

The American TEACHER

SEPTEMBER, 1918



The Pittsburgh Convention

A Little Child Shall Lead Us

The I W W Decision

The Meaning of Unionism

**Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy**

Fighting Democracy's Battle at Home

IF the war has taught us anything it has taught us the worth of collective effort, of working together, of giving to a common cause. A hundred million dollars is being raised in a single week for the second Red Cross fund, and such is the united spirit of the nation that calls of this kind will be responded to over and over again. A return to the status quo, to the selfish individualism of before the war is unthinkable. If a hundred million dollars can be raised in a single week for binding up the wounds on the stricken fields of Europe, why shall we not raise even larger sums after the war to build up the weak spots in our democracy, to use the surplus wealth for the common good!

This is the hope that we find expressed in countless public utterances, in countless platforms and programs looking to the future. Those of us who want to bring that day nearer must begin now. We cannot forget that side by side with the forces that are fighting to free the world are fighting also the forces to imprison the world; that side by side with liberalism, reaction raises its ugly head.

The ringing words of President Wilson that perhaps for the first time in history a nation is going to war for an

unselfish purpose are stirring the hearts of Europe. It is our business to make the same spirit of unselfishness rule in our domestic affairs. We must look to it that the democracy for which we are fighting three thousand miles away is kept intact at home. The same liberalism, the same care for the weak and helpless, the same "daylight diplomacy" upon which we are insisting in our conduct of the war, must be insisted upon

in the management of our local affairs. That is why we must count it a battle lost if any organization concerned with waging democracy's fight at home is allowed to suffer or become weakened because of efforts spent on organizations concerned more directly with war service. An inefficient health department, a neglected school system, a

corrupt police department, help the forces of autocracy, of imperialism and selfishness. We cannot send our sons and brothers and husbands over to France to die by the millions for democratic ideals, while we neglect at home the very things on which democracy is built.

—Bulletin of Woman's Municipal League of New York

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The American Teacher

Vol. VII., No. 7

SEPTEMBER, 1918

One Dollar a Year

The New Control

AT the Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, held in Pittsburgh, July 5, 6, 1918, a proposition made by the American Teacher Company to transfer the property to the American Federation of Teachers, was accepted. The majority of the stock of the Company is now owned by the Federation, and the Federation will in the future be responsible for the obligations of the paper.

Under the authority of the Convention the Executive Council has appointed an editor who is responsible to the Executive Council for carrying out the policy of the organization. If any changes of policy or point of view from those of former years are apparent in the paper from time to time, it will be understood that an effort is being made to fairly and truthfully present the union movement among teachers as it develops in the national field.

In order that the national movement may shape itself as rapidly and as definitely as possible, it is advisable that each local appoint a press committee to send in material in the form of important news communications of successes of the local, or as statements of work that is being undertaken, or even of trouble you are in. Out of these press committees it is hoped that future editors for the paper may be found. Let us not forget that unionism among teachers as elsewhere depends on the generous development of leadership from the rank and file. And any group of officers that attempts to check or thwart this natural growth of leadership will find its gang in trouble and its organization under discredit.

The Pittsburgh Convention

THE third convention of the American Federation of Teachers was held at Pittsburgh, July 5, 6, 1918. During the same week the National Education Association also held its sessions at Pittsburgh.

Those who go to national conventions possibly always feel sorry for others who decided at the last moment not to go, or for those who refused to go. And those who go perhaps resolve that the "next time" the others must do their duty for the good they themselves will derive. So it was with the Pittsburgh convention, for never in the short history of our organization has the work done in two brief days and a long, all-night session (for the Executive Council) seemed so important and inspiring.

As proof of the truth of this statement members of the national and our readers generally are respectfully referred to the addresses of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer, and to the resolutions printed in this number. Indications of the growth of the union movement among teachers were clear in the large increase in the number of locals established in the year, and in the fact that the American Federation of Labor has given us material assistance in paying part of the salary and expenses of a full time field worker for the purpose of still further promoting the growth of the A F of T. The Convention designated President Charles B Stillman as the field worker. Within certain limitations of time and financial resources Mr Stillman will be available for purposes of organizing locals of teachers thruout the country. Let us among ourselves and with the assistance of our friends the labor union men and women try to keep him busy, and thus roll up a membership that will astonish

the A F of L, and make their financial venture seem worth while to them.

The final step in making THE AMERICAN TEACHER, the real organ of the union movement in America, was one which we hope will turn out to be of immense significance not only to the American Federation of Teachers, but also to education itself, which includes the occupation of those who do not yet believe in our movement.

In another column readers will find the amendments to the Constitution. The most important of these are the ones making it possible for principals to become members of the national, and the one which provides for the establishment of locals of teachers in educational institutions not supported wholly by public funds. All of us are looking invitingly in the direction of certain leaders in educational thought and action, hoping that they will not long delay this opportunity to join with us, and thus obtain support in their own struggles against the domination of educational autocracy.

Many are asking, "Will this be a good year for the union movement among teachers?" The answer is, "It will!"

Notes on the Amendments

THE amendments to the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers adopted by the convention open the way for considerable development of the union movement in education.

When the A F of T was organized in 1916 it is very doubtful if an amendment admitting principals to membership on any basis could have been adopted. But by the new Section 2, Article III, locals of principals may be formed under such restrictions as seem necessary for the present. Many principals here and there have expressed the desire to join the union movement. Here is their chance. The opposition to principals belonging to teachers' locals is still very strong, but under Section 3, Article III, principals may

join teachers' locals in communities where there are fewer than fifteen principals, after a local of teachers has been chartered and active for two years. This restriction is deemed necessary to enable the teachers' locals to develop the necessary stability and independence. In communities having over fifteen principals the principals must establish separate locals.

Under Section 4, Article III, groups of teachers in private or endowed schools or colleges may form a local and become members of the American Federation of Teachers, except that teachers in institutions conducted primarily for religious purposes, or for private gain, are not eligible to membership. This amendment will make it possible for college teachers to join us, and we trust that thousands will avail themselves of the opportunity. This amendment was passed by a unanimous vote.

By means of Section 1, Article VIII, the revenues of the American Federation of Teachers will be increased. The lowest paid teachers will pay into the treasury ten cents per capita each month; the highest paid teachers will pay twenty-five cents per capita each month. Teachers will still be paying much less than the usual payments made by union workers in industry.

Five cents or less each month is to be set aside from each monthly payment of dues to pay for THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

A Little Child Shall Lead Us

WE have learned on apparently good authority of a very interesting conflict between educational officialdom and Young America as it flourishes in far away Honolulu.

It appears that in June, 1917, the Honolulu high school graduating class numbering forty and the normal graduating class numbering fifty were notified by the Superintendent of

Schools that they would not be permitted to graduate until after they had received a second marking by the Superintendent himself. The results of this second marking would be made known in the following October. The young people were told that graduating exercises would be held as usual in June, and that "dummy" diplomas would be issued at that time.

The high school pupils refused to be party to such educational dishonesty and published the facts in the press. Thereupon, official pressure was applied, and the effort was made to persuade the pupils to retract their published statement. The normal students, possibly for economic reasons, did as they were told, but the high school boys and girls would not retract. Instead they called on "fair-minded men and women to come to our aid."

It seems almost incredible, but the fact appears to be that the pupils won the fight, and graduated with real diplomas at the usual time! The normal graduates also received their diplomas, a fact, however, that does not interest us nearly so much.

Whatever the motives back of the peculiar order of the Superintendent, one thing is certain, Honolulu has produced quite unconsciously and perhaps unintentionally a precious possession in these boys and girls. May they always be as courageous in the face of civic and economic threat!

Seattle Salaries

SEATTLE is a live town, with strong labor unions, with the recall, and with equal suffrage in the state. They ought to have an intelligent board of education. But we have had so much experience with short-sighted persons trying to legislate for the social institution called the school that we are not at all surprised that a body of this kind has temporary power in Seattle.

The editorial from the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, printed in another column, expresses the conviction that is now quite general that

similar work done by men and women should be paid for alike. The Director General of the railways of the country also thinks so, and has ordered the checks drawn that way. It is a social problem that we are dealing with in this matter of equal pay, and not one to be settled by the individual needs of the employees, or by the individual chances of exploitation observed by the employers. When the Seattle Board of Education thought they saw their way clear to increasing the yearly salaries of the men teachers three hundred dollars, giving the women teachers no increase whatever, they threw aside all precaution and acted like real exploiters on a chance which must have seemed to be a good one at the time. Seattle teachers and their public, and in fact the whole Pacific Coast, seems to be watching developments while taking a hand in the general condemnation. In the meantime, we are pleased to note, there has grown up some inclination on the part of Seattle teachers to unionize.

