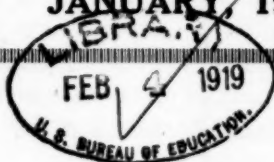


THE NUMBER

The AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

JANUARY, 1919



The Way to Power

Why Labor Needs the Teachers

Labor and Progress

Four Months of Progress

**Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy**

Education Is Preparation for Life

NOTHING less than \$1,200 per year will be adequate or just as a minimum rate for our teachers. It can never be secured by teachers, as units, or by individual effort; they must learn how to organize and protect their trade, occupational or professional interests like other people. Then they must demand a voice in the management of the schools of their community, so that they can more generously contribute from their knowledge and experience for the benefit of the schools. In addition they should study the methods of other elements in society by association and federation. The right so to organize and federate must be held inviolate for school teachers as well as for doctors, lawyers, mechanics, and laborers. When these new activities are established success will follow, and long-deferred justice will be won for our teachers.

So far as it goes, our educational system is all right, but it does not go far enough or deep enough. It is

still a long distance from simon-pure democracy and will be until we realize that education is not expected or intended to be a luxury in which a superior child, or an exceptional child, or a well-to-do child may bask. Our future bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, and blacksmiths need as much care and as much preparation for life as do our future doctors, lawyers, preachers, and teachers.

This great bread-and-butter question, politely called the economic problem, is the impelling force that will drive us to a new brand of democracy which will be safe for us and safe for the world, a democracy which

means not only universal liberty, but universal organization that will guarantee equal opportunities and equal justice to all.

—From an address delivered at the Pittsburgh Convention of the N E A, by Arthur E Holder, member, Federal Board for Vocational Education, Washington, D C

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The American Teacher

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Vol. VIII, No. 1

JANUARY, 1919

One Dollar a Year

Child Labor Day

MONDAY, January 27, is Child Labor Day. Quotations in this number from the Bulletin of the National Child Labor Committee indicate the present state of our child labor laws, and also the extent of child labor in this country. It has not been the custom of the schools to be interested except in a perfunctory, non-committal way in the prevention of child labor. Possibly this has been due to the tacit understanding that the powers that exploit the children in the mills are the same powers that exploit the teachers in the schools. But members of the American Federation of Teachers are embarked on a journey which may well involve the hunting down of the traffickers in the souls and bodies of little children.

Let our members call the attention of school officials to Child Labor Day, and likewise request the opportunity to tell some of the facts given in the quotations printed.

A Leaf for Labor

THE loyalty of labor during the war elicited the praise of the press throughout the country. So many encomiums were heaped upon Samuel Gompers that labor became dizzy. Yet, no sooner is the armistice signed, than the same press unlimbered its guns, and prepared for war. When William H Barr, President of the National Founders' Association, addressing the annual convention, declared that the first problem of reconstruction was the elimina-

tion of the eight-hour day and the reduction of wages raised during the stress of war, not a murmur of protest was heard against this proposal which not only ignored all humanitarian considerations, but entirely disregarded the fact that it was labor's supreme sacrifices that made it possible for the National Founders' Association to exist. Yet, when Samuel Gompers boldly accepted President Barr's daring challenge, he was flayed by that same servile press as an enemy of the republic. The editors, to cap the climax of their righteous indignation, should have dubbed Samuel Gompers a pro-German or Bolshevik. What a golden opportunity was lost!

Stuffed Lions

THE *Survey* for January 4 reprints a Dyson cartoon, entitled, "The Stuffed Lion in the Path of Democracy." It represents Big Interests holding into view before oncoming hordes of humanity a stuffed lion bearing the word "Bolshevism." Concealed with Big Interests behind a barrier is the Lloyd George Coalition. The Premier is represented as saying, "Now, Gentlemen, when I give the word roar like a lion, and if that doesn't scare them, I'm a Welshman."

There are stuffed lions lying about in the path of the union movement among teachers. One of them is named, "You'll Have to Strike," another, "Don't Be Unprofessional." And they are real stuffed lions, because those who hold them up, are the over-conservative teachers themselves and their professional mentors who have long ago given up trying to overcome democracy in education by argu-

ment, and are now trying to frighten potential followers of the new ideas. But these stuffed-lion holders are beginning to see the light, and already are showing signs of quitting the game. Unlike Big Interests, teachers get nothing for their loyalty to antiquated ideals. Therefore, the lions may languish for want of supporters.

The American Labor Party

THE formation of an American Labor Party, which now seems an assured development of the next few months, is of peculiar interest to unionized teachers. The old parties seem hopelessly unable to modernize themselves, and measure up to the reconstruction needs so emphasized as a result of the war. There is a great body of liberal opinion in America, but it has had no effective practical instrument to express its purposes. Socialism as represented by the American Socialist Party is hopelessly alien to, even repellent to, the great mass of American opinion in its present stage of political development, yet the old unchecked individualism is generally discredited. As citizens, as members of the great body of organized workers, and as moulders of youth, who should be alive to important current developments, all teachers should note well the rise of what promises to be a new and powerful force in American life.

Another Idea from the War

ACCORDING to Dr Willard S Small, Director of School Hygiene of the United States Bureau of Education, 30 per cent of the men in the first draft were rejected for physical unfitness and nearly all who came to the training camps were physically uneducated. Moreover, 50 per cent of the 25,000,000 school children between the ages of six and eight have physi-

cal defects that impede their normal development. They have been living under more or less unhygienic conditions, and lack of positive physical education, organized, play, athletics, etc.

The situation described by Dr Small is overwhelming enough to stagger the average teacher and citizen. Of what value is education to a physically unfit child? Is it any wonder that so many seem dull and stupid? As teachers we are aware that it is our function to teach the youth of the land effectively, and if we cannot do it because of prevailing conditions, it is our business to become interested at once in changing these conditions? Are we aware of the conditions that make it impossible for 25,000,000 children to develop properly? Do we know the wages earned by the hardworking parents of these undernourished and overworked and improperly clad children? Do the struggles of the parents of these children against economic exploitation interest us? Do we sympathize with them? Have we made efforts to aid them? Do we realize our power to make their conditions better? Consider well your answers.

One reason we may fail to teach John and Mary is because their parents are exploited by profiteers, and hence the children are not properly fed or taken care of. When we fully comprehend that fundamental fact, we shall understand a good reason for having a teachers' union and eventually awaken to the fact that it is our duty to use our intelligence and power to arouse a dulled public conscience into seeing that if it is important to spend millions to kill hog cholera, it is of greater importance to eliminate such economic conditions that make the rearing of healthy and intelligent citizens impossible. Alliance with labor gives an understanding of economic conditions under which children live, a knowledge of their hopes and aspirations, sympathy for their struggles, a broader and deeper understanding of great problems. The unionization of teachers is one of the hopes of America.

The Way to Power

THE "Winter of Discontent" in the teaching profession is now upon us.

In one locality it leads to dumb despair and hopelessness; in another, to severance of relations with the educational system; in a third, to barterings with political parties for economic favors; in a fourth, to alliance with labor unions.

In the American Federation of Teachers with very little doubt we are about to admit to membership large numbers of teachers who have chosen the fourth way out of difficulties. They are coming into the teachers' unions frankly for the purpose of bettering their economic conditions thru affiliation with labor. Labor has won large increases in wages because long ago the workman organized for his economic protection. Labor now has great economic power, and is generously disposed toward all groups of unorganized workers and professional folk that ask to be admitted to the ranks of the successful. But the invitation that has been extended by labor to the teachers is particularly cordial because it is based upon a common need. Labor needs the teachers, and the teachers need labor. It is far from being a one-sided bargain when teachers join with labor. Mr John Walker gives in this number a clear statement of the situation, but there are still other phases of it which our labor friends will discuss in future numbers.

The analysis of the bases for a natural affiliation between the men and women who are supposed to work mostly with their hands and the teachers who are supposed to work mostly with their brains is destined to have important uses. In the first place, doubters and proud persons are disposed to inquire why teachers should seek to ally themselves with groups with whom they have nothing particularly in common. This query is often followed up with another seeking to know what labor gets out of the bargain. Frequently teachers do not know. The answer comes from the workers.

It is important to get this answer especially when our numbers are being increased by new members who have had no time to think thru the situation to an adjustment which their minds will surely search for. If we are to hold the new members who are entering because they are driven to the act, we must prepare the social, the intellectual and the emotional setting for their ultimate assimilation. If this problem can be solved successfully, the misgivings of many good union members concerning "drives" for members will be allayed, and what is more important, the union movement will possess that degree of strength necessary to its growth and security. This is the second notion of value that we shall derive from analyses of our movement. There is an even more important one.

