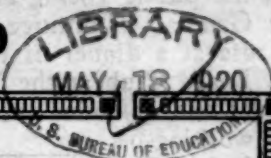


The AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

APRIL, 1920



Our Opportunity



The Teacher's Personality



The Eastern Conference



From the Locals

Bur. of Education
Washington
D. C.

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

The Employer

THOMAS L CHADBOURNE, who took a prominent part in the activities of the recent Industrial Conference at Washington as a representative of the public (being chairman of the General Committee of Fifteen) rose at a dinner of the War Trade Board Club at the Waldorf last night and defended the American workingman, declaring that the American employer is responsible that the state of affairs is as it is.

Mr. Chadbourne, who was acting as toastmaster, said:

"I was sitting in a New York club one day recently, when a prominent man came in and said to me: 'Well, I've done a good day's work.' I asked him what it was. 'I've just reduced the wages of my employees 25 per cent,' he replied. 'Did they stand for it?' I asked. 'Two-thirds of them did,' he replied, 'but the other third was unionized and they wouldn't.'"

"This type of employer," Mr. Chadbourne almost shouted, thumping the table vigorously as he spoke, "is responsible for the fact that

things are as they are. Talk about educating your workingman. You had better educate the employer first. He is the man supposed to have the more agile brain in the beginning.

"During all the time I sat in the labor conference at Washington, I never heard one single constructive proposition offered by the employ-

ers' group. It was just a case of 'No, No, No,' all the time. I heard labor make compromise after compromise and all they got from the other group were Noes.

"You and I—our class—are certainly responsible, gentlemen, for that state of affairs. We are responsible for the position of the pendulum be-

fore it began to swing back!"

—Part of Paid Advertisement under the Auspices of
The Church League for Industrial Democracy, in
The Baltimore News of December 6, 1919.

ACT OF CONGRESS, 1912

"The right of Government employees to organize and affiliate with labor organizations was specifically acknowledged, so far as Federal employees are concerned, by an Act of Congress of 1912"—From Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education, 1919, page 109.

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The American Teacher

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APRIL, 1920

One Dollar a Year

IN THE OPEN

When the history of the union movement among teachers is written, many of the early events will be very difficult to dig out. There is far too much of shyness, and shall we say not a little of timidity, in hesitating to make known to interested persons and agencies active in the movement exactly what is happening in the territories of most of the locals. The officers of the locals may not realize that everything that happens has some importance, and often a great deal of importance, as a feature of an important social movement.

We need an increased readiness to tell those things which we often keep quiet about "for fear the enemy is nigh." Anyway, it is a social movement we are furthering, and we have no ultimate right to keep things secret, as if they were personal experiences.

A little more talk, please!

EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

Thru the veil that still hangs between us and the Soviet Republic we are permitted from time to time to see something of what we may be inclined to believe is true—inclined because the news in the large is humanly good. We are informed by a member of an official commission that has visited Russia within the past year that the report on Russian education written by Mr Lincoln Eyre a staff correspondent of the *New York World*, an Independent-Democratic newspaper, is one of a series of the truest information that has come out of that country since the Revolution. We are glad to reprint some of the story, and if we can obtain more information, direct from the sources, we shall be glad to tell that.

American teachers realize, of course, that certain special interests do not want them to believe anything favorable to Russia. The reason for this peculiar state of mind we hope will be evident as we learn more about Russia.

OUR PROFESSIONAL DIGNITY AGAIN

The new president of the University of Minnesota, Dr. Lotus D Coffman, delivered an address on "Teachers' Associations" at the Cleveland meeting of the National Education Association. The address was in reality an attack on teachers' unions, and not exactly what the title would imply. However, we have learned to expect these vagaries of professional method, and to look for the substance rather than for the method or the spirit.

The burden of the address, which is being copied widely in educational journals thruout the country, is familiar by frequent repetition. It is undignified and unprofessional for teachers to join unions. It is unfair to the public for teachers to take sides with a special portion of the community. It is proper for teachers to join with other teachers in a large organization, which we take it means the N E A

Dr. Coffman makes much of the point that teachers are not laborers. And he maintains that teachers are members of a profession. We find ourselves entangled in a confusion of terms owing to the fact that teachers have few of the attributes of a professional class, since they do not control the conditions under which they work. Many laborers do control their working conditions, and hence are professional!