Increased Pay for a Million Workers

ON September 1 nearly a million clerks, track laborers and maintenance of way men and other low-salaried workers on the railroads of the country will begin to receive an increase of \$25 a month. Eight hours is to be considered the basic day. Rules have been laid down for the promotion of employees on the grounds of merit and seniority. Employees cannot be dismissed any longer without cause and without a hearing. Women clerks are to receive the same pay as men for similar work.

The most remarkable fact about all this is that the increase is the result of a voluntary move, and comes from the study the Director-General's advisory board has made of the pay and the working conditions of those engaged in other industries.

We shall be glad to hear of any board of education that has increased the pay of teachers under a similar stimulus.

The I W W Decision

ONE HUNDRED members of the Industrial Workers of the World have been convicted under the Espionage Law of active opposition to the United States Government. Sentences varying from ten days to twenty years have been pronounced, and fines amounting to over two million dollars have been imposed. The defense is overwhelmed with surprise at the severity of the sentences of the Court, but the general public is disposed to accept the situation as merely one of the many bits of proof that America is in the war in earnest, and proposes to see the war thru without interference at home.

The claim of the I W W leaders that they have not been pro-German in their propaganda may not avail them much in their efforts to appeal the case. The law is definite, and so far as our system of government makes it possible to ascertain, the people are behind the law. If the labor men have broken the law, they must accept the consequences.

There are, however, some elements in the situation which may well cause concern on the part of teachers who have made common cause with labor, and believe in the possibility of some sort of social reconstruction after the war. Altho the Industrial Workers of the World have no official connection with the American Federation of Labor, which includes our American Federation of Teachers, both bodies of labor men and women are going ahead in their several ways to bring about better conditions for themselves and their children. This was true long before the German menace became a reality. In all probability it will be true for many years after we have settled the Kaiser's case. Thus, there is no essential connection between the program of the I W W and the

ambitions of a party of social criminals in Central Europe.

But there is doubt, and very grave doubt, on the part of great numbers of honest persons (we do not mean the Armours, and other profiteers, and the *New York Times*) that the policy of sabotage and direct opposition to the laws of the land is justifiable, whether practised by the workers or by the profiteers themselves. Political action has not proved a failure, altho some political parties may have been disappointments. The I W W believes that political methods of reform alone will lead to failure in so far as they appear to result in the postponement of the millenium to such an extent that the present generation will derive no benefit. Therefore, the I W W undertakes to force issues and to bring on crises as rapidly as possible. Since many radicals and liberals still believe in the political method of bringing about reforms, they oppose with varying degrees of earnestness the more aggressive program of the I W W. At times the opposition to the methods of the I W W has become so strong among radicals that formerly sympathetic relations had to be severed. But the I W W has always replied to these criticisms, as it has to the bitter attacks of the profiteers, "We do not care what you think of our methods! Your standards are not ours."

In view of the prejudice against the I W W that has existed for many years and the consequent difficulty of their obtaining a fair hearing at any time, teachers and others should not forget that the real antagonist of the I W W is not the United States of America, but the Amalgamated Association of Economic Parasites and Profiteers. If the one hundred labor men have broken the laws of our country, let them be punished. But let us note the satisfaction of the profiteers; those who are now known from federal inquiry to be responsible for the illegal Bisbee deportation of I W W men, and for numerous other acts of defiance against the rights of human beings and the laws of the land in this time of national trial.

Women and Men Teachers

Equal pay for equal service is a proposition so obviously sound, involving a principle so clearly just and right, that it passes comprehension that it should become an issue in this advanced and enlightened day. Yet it is an issue here in Seattle. The school board—unwittingly, it is to be believed—has raised the issue. By increasing the pay of men teachers in the high schools, or granting a war bonus to them, and ignoring the like necessities of equally capable women teachers, the board has precipitated a very acute issue. And now, as the result of this discriminatory act, these women teachers are denied a vacation and debarred from useful activities in war work in order to carry on a righteous campaign to prevent a consummation of the injustice.

Chairman Donald J. Cowling, of the emergency council on education, says:

"I feel entirely in sympathy with the position taken by the women teachers of the Seattle high schools. I believe they are thoroughly justified in taking the stand they have. The question of equal pay for equal service, regardless of sex, is so obviously a matter of simple justice that I do not feel there are two sides to the question. Any arguments that may be urged against a policy of equal pay for men and women doing the same work must be based on considerations other than justice—considerations of expediency, the practical difficulty of securing teachers, etc. Any policy based on these latter considerations I believe to be a mistaken one, and one which will fail in the long run to produce satisfactory conditions.

"I trust that your board will, in due time, be brought to see the justice of your position, and that its recent action involving discrimination against women may be promptly reversed by the establishment of a uniform scale of wages for all doing the same work."

Chairman Cowling is right. The policy of expediency which prompted the board's action is plainly a mistaken one. Already its bad results are apparent in the agitation ensuing and the campaign under way. Having unwittingly raised an issue that has but one side to it, albeit with no intention evidently of commitment to an indefensible discriminatory general policy, the board should set itself right by granting the same fair increase to the women teachers as was given to the men. It is the thing to do and should be done without delay. Simple justice demands it.

—Seattle Post-Intelligencer for July 11, 1918.

Owing to the ruling of the federal board controlling the manufacture of print paper we can no longer obtain the "laid" paper

upon which THE AMERICAN TEACHER has been printed hitherto. Under the circumstances, we submit, trusting that we shall always have some kind.

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Report of the President of The American Federation of Teachers*

CHARLES B STILLMAN

THESE are days when every group of whatever character gathers under the shadow of war, and when legitimately the first inquiry concerning the activities of any group is directed toward their bearing on the outcome—the outcome in terms of democracy vs. paternalism, of the liberal vs. the tory. And that means in terms of the military, because while it is easily possible for reaction to gain ground even with and after allied victory, it is inconceivable that liberalism should develop if Prussian militarism is not destroyed. It is for liberals to see first that we win, and second, that in the winning we devote sufficient will and intelligence to the reconstruction to preclude reaction and defeat the tories, to insure social progress, based on equality of opportunity and social justice.

It is therefore appropriate that the first subject of my report should be the Conference of Presidents of National and International Unions, convened at Washington on the call of President Gompers, March 12, 1917, just before our entrance into the war, for the adoption of Labor's War Platform. That platform you are familiar with. Largely as a result of the confidence inspired by that action, organized labor has been able to maintain its standards, to secure representation on almost all war-time committees and commissions, state and Federal, to have its due weight in the councils of the government, to grow in strength and influence, and so with mutual confidence to place freely and gladly at the service of our government a cooperation invaluable and seldom marred, a contribution to the winning of the war of an urgently vital and indispensable character not everywhere appreciated or emulated among the detractors of Labor. Small part as we form of the great labor movement, I

believe that as an organization we can justifiably take a little pride in the fact that we were represented in the adoption of Labor's War Platform.

Another matter which you doubtless understand, but which should receive at least passing mention, concerns the four changes in our Executive Council about a year ago. It is misleading to view the resignation of four officers as casualties in our struggle for democracy in the Chicago schools, because their withdrawal was part of a deliberate plan. Nowhere has the value of affiliation with labor been more convincingly demonstrated than in the Chicago school situation. After the old school board of 21 members had passed a rule forbidding membership of teachers in organizations affiliated with labor, or in any other organizations that might be specified at any time in the future at the caprice of the board, and another rule abolishing tenure based on meritorious service, and had dropped 68 teachers, the organized teachers and other public spirited citizens, with the indispensable assistance of labor pushed through legislation wiping out the offending board of 21 and all its works, substituting a new board of 11, and affording teachers a statutory guarantee of tenure during efficiency. It is not slighting the work of other Illinois liberals to say that President John Walker and Secretary Victor Olander of the Illinois State Federation of Labor did more to secure the final enactment of that progressive legislation than any other two men. This experience proves also that teachers must work with their local and state central bodies to attain the best results.

