

The

AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

NOVEMBER, 1919



The Industrial Problem
and Our Thinking



An American Teacher
in England



A Letter to the Unorganized



From the Locals

Bur of Education
Washington
D C

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

Organized Labor in the Leadership

WITH a vision which now appears prophetic, the American Federation of Labor in its first convention in 1881 went on record for compulsory education, and has repeated with ever increasing emphasis that negligence to pass and enforce laws to remove illiteracy would result in a crisis. Since 1891 it has called attention to the lax condition of immigration, and has emphatically declared that an open port for immigrants and the absence of compulsory education would work together to create havoc. Great industrial organizations have exploited the well established American belief in the asylum for the world's oppressed and have secured such classes of European population as best suited their purposes in maintaining cheap labor and helpless underlings. In spite of labor's protests, both native and foreign-born alike have been neglected, and left untrained to take their part as intelligent members of society. Lobbyists have been ever present to prevent suitable legislation. The machinery for maintaining schools has been controlled by interests more concerned in low tax rates than in adequate provisions for education. In-

visible governments have feared the results of popular intelligence and have studiously sought to stifle every agency for promoting intelligence among the people.

Democracy can succeed only where the people are fitted for it. The degree of its success depends upon the training accorded to every one to share in the responsibilities of political, social and industrial activities. The increasing emphasis which labor has laid upon the importance of public school systems and all other means of education, must now be stressed as never before.

In this critical period of confusion in public opinion and of clashing of forces some strong democratic organization must assume leadership and direct the work of reconstruction. That leadership

must be assumed by organized labor. There is no other force sufficiently qualified. Having already formulated in the past educational policies of the highest standard the Thirty-Seventh Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor pledges itself anew to the task of reconstructive education.

—From the Preamble of the Report on Education of the Thirty-Seventh Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, October, 1919.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIALS	195
AN AMERICAN TEACHER IN ENGLAND....	197
SEVENTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE	202
A LETTER TO THE UNORGANIZED.....	206
THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE AMERICAN TEACHER	209
THE NOVEMBER MESSAGE.....	210
FROM THE LOCALS OF THE A F OF T.....	212

The American Teacher

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Vol. VIII, No. 9

NOVEMBER, 1919

One Dollar a Year

ORGANIZE YOUR IDEAS FOR THE CONVENTION

IN MR. STECKER'S "November Message" printed in this issue announcement is made of the National Convention of the American Federation of Teachers to be held in the week of December 29, 1919, in Chicago. In view of the fact that the union movement among the teachers is a democratic one, it behooves the members to bestir themselves and begin the formulation of their ideas concerning matters that should come up for consideration at the Convention.

Information has reached us that a few locals will have meetings in the near future for the purpose of instructing their delegates how to act at the Convention on questions which affect these locals. Such initiative is commendable, but is it not possible that all the locals would profit more if the columns of *The American Teacher* were used to announce the particular questions on which locals will ask the Convention to act? The December issue will go to press on December 11th. This date may interfere with announcements from some locals, but it will not interfere with the officers and members of locals writing in their suggestions before their locals have met. We, therefore, urge all members to send in their ideas as informal suggestions from their localities. A circular letter has gone out to the secretaries of all locals to this effect.

We don't mind offering a lead to your thoughts, but you must not limit your thoughts to this lead.

There will probably come up propositions to amend the Constitution, relative to per capita dues, to changes in the rules govern-

ing the organization of new locals, especially with reference to admitting principals into locals of certain types. We have a great deal to say about carrying democracy into education, but as yet we have no clear national program as to what an educational system would look like if it were organized definitely on democratic lines. Let some members try to visualize this new institution of Democracy for the benefit of the rest of us. The crisis in the national field of labor is upon us. What shall be our part? Our resolutions of the Conventions of 1916 and 1918 were epoch-making documents in the domain of educational idealism. What shall we say in 1919?

Here is your chance if you have held back before!

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM AND OUR THINKING

"You have defeated the labor group in its declaration, but we will meet you again in conference, and when we do meet you there you will be glad to talk collective bargaining."

History does not record whether Judge Gary chuckled when he heard this speech made by President Gompers at the close of labor's participation in the Industrial Conference at Washington. If Judge Gary had any emotions at all on that occasion they were probably not accompanied by any more discernment than he has shown on other occasions in the past few weeks. Possibly he thought Mr. Gompers meant to threaten. In that case Gary would be ready. But if the speech was meant as a social prediction, as an interpretation of an evolutionary process working itself out to decision, then Gary

would not be ready, for he would not understand.

After all, it does not matter so much whether Judge Gary understands or not. Possibly too much concern has been expressed over the fact that this particular boss of industry refused to confer with labor leaders, or to agree to the organization of an arbitration board at the invitation of the national government, or its representatives. While we are reviling Gary for his attitude, we are thinking in the terms of a short-handed, narrow-minded psychology. Not only is this true of those who condemn Gary as an individual, but it is also true of those who support him. Many good citizens, or those who believe themselves good, stand by Gary in the faith that he represents American institutions. Neither view is the true interpretation of Gary, for he is nothing more than the personification of that cruel, unintelligent and relentless force in nature that uses human beings as it uses lifeless matter. If he were a tornado we would try to build to withstand him; if he were a tiger or other dangerous wild beast we would seek to destroy him. But in the form of a human being the problem he presents is not ultimately difficult, and not at all dangerous. It only requires intelligence.

We need only to realize that one man has set his will against the composite will of several hundred thousand men who perform the useful labor of manufacturing steel for all the people. The chief function of Gary in the transaction is to see that profit is made out of the work of these hundreds of thousands of men. Gary has also set his will against the good intentions of the national government in offering its services to arrange an arbitration of the differences between the contending parties. For the sake of the profit which very few get anyway the rest of us permit a menacing creature to play fast and loose with the general welfare, and to defy the social will. This

does not seem very intelligent on our part. And when our position is examined it appears to have very little to do with maintaining our democratic form of government and our Constitution.

Our chief difficulty seems to be that our intelligence has not kept pace in development and adjustment with the growth of our industrial greatness. We can only see that greatness as a thing by itself. We cannot yet make efficient connections in our minds between it and the rights of one man, and particularly with the rights of all men. Our courses of study in the schools contain few references to this point, and our college teachers did not tell us to think that way. It has been the function of a philosopher here and there to propose social thinking as an intellectual process, and it has been the function of the workers to give it pragmatic sanction.

When the rest of us grow a little more we shall set Judge Gary and his type to one side with as little difficulty and concern as we now drain marshes to eliminate mosquitoes.

ON ACCOUNT OF THE LOCKOUT

On account of the lockout of the members of Local 51, pressmen, and of Local 23, press feeders, in the City of New York, the November issue of *The American Teacher* has been delayed in appearing. The December issue also will be somewhat behind in schedule, but will go to press on December 11.

TO THE LOCAL SECRETARIES

Have you sent to the Business Manager the names of all your new members?

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An American Teacher in England

WILLIAM I HELLER

Member, Local No 5, New York

My business plans called for a stay of only two weeks in London, every moment of which was crowded with work. Still I remembered the promise I had made to the Editor of the *American Teacher*, before leaving for Europe, that I would not miss the opportunity of visiting the headquarters of the National Union of Teachers of England, of which he is a consistent admirer, and on my own account I wanted to obtain a little first-hand information of the workings of that body, as well as to gather some literature which might be useful as a guide to our own teachers' unions in America.

