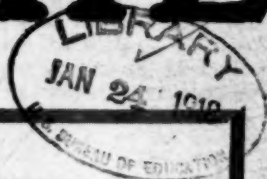


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The American TEACHER

JANUARY, 1918



Spurlos Versenkt!

Democracy and Loyalty

By JOHN DEWEY

Accusing the Accusers

By JOHN MARTIN

What Is An Inquisition?

**Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy**

59

V. 7. complete

Discipline and Democracy

UNDER the name of discipline, autocracy in education has built up a tremendously powerful machine, strong in its manifestation of a personal will to rule. Under discipline the system of supervision and the rating of the work of teachers puts into operation a personally conceived set of educational ideals by the most wasteful method known to educational science—by force. Under the system of bureaucratic discipline one-man or one-group power brings in a horde of special interests and crowds out everyone who will not play the game as it is arranged by the man or the group. Under discipline the weak or ambitious characters develop the traits of sycophants, and prepare to eat as parasites at the table of their hosts, while the proud retire into their corners and sneer. Under good discipline, the chief autocrat assembles unto himself a band of servile men and women who do his bidding, sing his praises, and stand ready to fight his battles, but none of them is competent to fill his place as the chief. Thus does the selfishness of autocracy contribute to its own ultimate destruction.

Under discipline the serving men are sent out to establish centers of discipline in the schools throughout the city. These men may be incompetent when away from the tutelage of the master; they may be vulgar, they may be unable

to gain the good-will of the teachers and the pupils, they may be ignorant of the very social forces that make the school a passable success in spite of themselves, they may flaunt their insolent demeanor in the very faces of the members of the community, but the teachers and the pupils must be loyal and obedient to these school officers as such, all in the name of discipline.

In an administration that would receive from the many the ideals that develop out of the needs and the thinking of numerous minds directed toward a high purpose, the narrow, uninformed idealism of an autocracy would be replaced in the process of natural selection. The schools would really belong to the people, and the people with the advice and the aid of the teachers, would determine whether they should be

closed or remain open, whether they should afford jobs for the friends of individuals already on the inside, or whether they should be institutions to serve the children.

Under a true democracy there would be less incompetence and dishonesty, because the social stimulus and the correcting influence of the large body of workers would aid in the development of social and professional ideals. To this social program the Teachers Union consecrates itself with all the intelligence and the devotion of which it is capable.

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The American Teacher

Vol. VII., No. 1

JANUARY, 1918

One Dollar a Year

Go Forth Serenely

THIS is a time of trial for all men. You are not alone in your doubts and uncertainties. You are not alone in your suspicions and misgivings. But neither are you alone in your faith and in your devotion.

You have gone forth to battle for Democracy. You have blundered and stumbled forward. You have been misled. You have yielded to the importunities of the loud-mouthed. You confided too readily in the enemies of Democracy. You have valued your masters at their own price.

But there is a new day dawning. The people are awaking. They are seeking the light. They would overthrow all kings and rulers and masters of men. They too have faith in Democracy. They too are prepared to sacrifice. They too look askance upon the self-appointed leaders.

Join hands with the friends of the people. Renew your faith in justice, liberty, fraternity. Assure yourself that the truth does indeed go marching on. Be not distracted by the clamor of fear and hatred and bigotry. Democracy must win.

Go forth serenely; Democracy will win.

Subversions

EVERY departure from the accustomed mode is subversive of discipline. Infect the soldiers of the Kaiser's armies with the germs of democratic ideals, and the discipline of the troops at once becomes subverted. Establish a new code of favoritism in the bailiwick of a political chieftain, and the discipline of the faithful is at once subverted. Attempt to replace formal rules of procedure with a rationalized, human relationship, and the discipline of

the perfunctory and irresponsible legalists is at once overturned.

But the subversion of discipline is intolerable. However should you attempt to remedy these subversions by a forcible invasion of the prerogatives and prejudices of those who have become demoralized, for whatever reason, you would invite a storm that would make the remedy worse than the disease. You do not re-establish "discipline" by means of demoralization.

For the guidance of the guardians of the public's morals and welfare and children, let it be noted that force draws forth force—unless it draws forth fear; that brutality begets brutality—unless it begets supineness; that coercion arouses violence—unless it induces feeble compliance; that lawlessness in high places nurtures anarchism—unless it strengthens autocracy—or incites revolt.

Most subversive of all discipline is the monstrous doctrine that a righteous end justifies an alliance with the devil.

Disillusioned

WITH high hopes and elation young men and women come every year to devote themselves to the noblest of all callings. Strangely enough, many of them actually believe that the teaching business calls for sacrifice and service of a lofty type. They count the cost, stated in terms of prices and wages, and resolve to bear the worst in a noble cause.

They come. Some quickly find the strain too severe, the burden too heavy. They leave, acknowledging their incompetence or soothing their pride as best they can. Others make a brave show against tremendous odds for the period of trial, they are acknowledged fit, and enter upon a career of destruction and waste of society's most precious re-

sources. Others adapt themselves to the demands of the "system," struggle on mechanically, and get their reward in the various substitutes for a living wage that our ingenious civilization has devised.

There is one group that is especially pathetic. Here are the young men and women of unusual ability, of unusual energy, of unusual enthusiasm, of unusual devotion. With all the defects of their virtues, including youthfulness and tactlessness and exuberance, they go forth in search of adventure and experience. They are assigned work under a chief; but they are denied life under a leader. Whatever impulses bring forth in action becomes habitual unless it be flagrantly objectionable. Without guidance and leadership, without inspiration and help, they move forward as best they may. They acquire modes of thought and action that may prove to be at last destructive of their own exalted purposes; but there is none to show them the better way. They arrive at a point from which further cooperation with those in authority appears impossible. After being defrauded of their faith and their devotion, they are cast out as unfit.

This is in short the status of those high school teachers whom the New York Board of Education recently "disciplined" with transfers and dismissals. They came to the school with an abundance of ability and worthy purpose. In a few short years of professional neglect they have been driven to cynicism. Can anything more subversive of school spirit be conceived? Can anything more outrageous be inflicted upon high-minded and sensitive men and women?

And not content with robbing them of the heart's treasure and the purse, the system seeks to rob each of his good name. And this in 1918, almost.

Spurlos Versenkt

AN experiment along the line of silent and expeditious elimination of undesirables has been successfully inaugurated in New York, now the leading city of the world in so many ways. A group of teachers who had for various reasons become

personae non gratae were selected for the first test. Some twenty odd were individually interviewed, selections were made from the answers they had given to certain questions, and the transfers of six recommended. There was no hearing, no opportunity to face charges or accusers; there was no explanation to the public. The transfers were ordered and put into effect.

Children coming to school knew only that on one day such and such teachers were with them; and that on another day, they were no more. Like merchant ships in time of ruthless U-boat warfare, they start upon the high seas full of courage and of hope. Their names may endure, a little while, with the barbarous comment, *Spurlos versenkt*.

* * *

ENCOURAGED by the success of the first attempt, the foremen of the educational system went a step further. They followed the same procedure as before, but restricted by the law, they were compelled to formulate charges and to give a "trial" when they decided to dismiss three of the most "undesirable" of the high school teachers. The teachers have had their trial—a trial which an experienced lawyer and former president of the Board declared to be the most pitiable travesty of a trial he had ever witnessed—and they have been dismissed.

Altho charges were made and trials were held, the public does not to the day of our going to press know just exactly what it is that made these teachers undesirable. Of the twenty-five or more members who voted for the dismissals, the few who spoke alleged as many separate and distinct reasons for voting as they did. And several reasons were suggested by those who voted against the dismissal. But the real reason in each case is a secret. Everybody knows of the catastrophe; there has been a nasty lot of publicity. But the purpose of the guardians of righteousness has been achieved. The objectionable teachers are now *spurlos versenkt*.

Next time, with experience gained, it will be possible to turn the trick without stirring up such a mess,

AFTER the war, when you are in Venice, they will show you where stood the ducal palace, many years ago. They will tell you that on one wall was an opening large enough to receive a roll of paper or a breakfast roll. They will tell you that this opening bore at one time an ornamental lion-head, that the opening was indeed the mouth of this lion.

The rest you know from the books you have read. In the declining days of the Republic, when Venice was governed by a closed group of merchants and adventurers, it was a very simple matter to throw into the Lion's Mouth anonymous accusations against a business or political rival, and to have him disposed of with neatness and despatch—and with secrecy.

It is a long time since civilized communities accepted with complacency the political principle that the king can do no wrong. It is a long time since thoughtful people were willing to concede to a select group absolute authority over the people's destinies. But a revival of the ancient and honorable practices of medieval Venice seems about due. As frequently happens, the educational system leads.

A Promising Outlook

WITH the new year the Department of Education of New York City adopts a new machinery of administration. A Board of forty-six members is replaced by a Board of seven. In appointing the members of the new Board, Mayor Hylan intimated that he approved a policy that would make use of the experience and ideas of the teachers; and in accepting his appointment, Commissioner Arthur S. Somers declared that one of the first tasks of the new Board would be to establish cordial relations between the school authorities and the teaching staff.