Meanwhile the Executive Council elected to fill the vacancies in its own ranks four members of the two Chicago teachers' unions who had been able to maintain themselves throughout the prolonged attack. We realized that it was giving Chicago a gravely

* Delivered at the Third Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, held at Pittsburgh, Pa., July 5, 6, 1918.

disproportionate representation, but felt that the other locals would appreciate the importance of having a group that could get together on short notice to meet emergencies constantly arising. And at the time we did not expect the Executive Council to hold office for so long a period. Our course may have been mistaken. We can now only lay the record before you for your verdict. However, on behalf of the old members of the Executive Council I want to say that we have found in the new members the same willing sacrifice of time and energy, the same intelligent grasp of problems and sanity of judgment, that distinguished the service of their predecessors.

In May of last year I attended the meeting of the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Committee to the Council of National Defense, called to confer with the members of the British Labor Mission to this country. The Chicago Federation of Men Teachers financed the trip without expense to the national treasury, and I need not touch on it further, since my report appeared in the June, 1917, Bulletin of the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers.

Since my report on the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor last November has been issued as a pamphlet under the title of Labor and Education at the Buffalo Convention, it is unnecessary to do more here than emphasize the intelligent and wholehearted interest of organized labor in our schools, an interest which was still more marked at the St. Paul Convention. Let me pass immediately to the St. Paul Convention of the American Federation of Labor held last month.

The same unanimity in the support of our war aims as stated by President Wilson, and in support of thoro-going cooperation with our national administration was evident in this second War Time Convention that characterized the first. But a more forward-looking tendency was shown in the unanimous adoption of a resolution authorizing the appointment of a special commission to study the problems of reconstruction and report their findings and recommendations to

the next convention. The seriousness with which this subject was regarded is shown by the voting of a one cent per capita special assessment to finance the investigations. This willingness to go down in their pockets for \$30,000 is a striking answer to the critics of the American labor movement who can see only a hand to mouth political and economic policy in the leadership of the American Federation of Labor.

But the educational policies adopted at St. Paul are the matters of particular interest to us. I considered myself fortunate again, as at Buffalo, in having as secretary the job of writing and presenting the report of the Committee on Education. I mean fortunate, not personally, but from the standpoint of our movement and the cooperation of the entire committee gave an opportunity to write into the policies of the A F of L an educational program which may strengthen the appeal of labor to teachers, and which will certainly secure the assistance of labor in greater measure in improving school conditions. It brought the American Federation of Teachers to the attention of labor, not as a supplicant for favors, but as the contributor of constructive educational policies, whose value to themselves they immediately perceived. And it brought openings for organization work. Numerous delegates wanted me to make definite promises to come to their communities, saying they knew conditions were ripe for organizing the teachers.

But the thing that pleased and encouraged me most was the interest and enthusiasm with which the long and rather dry report was followed. A straight educational program of nineteen planks would be a formidable thing to present to teachers—as I realize when about to present it to you—and to have it interrupted in an A F of L convention by applause and favorable discussion when I was braced for signs of boredom, was strong confirmation of the sincere interest in our schools and teachers, and in what the organization of the teachers will mean to the labor movement, which I found

general in private conversation with the delegates.

But the report is long enough without adding further preliminary comment. Sections of it are given herewith.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Stillman, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

CHILD LABOR LAW

The section of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (page 113), was written before the reactionary five to four decision of the Supreme Court declaring the law unconstitutional was rendered. We desire to correct the statement that the law has been enforced in North Carolina. Evidence in the possession of the Federal Child Labor Division is strongly to the contrary.

The first shock to the public within and without the labor movement, is caused by the direct blow against the conservation of our manhood and womanhood of tomorrow, and the first effort must be toward limiting the disastrous effects of the decision as far as may be possible pending new legislation. But we hope that an additional result will be the placing of effective restrictions on the power of five men to nullify the legislative enactments of the duly constituted representatives of over one hundred million free people; and we recommend that this convention instruct the Executive Council to make an effort to secure such restriction.

Your committee concurs in resolutions Nos. 91, 108, 121, 125, all dealing with this subject, and to meet the immediate emergency recommends that this convention instruct the Executive Council to make every effort through an appeal to Secretary McAdoo, to issue an executive order as Director of the Railroads, prohibiting the acceptance for shipment of any articles produced in violation of provisions similar to those of the Federal Child Labor Law, or through any other means which the Executive Council may find necessary and advisable. The further recommendation is made that the Executive Council be instructed to make every effort to find a permanent remedy for the intolerable situation resulting from the decision of the Supreme Court, and the suggestion of legislation requiring federal incorporation under provisions safeguarding children, of all concerns engaged in production for interstate commerce, is submitted for the consideration of the Executive Council as one possible remedy.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

SCHOOL TEACHERS' PENSION BILL

Upon that portion of the report of the Ex-

ecutive Council, page 114, under the above caption, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee is very glad to have an opportunity to call attention to the progressive pension bill for the teachers of the District of Columbia, which, with salary bills for the teachers of the district has received effective support of the A F of L Legislative Committee. This legislation should prove a stimulus to similar legislation by states which now have no similar provisions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

EDUCATION OF ADULT ILLITERATES

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption the committee reported as follows:

Your committee believes that measures contemplated in S B 4185, as outlined (page 116) are sound. Organized labor has always been the avowed enemy of illiteracy whether among immigrants or our own people. And a campaign to be most effective must be national in scope and co-ordinated by a Federal Bureau or Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

EDUCATION

Your committee considers the recommendations of the Executive Council under the caption "Education" (pages 81 and 84), among the most important of its entire report. Vocational and Industrial Education has long been a subject of bitter controversy between the Manufacturers' Associations and Labor, and in the days of the reconstruction it will be still more of a storm center. Labor, and it should not be necessary to add that labor includes the teachers, must not permit more dramatic phases of the war situation to blind them to the importance of the kind of training the children of the people receive. We recommend that this convention approve the three model laws offered by the Executive Council, providing well-balanced representative State Boards of Education and Advisory Local Committees, and a Part-time Compulsory School Attendance Law; and we further recommend that all state and local central bodies be urged to make every effort to secure the enactment of similar legislation.

1. Proposed amendment to state education laws:

"That a State Board of Education is hereby created, to consist of five members to be appointed from the state at large: two members to be representative of education, one to be a representative of the manufacturing and commercial interests, one a representative of the agricultural interests, and one a representative of labor. The Governor shall appoint the members of the board for a term of five years. In the first instance, one member shall be appointed for one year, one for two years, one for three years, one for four years, and one for five years. The Governor shall fill all vacancies of

the board for the unexpired term, and each member shall serve until a successor shall have been appointed and qualified."

Salaries and duties of Board members to be prescribed as local conditions warrant.

II Legislation to require local Boards of Education conducting vocational education to appoint advisory committees composed of representatives of trades.

"Boards of Education or township trustees administering approved vocational schools and departments for industry, agriculture, or domestic science education shall, under a scheme to be approved by the State Board for Vocational Education, appoint an Advisory Committee composed of members representing local trades, industries, and occupations.

"It shall be the duty of the Advisory Committee to counsel with and advise the board and other school officials having the management and supervision of such schools or departments."

The following is suggested as a Model-Part-Time Education Law for State Use:

PART-TIME COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE SCHOOL LAW

"Any city, town, or district establishing vocational, trade and industrial schools, departments, or classes shall provide as a part thereof part-time classes for the education of minors over fourteen years of age who are engaged in regular employment; and the Board of Education or trustees or other like body of such city, town, or district school shall require all minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years employed within such city, town, or district, or minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years residing within such city, town, or district and employed elsewhere, who are not otherwise receiving instruction approved by the State Board for Vocational Education, to attend such part-time classes not less than four hours per week, between the hours of eight A.M. and five P. M., during the school term. The time spent by any such minor in a vocational school or class as provided herein shall be reckoned as a part of the time or number of hours that minors are permitted by law to work. Any minor attending a vocational school or class in the city, town, or district of his residence in preference to attending such school or class in the city, town, or district of his employment shall file, or cause to be filed regularly, at least once a month, with the superintendent of the city, town, or district at which such minor is employed a report of attendance, certified by the superintendent of the city, town, or district in which such minor is attending school.

"The employer of any minor between fourteen and sixteen years of age who is compelled, by the provisions of this act, to attend vocational schools or classes, shall cease forthwith to employ any minor when notified, in writing, by the superin-

tendent having jurisdiction over such minor's school attendance that such minor is not attending school in accordance with the provisions of this act. Any employer who fails to comply with the provisions of this section shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars for each offense."

