

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN LEGION IN TEXTBOOK
ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM 1938-1951

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

BY
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Norman, Oklahoma
1957

ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN LEGION IN TEXTBOOK
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to express my appreciation to the many individuals who have helped to make this study possible. I am deeply indebted to the following persons who are employed at National Headquarters of The American Legion in Indianapolis, Indiana: Mr. E. A. Blackmore, National Adjutant of The American Legion; Mr. C. A. Tesch, Director of the National Americanism Commission; Mr. Jack Cejnar, Publicity Division Director; and Mrs. Verna B. Grimm, National Librarian.

Without the help of Colonel Augustin G. Rudd of Garden City, New York, this study would have been impossible. Much valuable information was acquired from his personal files and library, which could not have been obtained elsewhere.

Finally, a note of appreciation is extended to the members of my doctoral committee, Dr. L. P. Jorgenson, Chairman and director of the dissertation, Dr. F. F. Gaither, Dr. W. B. Ragan, Dr. Gail Shannon and Dr. Glenn Snider for their interest and encouragement.

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ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN LEGION IN TEXTBOOK
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Basis of Legion's Interest in Public Education

Since its founding in 1919, The American Legion has been deeply interested in public education in the United States, and through the National Americanism Commission has played an active part in the discussion of educational problems. The objective of this commission is to transmit the principles and ideals of Americanism to Legion Posts and other groups and individuals, including the youth of America. The Legion believes that a strong Americanism program should emphasize the significance of the American tradition, and should instill a sense of personal obligation to accept an active part in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Further, it should provide opportunity and encouragement for each individual to develop to his fullest capacity the intellectual, moral, physical and economic qualifications necessary for happy and useful living in a free country. It is the responsibility of the Americanism Commission to plan,

establish and conduct a continuous, constructive educational program designed to "foster the teachings of Americanism in all schools."¹

Legion's Definitions of Americanism

AMERICANISM IS - love of America; loyalty to her institutions as the best yet devised by men to secure life, liberty, individual dignity and happiness; and the willingness to defend our Flag against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

AMERICANISM IS - a vital active living force. Americanism means peace, strength, the will and the courage to live as free men in a free land. It means a friendly hand to people everywhere who respect our institutions and our thinking. It is not a word; it is a cause; a way of life; a challenge and a hope in this world of turmoil.

AMERICANISM IS - a way of life, the best way of life ever known.

AMERICANISM IS - an ideal of loyal patriotism, religious tolerance, righteous freedom, fearless courage, honest integrity, abiding faith in the commanding destiny of the United States, and a fathomless love for the principles which led our forefathers to found this country.

AMERICANISM IS - complete and unqualified loyalty to the ideals of government set forth in the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. It is respect for, and ready obedience to duly constituted authority and the laws of the land. It is freedom without license, religion without bigotry, charity without bias or race hatred, love of Flag, and a readiness to defend that for which it stands against every alien and subversive influence from without or within.

AMERICANISM IS - an unfailing love of country, loyalty to its institutions and ideals; eagerness to defend it against all enemies; individual allegiance to the Flag; and a desire to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity.²

In the same publication The American Legion states that it

¹National Americanism Commission, Americanism Manual (Indianapolis, Indiana: The American Legion, 1955), p. 5.

²Ibid., pp. 6-7.

is committed to the philosophy that education is the cornerstone upon which the future of this nation must be built.

Where there are good schools we find good citizens. In fact, education is the first requisite of good citizenship. The relationship of The American Legion is that of a friendly and firm supporter of free education as a means of keeping and improving a free civilization. Accepting its responsibilities, The American Legion follows a direct positive approach to the training of American youth in the rights and privileges, the duties, and responsibilities of citizenship.³

Background of Legion's Interest in Textbooks

The American Legion was not the first organization to become interested in public education for citizenship training of youth, although it has interested itself with this endeavor since its founding. A mimeographed pamphlet entitled Control of Social Studies Textbooks, published by the National Council for the Social Studies, a department of the National Education Association, May, 1941, gives an account of other organizations, or groups of persons, who have been concerned with citizenship training in the public schools since 1642.

In 1922, The Legion became concerned about the material contained in American history textbooks relating to the teaching of principles of Americanism to youth attending public schools. Cooperating with twenty-six other groups and associations, which also were concerned about the matter, a cooperative plan for sponsoring a new school history

³Ibid., p. 22.

textbook was undertaken. The result of this plan was a two-volume history textbook, The Story of Our American People, by Charles F. Horne. However, this textbook was adopted and used in only a few localities.⁴

The year 1938 saw the beginning of a concerted attempt by organizations and groups of individuals to remove certain textbooks from the schools, and The Legion was to become the leader of this movement. The Harold O. Rugg series of social science textbooks bore the brunt of the attacks, being denounced as "subversive, un-American, and with an alien ideology" by The Legion.⁵ Some Legionnaires in the State of Georgia became interested in studying these textbooks, and through their own Department of The American Legion attempted to arouse interest in the national organization. However, their efforts were unconcerted and their attempts to organize a program to remove the Rugg series from the public schools were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, this effort did mark the beginning of The Legion's interest in analyzing and criticizing textbooks containing citizenship materials, especially the Rugg series.⁶

The Rugg social science series of textbooks which

⁴Richard S. Jones, History of The American Legion (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948), p. 274.

⁵National Council for the Social Studies, Control of Social Studies Textbooks (Washington, D. C.: Department of the National Education Association, 1941), p. 30.

⁶Ibid., p. 20.

was to be the center of the controversy, consisted of fourteen textbooks (eight for the elementary grades and six for the junior high grades), workbooks for directed study and teachers' guides. However, The Legion emphasized the six volumes which were being used in the seventh, eighth and ninth grades, and made a thorough analysis of these textbooks which was later published and distributed. (A copy of this pamphlet in which the junior high school textbooks and teachers' guides were analyzed and criticized is included in the Appendix.) The titles in this six volume series were: Our Country and Our People, Volume I; Changing Countries and Changing Peoples, Volume II; The Conquest of America, Volume III; America's March Toward Democracy, Volume IV; Citizenship and Civic Affairs, Volume V; and Changing Governments and Changing Cultures, Volume VI.

Purpose of the Study

It is the purpose of this study to give a detailed account of how The American Legion became involved in a national and local program of textbook analysis and criticism during the period 1938-1951 and the results of this endeavor. It is not the purpose of this study to debate any of the controversial issues mentioned in the context, but rather to present the facts in each case and give a description of what The American Legion, as a national organization and local Post, said and did. The writer has refrained from

expressing an opinion of any type as much as possible.

Overview of the Following Chapters

Chapter II will give a detailed explanation of the origin of The Legion's interest in textbook analysis and criticism. Chapter III will record the efforts of local Legion Posts to have the Rugg social science series of textbooks removed from public school classroom use. Chapter IV will give a description of the controversy which arose over the article "Treason In The Textbooks" by O. K. Armstrong which appeared in the September, 1940, issue of The American Legion Magazine. Chapter V will record the events which led to the publication and distribution of four pamphlets entitled Rugg Philosophy Analyzed by the National Americanism Commission of The American Legion. Chapter VI will give an account of The Legion's activities between 1941 and 1951 in analyzing and criticizing textbooks other than the Rugg series which were called to the attention of the National Americanism Commission through the local Legion Posts.

Sources of Information

The information contained in this dissertation was obtained from several sources. The largest source of information was the "dead-letter correspondence files" which are located in the National Library of The American Legion in its headquarters building in Indianapolis, Indiana. Unless

otherwise specified, these "dead-letter correspondence files" contain the letters, telegrams and reports referred to in this study. To fill the gaps in these files, it was necessary to communicate by letter and telephone with some of the persons who had been at one time directly involved in this endeavor. These persons, some of whom were willing to cooperate with the writer and others who did so reluctantly, furnished valuable information which could not have been obtained otherwise. Major Augustin G. Rudd, who is mentioned frequently throughout the study, supplied the writer with invaluable material from his own personal library and files in Garden City, New York. The official organ of The Legion, The American Legion Magazine, supplied valuable articles and comments on the subject. Proceedings of the Annual National Conventions, 1942, 1943 and 1949, provided sources of material. The following leading newspapers in this nation contained articles and editorials on the subject: Boston Globe, Chicago Daily News, Daily Item, Garden City News, New York Herald Tribune, New York Journal American, New York Sun and New York Times. Various leading magazines such as Liberty, Nation's Business, The New Republic, Science News Letter and Journal of the National Education Association provided additional material.

Very little information was obtained from a similar study which was made by William Gellerman, The American Legion As Educator, for his doctoral dissertation at Columbia

University, Teachers College. Although his study covered activities of The American Legion during the years 1925-1935, only a few pages in one chapter are devoted to public education.⁷

⁷William Gellermann, The American Legion As Educator (published Ph.D. dissertation, College of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938), p. 67.

CHAPTER II

ORIGIN OF THE LEGION'S INTEREST IN TEXTBOOKS

Rudd Stimulates Legion

The interest of The American Legion in textbook analysis and criticism was stimulated the second time by Major Augustin G. Rudd, Retired, United States Army. In his own words, he stated, "I have given six months of constant effort and research to unraveling, so that anyone could see, the amazing ramifications and plans of the radical teachers, stemming originally from Teachers College in Columbia University, to complete communistic and other subversive teachings in our public schools." Being a Legionnaire it occurred to him that perhaps the greatest good could be accomplished by making his exclusive and confidential record available to The American Legion for publication and national distribution. A copy of a message entitled "Communism and Other Subversive Doctrines in American Public Schools," which Major Rudd delivered before the school board in Garden City, New York, January 22, 1938, was sent to Legion officials and served as the motivating factor for this organization to become involved in this effort. Copies of this speech are no longer

available from either the files of Major Augustin G. Rudd or The American Legion.¹

After some time had elapsed and The Legion did not take official action on the suggestion of Major Rudd, an explanation of the interest and concern of this individual was given to the National Commander of The American Legion, Stephen F. Chadwick, in a personal letter from J. G. Harbord, Major General, United States Army, Retired. The letter said in part:

A former officer of mine, Major Augustin G. Rudd, now General Manager for the Newsreel Theatres, New York, who lives at Suffolk Lane, Garden City, New York, and has three children of school age, has been a good deal concerned about the teaching in the public schools of that city of what is generally called social sciences. It is the sort of course which should give children a proper idea of their government, instill in them reverence for the Constitution, duty of patriotism and citizenship, with a respect for all that we hold as best in our institutions. To his utter astonishment in conversation with these children he found that they were being taught that these institutions of ours are but a passing phase of development; that they were likely in the not too distant future to be replaced by a form of government in which capitalistic ownership of property would disappear, etc., etc. He examined the books and found they were the output of a group from Columbia University called "The Frontier Thinkers," certain individuals of which are authors of text books. Their phraseology is in some cases strikingly similar to the writings of Karl Marx and, in general, they seem to be pointing the youth of the country to the kind of government that exists in Russia today.

Major Rudd was so concerned about the matter that he went to see the School Board in Garden City and asked permission to address them on the subject. He made two carefully prepared addresses which were so effective

¹Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd, Garden City, New York, to Orville E. Jones, Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, February 28, 1957 (personal files of Orville E. Jones).

that the school board in that city decided to change the text books on the subjects referred to. He gave me the opportunity of reading the addresses, and I found them perfectly sound, clear and direct in presentation and constituting a document that I think should be read by every good citizen interested in our public schools.

The American Legion has so often sponsored patriotic efforts of this sort that it occurred to me that if Major Rudd might send you copies of the addresses you might perhaps feel like putting The Legion behind this movement which he has started in Garden City, making it as it is, a matter of interest to the whole country. There are of course a good many people who, as voices crying in the wilderness, are making an effort to stop the increase of communism in this country, but too much can not be said on the subject especially as the communistic influences are now instilling it in the rising generation in the manner in which they are writing school books. . . .²

The National Commander replied, "I will be most interested and . . . it may be that we can assist in distribution of these addresses by our mimeographing system, and mailing to all of our Department Officers. Our Americanism Commission endeavors to be alert in all of these matters, and as we have Americanism Committees in 11,300 Posts, it may be that we can be helpful."³

Major Rudd then forwarded copies of his addresses to the Commander with these additional comments:

You will see that it is a rather extensive analysis for as I dug into the subject I found it was not only a local condition but a national one in which the subversive

²Letter from J. G. Harbord to Stephen F. Chadwick, February 8, 1939. American Legion dead-letter correspondence file, National Library of The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana. Hereafter cited as Legion dead-letter files.

³Letter from Stephen F. Chadwick to J. G. Harbord, February 14, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

influences have become firmly entrenched.

Although I made my protest locally, the script was prepared with the national situation in mind. During the past year I have reviewed more than twenty books and numerous magazines but frankly I have merely scratched the surface. Some national organization must "carry on." Personally I cannot imagine a more worthy activity for The Legion than an active campaign to expose un-American teachings and text books in our public schools. It is the coming generations which will decide the future of this Republic and there is little use in fighting communism in full bloom if we ignore the seedlings now sprouting in every state of the Union.

You will see that the texts quoted are usually very subtle, particularly in the Rugg social science books. To properly expose the purpose and technique of these collectivists, therefore, a written analysis is necessary for "weasel words" elude the ear much quicker than they can they [sic] eye. . . . You will find the material non-political and non-sectarian [sic] as I have made every effort to avoid references which would give our enemies a chance to becloud the issue.

A number of School Boards, patriotic groups and others who have learned of this report, are waiting for a copy of it. Likewise at least one chain newspaper is eager to get it. I have declined doing anything and avoided publicity until you had a chance to consider it. I am willing to give it to The Legion if it will be handled in the comprehensive manner the importance of the subject deserves. I am firmly convinced that it is a "natural" for The Legion, not only from the standpoint of policy and public service but also for the prestige and leadership it should give The Legion in the growing interest in Americanism.

Our people don't know what is going on in the schools. Most of our School Boards don't realize it, either. A member of the Board of a New Jersey School just told me that as a result of this effort they had made an investigation and were "shocked and chagrined" at what they had been teaching for years. The trouble is that for lack of time or other reasons most people don't know the insidious forces at work, and never will find out unless the facts are revealed to them in a form and manner which they can grasp without too great an effort. That is why I suggest . . . The Legion to bring it home to parents in every state of the Union.⁴

⁴Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to Stephen F. Chadwick, February 18, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

The addresses made by Major Rudd were received by the National Commander and given to The Americanism Division of The Legion for study and consideration of recommendations for disposition.⁵ Major Rudd sent to the Division further comments concerning the addresses, which he hoped would serve as a guide to them in making use of this material. Among his suggestions were:

In determining action to be taken, it seems to me that the first step to decide is the relative importance of the matter. How important is it to the future of our country that the time and emphasis formerly devoted to instilling an understanding and respect for our American form of government, is now largely given to sabotaging this traditional policy in favor of one advocating "the new social order" and kindred collectivist theories of The Frontier Thinkers? How important is it to reveal to the American people that in recent years their educational policies in these vital matters have been subtly but surely "reconstructed" by these emotionalized reformers, tinted with various hues of pink and red? It seems to me that no cause The Legion can sponsor is of more importance than a campaign to "Teach Americanism in our Schools." For then we are getting in our blows not only at the visible subversive weeds but at the roots and seeds now germinating in the immature minds of the future citizens of our country.

The Average [sic] citizen has no conception of the extent to which these radical teachings have become entrenched in our educational system, boring diligently from within and moulding policies vital to the Republic under the false banner of "liberalism" and "progressive education." The results appear in a score of different and apparently unrelated manifestations, of which you are well aware. But the net result is a general lack of respect for our American institutions or preoccupation of our people and the lack of specific facts and information upon which to base effective protest.

The indifference must be overcome by a vigorous campaign of enlightenment to expose what is going on. But even after parents are aroused it is still necessary to

⁵Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to Stephen F. Chadwick, March 6, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

have something definite to place in their hands as the basis for this action. That is the purpose of the booklet. After the publicity has brought forth in various communities those who are interested, The Legion Posts can say in effect, "Here are the facts. If you want Americanism taught to your children you had better get busy."

. . . It will take volumes to completely expose what is going on. But I believe this booklet will reveal the subtlety, the insidiousness, and the techniques of the radical educators. If so, it should be the opening gun and well worth the effort.

After that, although the direction should be national, the work must largely be done locally. It is for each Post to investigate the school situation on its own account. And each year a similar booklet could be issued showing the results or conditions up to date. . . . If the campaign is to be launched, I would suggest that it be well underway before the end of May at which time people will begin to start thinking of school vacations and lose interest in academic subjects until Fall. You could select a suitable place and time - possibly April 6th - to make an important speech as the opening gun in the campaign to: expose subversive teachings in our schools and "Teach Americanism in our schools." With adequate advance you could hit the wire services, press associations, radio and various other media. You might mention the fact that a booklet was to be issued revealing the condition, thus giving it a build-up for press attention and reviews, and early notice to patriotic Americans where they can get something tangible to work with.

You might well get out a 11 x 22 inch car card on "Teach Americanism in the schools." Many advertising agencies will give organizations like The Legion free space in cars, trains, busses, etc., using these services. Various other media such as window cards, small posters, etc., could be made available to local Posts and the cost absorbed by patriotic citizens. My idea is that the issue is big enough, and the time right to give the thing both barrels from the beginning. I think you will be surprised at the support coming to you, but expect, of course, the inevitable brickbats. . . .⁶

After review and consideration of the speeches and comments by the Education Committee of The Americanism Division, Major

⁶Ibid.

Rudd was informed:

It was thought by the Committee that you should be highly complimented for your diligence and minute study for the preparation of this kind of material. The Committee, however, felt that The American Legion, through its Americanism Commission, could not place the material in proper form for wide distribution. Such a plan would not be within the province or the practice of our organization. . . . Your material deals to a large degree with a specific author while in another degree it gives much attention to a particular group. It is evident that The American Legion could in no manner adopt the policy of publicizing in book form the objections to the writings of any one individual or group when there may be many others whose views we do not share and to whose principles we do not subscribe.⁷

Major Rudd was not satisfied with the action taken by this Division or the seemingly indifferent attitude of the members of the Division so he introduced a resolution at a meeting of the William Bradford Turner Post #265, The American Legion, Garden City, New York, condemning the Rugg social science courses for the reasons outlined in the literature sent to The Legion headquarters. This resolution was unanimously passed by the Post and later by Nassau County and State Legion authorities. It then went to the National Legion Headquarters at Indianapolis, Indiana. This recommendation asked ". . . that The Legion make a national investigation of the Rugg social science courses and report the facts of this condition to the American people." This resolution was passed by the National Convention delegates in 1939 and National Commander Stephen F. Chadwick ordered that the program

⁷Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Major Augustin G. Rudd, May 9, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

of investigation be started immediately.⁸ The Director of The National Americanism Commission sent a short questionnaire to the local Posts in the United States which asked for the following information:

1. Do your schools teach history, geography and civics as separate subjects under their respective names? ()
2. Do your schools teach social sciences [sic] courses, including parts of history, geography and civics? ()
3. Do your schools use Harold Rugg's Social Science courses? ()
In which grades? () () ()
4. Name textbooks, if any, in your schools which you consider un-American or subversive. Also the author and publisher.

All Legion Posts were instructed to gather this information from their local schools, along with any other information that might be helpful and useful in this investigation, and to send it to the National Americanism Commission Director. The Americanism Committees in the local Posts soon began to gather this information, and also to apply pressure on local school boards and administrators to replace the Rugg textbooks with books which would more adequately teach the

⁸Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to Orville E. Jones, February 28, 1957 (personal files of Orville E. Jones).

principles of Americanism.⁹ It was later reported from the national headquarters "The response of the country is one of amazement. Hundreds of schools are taking steps to replace the Rugg social science texts and the campaign is in full swing."¹⁰

Although the campaign was supposedly in "full swing" the results reported by the Americanism Committees of local Posts to the national office were rather meager. Later it was reported that the results were not as great as had been anticipated, but that this could be accounted for by the lack of personnel in the national department needed to follow up on the questionnaires. Thus, not very much was accomplished during the first year of the campaign to remove the Rugg series from the schools.¹¹

Legion Encouraged by Falk

At the same time that The Legion was showing extreme interest in the textbook situation, the Advertising Federation of America, 330 West Forty-Second Street, New York, New York, was becoming interested in textbook analysis and criticism. One of the Directors in the Federation advised the National Americanism Commission Director of this in a letter

⁹Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Major Augustin G. Rudd, May 15, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁰Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to Orville E. Jones, February 28, 1957 (personal files of Orville E. Jones).

¹¹Ibid.

stating:

. . . I am glad that you are interested and hope that it may be possible to bring the whole power of The American Legion to bear on the elimination of unwholesome teachings from our public schools.

There are some extremely bad textbooks in use today, from the standpoint of Americanism, and The American Legion would perform a great patriotic service by pointing them out and protesting their use. It is not hard to find these books nor to analyze the subversive material in them, for to a considerable extent this has already been done. All this is necessary is for The Legion to make the exposure public and to demand American teaching in American public schools.

There is material in these books cleverly designed to destroy the child's faith in traditional American ideals and his beliefs in our democratic private enterprise system and to prepare his mind for the acceptance of alien philosophies and the principles of collectivism. Not only can it be shown that this material is present in the textbooks to which I refer, but it can also be proved that it was put there in pursuance of a deliberate plan worked up by a well-defined group of left-wingers and educators, collaborating for a number of years on this huge project of reconstructing our society.

There is one particular set of books which constitute the worst and biggest un-American influence in our schools today. This particular series, consisting of six volumes, is being used in more than 4,000 school systems and is accompanied by teachers' guides which are even worse than the textbooks, instructing the teacher how to make the student's mind lean in the direction desired by the author.

This situation is so bad . . . that I think it is a matter of greater real concern to The Legion than almost any other problem. I do hope that this biggest patriotic organization can take definite action to help deal a smashing blow in our own publicly supported schools at this evil influence which is gnawing at the vitals of America - the minds and the faith of our children in the ideals and principles which we hold sacred and which made this country what it is.

As an advertising organization, The American Federation Association came into this matter largely because certain textbooks make unwarranted attacks against advertising and present a distorted, untruthful picture of business as a whole. . . .

In fighting our battle against unjust attacks on advertising and business, we quickly became aware of the

broader implications of many of the attacks. Now we find that certain authors attack advertising merely as a minor tactic while the basic strategy is an offensive against the American system.

To show you how one author has handled his "minor tactic," I enclose our printed bulletin entitled "Facts You Should Know About Anti-Advertising Propaganda In School Textbooks" analyzing and answering his attack against advertising. You will note even here that there is an apparent underlying motive of disparaging the existing economic system in this country. . . .¹²

The two organizations exchanged information and each requested the other's help in carrying out the program of exposing these writers and their work to the general public. The Legion's Director of The Americanism Commission wrote:

There can be little question but that you are on the right road as you seek to expose the activities of some of the best known educators in the Nation whose books are the basis of teaching disloyalty to the existing order of affairs within the United States. We are interested in that field of activity and want to go as far with you as we possibly can. Would you be good enough to send along to me as large a list as you have of the questionable books corresponding to the list of books which you have and which are in effect similar to the works of Harold G. [sic] Rugg.

. . . I am seeking to obtain the same kind of information from a few friends of mine who are on the inside at Columbia University. If we are able to do the kind of a job which we want to do, possibly we can make the classes of such instructors as George S. Counts and Harold O. Rugg sufficiently unpopular to reduce their present drawing power.¹³

In answer to this letter, Mr. Falk stated,

. . . It is gratifying to know that you are so much interested in this textbook situation and the problem

¹²Letter from A. T. Falk to H. L. Chaillaux, November 22, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹³Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to A. T. Falk, December 1, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

presented by the teaching of disloyalty and un-American principles in our public schools. From your letter I take it that you have already been going into the matter and know about the condition at Teachers College, Columbia University, well-spring and incubator of much of this activity.

The Rugg Social Science Series consists of six volumes, as you probably know, which are used in the seventh, eighth and ninth grades. The titles are as follows:

- Volume I Our Country and Our People
- Volume II Changing Countries and Changing Peoples
- Volume III The Conquest of America
- Volume IV America's March Toward Democracy
- Volume V Citizenship and Civic Affairs
- Volume VI Changing Governments and Changing Cultures

. . . You will find the objectionable material running all through the six books. Teachers' guides and pupils' workbooks are very important in implementing Rugg's teaching philosophies. Also, if you wish to make a study of this you should by all means be familiar with The Great Technology, By Harold O. Rugg, The John Day Company, 1933. So far as grade-school textbooks are concerned, frankly, I think you have almost everything that is important on the subversive side when you have the Rugg Social Science Series. . . .

A corollary [sic] to this material is the personal teaching of the instructors, which is a decidedly intangible thing to get comprehensive evidence on. However, it has come to our attention a number of times, and to yours no doubt also, that the left-wing teaching crowd as exemplified by the frankly communist controlled American Federation of Teachers is making assiduous use of its key position in society to disseminate doctrines antagonistic to what we consider American ideals. Counts and Rugg are among the leaders and there are many others. Their patron saint is John Dewey, who is probably all right in many ways but certainly not on the particular point we are now discussing. . . .¹⁴

The Advertising Federation Association Director later wrote to The Legion Director a letter which explained that the Rugg system is merely a "method of teaching and textbook presentation." He also stated that ". . . many teachers give

¹⁴Letter from A. T. Falk to H. L. Chaillaux, December 4, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

praise to the Rugg system, for it is well worked out from the pedagogical standpoint. The textbooks are supplemented by pupils' workbooks and teachers' guides. There are a lot of questions and answers based on the text and many convenient devices for making the teacher's work very easy." Falk concluded that ". . . this Social science [sic] Series takes the place of other textbooks teaching separately the subjects of history, geography, civics, and the like. Students using the Rugg series do not get any instruction in history, for example, except the more or less occasional references to historic events which Rugg finds helpful in explaining certain social trends."¹⁵

On December 20, 1939, Mr. Falk wrote to Mr. Chaillaux saying,

Many in the educational field have objected strenuously to this whole idea, but Rugg and his cohorts have been weaning over to their side a large and increasing population of educational authorities.

This ties in with the whole progressive-education movement, which is another thing which some of old-fashioned believers in mental discipline believe is helping to weaken the moral strength and self-reliance of our youth. That may not come under the heading of Americanism or un-Americanism, but it is a closely related consideration because the progressive educators and the spreaders of radical un-American doctrines are to a large degree the same people and they mix their two products together and wrap them up in one package.¹⁶

¹⁵Letter from A. T. Falk to H. L. Chaillaux, December 14, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁶Letter from A. T. Falk to H. L. Chaillaux, December 20, 1939 (Legion dead-letter files).

Rudd Charges Rugg Advocates
'New Social Order'

In an article in the Garden City News on March 7, 1940, Major Augustin G. Rudd charged:

1. Harold Rugg has for years advocated a 'new social order' to be based on collectivism, to replace our traditional American institutions.
2. That to bring about the 'new social order' Rugg planned to use the schools to 'change the climate of opinion' of our people.
3. That the Social Science courses were to be the main vehicle through which this indoctrination in the schools was to be accomplished.
4. And that Rugg wrote and sold to schools the Social Science books and accessories needed and actually used to accomplish this 'purpose' in education.¹⁷

In the same article Rudd made a further declaration:

A real problem has been revealed, however, in the Rugg system and its implications. Here is a single educator-reformer who has numerous textbooks in our public schools. . . . In addition he poses his own questions in Pupils' Work Books, and gives teachers the required answers in the Teachers' Guides. Thus not only the direction of a child's thoughts but the conclusions reached are directed for years by this Left Wing educator from Teachers College! Never was there a more perfect propaganda set-up, never a more subtle one. Even if his teachings were sound Americanism, it would still be extremely doubtful policy to give any single person such power over the school curriculum.¹⁸

In an article appearing in Nation's Business on April 16, 1940, entitled "Our Reconstructed Educational System," Rudd wrote, ". . . Our entire educational system has been reconstructed in several vital particulars. . . That's what has happened in little more than a decade while you and

¹⁷Garden City News (New York), March 7, 1940, p. 14.

¹⁸Ibid.

I and others have been too engrossed in our own affairs to look between the covers of our youngsters' textbooks. It has come through the widespread teaching of 'Social Science' an omnibus course practically supplanting specific study of history, geography and United States Government."¹⁹

Sokolsky Supports Legion's Interest

Liberty Magazine contained an article in the May 4, 1940, issue entitled "Is Your Child Being Taught to Loaf?" The author, George E. Sokolsky, charged American parents to examine their own local schools to see if "democratic principles are disappearing from our school books." He suggested that this should be a "vital problem that every parent should make his own."²⁰

Hart Accuses Rugg

Others in addition to The American Legion, Major Augustin G. Rudd and George E. Sokolsky were interested in textbook content. Merwin K. Hart, President of the New York State Economic Council, made his interest known by stating in a letter to the editor of the New York Times: ". . . I believe it is a fair statement that these Rugg books, while containing some excellent parts, tend clearly to undermine

¹⁹Augustin G. Rudd, "Our 'Reconstructed' Educational System," Nation's Business, XXVIII (April, 1940), p. 27.