Here are two promises which every teacher should go forth to meet in good faith. Whatever distrust may lurk in our partisan prejudices, whatever suspicions may have been aroused by the actions of school authorities

in the past, here is an opportunity to start a new program in a new spirit.

Under the new State law, the Board of seven will have large and well defined powers. The educational and the administrative functions of the Department approach clear separation. Already it is announced that a systematic building program is to replace the happy-go-lucky or district-preferential chaos of the past. Waste is to be eliminated for purposes of economy; but essential activities are not to be curtailed. There is no promise of increased salaries for teachers, but perhaps the new Commissioners are sufficiently open-minded and willing to be shown whether indeed such increases are justifiable.

Interviewed on his appointment, Mr. Somers, subsequently elected President of the Board, is reported to have said:

Our first task will be to find means of restoring confidence of teachers, parents and children in the school administration. We want all united to do their best work for the schools. There will be no favors or prejudice shown, and we will play the game with the cards on the table.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Somers, in making these observations, was not speaking vividly. Since he has himself been a member of the Board of Education for nearly a quarter of a century, he must know whether there has ever in the past been lack of confidence in the school administration; whether in the past there has been failure to obtain united action for the benefit of the children; whether in the past there has been undue favoritism or partisanship in the administration.

We bespeak for the new Board the sincere and whole hearted co-operation of all teachers, that they may learn its purposes and methods thru its actions. Forget past failures: give the New Board a Chance.

THEN AND NOW

In the seventeenth century, not only did heresy mean possible burning, or imprisonment, but the very suspicion of it destroyed men's peace, and rendered calm pursuit of truth difficult or impossible.—T. H. Huxley in Descartes' Discourse on Method (1870).

Professional

THE school system is clogged and burdened with many unfit teachers. It matters not of which school system you are speaking. Mr William G Willcox, president of the Board of Education that went out of existence with the old year in New York City, was speaking of the system under his direct observation. He was asking for the abolition of the "permanent tenure" evil, and for the establishment of a plan whereby the teacher's position would be subject to periodical approval by "some competent and independent body."

None knows better than the teachers do themselves how much need there is for the destruction of that bulwark of the incompetent. But perhaps none knows so well how unreliable and how dangerous is the plan that Mr Willcox offers to substitute. The present law for the teachers in many of the States, and for practically all the larger cities, makes removal dependent upon the proving of charges. This is a serious handicap to the administration. It makes almost impossible the removal of teachers for political or personal or sectarian reasons, in that it makes the frank application of such anti-social animus extremely difficult. The recent episode in New York, the Chicago affair of June, 1916, the removal of the Buffalo teacher for participation in political demonstrations, and many other incidents show that in spite of the law it is still possible to get rid of those against whom the "authorities" are really anxious to move. The persistence of incompetent teachers and principals is not in itself an indication of the need for legislative reform; it shows at the most that superintendents have been indifferent to incompetence and that commissioners have been more concerned with partisanship and personalities than they have with professional standards and proficiency.

Mr Willcox bemoans the fact that the "opinions of the supervising staff and the principal of the school, who are best qualified to judge of the work and influence of these teachers" count for little or nothing in the determination of reappointment or dismissal.

It is here that boards of education need education. It is so easy to assume that because one happens to be the principal of a school, he is thereby qualified to judge the "work and influence" of teachers. Likewise supervising staffs. What pathetic blindness! So many of the principals, as any experienced teacher can tell you, are qualified only to judge of the emotional impression wrought upon them by the teachers in question. They have not—so many of them—either scholarship or insight, they have not either training or vision, to understand more than the success or failure of teachers in meeting certain formal requirements, in meeting certain personal requirements. So many of the principals see in teachers only good fellows or cranks, only regulars and irregulars, only subservience or independence.

There is a serious loss to the public in the burden of the incompetent teachers. The incompetent teacher leads to incompetent principals and supervisors, who in turn engage and retain more incompetent teachers. The remedy does not lie, as Mr Willcox seems to think, in placing the entire responsibility in the hands of the professional chiefs. It is a step forward to recognize the province of the professional members of the system as distinct from the lay members. It is a mistake, however, and one that is fundamental, to conceive of the principals and supervisors as the professionals. You will not have competent teachers in *quantum suff* until you require all teachers to be professionals; nor will your requirements avail unless they go hand in hand with opportunity for democratic participation in the professional conduct of school affairs.

The incompetents must go. But they are not to be eliminated thru the administration of chiefs selected by a system that places a premium on certain types of incompetence, and that penalizes other types of incompetence—both in utter disregard of the actual social and technical needs of the children. When teaching becomes a profession and when the war for democracy is won, Mr Willcox may rest assured that the schools will not long retain the burden of which he complains.

They Mean Well

SHE is one of the twenty-two thousand. She considers herself a person of advanced ideas. She is not a teacher of the "ordinary" type. She thinks of social problems and has notions that are different. She has met and spoken with some of the leaders in the fight for democracy in education and elsewhere. Oh, yes, she knows some of the leaders quite well. She attends all the rallies conducted by friends of freedom. Everybody knows she is for progress. She is not afraid to think.

But she has not *done* a thing to help in the fight. She has not yet contributed one cent, she has not contributed one suggestion which might help in the battle. She is afraid to run the risk of committing herself. She belongs to the family of "bum" sports. She has many brothers and sisters among the twenty-two thousand.

Patriotic Service for Teachers

THE Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, affiliated with the A F of T, outlines plans for work that should prove valuable to teachers in all parts of the country. The committee realizing the gravity of the present world situation, and looking ahead to the post-bellum reconstruction, is organizing courses of study along social, economic and administrative lines to prepare teachers for the new forms of service which will undoubtedly be necessary in the near future. To pass successfully thru this critical time and emerge with the principles of democracy and justice triumphant, there must be in all countries a well informed and thinking public; and this is certainly a part of the teacher's responsibility.

It is the imagination and vision of this committee that enable them to see the need for a broad basis for intelligent citizenship—a broader basis than the school can furnish thru a smattering of "civics."

In addition to this plan the Federation is working along three lines, educational, industrial, civic and legislative. In the industrial field the committee is cooperating with the Committee on Women and Children in Indus-

try of the State Council of National Defense. Under the Civics and Legislative Departments is included cooperation with organizations with which the Federation is affiliated, that is, the Federation of Labor, the Woman's Trade Union League, the Public Ownership League, and the Committee on Public Affairs. There will also be a committee to watch and report on the action of the City Council in the interest of teachers and citizens and a similar committee to report on the School Board.

A Slip

IT is unfortunate that the members of the new Board of Education of New York City had not an opportunity to confer before issuing statements to the press. Mr Frank Wilsey, later elected Vice-president, declared that he would do all in his power to eradicate the unions from the teaching body. He evidently was not aware that Mr Somers contemplated the establishment of harmony and cooperation. Nor did he say anything about getting after the janitors' union.

Perhaps the experience of the Federal Government with its postal employes on the one hand, and with the railroad administration on the other, will teach Mr Wilsey a lesson on the subject of unionism.

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Democracy and Loyalty in the Schools

JOHN DEWEY

I AM somewhat overwhelmed by the very generous words of the speaker and this warm reception which you have given. I am deeply touched by it. I feel it is one of the compensations that comes to a teacher in the feeling of identity with his fellow-teachers. I pity more than anything else those teachers who have not the imagination and who have not the courage to identify themselves with the interests of their fellow-teachers.

I want to say a few words first from the standpoint of a citizen who is deeply interested in the nation at the present crisis. Not because I think my personal attitude is a matter of any great importance to anybody but myself, but because it will explain the standpoint from which I approach this matter. Ever since President Wilson asked for a breaking of relations with Germany and afterwards for war against that country, more and more as he has stated why we are in this war, I have been a thoro and complete sympathizer with the part played in this country by this war and I have wished to see the resources of this country used for its successful prosecution. As has been said over and over again, this is not merely a war of armies, this is a war of peoples. There is no aspect of our lives to which this war does not come home, or which it does not touch. And in my judgment we ought not to be neutral when the war comes home in one form or another and to talk about being neutral is to talk foolishness. Now, in a situation of this kind unity of mind and effort is of great importance. We find a considerable number of persons whose methods I will not attempt to describe, who are wasting a great deal of time and energy of their own and other people by running about and making irresponsible accusations against opinions of people they do not happen to agree with. If I were to follow their example and use their language I should accuse them of disloyalty and sedition to the nation when unity of thought is demanded of all. I was glad to read the letter of President Willcox. I only wish that he or someone else in authority whose words would carry weight had said something of that kind with equal vigor a little earlier. If it had been said positively and earlier perhaps we could have been saved some of this disagreement which has happened.

