

The AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

JUNE, 1919



Organization for Leadership

**St. Paul Grades and
Labor Assembly**

What We Have Accomplished

From the Locals

**Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy**

Democratization of Industry

THE question which stands at the front of all others in every country amid the present great awakening is the question of labor; and perhaps I can speak of it with as great advantage while engrossed in the consideration of interests which affect all countries alike as I could at home and amid the interests which naturally most effect my thought, because they are the interests of our own people.

How are the men and women who do the daily labor of the world to obtain progressive improvement in the conditions of their labor, to be made happier, and to be served better by the communities and the industries which their labor sustains and advances? How are they to be given their right advantage as citizens and human beings?

The object of all reform in this essential matter must be the genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the part they are to play in

industry. Some positive legislation is practicable. The Congress has already shown the way to one reform which should be world-wide, by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard day in every field of labor over which it can exercise control. It has sought to find the way to prevent child labor, and will, I hope and believe, presently find it. It has served the whole country by leading

the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding life and health in dangerous industries. It can now help in the difficult task of giving a new form and spirit to industrial organization by coördinating the several agencies of conciliation and adjustment which have been brought into existence by the difficulties and mis-

taken policies of the present management of industry, and by setting up and developing new Federal agencies of advice and information which may serve as a clearing house for the best experiments and the best thought on this great matter, upon which every thinking man must be aware that the future developments of society directly depends.

—From President Wilson's Message to Congress, May 20, 1919.

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JUNE, 1919

One Dollar a Year

Excellent Matter Well Expressed

LAST month we printed the resolutions of the Maryland and District of Columbia Labor Convention. This month we have the similarly able document of the St Paul labor unions on the need for adequate appropriations for education. There is a force and elegance of diction about both these contributions that will go a long way toward convincing those for whom they were especially formulated. They also may serve as models for other communities that are looking for methods of penetrating the minds of municipal and state governments.

Be Good Pay

SOME of the locals that collect dues from their members only during the school months will think it a hardship to pay dues to the national during the two summer months. There may be mild wonder here and there as to what the A F of T does with the summer money. The first thing that is done is to pay on the debts that have a way of haunting every new movement. The next thing is to send masses of literature to the many hundreds of places where teachers are congregating in county conventions and "normals," and to the other groups of teachers in state and national meetings. The summer is the harvest time to bring the union movement to the attention of teachers when they have a moderate amount of leisure to think about it and to talk it over with teachers outside their usual work-a-day circles.

All good union teachers will not begrudge the national its due and its dues.

More Than Business

THE attention of our members is called to the notice of the Advertising Manager of THE AMERICAN TEACHER on page 143 of this issue. The periodical has grown to respectable dimensions in the extent of its circulation, and is a worthy and adequate medium for advertising. This month we are printing 10,000 copies. In September, the next issue, the number will be at least 15,000. After that the number of copies printed will increase still more rapidly, we have every reason to believe.

Thus we have something valuable to exchange for coin of the realm which we desire in order to help bear the heavy expense of getting out the paper. All good union members should call the attention of advertisers to this important matter.

Organization for Leadership

AN important question of organization has arisen in several localities where the American Federation of Teachers has entered. In labor union terminology, it is the old question of industrial unionism against craft unionism. As might be suspected the teachers are settling the question here and there without realizing in the least that they are grappling with the big question of labor organization. And it is just as well that they are settling it without the quibbling waste of time that often goes with matters which are sometimes become more formalistic than fundamental.

In certain large cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, our union movement began with the effort to establish single

large unions that would unite all groups that had been played off against one another from the beginning. The effort was commendable, but it has not been attended by entire success, if we are to judge on the basis of the percentage of teachers that have joined the union, or have expressed a determination to join. In other important centers, such as Chicago, Washington, D C, and St Paul two or more locals have been organized to include groups that had been accustomed to work together. These groups have maintained a close organic relation by establishing federations of local unions. In this way, the separate locals cease to be separate, and the union becomes in reality for all practical purpose a "big" union.

There are a number of locals that cover the jurisdiction of their communities, and are apparently fairly in the way of approaching the desired one hundred per cent membership. The most recently organized of these is Atlanta, Georgia. The new Philadelphia local may become appealing enough to the teachers of Philadelphia to draw them all in. But when the local starts small in a large community, the fight is all up hill, as the development in New York has shown.

Practically all the locals that have started in small communities control the territory by themselves. This could hardly be otherwise. Their situation is of no particular value in aiding the movement of organization so far as the technique of rapid organization in densely populated areas is concerned, altho their phenomenal record of one hundred per cent memberships makes the large communities take notice.

The desire of these who are working on the problems of organization on the national scale is of course to increase the membership of the national body. Great numbers obviously mean power, and power for the little locals as well as for the large ones. Isolated locals that may feel themselves quite sufficient unto the present day, as well as for the future, should not fail to recognize the fact that the fights made in their units may be made successful by the mere fact that a large

and powerful body has been built up in some other parts of the country. A local that desires to remain small in order to do things on a more intensive plan may be calculating unconsciously to profit by the existence of other locals that have given considerable thought to increasing the percentage of their membership on the available one hundred per cent.

It is impossible to lay down any formula for organizing teachers' unions. But the experience of Boston is illuminating and helpful. Local No 66 started out with the intention of uniting all the teachers of Boston into one great union. But the teachers of Boston would not unite under that rule. So the principle of self-determination came into application. Groups that have been accustomed to be together want to remain together. If that is the condition, the wisdom of pragmatists comes to the rescue. We then give up the idea of one large union in form, while retaining it in substance thru the device of the federation of locals. Washington and Chicago have had a phenomenal experience of good fortune by means of their federations of locals.

Another consideration that must be thought over is the problem of leadership. There are some leaders who want to lead the whole town, while there are others who want the town divided so that they may have a bailiwick of their own. But organizations are not for the benefit of leaders. However, they are in a very important way useful for the development of leadership. One of the ablest of the presidents of elementary teachers' locals in our Federation of Teachers has called the attention of the Editor to this matter of leadership. She writes, "Do keep the grade teachers in mind. We have to drag ourselves up somehow, for we are after all the important factor in public education, and unless we are lifted from our hopeless mediocrity, how can the cause as a whole be benefited? I see some difficulty ahead when we have a larger proportion of college professors. With college professors, and high school teachers, how are we going

to get us poor things with our pitifully inadequate training to stand up for ourselves and be self-respecting? If this distinctly teachers' movement of ours does not help the grade teacher, where is salvation to be found?"

Then let us have self-determination for leadership also, for out of leadership determined by the group do we get the stuff for professional advancement.

LOCALS, TAKE NOTICE!

The new Business Manager of The American Teacher has sent blank forms for the lists of members of the locals to the Secretary of every local in the American Federation of Teachers. He desires to express his appreciation of the promptness of those whose lists have been received. But he would like to receive the lists of all the locals. The members of new locals that are paying dues on their membership for June are entitled to receive the paper for that month. An extra supply is being printed to accommodate those who are just coming into the national body. Remember, your new members will not receive the paper unless the names and addresses are sent to the New York office. The next issue of The American Teacher will be printed for September.

Teachers should call the attention of boards of education to the steps taken in Massachusetts under the Loring Bill. Industrial democracy is not educational democracy, but one may teach the other. Note the clipping in this issue, "Employees Represented on Boards."

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EMPLOYEES REPRESENTED ON BOARDS

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts recently took a step toward industrial democracy which bears directly on the development of shop committee systems and plans of employee representation. This is the so-called Loring bill to enable manufacturing corporations to provide for the representation of their employees on the board of directors. The bill is short and almost self-explanatory:

Section 1. A manufacturing corporation may provide by by-law for the nomination and election by its employees of one or more of them to be members of its board of directors.

Section 2. All elections under the provisions of sections one shall be held at the works of the corporation on the day of the annual meeting, and the voting shall be by secret ballot.

Section 3. If less than a majority of those entitled to vote participate in the election there shall be no election, and the vacancy shall be filled as the by-laws may prescribe.

Section 4. A director elected by the employees shall have the same rights and powers and shall be subject to the same duties and responsibilities as a director elected by the stockholders.

In its first draft the method of selecting employee directors was not clearly defined, and organized labor opposed the proposed legislation. When it was amended to provide for the selection of workingmen—or workingwomen—directors, however, organized labor withdrew its opposition and the bill was enacted.