We would call attention to the fact that these model laws are carefully drafted to avoid duplication of administrative machinery, and to secure unity in our school system; and we would warn against any attempt to modify the legislation to afford an opening for a dual system. Our public school system must remain essentially a unit if we are to be a unified people.

Supplementing the success of the Federal Vocational Educational Law already demonstrated, and the plans for part-time compulsory education, your committee believes that this convention should urge a reorganization of our common schools in the interest of the children of all the people. Labor played an important part in securing the establishment of our free public schools, but from the beginning they have been designed especially for the few who could go on to high school and college. They must continue to offer preparation for high school and college, and labor heartily approves, and helped to secure the tremendous expansion of high school and college facilities during the last fifteen years. We especially endorse the tendency toward the establishment of junior colleges, the addition to high schools of two years' of collegiate work without tuition, so that young men and women who cannot afford to leave home, can secure the advantage of additional training.

But your committee believes that the upper years of the elementary school should be reorganized to afford diversified training, so that boys and girls who cannot go on to higher schools, will receive training specifically designed for their needs, and not be compelled as at present to prepare for a rôle they will never play. These diversified courses should be so flexible that a pupil would be able to transfer from one to another whenever changes in his desires or economic situation made it possible to continue in school for a longer period than he had anticipated. We must not compel a child to pay the penalty throughout life for a mistaken decision made during childhood. Your committee believes that organized labor should demand, and help to secure an expansion and diversification of both elementary and secondary education, so that a democratic equality of opportunity for preparation for the callings of their choice may be offered the children of our people.

As additional points in Labor's educational program, we recommend the following for your adoption:

1. The development of vocational guidance and industrial education in both urban and rural communities, in proper relation to each other and to the needs of our democracy.

2. The provision of increased facilities in public normal schools for men and women in the trades who desire to prepare themselves for teaching industrial and vocational subjects and the expansion of both state and federal educational facilities, so that we will be decreasingly dependent on private endowments in the educational field. In this connection we call your attention to the movement in one state to introduce into the state university in cooperation with the State Federation of Labor a course designed to prepare young men and women of labor for intelligent and effective leadership in the labor movement.

3. The insistence that in all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught vigorously and effectively; and that at least in all vocational and industrial courses, an unemasculated industrial history must be taught, which shall include an accurate account of the organization of the workers and of the results thereof, and shall also include a summary of all legislation, both state and federal, affecting the industries taught.

4. The provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English speaking people, and the utilization for this purpose of the foreign language press.

5. The requirement that all our children shall be taught in the English language, in both public and private schools, a foreign language to be taught only as a subject in the curriculum.

6. The provision of ample play-ground facilities, as a part of the public school system.

7. Continuous medical and dental inspection throughout the schools.

8. The organization and equipment of special classes for children who are subnormal, either mentally or physically; and also special classes for children who are found capable of making more rapid progress than is possible in a standard school.

9. Better enforcement of Compulsory Educational Laws, and the universal establishment of a minimum school-leaving age of 16 years.

10. The establishment of complete systems of modern physical education.

11. The establishment of a federal department of education, headed by a Cabinet officer.

12. The wider use of the school plant, securing increased returns to the community through

additional civic, social, and educational services to both adults and children.

13. The extension of a free text-book system to the District of Columbia and such states and communities as have not adopted it.

14. The establishment of self-governing school and district councils of teachers for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools, the recommendations of such councils to be made a matter of official public record.

15. The securing for teachers of tenure of position during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full and fair hearings.

16. A thorough-going revision upward of teachers' salary schedules, to meet the increased cost of living, and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and the nation of the teachers' services.

17. The liberal, ungrudging reorganization and increase of school revenues on a war-emergency scale, as the only basis upon which to secure the expansion of our schools along these lines. England and France, with their resources strained by the past four years, and facing unprecedented immediate demands, are making huge increases in the appropriations for their schools. Surely the people who gave the world the conception of free, democratic education must not longer loiter behind.

Resolutions Nos. 112 and 128 are considered in connection with this program.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Friedman, Ladies' Garment Workers: I rise to speak for the report of the committee. I want to inform you of the work our International is doing in the City of New York in the educational field. The report speaks of the public school to educate the children and others. In the past three years the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has spent \$20,000 to educate the members of the organization. I am a product of that education. Working at the machine or sticking pins in dresses does not do much for education of the members, but after my work was done I was offered an opportunity by my organization to study in a school and learn in classes where I was taught the philosophy of trade unionism, taught the history of the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, the history of the trade union movement of England, France and Germany and other countries.

We have a class where literature is taught to our girls and boys. Our International found out that teaching girls how to picket a shop was not sufficient, and they taught us how to read books and what kind of books ought to be read by the

workers. Only recently we decided to ask the Board of Education in the City of New York to give us the privilege of using the schools as unity centers. They did so. They understood that we could not hire clubrooms and buildings to use as schools, and they also gave us the privilege of using the schools for shop meetings. Now when our girls and boys come from a shop that is one hundred per cent unsanitary they will not have to meet in a room back of a saloon or in a hall that is not sanitary, but will have a clean, well-ventilated place in which to transact their business.

The girls decided to ask the Public Library of New York to open up a branch just for union girls where they could get the best books on trade unionism and various subjects. If any of the delegates come to New York I would like to have them see this work. It is an inspiration to the workers of New York. The girls and boys come together and get the works of the great authors they cannot get an opportunity to read at home. We also decided to have a home of our own, a home where girls do not have to pay the profiteer for the vacation they get in the summer. We have a summer home in the mountains where three hundred girls can come every week and take their two weeks' vacation, and they are charged only the actual expense. Usually it does not exceed six or seven dollars a week.

The most important part of the life of the trade union movement of America or any other country is education. You cannot feel the inspiration I have for this report. In 1913 I came to New York City. I knew nothing about the trade union movement of America or any other trade unionism in the world. When I was asked to join the union I felt I had to join it, but now I feel that I would give my life for an organization that will educate its members.

When you settle your jurisdiction question don't come together like labor leaders but like workers. When everyone is intelligent and educated I feel the American Federation of Labor will be the greatest organization in the world, the best object in life the trade unionists ought to have.

Delegate Duncan, Seattle, moved that the address of Delegate Mollie Friedman be printed in full in the proceedings of the convention. The motion was seconded and carried.

The report was discussed by Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers, who approved of the attitude taken by the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Cannon moved that the Executive Council appoint a committee to investigate the schools in New York referred to by Delegate Friedman and other similar schools, with a view

of reporting to the next convention some plan that can be applied generally to the United States and Canada.

Delegate Feidley stated that a school in Los Angeles, Cal., is being conducted by the Union Labor Association and that the Board of Education is furnishing the school building and the services of fourteen salaried teachers.

The motion offered by Delegate Cannon was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 112 by inserting the word "genuinely" in line 1 of first paragraph, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Charles B Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, We now have no genuinely national educational system, but merely a collection of of state systems, varying widely in standards and effectiveness; and

WHEREAS, The existing Bureau of Education, under the Department of the Interior has been so starved financially that it has been unable to perform adequately even the very restricted functions permitted it; and

WHEREAS, War conditions are arousing the public to a consciousness of the need for a national educational policy to secure co-ordination among the states, and to promote national welfare, efficiency and unity; and

WHEREAS, Education is essential to our national life, and is so intimately connected with all matters of public policy that with labor and agriculture it should be directly represented in the deliberations of the President's cabinet; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to take measures to secure the creation of a Federal Department of Education headed by a cabinet officer.

Referred to Committee on Education.

The Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Charles B Stillman, American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, Increases in teachers' salaries, when secured at all, have kept pace neither with the decline in the purchasing power of the dollar, nor with increases secured in private employment; and

WHEREAS, As a result teachers have been forced out of the school by the thousand, by sheer economic pressure (one authority, Dr. T. D. Coffman, of the University of Minnesota, estimates a present shortage of 100,000 teachers), their places frequently remaining vacant, and being filled when at all, by untrained and inexperienced recruits; and

WHEREAS, We are facing a situation where the calling of fathers to war service and of mothers to industry weakens parental influence, has already increased juvenile delinquency, and makes it imperative that the schools act increasingly in the place of the parent; and

WHEREAS, In this world crisis the ultimate national need is for educated manhood and womanhood, a need which will not be found any less

urgent in the reconstruction to come; and

WHEREAS, Because of the prevailing pitifully inadequate salaries paid teachers, not only are present teachers being forced out of the profession, but young men and women are refusing to prepare to enter, as shown by the alarming records of normal schools and colleges, making the future prospect for our schools, even darker than the present; and

WHEREAS, Existing school revenue provisions in the various states were originally designed to meet the needs of the traditional "common schools" alone, and those revenue provisions, already inadequate, have necessarily failed to meet the demands of the modern expansion of our school system; and

WHEREAS, In the fields of vocational and agricultural education, the value of the stimulus to the states of the Federal appropriation available to a state on its meeting standards and requirements imposed by Federal authorities, and on the appropriation by that state, of equal amounts, has been proved by experience; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed, by this convention to urge all state and local central bodies to take early measures to secure in their respective states and localities a thorough going reorganization and increase of school revenues on a war emergency scale; and a liberal revision upward of teachers' salary schedules to meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community and to the nation of the teacher's service; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by this convention to initiate and support Federal legislation appropriating one hundred million dollars to be apportioned by a Federal Department of Education if one is created, or that failing, by a Federal Board upon which organized labor and education shall be represented, such fund to apply only to the payment of salaries of public school teachers in a state (including teachers of physical education and of English to adults under public school supervision) after such state shall have satisfied the Federal Department or special board that adequate standards are to be maintained and shall have appropriated an equal amount.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMITTEE

Your committee recommends as an immediately necessary contribution to the progress of our schools, that this convention urge all state and central bodies to work actively to secure adequate representation of organized labor on all boards of education.

The committee further believes that the most effective guarantee of democracy and of progress in our schools is the affiliation of the teachers of the country with the great democratic force of organized labor, and recommends that the American Federation of Labor and all central bodies give every support to the American Federation

of Teachers in the work of organizing the teachers.

Finally, in consideration of the good results obtained from a similar action of the Buffalo convention, the committee asks that the Executive Council be instructed to send copies of this report to all central bodies with the request that Educational Committees be created.

The recommendations of the committee were adopted.

Secretary Stillman: This completes the work of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

PETER BRADY, Chairman,
CHAS B STILLMAN, Secretary,
CHARLES C SHAY,
MARGARET DALEY,
CHAS A SUMNER,
WM H McHUGH,
JOHN J SULLIVAN,
ROSE YATES,
E J NEWMYER,
JAS A TAYLOR,
J B CLINEDINST.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

While at St. Paul I was very glad to see a union of 300 St. Paul teachers organized. John Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, busy as he was, gave invaluable assistance in addressing a meeting of the teachers, as did Miss Melinda Scott of the W T U L and Straw Hat Workers. The St. Paul teachers expect their membership nearly to double after school opens in the fall.

The delegate from Montreal was insistent on our entering the Canadian field, and since there is nothing in our constitution to prevent, we should certainly endeavor to secure the affiliation of Canadian teachers. The recent report of the Canadian Minister of Labor lists the A F of T as one of the very few internationals which has no Canadian locals.

A situation has developed in New York City which requires more than passing notice. Three members of New York Local No. 5 have been dismissed by the Board of Education under charges which the public was led to believe implied disloyalty to our country. The matter first came to a head

when the Buffalo convention of the A F of L was in session, and I had the opportunity to write into the report of the Committee on Education, which was unanimously adopted, the tenure principle quoted in the letter below:

When the case came to trial the Executive Council received a copy of the testimony introduced, and failed to find the slightest evidence of anything savoring of disloyalty. The following letter was sent to State Commissioner Finley, in whose hands the case still rests on final appeal.

Sir: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers urges upon you the importance of the reinstatement of the three teachers dismissed from DeWitt Clinton High School. We are for this war, as our endorsement of the position of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, and our Statement of Principles show. Disloyalty in the ranks of American teachers could not be tolerated, and we would be particularly anxious to purge our own membership of any disloyal taint. But careful study of the stenographic report of the proceedings in the case of the dismissed teachers has convinced us that the only taint of Prussianism is to be found in the autocratic methods of the authorities involved, who could bring themselves by misrepresentation to arouse public hysteria to cover their reactionary attempt to create an atmosphere of intimidation and servility in the schools.

This war has been made possible by the schools of Germany, and it is disquieting to realize that our type of school system and school administration has been largely copied from Germany. To quote from the report of the Committee on Education unanimously adopted by the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor: "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." And again, "It is timely to insist that while actual disloyalty to our country cannot be tolerated in our 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 the teachers under them."

For maintaining the unity of our national spirit, nothing is more essential than the holding of the home lines for democracy. In these home lines the schools and the teachers hold the most important salient. Every unrebuked assault on the spirit of democracy at home gives a fresh vantage point to those who would weaken our morale by questioning the sincerity of our war for democracy.

In the interests of simple justice, and of an American spirit of democracy in our schools in this time of crisis when we most need it, we confidently appeal to you as a liberal in a period of liberalism to right a grave wrong.

CHAS B STILLMAN.

Wilmette, Illinois.

Since that time the reactionaries within the New York school system and without, have eagerly seized upon the poisoned and misled public opinion aroused, to attempt to discredit Local No. 5, and the union has been waging a vigorous campaign against unscrupulous and determined attacks, presenting its case in masterly form, and securing powerful liberal backing.

The experiences of New York, and also the earlier experiences of Chicago teachers, drive home one outstanding fact, the tragedy of forcing teachers to spend to the utmost splendid energy and idealism on the defensive, when that same energy and idealism could be made to count so effectively if liberated for constructive work. This must put every teacher in our movement, especially in these abnormal times, on guard against offering our ever alert enemies any opening for false charges of disloyalty, or of any other nature easily distorted and appealing to popular hysteria.

A very encouraging New York development is the affiliation with us of a second local over a hundred strong at the outset, the New York Vocational Teachers' Council No. 24.

I could not close this report without acknowledging our great debt to Mr L V Lampson and the Washington Locals. Mr Lampson has been untiring and self-sacrificing in his devotion to our movement. Largely due to his efforts, we have two locals in Norfolk, and two more, and two of our largest,

in Washington. He has been ably assisted by numerous Washington teachers—perhaps I can mention Miss Deal, Mrs Inkster and Mr Wallis of the Washington High School Teachers' Union, and Mr Compton of the Armstrong-Dunbar Union, though I am doubtless omitting many inexcusably. The Washington unions have also been very generous in helping to finance national organization work outside their regular per capita taxes.

In conclusion I must revert to the idea of the opening paragraphs—an idea never long absent from the minds of liberals, and never capable of overemphasis. Society is never static; it is always changing. Whether the change is for better or worse depends entirely on whether the preponderance of intelligently directed energy is on the side of progress or reaction. If liberals lean back comfortably, crooning

"God's in his heaven,
All's right with the world,"

the tireless energy and sharpened intelligence of the tories will easily prevail. The teachers hold the key to the situation. They can make the next generation, and to a great extent, the present, liberal or tory. And the greatest work that we can do as teachers is to enlist other teachers in our campaign for "Democracy in Education; Education for Democracy." When a league of nations is made possible by the destruction of anti-social German militarism, we must have a people trained by fearless, broad-gauge, forward-looking teachers for life in a new world of cooperation and mutual trust. And all our self-sacrificing workers, who since last fall have helped to increase the number of our charters from 12 to 28, and our membership from 672 to 2200, should have the feeling of a service performed in the struggle for democracy, second only to that of our boys over there. The democratization of our schools is the greatest contribution that teachers can make in this world crisis, and in the greater crisis of the reconstruction to come.

Report of the Financial Secretary of the American Federation of Teachers

PITTSBURGH, JULY 5-6, 1916

F G STECKER

THE past two or three years have been a remarkable period in our educational history. There have been many movements having for their purpose changes in the methods and objects of education. There have been many attempts to measure the results being obtained under present systems, with more or less conscious feeling that all is not as well as it might be. The teachers themselves have experienced discouragement, dissatisfaction and a deep-seated desire for self-help. The story of the teacher's search for help and influence would form an interesting thesis. But we are interested only in the outcome of all the efforts. And this outcome can be read clearly. The teacher must have help from local groups strongly organized and possessed of high, unselfish motives. And what local group that has real influence is most interested in the public schools? Stronger organizations than Labor either exploit the schools or are indifferent. More interested bodies than Labor have not the strength.