²⁰George E. Sokolsky, "Is Your Child Being Taught to Loaf?" Liberty Magazine, XVII (May 4, 1940), p. 37.

the faith of the pupils in private enterprise - in the American system out of which American public education, the costliest in the world is maintained . . . Professor Rugg advocates namely 'to create swiftly a compact body of minority opinion for the scientific reconstruction of our social order.' As such, they have no place in American schools."²¹

On May 9, 1940, President Hart stated, ". . . These Rugg books have been thrown out of the Binghamton, New York, public schools. Not only should they be thrown out of every school in America but the Dies Committee and the FBI should immediately begin an investigation of EVERY schoolbook in every school in the United States - and also an investigation of the political personnel of our teachers. . . . Get rid of our sixth column red textbooks and red teachers."²²

Rudd Prods Legion

As Major Rudd noticed that other people and organizations were becoming extremely concerned about the Rugg social science textbooks, he seemed to become impatient with The Legion's activities so he addressed a letter to Mr. H. L. Chaillaux saying,

. . . This matter is far more important today than ever before, since it is now the key-stone of national defense. No military man needs to be told that an army

²¹New York Times, May 3, 1940, p. 47.

²²Ibid., May 9, 1940, p. 36.

is no better than its morale - its willingness to fight hard for a cause in which it sincerely believes. But with the prospective soldiers being taught this propaganda of dis-belief we would find our mechanized national defenses superimposed upon a foundation of sand.

. . . This whole issue has developed into a vital part of our national defense. And that, therefore, it should be the No. 1 activity of The American Legion from here on.²³

A few days later Mr. Chaillaux replied by saying, ". . . you may be certain that we will be taking positive action to defend our educational system against the fifth column sympathizers."²⁴

Legion Adopts National Program
to Remove Rugg Textbooks
from Public School Use

Mr. John B. Anderson, Secretary of The American Parents Committee on Education, New York, New York, submitted by letter to Mr. Chaillaux two suggestions for fighting Marxian principles in the textbooks.

First: that the National Americanism Commission, draft, submit and "fight through" a resolution, through the National Legion Convention specifically covering textbooks which promote Marxian principles; which specifically mentions those textbooks by Professor Harold Rugg of Teachers College, Columbia University. . . .

Second: that the National Americanism Commission broadcast such resolution to your Posts along [sic] time before the Convention - in order that local Americanism Committees and those interested in that work may

²³Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to H. L. Chaillaux, May 31, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁴Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Major Augustin G. Rudd, June 22, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

become interested and 'do something about it.'²⁵

Mr. Anderson was informed that action on his suggestions would have to come in the following manner:

. . . may I say that the National Headquarters of The American Legion does not originate Convention resolutions. They must come from the individual Legion Post in the field, and through the State Convention before they are eligible for action on the floor of our National Convention. Let me, therefore, suggest that you discuss your ideas with the Commander of one of the New York Legion Posts and see if you cannot send your thoughts through that regular channel.²⁶

A resolution similar to the one suggested by Mr. Anderson was introduced at a meeting of the William Bradford Turner Post #265, The American Legion, Garden City, New York. This resolution read: "Resolved . . . that The American Legion emphatically condemns the perversion of our educational system through so-called social science courses, causing negative reaction in the instruction of history, geography, and civics; . . . that The American Legion urge its members and affiliated groups to make inquiry and ascertain whether American history, geography, and civics are being well taught, and whether subversive or un-American textbooks are being used in our schools; . . ."²⁷ This resolution was passed

²⁵Letter from John B. Anderson to H. L. Chaillaux, July 9, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁶Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to John B. Anderson, July 12, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁷Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to Orville E. Jones, February 28, 1957 (personal files of Orville E. Jones).

unanimously by this Post and later by Nassau County and State Legion authorities. It then went to the National Legion Headquarters at Indianapolis, Indiana, and then to the National Convention. The delegates at the National Convention passed the resolution and the National Commander instructed the National Americanism Commission to launch a determined attack on the Rugg social science series textbooks and any other textbooks aiming to use our public schools to create a new social order. Once again the Director employed the short questionnaire to gather the desired information, but the efforts were significantly increased by local Posts this time to remove the Rugg social science series from use in the public schools.

CHAPTER III

LEGION POSTS REPORT ON USE OF RUGG TEXTBOOKS IN LOCAL SCHOOLS

Haworth, New Jersey

The Haworth Post, The American Legion, Haworth, New Jersey, requested the board of education in that city to investigate the social science textbooks being used in the schools under the supervision of the Americanism Committee of this Post. This request was denied but the board did agree to study the textbooks. It was discovered that the Rugg social science textbooks were being used, but the majority of the board voted to continue their use regardless of the objections raised by the Americanism Committee of the Haworth Post. On November 13, 1939, the minority members of the board (those who supported the objections of the Americanism Committee) issued a written report entitled "The Rugg Social Science Series of Textbooks" which was sent to The Legion headquarters in Indianapolis. This report stated:

Believing that our most important responsibility as members of the board is to consider what is taught the children, we feel that we should fail in our duty unless we presented a minority report.

In our opinion, in order that our children may have

love of and loyalty to our country, it is essential that the youth of our school have instilled in them in their formative years principles that will foster these attributes.

In national affairs, the lives, heroic struggles, and aims of the founders of our country should be held up to the youth as examples to be emulated if we expect them to love and cherish the form of government that these men established and passed on to us as a sacred heritage.

It is on this point that we indict the Rugg books as UNAMERICAN [sic]. Rugg's philosophy is opposed to the American way of life and is at its best radical collectivism. To prepare the malleable mind of children in our elementary schools for this change, through his school books he omits or glosses lightly over praiseworthy accomplishments and constantly stresses the evils and errors that exist or have been made and even attributes selfish motives to the founders of our country which neither he nor anyone else may do, since these are purely assumptions on his part.

This indictment is no mere figment of our imagination but is based on teachings contained in the so-called Textbooks (which Rugg calls 'Reading Books'), reviewed by us in conjunction with the corresponding 'Teacher's Guides,' and it is our opinion that no one pursuing this method of investigation could arrive at any conclusion other than that these books are UN-AMERICAN.

Rugg constantly strives to paint a picture of this country in such a light that children will be dissatisfied and thus prepared for the great social change that he (Rugg) advocates.

It is inconceivable to us that anyone could affirm that these books do not contain anything UN-AMERICAN.

We charge that the whole principle underlying the method of teaching the Rugg books is UN-AMERICAN.

.....
These Rugg books are all a part of a subtle and insidious scheme to poison and undermine the faith of our children in the American plan.

The children in their immaturity and naivete have no defense against this sort of approach -- Are you willing to have them exposed to this cowardly attack?

Why raise our flag outside the school if we permit a frontier thinker within the school to destroy our children's faith in and attachment for that flag and all the sacrifices and attainments that our flag represents.

This board recently spent several hundred dollars to exterminate termites that were undermining the building. Why not exterminate the human termites that are undermining (and making money at it) the rights of our children

to their heritage -- a land of freedom handed down to them by generations of true Americans!

Rugg has the right in this glorious country of freedom to believe what he likes and to publish his beliefs as often as he likes and to sell as many copies as he likes and to try and sell his ideas to the electorate, but we deny that he or any other propagandist should be permitted to use our elementary schools, and by boring from within and distorting the historical value of the great work of our forefathers and the founders of the American way of government, to thus prepare the immature minds of primary grade children for a change to an alien form which their parents and elders are quick to resist.

.....
We allow no religious propaganda in our school!

We allow no American political propaganda in our school!

Why should we allow ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA in our school?

Let us free the matter of all personal prejudice and admit:

1. The Rugg books represent a radical departure from the previously accepted type and style of American School textbooks.

2. Their author is a self-proclaimed advocate of a new social order.

3. His books reverse the customary presentation of our country's background in a manner to inculcate love of country and pride in our heroes' achievements with loyalty to our political institutions and instead disparage our achievements and discourage our loyalty.

.....

The following Rugg books were being used in the Haworth schools, and the minority report recommended that the request of the Haworth Post to remove these books be complied with:

The Conquest of America, Changing Countries and Changing

Peoples, The Conquest of America, and America's March Toward

Democracy. These Rugg books were being used in the 7th, 8th

and 9th grades. The following Rugg books were being used in

the elementary grades: Building of America, Man at Work:

His Industries, Man at Work: His Arts and Crafts, and Mankind

Throughout the Ages.¹Cedar Rapids, Iowa

On July 3, 1940, the National Publicity Division of The American Legion issued a news bulletin about a "textbook incident" in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Hanford Post #5 of this city had accomplished a particular mission relating to the Rugg science books.

A five year campaign by Verne Marshall, Legionnaire and editor of the Cedar Rapids Gazette, finally met with success when the board of education voted to remove from the city's public schools all the social science textbooks written by Professor Harold O. Rugg of Columbia University. Legionnaire Editor Marshall is an ardent exponent of Americanism. He charged that the Rugg textbooks painted a picture of America in such a light that children would be made dissatisfied and thus prepared for the social change Rugg advocated.²

Mountain Lakes, New Jersey

On September 17, 1940, the Committee on Americanism of the Chappaqua Post, Mountain Lakes, New Jersey,

. . . submitted certain data to the Post Executive Committee including a copy of the resolution condemning the Rugg textbooks adopted by the Mountain Lakes school board. The Executive Committee directed the Americanism Committee to proceed with an investigation of the use of the

¹A Minority Report From the Committee Appointed by the Haworth, New Jersey, Board of Education, November 13, 1939 (mimeographed).

²News Bulletin, National Publicity Division, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, July 3, 1940 (mimeographed).

Rugg textbooks in the schools and to report back. . . .³

The partial findings of this committee were

. . . Although the Rugg textbooks are informative, there can be no doubt that they are written by a propagandist. The ultimate loyalties of school children are moulded from their first impressions. The social science books are apt to inculcate an initial attitude of discontent rather than a spirit of patriotism in grade school children. . . .⁴

Further suggestions were included in this report, one of which was,

. . . this committee recommends that teachers in the public schools be invited to confer with representatives of The American Legion and leaders in American patriotic thought frequently; to exchange views on educational questions relating to patriotism, and to discuss their problems freely and openly. In order to pledge and give its support to the teachers, The Legion must understand their problems and to do so its representatives must gain as close contact with the teachers themselves as has heretofore been gained by the radical educators responsible for social science textbooks of the Rugg type. It is also recommended . . . that The Legion encourage parents to support teachers in patriotic instruction and to resist any effort on the part of educators to belittle American institutions.⁵

North Canton, Ohio

In North Canton, Ohio, a joint committee of members of The American Legion and American Legion Auxiliary of North Canton Post #419, read and reviewed four of Rugg's textbooks:

³Preliminary Report of the Investigation of Textbooks by the Committee on Americanism, Chappaqua Post, The American Legion, Mountain Lake, New Jersey, October 1, 1940 (in the files of the Westchester County Americanism Committee).

⁴Ibid., p. 2.

⁵Ibid., p. 6.

Our Country and Our People, Changing Countries and Changing People, The Conquest of America, and America's March Toward Democracy. This committee submitted a written report to the superintendent of schools and board of education which stated:

We have failed to find any noticeably radical statements or tendencies contained within these textbooks, however, we feel that the attitude and the interpretations of the teacher are important factors in bringing the subject matter before the students. The most impartial textbook on Social Science could be given a radical slant if the instructors were so inclined. We suggest that the teachers be instructed to guard against the following:

- I Too great debunking of our national heroes.
- II Casting aspersions upon our Constitution and our form of government.
- III Condemning the American system of private ownership and enterprise and the forming of any opinions favorable to collectivism.
- IV Moulding opinions against traditional religious faiths and the ideas of morality as being parts of an outgrown system.⁶

Sunbury, Pennsylvania

On October 30, 1940, a telegram was received by Mr. Chaillaux from the Commander of Post #201, The American Legion, Sunbury, Pennsylvania, asking "that we be well prepared to present all facts aimed at eliminating the Rugg books from our schools please send us all definite information

⁶Report of the Special Committee of Members of The American Legion and American Legion Auxiliary of North Canton Post #419, Relating to the Use of Textbooks Written by Harold O. Rugg in the North Canton, Ohio, Public Schools, October 14, 1940.

with proof for same immediately."⁷ The following reply was sent to the Commander by Mr. Chaillaux:

. . . We in this office are trying to find some time to review the Rugg textbooks with the view of giving something definite about them to all of our Posts. However, it is quite a problem. Most of the excerpts which have been used from the textbooks could come from any one of five editions of his six volumes. This means that it is necessary to review twenty-five or thirty volumes before issuing a statement. . . .⁸

Although the Commander did not receive the information he was seeking, five months later he reported to Mr. Chaillaux that all Rugg textbooks ". . . have been removed from use in our schools due to the efforts put forth by our Post."⁹

St. Louis, Missouri

All six volumes of Rugg's social science textbooks were found in the St. Louis Public Schools by the Americanism Committee of The Americanism Conference, which was being held in St. Louis. The chairman of the conference through The American Legion suggested in a letter to the superintendent of schools ". . . we feel that books of this nature should be removed from our schools and would like to hear

⁷Western Union Telegram from Madison W. Burr to The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, October 30, 1940, 10:29 a.m. (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Madison W. Burr, November 1, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁹Letter from Madison W. Burr to H. L. Chaillaux, May 5, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

from you regarding such."¹⁰ The superintendent informed the chairman that "the Rugg books are not on our list of books and have not been purchased. Samples, may, of course, have accidentally gotten into the schools, as book companies often send samples to principals and teachers."¹¹ This seemed to be the last of the matter.

Chicago, Illinois

The Chairman of the Americanism Commission, Department of Illinois, The American Legion, noted in a letter to the National Commander ". . . that the report of an extended investigation of subversive material in the textbooks, periodicals and other reading material used in the schools of the City of Chicago revealed findings which are very favorable in the sense that no subversive material has been found present. . . . It was at the request of our Department of Illinois that this survey was made."¹²

Danville, Illinois

The Americanism Committee of Curtis G. Redden Post #210, Danville, Illinois, reported that ". . . two of Rugg's

¹⁰Letter from Neal J. Capaldo to Homer W. Anderson, December 2, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹¹Letter from Homer W. Anderson to Neal J. Capaldo, December 5, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹²Letter from Elliodor M. Libonati to Milo J. Warner, January 10, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

textbooks, America Rebuilds and The Great Technology, are in the holdings of the library in the Danville schools. But since these books are not being used in the classrooms, this Committee will drop the matter at this point."¹³

Hammond, Indiana

The Hammond American Legion Council, Hammond, Indiana, comprised of Hammond Post #16, Maywood Post #126, Victory Post #168, and Hessville Post #232, made a survey of the textbook situation in the Hammond Public Schools. However, they first requested that Mr. Shumaker supply them with information basic to the study to be made. Shumaker said,

I am very pleased that you are concerned with the textbook situation in your public schools, and will be happy to serve you in any way possible. I find that the Rugg books are based on his philosophy which opposes individual enterprise and free competition. Rugg would set-up a collectivist state in which private capital would be controlled by bureaus or government. The books place far too little emphasis on our American heroes and our great tradition. They emphasize those things in our history which can be painted as a dark picture. . . . He (Rugg) uses the Soviety [sic] Union as an example of collectivism and he speaks of the progress of the Soviety [sic] Union in very commendable terms. In fact, his references to the Soviet Union prove decisively that Rugg believes in a form of socialist state. . . .¹⁴

No further action on the part of the Council to have the

¹³Letter from Allen Deege, Secretary, Curtis G. Redden Post #210, Danville, Illinois, to H. L. Chaillaux, January 4, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁴Letter from R. Worth Shumaker, Assistant Director, National Americanism Commission, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, to Eugene Lathe, February 21, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

Rugg textbooks removed from the public schools is recorded.

Mount Kisco, New York

Mr. E. Paul Schaefer, Legionnaire and member of the board of education, Mount Kisco Public Schools, Mount Kisco, New York, reported to Mr. Chaillaux that he had ". . . prepared an evaluation of Harold Rugg's Our Country and Our People, which is being used in the Mount Kisco schools, and have recommended to the other members of the board that this volume be discarded in that it fails lamentably to give our youth a true picture of America and its problems."¹⁵

Glen Rock, New York

Glen Rock Post #145, Glen Rock, New York, made a complaint to the board of education that Rugg social science textbooks were being used in the local schools and requested they be removed. At the regular meeting of the board of education the following action was taken:

In view of the complaint by The American Legion some time ago regarding the use of textbooks and workbooks by Professor Rugg of Columbia, The Legion's Americanization Committee and the Board's Education Committee have been reviewing these books and have had several informal meetings. After thorough discussion of various passages and paragraphs in Prof. Rugg's books, recommendations were agreed upon by all members of each group.

RESOLVED: That a sufficient amount of money be placed in our budget to permit the purchase of new Junior High School Social Science textbooks, replacing the Rugg books as a classroom text as outlined in the Board's

¹⁵Letter from E. Paul Schaefer to H. L. Chaillaux, February 23, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

policy approved at a meeting early this year, and be it,
 FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Rugg books now on hand,
 be retained only for general reference purposes and that
 our Teachers be instructed to continue to introduce the
 new material as it is developed.¹⁶

East Cleveland, Ohio

On May 1, 1941, the National Publicity Division of
 The American Legion reported that the East Cleveland, Ohio,
 Public Schools had banned the Rugg social science textbooks
 from use in classrooms. The chairman of the Subversion Com-
 mittee of the Hawley Park Post wrote to Mr. Chaillaux saying,
 ". . . we are happy that Rugg is out. The quiet effective
 work of the Subversion Committee was very instrumental be-
 cause the Board of Education saw that we were not inclined
 to arouse undue excitement. . . . With removal of the volumes
 from the schools teachers will be relieved of much embarrass-
 ment."¹⁷

Rapid City, South Dakota

The Americanization Committee of Rapid City Post
 #22, Rapid City, South Dakota, submitted a report on the
 use of Rugg's books in the Rapid City Public Schools. It

¹⁶Letter from William H. Felton, Chairman of Ameri-
 canization Committee, Glen Rock Post #145, Glen Rock, New
 Jersey, to H. L. Chaillaux, March 19, 1941 (Legion dead-
 letter files).

¹⁷News Bulletin, National Publicity Division, The
 American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, May 1, 1941 (Legion
 dead-letter files).

stated:

. . . The Rugg textbooks are being used in the Rapid City schools, and the Committee investigated these books one evening with the assistance of the principal . . . who is a member of this Post.

These textbooks teach the fundamental principles of all forms of society and government, including Communism. They do not advocate Communism, but point out the bad results of Communism in Russia. They do teach that our Democracy has needed and does need changing. They teach that there are injustices and wrongs practiced in our Democracy which should be stopped; and they teach that our Government should stop these wrongs by making and enforcing regulations. . . . Your Americanism Committee finds that every injustice and wrong which are pointed out in these textbooks has been emphasized and utilized by officials of our Government - including the President again and again. Every change and regulation which is recommended by these textbooks as being desirable has either already been put into practice, or has been advocated by executive officers of our Government.

Therefore your Committee comes to the conclusion that our schools and these textbooks are only teaching what our Government openly advocates. If that is wrong, then The American Legion should have the courage to criticize the Government; but should not pick on our schools for simply following accepted Governmental principles. . . . The American Legion owes an apology to the schools of the United States.¹⁸

National Commander Milo J. Warner replied,

. . . in none of the public utterances of members of the National Headquarters staff, have we ever sought to indict the vast majority of loyal public school teachers who are attempting to do a good job of teaching our children the fundamental principles of the American way of life. However, we have attempted to point out the apparent disloyalty of some of those in the educational field.¹⁹

Similar statements were made by Commander Warner in

¹⁸Letter from Walter McDonald, Adjutant Rapid City Post #22, Rapid City, South Dakota, to Milo J. Warner, June 17, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁹Letter from Milo J. Warner to Walter McDonald, June 25, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

speaking to the 1941 Convention of the National Education Association in Boston. Commander Warner stated:

. . . while we have disagreed with some texts which have taken root in the schools we are in absolute agreement with the feeling that support for the highest grade of teachers is the first duty of any community.

The lay criticisms we have launched at the occasional textbook author who would trade a collectivist society for the form of government we inherited from the Foundation of Our Country does not mean that we indict a whole association of teachers. . . . We do not, however, want to see textbook authors, under the misused guise of academic freedom, inculcating a love of collectivist theories of society before 'the mind has learned to think for the acquisition of truth.' We value education's capacity to produce citizenship which will keep in mind the greatest good of the greatest number among our people, and we would have it open to every child from six to sixty. But in culling the great truths and principles upon which our form of citizenship must operate, from the flowers that bloom in the gardens of learning, it is essential that the child be given the same unerring training for a sound takeoff that guides the bee in his flight towards honey-making blossoms.

. . . textbook authors must not regard it as their province to use the schoolroom as a sounding board whereon the glories of the collectivist society shall be preached and the inference shall be left that Washington was a hard-drinking master of hounds. . . .

It is because of our great admiration for the part you as educators have taken in preserving our America that we sometimes question the tools - the textbooks - that are given you in the performance of your professional tasks. In order that we may be clearly understood on this point, I desire to state that we of The Legion object to the Harold O. Rugg series of social science textbooks which we hold to be collectivist.

We do not approach the subject of education as experts save as thousands of our members are teachers by profession. Our stake in the future of America is at least equal to that of any other segment of the population. You have the guidance of our Nation's children as educators. We have an honored future for our children as parents. There really is no divergence of opinion in the goal that you and we seek. . . .²⁰

²⁰Speech by Milo J. Warner to the 1941 Convention of the National Education Association, Mechanics Building, Boston, Massachusetts, June 30, 1941.

Delta, Colorado

The Harry A. White Post #65, Delta, Colorado, reported to the national office that ". . . the Rugg books had been removed from our school system last Fall in response to the continual attack upon them as voiced weekly in our local Legion newspaper column."²¹

Fairfield, Connecticut

The Anti-Subversive Committee of the George Alfred Smith Post #74, Fairfield, Connecticut, reported that they ". . . had completed an exhaustive study of the textbooks used in the high schools in Fairfield. We found Rugg's books are being used in the schools, but have not requested they be removed. . . ."²² This same committee further reported:

The members of the committee . . . have conscientiously read the textbooks with a view of ascertaining whether or not there was anything in them which might be construed as subversive or un-American. . . . it is the collective opinion of this committee that said textbooks do not contain subversive or un-American material as such. . . . This committee recommends that the titles of all books used in the Public Schools together with the names of the authors and publishers should be printed in the local newspapers on a given day at least once a year and

²¹Letter from Gray Sheek, Commander, Harry A. White Post #65, Delta, Colorado, to R. Worth Shumaker, July 6, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

²²Letter from Talbot J. Taylor, Chairman, Anti-Subversive Committee, George Alfred Smith Post #74, Fairfield, Connecticut, to Anthony S. Stumpp, Commander, George Alfred Smith Post #74, Fairfield, Connecticut, July 7, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

that similar notations should appear during the year when new books are added for various courses. The list should also include the reference books in each course with the name of the author and publisher.²³

Detroit, Michigan

The chairman of the Americanism Committee, Ford Motor Company Post #173, Detroit, Michigan, requested the superintendent of Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Detroit to give him a report on the textbooks being used in these schools. The superintendent replied,

You may be assured that the books of Harold Rugg are not included among the American History textbooks in the Catholic schools of this area and diocese. I am including a copy of the reading list used in the seventh and eighth grades so that you may see the books that are used in these courses.²⁴

Dearborn, Michigan

A report was also submitted by the Principal of the Dearborn High School, Dearborn, Michigan, which stated, "With regard to the Rugg books, we do not use them in regular high school . . . although we have never had the feeling that the philosophy in the books was in any way subversive or that the books contain unpatriotic statements."²⁵ The assistant superintendent of schools in Dearborn reported for

²³Ibid., p. 2.

²⁴Letter from Carroll F. Deady to K. Williams, October 28, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁵Letter from Otto H. Olsen to K. Williams, October 29, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

for the other schools in this city that

. . . we use one of Rugg's books in our fundamentals of history course in 7B. In my opinion there is not a chapter, a paragraph or a sentence in the Rugg textbooks that is not entirely devoted to the promotion of democracy and to the defense of genuine Americanism principles.²⁶

Garden City, New York

The William Bradford Turner Post #265, Garden City, New York, of which Major Augustin G. Rudd was a member, reported ". . . In Garden City public schools the Rugg series was widely used three and one-half years ago when I started to expose their true nature. The books have now been eliminated in all classes and have not been in use for the past three years."²⁷

Fargo, North Dakota

The superintendent of schools, Fargo, North Dakota, reported, ". . . Some of the Rugg books are being used in our schools. We feel that they are serving a useful purpose, and that in the hands of teachers as capable as ours, the cause of Americanism and democracy is not being injured in the least. . . ."²⁸

²⁶Letter from Ervin Howard to K. Williams, November 27, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁷Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to R. Worth Shumaker, November 12, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁸Letter from H. H. Kirk to R. Worth Shumaker, December 16, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

Rochester, New York

By vote of the board of education in Rochester, New York, the Rugg social science textbooks were removed from the libraries and classrooms of its public schools.

This action was taken after Homer L. Chaillaux, Director of The Legion's National Americanism Commission, distributed The Legion's analyses of the Rugg books from headquarters at Indianapolis. Rochester thus joins the increasing number of communities whose children will no longer obtain their ideas of American history and of American institutions from the Rugg system. . . .²⁹

Newton Falls, Ohio

An attorney, who was also a Legionnaire, in Newton Falls, Ohio, reported,

. . . the only Rugg book I could find being used in our schools according to Sup. [sic] L. D. Kepner, (who is a member of our post), is The Building of America [Volume V which was used in the elementary schools]. . . . A hasty ready [sic] of this volume by myself failed to disclose an [sic] un-american [sic] writing [sic] in fact I found it well written and interesting reading. Perhaps I missed something. Will you kindly inform me just what part of the book or statements made in same, that objections are made to. . . .³⁰

Mr. Chaillaux replied,

. . . It is quite possible and logical that you will find nothing wrong with this one book when you read it alone. You will find, however, after following the entire course through the elementary school and on into junior high school, that the Rugg books are propaganda for a reconstructed order which is opposed by The

²⁹ New York Journal American, February 27, 1942.

³⁰ Letter from F. Milo Hettish to R. Worth Shumaker, March 30, 1942 (Legion dead-letter files).

American Legion.³¹

Harvard, Illinois

A member of the William J. Metzen Post #265, Harvard, Illinois, reported that ". . . the following Rugg textbooks are being used in the Harvard Schools: Our Country and Our People, Changing Countries and Changing People, and Citizenship and Civic Affairs. Are we supposed to ask to have these books removed from use in the classrooms?"³² Mr. Chaillaux informed him that ". . . The American Legion condemns the use of all Rugg books. . . . The Rugg books fail quite miserably to emphasize our fine American values and naturally such books have no place in our schools at this time. . . ."³³

San Francisco, California

Mr. Charles McGongel, who was chairman of the Americanization Committee and Adjutant of the Department of California, The American Legion, reported ". . . the San Francisco Board of Education voted unanimously today to ban from city schools the Rugg social science textbooks which critics charged were designed to advance a 'new social order' to do

³¹Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to F. Milo Hettish, March 31, 1942 (Legion dead-letter files).

³²Letter from Raymond J. McGuire to H. L. Chaillaux, March 31, 1942 (Legion dead-letter files).

³³Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Raymond J. McGuire, April 2, 1942 (Legion dead-letter files).

away with democracy. . . .³⁴ Mr. Chaillaux made a statement about this action in San Francisco by saying,

. . . The American Legion has been actively fighting for two years to get the desired results from the school board in San Francisco. We were able to accomplish the job in Los Angeles more than a year ago. We are not stopping the fight, but we are continuing to carry this issue to every school system in the nation as the time to do this job is now while we are at war.³⁵

Franklin County, Ohio

The Adjutant of Robert Dutro Post #486 in Franklin County, Ohio, wrote that

. . . Three of the Rugg books are being used in Franklin County schools. . . . I made a general criticism of them from information not too definate [sic] and since then they have asked me what the real objections to these books happen to be. I am therefore appealing to you for these folks for the information at your command, that I may be prepared to show these folks that they have the wrong books. . . .³⁶

Mr. Chaillaux sent him copies of Rugg Philosophy Analyzed, but no record is given that the Adjutant succeeded in having the Rugg books removed from use in the Franklin County schools.

Lansing, Michigan

A Business Counselor in Lansing, Michigan, and a

³⁴Letter from Charles G. McGongel to H. L. Chaillaux, April 8, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

³⁵Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Charles G. McGongel, April 10, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

³⁶Letter from Joseph H. Palmer to H. L. Chaillaux, July 9, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

member of East Lansing Post #205, informed the national headquarters office:

. . . Our Junior High School uses all six volumes of the Rugg textbooks. One of the best defenses by the school authorities of the Rugg books is that you objectors never recommend a substitute text which could be acceptable to the modern teacher and pupil. Will you suggest several modern authors and their books which will be good textbooks of American history for the 7th, 8th and 9th grades? . . . I shall ask that the Rugg books be removed and recommend for use the books you suggest as being good.³⁷

The reply given to this letter was:

It is true that we have not recommended specifically the use of certain good United States histories. Our reason for not having done so is, that any recommendation would most likely involve the Commission.