THE LUSK EDUCATIONAL BILLS

It is not so far from New York to California by any method of idea-transfer that Lusk of Albany should not be informed accurately as to what the education-controllers of California want. Neither does the mind of man have to journey far to see that both sinister manifestations of anti-social purpose are directed toward the same end,—to stop the schools from teaching or from getting ready to teach the truth. True, the schools have not distinguished themselves in that direction in former years, but the world has steeped itself in misunderstanding for a

very long time, and it is growing tired. Besides, the institution of education is coming to be considered, weak and inefficient tho it is, as the potential agency for directing progress.

Senator Lusk, with the aid of reactionary interests in the New York State Legislature, and with the approval of a limited section of reactionism in education, was successful in having passed two bills that go far toward disqualifying education for any distinguished influence in social progress in the future. One of the bills requires every school or college, excepting schools of religious denominations, in the State of New York not already an accepted part of the public school system of the state, or not a part of the so-called university of the State of New York, to make a full and satisfactory and "verified statement showing the purposes for which the school is maintained, and the nature and extent and purpose of the instruction to be given." If the statement is satisfactory, the regents of the university of the State of New York will issue a license. The license may be withdrawn, and the school closed "when it shall appear to the regents that the school, institute or class is being conducted in such a manner as to be detrimental to the public interests." The Board of Regents is elected by the Legislature. There is no telling what a partisan-selected board might regard as "detrimental to the public interests." So think large bodies of citizens representing every shade of religious belief, altho the bills do not affect denominational schools, and so think nearly every public spirited organization in the State of New York, conservative as well as radical. The Governor will probably veto this bill.

The other bill requires every public school teacher in the State of New York to be examined to show that he "is a person of good moral character, and that he has shown satisfactorily that he will support the constitutions of this state and of the United States, and that he is loyal to the institutions and laws thereof." It has been pointed out by the New York *Tribune* (Republican) that Abraham Lincoln could not have held a license as teacher in the State of New York under this law, because he was guilty of actually aiding in the overthrow of an "institution," that of slavery.

The average teacher might be able to pass this test without embarrassment, provided he thought it

just that he should be brought up short and made to take any test. But he could not rest easy for the remainder of his career, because the law provides that, "The certificate authorizing a person to teach may be revoked by the commissioner of education on the ground that such person is not of good moral character, or for any act or utterance showing that he will not support the constitutions of this state and of the United States, or that he is not loyal to the institutions and laws thereof." The point here is that anyone may convince the commissioner that a particular teacher is not something or other he ought to be. The teacher himself is guaranteed no protection whatever, for neither trial nor hearing is provided for. Reactionary forces in education in the City of New York are credited with the introduction of this "joker." The president of the New York Board of Education said at a public hearing before the Lusk Committee that in his opinion it should be possible to dismiss a teacher "whenever the educational authorities are satisfied that he is undesirable, and without being limited by the laws of evidence." And again, he said, "The Board of Education should have the same right to dismiss a teacher that a private employer has to dismiss an employee."

Only two organizations of teachers in the State of New York took the trouble to fight this infamous bill, Local 5 and Local 71 of the American Federation of Teachers. Public condemnation is strong against this bill also, and it is expected the Governor will veto it.

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Our Opportunity

WM T MCCOY

President, The Chicago Federation of Men Teachers

Teachers are too conservative in all matters which concern their financial interests. They are slow to present their own cause to the public. This is due not only to a certain lack of initiative inherent in the teachers' relation to public matters, but also to the long repression to which they have been subjected by most local school authorities. They look to these authorities to protect them financially, and thru such action to subserve educational interests.

It must be acknowledged that school boards have not properly fulfilled this function. For whatever reasons this is true, it has become increasingly evident that the teachers themselves must act as guardians and expositors of the public interest in the schools. In some cities where bad conditions have forced them to organize and work for the betterment of the schools, groups have developed which are highly competent to this task. In smaller towns and in rural schools such groups have not developed.

The idea which is being forced upon teachers is that from some central point this great movement should be co-ordinated by a directing group which might collate the experience of all the recent drives, study and formulate methods, gather and shape propaganda, prepare publicity matter, and give counsel as to schedules.

The existing and growing deterioration in Public Education due to the loss of trained teachers, the decline in attendance at teachers' training schools, the decline in the standards of quality of incoming teachers, and to the increase in temporary certificates, must be corrected for the sake of the growing generation.