Charter No. 36 has been issued, and we are already becoming a numerous body in point of number of locations, and we cover about all the conveniently habitable territory there is belonging to the nation. From New York to Sacramento, and from St Paul to the Canal Zone, marks the stretch of our chartered area. We are still poor in financial resources, in perfect keeping with our circumstances as individuals. But our poverty keeps us from coming together from the outermost regions. This is a considerable misfortune, but not insurmountable, even tho some local may never for a long time be able to send representatives to the national conventions.

Of far greater concern than the geographic issue is the matter of unity of purpose and the social and professional outlook of the locals that are already in the Federation. Some of the locals have never responded to the invitation to send news of their doings to the national organ, and hence the knowledge of what they are and want is not general. Some of the largest and most active locals carry on their work effectively no doubt, but they do not give to others information that might be helpful to smaller and less active locals. In other words, there is not enough exchange of ideas. This fact operates to develop and

establish differences in a national union where more unity might develop simply thru frequent exchange of news. The columns of THE AMERICAN TEACHER are open for this purpose, but on account of the lack of information they are put to other uses.

It is not the function of the management of THE AMERICAN TEACHER to tell the locals what their purpose, their social and professional outlook should be. But it is evident that in view of the fact that there is now an alliance between education and labor thru us as the means, we should be in the position to interpret the significance of this important fact to our members and to the public. Have we done this? Only here and there have attempts been made in this direction. We prophesy that if a beginning of this sort is made the next national convention of the American Federation of Teachers will show unmistakable signs of a social cohesion and clarity of purpose.

There is enough talent in each of the locals to make it possible to obtain general expression of opinion on such questions as these: What should a teachers' union do? In what way should a teachers' union differ from the usual "association"? Shall a teachers' union accept conditions as it finds them, trying first to increase its membership, or shall it strike out at once along aggressive lines at the possible sacrifice of the chance of a large membership? Shall a teachers' union take part in political party activities, for example, a labor party? What are the best ways for going about the actual improvement of the conditions under which our work is done, for example, reducing the size of classes, modifying the course of study, eliminating the evils of supervision, etc.?

It is our hope that all the locals will take this matter up and invite or impress their best writers to begin this important work. Short articles, not to exceed twelve hundred words, are preferable. There will thus be space for many in the same number. The first articles will appear in the February number.

This is a periodical for those who bear the expense of its production, the members of the American Federation of Teachers. Let them get out of it the value of their investment!

As Labor Sees It

Mary Anderson, member of the executive council of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and assistant director of the Woman in Industry Service of the U S Department of Labor, when asked why teachers should join labor unions, gave the following reasons:

They should join, first, for their own sakes, to secure better wages and a larger share in the control of the conditions under which they work.

They should join for the sake of their pupils because belonging to the labor movement would wake them up to the economic causes which usually are responsible for children's backwardness and other handicaps.

Teachers by joining labor unions can bring to other working men and women a better understanding of children's needs and so help to lay the foundations for the democracy of the future.

LOST COPIES

A number of bundles of the December AMERICAN TEACHER have been returned to the office of publication with addressed wrappers entirely torn off. Those locals that did not receive their full quota of copies will confer a favor on the Business Manager by informing him of the fact.

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Why Labor Needs the Teachers

JOHN H WALKER

President, The Illinois State Federation of Labor

THE following are some of the reasons why I believe the teachers of America should organize and become part of the regular, *bona fide* labor movement in our country, even, if when organized they cannot come out on strike, sympathetic, or otherwise.

Practically all who qualify as teachers in our country today, must not only go thru the common grade schools, but they must also go thru high school, and take two years' training in some normal school. They must also qualify on the highest standards as to character, honesty, morality, temperance, etc. If there is any section of our citizenship that really should have an intelligent understanding of all our problems, and be capable of knowing what are the right things to do, it is the teachers. The average working man and woman have not had the opportunity to get an education at all, and their view points are limited to their own local environment. Industry is competitive and related, thus tending further to restrict the opportunities of working people. One must have the larger point of view in order to know the thing that is right in the making and in the adjusting even of local industrial conditions. Teachers have or should have this larger social interest for the good of the common working man and his dependents, for the good of industry, for the good of the nation (the teachers themselves included). They should be in a position where they can have knowledge of the facts as to local situations, as well as the larger aspects, and be able to render the most helpful service in avoiding unnecessary conflicts and in settling disputes.

I believe, too, that because the teacher is teaching the workingman's child more than any others, and that in order to be an efficient teacher, and do the things that are best for

these children, the teacher should have knowledge of the problems of the father and the mother,—of their mental attitude, their class characteristics, their desires and ambitions, their hopes and aspirations, and also knowledge of the things that are holding them back and keeping them down. They can then train the minds of the children in a way that will make the best citizens of them. They can deal with the practical problems of life in the fashion best calculated to conserve the recognized interests of the children, training them at the same time in such a way that they may be helpful to their parents.

So far as the teachers themselves are concerned, the very fact that they do not strike to increase their wages, or to improve their working conditions, should be possibly the strongest of all reasons why they should organize, and become part of the labor movement. When teachers are organized they can bring their problems to organized labor,—to the workers who comprise the majority of the citizens of our country. They can then tell the workers their grievances, and get the help of labor. They can tell them what they believe they are entitled to as teachers. When the workers are convinced, it means that the teachers are able to enlist on an intelligent basis the support of a large percentage of the citizens, taxpayers, of our country. In this practical way, the most powerful influence in our country is immediately sympathetic toward the teachers in every righteous fight for the teachers, for the children, and for the public itself.

Not only do I believe that it is for the best interest of the teachers that they should join their own unions, and become affiliated with the rest of the workers in our country, but I believe also that it is their duty as American citizens, for the benefit of all the people of our country.

Labor and Progress

MARGARET SNODGRASS HARDING

Washington, D C

I

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION FOR INDUSTRIAL CRIPPLES

Hearings on the Smith-Bankhead Bill (H R 12880-S 4922) were held early in December before the joint committees on Education and Labor of the House and Senate. Mr Gompers spoke in support of the measure, which would extend the scope of the Smith-Sears Act for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled soldiers and sailors to include "persons disabled in industry or otherwise."

Strong hopes are entertained for the early passage of the bill. Fortunately the number of disabled soldiers and sailors is not so large as was anticipated and a wise economy, in addition to other considerations, would indicate the utilization of the machinery built up for their aid by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. The Legislatures of forty-three states hold their regular sessions in 1919 and prompt action by Congress will enable them to make the necessary appropriations and provision for co-operation with the Federal Board. Massachusetts has already made such provision.

SMITH EDUCATION BILL

The Smith Bill to create a national department of education (S. 4987) received hearings in December. In addition to providing for the organization of a Department of Education under a Secretary of cabinet rank and with an annual appropriation of \$500,000, the bill calls for an annual appropriation of \$100,000,000 "in order to co-operate with the States in the promotion of education" on the same terms as under the Smith-Hughes Act for vocational education.

This sum is apportioned as follows:

Three-fortieths, \$7,500,000 for the instruction of illiterates, ten years of age and over.

Three-fortieths, \$7,500,000, for the Americanization of immigrants.

Five-tenths, \$50,000,000, "for the improve-

ment of public schools of less than college grade, with the definite aim of extending school terms and of stimulating State and local interest in improving, thru better instruction and gradation, and thru consolidation and supervision, the rural schools and schools in sparsely settled localities."

Two-tenths, \$20,000,000, for the promotion of physical and health education and recreation.

Three-twentieths, \$15,000,000, "to prepare teachers, to encourage a more nearly universal preparation of prospective teachers, to extend the facilities for the improvement of teachers already in service, to encourage thru the establishment of scholarships and otherwise a greater number of talented young people to make adequate preparation for public school service, and otherwise to provide an increased number of trained and competent teachers."

THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT ELECTION

The British Parliamentary election, the first general election since 1910, has been of exceptional interest for many reasons. By the Representation of the People Act of January, 1918, the electorate was enlarged by the addition of 6,000,000 women over thirty years of age and 2,000,000 hitherto unqualified men. Millions of voters are in the army and navy. The British Labor Party, appealing to "workers both with hand and brain" with a far-reaching program for reconstruction, recalled its members from the Coalition and contested seats in about 400 constituencies. G. N. Barnes, Labor member of the inner War Cabinet, however, remained in the Coalition on the ground of anti-Bolshevism.