During a temporary lull in my own business, I set about locating the address of the teachers' organization. At first I made the error of confusing the London Teachers Association with the National Union of Teachers, as anybody else, unfamiliar with the situation, might have done. The headquarters of the L. T. A. are in Pilgrim Street, one of the many crooked lanes branching off Fleet Street, near Ludgate Circus, honeycombed with offices of newspapers and other publications. When I entered the office of the L. T. A., I imagined myself in our own Teachers Union office at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. The place was extremely business-like in appearance, and there were stacks of literature, chief of which were new salary schedules. At the time the teachers of England were in the midst of waging a salary campaign, and there was evidence that they were determined to carry it to a successful conclusion. The pleasant girl stenographer, in the absence of the secretary, informed me that I had been mistaken in thinking that this was the office of the national union, but in the same breath told me that negotiations were being carried on between the L. T. A., with a membership of 20,000, and the National Union of Teachers, whereby the two bodies would amalgamate. I expressed surprise at the

large membership of the organization, and explained the difficulties which we encountered in America in organizing the teachers. She herself was a member of the Stenographers Union, and she remarked that she had noticed the tendency of teachers to consider themselves as a class apart, somewhat superior to other workers. This was very significant to me, as it seems to be the attitude of many teachers to consider it beneath their dignity to organize. Membership in the L. T. A., which is 50 cents a year, entitles the teacher to participate in a kind of buying plan whereby the teacher may purchase at various discounts merchandise at certain stores. The stenographer rather ruefully remarked that were it not for this privilege, the L. T. A. would probably have a much smaller membership.

She gave me a trading circular, issued by the association and it certainly was an advantage to be a member, especially in these days of the H. C. of L. She also gave me the address of the National Union of Teachers, which is a building called Hamilton House, on Mabledon Place, in the Western part of London, near Euston Square and the imposing St. Pancras railway station.

I went out in quest of Hamilton House the next day, and after some fruitless inquiries for Mabledon Place, due chiefly to the fact that I had addressed myself to several bobbies who did not know their London, I finally came across one who, after the manner of his kind, snapped out, "two turns to your left," and I was there. Mabledon Place is one of the small side streets leading to Euston Road, part of a quiet neighborhood given over chiefly to boarding houses. The Unity House, the home of the National Union of Railwaymen, the scene of the recent bitter contest between the English government and the railway workers is also in this vicinity. Opposite Hamilton House is a large park with tennis courts, which were

being used to their capacity that day.

I did not expect to have very much success in meeting any of the officials of the union inasmuch as the school vacations had already begun, and was more than pleased to learn that the General Secretary of the N U T was in the habit of visiting his office daily between twelve and one. I therefore made an appointment to meet Sir James Yoxall, the General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, the following day.

Sir James expressed his pleasure at being able to be of assistance to American teachers. He is a man of very dignified bearing, somewhat past sixty, it seemed to me, but displaying in every motion and gesture the alertness and vigor of a much younger man. His ruddy cheeks indicated the habitual love of the Englishman for an outdoor and athletic life. He is tall with hair turning white and a short Van Dyke beard, giving him the

appearance of the professional man. Indeed, Sir James Yoxall has been of service to the teachers of England, chiefly as Liberal member of the House of Commons for over twenty-three years, in which body he has consistently represented the teachers and upheld their cause. He was also a member of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. A good deal of the successful up-hill struggle of the English teachers for recognition may be attributed to his efforts. Sir James Yoxall talks quickly and wastes no time with his interviewer, with the knowledge of a man who is familiar with every phase of the educational situation.

In answer to my first question he took pains to explain that the word "Union" in the title of their organization did not refer to any labor affiliation. The prospectus states that "the Union is neither an Incorporated Professional Institute nor a Trade



THE HOME OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS

Union, but it combines the best features of each, with certain functions peculiarly its own." The National Union of Teachers was organized in 1870, and since then had grown to a membership of 104,000. It exerts its influence largely in advocating the election to Parliament of men who are pledged to look after the welfare of teachers and of education. It differs from our own National Education Association, in that it is composed wholly of class teachers, while the latter to all appearances is dominated by superintendents. The strength of the English organization lies in the fact that it has always fought the battles of the class-room teacher, and with such success and general satisfaction that it has not officially joined hands with the British Labor Party. Many of the members, however, are in hearty sympathy with the aims of the party, as indicated by a recent vote on the question of affiliating when out of about thirty thousand teachers voting, about fourteen thousand voted to affiliate with the British Labor Party.

The will of the National Union of Teachers is expressed at an annual convention, when thousands of teachers assemble at a stated meeting place to discuss the issues for the coming year. Only recently, on October 10th, newspaper despatches inform us that a special convention was held in Birmingham, when the National Union of Teachers passed resolutions calling for 100 per cent increase in salaries above pre-war rates. The teachers were discontented with the recommendation of the Joint Committee appointed by the Government. The Government had recognized by its recent award to the railway men that 100 per cent was the least addition that could be made on pre-war salaries and wages, but it was trying to force the teachers to consent to a 10 to 50 per cent increase. It was the sentiment of the teachers that if the Government offered the teachers a minimum of less than £200, it would put its hand on a hornet's nest, and the whole profession would be aroused.

Failing to get satisfaction, the teachers declared that they would organize every force at their disposal for the purpose of compelling that increase. The use of the strike as a weapon of last resort was even advocated by speakers at that convention, and it was also suggested that parents be warned to keep their children out of a profession in which an advance of salary could not be obtained. These sentiments indicate clearly, I think, an affiliation with the Labor Party in the near future to fight the battle for justice in one common cause.

One of the latest victories scored by the National Union of Teachers, and Sir James Yoxall's face beamed with pride and satisfaction as he told me of it, was the fact that Joint Boards had been established of which the teaching body, as represented by the National Union of Teachers, furnished half the membership, the other half consisting, of course, of the local bodies or educational authorities. These joint boards were at the time considering the matter of salary legislation which was then pressing for a solution and were also to be a court of last resort in all matters concerning the teachers' welfare, including the dismissal of teachers. I fairly gasped as I heard this, for the idea of teacher-representation is taboo with our educational authorities. On account of advocating the introduction of such a plan in our methods of school administration, the Teachers Union of New York has been denounced as radical and revolutionary. Yet here in England, the birthplace of constitutional government, teacher representation on local boards of education is now an accomplished fact. Can America afford to lag behind England in its development towards a complete democracy?

What do certain boards of education in our country think of the fact that several hundred members of the English union occupy seats on local educational committees and other bodies engaged in administering or advising upon the administration of schools under the Education Act of 1902?

Freedom to teachers, to serve as members of local educational committees has been secured to the teachers by an Act of Parliament. The Union has a Tenure Committee which considers any difficulty involving the tenure of office of any of its members. A representative of the Union is always sent to advise the member and to appear before the Local Education Committee on his behalf. And finally, the Union goes so far to protect its own members that it supports those who suffer in defense of professional rights when acting in accordance with the advice of the Executive. To protect its members, the Union is served in the Law Courts by two standing counselors, a General Solicitor, and over 400 local solicitors.