As the basic cause of these conditions we all recognize the deficiency of funds for education. This is nation-wide. It must be remedied within a very short time if the educational system of the country is to be saved. The loss of trained teachers must be stopped, and the work of teaching rendered attractive to persons of capacity. Teachers cannot be trained in a short time. It will take years to man the schools even as they were before 1914. We cannot afford to wait for the public to become sufficiently alarmed to act. It is our duty to tell the

public what is happening and will happen to its schools.

We must show to the nation the peril of ineffective schools. We must arouse the public to the enormous inequalities of educational opportunity between the states and within each state. We must make them understand that the present method of sporadic drives for better conditions cannot remove this desparity.

There is great danger that in the desperation of their financial condition, teachers will lay emphasis on the wrong phase of the school situation. To succeed in saving the schools the attention of the public must be directed not to the needs of the teachers, but to the decline of public education. When the people become convinced of the fact, their attention will naturally be directed to the cause; but a plea for the teachers' needs is a wrong start.

In some of our larger cities during the current school year teachers' campaigns have been conducted which have resulted in better pay for teachers.

The experience of these teachers is as valuable for their errors of method and procedure as for what they have done wisely and effectively. Would it not be worth while to collate and study plans and achievements of the various campaigns with a view to formulating correct and effective procedure and to extending the benefits of such procedure to other teachers who contemplate similar action?

There is a value easily appreciable in having the movement for school betterment general and contemporaneous thruout the United States. The influence of a general movement becomes almost irresistible. A sort of rivalry for school improvement would come into play. The national magazines, which have already to a large extent championed the cause of the schools, would help in molding public opinion in general.

The teachers in rural schools and in small towns are usually unorganized. This isolation of the individual renders teachers weak, fearful and over-modest in their efforts for obtaining more adequate salaries. The effects of this isolation might be removed largely by national organization for a common purpose.

There exist in all cities civic, labor, social or business organizations which should readily unite their efforts with those of the teachers if the vital importance of the school issue can be impressed upon them. A central organization could best formulate the larger argument to be directed to them.

The time is most propitious because of the political situation. Enough has been done already to make it clear to men and women of intelligence that the condition of the schools is a national peril and shame. By a central organization and by local pressure, it should be feasible to induce the great political parties to make the cause of public education a plank in their platforms in the national campaign just before us.

The National Education Association has done more in the past year for the cause of the schools, and of the class room teacher, than ever before in its existence. The Association has gathered an enormous mass of school data and has furnished this material freely to any who wanted it. It has been the prime mover in the great volume of better schools propaganda that has been appearing in magazines of national circulation. But the leaders of the N E A have not been able to seize the opportunity to increase the membership and the influence of the Association by developing the ideas here presented into a program of action. Is the American Federation of Teachers in a position to take advantage of the keen interest in this matter? It has been objected that the expense of such an undertaking is prohibitive; further, that the regular work of organization demands the full time and energy of the present field-workers.

These objections are important and must be considered, but they should be weighed against the probability that the program proposed would in all likelihood greatly reduce the expense and difficulty of organizing.

It would furnish the strongest argument for new groups to affiliate. It might well result in tripling our membership within a year. One can hardly conceive of a teaching group accepting the immense obligation of Federation assistance in this crisis and refusing to join the Federation.

In deciding on the whole matter it is well to remember that this is the propitious hour for securing better conditions. The economic situation can

never be better for our claims than now when the proof is plain that salaries, miserable before the war and before the vast increase in living costs are now from 70% to 100% lower in actual value, when teachers are leaving their work by tens and hundreds of thousands, when normal school attendance is dropping from 25% to 60%, when national publications are rallying to save the schools, and the citizens of every community are easily convinced that the schools are in great danger. To join effectively in the national movement, local organization including practically all teachers is necessary.

Without the least desire to be too urgent with the leaders of our Federation, I must, as a loyal member, take this opportunity to say to them that this work will be done either by the N E A or by some group independently unless they take prompt action to occupy this exceedingly strategic field for the Federation. I feel that this question is so important and the time element so vital that an immediate session of the Executive Council should be called to consider it.

MISS JOSEPHINE COLBY, ASSOCIATE FIELD SECRETARY, WRITES FROM ARIZONA

I have before me a letter from the Palo Alto, Calif., Chamber of Commerce, it conveys a definite recognition of the local teachers' union. I have permission to quote the following from this letter: "We not only desire your hearty support of the community propositions above, but also your definite co-operation as members of the enlarged organization. We hope (the organization) will be the means of establishing a better understanding between all elements of our population, farmers, merchants, mechanics, builders, teachers, faculty men, commuters, women." The letter closes with an invitation to the teachers union to take out at least a plural membership in the local chamber of commerce and co-operate as an organization with them in the aims of community betterment.