The dozen and more charters issued by the American Federation of Labor to teachers previous to April, 1916, were evidences that from Georgia to Montana, from Chicago to San Antonio, teachers were casting in their lot with Labor. So far as I can learn each group acted quite independently. The fact is significant. The ancient tradition of the teacher's lofty position was breaking down under the kind of treatment he had been receiving. The teacher was seeking his level in the economic and social world. Labor was at last coming to seek a voice in the work of the school which so vitally concerned it. And this condition could be clearly seen in very many places where no charters were actually applied for.

But of course this was not to be the end of this development. What the teacher needed was association with his own kind as well. Teachers have met from time immemorial for pedagogic reasons. But professional pride forbade the mention of salary, the working conditions or the relations with employer, boss or the public. Recently however a period of transition has begun. The desire to learn how teachers are treated elsewhere, their salary, their tenure, their environment, their status, has been an impelling force in seeking relations with them, getting into communication, securing data, making comparisons. Along with the tendency to affiliate with Labor has come the tendency to cooperate with fellow-teachers. The dawn at least of the day of organization of teachers for their own welfare is upon us.

The American Federation of Teachers began in April, 1916, with eight locals, six of which were already chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The ninth charter was issued within the first year, ending May 1, 1917. The second fiscal year records ten more charters. During May last, seven more were issued. June, the windup of a school year, is the birth month of two of our largest locals.

The business history began with May 1, 1916. The six locals already chartered by the American Federation of Labor were required to pay their April per capita to that body, but were released from the May per capita. So urgent was the need for money that most of the locals waived the customary privilege of charter organizations to be exempt from the payment of charter fees. Two did not waive the privilege. The income to date therefore for the 28 charters issued is \$260. Per capita has yielded \$4,798.08; other sources, \$128.00. The total income has been \$5,186.08.

The Armstrong-Dunbar H. S. Teachers' Union secured the first charter issued after the organization of the American Federation of Teachers. This local has been very successful so far as information has come to us. The Executive Council was very glad to extend the field of work as well as to com-

mit themselves to Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy. Now there are four locals of colored fellow-teachers. We are glad they are with us. Surely the American Federation of Teachers will always use its best offices to secure greater justice and greater opportunities for education and development. Already perplexing problems are coming to us. There are conditions that cry out in shame to the American people. And certainly this national body will be able to present the case to the American Nation in the near future. The Armstrong-Dunbar people have shown zeal and a commendable spirit by assisting with workers and money in the organization work at Norfolk, Va.

The missing numbers in the list of locals point out the significant weakness in our national. We have had no one to send and extend the helping hand. We were not in a position to render the needed assistance. This weakness on our part forms one of our most important problems in administration. While the teachers like all other workers must work out their own salvation, each group in its locality, it remains the important function of this national body like all other national bodies to encourage, personally assist, give information to, and provide experienced leadership for, any group which is endeavoring to improve its condition. The story told by the list of locals and the correspondence in the files of the Executive Council leads to but one conclusion—our best talent must be put at work without counting the cost. These workers must be officers and members of the Executive Council. They must have prestige and authority to handle the situation. A wonderful opportunity awaits the coming of the right workers.

The matter of bookkeeping and record-keeping is one that a new organization or business can never decide fully in the beginning, but must wait until experience shows what is most desirable. Recently the Executive Council adopted a system of accounting which divides expenditures into three main heads: *Activities*, which include printing, organizers' expenses, conventions and expenses of delegates to other conventions and

conferences; *Maintenance*, which includes dues and fees for all affiliations, contributions, expenses of attendance at meetings of Executive Council; *Incidentals*, which includes postage, telegrams, stationery and clerical and stenographic services.

In view of the vast amount of expense incurred by the enthusiastic and faithful volunteer workers, which items have never been submitted to the Federation, it would seem that the time has come when a more self-respecting system must be adopted for paying in ample degree the best possible workers for full time, in such numbers as the conditions justify, and paying to some extent for part time service of certain other workers who do the hard, unending routine work. The zeal of pioneer workers who give most of their time outside school hours and incur considerable expense for incidentals and membership in various civic organizations in order to get results must not be exploited for an indefinite time. The teachers like all other workers must learn to appreciate the work done for them. They will not do this, nor understand, until they come to pay liberally for all work carried on in their behalf.

The American Federation of Teachers consisted, on July 1, 1918, of the following locals:

2. Federation of Men Teachers—Chicago, Ill., April 15, 1916.
3. Federation of Women H S Teachers—Chicago, Ill., April 15, 1916.
4. Teachers' Federation—Gary, Ind., April 15, 1916.
5. The Teachers' Union—New York, N. Y., April 15, 1916.
8. High School Teachers' Union—Washington, D. C., April 15, 1916.
9. Armstrong-Dunbar H S Teachers' Union—Washington, D. C., September 14, 1916.
10. Manual Training Teachers' Association—Washington, D. C., May 10, 1917.
14. Teachers' Union—Jasonville, Ind., October 22, 1917.
15. Teachers' Federation—Schenectady, N. Y., December 17, 1917.
16. Grade School Teachers' Union—Washington, D. C., February 5, 1918.
17. Teachers' Federation—Johnston City, Ill., March 4, 1918.
18. Dunbar Teachers' Federation—Pauls Valley, Okla., March 11, 1918.
19. Federation of Teachers—Olean, N. Y., March 25, 1918.
20. Teachers' Federation—Westville, Ill., May 6, 1918.
21. Teachers' Union—Norfolk, Va., May 6, 1918.
22. Coal Township Teachers' League—Shamokin, Pa., May 6, 1918.
23. Teachers' Federation—Valparaiso, Ind., May 6, 1918.
24. Vocational Teachers' Council—New York City, May 20, 1918.
25. Colored Teachers' Union—Norfolk, Va., May 20, 1918.
26. Teachers' Association—Vallejo, Cal., May 25, 1918.
27. Elementary School Teachers' Union—Washington, D. C., June 3, 1918.
28. Federation of Women Teachers—St. Paul, Minn., June 18, 1918.
29. Canal Zone Chapter of A F of T—Canal Zone, July 1, 1918. (Not in report.)

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR TOTAL PERIOD TO JUNE 30, 1918

<i>Receipts</i>	\$5,186.08
Charter fees	\$260.00
Per capita	4,798.08
Contributions	128.00

Expenditures \$4,950.21

Activities	\$2,977.41
Printing	\$699.55
Organizers	1,339.65
Delegates—Conferences	938.21

Maintenance	\$451.80
A F L	\$367.25
All other	84.55

Incidentals \$1,521.00

Rent	\$87.00
Postage	180.14
Telephone & Teleg..	63.15
Stenographic —	
Clerical	874.93
Office supplies	72.98
Stationery	136.55
Seals and charters ..	106.25

Balance at July 1, 1918 \$235.87

Lack of space prevents giving the detailed accounting for first and second fiscal years, ending April 30, and period of two months in third fiscal year, as presented to the convention.

Resolutions

ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS IN CONVENTION ASSEMBLED,
AT PITTSBURGH, PA., JULY 5, 6, 1918

Education in Relation to World Democracy

President Wilson has said, "The war is bringing to the minds of our people a new appreciation of the problems of national life, and a deeper understanding of the meaning and the aims of democracy. These and other lessons of the war must be learned quickly, if we are intelligently and successfully to defend our institutions. When the war is over we must apply the wisdom which we have acquired in purging and ennobling the life of the world, and in these vital tasks of acquiring a broader view of human possibilities the common school must have a large part."

The American Federation of Teachers finds in these words of the President an imperative call to duty. The Federation believes that there can be no world democracy in government, or in industry, unless there be democracy in education. Therefore, this organization directs the attention of the public to the following situation in our elementary and secondary schools, and in our colleges and universities:

- (1) The autocratic administration of the schools and the colleges.
- (2) The peculiarly subtle state of mental slavery which is produced by constant subjugation to rules, imposed curricula, and dictated policies in which the individual has no voice and no opportunity for personal initiative.
- (3) The inability on the part of teachers so restricted mentally to do effective work, and to develop in their pupils a true democratic consciousness.
- (4) The general discouragement on the part of teachers who are liable to feel the futility of combatting conditions existing under the present form of school organization and management.
- (5) The totally inadequate salaries for teaching.
- (6) The unparalleled exodus of teachers from the profession, due to the above stated conditions.
- (7) The prevailing practise of filling positions left vacant with untrained and inefficient teachers, in the interest of a false economy, and thereby endangering the future of the nation.