The Labor Party's election manifesto, LABOR'S CALL TO THE PEOPLE, demands a peace of international co-operation. It declares against any form of economic war and the incorporation of an international labor

charter into the structure of the league of free peoples, as an essential part of the peace treaty. Further demands include the immediate withdrawal of the allied forces from Russia, immediate restoration of the workers' Internationale, the right of self-determination within the British commonwealth of free nations extended to all its subject peoples, repeal of all war-time measures in restraint of liberty, abolition of conscription, and the release of all political prisoners.

Among the domestic reforms called for are land nationalization, 1,000,000 new houses built at state expense, a comprehensive public health act, drastic amendment of laws dealing with hours of labor and factory conditions, and real public education, free and open to all, with maintenance scholarships, without distinction of class, and justice to teachers.

"Labor," the manifesto continues, "will resist every attempt to place burdens upon the poor by indirect taxation. Labor is firm against tariffs and for free trade. The way to deal with unfair competition of imports, made under sweated conditions, is not by tariffs but by international labor legislation, which will make sweating impossible. In paying the war debt, Labor will place the burden on the broadest backs by a special tax on capital. Those who have made fortunes out of the war must pay for the war, and Labor will insist on a heavily graduated direct taxation with a raising of the exemption limit. This is what Labor means by conscription of wealth.

"In industry, Labor demands immediate nationalization and democratical control of the vital public services, such as mines, railways, shipping, armaments, and electric power; the fullest recognition and utmost extension of trade unionism, both in private employment and in public services."

The Coalition policies, so far as they may be learned from the speeches of Lloyd George, Bonar Law, Winston Churchill, and other leaders, as reported in this country, lay emphasis on the necessity for a league of nations and an "all-round reduction of ar-

maments," with abolition of conscription in Europe. British maritime supremacy, however, is to be maintained unimpaired.

On November 13 at a meeting of 200 Liberal peers and commoners, Lloyd George declared that victory must be utilized as an impetus to reforms. He said he feared neither revolution nor Bolshevism but he did fear reaction and dissension. Specific proposals were for land reform, a great rehousing program, reduction of the hours of labor, the introduction of a minimum wage, home rule for Ireland but no coercion of northeast Ulster.

In later speeches he stresses the need for increased production, that "has not for its end enrichment of employers, but enrichment of all classes of the British people." Production, he asserts, can be enormously increased with higher wages and shorter hours and under such industrial management as is proposed by the Whitley Committee. Shortly before the election the nationalization of the railroads was announced and an eight-hour day for all the wages staff of the railways of the United Kingdom.

On the eve of the election, however, reactionary tendencies manifested themselves. Bonar Law announced the intention of the government to strengthen the House of Lords, shorn by the Parliament Act of 1911 of all but a suspensive veto power. Lloyd George declared for the expulsion of all Germans from Great Britain, for their exclusion from the country in the future, and for forcing the Central Powers to pay the entire costs of the war to the limit of their ability. This in spite of his speech to his liberal supporters on November 11, in which he said:

"The peace of 1871 imposed by Germany on France outraged all the principles of justice and fair play. Let us be warned by that example. We must not allow any sense of revenge, any spirit of greed, any grasping desire to override the fundamental principles of righteousness. Vigorous attempts will be made to hector and bully the government in an endeavor to make them depart from the strict principles of right and to satisfy some

base, sordid, squalid ideas of vengeance and of avarice. We must relentlessly set our faces against that."

On December 13 he made a somewhat sensational attack on the Labor Party in which he said that the patriotic men of the party were not now running, that it was in the hands of an extreme pacifist-Bolshevist group:

"It was they who pulled the Labor Party out of the Government at the moment when you needed the help of labor to reconstruct this country. They pulled them out. Supposing they had had their way. Belgium would be overrun; France would be overrun; Germany would now have the whole continent of Europe under her cruel heel; the Channel ports would be under Germany."

AN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

"The time has now come when in order to protect our vital interests and to retain our self-respect we must take independent political action." This is the statement of President John Fitzpatrick and Secretary Edward Nockels of the Chicago Federation of Labor in a circular letter to local unions. The Chicago Federation at its meeting on November 17, 1918, launched the movement for an Independent Labor Party by adopting unanimously a platform of "fourteen points," which was then submitted to the local unions and to the annual convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, meeting on December 2.

Among the fourteen points are the following: the right of workers to organize; "democratic control of industry and commerce for the general good by those who work with hand and brain;" an 8-hour day and 44-hour week with "minimum rates of pay which, without the labor of mothers and children, will maintain the workers and their families in health and comfort and provide a competence for old age, with ample provision for recreation and good citizenship"; abolition of unemployment through stabilization of industry and by government work during periods of depression; complete equality of men and women in government and industry; reduction of the cost of living by the devel-

opment of cooperation and the elimination of wasteful methods; democratization of education through the participation of labor and the organized teachers in the determination of new methods, policies, and programs in this fundamental field; the extension to all men and women, of government insurance on life and all insurable forms of property, and against accident and illness; liquidation of the national debt by the application of all inheritances above \$100,000, supplemented by taxation of incomes, land values, etc.; public ownership and operation of public utilities and the nationalization of basic natural resources; an international league of workers to supplement the League of Nations.

The Illinois Federation of Labor endorsed the Chicago proposal almost unanimously, and plans are under way for the calling of a convention in January to perfect the party organization and to nominate candidates for the spring municipal elections. The Central Federated Union, representing 300,000 trade unionists of New York City, has called a conference to be held early in January looking to the formation of a national labor party. The Central Labor Union of Brooklyn and the Women's Trade Union League are included in the call. The state federation of California and Ohio have already promulgated independent labor platforms and there are indications of similar movements in other states.

THE NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

The national convention of the Non-Partisan League at St Paul, Minnesota, expressed its approval of the Independent Labor Party. The North Dakota legislature, convening January 7 will be controlled by the League. Governor Lynn J Frazier has announced his support of a workmen's compensation law and state-owned packing plants, flour mills, and elevators.

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR CONFERENCE AT LAREDO

Fifty-two delegates, the majority representing the United States and Mexico, with one each from Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Salvador, met at Laredo, Texas, on November 14 and 15, 1918, under the

presidency of Samuel Gompers. Plans were formulated for the establishment of fraternal relations among the American Federation of Labor and the organized labor movements of Mexico and other American countries, and for unionizing the million or more Mexican workmen now in the United States.

The conference adopted the resolution proposed by Mr. Gompers, embodying the peace program of the American Federation of Labor. The resolution declares that five "fundamental principles must underlie the peace":

A league of the free peoples of the world, in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations;

No political or economic restrictions meant simply to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others;

No reprisals based on vindictive purpose or desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs;

Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle that no people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live;

No territorial changes or adjustments of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the people affected and in furtherance of world peace.

The resolution further calls for the incorporation in the peace treaty of what has been termed "labor's Bill of Rights";

That in the law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of human beings is not a commodity or article of commerce;

Industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted;

The right of free association, free assemblage, free speech, and free press shall not be abridged;

That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are safe in harbor;

No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in

the production of which children under the age of 16 years have been employed or permitted to work;

It shall be declared that the basic work day in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours a day;

Trial by jury should be established.

FRENCH INTERNATIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

The labor committee of the French Chamber of Deputies on November 29 adopted a report on international labor legislation to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Measures recommended include a minimum age of fourteen years for the employment of children, prohibition of night work for minors, an eight-hour day in factories and mines, reciprocal agreements among the nations for accident, health, and unemployment insurance and old age pensions, equalization in wages and working conditions for foreign and home workers. The report also calls for the institution of periodic international labor conferences, comprising delegates of workers and employers, with the object of promoting labor legislation by international agreement.