The bill is permissive in character. It does not require corporations to place employees on boards of directors. It simply amends existing Massachusetts corporation law so that employees may be selected to serve as directors, thus radically changing the former requirement that only stockholders of corporations might select directors. Essentially, therefore, this bill regards employees as stockholders in the corporation for which they work, as investors, that is to say, of labor power or capital.

The Loring bill is a logical part of any constructive program of industrial democracy. Doubtless more Massachusetts corporations which as yet have no dealing either with union committees or with committees of their own employees will take advantage of its provisions and will find that it is necessary to go one step further and, at the elections provided for, permit the workers to choose their own shop committees.

British experience has shown that employee representation in management, if it is to be genuine, must be neither solely at the top nor solely at the bottom.

WILLIAM L. STODDARD.

—From the Survey of May 24, 1919.

Report Made by the Trades and Labor Assembly to the Council of the City of St. Paul, Minnesota, in Regard to School Conditions, on March 29, 1919

THERE is no greater need at the present time than that the City of St Paul should realize that its public schools are facing the most serious crisis in their history. And in order that the various elements of the city shall be drawn together in a constructive program looking toward the adoption of not only immediate but also permanent measures which shall remedy the situation, organized labor has requested its first conference with those whom the city has chosen to administer its affairs, namely; the members of the City Council.

If there is a question in the minds of the Council as to why we are conferring with you as a whole, rather than with your member in charge of the schools, the Commissioner of Education, let us make it clear at this time that we believe it is the intent of the present charter, that the Council was to perform the functions not only of the school board, but of a board for each and every department; and if our present form of city government is to endure, your honorable body must assume and discharge this duty.

Probably no lesson of the world war is more clear and sharp than as a nation is educated, so is it efficient in time of need, and more than all, can it produce those intellectual and moral qualities in men and women which shall guarantee that it shall successfully resist its enemies, secret and open, at home and abroad.

In the height of its struggle, England believed it vital to the nation's safety to adopt an educational program involving not only millions but a complete upheaval of her existing educational system. France, almost in extremity, refused to abate one jot of her educational program. These are matters of recent history and need no references to establish their validity. No less does the

future of America depend on the education of her people.

Therefore, in beginning at once to outline its school policy, organized labor is merely foresighted in the city's interests and confidently expects to meet with the hearty cooperation of all the elements of the city, believing it only fair to assume that they also have the city's welfare at heart.

This educational emergency which is our present concern, is wide spread. To be brief, St Paul in common with other localities, faces the probability, if indeed such is not already the case, that it will suffer an acute shortage of teachers for its public schools.

For a city of the size of St Paul to neglect the truth of the situation would mark us as stupidly shortsighted. There are other cities so much larger that are already drawing from us the best we have among our teachers, excepting those who are willing to accept a salary sacrifice in order to stay in their home city, that we are facing this condition now. Nor can we afford to ignore the keen demand for their services from other occupations that is depleting the teaching ranks; nor that normal schools, on which we must rely for our new teachers, for the same reason, are practically without students.

It appears, then, that we have a two-fold problem: First, to establish the facts of the situation as they are at present, and find what immediate relief can be given; and, second, at once to outline a program which shall guarantee that our schools shall be operated under the most favorable conditions obtainable in the future.

TEACHING CONDITIONS AND SALARIES

In the last semester of 1917-18, there were 959 teachers on the city pay-roll. From June, 1918, to and including February, 1919, 172 left the service for various reasons. To re-

place these and to provide for a normal growth in school enrollment and the extension of certain departments, during this time there have been more than 220 teachers appointed. This means that more than 8000 children, approximately 25% of the school enrollment, were in charge of teachers new to our system who must acquaint themselves with the prevailing methods used in St Paul not only in the regular but in the special lines of teaching, such as music, drawing, physical training, etc. These special subjects are always a stumbling block to the new teacher because the method of teaching them has not as yet been standardized to the same extent as it has been in the regular studies.

It may be urged that such fluctuations in a city's teaching staff are usual. St Paul, however, up to 1917 had been particularly fortunate in maintaining the stability of its teaching body. This grew out of the fact that we had our training school for teachers, a practise obtaining in the majority of large cities. The graduates of the St Paul Teachers Training School by their excellent work have justified the existence of the school. To substantiate this statement we would refer your honorable body to the pages of the Survey of the schools of the city recently made by a large group of educational experts. Would any one take the stand that the products of our schools after training to meet the special needs of the system, would not be able to articulate with the system with less disturbance to the work and loss of time for the children than teachers brought in from outside?

The Teachers' Training School was closed without notice in the summer of 1917. The Department of Education is considering establishing in the near future various kinds of schools such as Intermediate and Vocational Schools, all new to our city. We suggest that the question of the Teachers' Training School be reopened and made a special matter of investigation and discussion at a later date, so that if it shall be so decided, this school may have its place in the plans

for the extension of the school system, and provision be made for its proper equipment and maintenance.

The problem which must be solved at once is how we shall hold desirable teachers and avoid still more serious losses in numbers; and what shall be done to make the teaching profession attractive so that the class of young men and women whom it is essential shall be induced to train for teaching if the quality of teachers generally is not to deteriorate.

The remedy undoubtedly lies largely in better pay, but before taking up the salary question, it is necessary to discuss some phases of educational affairs which are underlying reasons why teachers are turning to other lines of work, and why young people will consider teaching only when no other openings can be found.

THERE MUST BE GREATER DEMOCRACY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF SCHOOL AFFAIRS

Every superintendent has at his command two groups of trained workers, the supervising and the teaching departments.

From a knowledge of what is going on in the way of experiments in this day of educational changes, the supervising departments should be able to suggest those plans which appear to suit best the needs of the locality. Out of the experiences gained in their daily contact with the life of the school, the teaching department should suggest those modifications which will insure reasonable success for such plans before they are incorporated into any school system. A superintendent who bases his educational program on the supervising viewpoint alone fails to take full advantage of what the city invests annually in teachers' salaries.

Society is demanding of the schools results such as it has never before called for. Experts at the top will no longer insure that these demands will be met, and the entire teaching body must be made up of men and women of intelligence and initiative as well as training. To demand such qualifications and then refuse them full activity is an un-

reconcilable contradiction. Much of the unrest among teachers can be traced to an unfortunate attitude on the part of the school authorities that this justifiable demand for a part in school management is merely a desire on the part of the teachers to run the schools.

It would be deplorable if such an opinion should gain ground here, and we urge that every one interested in the welfare of the schools should attempt to understand this spirit among the teachers which is not local but general, that it may react for the best interests of the schools.

The over-supervision of the average school system has resulted in a reaction against school-teaching which causes not only young people who might otherwise choose it, but teachers to go in preference into almost any commercial position with its comparative freedom.

Grade teachers in this city may be visited at any time by eight supervising officers and their assistants, to whom they are responsible for class room work.

Each supervisor with commendable zeal for the success of his department, exacts 100% efficiency of the teacher in his subject. To be 100% efficient in the ten supervised subjects is not given to many human beings.

The teachers are right, in their demand that there must be less supervision and more special teachers and teaching supervisors as a relief from the pressure of work at the present time.

Fortunately for the schools, because otherwise we should have only inexperienced persons at work among the children, there are always teachers who love their work enough to remain in it despite some of its unfavorable aspects; but unless such teachers can be guaranteed that there shall be intimation of unsatisfactory service and a chance to make good on helpful suggestions from supervising officers before dismissal, there is likely to be doubt, at least, in their minds as to the desirability of choosing teaching as a permanent occupation.

A very great cause of unrest among local

teachers was the dismissal late last spring of certain of their members without previous notice of unsatisfactory work. Any worker has a right to reasonable peace of mind that he may discharge his duties in a proper manner, and this should not be denied teachers.

Let it be clear that no one is asking for the retention of incompetent teachers, but there seems to be no reason why any department should not realize, for selfish reasons

The teachers have asked the Department of Education for an early assignment for the coming year, that those who are not to be retained may have an opportunity to look about and place themselves to the best advantage in some other locality or in some other line of work. The request should be granted.

PROVIDING FOR THE FUTURE

It has been necessary during the past year to bring into the city a large number of outside teachers. The increased schedule of other cities against the stationary schedule of St Paul has resulted in these teachers being paid salaries considerably in advance of what is given St Paul teachers for equal experience and training.

There is no disposition to begrudge these outside teachers what they are getting, many of whom it is hoped may remain permanently in the corps. It is little enough, but for our home teachers to be discriminated against creates a most unfavorable condition.