I wonder whether any of these gentlemen have asked themselves seriously what the effect upon the pupil in the public schools may be, especially upon the older boys and girls, in seeing their teachers held up to suspicion, if not to direct accusations, as persons whose loyalty needed to be proved before it could be taken for granted; of putting the teachers in a position where all of the cynically-minded students may say, after hearing their teachers speak seriously on the subject of loyalty and patriotism, "Oh, they have to say those things or lose their jobs if they don't."

Now I repeat it is because I believe in a vigorous prosecution of this conflict until we have made secure the cause of democracy and because I recognize the need of unity in sentiment and ideas for that purpose that these things grieve me deeply; they more than grieve me; they arouse my indignation that we, the public, should approve and encourage these irresponsible men simply to gain a momentary weight or to make a success of some private point of their own. I do not think that to defeat Prussianism abroad it is necessary to establish Prussianism at home. The other day when a friend of mine somewhat recklessly referred to me in conversation with a member of the Board of Education as being in favor of a reasonable degree of free speech at the present time, a member of the Board said, "Why, no, that cannot be so. Mr Dewey is pro-Ally." In other words, apparently if you are pro-Ally, you must be in favor of establishing Prussianism in New York City. This war is going to be a war of free people on the basis of the actions appropriate to a free people.

I did not expect until to-day to speak more specifically of the issue with respect to the trial of the persons who have been suspended and transferred because I had not been able to get to the hearing and I did not wish to prejudge the case nor did I wish to speak simply on the basis of having heard opinions and views of one side. But a transcript of the evidence and proceedings of the trial of the three who are under suspension has been put into my hands and I have had time enough to make a reasonably thoro study of that document and I wish to give you the result of as fair and unbiased an opinion on this testimony as I can.

I speak without any violence of language

* Address delivered at DeWitt Clinton High School, December 15, 1917, at a meeting held by the Teachers' Union.

or without any accusations against anybody, but simply set forth what seems to me the clear inference from what is contained in the statement—which is not one-sided but the testimony of all of the people who appeared before the High School Committee. In doing that I shall leave out of the account for the most part the question as to how far the inquiry may have been motivated by the action of the teachers of De Witt Clinton High School, and especially of the Teachers' Council of the high school in passing their resolutions in disapprobation of Mr Whalen. All I will say about that is, that there is a series of most extraordinary coincidences; and that an expert mathematician working on the ordinarily received formula of reason probably would arrive at some interesting results as to the probability of a number of coincidences that point to the same impression. However, all that is like a large part of Mr Tildsley's testimony, a matter of inference, and therefore I shall leave that out of the account. I wish to say simply something about the methods of conducting the public schools of New York City as herein demonstrated, with reference to the treatment of teachers—and I still am inclined to believe that teachers are an important factor in any school or educational system.

The first is that a teacher at the present time is subject to discipline and discipline of a serious kind, to dismissal, and on the basis of charges so vague that there is no court of law in which they would have the slightest standing. Our forefathers have had to fight, and I think they put up a good fight. I am not a pacifist myself, but would be for the right of individuals in society to a hearing in courts that had an orderly method of procedure. I do not think all the technicalities of indictment are necessary, but at least those technicalities are demanded which protect individuals from loose accusations. In so far as this trial is an example, we have not secured to our teachers those ordinary civic rights. I only know that after reading the testimony, in voting, I should not know what I should have voted on. I have Mr Tildsley's public statement that the teachers were not disloyal, the newspapers have published that they are disloyal, and if nine out of ten persons in the street were asked, they would say the teachers were disloyal. If teachers can be suspended under a condition where it can be said they are and are not disloyal, these teachers have not gotten the rights of a fair hearing; everywhere else in the life of a citizen they have the right to fair trial before being held guilty.

These teachers are not under trial for *acts*

of any kind. They are under accusations, mind you, I do not say there were not any acts. There were, evidently, acts, judging from the series of strange coincidences I referred to. I merely say they were not *accused* of any acts, but so far as the evidence brought against them there is absolutely nothing but charges about their private views and private opinions; and those views and opinions not expressed within any school, but brought out, taking it at their worst, taking it at Mr Tildsley's and Mr Paul's statements, views and opinions brought out in a purely private, personal interview. I don't know what this is called in 1917, but I know what it used to be called. It used to be called the Inquisition.

I am not given to taking at the face value statements made by a lawyer in the course of a legal trial, but when Mr Smyth said the following, I believe it is the literal truth: "It is something comparable to the old Salem witchcraft trials that a person who is supposed to have views that were not in accordance with the views of the community, to put on trial and asked supposititious questions, not as to what they had done, not as to what their duty requires them to do, but taking a case that is not in point at all, what would you then do?"

Questions such as "What would you do in a certain case?" constantly occur in the testimony. "What would you do?" and then when the person would say, "There could not be any such case," there would be another hypothesis built up to support the first. It is on record here. When Mr Mufson said he would not have a discussion on Anarchism in his class, the lawyer on the other side, after many preceding supplementary hypotheses said, "Supposing the Board of Education ordered you to have such a discussion, what would you do?" Well, Mr Mufson's reply ought to become a literary classic. He said, "If the moon were made of green cheese, would I let the cow jump over it?" Ladies and gentlemen, if this thing were not serious it would be one of the most humorous documents of the ages. But it is serious not merely from the standpoint of these individuals but because this shows what any and every teacher in the public school system of the City of New York is subject to to-day; and that is a serious matter.

Now my last point is that on certain matters there is a pretty direct conflict of testimony and in one of the three cases at least the whole and only accusation, so far as I can see, is with respect to points of disagreement and different views on the parts of the prosecutors and defendants. I am not going into

a legal analysis of the testimony. I do not think it is necessary to suggest any in this suit. There are such things as perfectly honest differences on matters. But such a serious thing as terminating a man's career and doing it in the present time under these vague clouds of treason and disloyalty, possibly terminating his career everywhere, all of that in the form of a trial where there is no stenographic report of interviews upon which the evidence was based—now is that fair? Is that a basis for disciplining anybody at the present time? What would happen in a case taken to a higher court, in a civil court of the country when it is a question not of action, but of what was said in the lower courts and one party got up and said "a certain thing was said," and someone else, "something else," and there was not a witness or an account of such statements? Well, that is the condition as demonstrated here under which the teachers of New York City are living to-day.

I have come to the conclusion that it is not the teachers who are under indictment; it is the method of administering the public school system of New York City in relation to the

teachers. I do not say that the present Board is responsible for it. I do not say a Board of Superintendents is responsible. The responsibility comes back to the public that supports these accusations. And I hope this meeting to-night will be a special one in the manifestation of a greater interest on the part of the public, the citizens of the City of New York, in the treatment of the teachers. Some day we may arrive at a point at which education, public education in the city, will be dignified as well as a serious and a progressive thing because it has the intelligent understanding and backing of the citizens of the city, and the teachers are given the responsibility and the protection that is necessary to the performance of the social function which is certainly second to no other in its public importance.

And if you want my opinion of the day when there will be satisfactory evidence that the teachers' profession is adequately protected in the pursuit of its calling, I would suggest this test—when teachers can no longer be dismissed by 24 votes while it takes 34 votes to dismiss a janitor.

Accusing the Accusers

[The following paragraphs are extracts from a speech delivered by Mr. John Martin, member of the New York Board of Education, during the debate preceding the dismissal of three teachers charged with holding views "subversive of discipline." The facts in the case may be found in the December number of THE AMERICAN TEACHER, pages 160 to 163.—THE EDITORS.]

* * * In all these cases, the issue is clear and simple. It depends entirely upon one's acceptance or rejection of well-authorized and highly endorsed principles of pedagogy. The teaching of instinctive respect, the teaching of the instinctive attitude of reverence, the teaching of instinctive bowing before authority is condemned by the best and most modern authorities on education. And Mr Schmalhausen, in asserting his preference for reflective respect, reflective submission to authority, reflective obedience to law, and in his actions in the classroom along these lines was merely expressing in word and action the teaching of Professor Dewey, of Edmond Holmes in England, of a number of the highest authorities in education. * * *

Is it not a fact that in Prussia the teachers have been forbidding reflection on open questions of patriotism, and is it not this that has brought on this horrible catastrophe to the world? Mr Schmalhausen was justified in saying that he would not teach instinctive, dog-like, mechanical respect for authority. Are we to declare that the teachers of New York are ordered, under penalty of dismissal, to teach instinctive respect for Governor Sulzer? A dog-like devotion, as Schmalhausen expressed it, to the man who sat in the governor's chair? Or do we prefer that there shall be reflective respect, aye, and reflective patriotism?

I speak from the viewpoint of one who agrees that it is essential in this crisis that we shall have a united nation. It is essential that we shall have behind the President of the United States and the force of the army and navy an earnest public opinion which will lead the nation to endure without complaint great hardship and to make without murmuring, if necessary, the last great sacrifice.

And, in order that we may have that continuing public opinion, it must be an informed and reflectively patriotic public opinion.