Our objective in seeking the removal of the Rugg textbooks, and the adoption of good, strong patriotic textbooks, carries no commercial angle whatsoever with it. Our job is strictly on behalf of our boys and girls --the making of better citizens.

There are a large number of excellent United States history textbooks published. There are other very strong and genuinely American social studies textbooks available to every school system. If your only solution to the removal of the Rugg books is that of securing a list of good patriotic textbooks, that is after you have discussed this matter very thoroughly with your local school leaders, then I will certainly send on to you the names of certain strong textbooks being used by some of the good school systems of the nation and which have been highly recommended to us by school administrators.³⁸

It was not recorded whether the Business Counselor succeeded in having the Rugg books removed from the Lansing schools.

Mr. Chaillaux reported to the Twenty-Fifth Annual

³⁷Letter from Reginald H. Holbrook to R. Worth Shumaker, September 20, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

³⁸Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Reginald H. Holbrook, October 1, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

National Convention of The American Legion at Omaha, Nebraska, September 21-23, 1943, that ". . . The Rugg Textbooks are now poison to some of those who were originally for them. They are going out as a light. The local Legion Posts are doing a wonderful job in the schools seeing that the Rugg textbooks are being removed without fanfare. . . ."39

Nevada State Textbook Commission

The Nevada State Textbook Commission removed from the state textbook adoption list the Rugg books upon the objections of The American Legion.⁴⁰ In attempting to find other texts to replace the Rugg books, one of the members of the Commission wrote to Mr. Chaillaux requesting

. . . a list of the publications that you have investigated and found not objectionable. . . . The discontinuance of the Rugg texts caused the school districts of the state to suffer a considerable expense and I am very anxious to take every precaution now to safeguard against the termination of any adopted text before the expiration of the adoption period.⁴¹

Mr. Chaillaux informed the Commission that

. . . the Americanism Commission, after a great deal of discussion decided against the publication of any selection of textbooks. It was felt by the Commission that all schools and interested individuals are in position

³⁹Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual National Conventions of The American Legion, Omaha, Nebraska, September 21-23, 1943, p. 20.

⁴⁰Letter from Roger Corbett to H. L. Chaillaux, November 15, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴¹Letter from Roger Corbett to H. L. Chaillaux, November 19, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

to receive sample copies from textbook publishers. Were the Commission to distribute a selected list of books, immediate accusation would be made that a commercial angle is involved. . . .⁴²

Kent University Library, Kent, Ohio

The Adjutant of the Department of Ohio, The American Legion, Columbus, Ohio, sent a list of Rugg textbooks which were included in the shelf holdings of the Kent University Library, Kent, Ohio, to the National Americanism Director with this explanation:

When I was informed that these books were being used by students of Kent University I immediately wrote to the State Director of Education asking him to use his influence in having these books removed from the library of the University. We were advised that they had no authority to select textbooks for schools in Ohio, but it was up to the Board of Trustees to make the selections.

I have written to the Chairman of the Americanism Committee and asked him to appoint a committee of four Legionnaires to call upon the trustees and suggest to them that they remove the books from the school library. I don't know what the result will be, but I do know that our Americanism Committee will do something about this.⁴³

The results achieved by this effort were not recorded.

Newburgh, New York

Mr. J. P. Monihan, Chairman, Americanization Committee, Judson P. Galloway Post #152, Newburgh, New York, reported to Mr. Chaillaux that

⁴²Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Roger Corbett, November 22, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴³Letter from J. J. Saslavsky to H. L. Chaillaux, November 20, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

. . . Only one of the Rugg books is being used in the Newburgh schools, and it in the seventh grade. The board of education has promised to remove this book if our Committee will recommend a more suitable one which will meet the approval of the teachers. . . . Please advise what textbooks The American Legion has to recommend for use in teaching history in the Newburgh schools.⁴⁴

Mr. Chaillaux replied that

. . . Each community has its own problem in relation to the textbooks. The proper approach to this situation is not to suggest a textbook but to discuss the matter [sic] freely and frankly with the school officials, and then let them decide on a book which will meet their adoption criteria. . . . Be sure that the local school leaders understand that The Legion's effort is helpful and not destructive. . . .⁴⁵

Watertown, South Dakota

One of the Legionnaires in Watertown, South Dakota, reported that

. . . The Marion schools are not presently using any of the Rugg textbooks, but do you still have the list of school books banned by The Legion as unfit to be used as textbooks in our public schools? One of the Marion school board members would appreciate having the list.⁴⁶

Mr. Chaillaux informed Mr. Murphy that ". . . we have never published a list of so-called un-American or anti-American textbooks, nor have we ever published a list of what may be

⁴⁴Letter from J. P. Monihan to H. L. Chaillaux, December 2, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁵Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to J. P. Monihan, December 15, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁶Letter from Lyle F. Murphy, Assistant Department Adjutant, Department of South Dakota, The American Legion, Watertown, South Dakota, to H. L. Chaillaux, January 20, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

termed 'best' textbooks for use in public schools."⁴⁷

New York City

The Vice-President-Treasurer of Canada Dry Ginger Ale, Incorporated, New York, New York, sent in a list of eighty-four books, workbooks, and pamphlets being used in his home town junior and senior high schools. In the accompanying letter he said,

This list is being submitted to you in answer to your questionnaire which asked for information pertaining to books being used in the local schools. You will notice there are no Rugg books included in the list.

Continued discussions about the questionable practices of teachers in the educational system and particularly references to some of the questionable material in textbooks has prompted me to ask the Superintendent of Schools to provide me with this list of books being used in the schools. He has very generously done so and I send it to you.

However, I would like very much to know if you have any means whereby this list can be checked against books which have been analyzed so that those subject to question can be studied locally with the view of suggesting to the local Superintendent of Schools that the textbooks be replaced with books of unquestioned acceptability.⁴⁸

Mr. Shumaker replied,

. . . In consideration of the large list of books you have submitted, I would suggest that you determine locally if any one of the textbooks being used in your schools is questionable. . . . This office is not very familiar with many of the new textbooks. I think you might check or have checked particularly those books which bear the names of Commager, Cosner and Gabriel,

⁴⁷Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Lyle F. Murphy, February 1, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁸Letter from P. H. Littlefield to R. Worth Shumaker, March 3, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

and perhaps Becker. This office will be glad to make an analysis of such textbooks in case the book is thought to contain un-American or anti-American propaganda or other materials.⁴⁹

Reno, Nevada

Mr. J. E. Martie, Adjutant, Department of Nevada,
The American Legion, Reno Nevada, informed Mr. Chaillaux
that

. . . the Department of Education in our State wants to clear through the American Legion their proposed book adoptions before they take final action. Enclosed you will find a list of books up for adoption. Will you please inform me immediately if you have any adverse report on your desk concerning any of these books? You will appreciate that this is the aftermath of our crusade against the Rugg books, and we are happy to have them come to us in this matter and we don't want to let them down.⁵⁰

Mr. Chaillaux informed Mr. Martie, ". . . please be advised that we have no adverse reports on any of the books mentioned. I only wish that more states were as interested and alert about their state textbook adoptions."⁵¹

Ridgefield, New Jersey

"The books of Columbia Professor Harold O. Rugg tend to undermine belief in the fundamental principles of the

⁴⁹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to P. H. Littlefield, March 20, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁰Letter from J. E. Martie to H. L. Chaillaux, June 1, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵¹Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to J. E. Martie, June 15, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

American republic and represent 'the most complete and artful program of indoctrination' in the history of our public schools." This was the charge levelled by Major Augustin G. Rudd, who spoke at a mass meeting in the City Hall, Ridgefield, New Jersey, called by Walter H. Roemer Post #221 to protest the use of the Rugg social science textbooks in the Ridgefield schools. After the mass meeting the board of education voted to remove all Rugg textbooks being used in the Ridgefield schools. The six volume junior high school series was being used.⁵²

After the Ridgefield incident no other reports from local Posts are recorded in the Legion's files. The Legion's Americanism Commission directed its emphasis toward analyzing and criticizing textbooks other than the Rugg series after this date.

Summary

Of the thirty-two schools reporting, twelve stated that the Rugg books had been in use but upon request of the local Legion Post the books were being removed from use in the classroom. Eleven schools stated that the Rugg books were being used in the classrooms but not planning to have them removed regardless of the objections raised by The American Legion. Four schools reported that the Rugg books

⁵² Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to R. Worth Shumaker, August 23, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

were not in use and five schools reported that an investigation had been made and nothing subversive or un-American had been found in the Rugg books.

CHAPTER IV

CONTROVERSY OVER ARMSTRONG MAGAZINE ARTICLE

Origin of the Controversy

The September, 1940, issue of The American Legion Magazine contained an article entitled "Treason In the Textbooks" by Mr. O. K. Armstrong, a Legionnaire. Mr. Armstrong declared that the ". . . 'Frontier Thinkers' are trying to sell our youth the idea that the American way of life has failed."¹ He further suggested that Harold O. Rugg had four specific objectives in mind in writing his social science textbooks:

1. To present a new interpretation of history in order to 'debunk' our heroes and cast doubt upon their motives, their patriotism and their service to mankind.
2. To cast aspersions upon our Constitution and our form of government, and shape opinions favorable to replacing them with socialistic control.
3. To condemn the American system of private ownership and enterprise, and form opinions favorable to collectivism.
4. To mould opinions against traditional religious faiths and ideas of morality, as being parts of an outgrown system.

Mr. Armstrong further declared:

. . . It's time we learned that our children are be-

¹O. K. Armstrong, "Treason In The Textbooks," The American Legion Magazine, XV (September, 1940), p. 52.

ing taught, in the name of civics, social science and history, doctrines so subversive as to undermine their faith in the American way of life.

. . . out of textbooks and courses adopted by public high schools in the good ole U.S.A. - by state and local authorities that likely do not know they have been taken for a ride by the most insidious attack of un-Americanism yet perfected by the Trojan horsemen.

It's a case for the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities, and with the vigorous cooperation of The American Legion the Dies Committee has turned its attention to these subversive activities in our schools. But it is more than that. It's a case for the personal attention of every parent who would like to preserve American ideals and institutions.

'Catch'em young!' That's the motto of the radical and communistic textbook writers who all too violently have been in control of the field. You expect college and graduate students to delve into controversial social and political theories. But it's the junior and senior high school years that provide the lasting impressions. Teach a boy or girl of twelve to sixteen that George Washington might have been a land-grabber, the Constitution a protector of the economic royalist, and modern business an oppressor of the poor man, and the idea will stick.

At a time when the very existence of our Republic is threatened by totalitarian ideology and aggression, the public schools must be regarded as one of the major arms of our internal defense. The close affiliation of dictators to achieve their ends has torn the mask off any attempts to make distinction among them as to 'left' and 'right.' Each stands as the enemy of representative government and of human liberties, and their collectivism as the bitter foe of the democracy under the name of which it seeks to hide.

Let me repeat: Legionnaire families should continue their study of their own home school system. . . .

In this same article Mr. Armstrong listed thirty-eight book titles, with the author, and through implication left the reader with the thought that these books were subversive and un-American in content. The writer also asked Legionnaires and readers of The Legion Magazine "Are These Books In Your Schools?"

The books and periodicals listed were:

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE EARTH, Harold O. Rugg
 NATURE PEOPLES, Harold O. Rugg
 COMMUNITIES OF MEN, Harold O. Rugg
 GREAT TECHNOLOGY, Harold O. Rugg
 PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES, Harold O. Rugg
 BUILDING OF AMERICA, Harold O. Rugg
 MAN AT WORK: HIS INDUSTRIES, Harold O. Rugg
 MAN AT WORK: HIS ARTS, Harold O. Rugg
 MANKIND THROUGH THE AGES, Harold O. Rugg
 INTRODUCING AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, Harold O. Rugg
 CHANGING CIVILIZATIONS IN THE MODERN WORLD, Harold O. Rugg
 HISTORY OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND CULTURE, Harold O. Rugg
 AN INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN CULTURE, Harold O. Rugg
 CHANGING GOVERNMENTS AND CHANGING CULTURES, Harold O. Rugg
 VOLUME III, CONQUEST OF AMERICA, Harold O. Rugg
 AMERICA'S MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY, Harold O. Rugg
 SCHOLASTIC, National High School Weekly, Harold O. Rugg, Social Studies Editor
 CIVIC LEADER, tabloid for children, Washington, D. C.
 THE JUNIOR REVIEW, tabloid for children, Washington, D. C.
 WEEKLY NEWS REVIEW, tabloid for children, Washington, D. C.
 SOCIAL FRONTIER, George S. Counts, Editor-magazine
 MODERN HISTORY, Carl Becker
 AMERICAN OBSERVER, Current Events Paper
 DARE THE SCHOOL BUILD A NEW SOCIAL ORDER, George S. Counts
 SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION, George S. Counts
 THE SOVIET CHALLENGE TO AMERICA, George S. Counts
 CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, Beard & Muzzey, Editors, Washington, D. C.
 EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION & POLITICS SINCE 1815, Erik Achorn
 BOY AND GIRL TRAMPS OF AMERICA - TRAMPS OF AMERICA, Thomas Minehan
 HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, Beard and Beard
 AMERICA YESTERDAY AND TODAY, Nichols
 THE MYTH OF RUGGED INDIVIDUALISM, Charles A. Beard
 WE THE PEOPLE, Leo Huberman
 LEADERSHIP IN A CHANGING WORLD, Ruth Wanger and David Hoffman
 A CALL TO THE TEACHERS OF THE NATION, Progressive Education, Social and Economic Problems
 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL STUDIES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Beard, Counts and Newlon signed 'Conclusions'
 RUSSIAN PRIMER, Translated by George S. Counts

This article later appeared to place The American Legion in a difficult situation with certain segments of the American population. Also, some of the publishers of the books and periodicals listed in Armstrong's article were placed in embarrassing situations with their subscribers.

Publishers' Reactions to Armstrong Article

Mr. Edward H. Kenerson, Director of Ginn and Company Educational Publishers, informed Mr. Chaillaux, the Director of The National Americanism Commission, The American Legion, that

. . . I have on my desk a copy of the Armstrong article which appeared in the Legion Magazine. I must say that Dr. Rugg would have entered suit long before this, had it not been for the restraining influence of his publishers, but if retractions do not make an end to such a libelous campaign, we shall have to resort to other means.²

Mr. Kenerson was advised by Mr. Chaillaux that ". . . We in this office cannot control the policy of The American Legion Magazine . . . but will immediately help correct any damage which has been done."³

The Publishing Editor of Silver Burdett Company requested an explanation as to why one of their publications, Modern History, by Carl Becker, was included on the list of objectionable books in the article written by Mr. Armstrong.

²Letter from Edward H. Kenerson to H. L. Chaillaux, September 28, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

³Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Edward H. Kenerson, October 1, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

The Editor stated

. . . The list of books thus damned by inference includes one of our publications - MODERN HISTORY, by Carl Becker. . . . This is a very serious matter, not only for the reputation of Dr. Becker and the welfare of Silver Burdett Company, but also for the cause of American education and the integrity of The American Legion. . . . We know of no reason why a book such as Dr. Becker's should be considered subversive, not to say treasonable, and we want a complete retraction insofar as this book is concerned.⁴

Mr. James F. Barton, Director of Publications for The American Legion replied,

The American Legion regrets that Modern History by Carl Becker was inadvertently included in the list of publications said to be objectionable. The editors have been unable to find anything in it which is un-American or otherwise objectionable for school use. However, this office will not release a statement of any kind with reference to any other books in question until we have had an opportunity to review all of them. . . .⁵

Closing the issue, Mr. Chaillaux received a note from Silver Burdett Company Publishers saying, ". . . This letter will assist us greatly in overcoming prejudice that may have arisen as a result of the inclusion of Becker's Modern History in the list of 'objectionable' textbooks."⁶

The Macmillan Company Publishers requested a retraction

⁴ Letter from Burr L. Chase, Publishing Editor, Silver Burdett Company, New York, New York, to Keith L. Johns, Editor, Bookwalter-Ball-Greathouse Printing Company, Indianapolis, Indiana, September 27, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵ Letter from James F. Barton to Burr L. Chase, October 2, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁶ Letter from Burr L. Chase to H. L. Chaillaux, October 15, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

by Mr. Chaillaux regarding one of their books which had been included in the list by Mr. Armstrong.

. . . I do urgently request . . . you make amends for the manifest injustice of so listing this book "America Today" by Roy H. Nichols, William C. Bagley and Charles A. Beard, by a retraction in the earliest possible issue of the magazine. Dr. Beard is a liberal, but in no sense a 'red' or a 'pink.' Not all of his views are shared by everyone, but certainly all the schoolbooks of which he has been a contributing author are books which tend to impress students with the value of American institutions and to instill in them a devotion to the democratic way of life and hatred for tyranny.⁷

On October 29, 1940, the Manager of Ginn and Company, Mr. H. C. Lucas, wrote to National Commander Milo J. Warner about the article appearing in The Legion Magazine:

If the things were true of the Rugg books which are said about them in the article, we would be very much disturbed. We are just as concerned about the teaching of the democratic way of life as any good citizen ought to be. We think that textbooks must develop a love of country. We assure you that if we did not think that the Rugg books do this, we would not be publishing them. . . . the majority of the statements quoted from Rugg in this magazine article are twisted by the omission of certain important sentences, words, or parts of sentences in such manner as to make it appear that Rugg makes some statements which he does not make when the entire context is considered. . . .⁸

Reactions of Legionnaires to Armstrong Article

On September 20, 1940, Major Augustin G. Rudd wrote the following letter to Mr. Chaillaux about the article which

⁷Letter from H. L. Knowlton, Editor-in-Chief, Macmillan Company, New York, New York, to H. L. Chaillaux, October 4, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸Letter from H. C. Lucas to Milo J. Warner, October 29, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

appeared in The Legion Magazine:

No doubt you have heard the kickback on the list of books published with Armstrong's article. I thought his story was excellent but when I saw the list of books I was surprised, for it was never intended for publication. When I saw Armstrong in June he told me the story was coming but I had no opportunity to see the copy, nor did he mention the inclusion of a list of books.

In the many articles I have written on this subject, I have never included a list of books, knowing full well the risk involved. Apparently it was obtained from my file in your office. . . . It was unfortunate that the whole list was published and I certainly hope that there will be no unpleasant consequences. I only want to make sure that you understand my position in the matter.⁹

Mr. Chaillaux replied, ". . . The controversies which have arisen as a result of this article will have to be answered by the editor of The American Legion Magazine."¹⁰

Mr. David R. Smith, a Legionnaire and member of the board of education of the Delaware, Ohio, public schools, wrote to the Managing Editor of The Legion Magazine saying,

It is my purpose to challenge the appearance of such an article as "Treason In the Textbooks" . . . and to inquire if you, the editor, consulted any one of the thousands of teachers in the Legion ranks who could have passed on the validity of this attack?

. . . I want to state that it is my belief that Mr. Armstrong wished to wax sensational in the Legion columns. . . . Could you not Mr. Editor, have checked with some teacher or superintendent whose understanding you are certain about and whose aim you are sure of before you made our magazine a sheet dealing with such drivel?

. . . You have lent your columns to cast reflection on the schools of the country and on the type of teachers in them. We challenge that vigorously! . . . May I

⁹Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to H. L. Chaillaux, September 20, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁰Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Major Augustin G. Rudd, September 30, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

reiterate Mr. Editor that you did not print an article that dealt with school aims and teaching problems but rather you permitted a 'smear' article attacking teachers and publishers with intimations and allusions!

. . . I do not wish to be chalked off as a crackpot or a friend of any one accused. . . .¹¹

Criticism about the article "Treason In the Text-books" came from one of the members of Carmel Post #512, The American Legion, Carmel, California, who was also a Past Commander of the Department of California.

As a member of The Legion since 1919, as one who has served his post as commander and in many other capacities, as one who has consistently supported and fought for The Legion when it has been right and when it has been wrong, as one who has during the past three years been in close personal contact with college and high school youth, and prior to that active in the business world, and as a school teacher, I protest most vigorously against the senseless, damaging, inaccurate, unfounded and un-American campaign of The American Legion Magazine, against the school men and school teachers of the United States.

The American Legion stands now largely discredited and impotent to deal with school teachers, schools or school men due to its repeated attacks, its ridiculous caricatures of teachers, its articles based on the reading of a chapter of a textbook by one parent, its conclusions that anyone who may disagree in some particular way with an office hunting Legion Politician is a Red, its demands that school children accept its version of every incident without bothering to examine the facts, in short its attempt to place itself as the final and only judge of what is and what is not Americanism.

Unless this senseless persecution is stopped The Legion will be damaged beyond repair. . . . It cannot harm education which welcomes every decent and open-minded inquiry, and which will benefit by even this biased and prejudiced campaign, but it can and will damage The Legion. I appeal to you, as a Legionnaire, to

¹¹Letter from David R. Smith to Boyd B. Sutler, September 25, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

stop this thing . . . before it is too late.¹²

Mr. Chaillaux replied,

. . . every effort is being made to cooperate with the public schools of the nation in a fair manner . . . but there is some cause for our concern over the activities of a rank minority of frontier thinkers in the field of education. We do, however, recognize that the huge majority of teachers are fine, patriotic Americans.¹³

On March 14, 1941, Mr. Chaillaux received a letter from an Industrialist, who was also a Legionnaire, in Bloomington, Illinois, relative to the Armstrong article which said,

. . . Personally I feel The Legion has done and is in a position to do a wonderful job in preserving the Democratic form of government. . . . Certainly you are doing a fine piece of work in citizenship . . . and The Legion must be considered an important factor in our social, economic and democratic society as we know it and like it.¹⁴

Armstrong Article Affects Publications Listed

The Head of the History Department in the public schools of Beaumont, Texas, wrote a letter on September 6, 1940, to the editor of the Weekly News Review saying, "The article in this month's American Legion Magazine places your publication on the questionable list. Due to your splendid

¹²Letter from J. W. Getsinger to Milo J. Warner, November 25, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹³Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to J. W. Getsinger, December 9, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁴Letter from Arthur P. Kane, Kane Engraving Company, Bloomington, Illinois, to H. L. Chaillaux, March 14, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

service the years we have used your publication, I am giving you our reason for discontinuing your paper."¹⁵

The Principal of St. Michael's Diocesan High School in Brooklyn, New York, wrote a letter to the publishers of the Civic Education Service stating, "Unless satisfactory reasons can be given for the denial of the points listed by Mr. O. K. Armstrong in The American Legion Magazine, reported by the New York Journal and American, page 5, September 5, 1940, we request that the names of our teachers and schools be removed from your mailing lists."¹⁶

The superintendent of schools in Lockport, New York, contacted the editor of The American Observer by letter saying,

It has been called to our attention that in the September issue of the American Legion magazine, 1940, your paper, The American Observer, has apparently been listed as one of the publications under criticism by the writer of the article, Mr. O. K. Armstrong.

Since the American Observer has been used in schools under my supervision from the Pacific coast to the Atlantic and since I have not previously been aware of any such subversive purpose of the paper, I am curious to know what information you are able to give with regard to any investigation of the publication--by whom made, for what purpose?

It is not an indorsement of anyone's opinion, but an honest attempt to get at the attack that has been

¹⁵Letter from Alyce Williams to Walter Myer, Editor, Weekly News Review, Washington, D. C., September 6, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁶Letter from Bro. Mauricius, C. F. X., to Editor, Civic Education Service, Washington, D. C., September 6, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

made.¹⁷

One of the administrators of the Canandaigua Academy, Canandaigua, New York, inquired of the editor of The American Observer,

As your records show I have used the 'Observer' since its beginning. I continue to use it. A question has arisen. Some people locally have read the article and seen the list in the September 'American Legion Magazine.' One gentleman, a fellow teacher and a Legionnaire, has checked our library against this list. I do not at the moment expect a tempest in a teapot but one might occur.

Do you have to 'take' the false insinuation of this article and list? What are you doing about it? What is your advised procedure in event of a local inquiry? I certainly believe it abominable that any work such as yours should be so unfairly charged.¹⁸

The Supervisor of Social Studies of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction, Slippery Rock, Pennsylvania, wrote to the editor of The Observer saying,

If you have not already done so, I am sure you will want to read the grossly unfair and inaccurate article 'Treason In the Textbooks,' by O. K. Armstrong in The American Legion Magazine for September, 1940. As a regular subscriber to large quantities of your papers, I am a strong defender of them and will naturally expect you to come to the rescue, as I am sure you will.

As a trained historian (Ph.D. in history) and educator I am insulted and disgusted by the cheap ignorance set forth in the above article.¹⁹

¹⁷Letter from Clare N. Pettit to Walter E. Myer, September 6, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁸Letter from James H. Gambell to Walter E. Myer, September 6, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁹Letter from S. E. Slick to Walter E. Myer, September 6, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

After having received so many comments from his subscribers about the Armstrong article, some encouraging and others derogatory, the associate editor of The Observer sent an urgent telegram to Mr. Chaillaux saying, "Will you please wire . . . as we lost more than 15,000 subscriptions today. Utter ruin facing us unless The American Legion Magazine takes immediate action."²⁰ On the following day the same associate editor sent another urgent telegram to Mr. Chaillaux saying, "Will you please wire . . . and follow with letters. We stand to lose important clubs because of Legion pressure in these and many other places. Thank you."²¹ That same afternoon the associate editor sent another telegram saying, "Will you please wire . . . where further cancellations have been made today. Our mail today looks bad. Serious, perhaps, irreparable damage already done our organization."²²

After many requests from editors of the publications listed in the Armstrong article, The National Americanism Commission decided that some sort of a clarifying statement should be made as to the official attitude of The Legion toward these publications. Having given serious consideration

²⁰Western Union Telegram from Ruth G. Myer to H. L. Chaillaux, September 12, 1940. 11:08 a.m.

²¹Western Union Telegram from Ruth G. Myer to H. L. Chaillaux, September 13, 1940. 10:50 a.m.

²²Western Union Telegram from Ruth G. Myer to H. L. Chaillaux, September 13, 1940. 3:45 p.m.

to the existing situation, letters from the Director of Publications of The American Legion and Mr. O. K. Armstrong were sent to the editors retracting the charges of subversiveness in these publications. The Director of Publications stated that,

The American Legion Magazine regrets The American Observer, The Weekly News Review, The Junior Review and The Civic Leader were inadvertently included in the list of publications said to be objectionable for school use which appeared in the article entitled 'Treason In the Textbooks' . . .

Upon investigation we find that these publications should not have been included in this list.

The editors of The American Legion Magazine find nothing in the publications named which is un-American or otherwise objectionable for school use.²³

Mr. Armstrong's letter of retraction stated,

I sincerely regret that due to an error the publications of your organization were included in the list of publications published in connection with my article. Upon investigation, I find the listing of the publications was a result of a misunderstanding. I have no information which leads me to believe that these publications should be listed as un-American or as otherwise unsuited for use in our schools.²⁴

The editor-publisher of Scholastic Magazines published a clip-sheet containing the letters of retraction and an official statement from his own pen, which stated in part:

. . . We sincerely affirm that if anyone associated with 'Scholastic' attacks the American way of life and government as described in the Constitution of the United States, or expresses disbelief in the rights of the

²³Walter E. Myer, "The American Legion and Civic Education Service," The Civic Leader, VIII (September 30, 1940), p. 1.

²⁴Ibid.

individual to his freedom as described therein, or if such an associate ever advocates the overthrow of our government, he will be refused any opportunity to express himself through our columns, and we shall oppose him with every ounce of energy and influence we can command.²⁵

Rugg's Reaction to Armstrong Article

On October 24, 1940, the New York Herald Tribune contained an article entitled "Rugg Hits Back At Criticism of His Texts as Red" in which the Columbia Professor said his books "sell" democracy. In the same article Rugg said,

. . . They say that I teach that America is a land without opportunity. My books reek with declarations that America is a land of opportunity. Far from being subversive, we are teaching youngsters the magnificent developments in American life. But we are not white-washing or ignoring the problems. I try to sell democracy. I believe in it, and I make no bones about it.

. . . I know who is behind these attacks. They all stem from the same men. One is Mr. Forbes. Another is Merwin K. Hart. The third is A. T. Falk. . . and the fourth is Homer L. Chaillaux, director of the American Legion's Americanism Commission. . . .²⁶

Rugg stated in his own book, That Men May Understand, that

A shocking example is at hand. In the first week of September, 1940, O. K. Armstrong's article 'Treason In the Textbooks' went into a million homes. This is without qualification the most unfair attack I have seen made on school teachers in thirty years. 'Treason' is a word one doesn't lightly employ. Mr. Armstrong, however, pretends to find it 'in textbooks.' Can he escape the grave imputation of charging the teachers who use the books with being traitors. He does not even attempt to escape it.

²⁵Open-letter from M. R. Robinson, editor-publisher, Scholastic Magazines, New York, New York, September 20, 1940.

²⁶New York Herald Tribune, October 24, 1940, p. 27.