Sir James was kind enough to take me thru the various rooms of the national headquarters building. I remarked the deep respect with which all the office help, and there seemed to be quite a large number of employees, regarded him. In every office into which I went, I was given literature pertaining to that department. When I was thru collecting all the material, it seemed to me as if I were converted into an office myself, and the amount I had was certainly the best testimony of the volume of business which the Union transacts during the year. There are several particularly large rooms, imposingly furnished, and having the appearance of directors' rooms in which the executive committees hold their meetings. A large number of portraits of officials of the union, extending back to the beginnings of the organization adorn the walls of these rooms, and I noticed that at one time a woman was president. Finer types of men than the portraits betokened I have never seen. There are also large group pictures of the teachers at the annual conventions taken from year to year. Two pictures, over which Sir James lingered long were those of the girl's and boy's orphanages, at Sheffield and at Sydenham. These are supported from the benevolent and orphan fund of the National Union.

The orphanages have been established to care for the orphans of deceased teachers. The total amount to date expended by the National Union of Teachers for benevolent purposes has been £472,958. Is there an American organization that can boast of such a record of faithfulness and devotion to its teachers?

It is very interesting to note the financial extent to which the teachers support their organization in England. It seems an exceedingly difficult task in America to get teachers to contribute any sum either to become members of an organization, or to be interested in projects concerning their own welfare. The admission fee to the National Union is five shillings and the annual subscription one guinea. This charge corresponds pretty closely to the dues paid to the American Federation of Teachers. And in England there are 104,000 teachers paying such dues, while here in America we have but 11,000! The aggregate accumulated funds of the Union, the Benevolent and Orphan fund and the Provident Society on December 31, 1918, amounted to £1,388,052, exclusive of Hamilton House, and the orphanages with their furniture and fittings. Of these funds £157,128 is for general legal and parliamentary work and sustentation of members; £57,853 is for benevolent purposes; £1,173,071 is for Provident Society benefits. The Teachers Provident Society is a very interesting branch of the union's work, over 90,000 teachers having joined it. It enables members to secure benefits, such as sick pay, life insurance, endowments, at very low rates of contribution. The National Union of Teachers thus cares for its members not only while they are performing their duties in the classroom, but concerns itself with every phase of their welfare.

Another feature of the work of the National Union of Teachers was the securing of a Pension System called the Superannuation Act of 1918, which the English teachers claim is the best in the world. Sir James particularly emphasized this in his conver-

sation with me. Under this act, pensions and lump sums, or in cases of break down, disablement allowances, or death gratuities in cases of death before pensionable age, or in cases of death shortly after pensionable age, are payable. Let our New York teachers, who have recently gone thru a most bitter pension fight, take a leaf from the English way of doing things. Pensions in England are absolute, and do not depend upon and are not associated with any contributions by teachers!

The work of The National Union of Teachers has been great indeed, but it will be just as vigilant in the future as it has been in the past. Education in England is now about to be administered under the new Education Act of 1918. The aims of that act, disappointing as it is in some respects, can only be attained by the teachers working in cooperation with the Labor Movement. It is still thought that questions of educational administration are beyond the understanding of the plain man, that only "experts" can solve them properly. The National Union of Teachers is drawing closer to the Labor Party. Over there they have begun to appreciate the meaning of the fact that those who control the minds of the children, control the coming generation of men and women. Hence the interest of the Labor Party in education. The ideals of the industrial freedom towards which the English are striving, including social equality, can be realized only in the schools. The Labor movement of England is determined in the future, from an examination I have made of their literature, to pay a great deal of attention to education.

Nearly all of the Education Act leaves wide discretion to local educational authorities. The Act requires the local educational authorities "to consider any representations made to them by parents or other persons or bodies of persons, interested, and shall adopt such measures to ascertain their views as they consider desirable." This creates an oppor-

tunity for democratic opinion to bear upon educational administration. The Labor Party has resolved that in every area there should be created vigilance committees to determine upon the educational policy of that district. The Act requires local authorities to establish nursery schools; an adequate system of medical treatment; playgrounds and allowances to enable children to remain at school without becoming a burden to their parents.

Sir James Yoxall smiled as he saw me leave the building weighted down with all the circulars, booklets, leaflets and annual reports that I could carry, including a stack of mimeographed salary schedules. It was worth the trouble of carrying away with me for here were evidences of work of a real, live, aggressive teachers' organization, the finest of its kind anywhere. If we could only accomplish for our teachers here in America, what it is doing successfully in England! Must we still battle in America, for rights which the teachers of England already enjoy? Only recently I have learned that the National Education Association has at last raised a feeble voice to demand that teachers be given a chance to participate in school administration. And I, always a lover of America, its people and its institutions, am still wondering whether we have not many a lesson in democracy to learn even from monarchial, autocratic, class-ridden Europe!

A more democratic management of the schools is another essential to educational progress. Too many petty oligarchies are holding secret sessions, even sometimes when the law prescribes otherwise, and are deciding behind closed doors large questions of vital concern to the entire public, and reaching, in strictest privacy, determinations relating to the administration of public policy. The establishment of teachers' councils would bring to the service of the schools the benefit of the fresh initiative growing out of actual teaching experience, and would tend to eliminate autocratic and secret methods.

Henry Sterling, in address on "Labor's Attitude Towards Education," N E A Convention, July 1, 1919.

The Seventh Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League

CLARA K STUTZ

Delegate, The American Federation of Teachers

The Seventh Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League met in Philadelphia, June 2-7, 1919. The discussions revealed a breath of vision, constructive thinking and such a spirit of tolerance, that no one present could escape a feeling of pleasure and encouragement.

The teacher delegates felt it to be of supreme importance, that our locals take advantage of such opportunities by sending delegates to all conventions at which we are entitled to representation. We were unanimous in thinking we had learned more about the questions with which the country is grappling, and the relation of our problems to these questions in the six days at Philadelphia, than in as many months of university study. A resolution offered by Mrs. Trowbridge expresses this feeling.

RESOLUTION No. 34

By Lydia J Trowbridge, Federation of Women High School Teachers of Chicago

WHEREAS, Teaching has been too long a cloistered profession, and the time has come when the trainers of the future citizens of this republic must know at first hand the problems of citizenship,

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all boards of education that they encourage teachers to act as delegates to state and national conventions, and to other gatherings of representative citizens, to the end that the teachers' efficiency shall be increased by actual participation in public affairs, while the public shall at the same time become informed of school problems from the viewpoint of the teacher.

A paragraph from a recent letter from the president of one of our locals testifies that the necessary expenditure is well worth while to the organization. The letter reads, "I am anxious to see more money spent in sending delegates to labor and allied conventions since I see what Philadelphia did for our delegates. I believe it is the best means of making real workers of our members."

Perhaps the educational program adopted by the convention may fail to inspire interest because we have little faith in any accomplish-

ment. But had it been your privilege, as it was mine, to be present at the convention, and to realize that we have not only the sympathy but the *cooperation* of the League, you would share my enthusiasm. Thru organization and affiliation we have found a tool that we can use to help us realize our aspirations. To pick out but two points in our program: a smaller class unit and an adequate salary, knowing as teachers must what the realization of these two points will mean to the child, the teacher, and the country, our hearts beat with new hope when we really understand that in every state of the union we have friends, who will actually *do* something to make these dreams facts.

The first part of the report of the Committee on Education deals with a most interesting experiment of the League in fitting a school to the needs of the students. I was present at the meetings of this committee, and no experience was more illuminating to me, than hearing the suggestions made by the students for improving the school. While their enthusiastic praise of what the course had meant to them must have been very gratifying to those conducting the experiment.