In spite of the fact that class-room teachers have had no increase in salaries, there has been an extension of hours. In September, 1916, two hours were added to the High School working day. The High School Teachers' Club registered a strong protest against the new hours on the basis that it was unjust to require extra time without compensation; and that all medical and psychological authorities agree that a day lasting from 8:30 A M to 3 P M, with only a brief recess for lunch is detrimental to the physical and mental growth of the adolescent child.

The Survey recommended that the High School day be shortened. We concur in the

recommendation.

The Official Bulletin of the Department of Education for February, 1919, has an article on the Salary Situation, which opens as follows:

"The question of adequate salaries for school teachers has, for some time past, been engaging the attention and study of educators thruout the country. There is no doubt that the question is important and in St Paul serious."

If we believe what is currently reported, we shall presently be asked to supply the schools with a very considerable increase in the tax levy for maintenance and operation. Organized labor has some opinions on the way in which such increased tax moneys should go.

We want for all the children of the city—the best there is in the way of building and equipment, but after all, these are but the machinery of the school while the teacher, we might say, is the motor force without which buildings and equipment are but dead things.

We believe that before the public is asked to grant this increase in school revenue, there should be some agreement by all the interested parties that ample provision shall be made for a considerable revision upward of the wage or salary scale for those among the teachers on whom the burden of the high cost of living has fallen most heavily. We refer to the classroom teacher. There has been no grade or high school salary increase, except some slight change in the annual increases since 1913. Other groups have fared somewhat better. The maximum for grade manual teachers was increased \$200 in 1913, and grade domestic science teachers the same amount.

Before the war, St Paul was already behind the salary schedule for cities of its class. Minneapolis grade teachers were then \$200 in advance of the St Paul schedule. In addition, this year Minneapolis gave its teachers a flat emergency salary award of \$50 and there appears to be a reasonable certainty that teachers in Minneapolis, aside from

being placed on a greatly increased schedule, will be granted an emergency award of \$200 for the coming year.

What has St Paul done for its teachers during the time in which the cost of living has gone steadily upward? Is it good advertising for the city that we pay our teachers inexcusable salaries? In the salary schedule which has been presented by the teachers there is a demand for an emergency salary award of \$100, to be effective on or before June, 1919. We believe it should be granted.

The teachers have submitted their salary demands to the Department of Education which will, as the ordinance is brought up for passage, come before your honorable body. We believe they are justified in their demands. If a teacher is worth employing, she is worth \$1000 a year. Let us draw your attention to but one comparison in commercial life.

A young man or woman may go into one of our great railroad offices from the grade schools and earn \$1050 without preparation. This is the minimum paid clerks. After six years additional training beyond the grade schools, St Paul pays its first year grade teachers \$600, and after years of experience, the maximum grade teachers \$1000. What inducement is there to enter the teaching profession?

Other things being equal, experience is a teacher's greatest asset. Shall our maximum salaries be high enough to hold teachers in the profession? We believe the teachers are justified in the figure at which they have put the maximums. Salaries should be large enough for decent living, something beyond the bare necessities, something for culture and enjoyment, and something for saving. Teachers, in common with all workers, should not face an indigent old age.

We would not have you believe that we have not weighed the interests of the other departments. We ask that you give them due consideration. An examination of the salaries of the supervising departments will show that there have been reasonably ade-

quate advances during recent years to care for the increased cost of living. Since 1913 at various times, of the assistant superintendents, one has received a \$900 increase, one \$700, one \$500, one \$300, one \$200 and one \$250. In addition, according to report of the Civil Service Bureau of 1918, the Department of Education has given special increases to 15 teachers, thru resignations and immediate reappointment at figures ranging from \$150 to \$300 in advance. Also the supervisors of special departments such as drawing, music and physical training have had additional assistants given them, and this must have a bearing on the question of their salaries.

Can there be any difference of opinion that our elementary schools must receive the greater portion of the attention of not only our educational experts but of the layman as well? They enroll the greater number of the children. Hundreds of pupils never go beyond the eighth grade. Upon their efficiency

depends the future of the child's career, if he is to have one.

St Paul cannot afford to lose the opportunity of holding its place as a great industrial and commercial center of the northwest. We shall need, as we have never before needed, expertly trained men and women, not only in the professions, but in all the fields of industry. If our boys and girls are to be ready to take advantage of the openings that appear to be coming in the near future, it means specialized training of every kind entirely dependent on the foundations laid in the grade schools. If these lower schools cannot retain their best teachers, if their standards deteriorate, then we cannot hope that our children shall be able to compete in life with these from other localities where the common schools have not been neglected.

And more seriously by far, it will mean a lower level of intelligence in the coming generation when education and training will count among the city's assets as they never counted before.

Symposium on Teachers' Unions

This symposium on teachers' unions is made up of the opinions of newspaper editors thruout the country. These opinions will at least serve to indicate that the editors are thinking on the problem of organization for teachers. For the most part editorial opinion on union organization as a natural movement among teachers is favorable. The value of free discussion on this subject must not be lost sight of by teachers. Moreover, every facility should be extended to the editors to become acquainted with what we are trying to do in the union movement.

—Editor, The American Teacher

CONCERNING A UNION OF TEACHERS

However people may feel toward the organization of a teachers' union, it is a pretty safe bet that most of them would join such a movement if they were teachers. Undoubtedly the idea presents some disagreeable possibilities, but the tendencies of the day, as well as circumstances immediately connected with the teaching profession, favor it. School teachers, as a general proposition, are ruthlessly underpaid. Their appeals for relief have fallen on pretty deaf ears. They face the necessity of turning to some other business or of securing better compensation by a method which has been proven fairly efficient, and which is apparently the only one left them.

It is of no use for individuals or newspaper to yowl in opposition to a school teachers' union, or try to make it appear that the desirability of such a union is less obvious than it is in any other trade or profession. They enjoy the same rights, labor under the same handicaps and are sure to adopt the

same methods of working out their problems as do other groups of employees. The thought of a strike on their part may be peculiarly appalling, tho largely because the public would find itself more directly affected. It is to be hoped, of course, that nothing of the kind will eventuate, and the teachers are to be congratulated for adopting an attitude calculated to discourage it. At the same time, if unfair depression of pay is persisted in, it is only sensible to expect that there will either be a great exodus from the teaching profession, or that the teachers will resort to drastic measures.

The organization of teachers unions has really been forced by the public, and the teachers are nowhere nearly so responsible for the movement as are the boards and communities which have refused to recognize the justice of their appeals. Compared with the advance of wages in other fields, and compared with the increased cost of living, the compensation allowed school teachers is far too low. It is not such as to enable them to live on a parity

with people in similarly classed lines of work, and it is not such as will attract smart, wideawake men and women.

The great fault with unions, whether trade or professional, is that they are directed more definitely toward securing of greater income than toward increased proficiency, but usually they are driven into being by lack of proper income, and that this is palpably the case with respect to school teachers there can be little doubt. The question for us to solve is not whether there will be a teachers' union, and one which will probably develop to nation-wide proportions, but whether the teaching profession shall be so relieved as will influence that union to devote its attention to improving the educational system rather than to a chronic bicker over salaries.—Editorial in *The Houston (Texas) Chronicle* of April 7, 1919.

UNIONISM AMONG TEACHERS

The Galveston-Dallas News does not take kindly to the unionization of the public school teachers, for the reason that the American Federation of Teachers is allied with the American Federation of Labor, whose units rely ultimately on strikes to accomplish their ends.

It is declared that those who join the American Federation of Teachers "are not subject to call for strike." So even if the Federation of Teachers be allied with the Federation of Labor, it does not necessarily follow that federation members have to strike.

But apart from the strike, which is not to be a weapon of the teachers, their union cannot only do much for the individual teacher, but it will do for the individual what the individual cannot hope to do herself.

It happens in too many cases that some helpless young woman incurs the displeasure of a man overlord and suffers such penalty as he may visit upon her, either directly or indirectly, without any detailed examination of her treatment by impartial authority. If her cause could be pleaded by the united voice of all the teachers, reinforced by other organizations, there would be ears to hear her.

One reason why the teachers of the United States have endured the hardships of the war period with no compensating increase of pay is that they were not organized. And another reason is that the great majority of them are women.

The affiliation of the teachers' union with organized labor will be advantageous because of the circumstance that three-fourths of the teachers being women, the chivalrous impulses of union men will be aroused to the well-being of these women to whose care and tenderness are confided the training of their children.

Union men will thus add the strength of their great influence not only to the cause of the teachers, but to the cause of education itself.