Abandonment of School

The opening of the schools for the fall term gave the Children's Bureau an opportunity to find to what extent children were leaving school prematurely, whether those who had worked on vacation permits were returning, and, in general, the conditions among working children. A series of inquiries were made in typical industrial and commercial centers to throw light on these and other questions. The cities studied include New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Washington, Wilmington, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Louisville, and several smaller cities. In Washington it was found that this year 1,095 permits to work either outside school hours or full time had been granted under the law which permits children of 12 or 13 to work, if, in the opinion of the Juvenile Court, the poverty of the family justifies it. In 1916-17 only 277 such permits were issued. This is an increase of 295 per cent. The number of children from 14 to 16 who were granted regular working permits rose from 727 in 1916-17 to 1,917 this year—an increase of 164 per cent. In Wilmington 61 per cent. more children have taken out permits this year than last. Practically all of this 61 per cent. have definitely left school to enter industry on full time. Reports of greatly increased shifting from job to job seem to indicate that the child is not finding in his work a steadily progressing training. The figures do not show that children are staying at their jobs more steadily because of higher wages, or that they are staying long enough to gain from their industrial training experience which will make them increasingly useful.—*Child Labor Bulletin for November, 1918.*

Four Months of Progress

CHARLES B STILLMAN

President, The American Federation of Teachers

THE first four months of the school year have shown substantial achievements, despite the severe handicap of the influenza epidemic, carrying with it closed schools and a ban on public meetings which made it exceedingly difficult for old locals to carry on, and almost impossible to organize new locals. However, even under those conditions, six new charters have been added to our roll, and over a thousand to our national membership.

We have another strong California local in the Sacramento High School, Charter No. 31. The Shenandoah Teachers' Association, No. 32 is a vigorous addition to our movement in Pennsylvania. The Howard University Teachers' Union No. 33, organized through Mr Lampson, is our first collegiate local, and the sixth in our capital city. December 5 and 6, respectively, I talked to groups of teachers in Peoria, Illinois and Madison, Wisconsin, and chartered the Peoria Federation of Men Teachers, No. 34 and the Madison Teachers' Federation, No. 35. On December 7, we chartered the Associate Teachers' League of New Orleans, No. 36, which is already promising to be one of our strongest and most progressive locals. That makes the first week of December our banner week, especially when consideration is given the important stand on educational policies taken that week by the Bloomington Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, discussed elsewhere in this issue. All of these new locals are enthusiastically helping interest teachers in their vicinity in the formation of new locals.

The Fort Wayne Convention of the Indiana State Federation of Labor also welcomed our movement very cordially, and pledged the assistance of the Indiana labor movement in securing necessary legislative relief and a more adequate recognition of the needs of the schools in their local communities.

The epidemic has been unusually severe in Indiana, the ban sometimes being placed on public meetings after we had reached the point of calling a meeting to perfect final organization; and in some cases the ban is not yet lifted.

A somewhat milder form of the same situation obtains in other states. I have visited communities in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri and Pennsylvania, and am in correspondence with interested teachers in numerous other states. January will be a seriously overcrowded month, since we have only one worker giving full time to the movement. Fortunately we have a large number of devoted workers in our various locals who are giving splendid service in addition to their wearing school work. Both old and new locals are increasing their membership and assisting in the extension of our movement. Notably Washington and New York have launched vigorous membership campaigns which are proving exceedingly effective.

One of the most valuable services our movement can render is the formulation of a concrete program of educational reconstruction, derived democratically from the first hand experience of the actual class room teachers, rather than handed down by superintendents and schools of education. Both types have their value, but the teacher actually on the job, who has so far been practically disfranchised in the determination of educational policies, now has the opportunity to make his influence felt. The forward looking educational platforms of the American Federation of Labor, and of the New York and Illinois State Federations of Labor, are some of the results of that new influence, of the new democracy in education which will ultimately make teaching a genuine profession. The American Federation of Labor is working on the broad problem of reconstruction, and looks to the American

Federation of Teachers for the contribution of an educational program. The locals have been asked to appoint committees on educational reconstruction, and these committees will undoubtedly have the cordial co-operation of the entire membership.

The situation with regard to Federal educational legislation is developing fairly well. The Smith Bill is outlined elsewhere in this number.

If we all pull together, the balance of this school year will mean great growth, and increased effectiveness for our movement in this period when every democratic force must be strengthened to withstand reaction. The traditional prejudice of teachers against labor on pseudo-professional grounds is being broken down. The teachers of the country are commencing to realize that organized labor is fundamentally interested in securing the best educational facilities for the children of our people. Certain conflicting forces are fundamentally interested in keeping taxes down. Labor is determined to raise our schools to the highest level of efficiency, to make education mean what it should mean in a democracy. All aiming at that goal—and surely the teachers most of all—should welcome the support for progressive educational measures, and the new possibilities for co-operation, which the affiliation of the teachers with the American Federation of Teachers, and thru the American Federation of Teachers with the American Federation of Labor with its 3,000,000 membership, will bring.

ILLINOIS LABOR CONVENTION

The Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor held at Bloomington, Dec. 2-7, should convince skeptics of the value of the affiliation of teachers with labor of at least two things: labor's fundamental interest in securing the best educational opportunities for the children of all the people, and labor's recognition of the organized teachers as part and parcel of the labor movement.

The Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers was represented by Lili H

Stecker, the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, by F G Stecker and Chas B Stillman. Mrs Stecker was a member of the Committee on Resolutions, the most important convention committee, Mr Stecker, of the Committee on Schools, Mr Stillman, in the absence of Matthew Woll, was Acting Chairman of the Committee on Schools, a member of the Committee on Officers' Reports, and of the Committee on Reconstruction, which is to be active thruout the year. It is interesting to note that three of the members of the Committee on Schools were members of the Boards of Education in their respective communities.

It is significant that the plank in the following platform which aroused the most enthusiasm was the requirement that classes be limited to 25 pupils. Delegate after delegate told of the hideously overcrowded classes which were cheating his children of their supposedly American birthright, and making a farce of our boasted public education. The Convention also showed strong approval of the provisions for free textbooks, a state minimum of \$1200 for teachers, and for the specific measures for increased school revenue contained in the resolutions following the platform proper.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Stillman, Secretary, reported as follows:

The critical period of readjustment facing us places the greatest responsibility on our public schools. In securing the outcomes for which our people entered the war, the schools are secondary only to the victory just won. For some time leaders of national influence have been urging the teaching of a strident, intolerant nationalism, rather than of a sane nationalism as the basis of the international organization, the league of free nations, which is the hope of the world. The generations may grow up actuated by a sympathetic understanding of other peoples, and a desire for co-operation to mutual advantage, or by the selfishness of commercial imperialism, and an embittered hatred—the schools will decide, and on their decision hangs future peace or war.

Upon the schools also will depend to a large measure the kind and degree of industrial democracy we shall be able to achieve, whether our children shall grow up to become mere adjuncts of machines, deadened by the daily grind, or shall have a vision of the

industry as a whole, and be trained to play an intelligent part in it, and be able to feel something of the joy of making their individuality count in it, and in society as a whole.

The schools must also consciously and intensively train for that most difficult of all human activities, self-government. One need only to look at the spectacle of misgoverned American cities to realize how lamentably we have failed in the past. We are failing largely because we are starving our schools financially, and almost ignoring them as communities. Surely one of the compensations for the sacrifices of this righteous war, must be a quickened sense of social values finding its most important outlet in an educational development establishing in America's schools, "Democracy in Education; Education for Democracy."

Your Committee on Education believes that if that educational development is to be brought about, and the powerful reactionary influences too often in control of our schools are to be defeated, labor must take a more active and watchful interest than ever before. The following program, or outline of principles is submitted for the approval of the convention:

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The most urgent educational matter before the state during the coming year will be the necessity of the formal acceptance by our legislature of the conditions and benefits of the Smith-Hughes law, if Illinois is to continue to receive federal aid under that law. The prescribed conditions still leave the legislature a great deal of latitude, and your committee recommends that this convention endorse the following principles to be incorporated in the necessary legislation:

1. Vocational education in Illinois should be under unit control.
2. A state appropriation for vocational education should be provided by a state vocational educational tax, and should in any case be in addition to an increased state distributive fund for general education.
3. Local boards of education should be enabled to raise money for vocational education by local taxation, all such tax levies to be strictly in addition to present or future taxes for general education.
4. The State Board for Education should consist of two representatives of education, two of labor, two of the employers, two of agriculture, of two women who have made a special study of women's work, and, ex officio, of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who should be the chairman and executive officer of the Board. Traveling expenses, and a substantial per diem compensation limited by law to a maximum number of days per year, should be provided for the members of the Board so that personal means or financial backing would not become a necessary qualification for membership.
5. This State Board should have broad administrative powers, and it should be its duty and responsibility to administer funds, to study vocational edu-

cation and promote its advancement, to train teachers, to make surveys of conditions of industry and employment, to make reports and recommendations to the legislature, to organize, standardize, supervise, and approve or disapprove the work in industrial, agricultural, household arts, and commercial training.