This, Local 153 has done.

WE WIN

On April 22, 1920, an intercollegiate debate was held at Tucson, Ariz., between the University of Arizona and the University of Southern California on the question, RESOLVED, THAT THE TEACHERS SHOULD JOIN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Our unofficial protagonists, Mr Hess Seaman and Mr Fred W Fickett, Jr, of the University of Arizona won the debate by the unanimous decision of the judges.

The Teacher's Personality*

HENRY LOUIS SMITH

President, Washington and Lee University

As a background to our consideration of the Teacher's Personality, I wish to make a few preliminary statements.

A seething ferment of change and reconstruction is evidently ushering in a new era. Not only in our political customs and institutions, but our homes and schools and educational aims and methods are to be profoundly modified by this onrushing tide of change.

It is our task to answer the question, "What place will *education* occupy in the new social order?" What great ideas, even now shaping themselves in the crucible of human thought, will determine the attitude and duties of American manhood and womanhood toward American boyhood and girlhood? To anticipate these ideas is to prepare ourselves for leadership, to recognize them is to clarify our vision of duty, to put them into swift execution is to hasten the coming of a wiser and better day.

When our nation shall have outgrown this crude child-era of democratic experimentalism, four great truths will, in my judgment, be universally accepted and acted upon.

1. That the young people of a nation are at once its greatest asset, its chief undeveloped source of power, its most valuable field for unlimited investment.

We invest millions in American stocks and bonds for a beggarly 5% or 6%, which invested in American boys and girls would enrich us beyond imagination.

Our most stupendous blunder in the past has been to undervalue them. Our greatest present crime is to neglect them. Our most misplaced economy is inadequate provision for their health and happiness and training.

2. That the right rearing and training of young Americans is the most complex problem, the mightiest task, and the most inspiring opportunity of our generation. Let but one single generation be rightly trained from babyhood in body, mind, and immortal spirit, and all of the knotty problems of our social,

industrial, and political life would be in rapid process of solution. Let the training of but one generation be wholly neglected and our civilization, losing its art, science, literature, education and religion, would be far on the road to primeval savagery.

The right training of the young is the spiritual reproduction of the race—the highest form of the activity of immortal man, the supreme task of a democracy, the fruit and measure of its wisdom and culture.

3. That the training of the intellect alone is fatally inadequate. The recent history of the German Empire, its marvelous rise to power, its present moral and economic bankruptcy, has taught the world this stupendous lesson, that science and literature and art alone can neither preserve nor advance human civilization. The heart must be trained with the head in the Christian principles of love, sympathy, unselfishness, and service.

4. And for the comfort and inspiration of this great gathering, let me add that the fourth characteristic of the new era will be a frank recognition of the greatness of your task and the glory of your service.

When our hero worship shall have become sane and wise, when the Golden Rule shall have become at least to some extent the law of American life, and unselfish service the test and measure of American greatness, then will it be universally recognized that the true leaders and makers of the nation are not the politicians, nor the manufacturers, nor the millionaires, but those who train and mold and inspire the young.

And now to our specific subject, *The Teacher's Personality*.

Modern civilization is the resultant of great dominant ideas constituting in each era the Spirit of the Age. The Master-idea of the Middle Age was Power; its hero was the conqueror. The Master-idea of the 17th and 18th centuries was Liberty and the Rights of Man; its hero was the patriot, the rebel, the martyr. The Master-idea of the 19th century was Knowledge and Research; its hero was the Scholar, the Scientist, the Inventor.

*Note: This address recently delivered before Washington teachers, was obtained for publication by the Grade Teachers Union, Local 16.

The Master-idea of the 20th century, sweeping human civilization with irresistible force in a new direction, is already becoming clear. It is *Co-operation*, shifting the emphasis from Power to Motive, from Knowledge to its Application, from Machinery to Men, from Tyranny to Democracy, from the Organization to its human constituent Units, from Force to Feeling, from Edict to Argument, from abstract Logic to concrete Human Nature.

This new spirit is affecting the multiplied activities of today like an all-pervading atmosphere. The day of the dictator, the slave-driver, the cold-blooded routine organizer, of non-human economic formulæ, of countless and helpless human cogs in a well-oiled and resistless machine, of autocracy in business, government, commerce, manufacturing, and *teaching*, has passed away, probably never to return.

The leadership of today is becoming steadily more human, less intellectual and mechanical, than it was even five years ago.