What reception did this article find? In many cases it probably was not read at all; in others it was probably received with indifference. But a few subscribers who read it knew personally the editors and institutions it attacked, were filled with contempt for its defamations and protested vigorously to those who were responsible. . . . Halfhearted retractions of the charges against Scholastic Magazines and certain of the other blacklisted magazines began to be issued from the office of the periodical in which the Armstrong article had appeared. There was no retraction at all, however, of the attack on my books. There was no apology for the cartoons, for smearing the teachers of our whole country.

It so happens that the organization in whose name the 'treason' article was published has a special officer in each of hundreds of local communities throughout the country. These officers, disregarding protests and retractions, at once went into action - guided as it appears, from headquarters. Many of them bringing up the matter before local school boards and school superintendents, demanded that the Rugg books . . . and other publications blacklisted by Armstrong be investigated. In some cases - we have clear proof of this - they demanded and secured the exclusion of the attacked materials from the schools.

I have never witnessed such an outstanding example of organized pressure on the schools in all my experience.

Here is a clear example of dangerous concentration of power in the hands of a minority. And the only protection against it? Eternal vigilance!²⁷

Rugg came to his own defense in an article appearing in the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Daily Item. Enumerating charges against himself, Dr. Rugg said,

Flatly, categorically, I deny every one. I am not a Communist. I have never been a Communist. I have never been affiliated with the Communist party, directly or indirectly, in any way whatsoever. I am not a Socialist. I have never been a Socialist, never a member of the Socialist party; never have I taken part in the work of that party. . . . I believe in the historical American version of the democratic process; that the American way

²⁷Harold O. Rugg, That Men May Understand (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1941), pp. 74-75.

of progress is the way of free discussion of free men; that the general policy-making for America shall be left to the majority vote of all American citizens after full and free discussion. . . .

. . . a few self-appointed 'censors' are trying to destroy my work.²⁸

An article entitled "Rugg, Author, Charges Attempt to Censor Schools" appeared in the April 12, 1941, issue of Science News Letter. The article said in part:

A few 'Merchants of Conflict' are to blame in an attempt to censor the schools by having the Rugg social science textbooks and other publications banned. Located in strategic places, they employ systematically the facilities of national organizations and publicity channels. The success of the 'censors of the schools' can be attributed to the emotional state of the American people produced by a succession of crises - the depression, fall of France, and the total threat of totalitarianism. Out of the coincidence of these factors contributing to social unrest is rolling up the deepest generations. . . . What I have been trying to do is to blaze clear a path toward understanding for young people - understanding of the tremendous age-long changes and of the rapid changes in industrial society during our own times. We dare not, I insist, keep children in ignorance of these changes and of their hidden significance.

The real animus of the 'merchants of conflict' is that we do not teach in our books their personal brand of the American system of private enterprise. Their personal brand, I say. To them - to judge from their statements - the American system means competition without any regulation or control. . . . old-fashioned laissez-faire . . . every man for himself and the devil take the hindermost! They want this system taught, and they would control the school and censor its books to see that it is taught.²⁹

²⁸Daily Item, (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), January 8, 1941, p. 8.

²⁹"Rugg, Author, Charges Attempt to Censor Schools," Science News Letter, XXXIX (April 12, 1941), p. 238.

Educators' Reactions to Armstrong Article and
Legion's Actions to Remove Rugg Textbooks
from Public School Classroom Use

William G. Carr, Associate Secretary, National Education Association, 1940, in an article entitled "This Is Not Treason" wrote that,

The choice of textbooks, the selection of teachers, and the planning of the course of study are professional responsibilities which, in the public schools, are conducted under the general supervision of duly elected or appointed state and local boards of education. The approved legal and administrative methods for selecting teachers and textbooks provide ample protection for the public interest through the orderly processes of democratic government. The invasion of these responsibilities by special interest groups is fraught with grave danger to the efficiency of the schools.³⁰

The California Association of School Supervisors at its annual convention in Pasadena passed the following resolution:

We deplore and condemn the current, unfair, and groundless attacks on certain textbooks which attempt to present a fair and comprehensive delineation of the basic realities of social, political, and economic life in America. Only through free and vigorous study of the conditions and problems of American life can democracy survive.³¹

In a speech before the Education Committee of the Indiana State Senate, Mr. C. M. Wilson, Assistant Director of The National Americanism Commission, The American Legion,

³⁰William G. Carr, "This Is Not Treason," The Journal of the National Education Association, XXIX (November, 1940), p. 237.

³¹Report of Resolution by the California Association of School Supervisors at Its Annual Convention in Pasadena, California, October 4, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

defended the Legion's interest in the subject of textbook selection. He said in part:

. . . as an organization, The American Legion is not interested in promoting the use of textbooks of any particular textbook publisher. We are, however, vitally interested in the subject matter of books used in our schools.

We are conducting a campaign against the use of certain textbooks because it is our belief, based upon constant research, that those certain texts are tearing down appreciation for American ideals and American principles in the hearts and minds of school children. It is our belief, therefore, that we should have in all the states, a qualified committee to thoroughly study all texts to be used in teaching our young men and young women. We are of the opinion that such a committee can and will make a lasting contribution to America by refusing the use of collectivist or socialistic textbooks in our classrooms.

Any method other than the selection and approval of textbooks after they have been thoroughly studied by a qualified committee is extremely dangerous because the door would be thrown open to salesmen of textbook publishers to sell their products for use in the schools, with no particular attention directed toward the presentation of the subject material. . . .³²

The Chairman of the Educational Policies Commission and Superintendent of Schools in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in speaking before the American Association of School Administrators Convention in Atlantic City said:

. . . By innuendo and endless repetition which cover up a lack of real evidence, American people are being asked to suspect their schools, their teachers, their youth, and their textbooks as being disloyal and subversive. . . . Insofar as our critics are honest and competent, let us give them a hearing and enlist their

³²Statement of C. M. Wilson, Assistant Director, The National Americanism Commission, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, before the Education Committee of The Indiana State Senate, Indianapolis, Indiana, February 12, 1941, 2:00 p.m. (Legion dead-letter files) (Typewritten).

help in providing a program of education which will meet the needs of the American people. If our critics are honest but misled, let us enlighten them. If our critics are dishonest or incompetent, we have no choice but to stand up and fight these enemies of education and democracy.

. . . What should be said of those who ignorantly or knowingly undermine the effectiveness of the schools and circulate falsehoods about the loyalty of the people who serve in them? . . . This is not just a question of one's freedom to learn. This is not just a question of one textbook or another. The challenge that faces us in [sic] one of keeping faith with the American people and the ideals which they cherish. The American people, if given access to the facts and if they are not stampeded by false propaganda want their schools to be free institutions. They recognize in their schools, not only the finest proving-ground of democracy, but also the strongest safeguard of our democratic rights and responsibilities. We must not fail the American people. We must recognize the present challenge for what it is. We extend cooperation to every honest and well-informed effort to improve the schools, but we are also prepared to repel any attempt to divide the American people and to shake their confidence in their schools.³³

The New York Herald Tribune on April 7, 1941, reported in one of its articles that,

Three prominent Philadelphia educators . . . Edwin C. Broome, former superintendent of Philadelphia Public Schools; William D. Lewis, editor-in-chief of the John Winston Company, publishers; and Bruce M. Watson, executive director of the Public Education and Child Labor Association . . . reporting on a careful study of the widely criticized textbooks of Dr. Harold O. Rugg, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, reported today that they found no taint of subversion, that practically all criticism of Dr. Rugg's books was based on single passages isolated from context, and that attempts of 'self-appointed minorities to decide what books and study courses shall be used in schools may be as grave a threat to American democracy as the subversive action of Communists and Pacifists.'³⁴

³³ Alexander J. Stoddard, "We Intend to Continue . . .," The Journal of the National Education Association, XXX (April, 1941), p. 108.

³⁴ New York Herald Tribune, April 7, 1941, p. 6.

On April 15, 1941, The American Legion through a special news bulletin from the National Publicity Division replied to the article by saying,

The Philadelphia Inquirer had editorially condemned three educators who gave the Rugg textbooks a clean bill of health for the attack made by the educators in their report on 'manufacturers, bankers, advertising men, Legionnaires and defenders of liberty.'

. . . Reporting to the Philadelphia committee on public affairs, these three said: We have not found any statements which criticize our government, its policies or its distinguished representatives which are not truthful statements of facts. 'Who are the responsible and legally constituted authorities to determine the textbooks and courses of study? Are they the self-constituted minority groups of manufacturers, bankers, advertising men, Legionnaires and defenders of liberty?'

Editorially, the Inquirer replied:

'There is no justification for this attack. Why should not business men, members of The American Legion, or any other citizen, for that matter, have a right to know what is being taught in the public schools and the right to criticize what they believe to be wrong? These people, after all, pay the taxes which support the school system, and the teachers. They are entitled to assurance that their children are not being exposed to subversive and un-American doctrines in the classroom.³⁵

In May, 1941, the National Council for the Social Studies, Department of the National Education Association, prepared a packet of materials designed to aid teachers of the social studies, school administrators, and lay groups in controversies in their communities concerning the use of textbooks and teaching materials in the social studies field. It was sent out ". . . in the belief that the National Council has special responsibility for maintaining the current

³⁵News Bulletin, National Publicity Division, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, April 15, 1941.

practice of professional selection of textbook materials in the social studies field."³⁶ Some of this material was used by The Legion when it adopted its own "Criteria on Investigation of Instructional Materials" in 1949.

The question of textbook censorship led the Chairman of the Committee on Induction Into Citizenship, National Education Association, to write to The Legion saying, ". . . I hope we will have an opportunity to talk over this serious question of who shall censor textbooks. As a former school man, I am sure that you recognize the possible ramifications of one organization after another setting itself up as a censor."³⁷

In an address before The National Council for the Social Studies, Department of the National Education Association, Professor Erling Hunt, Head of the Department of Teaching of Social Science, Teachers College, Columbia University said,

. . . The recent controversy over social studies textbooks and the consideration in the schools of controversial issues . . . resulted from peacetime strains in our economic and social life, and from recognition in the schools of new policies and responsibilities of

³⁶National Council for the Social Studies, "Selection and Use of Social Studies Textbooks: Cases and Suggestions" (Washington, D. C.: Department of the National Education Association, May, 1941).

³⁷Letter from Hugh Bonar to R. Worth Shumaker, Assistant Director, The National Americanism Commission, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, July 18, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

the state. The attacks on the schools and the textbooks proceed from important, and somewhat conflicting, special interest groups, especially in our economic society, who have sought to protect or to better their status. . . . To date no single textbook used in the schools has been demonstrated to be 'subversive' as responsible and competent investigators have repeatedly cleared those textbooks against which charges have been made of subversiveness. . . .³⁸

No comment came from The American Legion headquarters in Indianapolis, Indiana.

The President of State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama, stated in a letter that,

I am writing as a Legionnaire and as a citizen interested in education. . . . You advise specifically that Local Legionnaires see that Rugg's books are thrown out of the local schools if being used. These books are not being used in this State as texts, but if they were, what proof have you that the material in these texts is subversive or objectionable? . . . Are we not coming very near being obnoxious meddlers when we insist upon throwing out books that WE do not like. I happen to know that textbooks are very carefully selected by very conscientious professional persons who are legally employed to do the job. Who are WE to take their places?

Then, I am sure professional school people would like to have any accurate information available about any books used in public schools which would help them make good choices. Our reasons for not liking the Rugg books might be helpful here if these reasons will stand the test. I for one have not seen them stated and I doubt if you can prove the charges. . . .³⁹

The President was informed that ". . . The Rugg philosophy is written very subtly into the textbooks. . . . There are

³⁸Address by Erling H. Hunt before the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies Chateau Room, Hotel Claypool, Indianapolis, Indiana, November 21, 1941.

³⁹Letter from C. B. Smith to Elmer W. Sherwood, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, January 26, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

so many objections to the Rugg textbooks that I cannot enumerate all of them here. I will be glad to answer any specific questions you may have. . . .⁴⁰

Armstrong and The Legion Receive Support

The New York Sun, on October 19, 1940, contained an article entitled "What Is Taught In The Schools," and the writer stated that,

. . . Dr. Rugg can hold any opinion he wants to regarding the changes in the American way of life, and there is no law to prevent him from doing so. He may write as many textbooks embodying his ideas as he pleases. Also, however, parents who take the trouble to read the textbooks their children take home and who find Dr. Rugg's slant on American history objectionable have an equal right to take their protests to the school boards. For them to do so is thoroughly in accord with old-fashioned American practice. Let us have more of it!⁴¹

The Daily Item of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, contained an article in the December 24, 1940, issue which was written by the county superintendent of schools. He had been asked on several occasions ". . . whether subversive teaching is actually taking place in any of the schools under our supervision. . . ."⁴² He cited an instance of a local high school teacher who had ". . . made a definite statement before the pupils that we do not have the best form of government, and

⁴⁰Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to C. B. Smith, February 3, 1942 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴¹New York Sun, October 19, 1940, p. 37.

⁴²Daily Item, (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), December 24, 1940, p. 14.

he named a certain European government that in his opinion was superior."⁴³ When asked for his reason for his views, the teacher stated, ". . . they were founded on work that he was then taking in a course on social science in one of our higher institutions of learning."⁴⁴ So in answer to the question, the county superintendent said,

. . . It would seem that some of the new ideas that are confronting us today in relation to government come from the higher-ups, rather than from those in the average walk of life. Apparently there is reason for the concern that is being expressed in some places today.⁴⁵

George E. Sokolsky, writing for Liberty Magazine, stated in his article entitled "Parents and Teachers Fight For American Schoolbooks" that,

When Liberty assigned me the task of reading these textbooks which were charged as being subversive and writing a report of them, it was neither with the object of Red-baiting nor of pillorying any individual. The single task was to see what our children are being taught and by whom. The results found proved beyond doubt that our children are in peril of contamination by the poisons which float across the Atlantic from Europe. The fact that these poisons are not always visible, and often have even a fair odor, did not make them less poisonous. Now that we have made the exposure - citizens are responding in defense of American ideals. . . . In a large number of cities, opposition to specifically named textbooks became so impressive that in spite of the left-wing tendencies of many educators, the objectionable textbooks were thrown out.⁴⁶

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶George E. Sokolsky, "Parents and Teachers Fight For American Schoolbooks," Liberty Magazine, XVIII (March 8, 1941), p. 49.

One of the officers of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York stated that,

. . . National Commander Warner is leading The Legion into its greatest patriotic service by going into the school situation. . . . Such all-around leadership in a complex fight of this character is essential. It is most fortunate for the Country that The Legion can supply it, because if this fight is lost, America as we have known it is lost, and The Legion seems to me to be the only organization capable of winning it. . . .⁴⁷

The American Economic Foundation of Cleveland, Ohio, which sponsored a radio forum broadcast entitled "Wake-Up, America!" featured a debate between Dr. Ruth Alexander, noted economist, writer and lecturer, and Dr. Harold O. Rugg over the Mutual Network in New York City on the evening of April 28, 1941. The subject debated that evening was "Does Capitalism Offer Youth A Fair Opportunity?" The manager of the Harold R. Peat, Incorporated, Management Company of Distinguished Personalities, New York, New York, wrote to Mr. Chaillaux saying,

If you have [sic] been fortunate enough to attend this broadcast in person, I am sure you would have realized that Dr. Alexander was the master of the situation from the very start.

Knowing that The American Legion has taken serious exception to the teachings of Dr. Rugg, it may be possible that in the near future you will be interested to promote Dr. Alexander for a series of personal appearances on the lecture platform in various parts of the country, under the auspices of The American Legion in support of your present textbook endeavors. This will give added impetus and enthusiasm to those who are

⁴⁷ Letter from Hamilton Hicks to Milo J. Warner, March 25, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

anxious to be identified with this endeavor. . . .⁴⁸

Mr. Chaillaux replied, "The American Legion may be able to accept your suggestion in the future, but we are unable to do so at the present time due to a limited budget and other pressing responsibilities with the textbook situation."⁴⁹

The Patriotic Laymen's Education Association of Seattle, Washington, was formed by Charlotte Wettrick, and adopted as one of its objectives "To assist in bringing our schools back to the American Way; to expose those educators who are planning to enforce a collectivist system of government and society."⁵⁰ In one of this Association's publications a statement was made by Major General Fries that,

The philosophy of Rugg's Social Science Series and other similar texts aims to prepare the malleable minds of children in the elementary and junior high schools for this change by glossing lightly over praiseworthy accomplishments and constantly stressing the evils and errors that exist or have been made, and even attribute selfish motives to the founders of the country which he nor anyone else may do since these are purely assumptions on his part.⁵¹

The May, 1941, issue of The American Legion Magazine contained an article by Hamilton Hicks, a Legionnaire and

⁴⁸Letter from Charles B. Pettes to H. L. Chaillaux, May 15, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁹Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Charles B. Pettes, May 18, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁰Charlotte Wettrick, "Stable Government Relies Upon Theory of Education (Seattle; Washington: Patriotic Laymen's Education Association Publication, n. d.), p. 2.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 4.

Judge, entitled "Ours to Reason Why" in which he stated:

. . . The professors who use the classroom for the dissemination of political propaganda, and they are of course a tiny minority of the whole body of educators, understand the average parent's prejudice against such conduct. They proceed, therefore, with as much secrecy as possible. That confusing sound and fury that thunders from their beards whenever questions about their activities become too pointed is just their method of trying to keep the parents from learning what they are doing.

Dr. Harold O. Rugg is the author of social science textbooks used by millions of little children ranging in age from eleven to fifteen years. He admits that he is a propagandist. While outlining the propaganda for dissemination through our public schools to destroy American traditions and bring about a new, collectivist social order, Rugg flatly committed himself in favor of totalitarianism.

Like Hitler, Rugg gathers like-minded followers by stating his aims clearly in a 'Mein Kampf' and disarmed the public by stoutly denying the implications of that book, while carrying them out to the letter. . . . 52

A lawyer, who was also a Legionnaire, in New York City made this statement in reference to Dr. Rugg:

. . . my reaction to Dr. Rugg is, paradoxically, that he is both a theorist and an intensely practical man. A theorist to a degree that I do not believe he knows really what he means by a great many things he writes. A practical man since he realizes that the more he writes, the more money he can make.

I do not believe that Dr. Rugg is a Communist. I do believe that he is dangerous inasmuch as he is advocating that a suspicion should exist as to the fundamentals of our government. In other words, instead of advocating a faith in American traditions, teaching that the values we have established are worthwhile, necessary and psychologically important, Dr. Rugg apparently wishes to break down these things which are so necessary to a people, particularly under existing conditions.

. . . I do not think he has any concrete plan to destroy American Democracy, nor do I believe that he is sure he wishes to destroy it. . . . Dr. Rugg is a

⁵²Hamilton Hicks, "Ours to Reason Why," The American Legion Magazine, XVI (May, 1941), p. 5.

materialist, pure and simple, with no recognition of spiritual values, which I do not believe is even debatable.⁵³

Major Augustin G. Rudd stated once again ". . . the attack on Rugg must not be curtailed, but should be broadened in order that we do not make Rugg a martyr in the eyes of the people who only take a superficial interest in this subject."⁵⁴ Rudd did not suggest any methods by which this attack on Rugg might be broadened.

The Educational Editor of the New York Times inquired as to how many school systems had eliminated the Rugg books as a result of The Legion campaign. He wanted to write a story about the campaign and the results, so he requested the National Americanism Commission Director to give him the statistics. The Editor was informed that,

. . . While we are wholly convinced that the number of schools from which the Rugg textbooks have been removed reaches, and greatly exceeds, the 1,500 mark, this office is not in a position to present objective evidence of this situation. Our knowledge on the removal of the books is not cumulative and a great deal of it has been obtained from confidential sources. . . . It would please us to take a genuine 'shot' at the Rugg contingent. However, under the circumstances we do not believe that we are in position to use this statistical data to advantage just now. . . .⁵⁵

⁵³Letter from Robert F. Gregory to R. Worth Shumaker, May 15, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁴Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to R. Worth Shumaker, July 18, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁵Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to John E. Thomas, August 4, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

Major Augustin G. Rudd, who had been recalled to active service in the United States Army to serve during World War II and who had been promoted to Colonel, spoke at a meeting of the National Society of New England Women at the Waldorf-Astoria, on February 26, 1948. Colonel Rudd said in part:

Thousands of American communities are saddled with school courses which for years have graduated children ill-prepared to read, write and speak English, and sadly deficient in arithmetic, history, geography, civics and other basic requirements of a sound education, including a knowledge and belief in their own form of government. . . . This serious condition is caused primarily by the rule of a clique of self-styled 'Frontier Thinkers' who have dominated educational programs and policies for years, and are intent on using our schools to bring about a 'new social order' of collectivist design, and have shaped many courses accordingly.

Other vital defects of this method of education include the unsound citizenship training induced by extremists in the 'progressive movement.'

Another particularly bad feature is the introduction of the omnibus Social Science courses which eliminated history, geography, and civics as separate subjects and substituted the carefully selected materials which best fitted the plans of these educator-reformers to bring about their 'new society.' In the process, many texts and practices that had in former generations instilled in the child a love of our country and respect for its founders and institutions, were slighted or discarded in favor of the materials carefully selected by the reformers, much of which contained indoctrination in the Marxian economic and political philosophies, thus undermining faith in our American institutions. . . .⁵⁶

A few days later Colonel Rudd received a telegram from The Legion headquarters saying, "Congratulations, Augustin, on

⁵⁶Speech by Colonel Augustin G. Rudd before the National Society of New England Women, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, New York, February 26, 1948 (ditto copy).

this very wonderful address! We like the way you bear down.
We need more men like you to defend our Good American Way."⁵⁷

⁵⁷Western Union Telegram from R. Worth Shumaker to
Colonel Augustin G. Rudd, March 4, 1948. 10:28 a.m.

CHAPTER V

RUGG PHILOSOPHY ANALYZED

The Legion Appoints a Trained Educator to Analyze Textbooks

The Past Vice Commander of the Department of Michigan questioned The Legion about the Armstrong article which appeared in the September, 1940, issue of The American Legion Magazine, saying,

. . . The September issue of The American Legion Magazine contained an article which created some disturbance among certain Legionnaires in this area. . . .

. . . Are the materials and textbooks listed in the September issue 'Treasonable' in content? If you say they are, can we be assured of the backing of the National Organization of The American Legion in having them thrown out of the schools? In other words, if we put out our neck on material appearing in the official Magazine, are we certain that we shall have competent and intelligent support from the home office?¹

The Past Vice Commander was informed by the Director of Publications of The Legion that

. . . The controversy has resulted in the Americanism Division at National Headquarters making a further thorough and searching study and investigation of the textbook

¹Letter from H. O. Johnson, Past Vice Commander, Department of Michigan, The American Legion, Ramsey, Michigan, to James F. Barton, Director of Publications, The American Legion, New York, New York, November 15, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

situation in our schools and the National Executive Committee at its meeting here yesterday authorized the employment of a man with an educational background to handle contacts between The American Legion and educational institutions, and to make a thorough study of the entire textbook situation. No doubt after this man has been appointed and he has had an opportunity to delve into this subject, he will send you full information concerning his findings and recommendations upon which you can then safely go ahead and take such action as the situation in your particular community warrants.²

It was suggested by the Past Vice Commander that the man to be employed ". . . should have a comprehensive background of American history and the social sciences. He should be a man of integrity, sincere and fearless. He certainly ought to have intelligence enough to handle such problems with tact and diplomacy."³ The Commander recommended a man for this position but his nomination was not accepted.

It should be noted that although this individual had not as yet been hired to direct the activities of The Legion in analyzing and criticizing textbooks, and helping local Posts to have the Rugg series removed from public school use, many of the Posts had already taken action and reported the same to the national headquarters. These reports were given in Chapter II.

Commander Milo J. Warner informed the manager of Ginn and Company Publishers, the publishers of Rugg's series, that

²Letter from James F. Barton to H. O. Johnson, November 22, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

³Letter from H. O. Johnson to James F. Barton, November 25, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

he had received authority to appoint an additional man ". . . who can adequately analyze and criticize textbooks with the purpose of informing everyone as to which textbooks are objectionable from the standpoint of The Legion for use in the school classroom."⁴

On December 16, 1940, the National Publicity Division of The American Legion issued a special news release which announced that National Commander Milo J. Warner had appointed Mr. R. Worth Shumaker, Superintendent of County Schools, Upshur County, West Virginia, to become the Assistant Director of the National Americanism Commission and he would assume his duties at national headquarters on January 1, 1941. The news release said in part:

In his new position with The Legion Shumaker will specialize in the study of Legion activities in the field of education. The Legion is currently engaged in a campaign to eliminate school textbooks designed to bring un-American concepts into the social science classes.

Mr. Shumaker will bring to his duties expert knowledge in the field of education. He is a graduate of West Virginia Wesleyan University, receiving his A. B. degree in 1917. He got his master's degree from the University of West Virginia in 1933, specializing in public school administration.

He served as alumni secretary and director of athletics of West Virginia Wesleyan University from 1919 to 1921; as principal and coach of the Spencer, West Virginia, High School from 1921 to 1923; as city superintendent of schools of Spencer from 1923 to 1932; as assistant county superintendent of Upshur County schools from 1933 to 1935; and as county superintendent from 1935 until his resignation to accept his new post with The American Legion. . . .⁵

⁴Letter from Milo J. Warner to H. C. Lucas, December 1, 1940 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵News Bulletin, National Publicity Division, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, December 16, 1940.

Shumaker Prepares Pamphlets on Rugg Philosophy

On April 5, 1941, the National Publicity Division of The American Legion issued a special news bulletin which stated in part:

. . . Specific information to aid American Legion Posts everywhere in their discussion of textbooks used in the public schools everywhere is to be supplied by the National Americanism Commission of The American Legion.

Following up his article NO NEW ORDER FOR OUR SCHOOLS Assistant National Americanism Director R. Worth Shumaker is preparing a series of pamphlets to discuss the textbooks that The Legion considers subversive in text and philosophy. These will be distributed in the near future.

Legion organizations in the field interested in the battle to eliminate subversive teachings in the textbooks supplied for classroom work will have new background material for their studies. . . .

A cover message from the publishers cautions Americans to "examine your child's textbooks. Demand to see the teacher's guides. Find out if 'social science' textbooks have replaced courses in civics, history and geography. Look for subversive material in these and other books or courses. If you find such material, protest at once to school officials, the board of education, and school associations. Remember most of your teachers are loyal. Support them."⁶

On April 18, 1941, another bulletin was issued which announced the publication of the first of a series of four pamphlets discussing the philosophy of Dr. Harold O. Rugg, Columbia University professor. It stated in part:

Launching a determined attack on subversive textbooks now being used in some public schools, the national Americanism Commission of The American Legion has issued the first of a series of four pamphlets discussing teachings of Dr. Harold O. Rugg. . . .

The title of the series of pamphlets which the commission is preparing is 'Rugg Philosophy Analyzed.' The

⁶Ibid., April 5, 1941.

first pamphlet is devoted to 'Basic Excerpts from The Great Technology.'

'The Great Technology' is the 308 page book which Professor Rugg wrote in 1933 in which he asserted that American democracy was a failure and must be supplanted by a 'new social order.' This book has been accepted as a basic text by the so-called liberals who compose the 'frontier thinkers.' In this volume the author explains the plan to bring about this 'new society.' They are to use the educational system to 'change the climate of opinion' of Americans so that they will discard their traditional institutions and embrace the form of society advocated by Dr. Rugg. In short, it is to be a movement to accomplish 'with less violence,' by education, the aims of the 'frontier thinkers.'

Indoctrination through Schools

The No. 1 pamphlet of the Americanism Commission, calling public attention to this plan, illustrates by excerpts from 'The Great Technology' how the indoctrination through the schools is to be accomplished. It is being attempted through the use of the social sciences [sic] courses, prepared by Dr. Rugg, which he says should be the 'core of the school curriculum.' These courses eliminate time-honored history, geography and civics as separate studies but include all manner of other subjects which give the author unlimited opportunity to 'interpret' anything of social significance to suit his avowed purpose. American ideals and institutions are 'debunked' and ideas bearing the patterns of communism are built up.

Three Pamphlets to Come

The three other pamphlets which the commission will have off the press in the near future will be entitled: 'The Complete Rugg Philosophy - Its Transfer to the Textbooks,' 'Textbook Abstracts,' and Education For 'New Social Order.'

The pamphlets are based on researches made by R. Worth Shumaker, Assistant National Americanism Director, and long a prominent West Virginia educator. Shumaker is the author of the article "No 'New Order' For Our Schools" in the April, 1941, issue of The American Legion Magazine. In this article Shumaker takes to task both Dr. Harold O. Rugg and his Columbia University colleague, Professor George S. Counts for their attempt to indoctrinate 'new order' philosophies.

These pamphlets will be distributed . . . to all department headquarters, a selected group of American educators, and upon request.⁷

Volume II of Rugg Philosophy Analyzed was released for distribution in July, 1941. This volume was entitled The Complete Rugg Philosophy - Its Transfer to the Textbooks. Volume II consists of an abstract of the Harold O. Rugg philosophy on which all Rugg publications, including his social science series of textbooks, are constructed. Documented materials are presented for the purpose of establishing his point of view and of defining his objectives.⁸ The introduction to this volume states in part:

America is engaged in its greatest National Defense program. All textbooks should inculcate in the Youth of our Nation a genuine love for America and a desire to protect and defend our priceless ideals, institutions and heritage. The Rugg books do not do this. The books are unduly critical of our priceless heritage which all Americans are now called upon to defend.