We have seen the outcome of merely instinctive patriotism in the downfall of Russia. There was a nation that had been brought up in instinctive respect for the Czar and the government, not permitted to reflect in the schools, not allowed to have education which allows all discussion in the classroom, and not allowed to discuss the questions that were before the government—and that nation in the hour of trial has failed, because this instinctive patriotism was not a sure foundation. On the other hand, in France where the doctrines that Schmalhausen expressed at that trial have been taught * * * there is consummated a reflective patriotism which has carried the nation through the fiery furnace with sturdy endurance.

Shall we, the Board of Education, in this time of stress issue an edict to our teachers that they are forbidden in future to cultivate reflection, but that they must react on their pupils with brute force, forbidding reflection, but asserting always what views may be held and must be held without question?

It is said that Schmalhausen's reaction to that hateful letter was not strong enough. I think any person with experience in the classroom reading his corrections on the sheet will recognize immediately the spirit in which the corrections were made. He could have said: "You are insane; you ought to be incarcerated." But under the present principles of pedagogy that is not the attitude of the teacher toward the budding mind when the budding mind is growing wrong in the American school. He says to the boy, "Is this rational?" leaving him to inquire into the rationality of his own state. He treats the boy with gentlemanly courtesy, not as a Prussian would treat the boy, with brutal severity, but opening up the boy's mind to perceive his error, in the language which one gentleman would use to another and not in the language which one brute would use to another. It is the language of the university, not of the gutter. It seems to me that the teacher is there to guide the youth with wisdom and with mercy, not to chastise the boy with scorpions for every error of which he may be guilty.

You have said there are no charges of disloyalty because he proved his loyalty up to the hilt. Do you or do you not believe him? Well, then, you are against a stone wall. All you can allege is that any teacher who declares his loyalty to the United States, who is supporting the government in the present war, who expresses his approval of the acts

of the President in conducting the war against Germany, you know by intuition is lying. That is what it comes to. Under oath, these teachers declared their allegiance precisely as officers of the government are called upon to declare their allegiance. And if you repudiate their statement you are only saying that a teacher, under oath, will not be believed if you intuitively in advance are convinced that he is a disloyal subject. * * *

These men are not professing a right to hold disloyal views. When the cases were first brought up that was what I thought was coming out—that they had a perfect right in a democracy to teach extreme pacifism, opposition to conscription and the like, but there is not an atom of that in the whole proceeding. There is not one of them who claims the right to say things that a number of people in England are saying. There is not one of them who is asserting that the doctrine of free speech justifies disloyalty. They are asserting that they teach positive, constrictive patriotism and abhor such sentiments as were expressed by that poor misguided boy. What do we ask from our teachers, pray? Do we ask that they should submit to a decision upon their thoughts which are not expressed by word or action? Are we to pass upon them as holding opinions subversive of discipline, notions which they have never uttered. Surely, if we want our teaching staff to be in conformity with the noble spirit of loyalty, we will say to these men, "We respect your assurances. We exonerate you from charges of guilt. Go forward and in the classroom stimulate in all your boys and girls to the utmost of your ability, the highest and noblest reflective patriotism."

This is the Official Organ
of the
American Federation of Teachers

(Affiliated with American Federation of Labor)

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Why the De Witt Clinton Teachers Were Dismissed

THE SUGGESTED REASONS

"To the Editor of The Evening Post:

Sir: The *Evening Post* and other critics of the Board of Education should at least understand the grounds on which its verdict was based before accusing the Board of arbitrary and autocratic interference with the individual opinions and rights of its teachers.

From a great mass of testimony and argument, which, like the flowers that bloom in the spring, had nothing to do with the case, the following stand out as the main reasons which influenced the members of the Board in reaching their decision.

Mr Schmalhausen, when faced with an insolent and seditious letter addressed by one of his pupils to President Wilson, evinced no reaction of patriotic indignation, and showed no appreciation of the need of vigorous effort on his part to correct such views in his pupil. On the contrary his whole attitude convinced the members of the Board that he had no adequate conception of the obligation of a teacher to exert a positive and forceful influence in inculcating in his pupils the duty of respect for public officials and patriotic support of the American Government.

Mr Mufson was dismissed partly because of the attitude indicated by his statement that he would not allow a man in the United States uniform to address his pupils in the classroom, but mainly because of his refusal to answer any of the following questions:

Do you believe that you labor under an obligation to inculcate respect for the President of the United States in the minds of your pupils?

Are you in sympathy with the United States in this war against the German Government?

Do you believe it is your duty to urge the pupils in your class to give active support to the United States in this war against the German Government?

In these two cases the Board of Education based its action upon the conviction that their evident lack of patriotic attitude and influence in support of the American Government in carrying forward the war disqualified these men for teaching in our public schools.

Mr Schneeer was dismissed mainly because of the bibliography which he had published and placed on sale in the school. The members of the Board considered that his descriptive comments printed as sub-titles to

the books listed in this bibliography (such as 'The Tremulous Poesy of Passion,' 'The Hidden Springs of Sex and Desire,' 'The Heart Throbs of the Midnight Hour,' 'The Wilder Fires of Sex') indicated a total unfitness to be entrusted with the education of high-school boys.

With this brief statement, the public will be better able to judge whether the action of the Board of Education deserves its condemnation or approval.

WILLIAM G WILLCOX,
President Board of Education.
New York, December 24."

THE REAL REASON

*To the Editor of The Evening Post:**

Sir: The letter of Mr William G Willcox, President of the Board of Education, which you published in your issue of December 24, narrows the controversy concerning the dismissal of the three DeWitt Clinton High School teachers in a very important way. If the reasons for dismissal which Mr Willcox gives are the significant ones, all intelligent citizens should regard his letter as helpful in clearing up much confusion of mind on the part of a great many honest persons. But it is apparent that Mr Willcox is laboring under the same mental perplexity that caused several other members of the Board of Education to disregard the sum total of the evidence that was presented in the trial of the teachers. The perplexity of Mr Willcox is so great in his letter that he has credited to Mr Mufson an attitude which the testimony shows is charged only against Mr Schneeer, namely, the alleged objection to the appearance on the school assembly platform of a soldier in uniform.

If, as President Willcox states, Mr Schmalhausen's attitude "when faced with an insolent and seditious letter addressed by one of his pupils to President Wilson evinced no reaction of patriotic indignation, and showed no appreciation of the need of vigorous effort on his part to correct such views in his pupil," it is legitimate to inquire concerning the proper attitude of a teacher toward his pupils. Of Mr Schmalhausen's attitude toward the act of the boy, there cannot well

* A letter sent to the Editor of *The Evening Post*, but not published because virtually the same ground was covered in a reply made by Mr I Montefiore Levy, member of the Board of Education, and published in the *Evening Post* of Dec. 26.—En.

be any doubt, for the testimony contains this: *Question* (by Prof. Giddings). Mr. Schmalhausen, what in your mind is the most essential offensiveness in Herman's letter? *Answer*. I think the worst offensiveness lies in the utterly brutal misconception of the President as an official, and from that flow all other statements, which imply his tremendous discourtesy and his disloyalty.

Those who would be inclined to exact the limit of retribution in the case of a misguided and lurid-minded boy might criticize him directly in language as strong as Mr Schmalhausen used in the answer given to Professor Giddings. Considering the fact that Mr Schmalhausen, who before the day of the "Inquisition" had never seen the letter written by his pupil, Hyman Herman, wrote a criticism on the manuscript of the letter in terms much less severe, but none the less pointed, we have a demonstration of the reaction of a humane teacher endeavoring to set a boy right in a constructive way. That Mr Schmalhausen wrote this criticism practically while Superintendent Tildsley "waited," as the evidence shows, is clear proof of Mr Schmalhausen's faithfulness to his ideals and to his courage in maintaining them, for he had good reason to believe that Dr Tildsley meant to attack him at every possible point. If the Board of Education had been disposed to take the official estimate previously given of Mr Schmalhausen's work as a teacher, and especially if it had taken the trouble to ascertain his standing as a teacher in the department of English of the school, no sober-minded member could have voted for dismissal.

Eliminating the rather important error of statement in Mr Willcox's letter attributing to Mr Mufson the belief that a man in the uniform of the United States should not be allowed to address the pupils, we have remaining the statement that Mr Mufson was dismissed mainly because he refused to answer certain questions relating to the President and the conduct of the war. The evidence shows that Mr Mufson took the position that none of these questions bore upon the charges under which he had been brought to trial. While this attitude gave the impression of "mulishness" to an influential member of the Board, it is difficult to see why it should have been regarded as being tantamount to a confession of guilt. If the Board had given consideration to the letter to the press which Mr Mufson wrote on March 29, 1917, it could have been assured fully of the teacher's undying enmity to Kaiserism.