Unionism is not inimical to the public service when it exists upon a proper basis and adheres to sound principles, and no one is warranted in assuming that so intelligent a body as the teachers would attempt to secure recognition of any character that went beyond the bounds of justice and courtesy. The fact that it frequently happens that the individual teacher can obtain neither justice nor courtesy shows that the present system is at fault and perhaps collective insistence upon them may prove more satisfactory.

Unionism will bring the teachers into a still more intimate relation with the patrons of the school, or possibly it would be better stated to say that it will bring the patrons into more active sympathy with the teachers, and thus obtain for the teachers a sure and more sympathetic hearing at the hands of school authorities.

In this way, too, the people will obtain a larger voice in school matters than at present, at least in cities like Houston, where the school trustees are appointive, and where there is no immediate way for the public to be heard in matters of organization or policy, save by raising the issue in the election of the mayor, who appoints the trustees, who in turn elect a superintendent and, upon his recommendation—rarely deviated from—such teachers as serve the system.

We believe there is no room to doubt that the teaching standards of Houston and other features of the system will be more effectually raised thru the teachers themselves acting unitedly, and out of a sense of professional pride, than has been the case heretofore. And there will be many improvements when the teaching body can speak collectively and advise collectively, for then the rule of repression will necessarily give way and a spirit of genuine democracy be substituted for it.

Surely if the public school system is entitled to be called the cradle of democracy, there ought to be at least enough of democracy in the operating force to be heard upon every vital issue pertaining either to the well-being of the teaching force or the training of the children.

There is, of course, a possibility of the abuse of the true spirit of unionism in this newest Houston union, but *The Post* feels that it can state without reservation, from its own knowledge of the Houston teachers, that they will not violate any public interest thru the instrumentality of their organization, that they will correct the faults of the system which have resulted in injustice to them, and that altogether they will bring about many notable improvements.—Editorial in *The Houston (Texas) Post* of April 3, 1919.

ORGANIZATION VS AFFILIATION

The teachers of Philadelphia are discussing the question as to whether or not they shall organize,

and, if they organize, whether or not they shall affiliate with union labor.

There has been a good deal of foolish and mischievous opposition to organization among teachers. The instructors of our children have common interests and common aspirations; they also have common difficulties and are beset by common perils. There is no reason why teachers should not organize for mutual consultation and comfort, for common study of their difficulties and problems, for some agreement as to difficulties to be presented or requests to be made, for securing united action when deciding the time, place, and manner for presenting their requests and the information to support those requests, for agreement upon the methods and agencies to be used in pressing their requests or making plain their needs to those who have the power to relieve them.

Clear as is the right of teachers to organize and much good as organization has done and may do, it will be exceedingly unfortunate if teachers, after organizing, ally themselves with other organizations, particularly with organizations which have for their purpose the advancement of the interests of any particular class of persons.

In the case of many classes of persons, engaged in many different employments, it is only indirectly the concern of the public what those persons may do in the way of organization, or with whom they may decide to work for the advancement of their interests. Teachers in our public educational system, however, occupy a place apart. They must maintain an attitude of fairness and open-mindedness and friendliness towards all the children of all the people in the community. Children of laboring men and merchants and bankers and farmers and professional men and traveling salesmen and musicians, all attend the public schools. The teacher must give instruction in the fundamentals of knowledge, and likewise in the fundamentals of conduct, without discrimination or distinction. The teacher cannot favor the one class or the other in his teachings or in his sentiments, without departing from the attitude of impartiality which makes fair play for all the children of all the people possible.

If an organization of teachers were to ally itself with the Chamber of Commerce of United States of America, such an act would at once lay that organization of teachers under suspicion. The act would be observed by the public with the notion that whatever the organization of teachers might do, their judgment would be influenced by affiliation with the great commercial organization. On the other hand, if the organization of teachers should ally itself with the non-partisan league of farmers, and depend upon their votes, and their influence, to get for the organization the benefits which they desire, teachers, members of such an organization, could hardly occupy any longer a position of impar-

tiality, or entertain unprejudiced or unbiased views.

In the same way, if an organization of teachers should ally itself with a labor organization, it would forthwith place itself in a situation where an impersonal view of matters in controversy would hardly be possible. Members of such an organization could no longer exercise that fine impartiality which is one of the essential qualities of the ideal teacher in an American school.

It should never be necessary for teachers to do more than to perfect their own organization, composed of members of their own profession and dealing with their problems in a professional way. There have been a few instances in which the life of these associations and the welfare of their members were threatened by powerful interests apparently determined to destroy the teachers' organization. In these cases it has sometimes seemed necessary to the members that they affiliate themselves with some existing strong organization, with large membership, in order that their own organization might not be crushed. In general, however, the members of the community are interested in the welfare of the teachers and quite ready to listen to arguments presented on their behalf.

The heart of the great public is generally right towards its schools and towards the teachers in them. It is usually possible for the teachers, thru their own organizations, to prepare their case with sufficient detail, and sufficiently well reinforced by the facts upon which they base their claims for better working conditions or increased pay, so that when properly presented, the public will listen and grant the relief asked for. It is very rarely necessary, by an alliance with special classes or interests in the community, to arouse the antagonisms and create the prejudices which are quite certain to come when teachers ally themselves with one interest or another. Disastrous acrimonies and enmities seldom fail to develop sooner or later, under such circumstances.

All good wishes, therefore, to the Philadelphia teachers. May they have the wisdom to complete and perfect an inclusive and effective organization of their own. May all the teachers in all the public schools of the city join heartily in the movement; but after they have formed their organization, may they retain their poise and their independence and avoid "entangling alliances" which will, in advance, commit them to certain predetermined views on many questions on which their opinion may be sought and their cooperation and assistance asked for.—Editorial in *The American School* of February, 1919.

One answer that may be given to this opinion of *The American School* is the fact that the Philadelphia teachers have organized, and are affiliated with The American Federation of Teachers. They started out in

March with about sixty members. In less than a month they have increased their membership to one hundred and seventy-five. The editor of *The American School* is Dr Carroll G. Pearce, of Milwaukee, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Education Association. Answer to the arguments were given in the February and March numbers of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*.—*Editor, The American Teacher.*

TEACHERS AND UNIONISM

The New York Board of Education has thrown down the gauntlet of mortal defiance to the Teachers' Union. The board intends to prohibit the union from further use of school buildings for holding its meetings. As a reason for this drastic action, the board alleges, first, that the union is unduly critical of constituted authority as represented in the Board of Education; and, secondly, that the sentiments uttered by speakers of the union have been disloyal to the Government. This incident marks the climax of a struggle that has been waged by an insistent minority of the teachers, representing less than five per cent of the entire teaching staff in the New York schools, for "Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy." The other ninety-five per cent are either apathetic to the issues involved, or are unwilling to join a union in which radicals predominate.

In carrying out its program of reform the union has consistently fought the *ipse dixit* attitude of the New York educational authorities both in and out of the class room. At times it has criticized them with much heat and asperity. The union has steadily maintained that the teachers ought to have a greater voice in the management of the schools, that they should be protected from the necessity of kow-towing to supervisors, that teachers ought to be given an opportunity to express themselves freely on all matters connected with educational policy. Not even their staunchest defender can say that in pursuing their aims these teachers have always been discreet; but they have undoubtedly been the idealistic leaven in a system stodgy in its apathy and incapable—because of its veneration for stereotyped forms of thought and a super-Chinese deference for tradition—of real progress.

In the matter of disloyalty—a most serious charge, if true—Henry R. Linville, the president of the union, has this to say:

All suggestions of disloyalty thrown out possibly from official sources are beside the issue. The record of the union is absolutely clear in this matter of loyalty. The ideas presented at our meeting of March 29, to which the board objects, had no connection with loyalty or disloyalty. The part to which the board objects

was in criticism of the board in denying to us the privilege of having a certain member speak at our meeting.

It would seem from this that the hue and cry of disloyalty, one easy to raise in the present hysterical state of the public's nerves, is the proverbial hering drawn across the trail to disguise the scent. It is strongly akin to the charge of Bolshevism levelled indiscriminately because of its unsavory implications. There is much food for thought in the Freudian admission contained in the following extract from the *New York Tribune*:

The names of many of the union members—of whom there are about 800 out of the 22 000 public school teachers in greater New York—are, it was said at the Board of Education last night, distinctively foreign.