6. Under the executive officer there should be a director for vocational education with special qualifications for the work. The state board should appoint all such deputies upon the recommendation of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. The State Board should have the power to appoint upon such recommendation such agents and assistants under these deputies as may be necessary. Adequate provisions for salaries and expenses should of course be made.

7. Your committee recommends the endorsement of the provision for local Advisory Committees urged by the A. F. of L.:

"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."

8. Short time specialized trade extension courses for journeymen mechanics should be provided in vocational schools where there is sufficient demand, so that present journeymen may become more efficient.

9. Before instruction is given in any specific trade, industrial surveys should be made to determine the opportunities and requirements in such trade, whether it is a seasonable employment, extra hazardous, subject to occupational diseases, the number of people employed, the opportunities of securing positions and advancement, and the educational value of instruction in such trade.

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

11. 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.

12. 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 co-operation 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.

13. We heartily approve the vocational rehabilitation of the soldiers crippled in service, carried on by the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and urge that the same machinery be used to help restore the victims of industrial accidents to economic independence.

14. Your committee strongly urges the necessity of the enactment in Illinois of legislation establishing compulsory continuation schools for children after they leave school up to eighteen years of age, sessions aggregating not less than eight hours a week, to be held between 8 a. m. and 5 p. m., Saturdays excepted. Wisconsin and Pennsylvania have already taken similar action, and New York seems about to follow. England and France, while still in the stress of war, adopted comprehensive and thoroughgoing provisions.

REORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS

Supplementing the provisions for vocational education and for continuation schools, 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 role 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 thruout 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.

ADDITIONAL POINTS IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

As additional points in the educational program of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, your committee recommends the following:

1. 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.

2. The provision of adequate facilities for the teaching of English to non-English speaking people, and the utilization for this purpose of classes in shops and other places of employment, as well as in schools, under the direction of public school authorities.

3. The provision of ample playground facilities as a part of the public school system, to be open to the public thruout the year at such hours as do not conflict with school purposes.

4. Continuous medical and dental inspection and care thruout the schools of our state.

5. 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 the standard school.

6. Better enforcement in our state of the Compulsory Education Laws, and the raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen years.

7. The establishment of a complete system of modern physical education, under specially trained instructors.

8. The wider use of the school plant, securing increased returns to the community thru additional civic, social and educational services to both adults and children.

9. Public forums should be established in every school where there is sufficient demand, under the direction of the Superintendent of Schools working in co-operation with advisory committees representing the various elements in the community.

10. Courses in history, civics, economics, health and compensation laws, and other laws affecting labor, should be offered by the public schools at such hours as will make them available to the workers, so that labor may be able to exercise intelligently its full political power.

11. No activity savoring of militarism should be tolerated in our public schools.

12. The establishment of vacation camps, supported and supervised by state and cities, open to all public school children and minors up to twenty years of age, and offering additional opportunities for education and physical training.

13. The establishment in Illinois of a free textbook system for all pupils in public elementary and high schools.

14. We believe that the educational interests of the children and the future welfare of the state demand that it be made unlawful in our public schools to assign more than 25 pupils to a class.

15. We believe that in its own interest the state should provide more scholarships for the graduates of our public schools, and should develop a system of state aid to the parents of school children so that the future citizens of our state shall be more adequately prepared for their duties and privileges.

16. We urge that by statute or constitutional provision as may be necessary or advisable, all boards of education in Illinois be made elective.

17. 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 record.

18. The securing for teachers thruout our state of tenure during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without full and fair hearings.

19. The enactment of a state law providing that the minimum annual salary of a teacher in Illinois shall be not less than \$1,200, so that an increasing number of more competent and better trained teachers may be secured and retained for service in our schools. There must be a thorogoinng revision upward of teachers' salary schedules, to meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community of the teachers' services.

20. The liberal, ungrudging reorganization and increase of school revenues as the only basis for the expansion of our schools along these lines. England and France, with their resources strained by the last four years, have made 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.

21. We urge all members of organized labor in Illinois to take active measures to secure the appointment or election of an adequate representation of labor on all boards of education in our state.

22. Your committee believes that the most effective guarantee of democracy and of progress in our schools is the affiliation of the teachers with the great democratic force of organized labor, and recommends that all central labor bodies of Illinois give their support to the American Federation of Teachers, and appoint an educational committee to co-operate with them in organization work, and to co-operate with them and other agencies of the schools in their various communities.

23. We recommend that this report be printed as a separate pamphlet, and forwarded to the labor press, to all International unions for publication in their official organs, to all State Federations of Labor and central labor bodies, and to other organizations

and individuals sincerely interested in the progress of our schools.

Respectfully submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL,
Chairman.

CHAS B STILLMAN,
Secretary.

C A PENSE,
STEVE C SUMNER.

Your Committee on Schools appointed at this Convention concurs in the report of the standing committee on education and recommends its adoption by the convention.

REPORT ON COMMITTEE ON SCHOOLS

Delegate Stillman, Chairman of the Committee:

Resolutions 18, 54 and 63 all deal with the same subject matter, and the committee substitutes for the three Resolutions No. 54, amended by striking out the second Whereas and adding at the close of the first Resolution, "and advisable on educational grounds."

RESOLUTION NO. 54

By Illinois Typographical Union, Geo. P. Lischer, President; H. C. Maddox, Secretary.

Whereas, The Illinois State Federation of Labor has on numerous occasions declared itself in favor of a free text-book law; and,

Whereas, The close of the world war will compel the revision of all histories and supplementary text-books employed in teaching that subject; and,

Whereas, The political readjustment of Europe and the consequent alteration of national boundaries will compel revision of geographies and maps used in illustrating that subject; therefore,

Be It Resolved, That we renew our demand for a free text-book law, and that this law include provision for uniformity of text books wherever and whenever practicable; and advisable on educational grounds.

Be It Resolved, That the officers of the State Federation of Labor be empowered to draft a bill for an act providing for the enactment of legislation as above demanded, and present same to the next general assembly;

Resolved, That all unaffiliated labor groups and detached bodies, be asked to co-operate with the Joint Labor Legislative Board in an effort to secure enactment of this needed legislation at the next session of the general assembly.

The Committee recommended that Resolution No. 54, as amended by the Committee, be substituted for the resolutions.

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

The question was discussed by Delegate Stillman, Teachers; Delegate Haskin, Allied Printing Trades; Delegate Bann, Westvill Central Body; Delegate Grills, United Mine Workers; Delegate Madsen, Chicago F. of L.; Delegate Sumner, Milk Wagon Drivers; President Walker.

Vice-President Whelan presided during the discussion of the subject by President Walker.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Delegate Stillman continued the report of the Committee on Schools as follows:

Since the new subject matter in Resolution No. 19, not already acted on in Resolution No. 54, concerns the establishment of a state owned plant for the production of school equipment, the committee eliminates the last three preambles, and changes the resolutions to represent action by this Convention, rather than by Local Union No. 490, U. M. W. of A., the amended resolution then reading:

RESOLUTION NO. 19

By United Mine Workers Union No. 493, John G. Smith, President, L. Ramsey, Secretary.

Whereas, The matter of education is the most important factor in the welfare of any people; and,

Whereas, The problem that confronts the working class at the time of school starting its terms, by way of having to buy the necessary equipment for the education of their children, is at most times a hard one owing to the high prices charged for the equipment; and,

Whereas, We feel that there is an abundance of profits made by the corporations making those necessities; and,

Whereas, We feel that the State could, by instituting necessary equipment for the purpose of producing the necessary school equipment and selling same at cost, save a large amount of money for the people; and,

Whereas, By selecting the best authorities of the State to form a system of first class text books and other educational matter the same could be used for quite a number of years; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Convention instruct the Legislative Committee of the Ill., S. F. of L. to use their best efforts to secure the establishment of a state owned plant for the production of school equipment.

The report of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 38

By Delegates F. G. Stecker and C. B. Stillman, Chicago Federation of Men Teachers.