Mr Willcox states that "Mr Schneer was dismissed mainly because of the bibliography

which he published and placed on sale in the school." In this bibliography were printed some sub-titles which described in poetic language the sex significance of a very small number of the books mentioned (books of unquestioned literary standing). The printed evidence of the trial shows that the bibliography, a compendium of reference to current literature in fiction, literary criticism, and science, and approved by Richard Le Gallienne, Bliss Perry and others, was offered to the faculty committee having in charge the school book store. The book was accepted and was placed on sale. It was also accepted for advertisement in the "Magpie," the school paper. Moreover, the principal of the school had been given a copy of the book, and had not disapproved it. Even if responsibility for placing the book on sale at the school cannot be charged to Mr Schneer, it may be conceded that even a poetic reference to the subject of sex is not thought by many persons to be proper reading for young boys. Granted all this, the offense is one against taste, and not one indicative of moral weakness, unless supported by other evidence. There was absolutely no other evidence presented by the prosecution bearing out this charge. To blacken the reputation of an able teacher with an ugly charge of this kind, and to dismiss him from the service because of it, constitutes an offense that will go further toward "undermining good citizenship" than will anything else thus far uncovered in the school system.

The evidence adduced at the trial indicates that Mr Schneer in the now discredited "Inquisition" conducted by Superintendent Tildsley regarded with disfavor the appearance on the school assembly platform of a soldier in uniform, unless such a man as Mr Walter Lippman, an adviser of the President of the United States, should be invited to present for consideration the giving of other kinds of service than fighting. It appears that the issue turned partly on whether a certain teacher late of DeWitt Clinton, now an officer from the training camp at Plattsburg, N. Y., should be allowed to speak. It is admitted that this man cannot speak well, anyway, while Walter Lippman can. The evidence brought out on this incident at the trial reveals no disloyalty. Possibly Mr Schneer may be granted the right to entertain a doubt as to the advisability of presenting military ideals to the consideration of boys at an early age. If this is really his opinion, perhaps even the Kaiser would agree with him.

As much as the teachers of the city believe in general in the good intentions of Mr Willcox, it is nevertheless a matter of regret that

he has permitted certain notions of disciplining teachers to outweigh an issue of civic justice to able and conscientious teachers. After a trial of the three teachers lasting from 3 P. M. to 12.30 A. M. the Chairman of the trial committee, Mr John Whalen, asked the last witness, Mr Schneer, to give the names of the one hundred and five teachers who had been present at the meeting in DeWitt Clinton High School which voted on the resolutions mentioned in the evidence. This was proof enough that Mr Whalen considered that an important issue. In fact, the resolutions disapproving the attitude of Chairman Whalen in threatening to "close up the schools" because some of the children had gone out on strike against the "longer day," were asserted by Mr Thomas W Churchill of the Board of Education on the day the case came up for final disposition to be the *real* reason underlying the charges of "holding views." His statement was not contradicted.

Indeed, Mr Willcox himself at the meeting of the Board of Education held on November 14 declared after reading the Whalen resolutions that "such a statement cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed by this board, which must assert its authority in no uncertain tone." He continued, "If any teachers in the system have such a false conception of their position as to brand as 'autocratic and arro-

gant' Mr Whalen's statement that neither pupils nor teachers will be allowed to run the schools, they should promptly be undeceived." This appears to be the last public reference made by Mr Willcox to his proposal to "undeceive" teachers for what in the same speech he called an act of insubordination. It seems improbable that he forgot to follow out his own suggestion.

In the realm of scientific interpretation, that statement of a cause which explains all the facts is considered to be the true one. There is no way of explaining the suspension of three teachers and the transfer of six others from the DeWitt Clinton High School except by interpreting the acts as punishment of the teachers for being concerned supposedly in the formulation of the offending resolutions.

Much was made in the "school inquisition" conducted by Associate City Superintendent Tildsley of "instinctive obedience" to authority. It is a sad commentary on the efficiency and the fair-mindedness of school authorities that they should put themselves in a position where they are obliged to rely on instinctive respect to maintain themselves.

HENRY R LINVILLE,

President Teachers Union.

Dec. 25, 1917.

What is an Inquisition?

WHEN Professor John Dewey declared, in an address before a mass meeting of New York teachers, that he did not know the current name for the kind of proceedings that led to the suspension and final dismissal of three high school teachers, but that it was called "Inquisition" in earlier times, many of his hearers felt that he did not mean to be taken literally. Many thought that "Inquisition" was both metaphorical and derogatory, and were satisfied to leave it at that.

A cursory inquiry, however, shows that the characterization was neither extreme nor purely rhetorical. Not that the proceedings in New York were in all respects identical with those of the medieval Inquisition; it is sufficient to point out certain striking resemblances.

In the modern, as in the classic, the object is not so much to ascertain particular offenses as to determine tendencies. Thus, the murderers of Peter the Martyr of Verona, in 1252, were tried by the Inquisitors not as assassins, but as heretics and as opponents of the Inquisition. So the modern exemplars were tried not for committing any act or speaking any word contrary to law and morals, but for holding views (on hypothetical questions) and for opposing the wills or the whims of their superiors in office.

Under the Inquisition, the accused was presumed to be guilty until proven innocent; and from the nature of the circumstance no accused ever got a clean-cut acquittal. In contrast to modern, democratic jurisprudence, which presumes every person to be innocent until proven guilty beyond reason-

able doubt, the accused teachers were condemned in advance of the trial, and were tried under circumstances that put upon them the onus of establishing innocence. And in the inquisitions as in the present case, the judge was himself the accuser.

Under the Inquisition denunciations could be made in secret. The accused was summoned suddenly and secretly. He had the right to get the accusations against him in writing; but he might not know who the accusers or informants were. It was his privilege, however, before knowing what the charges were, to file a list of his enemies, with the statement of reasons why any might wish to do him harm. Today this form of procedure would not be tolerated. Instead, the person who is to be dispatched is invited into a friendly conference or conversation on educational and general topics, and selections are made from his answers to hypothetical questions, with a view to having him condemn himself. Charges are preferred in a highly impersonal manner; and the accused is accorded the right to face the "witnesses" who have anything to say against him. Here is a real difference.

Under the Inquisition, the failure of a person to heed the summons of the judges was considered an act of contumacy; and such failure was taken to be presumptive evidence of guilt. Today matters are somewhat better. The accused is required to answer not charges, but cunningly framed hypothetical questions. If he answers them in one way, he thereby shows his utter unfitness to be a teacher. If he answers them in the opposite way, he thereby shows that he is only lying to retain the favor of his overlords. If, however, he refuses to answer, he writes himself down as not only guilty, but mulish in addition—and is thus demonstrated to be unfit to hold his position.

Under the Inquisition, women, children and slaves might give testimony against the accused—but no evidence from such sources as to his virtuous acts or pious words could be admitted in favor of the accused. This is in striking similarity to the attitude of our educational trustees today. The prosecution selects from a group of over seventy-five

patriotic pupils of the defendant one boy whose attitude is unique in its crude disloyalty, and uses him as witness against the accused. Not only this, but the accuser gets his preliminary evidence from informers among the pupils. No account, however, is taken of such testimony of pupils when it is favorable to the defendant.

Again, if a witness withdraws adverse testimony, that witness may be punished for perjury; but the testimony might not be withdrawn from the record against the accused. So today, conflicting, contradictory and obviously perverted statements against the accused have to stand; the judges may or may not later seek to remedy the minds of those who bore false or misleading testimony.

Under the Inquisition, the judges were supposed to consult with leading men of the district before pronouncing sentence. This was the only protection the accused had. But the discretionary powers of the judges were absolute, and were generally used in an arbitrary fashion. So today, the Board of Education, despite the articulate protests of the leading thinkers and publicists of the community, proceed to cast into outer darkness on the basis of a farcical trial, men whose chief offense appears to have been that they incurred the enmity of those in power.

Under the Inquisition various devices were developed for the encouragement of confession—moral subterfuges, intimidation, exhaustion thru persistent confusion, irritation and nagging, and finally thru physical torture. Today the public would not tolerate resort to physical torture; but anyone reading the minutes of the "trial" without prejudice would be amazed at the close similarity between the discredited browbeating and brutality of former times and the methods followed in the case of the dismissed teachers. The ordinary tricks of the trial lawyer are mild and almost gentlemanly by comparison.

Under the Inquisition it was necessary to encourage "confession" because under the rules of the game the final condemnation had to be based on "freely" confessed iniquity. Since torture could be applied but once (compare our own principle that a person might

be but once put in jeopardy of his life for a given offense) it was frequently necessary to "continue" the torture. So we find that the investigator had to continue his interviews with those selected for slaughter before he felt that he had enough "confession." And at the final, public session, members of the committee declared with righteous tremors that they were condemning the men not on what the witnesses had said against them, but on what they had said themselves.

Those who confessed immediately were variously penalized; but persistent refusal to confess was conclusive evidence of guilt. In the case of the teachers, it does not appear that they were given an opportunity to commute their offense by open confession. Under the Inquisition, the accused were given an opportunity, even after public pronouncement

of sentence had been made, to confess. Those who then did confess were received as penitents and then condemned to lifelong imprisonment. Those however who still persisted in defying the judgment of their accusers and inquisitors, were handed over to the mercies of the executioner. At this point the modern inquisition is not true to type.