Resolution No. 37 by the New York League surprised me, showing as it does a greater interest and a greater knowledge of our problems than perhaps some of us exhibit ourselves.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Miss Agnes Nestor, chairman, and Miss Leonora O'Reilly, secretary, reported as follows:

Your committee has read the report of the Committee on Education for 1917, sifting therefrom the suggestions made for the future usefulness of the school to pupils and labor movement, and we found the recommendations for 1917 to be as follows:

(a) That all pupils be given a clear understanding of the purposes and needs of the school before entering the department, and we believe the department is doing its utmost toward this end.

(b) That an educational committee be formed to consist of three persons—the National President, the

National Secretary, and one trade unionist. This has been followed out.

(c) Full directing power for the school to be in the hands of one executive. This has been tried out and has worked well.

(d) That the National League continue a cooperative flat and that the living in said flat be optional. The flat was found unsatisfactory and discontinued.

(e) That where possible to save time and money, pupils be given both academic and field work in their home locations. This has been found impossible.

(f) That a standing educational committee be formed, to consist of one member in each local league, this educational committee to keep in touch with the educational department work to stimulate educational work in women's unions and prepare recommendations for the next convention. This work has not been undertaken.

The students and director were asked to appear before the committee to offer criticism of and suggestion for the further development of the educational department. The pupils present at convention declare the work was as well done as any work could be. Yet there is room for improvement in finding out how best to teach some subjects, and what distribution to make of the allotted time at the student's disposal. The students all testified that the course meant very much to them; it had helped them to get a grip on themselves mentally. The director of the educational department put special stress on the need of cooperation between the local leagues and the educational department. Foremost amongst these needs is a constant watching out for the raw material of which good organizers can be made. A new leaflet for the information of prospective students has been provided. Will the delegates bring this leaflet to the active attention of all league members in all States?

The Educational Committee urges anew upon the National League the appointment of a standing educational committee to consist of one member in each local league. The members of this committee should keep their leagues informed of the educational department's work and workers. They should encourage educational activities by the local leagues in cooperation with the central labor bodies through the establishment of educational councils made up of delegates from affiliated local unions and thru cooperation with various agencies of public education. This suggestion is based on an experiment undertaken and reported on by the Chicago League and recommended by the National President.

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

Mrs. Robins: I want Miss Nestor to explain what we mean by educational councils.

EDUCATIONAL COUNCILS

Miss Nestor: For a number of years we tried to organize classes in the public schools thru the Board of Education. We were providing classes for women workers only. Last summer we proposed to work out plans for the men as well as for the women in the trade union movement. In this joint way we got

the benefit of the men's suggestions, and we got the entire co-operation of the Chicago Federation of Labor. After we had planned the courses we asked the Chicago Federation of Labor to send out to all its affiliated unions, asking them to send delegates to a permanent council. The delegates met and an educational council was organized.

In the Chicago Federation of Labor meetings so many things happened that when the delegates go back to report to their unions they are not inclined to emphasize educational plans, or such plans are reported with so many other things they are lost track of. Having a separate educational delegate tends to keep the question before the union members. These delegates are the connecting link between the rank and file and the Educational Council. We do not want to sit off by ourselves in committees and plan out things that we do not know our members want. We feel that the Educational Council is a very democratic way to work this out. When we decided we would need money, the delegates asked for contributions from their own unions. The Educational Council does not go out to get money, some one in each of the unions is getting it. Our Educational Council worked during the fall, but we did not get our classes started until January. Now we are planning for the next term and our classes will open at the same time as the public school night classes open.

We conducted a class in public speaking and engaged one of the professors from the Chicago University. We paid him \$100 for the course of ten lessons. We charged \$5 for the course, and said we must have twenty people to make it successful. It was successful. We had lectures from the professors of various universities and from young lawyers. Then we planned a course in parliamentary law. We found that while we were planning that, and also announcing a course in citizenship and a few other things, the parliamentary law class turned into several things. The students not only learned parliamentary law, but they studied city govern-

ment, and it turned out to be a very interesting class.

Miss O'Reilly: We have certain things we believe all the league members should get for themselves for home consumption, and we recommend the reading of Miss Henry's book, "The Trade Union Woman"; Helen Marot's book, "American Labor Unions," and her book called "Creative Impulse in Industry," and the League's latest book of poems by the league members.

RESOLUTION No. 37

By New York League

Resolutions on Education

WHEREAS, The movement for the democratization of industries is the most precious result, to working people, of the world war, in which seven million workmen laid down their lives; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of tomorrow must be prepared for a democracy, political and industrial, which is the outcome of this world war; and

WHEREAS, Such preparation for democracy can be given the citizens of tomorrow only under conditions and in schools which are democratic today; and

WHEREAS, The teachers' unions in the various parts of the country, affiliated with organized labor thru their national organization, the American Federation of Teachers, are striving to establish democracy in education and education for democracy; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the National Women's Trade Union League, in convention assembled, at Philadelphia, on June 2, 1919, that we give moral and all other effective means of support to the American Federation of Teachers and to the locals chartered by it, and

That we urge the teachers thruout the country to organize locals of teachers' unions where such locals do not yet exist and to join the locals where such locals already exist. and

That we commend the School Committee of Boston for the foresight and social vision which it displayed when it welcomed the plan for the unionization of the schools of Boston, and that we condemn the policy of ruthlessness and vindictiveness pursued by the educational authorities of the cities of Washington and New York in their inquisitorial investigations into the private views of teachers, in their arbitrary punishment of teachers, and in their Prussianistic insistence on blind, instinctive obedience on the part of both teacher and pupil, and

That we call upon educational authorities everywhere to recognize the right of teachers, as well as of all other working people, to organize, along labor union lines, and

That we urge teachers everywhere to insist on their right to organize along labor union lines, and that we demand for the teachers a voice in their government of the schools

1. Thru representation on the school boards.

2. Thru teachers' councils in every school, consisting of representatives chosen by the teachers themselves to be consulted in all matters affecting teachers or pupils.

3. Thru the election of school boards by popular vote.

4. Thru the establishment of teachers' courts where teachers may be tried by their peers for unprofessional conduct. Be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to all labor bodies and labor federations in the United States of America; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to all education boards of municipalities, towns and counties, to Commissioner of Education of the United States of America.

The committee recommended concurrence. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

RESOLUTION No. 38

By the Boston League

Misuse of Schools

WHEREAS, It has come to our attention that the meat packing interests and other large organized consumers' interests are using the public school system of our country for advertising their products; and

WHEREAS, We consider it is a body blow to all honest democratic education that private interests should be allowed to use the educational system on the country for its benefit; and

WHEREAS, Honest and democratic education is the greatest asset that the workers possess; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we vigorously condemn all use of school or other public machinery for advertising or promoting private interests, and call upon the National Bureau of Education and the National Education Association to bring these facts to the attention of educational authorities in all the States and cities, and to see that the practice cease absolutely and at once.

Miss Nestor: Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 38, with the explanation that the first "Whereas" refers to the moving picture houses where the pictures are used to advertise the Armour Company's specialties and certain chocolate companies' products.

Mrs. Rantoul explained that the pictures referred to were used in the Boston schools.

The recommendation of this committee was concurred in.