The philosophy contained in Dr. Rugg's adult books are identical with those in his textbooks. The presentation is not always the same but the objectives are constant. . . .

The basic concept on which the books are constructed is 'change.'

The basic objective is 'reconstruction.'

The books are built on 'scientific design.'

The author considers America a 'depressed society.'

The 'content-core' of the Rugg social and education program was contributed [sic] by 'frontier thinkers.'

New Allegiances [sic] are sought.

The 'new society' will be collectivistic.

The author is friendly to many Socialist and Communist ideas and principles.

History and geography are sacrificed for political, social and economic discussion inserted for the purpose of promoting the 'reconstruction' objective.

⁷Ibid., April 18, 1941.

⁸National Americanism Commission, Rugg Philosophy Analyzed, Volume II (Indianapolis, Indiana: The American Legion, July, 1941), p. 1.

The quotations included in this pamphlet are selected from the general context with great care. They indicate the author's intention or objective. They serve as 'topic sentences' to convey the essence of the author's true meaning. Space does not permit the use of irrelevant material and at times long and complete quotes. 'Garbling' has been avoided.

The Rugg objective (reconstruction) is to be attained through the use of his textbooks in the schools.

Volume III of Rugg Philosophy Analyzed was released

for distribution in September, 1941. This volume (copy is included in the Appendix) was entitled Textbook Abstracts

Volume III. The introduction states in part:

Volume III of Rugg Philosophy Analyzed consists of brief analyses of the Harold O. Rugg Social Science Series of junior high school textbooks. These textbooks were prepared for use in the 7th, 8th and 9th grades, the age range of the pupils using the books being from ten to fourteen years.

The textbooks seek social reconstruction. This 'reconstruction' objective is based on social, economic, political and educational changes.

The books are depressing rather than stimulating and there are few statements purposely designed to stimulate self-reliance, control initiative, integrity or intellectual honesty. The books are conspicuous for their omissions and inaccuracies. In volume and in text the books are considerably beyond the capability of the average child to understand and to absorb.

The Rugg textbooks do not make any direct statements to the effect that we should overthrow the American government. Dr. Rugg creates his effects by implication and inference and by destructive methods rather than openly subversive statements. Dr. Rugg has very little respect for those things which America of an older generation held were sound and worthy of preservation. Pupils who are taught Rugg's depressing American picture during the child's tender formative years will feel that America is not worth defending.

America cannot have Socialism or Collectivism, no matter how it is disguised, and the American form of

⁹Ibid., pp. 2-3.

government, and the American way of life, at one and the same time.

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Volume IV of Rugg Philosophy Analyzed was released for distribution in November, 1942. It was entitled Rugg Philosophy Further Analyzed Volume IV, and in essence the volume contained a reprint of an article which appeared in The National Republic, May and June, 1942, entitled "Education For 'New' Social Order," by Major Augustin G. Rudd, United States Army, Retired, who was also Chairman of The Guardians of American Education organization.

Reactions to Pamphlets

A Legionnaire, who was Professor of Religion and Philosophy at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, wrote to Mr. Shumaker giving his opinion of The Legion's activities in textbook analysis and criticism and of the pamphlets entitled Rugg Philosophy Analyzed. Professor King said,

. . . I must confess that this material is greatly disappointing to me. . . . What disappoints me chiefly is the negative approach to the whole problem. . . . I am sure that schoolmen would welcome a genuine constructive program for teaching Americanism but when the whole thing is prefaced by an attack upon a program which is now widely used in the schools throughout our country, I can foresee nothing except a further deepening of the suspicion already wide-spread that The Legion is just another pressure group with no important suggestions of a positive sort. I think if you were as close to schoolmen everywhere as I am, you would know with what trembling and uncertainty the vast majority of them look upon any

¹⁰ National Americanism Commission, Rugg Philosophy Analyzed, Textbook Abstracts, Volume III (Indianapolis, Indiana: The American Legion, September, 1941), p. 1.

kind of negative pressure group. Apparently, your attack includes the whole progressive education movement. I cannot conceive of such a thing as anything but short-sighted, although I myself do not hold that specific philosophy of education. Yet, the movement is undoubtedly the liveliest thing in American education and will not be defeated by such negative attacks.

I hope you are not going to take the position that any advocacy of social change in the schools through education is to be forbidden. What in the name of all that is reasonable in American tradition is education for it [sic] not to produce certain changes in our democracy. . . . An educational philosophy which merely strengthens the determination of students to preserve the status quo and to do absolutely nothing about poverty or industrial plutocracy or political chicanery as it exists in American cities seems to me to be the last thing in the world that Legionnaires want to hold. If this is not what you have in mind in your own philosophy of education, then I beg of you to lay off the negative stuff at once and proceed to outline a program of constructive social education. . . .¹¹

In answering Professor King, Mr. Shumaker replied,

. . . There is no other way to explain to the people of America that these books are not suitable for the training of Young America. The books are bad and we say so. The Americanism program of The American Legion is a positive program.

. . . I am really shocked to find the pink and the red background of a great deal of the work of the radical educators. But at least 99% of our school people are doing a grand job. Only those who have been under the domination of the Socialist-minded and Communist-sympathizing groups endanger the lives of our boys and girls. Dr. Rugg is very clever, hence to read one or two of his textbooks does not give the true picture. One must go back of the scenes, get the total Rugg philosophy, establish his affiliates, get his true background on Soviet Union problems, and then see how clearly these things are written in the textbooks and the even-more-than-dangerous-teachers' guides and keys. . . . When you see this, you will never again want to defend Rugg or his intimate educator associates. . . .¹²

¹¹Letter from Albion Roy King to R. Worth Shumaker, April 30, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹²Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Albion Roy King, May 6, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

This did not close the issue between these two men as the Cornell Professor wrote again saying,

. . . It is always easy enough in America to whip up negative criticism of anything. What disturbs me most about your pamphlets is the fact that everything of this sort simply furnishes new implements whereby disgruntled people in any town can go snooping around the school and find petty little points for an attack upon teachers and the tools used in the school. . . . It becomes increasingly difficult to get good men to take up public school teaching and the men who are in the game are too jittery to do the best kind of work. It saddens me beyond measure to see the instruments of a big organization like the Legion feed that popular tendency. I wish a series of articles could be published about the 99% of teachers who are loyal and intelligent and a real campaign on to get American Legion members to support the schools rather than criticize them. . . . I believe in social progress through education and I think 90% of the Legionnaires do, but the whole possibility of such a thing will be hamstrung by your pamphlets.¹³

Mr. Eugene C. Pomeroy, an official in the Veterans of Foreign Wars, another patriotic organization, differed in his opinion of the pamphlets prepared by Mr. Shumaker. Emphatically he said, ". . . Your annalysis [sic] of the Rugg books is complete and I think it is the most valuable contribution that any organization in our country has made to date for Americanising our grade and junior high schools."¹⁴ Mr. Shumaker expressed his appreciation to the commendation by replying in a letter, "It was graciously kind of you to

¹³Letter from Albion Roy King to R. Worth Shumaker, May 10, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁴Letter from Eugene C. Pomeroy, Washington D. C. to R. Worth Shumaker, April 24, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

commend [us] so favorably on the Rugg Analysis. . . .¹⁵

Shumaker Reports on Distribution of Pamphlets

The Assistant National Director of The Americanism Commission, in reporting on the activities of this department for the year 1941-1942 at the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention in Kansas City, Missouri, on September 19-21, 1942, stated:

The effort of The American Legion to eliminate all un-American teachings from the schools of the nation has been a real success. . . . Approximately 100,000 copies of the four Legion pamphlets, 'Rugg Philosophy Analyzed' have been distributed . . . and practically all of this material reaches school administrators and board of education members.

The Rugg books are being dropped quietly [sic] and without fanfare. Literature and other aids are mailed out from national headquarters daily, and unheralded but decisive eliminations are continuously reported from the field. This quiet, effective process of elimination has proved highly satisfactory. In fact, the radical advocates of the use of the Rugg books have frankly and publicly admitted that the books are being 'quietly removed from the schools' and the 'national sale of the series has dropped markedly.'¹⁶

Pamphlets Used to Defend Legion
in New Hampshire Issue

On March 22, 1943, the Boston Globe contained an article entitled "Spilling the Beans" by Joseph F. Dineen, in which he stated:

The dispute about the Rugg textbooks in schools, a mild tempest in a teapot in a city or town of New England

¹⁵Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Eugene C. Pomeroy, April 26, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁶Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention of The American Legion, Kansas City, Missouri, September 19-21, 1942. p. 18.

here and there two years ago, has been revived again. A bill to ban them in the schools of New Hampshire was killed last week. . . . Two years ago the magazine of The American Legion printed a piece focusing attention upon these books. . . . School committees and educational authorities wrote to American Legion national headquarters about it, and I have on my desk a letter retracting the statements. . . .¹⁷

Mr. Chaillaux immediately informed Mr. Dineen that,

. . . no retraction of any kind whatsoever was made in the case of the Rugg books. Quite on the contrary we have continued to oppose the entire Rugg series. Enclosed you will find copies of three pamphlets Rugg Philosophy Analyzed which have been distributed nation-wide opposing the socialistic and collectivistic recommendations emanating from the Rugg textbooks.¹⁸

Further information about the Rugg textbook situation in New Hampshire was submitted to Mr. Dineen by Mr. James O'Neil, Chairman of the National Americanism Commission.

. . . I would respectfully ask you to take the time to read the pamphlets so that you may have a better understanding of The Legion's attitude. This is not a New England issue or a New Hampshire issue, but a National Campaign, and I might state that many cities and states in the country have seen [sic] fit to ban the Rugg textbooks. In relation to the action of the New Hampshire Legislature, I might add that a disagreement resulted in the language of the proposed bill, and that the fight for banning the textbooks in the schools will be continued, both through the Legislature and in seeking action directly through the school boards and school authorities of the various towns and cities of the state. . . . I think you are over reaching yourself when you make an inference that The American Legion is part of an isolationist movement, because of its attack on Rugg textbooks.¹⁹

¹⁷Boston Globe, March 22, 1943, p. 43.

¹⁸Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Joseph F. Dineen, Boston Globe, Boston, Massachusetts, March 29, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁹Letter from James O'Neil to Joseph F. Dineen, March 29, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM 1941-1951

Resolution No. 373, as adopted by the delegates to the Annual National Convention which was held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, during the fall of 1941, directed the National Americanism Commission to extend its activities in textbook analysis and criticism ". . . to include all questionable school books and these books are to be closely examined by the members of The Legion Americanism Commission . . . to the end that all such subversive and un-American textbooks and literature shall be kept out of all of our public schools."¹ After the Rugg Philosophy Analyzed pamphlets had been published and distributed, the Americanism Commission extended its analysis and criticism activities to include any and all books which were suggested by Legionnaires and school administrators. These requests had to be submitted through regular Legion channels.

¹Letter from H. L. Chaillaux, Director, National Americanism Commission, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, to Forrest M. Carhartt, Adjutant, Robbins-McMullen Post #37, Grand Junction, Colorado, June 20, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

General Textbook Analysis and Criticism

An attorney in Cincinnati, Ohio, who was a Legionnaire and a member of the Cincinnati Board of Education, asked Mr. Chaillaux, ". . . Do you have any analysis of the book Introduction to American Civilization [no author was given] so that we may determine whether or not it should be used in our schools?"² Mr. Chaillaux replied, ". . . We do not have an abstract of this book. . . . We are completing abstracts of all of the junior high school textbooks and I will forward you a copy when it is completed."³ No record could be found that showed an abstract was ever forwarded to the attorney.

The Grand Correspondent of The 40 et 8 Society, The American Legion, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, requested ". . . information pertaining to subversiveness of the book Language In Action by one S. I. Hayakawa, Canadian born Japanese, who is a member of the Faculty of the Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, Illinois. . . ."⁴ The information given about this book was,

. . . Our office reviewed the book in early August. Our findings were not favorable since the material included in the book is presented in a manner inimical to

²Letter from Howard Wilson to H. L. Chaillaux, October 14, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

³Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Howard Wilson, October 16, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴Letter from Harry E. Ransom to H. L. Chaillaux, November 25, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

the teaching of Americanism. We raise no objections with the treatment of semantics but the author selected subjects and topics for illustrating semantics which disparaged many of the fine things of life. . . .⁵

A request from the Coordinator of Youth Activities in the Beardstown, Illinois, Post #605, was sent to Mr. Shumaker to gain information about one of the social science books written by Rugg that was being used in the Beardstown schools. It said in part, ". . . I would appreciate it very much if you would give me a report as to whether or not this book is on the communistic list as most of the other books are."⁶ Some of the members of the school board seemed anxious to have the book removed from use in the schools. The reply given was,

The American Legion has condemned all of the books written by Harold O. Rugg. We have not made the accusation that these books are communistic. There is no evidence of purely communist propaganda . . . but many of the communistic ideas on government are indirectly advocated by the Rugg books. . . .⁷

The name of the book in question was not mentioned in the correspondence.

On April 28, 1943, the Chicago Daily News reported that Harold O. Rugg had just published another book entitled

⁵Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Harry E. Ransom, November 27, 1941 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁶Letter from H. L. Card to R. Worth Shumaker, March 12, 1942 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁷Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to H. L. Card, March 16, 1942 (Legion dead-letter files).

Now Is The Moment.⁸ Mr. Chaillaux remarked about this book that ". . . I will make a study of this book. . . . Naturally, I expect the book to be bad like the rest of his books."⁹

The Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Department of Florida, The American Legion, wrote to Mr. Chaillaux about a statement he had heard made by one of the educators in Florida. The Chairman said,

. . . My critical interest is presently aroused by the statement . . . that the reason for the ignorance of high school graduates in historical subjects is due to a change in method of teaching emanating [sic] from Teachers College under which social trends and social ideas are stressed to the exclusion of historical facts.
 . . .¹⁰

Mr. Chaillaux replied to the statement by writing,

. . . The real reason for so many failures by college freshmen in American history tests is that American history and geography are not taught in the Rugg Social Science Series of the Rugg textbooks. It was this Social Science Series of books which under the guise of progressive education, were sold so widely over the country. The influence from the teachers in these books has been very bad.¹¹

This same Chairman made an inquiry of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for information concerning textbooks used in the Florida schools.

⁸Chicago Daily News, April 28, 1943, p. 38.

⁹Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Gertrude J. Hollahan, Chicago, Illinois, May 3, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁰Letter from William C. Brooker to H. L. Chaillaux, April 29, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹¹Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to William C. Brooker, May 3, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

He found the following books and asked for the reaction of Mr. Chaillaux as to the quality in content of the books:

Exploring Our World, by Powers, Bruner, Neuner and Bradley; Our World Changes, by the same authors; and Our World Today, by Stull and Hatch.¹² The reaction of Mr. Chaillaux was that,

. . . These three books have been accepted in numerous schools of the nation without criticism. We analyzed Our World Today and found it to be an excellent textbook. We have not analyzed Exploring Our World and Our World Changes but have scanned their content and found the books to be satisfactory.¹³

One of the members of the board of education in Detroit, Michigan, asked Mr. Chaillaux, ". . . do you have any information on any textbook containing information derogatory to our economic system, such as the second appendix of American Government by Frank McGruber?" [sic] She then stated that ". . . Superintendent . . . is a loyal Legionnaire and is desirous of cooperating in every way, so that the teaching of American Social Science will contribute to a better generation."¹⁴ Mr. Chaillaux replied, ". . . The only books we have condemned which pertain to our economic system are the

¹²Letter from William C. Brooker to H. L. Chaillaux, May 17, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹³Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to William C. Brooker, May 20, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁴Letter from Pearl S. Goetz to H. L. Chaillaux, June 2, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

Rugg textbooks."¹⁵

One of the members of the Post in East McKeesport, Pennsylvania, sent a copy of Your Country and Mine by Turkington and Conley to Mr. Chaillaux and asked, ". . . to receive your brief comments on this book. . . ."¹⁶ The comment given was that ". . . It is our personal belief that this is an excellent book. We cannot give public endorsement to textbooks, naturally, which may be interpreted as Official Legion endorsement. . . ."¹⁷

A Legionnaire in Mount Vernon, Indiana, inquired as ". . . to whether or not your Americanism Commission has seen fit to endorse the book Our Changing Government?"¹⁸ The Legionnaire was informed that,

. . . we have not condemned Our Changing Government; we do believe that teachers who use this textbook should be cautioned on the use of these peculiarly-worded topics . . . such as are included in Chapter 22. . . . We have not made public objection to this textbook although we feel that the book contains a few sections which must be handled very carefully by the teachers who are conducting the course in civics.¹⁹

¹⁵Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Pearl S. Goetz, June 5, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁶Letter from D. A. Best to H. L. Chaillaux, June 7, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁷Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to D. A. Best, June 11, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁸Letter from Otis E. Young to R. Worth Shumaker, June 10, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

¹⁹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Otis E. Young, June 11, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

A Legionnaire in Los Angeles, California, requested an opinion on Magruder's American Government which was being used in the city schools.²⁰ Chaillaux replied that ". . . We have not had an opportunity to review the revised copy. Our office will review this textbook as soon as we locate a copy. Until such time as this review is made, I am not in position to issue any personal statement on the merits or demerits of this textbook. . . ."21

"If there is anything against this book, Our Changing Government, by Steinberg-Lamm, please let me hear from you at once," was the request from a Legionnaire in Brazil, Indiana.²² The answer given was that,

. . . There are some features which we do not like. We have not, however, condemned the book. We are suggesting to superintendents and principals that in those cases where the textbook is used the teachers be conditioned on the trend of discussion under Chapter 22.²³

Major Augustin G. Rudd, who was now serving in the United States Army for the duration of World War II, mailed a copy of the textbook American Democracy--Today and Tomorrow,

²⁰Letter from Thomas James Norton to H. L. Chaillaux, June 12, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

²¹Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Thomas James Norton, June 18, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

²²Letter from Charles McKinney, County Superintendent of Schools, Clay County, Brazil, Indiana, to R. Worth Shumaker, June 17, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

²³Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Charles McKinney, June 22, 1943 (Legion dead-letter files).

by Omar Goslin to Mr. Shumaker and said, ". . . Although I have not read this book, apparently it is of a like nature with the Rugg series. If after reading, it proves to be so, it should be exposed."²⁴ Major Rudd was informed that ". . . I reviewed American Democracy--Today and Tomorrow soon after it was published. We pronounced it entirely off the beam but did not make an exposal of it due to our concentrated effort to oust Rugg's books from the schools. . . ."²⁵

A telegram was received by Mr. Shumaker from a Legionnaire in San Francisco asking, "Do you have any information on textbook for school known as Building America and have [sic] an opinion by the Americanism Commission been expressed. Please wire answer."²⁶ No information was given as to the author or publisher of this book. However, Mr. Shumaker wired in reply, "Have general information only on textbooks. Have not had request or opportunity to make review. Textbook is used in some other states and no objection has reached us."²⁷

A list of one hundred fifty-five textbooks which were

²⁴Letter from Major Augustin G. Rudd to R. Worth Shumaker, July 14, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁵Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Major Augustin G. Rudd, July 17, 1944 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁶Western Union Telegram from Harry L. Foster to R. Worth Shumaker, February 25, 1945. 9:13 a.m.

²⁷Western Union Telegram from R. Worth Shumaker to Harry L. Foster, February 26, 1945. 2:28 p.m.

being used from grade one to grade twelve in the New Philadelphia, Ohio, schools was sent to Mr. Shumaker by Mr. Jack Preble. He asked Mr. Shumaker ". . . to determine if any of the books listed are on the suspected list. No [sic] having information concerning any textbooks except those by Dr. Rugg, I am asking your help."²⁸ Shumaker replied that,

. . . I do not find any book on this list which is reported objectionable. . . . So far as I am concerned these books have a clean slate. I used some of them when I was serving as school superintendent not long ago. Should a question arise at any time on any particular book included on the list, please send it to this office for analysis and we will be pleased to give you our opinion of the book.²⁹

The Chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Chico Post #17, Chico, California, wrote to Mr. Shumaker saying, "A member of our Board of Education has asked me about a suplimentary [sic] reading book proposed for the elementary schools, entitled Paul Robeson, Citizen of the World. The question is, does this book suggest or encourage unAmerican [sic] attitudes?"³⁰ Mr. Shumaker stated that,

Robeson's philosophy of life is well-known. His membership in many radical and left wing organizations stamps him as a character to us which is dangerous to our country. I would say that elementary school children

²⁸Letter from Jack Preble, Director of the Americanism Committee, Department of Ohio, The American Legion, Columbus, Ohio, to R. Worth Shumaker, February 24, 1946 (Legion dead-letter files).

²⁹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Jack Preble, March 5, 1946 (Legion dead-letter files).

³⁰Letter from L. G. Morony to R. Worth Shumaker, September 11, 1946 (Legion dead-letter files).

certainly should not be exposed to Paul Robeson's ideologies under any circumstances.³¹

A veteran of World War II who was attending the University of California, College of Agriculture, Davis, California, was taking a course in history on the period from the Civil War to World War I and using the text The American Nation by John D. Hicks, published by Houghton Mifflin Company. In a letter to Mr. Shumaker he said. ". . . The author seems a little biased on some of his treatment on certain phases of our world affairs. Could you tell me how The Legion rates this book?"³² The student was informed, "I regret to state that we do not have a copy of this book on our shelves. Should you desire to send a copy to this office for review, I will be pleased to give you our opinion of it."³³ The records do not show that Mr. Shumaker ever reviewed the book for Mr. Tim Krall.

Mr. Loyd F. Gehres, Vice-President in Charge, John C. Winston Company, sent a copy of Fighting For Freedom to Mr. Shumaker for his inspection, with this comment attached:

. . . When we made this book we made a definite attempt to build a book which would teach Americanism and which could never be accused in any way of being subversive. . . . Will you be kind enough to glance through this book and see if you can find any items which could

³¹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to L. G. Morony, September 15, 1946 (Legion dead-letter files).

³²Letter from Tim Krall to R. Worth Shumaker, December 9, 1946 (Legion dead-letter files).

³³Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Tim Krall, December 18, 1946 (Legion dead-letter files).

not be endorsed [sic] by The American Legion?"³⁴

Mr. Shumaker informed the Vice-President that ". . . a hasty review of Fighting For Freedom indicates to me that you have in this volume a book which teaches Americanism in a fine way."³⁵

On July 28, 1948, a communication was received from the Adjutant of Robbins-McMullen Post #37, Grand Junction, Colorado, which said,

The Americanism Committee here would like to obtain information whether the following publications are considered by The American Legion to be subversive due to un-American tendencies: 'Lands and People, Volumes I and III' specifically; 'World Book Encyclopeida [sic] Volume 10,' by W. F. Quarrie and Company; and 'Peoples and Countries,' by Harold Rugg and Louise Kreuger, published by Ginn and Company.³⁶

The Adjutant was informed that ". . . The Legion does not maintain a blacklist of textbooks and the only one of the books we do not approve is the Peoples and Countries, by Harold O. Rugg and Louise Kreuger . . . as a result of National Convention Resolution No. 373, 1941."³⁷

The County Superintendent of Schools, Peoria, Illinois,

³⁴Letter from Lloyd F. Gehres to R. Worth Shumaker, May 27, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

³⁵Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Loyd R. Gehres, June 8, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

³⁶Letter from Forrest M. Carhartt to R. Worth Shumaker, July 28, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

³⁷Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Forrest M. Carhartt, August 13, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

Mr. E. E. Downing, stated by letter that,

Our Committee of teachers of the Peoria County Schools have chosen some texts for Geography and Seventh and Eighth Grade Readers to be placed in our Elementary Schools. We have searched all sources that we have for any communistic leanings in these books and find none. However, we would like to have you give us anything that you may have on these books.³⁸

Seven books, published by Silver Burdett Company were submitted for consideration. Mr. Shumaker informed Mr. Downing that,

. . . I reviewed these books, at least in part, some time ago and found them very satisfactory. This office has also had no registered objections to any of these books; in fact, the books have been given the green light by those who have reviewed them and those who are now using them.³⁹

Mr. Shumaker also reviewed A World View [no author given] for Mr. Downing and reported, ". . . I find this book to be very satisfactory for use in our schools. The book is extremely well illustrated and its content is attractive reading. I find nothing whatsoever anti-American or subversive in the book."⁴⁰

Mr. Charles Larson, Commander, Department of Wisconsin, The American Legion, wrote to Mr. H. L. Chaillaux saying,

³⁸Letter from E. E. Downing to R. Worth Shumaker, May 16, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

³⁹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to E. E. Downing, May 18, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁰Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to E. E. Downing, May 30, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

Some months ago when I was chairman of the Americanism Committee of the Department of Wisconsin and sponsoring a program of education in the American way of life in our public schools, I was approached by Mr. Emil F. Faith, a school principal in the Milwaukee school system, concerning a book he was writing in collaboration with Richard G. Browne, Ph.D., Department of Social Science, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois. Mr. Faith has sent me a copy of the book which is intended as a text for junior high school use. In my opinion it contains so many beautiful references to American ideals, and teaches Democracy with such enthusiasm for what The American Legion stands for, that I think it well worth while for us to assist in its circulation. Many school texts in the field of social science teach the mechanics of our government without creating a genuine enthusiasm for our system. This book creates the enthusiasm and I think it is our duty that we make specific recommendations to educators concerning what should be taught in our public schools and what the best tools are. . . .⁴¹

Mr. Chaillaux replied that,

... . For the Commission to give approval to certain textbooks and/or supplemental readers would create a very pronounced and embarrassing situation with textbook publishers. . . . After reviewing a copy of the textbook you discussed in your letter, we will not be willing to help circulate the book among prospective buyers, but we will be in position to state to any individual or school board upon request that such a textbook is satisfactory for use by school children. . . .⁴²

Mr. Howard A. DeLong, a Legionnaire from Gloversville, New York, inquired ". . . if The Legion can inform me if this textbook America's History by Todd N. Curti [sic] is okay for classroom use and is in The American Legion's approved

⁴¹Letter from Charles L. Larson to H. L. Chaillaux, December 1, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴²Letter from H. L. Chaillaux to Charles L. Larson, December 10, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

list of history textbooks for high schools."⁴³ Mr. Shumaker informed Mr. DeLong that ". . . We consider the book you mentioned in your letter to be acceptable for classroom use, but The Legion has never had, nor does it contemplate, the publication of a recommended list of textbooks, for it would create a very pronounced and embarrassing situation with textbook publishers."⁴⁴

Mrs. Hugh Notestine of Bellefontaine, Ohio, who was not connected with The Legion in any way, wrote a letter asking ". . . Is 'Young America' which is so widely used in our schools and is published by the Eton Publishing Corporation of Silver Spring, Md., a good publication in your opinion?"⁴⁵ Mr. Shumaker informed her

. . . that this office does not have copies of such a text available for review. Should your local American Legion Post be inclined to believe that you have in your schools one or more textbooks which contain un-American or subversive materials . . . have the Post mail a copy, or copies, of such to this office for our review. This procedure is necessary inasmuch as our reviews are only made when books are presented to us through Legion channels.⁴⁶

⁴³Letter from Howard A. DeLong to R. Worth Shumaker, June 13, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁴Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Howard A. DeLong, June 16, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁵Letter from Mrs. Hugh Notestine to The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, October 17, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁶Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Mrs. Hugh Notestine, October 27, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

Mr. G. Ward Moody, Adjutant, Department of Texas, The American Legion, Austin, Texas, wrote to Mr. Shumaker saying, "Under separate cover I am sending you two copies of a book entitled 'Our Constitution and What It Means' by William Kottmeyer. I would appreciate it if you will review them and give me your opinion as to whether they are suitable for textbooks for fifth, sixth and seventh grade students.

. . .⁴⁷ Mr. Shumaker replied that ". . . We have reviewed this book and find no objections to it."⁴⁸

Mr. Sam Morris, Past District Commander of Chattanooga, Tennessee, wrote that,

. . . The newspapers have recently written a denouncing editorial on a book called 'Social Living' taught in the County High Schools here. The authors of this book is [sic] Paul H. Landis and Judson T. Landis . . . and this book is published by Ginn and Company. The paper denounced it because of its socialistic leanings and we are vitally interested in finding out if you have any information in regard to this book as well as its authors.⁴⁹

Mr. Shumaker replied that ". . . Social Living has been analyzed and found favorable as far as The Legion is concerned. We find nothing un-American or subversive in this book."⁵⁰

⁴⁷Letter from G. Ward Moody to R. Worth Shumaker, December 20, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁸Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to G. Ward Moody, January 3, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁴⁹Letter from Sam Morris to R. Worth Shumaker, March 4, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁰Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Sam Morris, March 10, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

The superintendent of schools in Washington, Iowa, wrote to The Legion

. . . asking for your assistance in the evaluation of a publication entitled 'Russia, Its Past and Present' by Bernard Pares, revised edition. Since this book is on Russia, it might be considered as communistic propaganda, however, it is recommended by the University of Iowa Department of Social Studies and it is listed in the standardized list for high school libraries. . . .⁵¹

Mr. Schell was advised ". . . that this office does not recommend for use in our schools the publication titled 'Russia, Its Past and Present,' by Bernard Pares, revised edition, as it places too much emphasis on Russia's government procedures and has little or nothing to say about our own government."⁵²

The Americanism Chairman of Post #57, Elgin, Illinois, inquired about a book being used in the Elgin High School.