There are some people to whom a Jewish name *sans camouflage* is sufficient evidence to convict the bearer of all of the seven cardinal sins not to mention any of the minor lapses. The agitation against things "foreign" seems to be the fad of the moment. It must not be forgotten by those who are so ready to assail "foreigners" that only a miserable four centuries on American soil is all that the most "blue-blooded" can claim. Jones, Smith & Robinson are aliens, compared to Big Chief Rain-in-the-Face and Medicine-Man Snake-in-the-Grass. This talk of "foreigners" is seldom indulged in by hardy stock, sensible of past sacrifices and ready for sacrifices to come. Rather is it part of the slogan adopted by effete and enervated families who, because of sterility of achievement, are forced to dwell almost entirely on memories of a by-gone age when their ancestors were active. No American should yield one inch of ground to this mock aristocracy of pathetic human relics.

The contest between the Board of Education and the Teachers Union will be watched with interest by the entire Jewish community and judged solely on its merits. Our long struggle against "constituted authority," as represented by tyrannical states too numerous to mention, has taught us to respect principles rather than persons and justice rather than presumption.—Editorial in *The American Hebrew* of April 18, 1919.

The Beginning

In the London County Council elections, which have just taken place, six teachers or former teachers have proved successful in their candidatures. Of these, Mr Gautrey, the late secretary to the London Teachers' Association, was returned without a contest, and Mr Pincombe, the present secretary, won a seat in South London. Four of the six belong to one party on the council and two to the other. This is thought to be a wiser course than to attach the teachers' organizations to one party alone.—From *The Christian Science Monitor* of May 16, 1919.

What We Have Accomplished*

W T McCoy,

President, Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, Local No 2, A F of T

IT is an easy thing to say that the federations have accomplished a great number of very important things, and I am convinced that they have. I might name a list of fifty or one hundred activities in which the federations have engaged in the past seven years, and claim them as federation accomplishments. It is true that in many of the efforts which the organized high school teachers of Chicago have made for the benefit of the schools in the wider sense, as well as those which have been to the immediate advantage of the teachers, the federations have been the leaders in initiating action. In other cases they have shared leadership with the other organizations; in still others they have joined vigorously in support where others have taken the lead. It is obvious on the face of it that where there are a number of organizations in a common field with people of the same general points of view, training and equipment, a large group of common ends will be envisaged by several or all of these organizations at about the same time. The clearest proof that this has been true was the formation of a Central Committee which should coordinate the efforts of the various high school organizations. One of the things which I can claim freely for the federation is the steady growth in their ranks of this spirit of cooperation.

To enumerate the most important activities in which the federations have been engaged:

They have brought Union Labor in Chicago and Illinois to a systematic backing of the welfare of the public schools and of the teachers. This great body of men and women of Labor have shown their desire to help the union teachers to achieve their aims and have shown willingness to counsel with them

in formulating educational programs. Their solid support in times of trial have made possible many a success where, without it, failure was inevitable.

The Chicago Teachers' Federation led in the fight on tax dodgers and did its full share in financing that victory.

The federations joined other teachers organizations in educating the public against the Cooley Bill and winning the fight against the vicious dual system.

They took a similar part in the matter of vocational education, and in state and national legislation for it.

They fought the six hour day with five and a half hours' pay.

They have attacked and are attacking the vicious school tax system of Illinois.

They assisted in the teachers' tenure campaign.

They fought the Loeb proposition for 7.5 per cent cut in salaries.

They put mayoralty candidates on record as to their school policies.

They fought for investigation and publicity of school funds and expenditures.

They fought the unjust and unreasonable punishment of teachers in a number of individual cases.

They continually protested against the unfairness of our city papers, showing them up time and again, and unceasingly educating the public as to their untrustworthiness.

They have sent a representative to Springfield at all critical times in legislation for schools.

They have broadened their scope to include the battle for progressive legislation to limit the hours of labor for women and children, and to improve conditions of work.

They battled against the infamous Loeb rule, which was forced into its present state of quiescence.

* Report presented at a dinner given by the High School Federations in honor of Mrs Hedwig Hochbaum Hume, First President of the Federation of Women High School Teachers, Local No 3, A F of T

They organized the American Federation of Teachers and took the chief responsibility for its first two years of development.

They were the first in the fight for salary restoration and a shortened schedule.

They formulated and presented to the Board of Education convincing evidence of the wrong ratio of teachers to pupils and of overcrowding, and other evil conditions in the class rooms.

They collected and administered the Emergency Fund to right a wrong done by the Board of Education.

They championed the teachers' control of the teachers' Pension Fund.

They helped to bring about legislation reorganizing the Chicago Board of Education.

They helped win tenure legislation.

They have been among the foremost in every salary fight.

They forced recognition of the right of high school teachers to become high school principals.

They cooperated with other organizations to secure high school teachers' councils.

They are at work on the educational features of the new State Constitution.

Among the great achievements for which the federations can claim sole credit I think are these:

The development of a broader conception of the functions and relations of the teacher and an identification of his fundamental interests as a worker with those of other workers.

The growth of a whole new body of ideals for teachers from the highest to the lowest and of a new spirit of independence and self-respect thru all their ranks.

I should fail in my purpose, if, in closing, I neglected the tribute due to the men and women who have served the federation on their executive boards. Thru fair and foul weather, by wise counsel, by faithful and toilsome committee work, at no light cost of personal sacrifice, of precious time and of money, these men and women have justified the faith in them shown by the federations. They deserve the gratitude of all the teachers.

The Educational Bill

(Smith-Towner Bill Revised)

FOR A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND FEDERAL AID

INTRODUCED at the opening of the Sixty-sixth Congress by Congressman Horace Mann Towner, of Iowa, at the request of the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor.

Subject Matter by Sections

- Sec. 1. Creates Department of Education and Secretary of Education.
- Sec. 2. Assistant Secretary and other subordinate positions.
- Sec. 3. Transfer of offices, bureaus, etc., to Department of Education.
- Sec. 4. Powers and duties of Secretary of Education.
- Sec. 5. Duties and scope of Department.
- Sec. 6. Appropriation of \$500,000 for administrative purposes.
- Sec. 7. Appropriation of \$100,000,000 to be apportioned as specified.
- Sec. 8. Apportionment of \$7,500,000 for removal of illiteracy.
- Sec. 9. Apportionment of \$7,500,000 for Americanization.
- Sec. 10. Apportionment of \$50,000,000 for equalizing educational opportunities.
- Sec. 11. Apportionment of \$20,000,000 for physical education, including health education and sanitation.
- Sec. 12. Apportionment of \$15,000,000 for preparation of teachers.
- Sec. 13. Conditions under which States may receive apportionments.
- Sec. 14. Administration of Act by state and local authorities.
- Sec. 15. Duties of Secretary of Education in relation to States.
- Sec. 16. Duties of Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the Act.
- Sec. 17. Reports of States on administration of the Act.
- Sec. 18. Reports of Secretary of Education to Congress.
- Sec. 19. Date of taking effect and repealing clause.

Abraham Lincoln once declared that he hoped the day would come when this country would guarantee to all "an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life." The purpose of this bill is to hasten that day.

From the Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

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, GERTRUDE L LADSON.

Local No. 25, Norfolk, Va, JULIAN S. HUGHSON

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 Teachers Union, New York)

Local No 5, New York, is so used to misfortune that the dismissal of another member is no surprise. Perhaps our friends and fellows of the American Federation of Teachers will also get used to hearing news of that kind from Gotham. Our member, Benjamin Glassberg, has been dismissed from the service for "conduct unbecoming a teacher." And why not?

The educational system that prefers charges against a teacher is pledged perforce to justify the charges. The system selects its own witnesses, refuses to call witnesses it does not like, coaches the witnesses it does like, and terrifies pupil witnesses of the opposition, as it did in this case. The system is represented at the trial by the superintendent who made the charge, by the lawyer who makes his living backing up the system, and by the judges, the members of the Board of Education, bound by the system to support their immediate servants. We are compelled to say in all frankness that the judgment of guilty is the natural outcome. The teacher has no chance whatever, a condition

for which eventually the teachers themselves are to blame.

The Teachers Union, Local No 5, is printing for sale at cost the admirable statement of the case as made to the Board of Education of New York at the close of the trial. The counsel of the Union, Mr Gilbert E Roe, has prepared this statement concerning the facts and the issues in the case at the request of the Union. Teachers thruout the country are urged to send in their orders for copies, for never before have some of the fundamental issues of freedom been more clearly formulated.

The cost of the statement is 15 cents; 28 pages. Address: The Teachers Union, 70 Fifth Ave., New York.