RESOLUTION No. 39

Educational Plans

Society is never static; it is forever changing. But the change may not be for the better. It can easily be for the worse. What, then, shall the next American generation be—progressive or reactionary? The schools and the teachers stand in the gateway and the critical period of reconstruction places the greatest responsibility upon them. What we have won, we may easily lose, if we are indifferent and without a constructive program. That "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" is just as true today as in the time of Washington and Jefferson. The side which is vigilant and untiring in its work is the side which wins—either for progress or for reaction.

Upon the schools, then, will depend in a large measure the kind and degree of industrial democracy we shall achieve in the next generation; upon them, also, will even more directly depend the kind of citizenship we shall attain—whether it be a citizenship easily influenced by a transitory emotional appeal or whether it be one actuated by that basic ideal of all healthy political activity—self-government. A spirit of vindictiveness and of selfish aggrandizement of party and class is abroad. If it should prevail, it is by no means

impossible that, in the words of H G Wells, "the world may welter in confusion for many generations thru such ruinous and impoverished centuries as close the Roman imperial story before it develops the vitality for an effective reorganization."

That the teachers of the country plus the other workers of the country aided by the constructive vision of the motherhood of the country may have a common and unified purpose in these potential days of reconstruction; be it therefore,

RESOLVED, That this body go on record as favoring the following resolutions:

1. Better enforcement thruout the country of the Compulsory Education Laws, and the raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen years.

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

3. 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 twenty-five pupils to a class.

4. 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.

5. The immediate passage of a child labor law that may remain on the books so that no child in America can be exploited for the selfish aggrandizement of any one.

6. The standard of equal pay for equal work should be established thruout the country.

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

8. The placing of the basis minimum salary of all teachers at \$1,500 immediately in order that the enormous shortage of over 100,000 teachers be reduced and an increasing number of more competent and better trained teachers may be secured and those now in the service retained in our schools. There must be a thoro-going revision upward to teachers' salary schedules to meet the increased cost of living and the growing appreciation of the value to the community of the teachers' services.

9. The establishment of a satisfactory system of pensions so that those who by illness or as a result of age need to retire from active work can do so.

10. That the coming of a twelve-month school year may be properly safeguarded in the interest of teacher, pupil and community, who urge a provision for the withdrawal of pupils or teachers for one of the four quarters of the school year—such withdrawal to be without penalty to the pupils in loss of class standing, or to the teachers in loss of salary or position.

11. 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.

12. 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.

13. 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.

14. Continuous medical and dental inspection and care thruout the schools of our country.

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

16. Courses in history, civics, economics, health 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.

17. No activity favoring of militarism should be tolerated in our public schools.

18. The establishment thruout the country of a free text-book system for all pupils in public elementary and high schools.

19. We especially urge that instead of the approved unsatisfactory "board of education" of today, whether appointed or elected, that a committee be formed to care for the schools, such committee to be composed of teachers and lay-citizens.

CLARA K. STUTZ,

Delegate, American Federation of Teachers.

MARY BRENNEN-INKSTER,

Fraternal Delegate.

ELIZABETH DRAPER,

Fraternal Delegate.

LYDIA J. TROWBRIDGE,

President, Federation Women High School Teachers of Chicago.

Miss Nestor The committee, with one added recommendation, concurs in this resolution as coming from specialists who know their business, and in a democracy ought to have a right to say what they think, would be the proper sort of education and the proper sort of department to carry on that education. The addition we recommend is legislation to prohibit the employment of children under the age of sixteen. We concur in the resolution as amended. The report of the committee was adopted.

(Signed)

AGNES NESTOR,

Chairman;

LEONORA O'REILLY,

Secretary;

OLLIE KING,

LYDIA TROWBRIDGE,

ATMEE GUGGENHEIMER,

MOLLIE GUINAN.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Almost all the resolutions adopted by the convention are of interest to teachers dealing as they do with government ownership of public utilities, taxation of land values, freedom of speech, cessation of the propaganda of hatred, the Russian and the Irish situations, etc. Of especial interest were the discussions on the domestic servant problem, child labor law, and organization of the librarians, but lack of space forces a selection. The resolutions below are included because they are so closely allied to the educational program.

RESOLUTION No. 35
ORGANIZATIONS FOR TEACHERS

By Lydia J. Trocbridge, Federation of Women High School Teachers of Chicago.

WHEREAS, Self-government can be taught only by those who are themselves self-government,

RESOLVED, That we recognize the right of teachers to organize in any way that they see fit, and we urge the establishment of self-governing school and district councils of teachers, thru which the experience and initiative of the teaching body shall be utilized to the utmost. Such councils shall be in direct communication with the superintendent of schools, and their recommendations should be matters of official public record.

RESOLVED, That the National Women's Trade Union League in convention assembled, favors the passage by Congress of the Smith-Towner bill revised, introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Horace Mann Towner, of Iowa, at the request of the American Federation of Labor, the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association.

1. Creates Department of Education.

2. Authorizes the annual appropriation of:

\$7,500,000 for the removal of illiterary.

\$7,500,000 for the Americanization of foreigners.

\$50,000,000 to encourage the states in the equalization of educational opportunity, by partial payment of teachers' salaries, providing better instruction, extending school terms and otherwise providing equally good schools for all children.

\$20,000,000 to encourage states in the promotion of physical and health education and recreation.

\$15,000,000 for teachers' training.

The committee recommended concurrence.

The report of the Special Commission to the Peace Conference Meeting, Paris

(Committee: Miss Mary Anderson, Miss Rose Schneidermann) was read by Miss Anderson. As a result of the committee's report, the convention decided to call an international conference of working women to further the consideration of questions concerning women.

The call was issued August 15th, 1919, thru the National Women's Trade Union League to the working women of thirty-four countries. The conference will convene in Washington, D. C., October 23, 1919, six days before the International Labor Conference called by President Wilson.

Many of the addresses delivered before the Convention were of absorbing interest. This was especially true of Mr. James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, who outlined the co-operative movement in England. Mr. Lampson, our national organizer, who happened to be passing thru the city, was invited to address the convention. He predicted that "The union movement among the teachers of the nation is going to spread to the proportions of a tidal wave."

May the prophecy be realized!

A Letter to the Unorganized

L V LAMPSON

National Organizer, The American Federation of Teachers

The American Federation of Teachers, a nation-wide, business, protective, and educational organization of the classroom teachers, has at present 126 locals. At the present rate of increase it is not unlikely that it will have fully 500 teachers' unions on its roster by December 31, 1920. The movement is making great headway not only among the public school teachers, but also among the faculty members of the higher institutions of learning. Examples of the latter are Wilson Normal, Normal School, Normal, Ill.; Whitewater Normal, Mil-

waukee Normal, Superior Normal, University of Illinois, Howard University, Washburn College (Kansas), North Dakota Agricultural College, Boston Trade Union College, Columbia, Baltimore City College, the University of Montana and the University of Missouri. There are over fifty educational experts in the Bureau of Education and over 1,200 scientists in the Federal Government who belong to the Federal Employees' Union. They are thoroly in sympathy with the union movement among the teachers.

Now, there are certain objections which you will want to consider and settle to your own satisfaction before forming a union. One of these is that teachers belong to a profession and therefore should not affiliate with organized labor. Union teachers feel that they are employees and can therefore properly affiliate upon this economic basis, if upon no other, with the other employed people of the country. In view of the pitiable compensation of the teachers and their lack of voice in determining matters of educational concern, they do not belong to a calling in which the conditions of a real profession exist. It is the object of the American Federation of Teachers to bring about such a change in the conditions that affect teachers as to make teaching a career for strong men and women.