Whereas, The General Assembly of Illinois has provided a system of free public schools in this state in accordance with Article 8 of the constitution of the state and with the rulings of the Supreme Court of Illinois consisting of both elementary and high schools; and,

Whereas, The General Assembly has enacted laws whereby two or more districts may unite to form a high school district, elect boards of education, and levy additional taxes to build and maintain high schools in said consolidated school districts, and furthermore the General Assembly has provided that all territory not in a high school district shall be organized into non-high school districts and separate

taxes levied in such districts to pay the tuition of all eighth grade graduates residing in said non-high school districts that they may attend some high school; and,

Whereas, Many school districts in Illinois, especially in the cities, have maintained to the present both elementary and high schools within their general tax levy, but now, due to the increased cost of nearly every item required to maintain efficient schools, and to the greatly increased number of activities and the broadened curriculum demanded by the people and the law, said districts are no longer able to support both their elementary and high schools within their regular tax levy; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Assembly of Illinois be asked to enact laws empowering boards of education in school districts having a population of two thousand inhabitants or more to levy a tax not to exceed one and one-half per cent. for building purposes and one and one-half per cent. for educational purposes, to build and maintain high schools in said school districts under the control of the regular school officers of said school districts.

Your Committee concurs and recommends adoption by the Convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 39

By Delegates F. G. Stecker and C. B. Stillman, Chicago Federation of Men Teachers.

Whereas, The school districts of Illinois are in pressing need of increased funds properly to carry on the established activities of the schools; and,

Whereas, The bill providing for the customary biennial increase of \$1,000,00.00 in the state educational distributive fund failed of passage at the last session of the General Assembly, therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Assembly be asked to increase the state distributive fund for education by \$2,000,000, and thus raise the amount of said fund more nearly to the amount that would be available were the law providing a two mill tax for said fund still in force.

The Committee concurs and recommends adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION NO. 40

By Delegates F. G. Stecker and C. B. Stillman, Chicago Federation of Men Teachers.

Whereas, The Congress of the United States has enacted a law, generally known as the Smith-Hughes Law, providing for the distribution of funds from the Federal Treasury to the states to be used in the payment of salaries of teachers of vocational education; and,

Whereas, The States are required to match dollar for dollar all monies so received from the Federal Treasury, either from the state treasury, or from the funds of the school district in which the vocational instruction is carried on; and,

Whereas, Many school districts throughout the state have not now sufficient funds properly to carry on the school activities already established, and the establishment of these courses in vocational training will mean a further tax upon this present inadequate revenue, due to the increased school enrollment which will come as a result of the general establishment of such courses; and,

Whereas, This vocational education is of utmost importance to the youth of the state, and provision should be made that the courses of instruction in vocational subjects may be available generally throughout the state; therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Assembly of the State of Illinois be asked to appropriate from the general funds of the state a sum equal to that received from the Federal Treasury, said appropriation to be apportioned in the same manner as the funds received from the Federal Treasury, to further the extension of vocational education in Illinois.

The Committee concurs and recommends adoption by the Convention.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

Chairman Stillman: The report of the permanent Committee on Education, which was submitted to you yesterday morning, with the recommendation that it be adopted, has been in your hands since this morning. I once more, Mr. Chairman, move the adoption of the Committee's report. (Seconded).

(Printed in Wednesday's Proceedings):

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted unanimously.

This completes the report of the Committee, which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES B STILLMAN,
Acting Chairman.

T G VANCE,
Secretary.

F G STECKER,
CLAYTON A PENSE,
WILLIAM REZINCEK,
JOHN E PETERS,
WILLIAM A PRATT,
STEVE S SUMNER,
TIM F PELL,
THOMAS CAMERON,
WILLIAM MONTPETIT,
L J SALCH,

Committee on Schools.

Chairman Stillman: I now move the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

Staff of Chairmen of Press Committees

Local No. 3, Chicago, Ill, ETHEL E BEERS

Local No. 5, New York, N Y, WILMER T STONE.

Local No. 8, Washington, D C, SUSANNE ULRICH.

Local No. 16, Washington D C, GRACE LIND.

NOTE: The names of the Chairmen of other Press Committees will be added as they are received from the locals.

From Local No. 5

THE salary increase campaign has progressed favorably since the report in the November issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER. Several folders presenting arguments for joining the Union have been prepared by the Literature Committee, and they are being circulated among teachers with considerable effect. The response of candidates to the legislature when asked to endorse the Union's salary program was very gratifying. Most important of all, the membership drive to secure pledges to the number of ten thousand by February 15, is meeting with great success. Hundreds of pledges are coming in already, while many more are still being held for additional signatures. The difficulty is to reach teachers in those schools in which the Union has no representative, but several meetings have been held in such schools, with very encouraging results. Besides pledges, actual paid-up membership applications are coming in literally by the hundreds. If we get our ten thousand, we surely shall win our salary fight, although we may win without the ten thousand. At any rate, the Union movement among teachers in New York City is very, very much alive.

WILMER T STONE.

A New York high school teacher has been suspended without pay on the basis of statements made by pupils relating to political issues discussed in the class. The teacher was given no opportunity to testify. Well may outsiders inquire, "Is New York in America."

What They Say

Success in Seattle

To the Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

We have just won an equal pay fight here. The men in the high schools were given a \$300 war bonus for this year, and the women nothing. We began a campaign of publicity and got all the candidates for school director pledged to our victory. Then we elected yesterday the most generous one, a man who in the press advocated an eight-hour-day for the janitors and engineers and a higher schedule of salaries for teachers, especially the grade teachers.

We elected this candidate over the only woman candidate, altho the latter was also pledged to our cause, and she was an appointed member of the board,—and had voted for our bonus. But she was the appointee of the reactionary board, so we endorsed the man, Walter J. Santmyer and elected him five to three. We expect our bonus to be granted January 1, to date back to the first of the school year when the new members take office.

ADELLA M PARKER,

Chairman Salary Committee.

SEATTLE, Wash, December 8, 1918.

A Call from Yucatan

The President, Teachers' Union, 70 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sir:

You know most probably that we have a progressive and radical form of government in this State. All elected officials, and also the appointed ones, are Socialists, as are about 1,500 of the 1,830 teachers.

We are attempting to get away from the hackneyed methods of education. We realize that schools are not for the purpose of dulling and punishing children. The Governor, Carlos Castro, is with us in everything we do.

There is, however, a lack of proper material for the introduction of special and modern methods of education, and to this end I take the liberty of addressing this to you requesting you to please suggest new plans for normal schools (we are installing four which we want to turn out TEACHERS). Also send us the names of some manufacturers of moving picture machines and films, educational, also modern supplies, furniture, etc.

Please go as far as you like in your suggestions, in fact make it very far. We do some strange things in this country, one of which was that we had the teachers of the State, through the Teachers' Union (Liga de Profesores Adscrita al Partido Socialista) name every one of the 32 District Superintendents or as we call them here, Inspectors.

We take great pleasure of enclosing the first four

publications of this department. Will you please send us yours?

We thank you for everything that you may do for us.

Faternally,

H AYUSO Y O HORIBE,

Chief of the Department of Education,
State of Yucatan, Mexico.

Another Letter to a Friend

Dear W———

Recently, when S——— asked you to join the Union or to pledge yourself to join it, you answered him in a manner which does credit to your honesty but which also betrays in you a lamentable lack of the qualifications not only for the higher positions to which you aspire, but even for the job you now hold.

What is it you said to him when he asked you to enter the professional fellowship? This in substance: I don't want to remain a teacher all my life; I want a higher position; there is only one way to get it and that is, by ingratiating myself with the powers that rule; and if necessary—these are your very words—"I should black the boots of my principal if he ordered me to do so."

You are not alone in that attitude of abandoned subservience to your supervisors. But you are unique in your frank statement of your attitude. You alone of your kind are not given to prating about "profession," "refinement," and the other shibboleths of the shabby genteel. You say frankly that you do not want to compromise your chances for promotion by joining the Union. You believe that you enhance your opportunities by bootlicking, and you proceed to do so.

I shall not cite instances of teachers whose membership in the Union proved to be no handicap in their efforts to advance in their calling. Such citing would be catering to the cowardly prudence which for the present is an all too pervasive motive with you and your type. Will you answer the following questions in the same spirit of frankness and honesty which characterized your statement to S———:

1. Would you want all your colleagues to know that you are willing to black the boots of your principal?
2. Would your principal think well of you if he knew of your readiness to black his boots?
3. Do you respect any other teacher who is ready to black the boots of his principal?
4. Would you send your son or daughter to a school in which the teachers are ready to black the boots of their principal?
5. Should teachers who are willing to black the boots of their principal be permitted to mould the characters of future citizens of a democracy?
6. Should you be permitted to remain a teacher as long as you are ready to black the boots of your principal in order to strengthen your chances of promotion?

Your colleagues think you entertaining. Your classmates in the coaching class tell me you are conscientious though you are not gifted with much originality. Rate yourself and tell me whether you are fit to teach or to lead teachers.