THE NEW YORK SALARY FIGHT

WHEN the revolution of March, 1917, overthrew the world's worst autocracy, the sun of democracy began to peep from behind the clouds and shed its bright rays over the political and industrial world. Everywhere the people strove to make democracy real. This movement manifested itself not only in the industrial field, but also in our schools. In New York City the Teachers Union soon realized that its program of educational democracy could not be successfully carried out so long as the schools could neither attract new teachers, nor hold the able ones already in the service. Every appeal to teachers to help promote the spread of democracy in the schools fell on deaf ears, because all their energies were being absorbed by the problem of making a 43-cent-dollar purchase 100 cents' worth of goods.

Accordingly, in September, 1916, the Teachers Union began a campaign for salary adjustment, which finally culminated in a hearing granted by William G Wilcox, President of the Republican Board of Education.

The Teachers Union and various other associations presented their arguments for salary increases but the Board of Education, expecting to go out of existence soon, did nothing. As many of the teachers had helped the democratic administration to get into power, they hoped for much from the new board under the presidency of Arthur S. Somers. The new board appointed a salary committee to study the problem. It held three salary hearings, gathered a mass of evidence, but made no tangible effort to adjust salaries adequately. But Superintendent Ettinger, realizing that the increased cost of living was undermining the morale of the teaching corps and depleting the force, asked the city administration for the pitifully small sum of about \$3,000,000 to provide increases for 23,000 teachers, and received but \$1,800,000. This action aroused the teachers to such a fury that they rushed to Albany with several salary measures. With 57 varieties of teachers' organizations fighting one another, success seemed unattainable.

The Teachers Union, acting upon the advice of the president of the State Federation of Labor, James P. Holland, fought for months to get the various associations to unite upon a single measure, but all its efforts proved abortive. Thereupon the writer, acting for local No. 5, requested President Holland to inform the Committee of Education of the Legislature that organized labor would support a committee state-wide salary bill. The Teachers Union submitted figures for New York City salaries which, with but slight modifications, were adopted by Senator Charles C. Lockwood and incorporated into the measure prepared by him and passed and then signed by that sterling champion of labor, Governor Alfred E. Smith. This law, which will cost New York City alone from 15 to 18 million dollars a year when in full operation, is state-wide in its scope, and provides equal pay for all teachers in the state regardless of sex. Its provisions are as follows:

1. The salaries of all rural school teach-

ers are increased \$100 annually, this sum to be furnished by the state.

2. The teachers in elementary schools in cities of the first, second, and third classes are to receive minimum salaries ranging from \$720 to \$800 with at least eight annual increments no smaller than what they are now receiving. The minimum salaries in the high schools of the above cities are fixed at sums varying from \$1,000 to \$1,200 with eight annual increments not less than the increments they are now receiving.

3. For cities of the first class having a population of one million or over, that is, for New York City, it provides for an average annual increase of about \$600 per teacher to be reached in three years: one-third in 1920, two-thirds in 1921, and all of it in 1922. This provision was accepted in order to make the initial cost much smaller and, therefore, more acceptable to the politicians. Moreover, by making increases automatic whenever services are satisfactory, it eliminates the "superior merit" provision from the high schools thereby making it impossible for a principal or superintendent to reward superior subserviency and to punish independence of judgment and criticism of superiors. The detailed schedules for New York City are as follows:

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Kindergarten to 6B grade, \$1,005 to \$2,160, to be reached in 11 annual increments.

7A-9B grade, \$1,350 to \$2,700, to be reached in 9 annual increments.

Special teachers, the same as 7A-9B group.

Assistant to principal, \$2,800 to \$3,000, to be reached in 2 annual increments.

Principals, \$3,000 to \$4,000, to be reached in 4 annual increments.

HIGH SCHOOLS

Assistant teachers, \$1,350 to \$3,150, to be reached in 12 annual increments.

First assistants, \$2,650 to \$3,650, to be reached in 5 annual increments.

Clerks, Lab Assts, etc., \$1,000 to \$2,000, to be reached in 10 annual increments.

Principal, \$5,000 to \$5,500, to be reached in 2 annual increments.

Why was this achievement less noteworthy than it would have been had the teachers been fully organized? First, because the teachers had the undivided and enthusiastic support of organized labor in both city and state. Secondly, because the teachers, at the last moment, united behind Senator Lockwood's State-wide Salary Bill; and, lastly, because the same economic forces that have made the industrial worker a class-conscious intelligent being fully aware of the value of his services to the community, have at last forced the educated but still unwordly teachers to analyze the idle pratings of politicians and business men who dominated our educational system. They looked facts in the face and found that ignorant day laborers were getting an initial salary which they, the most educated (I was about to say intelligent) group in the community, did not receive until they had been in service for 16 years! Realizing, at last, how shamefully they were being exploited, they fought desperately and vigorously for a living wage. Had they been under a common leadership they would not only have secured more adequate and scientific salary legislation, but they would also have raised teaching to the dignity of a profession, giving each teacher a share in the administration of the schools. Such an organization of 23,000 teachers, actuated by the professional idealism which animates the unionized teachers of America, would be the greatest power for good in the community and the best guarantee against future teacher exploitation. May this heroic three-year struggle show the teachers that in *unionization* lies the salvation of the teaching profession, and of America.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ,
DeWitt Clinton High School, New York.

From Local No. 45

(Teachers' Federation, Mahanoy City, Pa.)

OUR union is a live wire organization. We started with one hundred percent membership. The teachers are taking much interest in the movement. They

all feel that "organization was the long-wanted need." All are firm believers in that glorious saying, "In unity there is strength."

We owe our success to Mr D W Davis, Kewanee, Illinois, an international organizer for the United Mine Workers of America who, by his long experience in the labor movement, started us properly. He gave us a very interesting and instructive talk on the great benefits obtained thru the trade unions. Mr Davis called the meeting to order, perfected the organization and obligated the officers. He was assisted by Mr Owen Crossen, Mahanoy City, Pa, board member for the United Mine Workers. Mr Davis advised each teacher to pay one dollar initiation fee. We did it, and established a treasury which enabled us to pay for our charter and also to become affiliated with the National Federation of Labor, Pennsylvania State Teachers Federation and Mahanoy City, Central Labor Body.

I trust the day is not far off when our national office will be in a position to place more field workers out to increase our membership. The teachers should have one of the greatest and best organizations affiliated with the great American Labor Movement.

BINA M RYAN,
President, Local No 45.

This is the Official Organ

of the

American Federation of Teachers

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
OFFICERS OF THE A F O T

President, CHARLES B STILLMAN, Chicago,
1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

Secretary-Treasurer, F G STECKER, Chicago,
1618 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

National Organizer; First Vice-President,
L V LAMPSON, Washington, D. C.,
1336 Otis Place, N. W.

BOOK NOTES

"*Tendencies in Trade Union Development*," by George Milton James. Reprint from the *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*, Vol. IX, No. 2, January, 1919, pp. 169-180.

The author states that "The trend of present-day development may be readily seen by an examination of the policies of various organizations which, on account of more or less similarity, may be divided into the following four groups: (1) Organizations whose members are employed directly by the Federal Government; (2) unions formed of men holding Federal licenses; (3) train-service organizations whose members are employed on the railroads, and (4) a miscellaneous group at various stages of development."

In every group the unions started as fraternal and beneficiary organizations more or less in harmony with the employing or managing body, but development has been along the line of greater and greater demands for economic rights, until at present nearly all of the organized bodies are clearly established on a policy of economic betterment for the entire group. There is, however, an exception to the rule of the employment of the strike in the case of government employees. Owing to the issue of a possible strike that was brought up in connection with the National Federation of Post Office Clerks the American Federation of Labor, at its national convention in 1911, adopted a resolution to the effect that the A F of L is "most emphatically opposed to strikes in the postal service as a means to bring about the improvement of working conditions in the service." The stand taken by the A F of L has had important bearing in settling the relation of unions of public service employees in this country to the strike. But the author calls attention to the fact that the attitude of the present Postmaster General is still clearly unfriendly to the postal service unions. In spite of the general opposition to striking on the part of public service employees, the recent successful strike of the London police indicates that the issue of the strike for public employees is still an open one.

The author says that the "most advanced movement in the miscellaneous group is found in the American Federation of Teachers, organized April 15 1916, and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which on November 18, 1919, included thirty-three local (at this writing fifty-three) unions stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with one in the Canal Zone."

Professor James has written an intelligent and scientific study which will go far toward indicating that the development of unionism is a normal sociological process.

"*Imperial England*," by Cecil Fairfield Lavell and Charles Edward Payne. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.00, net.