Another objection is that it would be undignified for the teachers to affiliate with organized labor. Union teachers feel that taking the teachers of the country as a whole they have very little dignity to lose. No group of persons has any dignity in the real sense that is unable to protect itself. Of all persons those least able to protect themselves are the teachers of the country. The facts are that we have not been accorded that respect, whether measured in terms of money or public regard, to which the character and value of the services which we render justly entitle us.

A third possible objection is that of the strike. To union teachers, this objection has no weight whatsoever because they are cognizant of the fact that the American Federation of Labor grants to the American Federation of Teachers a charter of complete autonomy. No labor organization can call us out on a strike sympathetic or otherwise. The A F of T does not endorse the strike as a means of getting results for teachers, but depends upon publicity, organization and political action. There have been no strikes among the union teachers. There have been several this year among non-union teachers. In this connection, it should be

stated that such a thing as coercion of union teachers by organized labor is utterly unknown. The fundamental principle of the American labor movement is the autonomy of its locals and the freedom of its members.

What is the situation which confronts the teachers of America? We are in some respects the most highly educated group of people in the country. We certainly perform as important work as is done by any group; yet we receive the lowest financial returns and have the least voice in determining the conditions of our work. We are in fact subject to a form of economic oppression and intellectual repression.

What is the explanation of this situation? We teachers have been individualists. We have been working in the class-room apart from the real world, in the realm of adolescence. We have been working in the class-room apart from our fellow workers. We have not learned to work together. As a group, it can hardly be said that we have developed either a business or a collective sense. We have not learned how to help ourselves or to help one another. We have either been unorganized or organized into the form of pedagogical associations. These associations have been made up in large part of persons who do not vote. Even if they did vote, they would not constitute a sufficient proportion of the voters in any given community to enable them to get results. Now, our salaries and school laws depend upon political bodies whose membership and policies in turn depend upon the voters. Hence our present condition.

What is the remedy? There is only one way out, and that is to build up a nationwide, business, protective, and educational organization of the teachers of the country as embodied in the American Federation of Teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor whose thousands of votes, let us say for example, in the city of St. Louis, whose tens of thousands of votes in the State of Missouri, and whose 4,000,000

votes thruout the United States will be available for the betterment of educational conditions. There is no subject in which the members of organized labor bodies are more interested than in better schools, and better paid and more efficient teachers. They need our cooperation in bringing about these results and we need theirs. The effective and willing support of organized labor in behalf of the teachers has been demonstrated upon numerous occasions recently, e. g., Norfolk, Madison, Memphis, St. Paul, Chicago, Washington, and New York. Washington teachers have been able to get the minimum salaries of grade teachers raised over 100 per cent, besides getting increases for the high school teachers. They have been particularly successful in securing administrative reforms, such as the reduction of the size and number of classes, the simplification and improvement of the system of rating teachers, etc. The New York teachers, largely thru the support of organized labor, were able to get \$15,000,000 added to their salary budget. Perhaps the most substantial contribution of the American Federation of Teachers to the welfare of the teachers and the improvement of the schools has been the amendments which it has been able to secure in the great educational bill now pending before Congress. The original Smith Bill vested the Secretary of Education with autocratic control over the schools of the country. It made no specific provision for federal aid in the payment of teachers' salaries. At the suggestion of the representatives of the A F of T amendments were agreed upon providing for federal aid in the payment of teachers' salaries and in safeguarding the control of the states and localities over their schools. Largely by reason of the vigorous support of the American Federation of Labor, this bill, now known as the Smith-Towner Bill Revised is expected to pass.

A national organization of teachers, consolidated for protection and service, and backed by organized labor, will command

the attention and deserve the respect of political parties, of capital, and of the public. With the great mass of teachers joining the movement, it will have members in every community who could, it is conceivable, influence every family in the land. It is bound to be a potent agent for the promotion and guidance of public opinion. Upon its members, who necessarily would do much to mould the political thought, and develop the economic efficiency of each succeeding generation of citizens, will depend to a large extent the future of the republic.

It is the fundamental philosophy of the union movement among the teachers that there can be no real democracy in government or in industry unless there is democracy in education. Our ancestors knew what bodily slavery is. They fought it, and so have men ever since the beginning of time, until it has been generally abolished thruout the world. Democracy in government has been a conception of men for thousands of years; yet it has taken the greatest war in history to drive it home to the general consciousness of mankind. Democracy in industry—and by that I mean that those who are employed shall have some voice in the determination of the conditions of their work—has been a conception of the last generation. Democracy in education—and by that I mean that the teachers shall have some voice in the determination of text-books, educational policies, and the conditions of their work, has been a conception of the past few years. The thought which they impart to the youth must not be imposed upon them. The teachers can hardly train the youth in the ways of free men if they themselves are not free. The last stand of autocracy, or rather plutocracy, will be in the dominion of the minds of men. The world can not be made safe for democracy unless the schools are kept safe for democracy.

While this issue was going thru the press the number of locals has increased to 131.—
Editor.

The Opportunity of the American Teacher

HAROLD J LASKI

Lecturer in History and Government, Harvard University

THE movement for the unionization of American teachers has its root in obvious economic circumstances which cry to heaven for remedy. They will not be changed until the governing bodies of the American school system are convinced that behind the demand for better wages and conditions of work there is a pressure that is ultimately irresistible. Those bodies will not be convinced until they are brought to understand that behind the teachers' demands there lie not merely the integrated power of labor's approval, but, what is more important, the political influence that labor alone can exert. Private unions will do no good. They are, by the very fact of their privacy, out of touch with the dominating stream of modern change. They are hampered by a genteel tradition which makes them unwilling to face the obvious facts of the situation in a realistic spirit. There is too much in them of a sense that intellectual labor somehow makes their position too "dignified" for alliance with the workers by hand. School committees will regard them with the approval which derives from the knowledge that they can never be dangerous. And it is a fundamental axiom of politics that what is without danger is in every real crisis without power.

But it is less of the importance of the affiliation of teachers to the American Federation of Labor that I desire to write than of the teacher's function as members of that body. They are therein given an opportunity of service such as falls to few men and women. Foreign observers of American labor can hardly fail to be impressed by the divorce of interest in this country between brainworkers and handworkers. The distrust of the former is in large part responsible for the comparative failure of American labor either to evolve a philosophy that summarizes its

general outlook or to secure an alliance with its sympathizers in other classes of workers which enables it to count upon a widespread understanding of its attitude. Yet both of these are essential to the progress of the movement. Labor will be able to do little towards an effective control of the state until its claims can be supported by the same kind of organized knowledge as is now available to the capitalist. It will be unable to obtain that material until it attracts into its service trained thinkers with a full equipment for using the technique of modern economic research. It seems to me that the teachers have a special service to render to labor in this regard. They are the liaison officers between the workers and an important section of the general public whose vague sympathy can be turned into active support.