When we who teach enter our profession, we find ourselves thrown suddenly into a realistic, practical, sordid field of activity. The ideals of service with which we were imbued do not seem to function in this sordidness. As a result of this disillusionment some of us become hard, indifferent, hopeless cynics; others of us become "practical" and play the game as we find it, becoming subservient where we must be subservient, and arrogant where we dare be arrogant. You have cast your lot with the second group. Whether we cast our lot with the first group or with the second group, we become unfit for our jobs.

There is a third group, a group which is growing in confidence and increasing in numbers, which is transforming the first group and making the schools unsafe for the second group. This third group is as alive to the sordidness of the situation as is any other, but it knows that the sordid reality is capable of change so that it will square with the ideals. It does not discard ideals with which all beginners in teaching are imbued. Only teachers in this third group are fit for their jobs, because they do not despair of the future.

The Teachers Union does not contain all the teachers in this third group, but the Union draws its membership from this group alone. If after these years of all too willing "adapting" and "acclimating" yourself to your environment some spark of original hope and idealism remains with you, I urge that you enlist with us and help us build the school system of the future, where principals and teachers will work together in mutual respect under influences to which we shall be glad to expose our children.

Yours sincerely,

JOSEPH JABLONOWER.

Keeping Up the Fight

Peace has its need of man power no less than war, and so the end of the war must bring no relaxation of effort to secure a federal child labor law to take the place of the Act of 1916, which was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last June. The enactment of such a law should be made a part of the American program of reconstruction. National efficiency in the future requires a continuance of our wartime policy of conservation; let us be thrifty with our material resources, but let us be more thrifty than heretofore with our most precious resources—the children of the nation. They represent potential man power. Man power, of which so much has been said during the war, is a national conception and a national issue, and as we take up the duties and obligations of peace it remains a national conception and a national issue. This man power will be needed not only for purposes of industrial and economic prosperity, but for the spiritual development of American life—for the furtherance, in particular, of democratic ideals and actualities. Soldiers and civilians have been fighting a war for democracy, but the children of today must "carry on" tomorrow for democracy; and it is quite essential, if they are to do this wisely and successfully, that they should be fit for the work. A logical way of translating the phrase "constructive democracy" into practical effect is to build up democracy by beginning with the children, saving them from the exploitation that stunts and perverts their development, in health, intelligence and morals, and keeping them in school where they can be trained both for individual efficiency and for civic usefulness. —*Child Labor Bulletin for November, 1918.*

The New Greeks

The ancient Greeks are said to have had a method of election whereby the candidates appeared one at a time before the populace, and judges concealed within hearing decided the winners by the volume of applause. This is the process that is now going on in Europe where President Wilson, representing the principle of an enduring peace and a League of Nations, have appeared before the French populace, and soon will appear before the English and the Italian people. Is any one simple enough to suppose the diplomats of the world, like the Greek election judges of old, are not weighing the wild acclaim that has greeted the President? And does any one for a moment doubt that he will win? Fifty diplomats might have out-voted him at the peace table; but fifty times fifty will not dare to decide against this vote of the people. Incidentally, it would be interesting to have a record—if there is any instrument fine enough to detect the sound—of the applause that would greet Senators Lodge, Knox, Penrose, and the other little naggers in the "greatest deliberative body on earth," riding through the streets of Paris, before or after the President.—*From "The Public," of December 28, 1918.*

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Book Reviews

"*The Woman Citizen*," by Herbert A. Hollister. D. Appleton & Co., New York. \$1.00.

Woman's remarkable achievements during the supreme crisis in history has once more focussed the attention of the world on the question of woman suffrage, and especially the relation of women in industry. The economic revolution produced by the world war means a new woman before whom will lie tremendous possibilities. In order to ascertain if woman will measure up to the potentialities incident to changed conditions, a survey of her past adaptations would be both valuable and desirable. Such a task Prof. Hollister ably performed in his book on the woman citizen.

Prof. Hollister presents a survey of woman's achievements in poetry, music, war, athletics, industry, etc., showing the remarkable contributions made by them in every field of human endeavor despite the difficulties that confronted them. He believes that the family, of which woman is the centre and essence, is the basis of social progress rather than civilization, and that with the advance in the ideal of the family civilization will advance. By granting woman social, economic and political equality, society will make possible a truer democracy in which woman, by her vote, will be able to help ameliorate the conditions of life by aiding in the prevention and elimination of disease, the nourishing and care of children, the elimination of licentiousness and the improvement of education and legislation especially in helping to remove all those disabilities under which they still live. The tremendous influx of women in many industries that had been closed to them, their rising economic independence and educational opportunities, means the rise of new problems and a new woman to solve them. To those who doubt the ability of the coming woman to so measure up to the great career awaiting her, Prof. Hollister's book will prove both reassuring and instructive.

"*Man's Unconscious Conflict*," by Wilfrid Lay, Ph.D. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. \$1.50.

No student of psychology, no teacher, no educational administrator can afford to be ignorant of Freud's remarkable revelations of the influence of man's unconscious mind upon his actions nor of Dr. Lay's work which carries out Freud's theories and explains them in a colloquially appealing way. Dr. Lay shows that the Unconscious is a force that effects every act of our lives and is responsible for such simple errors as are made by pupils in reading and writing or in their daily conduct: that the Unconscious comes into contact with the requirements of society and the often submerged, seeks again, thru various symbols, such as gestures, dress, facial expression, etc., to gain admission to consciousness.

By means of psycho-analysis, the teacher can penetrate what is to him at present, an unknown world—the Unconscious—and thereby solve many of his puzzling problems of discipline, and become more efficient.

Man's primal cravings manifest themselves in some form of symbolism which is ignored by our untrained teachers and educators who force the pupil into a Procrustean mould instead of permitting his natural endowments to bloom. The teacher, ignorant of the Unconscious, opposes the child's cravings and earns its hostility. In place of self-development, the child is forced to conform to certain arbitrary rules. That is, we crush in the child, what in the long run, we are trying to develop—an independence of thought and self-conscious adaptation to society. By thus relieving the child of responsibility for his acts during school life and then thrusting him into a world which demands initiative and responsibility, we insure disastrous results to both the child and society. It is the duty of our educators to summarize the achievements of the psycho-analysts and to make them a necessary part of the teacher's training. Only thus will the child come into his own.

"*The World War and Leadership in a Democracy*," by Richard T. Ely, New York. The MacMillan Co., \$1.50.

To one who is familiar with Prof. Ely's volumes in the field of economics, his latest volume, while interesting and at times stimulating, is, nevertheless, a keen disappointment. Nowhere in his book does he show an adequate understanding of the Russian Revolution, of the possibilities of democratic tendencies, or the best method of developing democratic leadership. In fact, at times he is bitterly hostile toward the newer democratic tendencies such as the recall, the initiative and the referendum, or to democracy in government and industry, seeing nothing but their weaknesses and ignoring their possibilities.

In his lectures he shows that Germany began the war to achieve world leadership for which they were utterly unfitted, and makes a strong plea for a government that will secure the best leadership which is to be devoted to the service of the community. He believes that government depends primarily on the character of the individuals which, in turn, depends upon morality and religion, ignoring the fact that neither morality nor religion can mould mass character effectively unless economic conditions are favorable. To read his plea for universal military training, his contempt for economic radicalism which he misunderstands, his misreading of history when he places the blame for the American Revolution on the stupid German king who occupied the

English throne, his praise for the royal puppets of our allies, his splendid tribute to men of big business, one would draw the conclusion that his book was not the product of a trained economist, keen thinker and impartial student of events, but the work of a propagandist in the employ of such an un-American organization as the American Defense Society. Democratic leadership based on industrial and political democracy in which equal opportunity is the key-stone, is something which he dimly perceives, but does not know how to achieve.

Teach Cooperation

Every secondary school should give concrete and well-illustrated instruction in all the co-operative enterprises in which young people can take part for the benefit of the community, and in all the protective and helpful services which young citizens can render. The altruistic sentiments and services should be set before the pupils, and should be exemplified in the lives of their teachers, parents, and natural leaders. The influence of all teachers and parents should be steadily exerted to diminish the selfishness and self-reference which often accompany thoughtless childhood, and to develop as early as possible good-will and serviceableness toward others and consideration for the needs of others.