Since world federation is the problem of the hour, Imperial England, dealing with the solution of the imperial problems of the greatest empire, is timely indeed. In their well written volume Professors Lavell and Payne show that the trend of British

imperialism has been characterized by three distinct phases: First, the policy of repression so notable in the treatment of the American Colonies and unfortunate Ireland; second, the more advanced step of recognizing the fact that conquered peoples have certain rights such as the right to retain their language, customs, and to take a subordinate share in the administration; last, the policy of enlightened liberalism based on the modern principle of self-determinism.

Fascinating indeed is their story of how England blundered into empire, how she muddled thru and finally evolved an imperial policy based on a scientific study of the problems that confronted her. England's recognition of the ultimate right of her colonies to self-government justified itself fully in the World War in which she was loyally supported by her colonies especially by the Boers under General Botha, their former commander-in-chief. Her policy is to undergo its acid test among the brilliant, passionate, mercurial and embittered Irish, but that policy should ultimately triumph, since the war has taught the world a new lesson, that human sympathy and justice are more important in the solution of imperial problems than political boundaries, political forms or systems of law. To those who have to deal with the problem of local autonomy and world federation, the history of England's imperial administration will prove both instructive and interesting.

For Senate Inquiry of Miss Wood's Case

Senator Jones, of Washington, introduced in the Senate a resolution providing for an investigation by the Senate District Committee of the case of Miss Alice Wood, the public school teacher, who was suspended for a week by the Board of Education because it was alleged she had spread bolshevik propaganda in her classes. The resolution was referred to the committee on audit and control.

In presenting the resolution to the Senate, Senator Jones explained that charges had been made that Miss Wood was teaching bolshevism in the schools. He had no defense to make of bolshevism; if the charges were true, she should have been dismissed instead of being suspended.

It was further charged that she was not given proper treatment by the Board of Education, but, on the contrary, had been subjected to autocratic and unfair treatment. If that was so it was an instance of the practice of bolshevism in high places, which was worse than the teaching of it. Senator Jones said he knew to a certainty that she had been assured that the hearing was to be informal and friendly, but that next day the papers came out in headlines telling of her suspension.—From *The Evening Star* (Washington, D C) of May 20, 1919.

WHAT THEY SAY

R: Join the American Federation of Teachers
To the Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

Have you anything that would arouse the interest of teachers in their problems? If so please send it to me and I will try to get them aroused.

Yours very truly,

Williams, Iowa, March 24, 1919.

P S—Our schools are awful.

An Outcast

To the Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

The following note sent to me is submitted for what it is worth as a criticism of THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

"When I considered placing THE AMERICAN TEACHER in the teachers' room of the High School for propaganda purposes, I decided that the constant preoccupation with the subject of salaries, close as it is to all of us, might produce an unpleasant effect on many people.

CHAIRMAN PRESS COMMITTEE, Chicago.

Optimism Triumphant

To the Organizer, The Teachers Union:

I am enclosing my application for membership in the Teachers Union and check for \$1.00.

I have tried to stir up some enthusiasm and action on the Union in P S 39, but while a number of teachers believe in the principles of unionism they have no faith in the ability of teachers to act in a concerted manner on any matter whatsoever. So my efforts have as yet been barren.

For myself I have sufficient optimism to believe that when teachers can't stand still forever, perhaps twenty years hence even teachers may know the value of united action. So here's my dollar.

Yours very truly,

HILDA BRAINOS.

Promiscuous Shots

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

Vital issues are at stake in the school business. We owe it to ourselves and to the justification of our cause to face those issues honestly and resolutely. If we are not worth our present salaries or more, then surely, as teachers, we are worth nothing. Again, if we are asking anything unreasonable, we invite the stanchest rebuke; anything but a "ruffianly slap in the face."

You will not doubt that very often a teacher winces inwardly at ill-natured remarks which must be borne with outward composure. You know a teacher is a biped without feathers; yes, he is an animal who gets drunk without drinking. (Read between lines).

As a magazine, THE AMERICAN TEACHER may be termed a big-little paper. It is little as an object, but mighty big as a force in the teacher's behalf. May it grow and grow in said force.

Golden opportunity lies at our feet. Let us abandon our dreams, and get down to work. Although knowledge and character are a teacher's fundamentals, they must be reinforced by all the teachers unionized actively for the common good. Those who are not with us are against us.

WM HOY.

Local 22, A F T, Coal Township, Pa.

Why Affiliate With Labor?

To the Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

No sane man or woman will to-day deny the value of organization or unionization; that is, the use of collective intelligence and collective power to achieve common and desirable ends. The only mooted aspect of the question is whether teachers should affiliate with organized labor. Professor Snedden (for whose pedagogic opinions I have the highest respect) representing the intellectual heritage of a bygone age, maintains in THE AMERICAN TEACHER of January that since teachers teach all the children of all the people they must so conduct themselves as to be entitled to the support of all and not to strive for partisan ends, the implication being that such labor affiliation makes it impossible for teachers to do anything but act in a partisan way. I wonder if the professor is aware of the fact that all unions are autonomous bodies free to act according to their best judgment. If so, does he mean to imply that teachers, imbued with ideals of social service, will act with labor contrary to the best interests of the community? Does he believe that because one happens to be a teacher he has no right to take a stand on a public question which vitally effects the whole community? Does he believe that because one is a teacher he must silently acquiesce in social or economic injustice? I can conceive of no teachers' local taking any action that would hurt the community. On the contrary, affiliation with labor will benefit the teacher and the schools because they will be brought into direct contact with the world of reality instead of the unreal world of the school room, will get a broader vision which will make for better teaching and, in addition, will establish a more sympathetic relationship between them and their pupils and between them and the parents of the pupils. Just as the whole life of the teacher will be vitalized by affiliation with labor and the spirit of democracy made real, so will the

parents be brought into closer contact with the schools and contribute their collective intelligence to the solution of all school problems. What sort of democracy can a teacher (who feels she is too superior to be affiliated with a worker) teach our growing children? What sort of reality can a teacher, who lives in a world of her own creation, impart to her pupils?

Again, Professor Snedden, himself the product of a mental and bookish world, believes that teachers who are working for something more than a "quid pro quo," will lose their prestige by affiliating with labor and adopting militant methods. Good heavens, does the professor seriously believe that teachers to-day have any prestige to lose? It is because the teachers have pursued the suicidal and reactionary policy indicated by Professor Snedden that they have lost all initiative, all spirit, teaching morale and whatever prestige they once enjoyed! What adolescent to-day seriously looks upon making teaching a life work? Who to-day desires to dedicate himself to a life work? Who to-day desires to dedicate himself to a vocation in which self effacement mediocrity and intellectual servitude to autocratic superiors are the means of advancement. What prestige can a profession have which pays its workers wages that make it impossible for them to maintain their self respect or to get the respect of the community? What man or woman of spirit would to-day enter the profession? What man or woman of ability, culture and refinement would think of entering a profession where ability is a hindrance, further culture unattainable and refinement impossible?

If noble men and women are to be attracted to the teaching profession, if the respect of the community is to be won, the teachers must possess power, and power can only come through unionization. With power will come courage and with courage an aggressiveness that will win the respect of even business boards of education. With that respect and the backing of organized labor, the teachers will eventually gain the right to administer the schools. Teaching will once more become a profession; the teacher will once more develop self respect and professional idealism; and win the respect of the community. Only thru aggressive unionization will the teachers win from business boards of education that recognition and power to which their training and ability entitle them. Those who desire to see the restoration of the teachers' prestige, those who desire to see the teachers enthroned as the intellectual leaders of America must work for unionization, the one indispensable weapon through which their emancipation can be achieved.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

DE WITT CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL, New York.

A Summer School in Organic Education

Mrs Marietta L. Johnson, head of the Fairhope School of Organic Education, will conduct a summer school for teachers, mothers and social workers at Greenwich, Conn. Classes will be in session six weeks, beginning July 7, and closing Aug 15.

As in previous years the Summer School offers an exceptional opportunity to the teacher desiring to improve school practise, to the mother, anxious to make home influences educative, and indeed to every one interested in present-day problems of education and child welfare.

The Course of Study is planned to give the student a thorough understanding of the so-called "Organic Principle" in education, and a degree of preparation for its logical use. In addition to Mrs Johnson's lectures, the courses in the "Life Class Activities," are designed to equip the teacher for the special demands made by school practise that substitutes occupations and experiences for much of the usual book work.

Classes for a limited number of children will be conducted, duplicating, as nearly as possible, the school process of the Fairhope Life Classes for children from six to ten years of age. Mrs Johnson will have personal supervision of these classes and will be assisted by teachers who have been associated with her in the school at Fairhope.