For the teachers' influence in American life is bound to grow with the years. American labor has discovered that without education it is handicapped at every turn. In bargaining with the employer, in appealing to the public, in pressure upon legislatures, it is meeting a skilful antagonist trained in the presentation of his case. The material of labor's future lies in the schools; and it is only as labor befriends the teacher that the schools can grow to understand its aims. There is, that is to say, a reciprocity in the relationship between the teachers and the A. F. of L. which may well be decisive for the future. There are few subjects in which the proper appreciation of labor problems is not significant. The teacher of civics, for example, has a vital task to perform in explaining the relation of labor problems to the more general political issues; and the same is true of history and economics. That does not mean that the teacher is definitely to regard himself as the advocate of labor. It simply

means a realization on his part of the duty properly to emphasize the significance of labor problems. Everyone who has taught in a university knows how difficult it is to dissipate the unconscious prejudice against labor that is the outcome of the normal middle-class environment. The worker's life is largely

unknown; his problems are misunderstood; his aims go without analysis. Yet the future of America most largely depends upon training the youth of this generation to a sympathetic understanding of trade-unionism. That task seems peculiarly incumbent upon the American Federation of Teachers.

The November Message

F G STECKER

Secretary-Treasurer, The American Federation of Teachers

IT may interest you now to know that when the October Message was prepared a month ago our train seemed to have shot into a tunnel and the bright outlook which had been anticipated was momentarily obscured. Discouraged Secretaries who found that vacation months had played havoc with the careful plans of last May and June for the fall season, were reflecting their own feelings accordingly. Various reactionary interests that were seeking to discredit the labor movement which had occupied a position during the war period too prominent to suit them, had succeeded in creating considerable hysteria. To this the teachers in general were very sensitive. A large number of groups of teachers who had expected to affiliate with the American Federation of Teachers were holding off. Even some members of the locals were uncertain about continuing their membership. Happily we have again passed into the bright sunlight. Only memories remain of that shut-in feeling. The scenery appears better than ever by way of contrast.

Perhaps a review of the past year will be helpful. On October 17, 1918, a year ago, 29 locals had been chartered. The membership was two thousand one hundred fifty. No. 126 is the last charter issued. If we deduct two charters, Nos. 30 and 37 which were never issued due to misunderstandings during the epidemic of last fall, we have a net increase of 95 locals. Per capita tax for

September has been paid to the American Federation of Labor on a membership of ten thousand. The membership today is, of course, considerably higher. Ten charters were issued in the month of September despite the period of discouragement already referred to. Eight charters have been issued up to October 15. This is the least that can be said in summary of the year's progress. A year ago Mr. Stillman was at work single-handed. The epidemic forced him to depend upon correspondence almost entirely. Now he is in the midst of a ten weeks' trip covering all the western states. He is meeting with a hearty response from teachers who are now awake to the importance of organization. Attention has already been called to the organization of the California State Federation of Teachers. It would be difficult to find a finer group of locals and leaders than those in that state. Their program is a comprehensive one. We may look to them for definite results.

But there is much competition for the center of the stage. Missouri is manifesting its old "show me" spirit. Six strong county organizations have been organized in the present school year in addition to the St. Louis high school teachers already reported. A meeting at Warrensburg, Mo., Oct. 25, at which Mr. Lampson will speak, has been planned to add momentum to the movement in that state. The members of the faculty

of the Central Missouri State Teachers' College at Warrensburg, have joined in the Johnson County Teachers' Union No. 108. The encouraging letters from that state are pushed aside by a report of activities in the prosperous Philadelphia local. With a fine understanding of the means to success they have formed a state organization committee with a purpose in mind of organizing enough locals thru the state to make the teachers' influence in Pennsylvania felt. These are but three instances which are cited at the risk of making it appear that there is less activity in other sections. We shall hear from all of these and other situations will be referred to at other times, all of which goes to indicate that a spirit of determination has at last come to the classroom teachers of the country to build up an organization in keeping with their importance in the educational system.

It had been the intention to prepare a summary from the reports received from all the locals. The blank calling for the desired data has been returned from twenty-four locals, too small a number to make a definite report. This failure reveals a striking weakness in our organization. The Secretary, who cannot find fifteen minutes time to supply a half dozen items is not only failing to represent properly the local but is also seriously injuring the machinery which is being constructed at so great a cost. It is encouraging, however, to find that all but two of these reports show affiliation with the Central Labor Union and the majority give evidence of other helpful support. Half of the reports show affiliation with the State Federation of Labor. At least six locals have sent delegates to the State Federation Convention. Complete returns would doubtless show a very general affiliation with Central Labor Unions and perhaps one-fourth of all the locals affiliated with the State Federations of Labor. These are important items. At critical times when a helping hand is needed it is more natural to expect assistance where affiliation already exists.

Reports on salary increases for the present school year are varied. Boston reports no increase while some locals report 25 per cent increase. The average increase is \$100 to \$150 a year. The local reports that it worked out its own salary schedule which was adopted by the Board of Education. Nearly all the reporting secretaries testify that the increase secured was largely due to organization, and in many cases to the assistance of labor.

Another ray of sunshine is the ever increasing interest in our movement among college teachers. Many of our readers may not have followed the entire roster. Attention is called, therefore, to the locals already existing among college men and women. The first was Howard University in the District of Columbia. Then came the University of Illinois, No. 66, the first local in Boston, composed partly of college teachers; The Associated Teachers of New York City, which has recently become a very active organization; North Dakota Agricultural College, Washburn College (Kansas), Baltimore City College, and the University of Montana. Watch this list grow. Nor is less importance to be attached to the growth among normal school teachers. Here is the list: Wilson Normal School, Washington, D. C., members of Local No. 8; Illinois State Normal University at Normal, Milwaukee; Whitewater and Superior Normal Schools in Wisconsin, Central Missouri State Teachers' College at Warrensburg, and Edinboro State Normal School, Pennsylvania. The record of the Canal Zone Chapter in its isolation is now shared with the Hawaiian local.

The fourth convention of the American Federation of Teachers will be held in Chicago during the week of December 29. The Secretaries will receive complete information. It need scarcely be added that all will be anxious to make this a thoroly successful convention. All locals should send representatives if possible. The resolutions to be offered for adoption as a part of the plat-

form of the American Federation of Teachers should receive careful attention. Doubtless some amendments to the constitution will be presented. There are several troublesome question. To bring about "Democracy in Education" is more than a slogan. The first convention which met in Chicago in April, 1916, consisted of delegates from three locals in Chicago and Gary local. New York and Washington were represented by telegrams only. The second convention, which met in December, 1916, was attended by representatives of the Chicago, Gary, New York and Washington locals. The third convention which met in Pittsburg in July, 1918, was attended by representatives from ten locals. These conventions laid a solid foundation for a vast super-structure. Their policies have made a strong appeal. Their plans have brought fine results. If the fourth convention is to be in every way as important, accordingly, in proportion to its present size and its widely scattered membership, it has much to achieve.

May I call attention once more to the importance of frequent and informal reports and communications from the officers of all the locals? It is frequently discovered that officers have struggled along with some local problem or difficulty for which assistance should have been asked. The members of the Executive Council stand ready to lend all assistance within their means. Nor does support depend upon them. There are now many strong locals and many strong leaders who stand ready to reach out to those who need their assistance. Perhaps some literature among the new teachers or non-members or lukewarm members may help. Perhaps a rally or a speaker for one of your meetings will be helpful. The increase in the office mail gives evidence of a spirit of cooperation that is rapidly growing more effective. And don't forget the Editor of the *American Teacher*. Help him to make the paper helpful to you. Send stories of accomplishment, or of plans to conquer.

From the Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

FROM LOCAL NO 16

(The Grade Teachers Union, Washington, D. C.)

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT.