It should be made a special object in all schools to develop among the children and youth what is called in sports "team play"; to impress all the pupils with the high value of co-operative discipline, that is, of the discipline imposed with the consent of the subjects of discipline in order to increase the efficiency of the group, and therefore the satisfaction of every member in his own contribution. This content in a strict discipline which he has a share in planning and imposing is today the chief need of all workmen in industries which require punctuality, order, system, and a common purpose to be efficient on the part of all concerned. There should be many opportunities during school life to learn this enjoyable acquiescence in the strict, co-operative discipline necessary when many persons have to combine in the prompt and accurate production of a given effect or result.

Some of the familiar means to this end are singing in parts, producing music in a band or orchestra, folk-dancing, combining in groups to perform gymnastic feats, acting plays, and giving descriptions or narratives before a school audience in which many speakers combine to produce one harmonious and consecutive story. In modern warfare a soldier's work in an active army depends for its success chiefly upon the soldier's skill and satisfaction in action guided and determined by strict, co-operative discipline. The same is true in almost all the large national industries. Success in them involves the general submission of all participants to a strict, cooperative discipline. This discipline does not much resemble the old-fashioned, automatic, unthinking obedience, which was long the ideal in military and industrial organization. It requires the voluntary cooperation of intelligent, free individuals whose wills consent to the discipline for an object which seems good to them and in a method which they think reasonable and appropriate. All schools and colleges should systematically provide much practice in this kind of discipline.—*From an address by Dr. Charles William Eliot in New York, in Reconstruction for January, 1919.*

An Independent Labor Party

No more inspiring program has come from any press in many a day than the proposed national platform of the Independent Labor Party, drafted and unanimously adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor. To realize just how good this program is, it should be compared with such utterance as those of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, and the National Grange, both of which appear to belong to a past age. Instead of trying to build a fence around land already under cultivation for the benefit of present owners, as the National Grange would do, these Chicago workmen would reclaim as many million acres of land as may be necessary to provide homes and occupations, not only for returning soldiers and sailors, but for war-workers whom peace may soon deprive of employment. Nor do these Chicago workmen share the view of Mr. Hughes that the public ownership and operation of the railways and other great utilities would be a mistake. On the contrary, they believe it would be a mistake not to own and operate them.

In this platform we hear, without doubt, the voice of labor. That voice is a clear, bold call for the application of the principles of democracy both to government and to industry. We recommend this document to the careful consideration of comfortable gentlemen as a possible alternative to the Bolshevism in the United States which they would avoid. It counsels no violence. It counsels no law-breaking. It asks only that the government and the industries of the United States be placed under the control of the people of the United States who do useful labor. And, quite properly, it calls attention to the fact that the politicians of the Democratic and the Republican parties have no sympathy with the reconstruction that labor desires.

These Chicago workmen speak for the age that is here. Mr. Hughes speaks for the age that is gone. The more quickly gentlemen like Mr. Hughes realize this, the less danger will there be of Bolshevism in the United States. Mr. Hughes is an adroit lawyer, and therefore, while denouncing government ownership, was too cautious to advocate the return of the railroads and other national utilities to private ownership. But his suggestion of an undefined "supervision" by the government will hardly deceive those who are familiar with the manner in which that other Hughes device—the Public Service Commission—has NOT succeeded in compelling electric railway companies to hold to their contractual obligations to furnish transportation for 5-cent fares.—*Reconstruction for January, 1919.*

Ineed, we believe that our liberal publicists beget a dangerous political cynicism by their querulous preference for complaint against their public servants rather than for calling on the people to correct the almost ludicrous conditions of irresponsibility under which those servants work. The liberal element in politics, the liberal press, have little more of value to offer usually than might be simmered down to the inept suggestion to "turn the rascals out." The people, appraising this feeble stuff by instinct at its proper value, are led into a cynical despair of their own power and a belief that the ills they suffer are somehow part of the order of nature and must be borne with a quietist indifference.—*From an editorial on "Responsible Diplomacy" in the Nation of December 28, 1918.*

English Teachers Better Paid

A comparison of the salaries of teachers in the United States before the war with those paid to teachers in England and Wales, appears to indicate that, upon the whole, American school staffs are the worse off. In commenting upon this somewhat surprising result of investigations, the Schoolmaster observes that in the United States there is no such well-organized association as the English National Union of Teachers. The National Education Association represents such a body as might be obtained in England by bringing together the National Union of Teachers, the Headmasters Conference, the Headmasters Association, the Headmistresses Association, the Assistant Masters Association, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters and the Teachers Guild. It has therefore the merit of being much less sectional in character than these English societies. On the other hand, the National Education Association ought to contain 200,000 members in order to be on the same footing with regard to the population of the country. At present, the figure is only 10,000, but there is to be a special effort made this year to bring up the total to 20,000. While noting this sign of progress, the Schoolmaster is inclined to think that the reason why England and Wales have a new Education Act, a supplementary grant for augmenting salaries, and a system of pensions, is that the teachers are well organized, especially as regards the National Union (public elementary schools) of which this journal is the official organ.—*From English Education Notes in The Christian Science Monitor.*

Teachers and Strikes

The fact that teachers, who are strongly opposed to the policy of the strike, should have adopted it in several parts of the country illustrates the desperate economic position of the teaching profession generally. While the wages of the artisan have doubled since the outbreak of the war, the grudging bestowal of a few additional shillings weekly represents in the majority of cases the only recognition of the right of the teacher to exist. On one hand the teacher perceives the apparent ease with which the nation maintains a daily expenditure of six or seven millions upon the war; on the other, he is rebuffed by the cry of rising rates whenever he asks his Education Committee for justice. "To grant your demands would mean an addition of 1s. in the pound on the rates," he is told in effect; and in consequence teachers are tacitly expected to continue to bear, as they have done for a generation, the equivalent burden of this rate—which is a tax upon their flesh and blood—in addition to their ordinary quota as rate-payers. For their part the Board have instituted a minimum rate of salaries for teachers which no corporation to-day dare lay down for its municipal dustmen. They have also published the Department Report on salaries. The great problem of the teacher—how he is to live from day to day, and especially how he is going to face the coming winter—remains untouched. Thousands of teachers throughout the country are in a

condition of grave unrest, often kept from public knowledge owing to the efforts of officials. A decision to strike at once secures open inquiry into grievances, and redress is, as a rule, expeditiously given. In view of the seething spirit of dissatisfaction among teachers the number of strike outbreaks has been small. It is probable that there would be none at all if representative standing sub-committees were set up in every educational area for the purpose of adjusting scales of salaries to the prevailing economic conditions as promptly as possible.—*The Journal of Education (London).*

Soldiers as Strike Breakers

From the weekly paper published by soldiers for soldier patients in one of the big hospitals we quote this passage: "When we 'get back on the job'—whatever that job may be—we will demand a square deal—not toadying and flattery. We are men and we are not so modest as to doubt our friends when they tell us we proved it over there. We want to be treated as men, not as sick children or family pets." The soldier wants primarily to be replaced in industry, from which the draft so suddenly withdrew him; he wants a normal place again in the community, and we trust that he wants a better community. Grateful patriots and clubs are willingly entertaining him, and head-lines reporting conventions of business men assure him continually that "jobs are waiting all soldiers"—but just how much is actually being done to bring the job and the soldier together? Unfortunate and probably temporary delay has interfered with the payment of his allotment, and an increasing number of soldiers are reported to be walking the streets without money in their pockets. Under such circumstances, they will doubtless be interested in an advertisement appearing in the New York papers for December 20, asking their aid to avert a threatened strike in the harbor: "Here is a chance to help yourself and at the same time to do a good turn to the fellows who are 'Over There' and who are yet to come back. You would not have hesitated to share your grub with them in the trenches. Help to give them a lift and assure them a continuous supply of food and other necessities." Thus the advertisement. In the announcement of the employers, drawn up at the Towboat Exchange, the cause of the strike is indicated: "We are informed that the National War Labor Board will come here on Saturday. If it is the purpose of these excellent and well-meaning gentlemen to try to force us into arbitration of the eight-hour-day question they might just as well save their time and the Government's money by staying in Washington." We trust that employers do not base their rosy prophecies of "prosperity" on the hope of discontented soldiers as strike-breakers; for the soldiers are scarcely likely to consider such treatment "a square deal"; they may not even regard it as "toadying and flattery."—*The Nation of December 28, 1918.*

To-day the situation is changed. Good chemists in the industries are not only paid big salaries, but they also now have a real voice in the affairs of the companies with which they are associated.—*From an article on "Chemist, Teacher and Manufacturer" in the Nation of December 28, 1918.*

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