Mrs. Johnson's Fairhope (Alabama) School is one of the "schools of tomorrow," described by Professor John Dewey in his book of that title. As a school of tomorrow it has already made its place as one of the few ideal schools of today.

The rates for attendance at the summer school are very moderate. The Secretary is Mrs H C Allen, 151 Park Ave, Greenwich, Conn.

Unionism Gets Results

Memphis, Tenn., April 26.—The Teachers' Association in this city has been attempting to secure \$70,000 back pay for its members since last September, and as a last resort the teachers affiliated with the Memphis trades and labor council and elected three delegates to that body. When the unionists were told of the teachers' troubles they appointed a committee that was ordered "to stay on the job until the teachers are paid."

The committee organized, but that was as far as it got, as the Board of Education gave notice that they would immediately mail the teachers their checks.

In connection with the situation, *The Labor Review* asks: "Now isn't it strange that \$70,000 should bob up, when, before the meeting of the trades council, it was impossible to get money from anywhere?"—From the *A F of L Newsletter* of April 26, 1919.

Teachers in Line

Atlanta, Ga., May 17.—Several hundred teachers in this city have affiliated with the trade union movement.—From the *A F of L Newsletter* of May 17, 1919.

Roster of Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

(With Names of Secretaries)

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| 54 | DOUGLAS H S, RURAL T F
Mrs N E S Hill | Ardmore, Okla. |
| 55 | ALLEGHANY COUNTY T UNION
Miss B A Noone | 364 N Center Street, Cumberland, Md. |
| 56 | MONTGOMERY COUNTY T UNION
Mrs Grace L Ryan | Kensington, Md. |
| 57 | ATHENEAN LOCAL OF A F T
Miss Lucy Bell Evans | 107 Mill Street, Athens, Ohio |
| 58 | PHILADELPHIA T UNION
Miss Anna D Hershman | 537 Mountain Street, Philadelphia, Pa. |
| 59 | MINNEAPOLIS F of T
Theron B Castner | 2616 Taylor Street, N E, Minneapolis, Minn. |
| 60 | DENISON TEACHERS' COUNCIL
B McDaniel | 1115 W Gandy Street, Denison, Texas |
| 61 | SAN FRANCISCO F of T
James A. Magee | 661 Phelan Building, San Francisco, Calif. |
| 62 | ROYALTON T F
L E Humphrey | Royalton, Ill. |
| 63 | AUSTIN T U
V R Schmidt | Allan H S, Austin, Texas |
| 64 | GALVESTON T U
Miss Annie L Bell | 1821 Avenue J, Galveston, Texas |
| 65 | COAL COUNTY T U
Miss Anna B Laughter | Coalgate, Okla. |
| 66 | GREATER BOSTON F of T
George Nasmyth, Pres | 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. |
| 67 | SAN ANTONIO T ASSOCIATION
Miss Frances Donecker | 122 Dreiss Street, San Antonio, Texas |
| 68 | PORTSMOUTH T U
Miss Williana Goode | 1001 Mt Vernon Avenue, Portsmouth, Va. |
| 69 | GRANITE CITY H S F of T
Miss Emma M West | 2310 D Street, Granite City, Ill. |
| 70 | LAUDERDALE COUNTY T F
J A Riddell | Lauderdale, Miss. |
| 71 | ASSOCIATED T U of N Y CITY
Herman Defrem | Civic Club, 14 W 12th Street, New York, N. Y. |
| 72 | FRESNO H S LOCAL
Miss Jeannette Minard | 311 Abbey Street, Fresno, Calif. |
| 73 | LINTON GRADE F of T
Miss Bessie Sharpe | 510 Third Street, N W, Linton, Ind. |
| 74 | BENICIA F of T
Miss Elizabeth Driscoll | Benicia, Calif. |
| 75 | HOUSTON TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
Miss Elizabeth Baine | 812 Bell Avenue, Houston, Texas |
| 76 | ILLINOIS STATE NORMAL UNIVERSITY T F
Miss Pearl Salter | 703 Broadway, Normal, Ill. |
| 77 | LOS ANGELES F of T
Geo A Rice | 823 S 2nd Street, Alhambra, Calif. |
| 78 | OGDEN F of T
A C Evans | Box 346, Ogden, Utah |
| 79 | MILWAUKEE NORMAL TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
Lucius T Gould, President | 642 Prospect Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis. |
| 80 | WHITEWATER STATE NORMAL LOCAL
Benjamin B James | 710 Janesville, Whitewater, Wis. |
| 81 | QUINCY TEACHERS FEDERATION
Miss Alice L. McClatchy | 67 Brook Street, Wollaston, Mass. |

Correction of Roster in March Number
No. 14 should read Jasonville, Ill., instead of Jasonville, Ind.

Other new locals are in the process of organization in Atlanta, Ga., Newark, N. J., Jersey City, N. J. and Boston, Mass.

Beginning with the Next Issue THE AMERICAN TEACHER

is prepared to receive local and national advertising.

Business firms cannot choose a better medium to reach the teachers of the United States than THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

WHY?

THE AMERICAN TEACHER is a national publication.

It is the official organ of the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

At the rate at which new locals are being formed thruout the country, it is expected that there will be 15,000 members of the Federation by September. This means that 15,000 teachers thruout the United States will soon be reading THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

Every teacher who pays dues to the Federation receives The American Teacher without extra charge. Hence the circulation of THE AMERICAN TEACHER is as large as the membership of the Federation, at least.

By next year our national organizers predict a membership of 50,000 teachers.

Does this mean anything to you, Mr. Advertiser?

We offer generous commissions to teachers who will solicit advertisements. Get on the job in your home town and gain a new source of income. For information regarding advertising rates, etc., address Advertising Manager, THE AMERICAN TEACHER, 70 F. 5th Ave., New York.

Enlightenment Helps

In these days of reactionary tendencies in education, with the German language and the state of Soviet Russia alike taboo, it is encouraging to note that Boston is about to institute a Teachers' Union under the approval of all five members of the Board of Education. The chairman of the Board, in a statement to the newspapers, expresses his conviction that teachers ought to organize in a union for several good and sufficient reasons—to maintain their self-respect and interest in the profession, to cultivate their moral and economic independence, to be able to demand higher salaries, and to exercise thru the union a measure of control over the policies of education. With such an enlightened attitude on the part of the authorities, the movement ought to gain immediate headway.—From *The Nation* of May 17, 1919.

Oppose Teachers' Union

Ogden, Utah, May 17.—Two hundred teachers signed an application for a charter and are being assisted by the unions to secure improved conditions that have been denied them by the school authorities who are refusing to reemploy them unless they again sign individual contracts.—From the *A F of L Newsletter* of May 17, 1919.

Character Education

The organization work for the interstate \$20,000 research for the best methods of character education in public schools is nearing completion. The chairmen of research have been appointed in thirty-five states. They include eight state superintendents, one assistant state superintendent, twelve university and two college professors, seven superintendents of schools and one assistant superintendent, one normal school president and two professors, and one private school principal.

The research year has been set for October 1, 1919, to October 1, 1920. One hundred copies of a volume containing 600 pages of extracts from educational literature on character education is being printed at the expense of the donor of the \$20,000 award for distribution and loaning to the collaborators as an assistance in their research thinking. It is hoped that in each state all educators interested in this phase of education will volunteer their co-operation to their state collaborators.

The prize of \$20,000 will be awarded to the state group (composed of nine persons) that presents the best plan for character education.

Address: National Institution for Moral Instruction, Chevy Chase Lodge, Washington, D. C.

In Touch with Life Forces

Since I had always been a sympathizer with organized labor, I thought that my joining a teachers' union would be only a formal acknowledgement of that sympathy. It did not seem especially important that my name should be enrolled, except that it might, with others, help to advertise the movement. But after I had received my card of membership, a new feeling took possession of me. I met labor unionites in a spirit of manhood quite different from my former attitude of friendliness. In fact the change was very like that which takes place in a flat-dweller who visits his suburban relative, and enjoys the scenery and eggs that are part of that relative's life, then, deciding to move, himself plants shrubbery and sets hens, and appreciates and suffers, and is stirred with bucolic love. The cook, the carpenter, the cigar-maker—all seemed to take on a new dignity as I fingered my card in my pocket, and correspondingly, I arose from the rank of parasite to the stature of a man dealing, not with the forces of expediency in favor of the few, but with life forces that are shaping a new earth.

E DUDLEY PARSONS,

Minneapolis Federation of Teachers,

Local 59, A F of T