He wrote

. . . It has been called to my attention that the textbook American Social Problems by Patterson, Little and Burch, published by the Macmillan Company, tends to be leftist in presenting their material. I would appreciate any information you have in regard to its suitability for classes in American Social Problems.⁵³

Mr. Shumaker informed him that ". . . this book has not been

⁵¹Letter from M. M. Schell to The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, August 20, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵²Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to M. M. Schell, September 3, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵³Letter from Harvey Gunderson to Karl Barslaag, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, October 5, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

analyzed by me but I have heard of no objection to its use."⁵⁴

The Past Commander of Taft Post #70, Taft, California, stated in a letter that,

The Board of Trustees of our local high school and junior college have appointed a textbook committee to review the books used in the Social Science Department. The most discussed book is 'The History of Our Country' by David Saville Muzzay, Prof. Emeritus of History Columbia University. . . . I am writing to ask if you have made a study of this book and its author.⁵⁵

Mr. Shumaker replied that ". . . I do not find any objections to either the textbook or to its author. . . ."⁵⁶

Mr. J. F. Luther, superintendent of schools, Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, stated that,

We are in the process of choosing a junior high level history textbook and a senior high level history textbook. . . . Can you tell us if any of the following books and authors have been branded as 'Red' or 'un-American?' Todd and Curti (American History); Gavin Groves (The American Story); Bregel and Haugh (A History of the United States of America); Faulkner, Kepner, and Merrill (History of the American Way) and the authors of other history texts - Muzzey and Baird.⁵⁷

The superintendent was informed that ". . . We have checked the names of the books and the names of the authors which

⁵⁴Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Harvey Gunderson, October 10, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁵Letter from F. H. Goodrich to R. Worth Shumaker, October 20, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁶Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to F. H. Goodrich, October 26, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁷Letter from J. F. Luther to Administrative Officers, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, November 1, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

you sent to us, and according to our files, none of them have been listed as branded subversive."⁵⁸

The Peoria, Illinois Incident

Mr. R. Worth Shumaker was notified by letter of interesting and significant action which was taken by the board of education in Peoria, Illinois, on April 8, 1947. The letter was written by Mr. N. Curtis Cation, Assistant Vice-President, The Central National Bank and Trust Company, of Peoria, Illinois, and stated:

The writer happens to be president of our local school board. From time to time we are adopting, quite naturally, new textbooks. The Board feels that the final mark of a good book for our school system in this day of propaganda is a definite knowledge as to whether the text is truly American. Unofficially we have agreed that before final approval is made by our Superintendent approval of the National Americanism Director of The Legion should be sought. . . . Future inquiries from our system will be handled by Dr. Melvin G. Davis, our Superintendent, as I am writing only the initial letter so that you may know the background of the requests which will reach you.

At the present time the book under consideration is 'History of American Democracy,' Casner and Gabriel, authors--Harcourt, Brace, & Co., Publishers. Will you have our Americanism Director advise me his opinion of this particular book from an Americanism standpoint?⁵⁹

Before this letter was answered, as Mr. Shumaker was out of town, an additional request for textbook analysis and criticism was made by Dr. Melvin G. Davis. This list of books

⁵⁸Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to J. F. Luther, November 10, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁵⁹Letter from N. Curtis Cation to R. Worth Shumaker, April 8, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

included Introductory Economics, by Dodd and published by Southwestern Publishing Company; Adventures In Reading, by Ross and Thompson and published by Harcourt, Brace and Company; Adventures In Appreciation, by Cook, Miller and Loban and published by Harcourt, Brace and Company; Adventures In English Literature, by Inglis, Cooper, Oppenheimer and Benet and published by Harcourt, Brace and Company; and Adventures In American Literature, by Inglis, Gehlmann, Bowman and Schramm and published by Harcourt, Brace and Company.⁶⁰ Upon returning to his office, Shumaker wrote to Dr. Davis in reference to his two requests, stating that

. . . As to your inquiry re [sic] the textbook: 'History of American Democracy' by Casner and Gabriel, published by Harcourt, this book is not in our files. In fact, none of the books named by you in your letter are in our files.

. . . I have in my files the textbook 'The Rise of American Democracy' by Casner and Gabriel, published by Harcourt, in 1941. This book was reviewed soon after publication and we found a few sections to which we raised objections. Frankly, the objectionable features to that book consisted, I believe, of too great an emphasis on the philosophy of the New Deal. The manner in which the attention of school children is called to what is determined a new attitude toward government, is objectionable in that book. . . .⁶¹

Dr. Davis did not seem to be satisfied with the reply he received from his two requests so he wrote to Mr. Shumaker

⁶⁰Letter from Melvin G. Davis, Superintendent of Schools, Peoria, Illinois, to R. Worth Shumaker, April 17, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁶¹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Melvin G. Davis, April 23, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

saying,

Your letter . . . concerning the approval of The American Legion of certain textbooks which we wish to adopt leaves me in a very difficult situation. Our Board of Education has adopted the policy of asking the American Legion Committee on Americanism or Citizenship to pass on the contents of all books in the field of the social studies and literature, and yet when I attempt to carry out that policy I find that The Legion is not organized to serve in that capacity.

It would seem to me that if your committee has been appointed to analyze and pass judgment on textbooks then it should have on hand all textbooks and be in a position to give prompt service. We must order books soon, and if we cannot secure the approval of the books which have been selected, then we must make some other choice.

I realize you are very busy in promoting good citizenship; at the same time I want you to understand that your inability to meet our needs leaves me in a very awkward position.⁶²

An air mail special delivery letter was sent to Dr. Davis to clear up the misunderstanding. It stated in part:

Your Board of Education evidently has been misinformed on our position . . . relative to the approval of textbooks which are being considered for adoption and use in your schools.

It is not the policy . . . to pass on books which are up for adoption by school boards. Our Commission would find itself in an embarrassing position with the many textbook publishers were it to adopt or practice such a policy.

We have in the past analyzed a few textbooks, in addition to the Rugg textbooks, which were thought to be un-American or anti-American. During the past year we reviewed two or three books at the request of Legionnaires in the field. These textbooks were already in use in the schools.

. . . I was under the impression that you had one or more books which you believed to contain un-American or anti-American materials. I did not realize that any analysis that we might make through this office would enter into the matter of textbook adoption.

⁶²Letter from Melvin G. Davis to R. Worth Shumaker, April 29, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

. . . I have discussed this matter with others connected with the Commission and, considering the embarrassing situation which confronts you, now that you have made your adoptions, I am pleased to tell you that the textbooks published by Harcourt, Brace and Company and the Silver Burdett Company are not listed on our un-American or anti-American textbook list. This statement should clear up the situation which has been somewhat embarrassing to you. . . .⁶³

Upon receiving the letter of explanation from Shumaker, Dr. Davis wrote another letter saying,

. . . A number of the members on our Board of Education are members of The American Legion, and Mr. Cation, the President is former State Commander of the Department of Illinois. . . . I had no doubt concerning the content of these books and was somewhat fearful that you were not set up to do the task we imposed upon you, but there seemed to be no other practical course open to me. . . .⁶⁴

On April 24, 1947, Dr. Davis, sent a telegram to Mr. Shumaker asking him to "Please wire rating of following books: Our Big World, The American Continent, and Old World Lands, all by Harland Barrows, Edith Putnam Parker, and Clarence Woodrow Sorenson, published by Silver Burdett."⁶⁵ The return wire stated "Regret books listed your telegram not on file here. No analyses have been made. Will review textbooks and supply analysis latter part of May."⁶⁶

⁶³Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Melvin G. Davis, May 6, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁶⁴Letter from Melvin G. Davis to R. Worth Shumaker, May 8, 1947 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁶⁵Western Union Telegram from Melvin G. Davis to R. Worth Shumaker, April 28, 1947. 3:00 p.m.

⁶⁶Western Union Telegram from R. Worth Shumaker to Melvin G. Davis, April 29, 1947. 9:27 a.m.

On April 26, 1948, almost one year later, another letter was received from Dr. Davis regarding the use of a textbook being used in the Peoria schools.

. . . We have been using for a few years a number of copies of D. C. Heath's book 'The American Story' by Gavian and Hamm. One of the local newspapers has included this book along with a number of others in its criticism for containing materials not in accordance with sound political and economic thinking. The book is supposed to be too 'New Dealish.' Has this book to your knowledge been subjected to such criticisms from other sources?⁶⁷

The superintendent was instructed that ". . . it has not been possible for me to review this book thoroughly up to this time. In scanning the volume, however, I have found a few statements that are not pleasing."⁶⁸

Soon thereafter Dr. Davis wrote again saying ". . . We are now concerned with another text which we are using, namely, 'Our Changing Social Order' of which Mrs. Gavian is the author. Have you had any criticism of this book from any other sources where it is being used?"⁶⁹ Before an answer was received to this letter, Davis wrote again and mentioned another book. "We have decided to adopt as a text, 'World History' by Emma Smith, David Muzzey, and Minnie Lloyd. To

⁶⁷Letter from Melvin G. Davis to R. Worth Shumaker, April 26, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁶⁸Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Melvin G. Davis, May 4, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁶⁹Letter from Melvin G. Davis to R. Worth Shumaker, May 17, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

your knowledge, is there any material in this text subject to criticism for being subversive or un-American?"⁷⁰ Dr. Davis was informed that ". . . the material in the text, 'World History,' is satisfactory to all who have surveyed it."⁷¹ In reference to Our Changing Social Order, which Davis inquired about in a letter of May 17, 1948, Mr. Shumaker stated, ". . . The Legion has no objection to this book as it has met with the approval of those schools and communities where it is in use. . . ."⁷²

A year later, May 16, 1949, Dr. Davis requested an opinion on three more books which had been selected for use in the Peoria schools: Building Our Communities, by Moore, Painter, Lewis and Carpenter; Building Our America and Building Our World, by the same authors as the former.⁷³ Shumaker replied that ". . . I find nothing objectionable, nothing subversive, in the three textbooks you submitted to me for review. In fact, I find these textbooks very attractive and interesting."⁷⁴

⁷⁰Letter from Melvin G. Davis to R. Worth Shumaker, June 10, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁷¹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Melvin G. Davis, June 12, 1948 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Letter from Melvin G. Davis to R. Worth Shumaker, May 16, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁷⁴Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Melvin G. Davis, May 18, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

On June 7, 1949, Dr. Davis wrote ". . . Now we are considering adopting the textbook Sociology Principles and Problems by Ellwood and would appreciate your informing us as to whether there is any material in this text which might be considered un-American or subversive. . . ." ⁷⁵ The reply to this letter stated:

I have reviewed . . . and find that the complete text is excellent and free from any subversive or anti-American propaganda. . . . I am of the opinion that the Author could have handled the Chapter on Marx better than he did; however, it is satisfactory for school use--no 'bugs' in it. ⁷⁶

Legion Adopts Criteria for Evaluating Textbooks

The Education Committee of the Department of Michigan, The American Legion, Detroit, Michigan, adopted criteria for evaluating textbooks, and these criteria became the official policy of the national organization through passage of Resolution #291 at the Annual National Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 29 - September 1, 1949. The resolution stated ". . . RESOLVED, that The American Legion adopt as a criterion for its policy on investigation of instructional material the report of 'The Committee on Evaluation of Instructional Materials' . . . whenever such an investigation

⁷⁵Letter from Melvin G. Davis to R. Worth Shumaker, June 7, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁷⁶Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Melvin G. Davis, June 29, 1949 (Legion dead-letter files).

may be undertaken."⁷⁷

AMERICAN LEGION POLICY ON INVESTIGATION OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

- A. Purpose: To foster a positive attitude towards democratic ideals and principles in all educational institutions and activities by
- a. Offering to Posts and other groups and agencies of The American Legion a yardstick by which textbooks and other instructional materials used or to be used in the public schools may be measured as to conformance with the principles of American democracy.
 - b. Bringing about better understanding between those who prepare and provide instructional materials and representatives of organizations especially concerned with their use in programs that promote the preservation and development of democratic ideals and principles.
 - c. Protecting The American Legion against the hasty, ill-advised or snap judgment of any Post or individual in 'black-listing' instructional materials.
- D. Procedures For Using Evaluative Criteria
1. Arrange for joint committees of professional educators and lay persons to work cooperatively on the analysis and evaluation of instructional materials.
 2. Prepare questionnaires and check lists based on the criteria submitted in this report to be used as a guide by social science teachers, administrators, and lay people in analyzing and evaluating textbooks and other types of instructional materials.
 3. Analyze the purposes of the author by securing information about his experience and competence in the field in which he writes, his standing among recognized authorities in his field, other contributions he has made to the interpretation of knowledge in his field.
 4. Recommend that the school system develop a statement of policy on the teaching of controversial issues.

⁷⁷Proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual National Convention of The American Legion, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August 29 - September 1, 1949, p. 75

5. Discriminate between source materials such as Mein Kampf and textbooks. Any document is admissible to a learning situation. The question of its relationship to the course or unit should be determined.

E. Cautions and Safeguards

1. Interpretation of materials is often aided by studying the selfish interests and known biases of authors and sponsors of materials.
2. The evaluation of parts of materials out of context is obviously unjust.
3. Authors and editors always work against space requirements and thus should be given the benefit of the doubt when interpretation of intent is questioned.
4. Democracy is based on free speech--there can be no freedom without it.
5. Material not prepared for school or college use will not conform to textbook criteria. When instructors bring in realistic materials on any issue the only question is whether the instructor presents both sides of a given issue.
6. Democracy is not a fragile institution, and when fairly presented neither suffers by comparison nor needs a defense.

B. CRITERIA:

1. Criterion One:

- (a) What are the objectives of the unit (or course)?
- (b) Is material in question used as a basic text or as supplementary material? (Note: Supplementary material of a biased nature is often used to present various sides of a question, whereas a textbook should be more objective and unbiased in nature)
- (c) To what extent is any material dealing with the unit given undue consideration?
- (d) Are facts or material used outside of context to such an extent that the original thought is distorted?

2. Criterion Two:

- (a) Are the rights of the individual in American society properly treated in so far as the material in question is concerned?
- (b) Are the obligations of the individual in American society properly treated in so far as the material in question is concerned?
- (c) Are rights and obligations of individuals in American society treated in a proper relationship in so far as the material is con-

cerned?

3. Criterion Three:

- (a) If certain of the failures of democracy are treated, does the material deal with constructive ways for preventing recurrence of those failures?

4. Criterion Four:

- (a) Does the material help students to develop their own methods of weighing opinions?
- (b) Does the author indicate there are conflicting theories of opinions on the issues under discussion?
- (c) Are the concepts contained in the material in harmony with the ability and maturity of the students?
- (d) Is the readability of the material in terms of the reading ability of the students?

5. Criterion Five:

- (a) Are the critical controversial issues of the present included in the material?
- (b) Are these issues presented in such a way as to lead toward better citizenship on the part of the students?
- (c) Does the material distinguish between unsupported generalizations and generalizations based upon objective data?
- (d) Are opinions labeled as such?

It was reported by Floyd L. Haight, Chairman of the Education Committee which drew up the criteria that,

. . . a speaker from Harvard University proclaimed that our Criteria was one of the best pieces of literature that he had read coming forth during the year. Two speakers from Columbia expressed the opinion that it was a very worthy document, in which all educators should become informed about. . . .⁷⁸

The speakers were not identified, but were those persons who were guest speakers at the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development meeting in New York, at which the

⁷⁸Letter from Floyd L. Haight to H. L. Chaillaux, February 28, 1949. (Legion dead-letter files).

Chairman was present.⁷⁹

Requests for Legion's Textbook Black-List

The Commander of the Carl A. Johnson Post #2, Grand Rapids, Michigan, said, ". . . I have been called upon to ascertain the existence of a so-called textbook and magazine 'Black-list.' . . . This list might well include not only publications, but organizations, societies, etc."⁸⁰ The Legion's Director of Publications informed the Commander ". . . I know of no textbooks or magazines that have been listed (Black-listed) by The American Legion. We have never made such a list nor do we contemplate making such a listing."⁸¹

The Department of Illinois Americanism Chairman, Mr. Elliodor Libonati, asked for a list of textbooks which are on the Legion's black-list other than the Rugg series.⁸² He was advised that,

. . . The Legion does not have a list of textbooks which are on our black-list other than the Rugg series with which you are familiar. . . . Also, I do not know of any other organization or group which is doing much

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Letter from Mayo N. Zeigler to Boyd B. Stutler, Editor, The American Legion Magazine, March 26, 1945 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸¹Letter from James F. Barton to Mayo N. Zeigler, April 16, 1945 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸²Letter from Elliodor M. Libonati to Karl Barslaag, American Legion Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana, June 1, 1945 (Legion dead-letter files).

on textbook analysis. A few organizations got into this business, then got out of it more rapidly than their entry. The NAM serves as a good example [National Association of Manufacturers].⁸³

Mr. W. A. Forsyth, National Commander of the Yankee Division Veterans Association, Boston, Massachusetts, said in a letter

I have been informed that your office has a so-called 'black-list' of books which have been used in our public schools, and which are classified as being subversive. If such is correct . . . please advise me if the following history book falls in that category: 'History for the Beginner' by Cardier and Robert; published by Rand, McNally and Company.⁸⁴

Mr. Shumaker replied ". . . that this office has never published nor does it anticipate publishing a so-called 'black-list' of textbooks and other public school reading matter which may be classified as being subversive. However, we do not object to the book mentioned in your letter."⁸⁵

The Secretary of the Passaic Valley Chapter of the New Jersey Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, Summit, New Jersey, inquired of The Legion ". . . if you have a list of 'black-listed' subversive textbooks that you could

⁸³Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Elliodor M. Libonati, June 7, 1945 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸⁴Letter from W. A. Forsyth to The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, October 18, 1945 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸⁵Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to W. A. Forsyth, October 25, 1945 (Legion dead-letter files).

send us?"⁸⁶ The Secretary was informed in a short but nice letter that "this office has never compiled such a list of textbooks."⁸⁷

Mr. H. W. Chaddick, Adjutant of the Summers-Whitehead Post #14, Chattanooga, Tennessee, stated:

We are very anxious to ascertain if the Legion has a 'black-list' of textbooks or any information in its files as to undesirable school textbooks. If so, we are anxious to secure a list of these books as used in public schools, and if the Legion does not have this information, please direct us to the proper source of obtaining same.⁸⁸

Mr. Shumaker suggested in reply that ". . . The Legion has never published nor does it expect to prepare a list of undesirable school textbooks."⁸⁹

Legion Refers Requests for Textbook Analysis
and Criticism to Educational Reviewer

Mrs. Lucille Cardin Crain, Editor of the Educational Reviewer, a quarterly review of educational materials published by the Committee on Education, Conference of American Small Business Organizations, New York, New York, offered

⁸⁶Letter from F. Monroe DeSelding to The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, October 27, 1945 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸⁷Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to F. Monroe DeSelding, November 5, 1945 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸⁸Letter from H. W. Chaddick to the Chairman of Subversive Activities, The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, January 8, 1946 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁸⁹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to H. W. Chaddick, January 15, 1946 (Legion dead-letter files).

the services of the Reviewer to persons or organizations who wanted requests for analyses of certain textbooks. Mrs. Crain said in her letter of December 12, 1950, to Mr. Shumaker, ". . . if you want to refer these people to me, I shall be very pleased to try to help them . . . concerning the book in which they are interested. . . ."90 Mr. Shumaker replied that ". . . I will be very glad to refer individuals and groups interested in textbook analysis to you. This will give The Legion an opportunity to suspend our limited activities in this endeavor. You are doing a fine piece of work. . . ."91

After Lucille Crain offered the services of her publication, The Legion decreased its activities in textbook analysis and criticism. If requests were made about books which had already been analyzed by The Legion, Mr. Shumaker would give an opinion. If the book had not been analyzed, the individual or organization was referred to the Educational Reviewer.

Mr. Daniel W. Shauk, Assistant Department Adjutant, Department of Pennsylvania, The American Legion, inquired of Mr. Allen B. Willand, the newly appointed Director of the National Americanism Commission to succeed Mr. H. L.

⁹⁰Letter from Lucille Cardin Crain to R. Worth Shumaker, December 12, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁹¹Letter from R. Worth Shumaker to Lucille Cardin Crain, December 18, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

Chaillaux,

Will you kindly advise us as to whether or not the following list of books teach subversive activities in any sense 'Red,' or even a little 'Pink.' The quality of the books otherwise need not be passed on: Democratic Citizenship, by Adams and Walker; Civics For Youth, by Edmonson-Doniveau-Letton; American History, by Todd and Curti; This Is America's Story, by Wilder-Ludlum-Brown; Literature of Life, by Greenlaw Elms-Keck Miles; Working Together In United Nations / sic / by Clara O. Wilson; Young Citizen, by Civic Education Service; and Weekly News Review.⁹²

Mr. Willand replied,

. . . I regret that we here in Indianapolis have not read the books you mentioned nor do we have a review on them. I refer you to the Educational Reviewer . . . for the desired information as this publication is accepting requests from those whom The Legion refers.⁹³

Miss Anne McLaughlin of Immaculata College, Immaculata, Pennsylvania, wrote to The Legion saying,

. . . Since we wish to inform all students, especially those in our Education and History departments, of the danger . . . of Communist infiltration in American Government and History textbooks . . . we would appreciate your sending us the following information: all criticisms which have been made of American Government and History textbooks; . . .⁹⁴

Miss McLaughlin was informed that:

This office does not have a list of textbooks which may be considered appropriate for use in the schools of our nation. This office has from time to time reviewed

⁹²Letter from Daniel W. Shauk to Allen B. Willand, December 22, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁹³Letter from Allen B. Willand to Daniel B. Shauk, December 29, 1950 (Legion dead-letter files).

⁹⁴Letter from Anne McLaughlin to The American Legion, Indianapolis, Indiana, January 8, 1951 (Legion dead-letter files).

any textbook which was thought to contain un-American or anti-American material and which textbook was forwarded to us through Legion channels for such review. However, at the present time we are referring all requests to Mrs. Lucille Cardin Crain, Editor of the Educational Reviewer. . . . May I suggest you contact Mrs. Crain . . . relative to any history or government textbooks which you believe to contain content of a questionable nature. Mrs. Crain has reviewed a large number of textbooks for us during the past few months and we are discontinuing efforts in this area. . . .⁹⁵

After this time The American Legion discontinued, at least as far as its records show, its activities in textbook analysis and criticism and practically all requests were forwarded to the Educational Reviewer for disposition.

⁹⁵Letter from Allen B. Willand to Anne McLaughlin, January 15, 1951 (Legion dead-letter files).

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Since its founding in 1919, The American Legion has been interested in public education in the United States, and through its National Americanism Commission has played an active part in the discussion of educational problems. The Legion urged its membership to support the public schools during the depression when the financial structure of the nation was inadequate to meet the needs of public education.

The Legion's emphasis in public education has been in citizenship training for the youth of America, and most of its determined efforts have been in this area.

This organization first became interested in textbook analysis and criticism in 1938, when some of its members in the State of Georgia attempted to arouse efforts on the part of the national organization to remove the Harold O. Rugg social science series of textbooks from use in the public school classrooms. However, their efforts were unconcerted and nothing was accomplished. In 1939 The Legion became actively engaged in the aforementioned endeavor after some insistence from such individuals as Major Augustin G. Rudd of

Garden City, New York; A. T. Falk, Director of the Advertising Federation of America; Merwin K. Hart, President of the New York State Economic Council; and John B. Anderson, Secretary of the American Parents Committee on Education in New York City.

Delegates to the National Convention of The American Legion in the fall of 1939 unanimously passed a resolution which required the local Legion Posts to take definite action in the local communities to have school administrators and boards of education remove the Rugg social science series from use in the public school classrooms. However, this program did not get into "full-swing" until 1941, when National Commander Milo J. Warner directed the National Americanism Commission to make this their first endeavor. In January, 1941, National Commander Warner appointed Mr. R. Worth Shumaker, an educator from West Virginia and a Legionnaire, to become Assistant Director of the National Americanism Commission and direct the activities of this Commission in analyzing and criticizing textbooks which were considered to be subversive or anti-American by The Legion. Under Mr. Shumaker's leadership the local Legion Posts directed their activities toward having the Rugg social science series removed from public school use. The Legion "dead-letter correspondence files" contained reports from thirty-two schools regarding the use of the Rugg series of textbooks. Of the thirty-two schools reporting, twelve stated that the Rugg books had been in use

but upon request of the local Legion Post the books were being removed from use in the classroom. Eleven schools stated that the Rugg books were being used in the classrooms but were not planning to have them removed from classroom use regardless of the objections raised by The American Legion. Four schools reported that the Rugg books were not in use and five schools reported that an investigation had been made and nothing subversive or un-American had been found in the Rugg books.

It should be noted that many of the local Legion Posts were engaged in activities designed to have the Rugg series of textbooks removed from public school classroom use even before the Rugg philosophy was ever officially analyzed. They were acting on the basis of the National Convention Resolution and not on any documented information, which was supposedly contained in the Rugg Philosophy Analyzed pamphlets. The Legion received criticism for these activities from such individuals and groups as: William G. Carr, Associate Secretary of the National Education Association; California Association of School Supervisors; Alexander J. Stoddard, Chairman of the Educational Policies Commission; Edwin C. Broome, former Superintendent of Philadelphia Public Schools; William D. Lewis, editor-in-chief of the John Winston Publishing Company; Bruce M. Watson, Executive Director of the Public Education and Child Labor Association; Hugh Bonar, Chairman of the ~~Committee on Induction Into Citizenship~~

of the National Education Association; Professor Erling H. Hunt, Head of the Department of Teaching of Social Science, Teachers College, Columbia University; and C. B. Smith, President of State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama. However, The Legion also received support and encouragement in these activities from such individuals and groups as: Editor of the New York Sun; County Superintendent of Schools in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; George E. Sokolsky, writer for Liberty Magazine; Hamilton Hicks, officer of the Association of the Bar in New York City; American Economic Foundation of Cleveland, Ohio; Patriotic Laymen's Education Association of Seattle, Washington; and Major Augustin G. Rudd, Garden City, New York.

Mr. Shumaker, immediately upon accepting the appointment, went to work analyzing Rugg's books and on April 18, 1941, he announced that the first of four pamphlets on the Rugg philosophy had been published and was ready for distribution. In July, 1941, the second pamphlet was published and distributed, and in September, 1941, the third pamphlet (a copy of which is included in the Appendix) was published and distributed. The fourth pamphlet was not published and distributed until November, 1942. Mr. Shumaker reported to the Twenty-fourth Annual National Convention of The Legion in 1942 that 100,000 copies of the pamphlets had been distributed and practically all of them reached school administrators and board of education members. The comments received

about the pamphlets were both complimentary and derogatory, with many of the latter coming from educators and Legionnaires.

After the pamphlets were published and distributed, Mr. Shumaker directed his attention to analyzing and criticizing any textbooks which were considered subversive, un-American or otherwise objectionable by Legionnaires in local Posts. He continued this endeavor until 1951 when the Editor of the Educational Reviewer offered the services of her publication to The Legion for the same purposes. After this time, all requests for textbook analysis and criticism were forwarded to this editor for disposition.

The school board in Peoria, Illinois, which had as its chairman a Legionnaire, unofficially ruled that the superintendent of schools was to request the opinion of Mr. Shumaker on any social science textbooks being considered for adoption before making any final decision. This created difficulties for the superintendent because The Legion was not prepared for such an undertaking.

The September, 1940, issue of The American Legion Magazine contained an article entitled "Treason In The Textbooks," by O. K. Armstrong, a Legionnaire from Ohio, which placed The Legion, Mr. Armstrong, and several publishers in an embarrassing situation. In this article, the author included a list of thirty-eight publications which he implied were "un-American and subversive." This article caused

violent reactions from Legionnaires, educators and publishers. Several of the publishers of publications listed in the article suffered financial losses due to loss of subscriptions. Mr. Armstrong and the Director of Publications for The Legion later made retracting statements which withdrew the charges against all publications included in the list except those authored by Harold O. Rugg.

In 1949, ten years after The Legion had first become involved in textbook analysis and criticism activities and two years before it was to discontinue such activities, The Legion at its National Convention adopted a set of criteria for evaluating textbooks and instructional materials, which they recommended for use by teachers, school administrators and lay groups when social science textbooks were in question. It is significant that the criteria were not adopted before The Legion began its activities of textbook analysis and criticism, but after the Rugg series and many other textbooks had been analyzed and criticized.

Although The Legion has discontinued its activities in textbook analysis and criticism, it is still concerning itself with the citizenship training afforded American youth in the public schools of our nation. These activities are described in detail in the Americanism Manual which is published and distributed by the National Americanism Commission of The American Legion.