Every increase in the importance of the human factor adds to the relative importance of *Personality* as an essential element of successful leadership. To the ability and energy that distinguished the business giants of a generation or two ago must now be added a winning *Personality*, if the organization is to run smoothly and successfully. In this third element lies the secret of the new business leadership of men like Schwab, Patterson, Herbert Hoover, and the younger Rockefeller.

Since the raw material with which the teacher deals is human beings at the age most responsive to sympathy and most rebellious of control, the personality of the teacher has always been considered an important element in his success, but few of us realize that with the swift changes now taking place, it has actually become the leading factor in a teacher's success, promotion, and happiness.

The day of the merely mechanical school teacher is about over. The cold-hearted routine drill-master will never satisfy the demands of a modern school-room.

A magnetic, compelling, inspiring *Personality*, with its intuitive, irresistible leadership, is today the crown-jewel of our profession.

Like many other gifts and graces, it is the natural inheritance of a favored few. Yet it is within the reach of a far greater number as an acquired faculty,

and may be completely lost by carelessness and lack of conscious effort.

To develop and retain such a *Personality* should, therefore, be the constant and persistent effort of every teacher. That such efforts may be definite and effective, I wish to mention four essential characteristics of such a *Personality*. They are four steps upward to the sunlit heights of the teaching profession. To attain them is to be born again.

1. The first is *A Warm Responsive Heart*, sympathetic, appreciative, quickly interested in other people. A narrow mind in the schoolroom is a dire misfortune, but a narrow heart is a tragedy.

Love is the sweetest thing in the world, the most contagious thing in the world, the mightiest thing in the world, and nowhere sweeter, more contagious, or more all-powerful than among these young pilgrims on the highway of life. They are not disembodied intellects to be trained to think, but living, feeling, willing human beings to be trained to live. Our human civilization, to which you are guiding them, reaches its worthiest culmination, not in brute force nor in barren reason, but in love and sympathy and service. Shun cold-heartedness, cynicism, petulance, sarcasm, contempt, anger, hostility, therefore, as you would a plague. Love and appreciation, sympathy and service—these oil the complex bearings of life's machinery, lift the clouds that overhang every pathway, and waken in earthly schoolrooms and playgrounds the harmonies of heaven itself. Lay aside your worries, forget your own pains, suppress your resentments, love your work, love your schoolroom, love your colleagues, love your pupils, especially the erring and unlovely and lonely, and you will find for yourself the secret of a teacher's happiness.

2. The second element in a winning personality is *Forcefulness*, the power to control yourself and others. Few things are more quickly susceptible of conscious cultivation than will-power. No one is so miserable, none so inefficient, as the fretful, complaining teacher, who is too weak-willed to control herself or her pupils.

The attainment of self-mastery is the first step toward the control and leadership of others. It should be striven for with zealous and persistent determination. To lose control of one's self, one's temper, prejudices, passions, feelings, fears, likes,

and dislikes, is pitiable weakness, and every leader of the young must be *strong*. Let every teacher, therefore, practice daily the art of independence, self-reliance, the conquest of natural inclination, the savage pleasure of forcing one's way against obstacles within and without. If all men and women are divided into those who lead and those who lean, be a leader. If on the great four-track highway of life, every worker must be a locomotive or a box-car, put yourself in the locomotive class, with a steam power sufficient not only to move yourself, but to pull a long line of cars behind you.

Shun indecision, fear, irresolution, hesitation, fickleness, cowardice, procrastination, self-indulgence, and all the other out-drippings of weakness and inability.

In these stormy times, every tree of life should have a taproot, every house of life a stone foundation, every individual a backbone, every teacher the divine gift of leadership. A loving heart and an iron will, each supplementing and re-enforcing the other, make an irresistible combination. Teachers who have become possessors of both have no trouble with "discipline" or student hostility, or leaden-minded idleness. They lead and mold and inspire by a sort of divine right.

3. The third element of a winning personality is *Vision*, that uplifting, far-seeing, vivid *Imagination*, which habitually sees thru and beyond the mere outer husk and surface-appearance and discerns the inner and greater meaning of things. It is the divine gift of the prophet, the seer, the poet, the interpreter, of all the real teachers of the race. It is the unfailing and beneficent source of the contagious and exalted inspiration that differentiates the real leaders and teachers of immortal men and fact-imparters of the average schoolroom. It irradiates the homely round of school duties, the monotonous drudgery of recitations and examination papers, with a glow from the skies, lights an altar fire on the teacher's desk, and makes the crowded schoolroom a very sanctuary.