In some places the Inquisition gradually took on a political aspect, which is comprehensible to the student of history. The political aspect of the present-day inquisition has been apparent from the first. The country is at war with the last of the powerful autocracies; after the war it will not be possible to use autocratic methods so easily in this country. Those who have accounts to settle must hasten to do whatever they can before democracy comes into her own.

Among My Books

SOMETIMES I wonder where I picked up my ideas on education. That is, when I am not marveling as to where others whom I know gathered theirs. Just why the term "radical" should be applied to some conceptions is often beyond me. If it is the Ferrer School as against a military academy, I can understand. If it is the teaching of sociology as against the classics, I can understand that. But when it is democracy in education as against democracy in politics, or when it is education for democracy as against education for—well, Democracy—my power of discrimination fails me. Or to put it otherwise, what discriminating sense I have assures me that in the ideas themselves there is no difference. Hence we must find the distinction in those factitious circumstances which accompany expression.

The outstanding feature of radicalism is more likely to be found in the temperament of the proponent and the manner of expression. It is the combination of utter sincerity and open-minded naivete that leads many of us to take our pedagogical mentors seriously. Some of us have studied for examinations and

have learned to pass them by talking about initiative, spontaneity, socializing the class room, and preparing the children for citizenship in a democracy. By dint of repetition and thru common honesty, we have come to believe in these ideals. We believe in them so strongly that we actually want to see them attained. So we talk and write and live as Americans, while others sometimes talk, sometimes write, sometimes practice, but more often theorize on the basis of democracy while teaching middle age thought processes under the sanction of Prussian authoritarianism.

Somehow the esthetic conception of unity and coherence works to disadvantage. There is a strong tendency in normal minds to look for thoroughgoing consistency. The radical must be wild and the conservative a mossback. A *Times* editorial writer would feel that he had missed doing justice to his subject did he not characterize a radical as Socialist, anarchist, Bolshevik, and free lover. As a matter of fact few minds are toned in one color, and still less is the collective mind of a board such as edits this paper. Utter faith in its demo-

cratic motto dwells in each of its component parts, but there unanimity ends. And thus it is that this inverted *argumentum verecundiam* falls to the ground.

When I found some of my pedagogical ideas classed by a supposedly reputable and intelligent person as those of a moral degenerate, I wondered whether I had been (to borrow a zoological phrase of Dr Hornaday's) a victim of the "evil communications that corrupt good teachers." And lo, I found that I was merely peddling at retail the ideas of my masters, that my education had really functioned, and that all I lacked was a memory for the sources of my teaching. It is all in the books and what more can one ask?

Democracy demands of the individual citizen not instinctive reverence for authority (of office or books), but does require a highly developed critical faculty, with an ability to sense the truth. For he himself must be prepared to assume authority and it is these qualities which will save him from acting the tyrant and the autocrat. I really thought this was good doctrine, but recent events have proved otherwise. So now for the masters:

The fact that rational thought invariably involves a crisis in the habitual mental processes makes it necessary at times to stir up the pupil to intellectual unrest in order to break up his dogmatic methods of thinking. It is the function of the teacher to guard against too great assurance and inertia in the reasoning of the pupil, who must be made to feel that complete dependence on his own previous opinions and those of others is intellectual slavery. However, it must be remembered that such a radical method of procedure as is involved in raising serious doubts in regard to ordinarily accepted facts is not permissible in the earlier as in the more advanced stages of education. Still the teacher in the pre-adolescent period should seek to inculcate in the minds of his pupils a certain caution in accepting general beliefs and statements simply because such statements are made. The pupil, tho he is naturally under the dominance of authority in this period of his development, and altho for the most part he can not be taught to reason correctly by having his belief in such authority overthrown, still cannot be made with safety an absolute slave in his intellectual and moral life to the scientific and ethical standards of his parents and teachers. Both Freud and Jung have pointed out the danger of too much parental authority and reverence for this authority on the part of the child, in that child's later development. The danger, however, applies less to American children than it does to the children of European parents. In America we have perhaps gone

to the other extreme, and have not considered the great significance of authority for the child, particularly in his formation of religious and social ideals.—STEPHEN S COLVIN in *The Learning Process*.

... It is safe to lay down the general rule that the right of generalization from particulars and the right of inference from generalizations belong to the pupil. This conclusion is based upon a firm conviction borne out by a great deal of empirical evidence, that the judgments that the pupil makes for himself and puts into systems largely thru his own efforts are infinitely more valuable to him than those in which the thought connections are supplied—in which the reasoning is done for him.—WILLIAM CHANDLER BAGLEY in *The Educative Process*.

Cultivate in pupils the habit of independent thinking. Ask such questions as necessitate it, and be inwardly discontent until you have secured it. . . . When a diffident pupil has met us with his independent opinion, deal with it gently. Entertain originality hospitably. The very aim of the classroom work is not uniform knowledge, but multiform thinking.

Do not tell the class what to think—this is dogmatism, with us the authority; but direct their thinking, hesitating not to express your own opinion at the right time. Our class-room discussions are not so much to settle things as to arouse the investigating spirit. For young people to be on the hunt for truth is transcendently more important than for them to suppose they have learned it. And why is not the statement equally applicable to ourselves? It is an error to suppose that the class comes out right, when we tell them what is right; teaching is not telling, it is stimulating.—HERMAN HARRELL HORNE in *The Psychological Principles of Education*.

As a class are we not in bondage to tradition? We are among the conservative members of society. We teach what is known, the present and the past, mainly the past. The goal toward which we are, or ought to be, moving rarely comes within our ken. We have not awakened to our work as a great constructive effort to shape developing human society toward its true goal. Instead, we hand down traditional knowledge and socially standardized viewpoints. The school does not lead social progress, it hardly keeps up with it. It ought to be developing social leadership and not merely conservative following. We should communicate, not merely established knowledge, but also ideas regarding the end and means of social progress. Society requires guidance as well as information.—HERMAN HARRELL HORNE in *The Teacher as Artist*.

Modern psychology, like Christianity, affords no sufficient excuse for a morality of repression. It conceives both individual and social life as fundamentally active, and it is able to translate both emotion and thought into the results or forms of activity. Since life consists essentially in activity, a wise system of educational discipline, either individual or social, should seek primarily to release and develop rather than to dam up the instinctive sources of action in human nature. Indeed, the attempt to dam them up is fruitless, and results merely in the substitution of pathological for natural forms of expression.—HERBERT CROLY in *Progressive Democracy*.

So much for education for democracy. Just what is democracy in education? When does the organization take on autocratic form? How much voice should teachers have in the management of a school? We can do no better than to quote a city superintendent's words on democracy among pupils and then ask whether the principles stated therein should not apply in even greater measure to adults—teachers, for instance.

The temptation is always present, and is generally overwhelming, for the child culprit who suffers punishment . . . at the hands of an autocratic authority such as the principal or the teacher, to pose as a hero or a martyr. If, however, the same punishment were inflicted by a jury of his peers, the consolation of strutting as a hero or posing as a martyr would be entirely removed. The efficacy of the punishment would be reinforced by the whole strength of the public opinion of the class or the school. The ridicule or the pity of his fellows is what the child finds it hardest to endure and what he will strive most earnestly to avoid. In this psychological fact lies the chief reason for the success, such as it is, that has attended the different forms of pupil self-government that have been tried at various times in the history of education. Add to this, that the exercise of governmental powers by the pupils in the administration of a school is an excellent training in executive ability and an unsurpassed preparation for the duties of citizenship, and an exceedingly strong case is made out in favor of pupil self-government.—WILLIAM H MAXWELL in *Annual Report for 1905*.

If we err in taking the words of authority literally, if we fondly delude ourselves when we imagine they mean what they say, then our purpose is fatuous. However, if the true word is theirs, and we must suffer obloquy because we prefer to shout it from the house-tops instead of letting it lie buried among dust-covered volumes, then we have our place in society and Heaven help us. PLATO.

Under Fire

INGRAINED in the soul of the meanest of us is the love of adventure, of thrilling, heart-stirring, even harrowing experience—provided we are spared to tell the tale. Past miseries are sweet. The icy cold of the poles is as nothing when narrated by the blazing hearth. The ache of starvation is a measure of fortitude when recounted at the well-provisioned board. We forget and glorify.

Henri Barbusse, in that incomparable epic of the war, "Under Fire," pictures in the last chapter a veritable hell, an inundated battlefield under bombardment. The wounded and the dead spot the landscape, the few that are living are wet to the core and caked in mud. The very elements seem to pin them to earth—to suffer all the miseries of life eternally.

"We've seen too much to remember."

"And everything we've seen was too much. We're not made to hold it all. It takes a damned hook in all directions. We're too little to hold it . . ."

"That's true what he says," remarks a man without moving his head in its pillory of mud. "When I was on leave, I found I'd already jolly well forgotten what had happened to me before. There were some letters from me that I read over again just as if they were a book I was opening. And yet in spite of that I've forgotten also all the pain I've had in the war. We're forgetting machines. Men are things that think a little but chiefly forget. That's what we are."