The Grade Teachers Union was chartered January, 1918, in the stress of war times, when the industrial, economic and social conditions were changing with staggering rapidity sweeping with them things that had been thought fundamental and permanent.

Like every other institution, the schools felt the tremendous pressure, and a collapse of the whole educational system seemed imminent. Organized, earnest and immediate action was imperative. Money was the vital need. Salaries had to be raised. Simultaneously with the formation of the Union came the announcement that the new organization

would work for a \$1,000 minimum. This policy brought us both friends and enemies. The first apparent effect was criticism from the teaching force itself. We were told we were degrading the high ideals of the profession in openly proclaiming so selfish and sordid an aim. True, we were underpaid, but teachers should not ask for adequate compensation—that was the business of the School Board, the community, or public spirited citizens. But threatened evils so rapidly became realities that by the time the \$750 minimum was assured, many critics had become our friends, had joined our ranks and were fighting with us.

Pitiful and pigmy as is \$750 compared to the monster H C of L, it breathed encouragement into our souls for it was more than an economic gain. Our fight for it had proved that union teachers can stand together. We had been told that advocating a flat minimum was madness; upper grade teachers would never consent to placing primary teachers on the same salary basis as themselves. To the credit of the upper grade teacher be it said, that not one voice was raised in objection, but, on the contrary, the upper grade teachers contributed unstintingly of their time and strength in promoting a measure that brought them personally no gain. Again, it was said that the primary teachers had little professional interest in their work, and the union would fail to secure their cooperation. But some of our most devoted workers and leaders have come from the ranks of Kg. and primary grades. This demonstration to all skeptics that there is solidarity among all grades of teachers, has been one of the happy achievements of the Union.

Not only have we shown an *esprit du corps* as elementary teachers, but thruout the sixteen months of our existence, we have been cooperating happily and successfully with our friends, the high school teachers. And, in spite of the present misunderstanding between the Board of Education and the teachers, it would be unfair not to say that the teaching force, and the administrative authorities have been drawn into closer relationship in many instances.

The Union has made it possible for us to take an active part in the life of the community. It was our organization that acquainted the public of Washington with the salary situation in the schools. We have sent delegates to the Baltimore and Lanconing Conventions of the Federation of Labor of the District of Columbia and Maryland, and have secured representation on their Educational Committee. Beside our affiliation with the American Federation of Teachers, the American Federation of Labor, and

the Central Labor Union of Washington, we have recently become affiliated with the Women's Trade Union League, an organization that was quick to prove itself a friend in need. We have contributed our share both in workers and in money to the national movement. The W G T Union thru its delegates took a part in the legislation and the formulation of policies at the Pittsburgh Convention that has made possible the rapid spread of unionism among elementary and secondary teachers and college and university professors.

Thru work of our legislative, pension, and reconstruction committees, we have promoted our professional aims. To cite but one example: We have enunciated the principle that the first grade teacher is as valuable as the eighth grade teacher, and that beginning classes should be as well taught as the graduating class. Already we have practically reduced from 5 to 3 the so-called "classes" of elementary teachers. In the immediate future we expect to abolish all "class" distinction.

The work of that future already looms large. The work for the Committee on Reclassification of Salaries which has recognized the Unions as representing the teachers' interest, will continue until the Commission makes its final report in January, 1920.

The present largest issue is the (Miss) Wood case—a case that has attained national significance, and which will be far reaching in its effect.

On behalf of the retiring officers and executive committee, I thank the members of the Union for their effective cooperation. To serve an organization that is doing really vital and constructive work is a privilege. I, therefore, on behalf of the incoming administration beg you to be less modest about your own capacity for work.

Volunteer your help. Stand behind your organization!

CLARA K. STUTZ,
President.

FROM LOCAL No 50

(*The Murphysboro, Illinois, Teachers' Fellowship Society*)

In December, 1918, the Public School teachers of Murphysboro, Illinois, organized a Fellowship Society to improve the conditions under which they worked. In order to give themselves strength to accomplish their ends, they decided in March, 1919, to affiliate with the American Federation of Teachers, enrolling every teacher as a charter member.

For a number of years the Murphysboro teachers had worked under a contract, which withheld ten per cent of each month's salary until the close of the school year, which amount was to be forfeited in case the teacher married during the life of her contract, even tho she would be willing to continue teaching, or if she failed in any way to meet the requirements of the contract. Since the law of Illinois is "Teachers shall be paid monthly" the teachers felt that they should not be forced to sign this illegal contract. The teachers also felt that a city of 15,000 inhabitants should have a school term of at least nine months, rather than one of eight and one-half, as had been the custom. Since the grade teachers had been paid only \$67.50 per month, ten per cent of which had been withheld according to contract, the teachers felt justified in asking for at least a \$10 increase. These three requests were placed before the Board of Education on the first of April, 1919, by a committee of teachers, in order that the Board might have time to revise the contracts to meet the teachers' requirements.

After a number of meetings of Committees from the teachers and the School Boards and a month's time had been consumed, the Board met and re-employed all teachers of the force offering them contracts identical with those they had signed hitherto. These contracts were to be signed or rejected within ten days' time. Since each teacher had been offered a contract the organization felt that there was no criticism on any individual teacher's qualifications. At a called meeting of the organi-

zation the teachers voted to place all teachers' contracts in the hands of the Secretary pending negotiations for a favorable contract. By this time the teachers had affiliated with the Central Labor Body of Murphysboro, and had taken up the case with that organization.

The Central Labor Body advised the teachers that it was right and proper for the teachers to draw up their own contracts, since they were the ones who had to work under them. By the efforts of the Central Labor Body of Murphysboro the School Board accepted the contract drawn up by the teachers, thereby granting all requests that had been suggested previously, in this article.

At this time the prospects looked very bright, but during the exchange of contracts the Board tried once more to break the spirit of the organization by refusing to employ two of the teachers. Within a week's time, however, the two teachers were reinstated, contracts the teachers had drafted were given out and signed, harmony was restored, and now one of the teachers who since married is teaching. During all this controversy the teachers were advised and encouraged by the officers of the American Federation of Teachers and their Attorney.

SIDNA MULLINEAUX,
Secretary of Murphysboro Fellowship Society.

[This is the Official Organ

of the

American Federation of Teachers

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

of The American Teacher, published monthly, except July and August, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1919. State of New York, County of Queens.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Henry R. Linville, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of The American Teacher, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 433, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The American Federation of Teachers, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York; Editor, Henry R. Linville, 36 Terrace Avenue, Jamaica, N. Y.; Managing Editor, none; Business Manager, Max Rosenhaus, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.) The American Federation of Teachers—President, Chas. B. Stillman, 1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.; Secretary-Treasurer, F. G. Stecker, 1618 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.; approximate number of members 10,500.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

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corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the above average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is. (This information is required from daily publications only.) Henry R. Linville. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1919. Alvin M. Dunham, Notary Public, Queens Co., N. Y. (My commission expires March 30, 1921.)

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Pressing as are the material needs of the colleges, the necessity of paying the members of the instructional staffs salaries which will enable them to meet the increased cost of living calls for primary action. It is significant to note the wave of sentiment all over the United States in favor of decent financial recognition of the services of college professors. Wisconsin has an opportunity to take a definite leadership in this nation wide movement. It is observed that the demand for a "living wage" for the college professor is being made for him rather than by him.—From *Wisconsin's Challenge*, salary "drive," a pamphlet issued by nine Wisconsin colleges.



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