To remedy these conditions the American

Federation of Teachers offers the following proposals:

- (1) That there be established a minimum salary of \$1,000 for all teachers, rural, city, and federal.
- (2) That there be a teacher member of all boards of education, because none other has the first hand knowledge of the needs of the pupils and of the teachers.
- (3) That there be a council of teachers in each town or city elected by the body of teachers, the duty of which shall be to meet with the various superintendents and administrative officers, and advise with them as to the curricula, methods and policies to be carried out in the schools.
- (4) That there be a similar advisory council in each school.
- (5) That such democratic procedure be urged each teacher in his work, as will tend to establish early in life, the mental habit of feeling and accepting the responsibility laid on each individual in a true democracy.
- (6) That the school become in spirit and actually a part of the community, co-operating with civic organizations, not only in affording places for public meetings, but also by providing in the course of study the means of becoming acquainted with the economic environment of human beings. To this end the American Federation of Teachers strongly urges upon educational authorities the introduction of instruction in industrial history. This should lead to a clearer understanding on the part of the public than now exists of our social conditions and institutions. In the interpretation given to industrial history it is recommended that there be included such correlation with commercial geography, as will demonstrate the adjustment problems of all peoples of the world to the best American economic standards. A special course for high schools should include a minimum of one year of civics and economics and one year of American history.

- (7) That high standards be maintained in all normal and other training schools for teachers, and that all appointments of teachers be made probationary, so that efficiency may be guaranteed.

Loyalty

The American Federation of Teachers desires to go on record as taking a firm and loyal stand for the winning of the Great War. Prussian defiance to democracy must be answered by all the force necessary to a complete victory. The Prussian spirit of autocracy which exists in fields of American industry and American education can be most effectively weakened and rebuked by the crushing of its great exemplar in Germany. We are gratified by the democratic means adopted by President Wilson to evoke the spirit of loyalty in the people, and by the patience and wise statesmanship which he has shown us in its application.

As against the chorus of newspaper criticism directed at our able Secretary of War we desire to assure Secretary Baker of our enthusiastic endorsement of his efficient conduct of his Department, and of our very warm approval of his consistent refusal to abandon his position on the question of universal military service, until the results of this war shall show the necessary course.

The Abolition of German Language Teaching

It is the belief of the American Federation of Teachers that the teaching of the German language in our schools should not be abolished. We make no war on a language. We recognize that the results of patient research and scholarship in many fields have found expression in German, that German literature contains treasures precious to the world, and that at the lowest, mere prudence and caution warn us to retain the means of searching the mind of a possibly terrible foe.

We do demand, however, that all dangerous tendencies be removed from the study of the German language as carried on in American schools by a careful selection of texts and teachers. The texts must be free from alien propaganda, and the teachers must be Americans whose loyalty to American ideals cannot be questioned. Furthermore, no advantage should be granted to German over other foreign languages, as was the case often before the war, by including it in the elementary course, or by giving bonuses to teachers of German, as such. The language

should be considered absolutely on a par with other foreign languages.

The Welfare of the Children

The American Federation of Teachers deplores the fact that the National Child Labor Law, which was designed to prevent the exploitation of children in industry, is no longer operative because of its unconstitutionality, as declared by the United States Supreme Court.

In this crisis we call upon the people to take such action as shall result in the passage of a law by Congress which shall come within the standards set up by the decision of the Court. If such a law cannot be framed, we advocate constitutional amendment at the earliest possible moment. In the meantime, we urge the several states to pass child labor laws which shall supplement federal action.

As an incident to the protection of our children we deprecate the unorganized use of their generous activities in the sale of saving stamps, Red Cross memberships, and bazaar contributions. We recommend to municipalities and to states the consideration of the police regulations in operation in the District of Columbia which prohibit young children from engaging in promiscuous commercial dealings in public places. For the proper administration of all protective legislation for children we urge that teachers everywhere cooperate actively with the police and with the officers of voluntary organizations especially interested in the protection of children.

With careful supervision and organization the services of children may still be used in the sale of stamps, etc., and lessons of profound value in American citizenship be taught.

We recommend the amendment of laws dealing with the compulsory education of children, and urge especially the establishment of a minimum age of 16 years. If the schools are actually to prepare the children for life in a democracy, it is necessary to protect them from the requirement of severe labor and from unfavorable moral environment during the early years of adolescence. It is only with this protection and under the organized and extended control of the schools that the teachers can carry out the positive function of the schools which is the interpretation to the children of the manifold relations in human life, along with the preparation of the children to meet life intelligently and effectively.

We urge upon our people the serious study, and the ultimate political consideration, of those social and economic conditions which now interfere with the administration even of our present inadequate compulsory education laws. When boys are seemingly compelled to leave school at an early age to assist their parents in the economic struggle, we submit that the difficulty is not to be met by extending the age limit for leaving school to 16 years. More adequate economic recognition of the social value of labor must be made in justice to the adults who work, as well as to the adolescents who are preparing for work. These recommendations we hold to be valid under normal conditions in our national progress. They are especially valid in view of the urgent necessity of reconstruction after the war, when all the strength of our national man and woman power will be put to its severest test.

We favor the extensive development of systems of playgrounds in connection with schools and as separate institutions under municipal control. With full opportunity for play under conditions of physical and moral safety we look forward to the normal and healthy growth of our oncoming generations. We regard as an essential element in the satisfactory administration of playgrounds the development of the kind of play opportunities which lead to the perfection of qualities of initiative and of leadership—qualities essential to the existence of democracy in our country.

We regard with grave doubt the current tendency to introduce into the playtime of young boys the formal military training. As valid objections to the introduction of military training in the public schools we urge the consideration of these two propositions: 1. The effect of severe regimentation of thought and action on the developing tendencies toward organized freedom in America. 2. The probability that widespread military training in the schools would become an important step toward compulsory military service in the nation.

We regard compulsory military service as logically absurd—in view of the fact that the allied nations are loyally and effectively giving their blood and treasure to the elimination of militarism from the world. In this understanding of our national aspirations we stand with our President, the recognized spokesman of Democracy thruout the world.

A fundamental necessity in seeking the welfare of children is the guarding of the conditions which relate to the public health.

The American Federation of Teachers strongly urges that more efficient medical and dental inspection under school authorities be established in the schools, and that adequate compensation be provided to guarantee the services of men and women fitted to carry out a modern health program.

Free Textbooks

The American Federation of Teachers calls the attention of the public to the fact that for large numbers of children public education will not be free until all the states or the municipalities furnish textbooks to all elementary and high school pupils in day schools and in evening schools as part of the regular equipment.

This step must be made one of our final ones toward democracy of opportunity in education.

The Twelve-months School Year

We recognize the fact that the traditional long summer vacation of the schools under modern urban and industrial conditions has lost, at least in part, its basis of necessity. In spite of the fact that serious economic restrictions hold many children in crowded portions of cities in the hot summer weather, and seem to compel the granting of the summer vacation in such places, we regard these conditions of life as no more inevitable and necessary than we do the severe nervous tension under which the work of the schools is done generally. All these unfavorable conditions should be done away with in order to make possible a fuller and more efficient use of our physical and mental resources under conditions of comfort and satisfaction.

The coming of the 12-months school year in some form is, therefore, probably inevitable. But the advent of such a system needs careful safeguards. These should include provision for the withdrawal of pupils or teachers for one of the four quarters of the school year—such withdrawal to be without penalty to the pupils in loss of class standing, or to the teachers in loss of salary or position. It has been the bitter experience of teachers that when lengthening of the school day or year has taken place, their burdens have been increased correspondingly, while their pay has not.

So great is the economic pressure on teachers that it is probable that many teachers under a 12-months year plan would desire to teach the full twelve months, waiving the

alteration of unfavorable conditions, after being assured of a corresponding salary increase. But the American Federation of Teachers holds that before an extension of the school year should be made the present conditions of low pay for the usual school year and of extreme occupational tension must be corrected.

The Salary Issue

The Great War has emphasized as has never been done before the importance of the teacher in the growth of the country and the development of its citizens. To meet the coming still greater responsibility of the teacher we need men and women of broad training, liberal view point, and wide understanding. We cannot induce such persons to enter the profession, to say nothing of remaining therein at the remuneration received for teaching.

It is obvious that as the result of social adjustment the members of a profession whom the country rewards in so niggardly a fashion will be lacking in influence upon their constituents in proportion to the measure of their importance as indicated by the scale of wages.