"Then neither the other side nor us'll remember! So much misery all wasted!"

This point of view added to the abasement of these beings on the shore of the flood, like news of a greater disaster, and humiliated them still more.

"Ah, if one *did* remember!" cried some one.

"If we remembered," said another, "there wouldn't be any more war!"

A third added grandly, "Yes, if we remembered, war would be less useless than it is."

And thus of all experience—if we remembered, it would be less useless than it is. We teachers speak gaily of our substitute days, when our hearts were heavy and our souls distraught, when our entire career, as mapped out for years, seemed blasted because of our inability to discipline a class. In itself there is much to be thankful for in this spirit; to carry the burden of the years upon our shoulders is not conducive to erect, forward-looking aggressiveness. But when we forget to the extent of becoming callous to the suffering of others, when memories of our own trials are unawakened by those of the initiates, then can we say, "Yes, if we remembered, life would be less useless than it is."

It is often stated that the protests of subordinates are often but the whine of the under dog who is merely awaiting his chance to get

on top so that he in turn may grow. Which is very much like asserting that in a competitive system it is necessary to compete, or that in a war it is necessary to fight. There is no necessity of holding a brief for heavenly human qualities when a person is suffering under the stress of circumstances, but there is no limit to the fine traits that may develop if training begins early enough—for tolerance begets tolerance, kindness begets kindness, but cruelty begets only vindictiveness. The source of influence must arise among those in authority, at least if the transformation is to be effected peacefully. Or else there must in some way be developed in our young teachers a memory for emotions aroused by experience. We so soon forget.

If we could only remember!

Labor on Education

IN the report of the Committee on Education made to the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor there are many statements which stand out as the prophecy of the coming democracy in the schools. We wish we could print all of them, but two selections must suffice. The other day one of the labor men spoke of helping "the white collar fellows" in return for the support of the latter on questions concerning those in "blue overalls." This was only a graphic and homely expression of the idea that we are all striving toward the same goal, the development of a great American democracy. The following has the endorsement of the entire labor body of the country:

Teachers should be secured tenure of position during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without a full and fair hearing. And, in this connection, it is timely to insist that while actual disloyalty to our country cannot be tolerated in our public schools or anywhere else, the public must carefully assure itself that charges of disloyalty, or of any other nature that may be peculiarly effective at the time, are not cloaks under which official superiors may attempt to secure retaliation for a self-respecting lack of subserviency on the part of teachers under them.

Your committee is alarmed by the lack of democracy in the conduct of our schools. Our American school system is administered autocratically, the teachers actually on the job in the class rooms having a negligible voice in the determination and carrying out of policies. Self-governing school and district councils of teachers should be established for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools

and the recommendations of such councils should be made a matter of official record. **WHEN CONSIDERATION IS GIVEN THE EFFECTIVE PART PLAYED BY THE PRUSSIAN SCHOOL SYSTEM IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HABIT OF INSTINCTIVE, UNTHINKING OBEDIENCE ON THE PART OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE, THE VITAL IMPORTANCE TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS OF BREAKING AWAY FROM PRUSSIAN METHODS IN OUR SCHOOL SYSTEM IS DRIVEN HOME.**

* * *

FUNDAMENTALS

Most of the indifference felt toward the labor movement among middle class and intellectual radicals is predicated on the assumption that higher wages, shorter hours and similar concessions furnish the unions with their primary reason for being. If this were true, the labor movement could rightly be condemned as short-sighted and futile, so far as the attainment of fundamental reforms is concerned.

But in spite of what leaders in the trade union movement may say to the contrary, higher wages and shorter hours are not the primary objects of union organization. The primary impulse and the primary need generating unionism is that of reducing the arbitrary power of the employer over his employes' lives. It is the impulse to self-expression, the need of fostering self-respect by winning a voice in determining the conditions of labor.

In other words, unionism is the beginning of industrial democracy, and there is in the labor movement the same irresistible life-impulse that has given us freedom of thought and action in the religious and political fields. And because this is so, the labor movement is today the great democratic movement of our times, great out of all proportion to and in spite of its inadequate immediate professed aims.—George P. West, in *The Public*, March 23, 1917.

Educational Leadership

The superintendent must have leadership, high ideals, inspirational force. He must not inspire fear and dread, the hope it will be long before he comes again. He must have capacity for growth, retiring before he strikes 12. The tendency to become stagnant is greater than in any other occupation.—Superintendent Andrew W Edson, at New York State Conference of Superintendents at Albany, October, 1917.

WHAT THEY SAY

December 15, 1917.

Dear Mr. Linville:

After following the testimony for several hours and examining with care the documents available to the public the problem appears to me by no means simple. It is evident that there was bitter feeling between Mr Whalen and the teachers of DeWitt Clinton High School before the loyalty issue arose. It is therefore in large measure an administrative fight—Mr Whalen being prosecutor, judge and jury in his own case.

On careful inquiry I find no little anti-Semitic feeling in the case—the three teachers accused being Jews. This is denied, but it is a fact.

In the next place, there is involved the question as to whether teachers as such should be considered as mere employees of the Board of Education or cooperators in a great educational enterprise.

The accused are not openly charged with disloyalty and yet they are so branded by implication. While I do not want to pass judgment on all the issues of the case, I am convinced that the matter called for a more judicial hearing than has yet been accorded to the men whose careers are thus blasted by the charges of administrative officers.

I cannot believe that the judgment given amid the passions aroused by the charges and recriminations will stand the test of time and moderate counsels. I expect to live to see the men now accused restored to their old places.

Sincerely,
(Signed) CHARLES A BEARD.

To the Editors, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

You may at once discontinue my subscription. I do not wish to receive into my house a magazine founded on habitual and causeless revolt, decorated with lies, propagating un-American ideas.

I shall post your paper in my school and call attention to the disgraceful article entitled "Safe Thinking." A disgruntled child of surly temperament is capable of the coarse and silly thought in that article. I resent strongly your title "American Teacher." A real American teacher would have nothing whatever to do with a vehicle of foreign socialism and ignorant trades-unionism.

S G COSTER.

To the Editors, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

Enclosed please find \$1 for subscription to your splendid paper. I will send you a subscription after Jan. 1st to help in the deficit that you may be suffering. You are helping to enlarge the teacher's viewpoint. Success to your efforts. Yours for the good work,

MARY E YORKS.

To the Editors, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

Enclosed find \$1 for next year's sub. I think you are doing a good work. Teachers are about contemporaneous with Cotton Mather, and it is high time somebody reminded them that Columbus did really discover a new world and that the 20th century is fairly under way. Of course those who do not know it are to be pitied, I suppose, only they are just as happy as tho they had good sense; while those of us who do know it really need the sympathy and encouragement while the others are waking up. So here is my encouragement to you, for the encouragement you will send me during the year.

D A McQUEEN.

To the Editors, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

I have just finished reading the November issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER from cover to cover and cannot resist the impulse to tell you how admirable I find it. I am especially pleased with the article "The Schools in Politics." Of course we are always especially pleased with a clear and forceful presentation of ideas that coincide with ours.

ETHEL E BEERS.

To the Editors, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

THE AMERICAN TEACHER for November is the brightest ray of hope I have ever seen on the teachers' horizon. In the midst of the prevailing intolerance and stupidity, it is good to see the calm, steady thinking in "The Schools in Politics," "Courage" and "Fight." The surest indication that Democracy is approaching is that even now there are teachers who dare to think and to express their thoughts without overworking the sacred phrases compiled for us.

Congratulations on the intelligence and courage of the New York teachers!

Thank you for your inspiring November issue.
FLORENCE S HALL.

READINGS

Science and Democracy

To replace empiricism with systematic determination of standards, and to replace authority or autocracy with democratic cooperation—these seem to be the motivation of the two new additions to the Educational Survey Series. *Self-Surveys by Teacher Training Schools*, by WILLIAM H ALLEN and CARROLL G PEARSE, and *Self-Surveys by Colleges and Universities*, by DR ALLEN, take the position that surveys have come to stay and that it is the part of wise people not to oppose them but to utilize them by getting the inside tack before the outside investigators get a chance. The advantages of the auto-survey lie in that it precedes the storm, in that it is most fruitful, and in that it leads to continuous self-scrutiny. The eight teacher-training schools of Wisconsin made auto-surveys under direction of the State Board of Public Affairs. The surveys were cooperative, made by experts familiar with conditions and with the problems, and they were immediately and continuously constructive. The questions used were prepared and criticised in advance, avoiding recriminations and heartburnings. The practical changes resulting from the surveys are described in considerable detail; and they affected every side of the school's life—administrative, curricular, supervisory, instructional, and others. The appendices to this volume include one on medical service and the questionnaire on teacher-training schools drawn up by Dr Albert Shiels for New York City.

The volume on the university and college auto-surveys describes adequately the procedure for cooperative self-surveys, and seeks to establish general principles to guide in the conduct of such undertakings. Of special interest, and suggestive for other educational groups, are the analysis of personality of instructors, the discussions of vocational guidance, of the use of community activities for educational purposes, of the relation of research to teaching, and of extension work.