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APPENDIX

RUGG
PHILOSOPHY
ANALYZED
Volume III

Prepared and distributed by
NATIONAL AMERICANISM COMMISSION

1941

THE AMERICAN LEGION
Indianapolis, Indiana

STATEMENT OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF DR. HAROLD O. RUGG
ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND
EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Volume III

Textbook Abstracts

That the public may understand the Rugg philosophy, know that this philosophy is written into the textbooks, and become acquainted with the true precepts and doctrines which children are to be taught through the Rugg Social Science Series, the following digests are being made available to the public:

- I. BASIC EXCERPTS FROM THE GREAT TECHNOLOGY
(Released April, 1941)
- II. THE COMPLETE RUGG PHILOSOPHY--ITS TRANSFER TO THE
TEXTBOOKS (Released July, 1941)
- III. TEXTBOOK ABSTRACTS

The Twenty-Third Annual American Legion Convention held in Milwaukee, September 15-18, 1941, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 373

Endorse Fight Against Un-American Textbooks

WHEREAS, Harold O. Rugg and others are authors of certain subversive and un-American textbooks and literature, some of which are now in use in public schools, and in order to combat subversive and un-American influence and activities, it is necessary that all such textbooks and literature be banished from our public schools at the earliest possible date;

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED. That we commend, approve and endorse the action of The American Legion Magazine in publishing articles and editorials exposing and denouncing such literature, and that we urge upon National Headquarters of The American Legion continued and vigilant attention to the question of proper textbooks and literature for use in our public schools, and that all questionable school books be closely examined and the members of the Legion kept informed

of the work of the Americanism Committee of the Legion, to the end that all such subversive and un-American textbooks and literature shall be kept out of all of our public schools;

AND, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this resolution is not intended to be a reflection upon any of our public faculties or Boards which may have used any such textbooks or literature before discovering their subversive and un-American nature.

* * * * *

Volume III of Rugg Philosophy Analyzed consists of brief analyses of the Harold O. Rugg Social Science Series of junior high school textbooks. These textbooks were prepared for use in the 7th, 8th and 9th grades, the age range of the pupils using the books being from ten to fourteen years.

Volume III was prepared following the publication of Volumes I and II of Rugg Philosophy Analyzed. Volume I contains the "Blueprints" of the Rugg philosophy--contained in The Great Technology. Volume II is a digest of the Rugg philosophy--adult publications and textbooks--showing the Rugg philosophy to be identical wherever found.

The textbooks seek social reconstruction. This "reconstruction" objective is based on social, economic, political and educational changes.

The books are depressing rather than stimulating and there are few statements purposely designed to stimulate self-reliance, control initiative, integrity or intellectual honesty. The books are conspicuous for their omissions and many inaccuracies. In volume and in text the books are considerably beyond the capability of the average child to understand and to absorb.

The Rugg textbooks do not make any direct statements to the effect that we should overthrow the American government. Dr. Rugg creates his effects by implication and inference and by destructive methods rather than openly subversive statements. Dr. Rugg has very little respect for those things which America of an older generation held were sound and worthy of preservation. Pupils who are taught Rugg's depressing American picture during the child's tender formative years will feel that America is not worth defending.

America cannot have Socialism or Collectivism, no matter how it is disguised, and the American form of government, and the American way of life, at one and the same time.

THE RUGG PROCESS

"The Second Course, planned for secondary schools, carries on the integrated study of world civilizations in a

carefully graduated and steadily maturing plan. . . . The six volumes taken together are designed to provide a comprehensive introduction to modes of living and insistent problems of the modern world." (Dr. Rugg)

Each volume of the Social Science Series of junior high school textbooks is accompanied by a Teacher's Guide and Key and a Pupil's Workbook. The Teacher's Guide and Key and the Pupil's Workbook are important and wholly essential parts of the analysis of each textbook. The Guide directs the teacher in the instruction of the pupils.

Workbook Is Core of Course

In explanation of the Workbook, Dr. Rugg says, "The very center of this course in the social studies is the problem-solving activities of the Workbook . . . the Pupil's Workbook of Directed Study is the very core of the course, and the Reading Book (textbook) has been constructed, unit by unit, in close conjunction with it." (Preface to each textbook).

EMPHASIS ON STUDY OF PROBLEMS. SECOND CONSIDERATION IS SUBJECT MATTER.

Each one of the six Workbooks states:

"You have probably noticed, too, that (respective textbook) presents certain important world problems that the people of the United States are trying to understand and solve. These problems have been made the basis for the work of the semester. This means that the emphasis is, first, on the understanding of problems and second, on the understanding of the ordinary subjects."

"Attitude Test"

Each Pupil's Workbook opens with an "Attitude Test" which the pupil takes prior to any study of the textbook. Rugg's entire program of a "new order" is presented. These tests include such advanced and controversial topics as equalization of wealth, government control of business, League of Nations, labor unions, Big Business and profits, national plan in industry, government by mass of people aided by experts, immigration, advertising, public ownership and control of public utilities, poor people, ordinary people, interdependence, international cooperation, military disarmament, low tariff, public ownership of property, taxation of the wealthy, fewer working hours, high wages, liberation of the mass of the people, large landholders, capitalists, large companies and corporations, land speculators, waste and corruption in government, Socialist Party, human rights before property rights, experiments in government, the Monroe

Doctrine, small business, anti-imperialism, commercialized sports, etc.

Teacher's Guide and Key

"Dr. Rugg describes these volumes: "The Teacher's Guide assembles the established psychological principles upon which teaching in the social studies must be based, together with a wealth of definite suggestions for conducting the course."

Planned Repetition--An Example

The preface of each textbook reads as follows:

"One of the characteristics of this course is the carefully planned recurrence of important concepts, generalizations, and social themes in varied settings. One of the weaknesses of current school courses in history, geography, and civics is lack of planned repetition. In the present course this defect has been remedied by designing a carefully planned scheme of repetition."

This "planned repetition" is very thoroughly illustrated in America's March Toward Democracy in Dr. Rugg's description of early Americans and the founding of our Republic. Here are some of the repetitive terms: "stockholders," "wealthy upper classes," "aristocrats," "proprietors," "well-to-do-owners," "gentlemen," "profits," "make money," "wealthy planters," "speculators," etc.

Due to this repetition of words describing early Americans, it is difficult to see how the child can fail to derive the impression from the text of America's March Toward Democracy, that wealth, irrespective of how acquired or used, is, in itself, evil. It is no exaggeration to say that almost the entire contents of this volume is predicated on the assumption that, until recent years, the "wealthy classes" alone controlled the government of the United States. Nothing is said about the countless thousands of American citizens who, by industry and thrift, have acquired a modicum of wealth, thus providing social security for themselves and their families, without dependence upon the State.

Change

The principle of change is of great importance in all Rugg textbooks. The child is first taught the idea that he must be prepared for great changes. The emphasis on change therefore is not accidental. It is a carefully planned prelude to the acceptance of unlimited collectivism which is called "The New Social Order." The teacher is instructed repeatedly in Teacher's Guide that it is quite essential to

develop an attitude in the child to listen to proposals of change.

TEXTBOOK ABSTRACTS

Volume I

OUR COUNTRY AND OUR PEOPLE (Seventh Grade--First Semester)

1938

Dr. Rugg describes Volume One as follows:

"Our Country and Our People deals chiefly with economic and social life in the United States today."

The word "today" precludes the use of the text as a history and indicates the trend of discussion--a step toward "social reconstruction" which is Dr. Rugg's avowed education objective.

The text opens with a number of imaginary and depressing stories of American life.¹ Dr. Rugg calls them stories of "real American life" and says, "They represent quite well the whole country."

The central sections of the textbook consist of a discussion on industrial and commercial geography. There is much informative material in this central section although it is voluminous and at times in error of fact.

Near the close of the book the author discusses the standard of living, coloring it with his personal ideologies and leading the child, either by inference or direct statements, to believe that each family should draw a large income by taking this amount from the rich.

The child is taught "that there should be no need for any of our people to be unemployed." Dr. Rugg tells the young pupil that "the bulk of our people do not have real security of living" and asks the child if America really would be "the land of golden opportunity" were the riches of America divided among every family.

Dr. Rugg then asks the child, "How can it be made to come true?" (~~Make~~ America "the land of golden opportunity.") He charts the child's course through his junior high school years--the six Rugg Social Science volumes--the child's history, geography, civics and social education--with this answer:

"That is, indeed, one of your greatest problems for studying during your remaining school years. Month after

¹Analysis of these stories on page 34-35 of Rugg Philosophy Analyzed. Volume II.

month during the coming years we shall study it. As you read the history of the United States, keep it in mind. As you study economic and political life in America let it be constantly in your thoughts."

One of the pupil's greatest problems then--one which he must constantly keep before him during his remaining school years--is the socialization of the wealth of the United States!

The author introduces the pupil to the beginning of our Nation, the Revolutionary War, our Independence, and the making of the Constitution in a discussion on page 125. These vital topics are then dropped to be revived one and one-half years later in America's March Toward Democracy (Volume IV).

Depressing incidents on the treatment of immigrants are reported on pages 168-170 and 175-178. Much of Dr. Rugg's descriptive material on American life in this volume is shrouded in gloom and narrated in drab English.

The teacher is instructed in Teacher's Guide to develop the attitude in the pupil that America is not the "'greatest' country on earth," that "The United States is not a land of opportunity for all our people," and that, "The majority do not have any real security." Note the following quotations:

Question. "Is the United States today a land of opportunity for all our people? Why? (Pupil's Workbook, Our Country and Our People, p. 76.)

Answer. "The United States is not a land of opportunity for all our people; for one-fifth of the people do not earn any money at all. There are great differences in the standards of living of the different classes of people. The majority do not have any real security. (Teacher's Guide and Key, 1938 edition, p. 31 Id.)

"In the consideration of Problem V, therefore, the teacher would do well to warn the pupils against forming the attitude that because of its wealth the United States is the 'greatest' country on earth. (Teacher's Guide and Key, Our Country and Our People, p. 54.)

"There will be a tendency for the pupils to conclude that industrial civilization has been a benefit to everyone in the United States. It is just such foregone conclusions that the teacher should caution him against making. . . . (Id, p. 83)

"Finally, discuss briefly the standard of living which could be made possible if all the wealth of the United States were used wisely." (Id p. 100)

Civil War

The Civil War receives very little mention in Our Country and Our People. The child is referred to America's March Toward Democracy (Volume IV), for a study of the Civil War.

Labor Conditions

Some very drab labor conditions are narrated. However, the general trend of the labor and "big business" discussion shows the author's bias toward labor and his objection to "big business."

Dr. Rugg closes his final discussion chapter (XXX) by subtly telling the pupil that "democracy" has not yet been achieved in the United States--immigrants only tried to create it:

"... In later volumes of this series, and especially in the one entitled America's March Toward Democracy, we shall study very carefully how, in community after community, in state after state, in region after region, the immigrants who came to North America tried to create

"A government of the people, by the people, and for the people!"

Finally, in the summary chapter (XXXI), Dr. Rugg does not conceal his personal ideas. He makes it very clear that he considers Uncle Sam's high ranking status among the nations of the world subject to debate. He questions the child as follows:

"Is Uncle Sam 'the rich man of the earth?' Now, at the close of one-half year's study of American civilization, we have many facts with which to debate this question. What do you think now?"

Had the author presented the factual material included in this volume as factual material and had refrained from imposing his socialistic viewpoint on his readers, but little objection could be made to the text. However, as Dr. Rugg states in Teacher's Guide and Key (p. 108) he emphasized throughout the book "the importance of developing attitudes as well as knowledge."

VOLUME II

CHANGING COUNTRIES AND CHANGING PEOPLES (Seventh Grade, Second Semester)

1938

"Changing Countries and Changing Peoples introduces the pupil to economic and social life in other lands" (Dr. Rugg).

The word change indicates the trend of the discussion. Following this semester the author drops this study until two years later when Changing Governments and Changing Cultures (Volume VI) "introduces American youth to an understanding of the chief political and social problems of other leading

countries of the world."

The book, Changing Countries and Changing Peoples, contains much valuable information on the other countries of the world. There is but scant reference to American life and business.

The author concludes the textbook with a discussion on the American standard of living. After enumeration of some of our fine possessions he tells the child:

"And yet in spite of such riches one-fourth of our workers are out of work. The vast majority of all our people do not earn enough money to buy the things needed for a decent standard of living.

"Why? That is a very difficult question to answer. Indeed, it can be answered only by hard study, particularly of the history of America.

"In the next two volumes of this series, The Conquest of America and America's March Toward Democracy, we shall study this history carefully." (p. 567)

Emphasis on Change

The teacher is directed (note italics) in a discussion "fundamental themes":

"Note that through them all the one central idea is that of change: change in the way in which people obtain food; change in the way they produce goods; change in the way they travel, transport things, and communicate; change in their methods of trade; change in their standards of living; change in their dependence on other people. All these changes are reflected in the statement 'We live in a world of changing civilizations.'" (Teacher's Guide and Key, p. 13)

The entire textbook is based on change. Chapter I is headed:

"Startling Changes Around the World: A New Civilization for the Old"

"The astonishing hundred years!"

On the second page of this chapter the emphasis on change, the theme of the Rugg books, is stressed.

"Change! Greater change!! Still greater change!!!

"Changes in every phase of life . . . Changes in industry, transportation, and communication . . . Changes in family life and other social customs . . . Changes in government . . . Changes in everything.

"Is it not clear, then, why we call this book Changing Countries and Changing Peoples?"

The theme of change IS CONTINUOUS (note italics).

"It is of the greatest importance that you, as an American citizen, understand the civilizations of these countries."

"To understand these changing civilizations in the modern world, we must see and feel them changing." (p. 44)

Toward a Federated Union

As stated earlier in this volume, Dr. Rugg is favorable to a new world order. An inevitable parallel of the world education program advocated by Dr. Rugg is international union, Federal Union, Federation of Nations, or some form of united states of the world. Regardless of name, the "reconstructed order" of Dr. Rugg which embraces political, social, economic and educational changes, is, without contradiction, one program of a new international order.

The Rugg textbooks emphasize this theme over and over, perhaps by "planned repetition." An example from Changing Countries and Changing Peoples follows:

"Universal education or continued world war?

"Has the world been made safe for democracy? One conclusion comes clearly as we face this question; that is, the events of the past decade have brought problems of tremendous difficulty for the young people of a storm-swept world.

"In little more than a century a totally new kind of civilization--industrialism--has been invented in Europe and spread to every continent. Upon the younger generation of the leading industrial nations falls the serious task of successfully meeting these problems. The questions boil down to three:

"First. Can the thinking minds of the industrial countries work together to plan a wise way to use the world's great natural resources--food, fuels, minerals, textile fibers, and chemicals--for the benefit of all the people?

"Second. Can the leaders within each country plan and carry on its national affairs so that each human being has a job suited to its abilities and interests and a fair share of the nation's income?

"Third. Can each nation set up a system of universal education which will develop in its youth respect for the fine traits of other peoples and determination to co-operate with them in planning an orderly world?" (pp. 565-566)

TEACHER'S GUIDE AND KEY

NOT BEST COUNTRY (This same example is also printed in Teacher's Guide and Key to The Conquest of America (p. 52), and Teacher's Guide and Key to America's March Toward Democracy (p. 52).)

"Studies show that the opinions of most pupils are founded on a lack of facts--on little more than prejudice--as the following responses of a group of 315 high-school pupils illustrate.

"1. To the statement 'My race is the best race on earth,' 75 per cent of the pupils responded 'True.'

"2. Of the 315 pupils 88 per cent said that the following statement was true: 'My country is unquestionably the best country in the world.' There is little doubt that if these two statements were laid before people of any race or country, many would say that they were true.

"Now the attitude thus expressed is one that we decidedly do not want to develop in our classes." (p. 41)

Volume III

THE CONQUEST OF AMERICA (Grade Eight, First Semester)

1937

"The Conquest of America: a History of American Civilization, Economic and Social, discusses the land, industrial and commercial history, and their effect upon American society" (Dr. Rugg).

This volume and the second semester volume are supposed to give the pupil its history and geography. The current volume consists very largely of industrial and commercial problems in a social setting while the next volume "deals with the experiments in government" according to Dr. Rugg's description of it.

The Conquest of America is characteristic in its omissions, it opens the topic of Big Business, propagandizes in the interest of labor, and favors the socialization of government experimentation.

The first part of The Conquest of America narrates the early life in America. There are numerous references to Rugg's elementary books.

The following excerpts show the trend of discussion:

Puritans

"The laws and penalties imposed for the most trifling offenses seem to us very severe indeed. For more serious offenses, ears, noses, and arms were cut off, and marks were burned on bodies with hot irons. Gossips or talebearers were ducked in the river." (p. 159)

Revolutionary War -- Next Volume

"The story of the war itself will be given in the next volume. On October 19, 1781, the British general surrendered, and the last important engagement of the War for American Independence had been fought," (p. 217)

Southern Planters (Washington)

"... Persimmon beer was the favorite drink of those who could not afford good wines. The Virginia gentleman of those days spent much of his day in drinking, for with many slaves and servants he worked but little." (pp. 171-172)

"The plantation-owners in the newly founded American States were still living a gay life. Their homes were centers of entertainment the year round. Guests amused themselves by playing cards, dancing, dining on good food, and drinking fine wine. The sportsmen loved cockfighting, gambling, horse racing and hunting to hounds. Life was generally quite 'joyous, light-hearted, and hilarious.' Only on Sunday was there strict sober conduct.

"Consider the ways of living, for example, of George Washington and his family. We could ask no better example of the life of his time. On the banks of the Potomac River he owned and managed the fine estate of Mount Vernon. Washington's habits and tastes were those of the wealthy plantation-owners. He was an excellent horseman, fond of racing and hunting.

"He was a gallant gentleman who loved fine clothes. His clothing came direct to him from his London tailor, and he demanded that it be always of the very latest fashion. Although he was no such drinker as some historians have hinted, Washington enjoyed wines and other liquors as did all wealthy planters quite as a matter of course." (p. 223)

Civil War -- Next Volume

"The first cause of misunderstanding, states' rights, will be considered in the next volume of this series, for it was largely a difference in political opinion.

"Since we are to tell the story more fully in the next volume, we must pass over the important events of the 1840's and 1850's." (pp. 388-389)

Corporations

"Such special favors as the railroad rebates made it very difficult for companies who were not so specially favored to continue in business. Thus rebates helped to kill competition and to give a few corporations control over the industries of the country." (p. 425)

"Thus the United States Steel Corporation is a second example of Big Business.¹ Vast quantities of money for many related industries were brought together under a single

¹The Oil Industry was first example.

management.

"For our last example of Big Business we come to the large banking houses.

"We must keep in mind that the business of these bankers was to supply capital to manufacturers and merchants who needed it. So they made money and, as history has proved over and over again, they made more money than those to whom they lent it." (pp. 432-433)

Business

". . . In short, the American business men wanted to carry on business with foreign customers. Second, they found that to do that they had to control lands outside their own boundaries; our government had to rule these peoples.

"As we shall see later, these two things--trade and government--cannot be separated; they go hand in hand." (p. 471)

History of Spanish American War

"Then came the Spanish-American War of 1898, which lasted only a few months. In August, 1898, Spain surrendered and in the Treaty of Paris gave Cuba to the United States 'in trust' for the Cuban people." (p. 484)

Treatment of Puerto Ricans

". . . In a quarter of a century most of the Puerto Rican people have become employees on plantations owned chiefly by Americans.

"The natives work from sunup to sundown for pitifully small wages, the average not exceeding fifty cents a day, and they can barely exist in their small huts. In the meantime great American fortunes have been made out of the production and manufacture of Puerto Rican sugar." (p. 486)

Race for Trade--War!

"There was only one thing left for the well-to-do owners of industrial countries to do to use their surplus wealth and to get more. That was to engage in international trade. That meant, as we have seen in Changing Civilizations in the Modern World, a race for trade and the constant danger of war!" (p. 492)

"In the spring of 1914, however, the United States was not the leading industrial nation of the world. It was only one of several powerful countries." (p. 495)

Divide the Income -- 1929 Figures -- Drab Picture

"How much, then, could each family have had, in 1929, if the total of all goods and services of the United States were divided equally among all of them?" (p. 510)

"In 1929 there were about 27,500,000 families in the United States, plus of course a considerable number of single persons not living in families. Now suppose that after taking from the 96 billion dollars' worth of goods and services a reasonable amount for these single persons, we could by some magic divide the rest equally among all the families. How much do you think there would be for each family? About \$3,000. In other words, this is the average amount per family!" (p. 511)

". . . So far this seems to be a condition found everywhere in civilized society. There is, however, a strong feeling among many thoughtful people that the inequalities are too great.

"The figures show that 21,500,000 American families--78 per cent of all--did not have a large enough income (\$3,000) to buy goods and services equal to the average produced per family.

"On the other hand, those students who thought most about the condition of the 60,000,000 to 70,000,000 poorer people in families with less than a 'decent' income said, 'No, America is not yet prosperous.' They added that even in 1929 there were 2,000,000 people who had no work at all and many millions of others whose work was so irregular or so ill-paid that they had barely enough for the necessities of life! And this too was true." (p. 513-514)

The Future

". . . 'High power' advertising and the multiplicity of attractive things with which people are surrounded tempt them to buy more things than they can afford. . . .

"The unequal division of the national income among the people . . . Even today there is enough wealth in America to provide a comfortable standard of living for all. . . . Hence we must learn to study scientifically this problem of guaranteeing even the lowliest among us a good standard of living.

"Increasingly, citizens are bewildered by the complexity of governmental machinery and correspondingly lose interest in it. How shall these important problems be understood and solved?

"The growing commercialism of sports, the theater, and the arts. These cultural activities are organized and carried on in ways much like those of mass production in industry. Numbers, size, cost, are emphasized, not the excellence of the game, the ability of the players, the sportsmanship of

the contestants, the artistic qualities of the performers. In our high-school studies we shall ask if there is not a grave need for freeing the art life and the sport life of our country from commercial influences. Here too is a difficult problem for us to think about if we are to understand American culture." (pp. 549-552)

TEACHER'S GUIDE AND KEY

Concepts

"7. The early attempts at communism in the colonies." (p. 64)

"6. The disproportionate share of the public land secured by the well-to-do." (p. 77)

"10. The effect on the conquest of the continent of the principle of leaving each man to himself; that is, of individual competition." (p. 77)

"7. The control of the government and the establishment of standards by a few wealthy persons in each section; in the North, by the manufacturers, merchants, and bankers; in the South, by the cotton-planters (the slave power)." (p. 87)

"8. The division of the population into economic and social classes: a few well-to-do people, many poor farmers and mechanics, and, in the South, an added class of Negro slaves." (p. 87)

"11. The great profits of the banks, because money made money for the bankers.

"12. The concentration of the control of money and credit in a few hands. (p. 93)

Civil War

"The Civil War was more than a military conflict over slavery: it was a conflict between two kinds of economic life. There were two powerful economic groups: on the one hand the manufacturers, business men, and bankers of the North, and on the other the cotton farmers of the South. The issue over slavery was only one immediate concrete factor, with the real conflict between the wealthy leaders on the two sides, for they controlled the government and the minds of the masses of the people. (p. 90)

Competition

"Lay the foundation here, so that later the role of individual competition in American history will be more easily understood. It will then be easier for the pupil to understand this concept in Volume VI, Changing Governments and Changing Cultures, where it recurs in the discussion of the

world's march toward democracy.

"This new factor is that of individual competition for personal profit. (p. 96)

People Prosperous, 1929?

"Then show how the demand of the American people for luxuries created a period of prosperity and established a new American standard of living. Raise the question as to whether or not the people were really prosperous when 60 per cent of the families had incomes below that needed to buy things necessary for a decent standard of living." (p. 102)

PUPIL'S WORKBOOK

Planning for Socialism

Question: "Can America avoid such disaster as the Great Depression? How? Why do you think so? (p. 61)

Answer: "4. B. America can avoid such disasters, in part, by planning so that there shall not be such an unequal distribution of wealth, by arranging for better exchange of commodities, and by a constructive plan for caring for the unemployed." (Teacher's Guide and Key, p. 158)

Question: "What are some of the great problems that are created by a depression? How may they best be dealt with? (p. 61)

Answer: "C. One of the greatest problems is to improve the character of the unemployed by finding work for them. Another is to restore the confidence of the people by developing nation-wide plans for producing the goods they need." (Teacher's Guide and Key, p. 158)

OTHER IMPORTANT REFERENCES

Textbook

Public Land, p. 297
Corporation, p. 422
Dissatisfaction and Classes, pp. 378-379, 451-452, 455
Unthinking and Extravagant Americans, pp. 496, 500
Prosperity in the 1920's, pp. 505-506
Divisions of Wealth, pp. 549-550
Americans not Interested, p. 551

Teacher's Guide and Key

Economic Conflict, p. 88
Civil War Economics, p. 90
Wealth Unevenly Divided, p. 93

Private Ownership of Property, p. 95
Economic Imperialism, p. 100

Volume IV

AMERICA'S MARCH TOWARD DEMOCRACY
(Grade Eight, Second Semester)

1937

"America's March Toward Democracy: History of American Life--Political and Social, deals with the experiments in government." (Dr. Rugg)

The title of this volume suggests the author's belief that we have not reached "democracy" although most Americans feel that we ARE a "democracy." Readers of this volume recall Dr. Rugg's statement, "Nowhere has government of the people, for the people, and by the people been achieved."

This volume and the preceding one, The Conquest of America, are presumed to teach boys and girls American History and geography. Dr. Rugg states that the chief emphasis on the book is "on the understanding of problems" which "people of the United States are trying to understand and solve." (Pupil's Workbook, p. xvii)

Unit of Work No. 1 in Teacher's Guide and Key is entitled, "First Steps Toward Democracy." Dr. Rugg instructs the teacher as follows:

"Show the pupils that the whole course is organized around one big theme--namely, America's march toward democracy. This theme is brought out in the first two topics, pages 14 and 15: (1) 'The constant struggle of the mass of the people for a large share of the government'; and (2) 'The continual conflict between groups of people desiring to control the government.'" (p. 60)

America's March Toward Democracy does not openly advocate the overthrowing of the United States government, yet there is no doubt that its underlying purpose is to minimize the importance of such events in American history as have been heretofore considered of importance in the education of the child or to the student of any age; and to stress those events and trends that are considered by the author to have "social implications."

TEXTBOOK

Classes Control Government--Lincoln Quoted"Important Topics and Questions Which Will Guide Our Study"

"We shall look upon America's march toward democracy as a three-century-long struggle to bring about in the United

States what Abraham Lincoln called 'Government of the people, by the people, for the people.' This important theme leads us to think of political history, therefore, as

"2. The continual struggle between groups of people each of whom desired to control the government. Accordingly in studying each period we shall be guided by these questions: What class or group of citizens is in control of the government? What classes and groups are opposing them and trying to get control of the government themselves?" (p. 14)

Statesmen Were Land Speculators

Dr. Rugg tells the pupil that many of our prominent statesmen were land speculators, "and it was felt that there was nothing wrong with this kind of business." The child is told that they fought for a strong central government which would protect them. The textbooks very frequently refer to these early patriots as selfish property owners. The patriotism of these statesmen is not emphasized to the child.

Dr. Rugg tells the pupil that the framers of the Constitution were wealthy groups and that the common people were not represented. He says, "They were, almost without exception, lawyers, businessmen, owners of great plantations, merchants, and manufacturers who had long been students of government, politics and business." He says "the convention feared and avoided 'the danger of democracy.'"

Those who opposed the Constitution are described by Dr. Rugg, "Most of the Americans who opposed the Constitution, however, were the small farmers, the frontiersmen, the artisans, and the poorer people, many of whom were burdened with debts."

Dr. Rugg endeavors to create the impression that the Constitution was, at best, a poor compromise, favoring the rich property owners; and that the Constitution is not adapted to a changing civilization. Dr. Rugg does not tell the pupil that the Constitution has been amended twenty-one times (unless textbook changed in recent printing). He leads the child to believe that the framers very reluctantly made only slight provision for any changes. He says, "The leaders at the convention who drew up this historic document did intend to make changing the government difficult but not impossible." Dr. Rugg does not tell the child that the framers, themselves, very wisely provided that the Constitution could not be changed too speedily, thus providing the citizens ample time to discuss any proposed change before making it. It should be remembered in this connection that Dr. Rugg, as well as other social reformers, grow impatient when their personal ideologies cannot be effected without delay.

Supreme Court

"This power to interpret the laws of Congress had not been given to the Supreme Court by the Constitution. Under Marshall the Supreme Court simply took this power upon itself during those early years when the government was forming. It thus became one of the most powerful branches of our national government. For example, a law which people wanted might pass the House, it might pass the Senate, and it might be signed by the President. Yet by the Supreme Court it might still be declared 'unconstitutional,' that is, contrary to the Constitution of the United States. In this way the Court could even defeat the will of the people themselves. At various times in the past hundred years it has appeared to do so. Search for examples as you study the political developments of the next century." (p. 173)

Pupil's Confidence Destroyed

The section of America's March Toward Democracy most harmful to pupils is Unit VII, "The Struggle Over Government in the Age of Big Business, 1865-1914." Note these chapters:

- "XVIII. Government by Professional Politicians.¹
- "XIX. The Rise of Government by Business.
- "XX. The Political Revolt of Farmers and City Workers.
- "XXI. The Common People March Toward Democracy."

