wish to think; and for any institution making such a pretense there can be but one rule of procedure, which is that all ideas are given a hearing and tried out in the furnace of controversy.

I am aware, of course, that there are lunatics in the world, and an infinite variety of cranks and bores—my mail is burdened with their writings, and they keep my 476 door bell buzzing. I do not mean to say that college platforms should be turned over to such people; what I do say is, that whenever any considerable group of thinking people claim to have important new ideas to teach the world, they should be given a hearing in colleges, and if their ideas are unsound, let it be the business of the college to produce some one on the same platform to expose that unsoundness. The one thing that should never be heard inside college walls, or in connection with college policy, is that ideas should be suppressed because they are “dangerous”—because, in other words, they might win converts if they were given a hearing!

I met on my journey a horrified university trustee, who exclaimed: “What! You would permit anarchists and I. W. W.’s to speak at our institution?”

My answer was a counter-question: “Do you think that anarchism is right, or that it is wrong?”

The answer was: “Wrong!”

“Then,” I said, “why are you afraid to hear it?”

“I am not afraid for myself, but when you are dealing with young minds”—and there you are; we must protect the minds of the young! It is hard for the old to realize that the young may have older minds, having grown up in a world with better means of thinking and of spreading ideas.

We deported Emma Goldman, and thought we had thereby prevented the spread of anarchism; which shows that whatever else our colleges and universities have done, they have not taught us the psychology of martyrdom. I agree with the university trustee in thinking that anarchism is wrong—at least for a hundred years or so; but my way of handling Emma Goldman would have been to run her on a lecture tour in every American college and university, in a debate with some thoroughly trained expert in the history of social evolution. I would have let all the students hear her, and keep her until midnight answering questions; so, if there was truth in her views it would have

spread, and if there was error the students would have been inoculated against it for life.

Some years ago I wrote that I should like to send every clergyman in the United States to jail for a week; this not out of any ill will for the church, but as a step toward prison reform. In the same way I should like to see our college students go to jail; or barring that, I should like to have the prisoners come to the colleges, to tell the students how men become criminals, and what society could do about it. Some of the most interesting men I ever met were criminals, and others were tramps, and others were social revolutionists. I should like to see all college students go to work in factories, and I should like to see the leaders of labor, both conservatives and radicals, brought to the colleges to tell the students about industrial problems. Let the employers come also—both sides would be more careful of their facts if they knew they had to present them before a jury of wide-awake students and highly trained faculty members. What a service the college might perform, in toning down the bitterness of the class struggle, if the faculty made it their business to invite both sides in every labor dispute to come and justify themselves; if the faculty would keep at it, and accept no refusal, but “smoke out” the arrogant ones, who take, either publicly or privately, the old-style attitude of “the public be damned!”

That is my program for colleges—to discuss the vital ideas, the subjects that men are arguing and fighting over, the problems that must be solved if our society is not to be rent by civil war. Everybody is interested in these questions, old and young, rich and poor, high and low, and if you deal with them you solve several vexing problems at once. You solve the problem of getting students to study, and also the problem of student morals; you turn your college from a country club to which elegant young gentlemen come to wear good clothes and play games, and more or less in secret to drink and carouse—you turn it from that into a place where ideas are taken seriously, and the young learn the use of the most wonderful tool that the human race has so far developed, that of experimental science.

When you understand this weapon and its powers, you are no longer afraid of the specters and the goblins, the dragons and devils and other monsters which haunted the imagination of our racial childhood. You know; you know precisely, and you know certainly, and so you are free from fear; you go out into life as a young warrior with an enchanted sword, all powerful against all enemies. To forge that sword and train you in the care of it and the use of it—that is the true task of our institutions of higher education. To that end the call goes out to all men and women, who have learned to believe in reason, and wish to have it vindicated and used in the world. Our educational system today is in the hands of its last organized enemy, which is class

greed and selfishness based upon economic privilege. To slay that monster is to set free all the future. If this book helps to make clear the issue, and to bring fresh recruits to the army of emancipation, its purpose will be served and its author will be content.

It was my original intention to write a book dealing with our whole educational system; but as you have seen, the mass of material dealing with colleges alone proved sufficient to make a full-sized book. It is my purpose to follow this with a second volume, dealing with the public schools, and entitled "The Goslings."

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