We, therefore, maintain that there should be a minimum salary of \$1,000 for all teachers in the United States, and we urge the Congress of the United States to further this end by appropriating from the national treasury the sum of \$100,000,000 to assist the states which may need assistance in carrying out a salary law for teachers. Ample precedent has been established for this in the Smith-Hughes Act.

Equal Suffrage

We urge the immediate passage by the Senate of the United States of the Susan B Anthony amendment to the Constitution granting the right of suffrage to women. The position of the United States as a leader in the fight for world democracy carries with it the supposition that we have a real democracy at home. This cannot be true so long as a large portion of the citizenry bears much of the common civic burden without exercising the rights of citizenship.

Tenure of Position

The struggle for the professional rights of teachers is no where more vital than in the effort to establish the security of the teacher's position. There is general recog-

nition of the desirability of this security of tenure both from the point of view of the teacher and also from the side of the public interest. Tenure laws are passed from time to time by the state legislatures as the result of the common endeavor of the teachers and the public spirited citizens.

However, during the past academic year the dismissal of teachers in cities where tenure of position laws do not prevail have been no less easy than in communities where tenure laws were supposed to give real security. We urge upon all teachers the necessity of standing together on this question, and of demanding that the security of the teacher's position shall not be subject to personal whim or emotion, unchecked by respect for the legal and social rights of the teachers and of the public.

A National Department of Education

We desire to reassert our statement made at the American Federation of Teachers Convention in 1916, that we favor the creation of a national Department of Education which shall be coordinate with other departments of the Federal Government. As before, we urge the appointment as the head of this department a Secretary of Education who shall be a member of the cabinet of the President of the United States.

The illiteracy, the physical and economic unfitness, and the lack of understanding of American principles and ideals shown by American citizens during the formation of our national army demands a complete reorganization of our educational system and methods on broad national lines of American spirit and tradition.

In order to create a national educational system which shall guarantee full opportunities to the children of the whole nation we must create the machinery thru a national Department of Education.

(Signed)

THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS,

The American Federation of Teachers.

MAUDE E AITON,

The Grade Teachers Union, Washington, D. C.

ALICE DEAL,

The High School Teachers Union, Washington, D. C.

L V LAMPSON,

The High School Teachers Union, Washington, D. C.

HENRY R LINVILLE, *Chairman*,

The Teachers Union of the City of New York,

W T MCCOY,

Men High School Teachers Union, Chicago, Ill.

CLARA K STUTZ,

The Grade Teachers Union, Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM J WALLIS,

The High School Teachers Union, Washington, D. C.

Amendments to the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers

ADOPTED BY THE THIRD CONVENTION, HELD AT PITTSBURGH, JULY 5, 6, 1918

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 2. This organization may admit to membership associations of public school principals in their capacity as teachers or as public school employees under such rules and regulations as may be fixed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers; provided that there shall be not more than one local of principals in a community, that there shall be no local of principals chartered except where a local of teachers shall exist and shall have been in existence for at least two years, and that no charter shall be granted to a local of principals without the formal approval of such local union or unions of teachers.

Section 3. In communities where there are fewer than fifteen principals, after a local of teachers has been chartered and active for two years, any public school principal may be admitted to membership, provided the constitution of the local does not prohibit admission of principals, admission to be a majority vote of members present at a meeting the business of which shall have been previously announced.

Section 4. The Executive Council may exercise its discretion in the chartering of groups of teachers in educational institutions not supported by public funds, provided that such institutions are not conducted primarily for religious purposes, or for private gain.

ARTICLE IV

Officers

The officers of this organization shall be a President, a Secretary-Treasurer, and nine Vice-Presidents; these eleven shall constitute the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII

Representation

For the purposes of this article, membership shall mean the average number on which the per capita tax has been paid for the twelve months immediately preceding the convention; provided that no local in arrears for two months at the time of the convention shall be entitled to representation; and provided further that, in the case of locals which have been chartered during the year preceding the convention, the average shall be computed on the basis of the number of months of affiliation, the minimum for such computation to be two.

ARTICLE VIII

Revenues

Section 1. Every affiliated local shall pay directly to the Secretary-Treasurer a monthly per capita tax graduated as follows: ten cents per capita on all members receiving a regular annual salary of \$500 or less; fifteen cents on all members receiving more than \$500 and not more than \$1,500; twenty cents on all members receiving more than \$1,500 and not more than \$2,000; and twenty-five cents on all members receiving more than \$2,000; five cents a month in every case to cover subscription to the official organ, *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*, unless a smaller sum for that purpose is fixed by the Executive Council. For the purposes of this section salary shall mean the regular annual stipend exclusive of pay for service in night school, or Saturday or other vacation schools.

ARTICLE IX

Charters

Section 3. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 2, a charter may be issued to an association of seven or more public school principals upon application to the Executive Council and the payment of a fee of \$10.00.

Section 4. Upon application to the Executive Council and the payment of a fee of \$10.00, a charter may be issued to an association of seven or more teachers in educational institutions not supported by public funds, provided that such institutions are not, in the judgment of the Executive Council, conducted primarily for religious purposes, or for private gain.

Section 5. A charter issued to any local may be revoked by the Executive Council when the existence of such local is detrimental to the development of democracy in education; such revocation to be subject to the approval of the National Convention.

To the Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

I inclose money order for \$1 to pay for subscription to *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. A friend gave me the April number, and it was so full of good things along the line of Democracy in Education that I felt I could not afford to miss what it has in store for us this year. I especially enjoyed the "Confessions of a Good Student."

FLORA B. COTTERILL,

President Dayton Teachers' Club,
Dayton, Ohio.

THE MEANING OF THE UNION MOVEMENT AMONG TEACHERS

The union movement among teachers means the beginning of professional spirit and independence in the classroom, and in the relations of teachers to their supervising officers and the educational system. Teachers have always obeyed orders, asking only that they be given orders, never questioning in a professional or united way the wisdom of superiors. The union teacher realizes that he is doing the work and should have something to say concerning the control of the work, the ways of getting it done by collective methods, the supervision of it, the determination of standards of quality, the conditions under which it is done, and the pay for it.

The stimulus that is responsible for the union movement is the growing determination among other workers to throw off the domination of bosses and exploiters, and thereby to begin to determine life for themselves. The response to the stimulus means the beginning of thinking among teachers in terms of social welfare, naturally enough their own social welfare first.

When thinking among teachers begins there are two immediate results: first, the development of plans for the improvement of conditions for the benefit of the craft, and, second, the inevitable and logical establishment of connections between the interests of the craft and the interests of society. In other words, real thinking takes place thru the act of seeing facts and conditions in relation. Thus, the union movement means that teachers are coming to take an interest in society in a vital way, and that as time goes on they will cease to think of their work either as the occupation of a privileged, cloistered body, with the exclusive rights of an "educated" class, or as an aggregation of second-rate, indifferent, and unrespected pedagogs, and will come to regard themselves as constructive workers as important as any for the upbuilding of citizenship in a democracy.

The union movement among teachers works out naturally to improve conditions for the children and to give the parents a feeling of confidence in a public institution which in possibilities is greater than any other. This is true because union teachers unlike educational supervisors of the present day are not concerned with the maintenance of established traditions relating to courses of study, official prerogative, or with the innumerable checks and balances of antiquated systems of educational procedure. For economic reasons, and for reasons of professional satisfaction, union teachers with a voice in the control of the schools would logically strive to establish conditions in their work under which results could be produced with ease and with the interested cooperation of the children themselves. Thus, the traditional antagonism that exists between the schools and the children, resulting from autocratic management and from much meaningless teaching, would tend to disappear.

The desire of educators and of the general public is to turn the educative process into a real preparation for life, or better, to make the learning period an essential and satisfactory part of life in itself. The attainment of this desire under the autocratic system of educational management has been lamentably slow. There is still very slight progress in getting away from the traditions of static idealism. The union movement among teachers means that the knowledge which teachers already possess relative to the fruitlessness of much of their work would, under democratic management, be the stimulus for an immediate effort to avoid the continued waste of human effort. The stuff of real life in industry, in commerce, and in the adequate understanding, and the control of the natural and the man-made conditions of human life, of itself offers educative material now scarcely touched. The transformation of this material into usable form in the schools will be an important inspiration and a great social service for union teachers everywhere.