With the exception of the teachers engaged in one-teacher schools, or in schools employing but very few teachers, and of the teachers who consider themselves too old or too wise to learn, all those who take their profession seriously will find in both of these books a wealth of stimulating and practical suggestion.

Yonkers, The World Book Co. Teacher Training Schools, \$2.25. Colleges and Universities, \$3.

Time's Legacy

The Permanent Values in Education, by KENNETH RICHMOND. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1917. \$1.

IN our college days Pestalozzi was a joke. The name sounded like opera bouffe to us, and for all we were concerned, the character fitted in well enough with the daily comedy known as History of Education. Our lives would have been wonderfully enriched were it not for some of the courses we took. One day a professor, off his guard, replied excitedly to a number of harsh criticisms of Locke's theories, that this philosopher was no fool, that much of his educational doctrine was in the nature of a rebellion against the defective practice of his time. And only then did we realize that even if we went as far back as Socrates, we could find wiser men than ourselves. But it has taken a long time to think of the history of education as a live, vital study—something useful in helping us to live.

Mr Kenneth Richmond perceives in the ideals of each of the ancient peoples and philosophers some one outstanding feature of everlasting worth. In the Greeks it is beauty; in the Jews a sense of nationality; in Comenius a desire to train minds and spirits that would be sensitive and responsive to the present but would not live in the present alone; in Rousseau a message of liberation; in Locke the quest of truth; in Pestalozzi love and human understanding of children; in Froebel a faith in "growth by doing"; and in Herbart an insight into method. We remember reading words like these before, but never has the emphasis been placed so strongly upon the relation of the man's historic importance to the permanent value of his educational ideas. This is in sympathy with the new teaching of history, both political and economic, and its effect in vitalizing education cannot be overestimated.

Mr Clutton-Brock writes an introduction of exceptional interest. These English educators are feeling the democratic urge of the war and reflect the best in democracy that has been evolved during the centuries.

The aim of education, for Locke and for all the great educators, is to give the child that freedom of spirit which can only come with obedience to the sense of absolute values, to his, the child's own sense and not to his teacher's. The child must know that his good actions come from himself, if they are to be his good actions. But, the parent and the schoolmaster may desire this freedom for the child, there is something in both which makes them fear this freedom; and both teach the child himself to be afraid of it. What is the cause of this fear?

It is not merely the vulgar will to power over

the child, but something far subtler and more unconscious. It is their constant tendency to associate education with status, to regard it as a means, not to freedom of the spirit, but to some kind of superiority. . . . So status always robs those who are keenly aware of it of their critical faculty; their egotism is enlisted on the side of their education, and they prize their education with the blindness of self-love.

So again it comes down to democracy in education and education for democracy. Ever do we herald it anew, but in one form or another it pervades the thought of many of the great thinkers. Mr Richmond, speaking of Milton and his caste education, says:

The modern public school has many of the characteristic virtues and faults of a partial democracy; and the elementary school is at least potentially open to be made the training-ground of an almost German docility. But it is true in the absolute sense that two tendencies pervade our system which are implacably at war with one another, the one encouraging class-separation, the other class fusion. The conflict is, in education, mainly subterranean; but everyone is aware that it goes on continuously. Nearly every teacher is at heart a propagandist on the one side or the other.

We could only wish, for the sake of American education, that the authors, English tho they be, had illustrated concretely the essential bearing of their findings in history upon some specific problems of to-day. If the school should not be a "training ground of an

almost German docility," just how far can the teacher go without becoming "subversive of discipline"? If the teacher is to "develop and train intellectual initiative as well as mental facility" (as he says in the chapter on Locke), must he stop short of teaching (which cannot be done) "instinctive respect for authority as such"? And finally, we cannot help wondering whether he would allow British teachers to believe in that doctrine held, according to Sidney Webb, by two-fifths of the population of England, the British Labor Party—that "only by the widest possible participation in power and the most generally spread consciousness of consent can any civilized community attain either its fullest life or its utmost efficiency." But we must not expect writers on education to know everything about the administration of schools.

ROSTER OF LOCAL UNIONS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, WITH NAMES OF SECRETARIES

- No.
2. Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, C C WILLARD, 7216 Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill.
3. Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, ETHEL E BEERS, 3414 S. Pauline St., Chicago, Ill.
4. Gary Teachers' Federation, Mr E B CARLILE, 1325 Ellsworth St., Gary, Ind.
5. Teachers' Union of the City of New York, J EDWARD MAYMAN, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.
7. School Teachers' Association of Scranton, Pa., MARGARET PADDEN, 210 Madison Ave., Scranton, Pa.
8. High School Teachers' Union of Washington, D. C., MAUDE C GUNTHER, 1827 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
9. Armstrong-Dunbar High School Teachers' Association of Washington, D. C., SAMUEL E COMPTON, Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C.
10. Manual Training Teachers' Association of Washington, D. C., H PHILLIPS, 16 Bryant St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
11. Punxsutawney Teachers' Federation, O C WILLIAMS, Perry St., Punxsutawney, Pa.
12. Teachers' Federation of Hamilton Co., Tenn., W J ZIEGLER, 307 Hanover St., North Chattanooga, Tenn.
13. Bi-County Federation of Teachers, Fayette and Westmoreland Counties, JOSEPH MEILEY, 505 E. Green St., Connellsville, Pa.
14. Jasonville Teachers' Union, ZELLA CRAIG, 221 S. Washington St., Jasonville, Ind.

TEACHERS ATTENTION

The biggest fight waged in the United States today for the people's rights is being carried by the National Nonpartisan League.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

in a series of articles on the League calls it the Farmer's Revolt and calls especial attention to our progressive educational program.

We need organizers, men for executive positions, speakers and writers. An opportunity for full time work or for the vacation period—good pay—and real work for democracy.

Write for particulars.

The National Nonpartisan League

Educational Department,

Gilfillan Block,

St. Paul, Minn.

The Teachers Union

70 Fifth Avenue

January, 1918.

Fellow Unionist:

The fight for Democracy in Education has at last been forced into the open. The Teachers' Union, true to its fundamental principles, has taken its stand on the side of RIGHT as opposed to MIGHT.

The fight is on. And, as far as the Union is concerned, it will be a fight to a finish.

The immediate plan of the Union includes among other things:

- a. The reinstatement of the three dismissed teachers.
- b. Preferring charges against one of the associate superintendents.
- c. Establishing (with the aid of others) a "teachers' court."
- d. Amending the new educational law so as to insure tenure of office.
- e. Increasing salaries.

In all this work we have the moral support of leading educators, thinking teachers, organized labor, and the enlightened citizenry.

From the same sources we have also received financial support.

Within the last two months the Union has spent over \$1,500.

If expert advice and counsel is to be continued, if extra clerical and other help is to be had—if our program is to be carried to a successful conclusion—**MORE MONEY MUST BE RAISED.**

It is estimated that we must raise a defense fund of \$10,000.

The contributions received to date vary in amount from 50 cents to \$250—a range wide enough to suit any pocketbook.

MAKE YOUR CONTRIBUTION TODAY

Enlist your friends — all of them — in the cause

Fraternally yours,

J. EDWARD MAYMAN,

Secretary-Treasurer.

P. S.—A verbatim transcript of the minutes of the trial of the three men is now in book form, and is for sale at \$5.00 a copy. A smaller summary is for sale at 25 cents the copy.

If you had a brother would he like green cheese?

INCREDIBLE as it seems, American teachers are being charged with disloyalty because of answers to snap, secret session, hypothetical questions which would make the above-quoted question from Alice in Wonderland sound statesmanlike.

No person who loves Democracy more than Peace or Victory can afford to be indifferent to the way in which boards of education—and excited public opinion—are trying, discharging, transferring, branding American teachers for alleged disloyalty of act or attitude.

Travesty and menace are weak pictures of this grotesque mis-defense of loyalty.

Not one-third of forty-six board members heard the testimony.

Only three copies of the testimony were typed; members do not pretend to have read it.

No court would call a tramp disloyal on the basis of such facts as are adduced to justify branding and dismissing three teachers as disloyal.

It is not claimed that they ever expressed a disloyal sentiment in class or anywhere else except at a private Prussianistic, un-American inquisition by an associate superintendent.

Although not charged with disloyalty they are to be discharged for disloyalty. (The charge is: holding views subversive of discipline.)

Shorn of specious appeals to war-time fear of disloyalty the indictments really indict those who have for years been rating these teachers high more than they indict the teachers.

The snap, secret-session hypothetical questions (not recorded stenographically or otherwise) included these:

Do you think teachers are qualified to criticise their superiors?

Should teachers inculcate in pupils instinctive obedience to superiors whatever the orders may be?

If anarchistic doctrines were advanced in your [mathematics] class, would you set pupils straight?

Did you criticise Commissioner X [who presided at the trial]?

The dismissal of three teachers, on facts given, is infinitely more disloyal and dangerous to American ideals than anything charged or implied against the teachers.