A limited number of quotations from this section gives the trend of the discussion.

Wealth

"Wealth in the hands of a few people. The control of banks, credit, railroads, and of coal, iron, and other leading industries was in the hands of a few persons. From the earliest days of the Republic there had been a feeling that government had no right to interfere in matters of business. As soon as a few individuals began to build up large fortunes they became powerful in political affairs. And this power presented serious problems to the government. Business was now beginning to interfere in government. Thus we see some of the reasons why the task of making America a really democratic country was difficult." (p. 318)

Dishonest Officials

"On the witness stand the heads of some great corporations admitted frankly that they paid salaries to senators,

¹"The term 'professional politician' as here used has an unpleasant meaning. . . ."

representatives, and other government officials. The job of these officials, they said, was to see that laws were passed and court decisions were made to favor the corporations. Furthermore, they added, they sought and paid for the services of leaders in both the political parties--the Democratic as well as the Republican. (p. 336)

Socialism

"The extreme socialists say that throughout history the chief reason for the misery of the mass of the people has been the division of people into classes: (1) the capitalists, or owners; (2) the laborers, who work for the owners. They believe that as long as factories, railroads, power plants, and the like are owned privately, there will be constant struggle between capitalists and workers and there will be constant war between competing nations. Accordingly they believe that every business that produces, distributes, or sells necessities should be owned in common by all the people. It is important to bear in mind, however, that socialists (even the Communists of Russia) would not do away with all private property. They would permit any private citizen to own land and a house to live in, clothes, automobiles, horses, and those luxuries which he himself uses. They would not permit him, however, to own more of these things than he himself could use. That is an important difference which we should remember. This system, they believe, will get rid of all class struggles.

"Most Americans, however, oppose socialism. Many of them, it must be confessed, do not understand it and oppose it blindly. On the other hand, some who do understand socialism oppose it vigorously.

"There is one conclusion on which we can agree, however; The question raised by the socialists and their opponents are of the greatest importance. The whole development of government in the modern world depends upon how these questions are answered in the years to come. The young people who are now in our schools will be called upon to answer them." (pp. 351-352-353)

"Should the United States Join the League of Nations

"The American Senate, as you know, voted (1919) to stay out of the League. Many people believe that 'Politics' and not sincere beliefs had led the senators to do that. They said that the Republicans, who controlled the Senate, had defeated the proposal to join the League because President Wilson, who had favored the League, was a Democrat." (p. 458)

The Problems of Government and Business

"Throughout our study of American life we have traced the history of the relations of government and business. Throughout it all one question has always been raised: How far should the government help, regulate, or control private business? (p. 473)

TEACHER'S GUIDE AND KEY

Wars for Economic Gain

"Thus, treat the War for Independence essentially as an economic struggle between the ruling classes of England and of the colonies. Emphasize the resources of the two sides. Make much of important facts concerning the economic and social groups which supported the war. Correspondingly, devote little time to the battles themselves. If the pupils wish, let them read accounts of these in other books for the dramatic interest." (pp. 67-68)

"The Central Concept of the Unit

"The entire work of this unit is centered around one concept--namely, the conflict between sections of the country. To a certain extent this conflict is, indeed, the central theme of the history of all government, both of America and of the world; but in this particular unit it is conspicuously important. (p. 88)

American Statesmen Sought Selfish Interests

". . . While each was sincerely determined to produce a strong central government, each also desired to protect his own personal economic interests and the economic interests of his social class, state and region." (p. 71)

"Thus it is clear that in establishing the new national government the natural resources of the nation were not conserved nor were the profits distributed equally. The reason for this, of course, was that all the people did not control the government or have a part in it. Therefore continually remind the pupils to ask themselves 'To what extent was the government really in the interest of all the people?'" (pp. 75-76)

"In Problem XIX three ways in which this dominant economic class directed government are discussed. First, they worked with the politicians and maintained a high tariff.

"The second way in which 'Big Business' controlled government was by influencing the appointments to the Supreme Court.

"The third way in which 'Big Business' influenced government is also briefly illustrated. This was essentially by the development of a kind of 'invisible' government: the

financing of Senators, Representatives, and other government officials by great corporations and the rendering of other favors to legislators so that these men would in turn be partial to them." (pp. 100-101)

"There are, for example, the problems of the ownership and the operation of railways, the merchant marine, and electric light, power, and other public utilities. Which system of ownership and operation of basic utilities--public or private--will be to the advantage of all the people? What about the farmer? How can matters be arranged so that he will receive a fair share of the national income?" (p. 110)

PUPIL'S WORKBOOK OF DIRECTED STUDY

Class Strife Promoted--Patriots Denounced

Question: "Were the American people unanimous in their defiance of the English authorities? Were the English wholeheartedly in favor of taxing and restricting colonial trade? Give evidence to support your answers." (Workbook, p. 12)

Answer: "The American people were not unanimous in their defiance of the English authorities. The upper classes--that is, the gentlemen, the merchants, and the professional men--were divided in their sympathies. Those whose business was seriously affected by the British laws and taxes wished independence of England; those whose business was not affected wished to keep peace with England. At first the lower classes--that is, the artisans and manual workers of the towns and cities, the frontiersmen, and the small farmers--were indifferent toward the conflict. Later, under the fiery leadership of the American patriots, these classes joined the agitation for war; for they hoped, through revolution, to throw off the yoke of the American as well as of the British upper classes. (Teacher's Guide and Key, p. 135)

Democracy

Question: "What attitude did Jefferson take toward the control of government by the common people? (p. 22)

Answer: "Jefferson feared 'too much democracy.' Although he believed that the farmer and the man who owned property should have the vote, he did not believe that the common people of the towns and cities were a safe element in the government." (Teacher's Guide and Key, p. 141)

Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation Motive

Question: "What was the purpose behind Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation?" (Workbook, p. 43)

Answer: "Lincoln hoped that by issuing the Emancipation

Proclamation (1) he could raise the spirit and increase the support of the North in carrying on the war, and (2) he could hit the resources of the South by freeing the slave labor on the plantations. He also hoped to gain European support for the North." (Teacher's Guide and Key, p. 153)

Professional Politicians

Question: "Why did leaders form political organizations? What were the advantages to the politicians? What were the disadvantages to the voters?" (Workbook, p. 51)

Answer: "The leaders formed political organizations in order to gain control of the government; this control was always a source of power and usually a source of wealth. By granting favors to industrial and financial leaders the politicians were able to wield a czar-like power in the areas they governed. The voters had little control over the nomination and election of candidates. They usually voted for the party ticket as chosen by the bosses." (Teacher's Guide and Key, p. 157)

Cartoons

Very distasteful cartoons on the problems above are presented to the child in the textbook. The Pupil's Workbook contains four cartoons, each depicting negative pictures. There are no cartoons depicting the cheerful side of life.

OTHER IMPORTANT REFERENCES

Textbook

The Constitution, pp. 120, 126
 Jefferson Distrusted Common People of the Cities, pp. 155-156
 Supreme Court Partial, pp. 335, 358-359
 Control of Government, pp. 332-323, 336-337
 Socialism, pp. 351, 353
 Social Classes, p. 427
 The League of Nations, p. 458
 Government Ownership of Business, p. 475

Teacher's Guide and Key

Textbooks Based on Economic, Social and Political Life, pp. 14-15, 49
 Government an Experiment and Struggle Between Classes, p. 15
 Profit Motive and Civil War, p. 88

Social and Political Groups, pp. 70, 80, 98, 99, 90,
91, 100

Divide the Social Income, pp. 102, 110

Pupil's Workbook

Statesmen were Aristocrats, p. 25 (Answers in Teacher's Guide, p. 143)

Professional Politicians, p. 51 (Answers in Teacher's Guide, p. 157)

Groups Controlled Government, p. 52 (Answers in Teacher's Guide, p. 157)

Volume V

AN INTRODUCTION TO PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN CULTURE

(Ninth Grade, First Semester)

1941

"This present volume, An Introduction to Problems of American Culture, completes the description of American society, treating especially the life of the individual in the communities of our changing civilization. It also serves the special purpose of introducing the economic, political, and social problems of American culture--problems the more adequate study of which may well engage the attention of students in the senior high school and the college." (Dr. Rugg)

An Introduction to Problems of American Culture emphasizes change, planning and the dark side of American life, industries and culture. The child reads but little of the tens of thousands of beautiful American pictures which exist on every side of him. Many of the cartoons are ugly and woe-fully depressing. Some of the topics presented to the child are unemployment, poor living conditions, lack of planning, unequal division of wealth, corruption in government, lax law enforcement, commercialization of sports, corrupt politicians, poor newspaper stories, etc., etc.

A few statements indicate the trend of discussion.

TEXTBOOK

Gold Coast vs. Little Hell

"Gold Coast and slum: a contrast in houses

"On a strip of land facing Lake Michigan, for a mile in length and but two shorts block in depth, lies the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast is well named. Here live the wealthiest and most aristocratic families of Chicago. Here lies a district

in which are found palatial houses surrounded by large green lawns, luxurious apartment buildings, and splendid tall hotels. The rooms in these homes of the Gold Coast are airy, large, and light. The fresh winds from the lake keep the smoke of the industrial city farther inland.

"Less than a mile back from the Gold Coast lies Little Hell--the Sicilian slum district of the great city. One writer has described it thus:

"'Dirty and narrow streets, alleys piled with refuse and alive with dogs and rats, goats hitched to carts, bleak tenements, the smoke of industry hanging in a haze, the market along the curb . . . the dissonant cry of the huckster and peddler, the clanging and rattling of railroads and the elevated (railway) . . . the 'gas house' by the river, whose belching flames make the skies lurid at night. . . .'" (pp. 92-93)

Jobs

"Hope and worry, hope and worry. In every town and city, on any day of the year, in prosperity or hard times, hope and worry will be found on the mind of the worker. He thinks of his job, he talks of his job. He plans ways to keep his old one, he plans ways to get a new one. 'The job's the thing.'" (pp. 177-178)

Lack of Planning

"Why should there be millions of people out of work? Is it because the country is poor? . . . You know that the national wealth has grown until today it is estimated at approximately \$500,000,000,000. In recent years it has been growing at the rate of approximately \$100,000,000,000 a year.

"Why, then, should there be so much unemployment and distress? There are many reasons, but the most important ones can be summed up in one phrase--LACK OF PLANNING." (p. 185)

"Nation-wide plans for industry, agriculture, finance, business, transportation, and communication must be designed and put into practice by our local, state, and national leaders. Note a few striking examples of the country's needs." (p. 217)

Sports

"Probably the most interesting thing about modern sport is the element of competition, of conflict. 'Athletics,' says one writer, 'is a kind of make-believe war.' Sport writers use a colorful and exciting language. (Someone has called it 'Slanguage because of the frequent use of slang.) The articles abound in such terms as 'defense,' 'knocked

out,' 'opposing camp,' 'hostilities.' These stories arouse intense emotions--loyalty to favorite teams or favorite players, anger at opposing ones, and fear of defeat. Accounts appear daily, reporting the condition of the players, the discovery of new talented players, preparations for oncoming 'battles.' Business men offer financial rewards to prize fighters who will fight in their cities. Citizens raise funds for the support of baseball, football, basket-ball, and hockey teams. Great civic pride is developed in the success of the team." (pp. 359-360)

Advertising

"To what extent do advertisers influence the policy of the newspapers?

"In recent years, as advertising mounted hand in hand with circulation, many people have often criticized the newspapers, complaining that they permit advertisers to influence the policy of the papers too much. On this question evidence can be obtained on both sides. (p. 369)

"Does our attitude toward advertising influence what we consume?

". . . Do we choose a particular thing because an advertisement assures us that a million dollars' worth of it is sold yearly or because we have investigated its merits?

"As we turn the pages of a weekly magazine, ride in the subway or street car, or listen in on the radio, we are constantly attacked by slogans, by sensational pictures and catch-words.

"Superlatives too attack us. (p. 449)

"Thus the buyer is attacked by a constant broadside of superlative of 'best,' 'cheapest,' 'most beautiful,' upon his ears and eyes. He asks, 'Is there anything that is really best of all?'

"And so we see that we live in a bewildering world of slogans, catchwords, and superlatives, all appealing to us, coaxing us, threatening us, all calculated to make us buy." (p. 450)

Final Chapter--"The Age of Planning"

"Repeatedly throughout this book we have noted the unplanned character of our civilization. . . .

" . . . Manufacturing and trade unplanned!

" . . . Transportation unplanned!

" . . . Agriculture unplanned!

" . . . Mining unplanned!

" . . . Even education, the most basic of all social agencies, is far from well planned.

"Furthermore, there was one important reason why planning has been exceedingly difficult--the national government, the state governments, and the local governments did not own most of these enterprises. Indeed, our entire history has grown up on the principle that farming, mining, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, power plants, buying and selling of goods, building houses--in short, producing, distributing, and exchanging things--shall be carried on privately. Only a small percentage of all our people believe that these things should be owned and operated by all the people through their government. Thus there was no single agency that could plan for the country's needs and control transportation, communication, power, and the production of goods.

"As a result, hundreds of thousands of owners of land, mines, railroads, and other means of transportation and communication, stores, and businesses of one kind or another, compete with one another without any regard for the total needs of all the people.

"The dangers to life in our modern interdependent world have been revealed so clearly in recent years, however, that the necessity for careful planning is now beginning to be recognized. Two things helped to arouse our leaders. The first was the World War itself. . . .

"The second factor was, and is, Russia's 'Five-Year-Plan' . . . So are the number and kind of schools, colleges, social centers, and public buildings to be erected. In fact, every aspect of the economic, social, and political life of a country of 140,000,000 people is being carefully planned!

"As a result of such factors as the World War and Russia's Five-Year Plan, other European countries as well as the United States are reconsidering how to plan their national needs.

"The basis of a secure and comfortable living for the American people lies in a carefully planned economic life.

"There is, first, the need for nation-wide planning of the use of our natural resources--coal, oil, copper, etc.

". . . There is a need for a great multiplication of governmental agencies to aid the man on the street in his purchasing. There is a need for the cooperative control of advertising." (pp. 594-595-596-597 and 603)

TEACHER'S GUIDE AND KEY

Divide Wealth and Income

". . . Hence the central economic problem of our modern civilization is that of distributing wealth and income fairly among the people so that all will have a decent minimum standard of living.

"But this problem is related to the difficult central question: How should property be owned and used? This is

one of the central economic questions of Volume VI, Changing Governments and Changing Cultures . . . The brighter pupils might deal somewhat with the general problem. In any event, the group can be prepared for the discussion of the general problem of owning and using property and the distribution of the wealth and income of a nation among all the people, which will be considered more fully in Volume VI." (p. 97)

PUPIL'S WORKBOOK

The Workbook follows the pattern of the textbook and The Teacher's Guide and Key. All of Problem XIX is devoted to Advertising: "How Can the Consumer Buy Goods Intelligently in an Age of Advertising?" The child is thoroughly convinced in the final problem that America has been a nation of waste and that only by "scientific planning" can the nation really become great.

OTHER IMPORTANT REFERENCES

Textbook

Worry Over Jobs, pp. 177-178
 Lack of Planning, p. 217
 Divide the Wealth, p. 217
 Twelve Hour Week, p. 197
 Police Efforts Futile, pp. 301, 304
 Yellow Journalism, pp. 326-327
 Sports, pp. 359-360
 Newspapers and Public Opinion, Chapter XIV
 Government Control of the Radio, pp. 506-507

Volume V

CITIZENSHIP AND CIVIC AFFAIRS (Ninth Grade--First Semester)

1940

This is a revised edition of An Introduction to Problems of American Culture [sic]. On page vii of the Preface the author describes the book in these words:

"This present volume, Citizenship and Civic Affairs, presents a description of American society, treating especially the life of the individual in the communities of our changing civilization. It also serves the special purpose of introducing the economic, political, and social problems of American culture--problems the more adequate study of which may well engage the attention of students from this point on through their careers."

The author states that the skeleton of this volume, as well as all of his other textbooks, was designed "by specialists on the frontier of thought who see society from a height." He also states that the text is based on his "planned repetition" idea and that the Workbook of Directed Study is the very "core" of the social science course.

The revised volume contains much of the same subject matter that is found in the original edition. The revised edition, however, unlike other Rugg volumes, places some emphasis on the American way of life and presents certain topics with less depressing language than is found in other volumes. Many of the same depressing cartoons, however, that are found in the earlier edition are used in the revised book.

The "social reconstruction" objective is unchanged. The Rugg philosophy is found written in the discussions but the author's program appears in far more subtle form. Only by knowing Dr. Rugg's general ideologies is anyone capable of observing it in this text since it is couched in select English.

The general trend of the textbook discussion is indicated as follows:

Unemployment

"... In the United States during recent years it has happened more than once that over 15,000,000 persons have been out of work at the same time! Nevertheless more machines are being invented every day which are throwing men out of work. Some men throughout the country have been out of work for several years, and they're desperate." (p. 10)

"... Invention has been taken over largely by Big Business because Big Business has been able to establish laboratories and shops, and pay students and clever workmen to spend their time in efforts to improve both machines and ways of work. Machines are therefore displacing men from their jobs with terrifying speed. Cities are growing out of all proportion to earlier rates of development and are becoming impersonal places in which to live." (p. 17)

Social Control

"One thing seems to me to be clear, remarked John, who had taken little part in the discussion. 'In a crowded and interdependent civilization like ours we need a great deal of government--a lot of what is called "social control."'

"That's right," agreed the teacher, 'the more numerous the people and the more complicated the civilization, the more government you have to have--to keep order, to protect lives and property; in short, "to give freedom."'" (p. 32)

"How Much Democracy"

"We can say that the makers of the Constitution belonged to two groups: (a) the aristocrats and (b) the democrats. The aristocrats led by the young Alexander Hamilton, far outnumbered the democrats. In fact the real leader of the democrats, Thomas Jefferson, was not in the Constitutional Convention at all; at the time he was representing the new government in France. And several other leaders who inclined more toward democracy in government were also absent.

"Most of the delegates taking part in the convention, therefore, were men who feared 'too much democracy.' They were convinced that the mass of the people must not be given too free a hand in government. They believed that only a few people had enough ability and judgment to make national policies, to devise and interpret the laws, and to carry them out. Only the 'best people' can do these things wisely, they said: only 'the rich, the wise, and the good,' to use the historic phrase.

"And who were these 'best people'? Each state had its so-called First Families. (No doubt you have heard the governing families of Virginia referred to as 'The F.F.V.'s.) These families had the biggest estates--often covering as many as 10,000 acres. They were the leaders in business, in banking, in manufacturing. They were the society leaders who set the social fashions. In the long run they were also the ones who were chosen to hold important offices in the government. Note, for example, that most of the Constitution-makers belonged to this group." (p. 256)

Criticism of Federal Government

"We should study the criticism made of the Federal system:

". . . They say the Federal system, with much power left to the states and the communities, was good for an agricultural small country such as ours was in 1790. But that in a country of great machine industries, corporations, and transportation and communication systems that reach out all over the country, with people buying and selling things from one coast to the other, with any one section very dependent on others, the powers of government should be greatly centralized." (p. 265)

Education in Russia

"But education in Russia has been one of the outstanding developments since the Russian dictators came to power. In 1900 the population was about 70 per cent illiterate; that is, 70 out of 100 could not read and write! Today less than

20 per cent are illiterate; more than 80 per cent can read and write. This is a startling change considering the huge size of the country. And the chief reason for this enormous change has been the building of thousands of new schools during the past fifteen years--schools for babies, for children, for youths, for adults. The Constitution of the Soviet Union says that 'Citizens of Russia have a right to education,' and that the state shall pay for 'free vocational, technical and agronomic (agricultural) training for the toilers in the factories, on state farms, in machine and tractor stations, and on collective farms.'

"The entire Russian system of education has been planned to fit the particular skills and abilities which the young people will have to have when they finish and get jobs. The government itself furnishes the jobs, and the better the student's record, the better the job and pay he will get.

"But from early childhood the child is taught discipline, rigid discipline, and he gets used to manual labor while he is in school. Discipline, indeed--strict military training and physical culture. At many of the political celebrations even the very young child must be ready to take part, to perform, to march in parades, and the like." (p. 590)

Spirit of Success

"... The drive for 'success' is an unending one.

"Many Americans today question the wisdom of building up such a high degree of competitive spirit. And it must be admitted that they have many good arguments. Competition does develop wide-spread conflicts among people. It gives the strong and shrewd people great advantages over the weak and less clever ones. And it has been found that competition must be curbed to some extent.

"Other Americans, on the contrary, assert that the competitive spirit helps to keep people at their jobs, striving for a better standard of living, for better jobs, for success. It keeps them 'on their toes,' they say. Take it away and you destroy the most important motive for work.

"So we see that there is a very difficult problem here which must be studied and solved in the coming years by our people, namely, how far shall we continue to cultivate the competitive spirit in America?" (p. 595)

"... Look back at the list of the characteristics we gave earlier (p. 600). Some of them, of course, are the same today. Desire for success, for example, is still ingrained in the people." (p. 605)

Volume VI

CHANGING GOVERNMENTS AND CHANGING CULTURES (Ninth Grade, Second Semester)

1937

"Changing Governments and Changing Cultures--Democracy versus Dictatorship: the World Struggle, introduces American youth to an understanding of the chief political and social problems of other leading countries of the world" (Dr. Rugg).

The following objectives of the textbook are indicated in the following quotations:

TEXTBOOK

How Should Property Be Owned?

"Furthermore, had we the space for a long historical view of this problem, we should see how most men, for tens of thousands of years, answered the question in just one way --namely, that property shall be owned by the strongest or the cleverest. They said: 'You can own whatever you can take by force or by ingenuity. Might makes right.'" (p. 188)

"But in the meantime there has been much hard thinking, and much human suffering, over the question How shall property be owned? Most owners of property themselves have been inclined to answer, 'Privately' . . . 'For private profit.' Some impartial frontier thinkers have drawn the same conclusion. But among other scientific students of society there has been an increasing tendency to propose that many things should be owned publicly communally." (p. 191)

Declaration of Independence

". . . One historian, commenting on the fact that The Wealth of the Nations appeared in 1776, the same year as the American Declaration of Independence, described it as a 'declaration of independence for industry.'

"Leave every person free to compete with every other person in taking all the land, coal, iron, oil, forests, and other natural resources which his initiative and intelligence permit him to take,' was the basic idea of Smith's book. Let business, industry, and agriculture be unrestricted by government, said Smith, and the greatest wealth will be produced for one nation. In this way, he said, the collective life of a people can be carried on most effectively. Upon this principle high standards of living for a people will result." (pp. 195-196)

Marx--The Communist Manifesto

"The idea of the constant struggle for power over government by economic classes . . . in each civilization fortunate people--fortunate because of their position, their

wealth, or their abilities--seize land and trade and acquire most of the wealth, and that with it they control the armed force of the group and thus the government.

"The history of society was viewed as a continual struggle between class-conscious groups." (p. 219)

"How should property be owned? . . . The question, according to Marx, is to be settled by organizing the workers everywhere.

"Once in power the proletariat will pass laws which will abolish the private ownership of certain kinds of property. The means of production will become the property of the entire community." (p. 220)

The Soviet Union

". . . So in December, 1927, at its Fifteenth Congress, the Communist party announced a momentous resolution: 'We must strive in the shortest possible historical period to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalistic countries.' As the United States was, perhaps, regarded as 'the most advanced capitalistic country,' this resolution really meant, 'We must beat America.'

"The first Five-Year Plan, as well as the second one, was nothing less than a gigantic attempt to plan the economic and cultural life of the whole Russian people. Every aspect was included within it; industry, trade, agriculture, education, social life--everything. It was, indeed, a daring attempt by a large nation to plan its ways of living." (p. 435)

"There were two chief aims behind the plan. The first was to transform a backward farming country into a rich industrial one--one in which all wastes in the production and distribution of physical goods would be eliminated, one which would be even more efficient than America. The second was to do away with private capitalism, to set up the completely socialized state." (p. 436)

"As a result of these many other changes a new Russia is emerging today. There is less hatred among what used to be the warring 'classes,' chiefly because 'classes' have been done away with. Through persuasion, education, propaganda, force, and exile, those who object to the new plan are gradually being eliminated. Thus it is that the leaders of the Communist party have led the people to accept their ideas." (p. 446)

World Struggle

"Thus two difficult problems of control lie at the very basis of the turmoil of today:

"First: the control of government.

"Second: the control of property." (p. 650)

Communist Plan Lauded

"First: How shall government be controlled? Stalin and Company have said: 'The Communist party must control as Dictator until a whole generation of the Russian people have been educated to understand and accept communism. When that time comes, we shall gradually introduce more democratic ways of governing. We are proving that we really mean to do this by the setting up of the new constitution in 1936.'

"Second: How shall property be controlled? All the means of production are now owned and controlled by the state. There shall be no more exploitation of man by man for private profit." (p. 650)

TEACHER'S GUIDE AND KEY

Theme of Course

"Show the pupils that the whole course is organized around one big theme, namely, the world's march toward democracy. This theme is brought out in the first two topics, pages 18 and 19: (1) The constant struggle of the mass of the people for a larger share in the government, and (2) 'The continual conflict between groups of people desiring to control the government.'" (Dr. Rugg) (pp. 67-68)

Democracy Not Achieved

"But in this eighteenth year of the war to end war the world seems safe only for dictatorship and armed force. Bankrupt nations frantically arm themselves to the teeth. In twenty of the sixty theoretical democratic governments of the world the one-man idea still governs; in the other forty the few men govern the many. Nowhere has government of the people, for the people, and by the people been achieved." (p. 72)

Education for Social Regeneration

"There are signs of clear import that the leaders of Western education are beginning to take up the task of educating whole peoples in the scientific method. As they do so, they build on an entirely new purpose for the school. It is the school as the great creative agent for social reconstruction. . . . More important still, it shall be regarded as the creative agent of social regeneration.

"In short, the school is now seen as responsible chiefly for the reconstruction of society as well as for its interpretation." (pp. 76-77)

Socialism and Communism Increase Democracy

"Also, in this course, as in The History of American Government and Cluture, [sic] the story of government should be told as a series of conflicts between groups of the common people for control over government. Thus the concept of a 'hierarchy of social classes' should be built up.

". . . Today, because of the rise of labor parties and the increase in socialism and communism, government is becoming much more representative of the many." (p. 107)

Russia's Great Experiment--Communism May Prove Best

"The new Russia: the world's most important social and political experiment.

"We suggest that the new regime in Russia be discussed as a great experiment. Indeed, treat all the forms of government in the world today as experimental. Constantly remind the student that mankind has not yet proved which form of government is best. Therefore, in approaching the study of the new Communist state in Russia, sum up other experiments --for example, the presidential types of republican government characteristic of the United States and Latin America, the cabinet types of England, France, and other countries, and the few remaining examples of constitutional monarchy. Show the advantages and disadvantages of each. Then consider the government of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic as another interesting experiment." (p. 126)

Russia Example of Author's "Planning"

"On pages 436-439 of the Reading Book is an outline of the Five-Year Plan. Remind the pupils that, for the first time in the history of the world, industry, agriculture, education, housing--every aspect of economic and cultural life--was planned. This gigantic attempt has been discussed in every important community of the civilized world.

"Thus the socialist leaders have exactly the same fundamental educational idea and purpose as have the leaders of America, that is, the building up of the culture of the people by the finest kind of education." (pp. 127, 128 and 129)

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Lunacharsky, a former head of the education system of the Soviet Union, said:

"We hate Christianity and Christians; even the best of them must be considered our worst enemies. They preach love for one's neighbor, and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Down with the love of one's neighbor. What we

need is hatred. We must know now to hate; only thus will we conquer the world." -- Editor's Note.

PUPIL'S WORKBOOK

The material in the Workbook follows the pattern of the textbook and Teacher's Guide and Key. The child is asked,

"What are the desirable features of a socialist society like that proposed by the Russian leaders? What are the undesirable features? What are the undesirable and the desirable features of a capitalistic society like that in the United States? In what kind of society should you prefer to live?" (p. 54)

Naturally the child will answer the latter question by stating a preference for the United States. However, this answer catalogues his country as a "capitalist society." From his other reading in the Social Science Series he has been taught that "capitalist" is the opposite to "democratic society." Thus the immature child may easily become indoctrinated in Marxian Socialism.

OTHER IMPORTANT REFERENCES

Textbook

- Control of Government, p. 168
- How Should Property Be Owned?, p. 192
- Private Enterprise, pp. 195-196
- Frontier Thinkers, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, pp. 186, 225
- The Communist Manifesto, p. 219
- Socialists and Government, p. 224
- World Struggle Due to Control of Government and Control of Property, p. 650

Teacher's Guide and Key

- Frontier Thinkers in Russia, p. 125
- "Increasing Change" in Russia, p. 127
- "Planning" in Russia, pp. 127, 129

Pupil's Workbook

The Workbook follows the established pattern. Six cartoons are included, not a single one depicting optimism.