Where the blind drill-master sees childish wilfulness and obstinacy, the real teacher gifted with the faculty of *Vision* recognizes, with a feeling akin to awe, the awakening human will, dimly realizing its divine prerogative, and with erratic movements trying out its eagle pinions. These swarming, noisy,

troublesome children are not mere names on the school roll or cogs in the school machinery. They are the hope and light and joy of a hundred homes, the most precious raw material ever entrusted to human skill, the future leaders and molders of our great Republic.

To this divine insight the pathos of the ages may dignify and consecrate a cabin of undressed logs; the splendor of the truest heroism may crown a bare-foot boy, and the worn hands and self-sacrifice beside which the poems of medieval chivalry are dull and shallow. History without *Vision* is a dull series of dates and names and dead facts. With it, it becomes the marvelous and thrilling panorama of a whole race struggling upwards toward the light. It is the teacher's *Vision* that sweetens and transforms drudgery, uplifts and consecrates the spirit, swings the schoolroom into line with the spirit of the age, opens the receptive mind of childhood to the inner and higher meaning of life and duty, and establishes and maintains the creative spiritual leadership which is the crown and glory of our great profession.

4. The fourth characteristic of a strong, effective, inspiring Personality is the *Habit* of constant *Growth*.

Unless the mind and heart and faculties of a teacher are constantly growing, they are inevitably shallowing, hardening, narrowing, deteriorating. In no other of the great professions is it so fatally easy to become the slave of routine. The fixed location; the clock-like regularity of the daily program; the endless repetition of the same tasks; the monotony of teaching the same subjects from the same textbooks year after year—these act like an all-pervading atmosphere of carbonic-acid gas, steadily benumbing the teacher's freshness and enthusiasm, paralyzing her initiative, robbing her of vitality, and too often making her the petty, narrow, joyless bond-slave of monotonous and ineffective drudgery.

The only antidote is steady growth, and this must be accomplished against an equally steady resistance. Such growth is not mere accretion, the mere addition of years or facts or experience to one's previous stock, but a change from within, pervading the whole life and strengthening and fructifying every faculty. As it must be a conscious effort against resistance, let us study its processes.

How does a tree grow? By what plans and speci-

fications have the life forces of a giant forest tree lifted it against the downward pull of gravity to its present stature and eminence?

First, it grows in *Breadth*, thrusting its branches ever outward in search of more abundant air and sunshine.

Second, it grows in *Depth*, multiplying its roots and driving them deeper into the solid earth to anchor its growing bulk against wind and storm.

Third, by the innermost law of its being it grows in *Height*, persistently lifting its green crown further from the earth in which its roots are set, nearer to the far-off blue that calls it overhead.

So must *We* grow, if we would utilize the limitless opportunities of our sacred calling!

Grow first of all in *Breadth*. Breadth of *Knowledge* that the cutting edge of your own specialty may be made effective by the momentum of ripened wisdom and rich experience, that you may see life sane and whole, that breadth of knowledge may give you tolerance, poise, mature judgment, and an open mind.

Grow also in breadth of *Interest*, that your river of life may be no starveling streamlet trickling along a stony bed, but a rolling river, rich and full to the brim. Life is not a line, measured by its days and months and years, but an area. Its true content is its length multiplied by its breadth. It is the multiplicity of interests, variety and richness of experiences, height and depth of one's thoughts, hopes, and emotions that make life worth living. These are the effective antidote to dullness, narrowness, and dreary monotony.

Grow also in breadth of *Sympathy*. For the sake of your high calling and your own personality, free yourself from onesidedness and hopeless partisanship, from narrowness and petty provincialism, from race prejudice and class prejudice and religious bigotry. Thus, shall you grow in mellowness and wisdom, in tolerance and serenity, and in a greatness of soul which will uplift your whole school community.

The second direction of growth is *Depth*.

The blight of your stormy and uncertain age is its restless shallowness, its hysteric changeableness, its epidemic of aimless discontent.

Let every tree of life, therefore, develop a taproot, let no house of life be built upon the sand. In such a tempestuous period, breadth without

depth is fatal. Carefully matured opinions, freedom from shallow optimism or hysteric pessimism, steadfast courage and unshaken self-control, fixed principles reaching down to the living and immutable rock—let these enable us to stand foursquare to all the winds that blow, doing our life-work with a serenity and effectiveness which shall uplift and strengthen every young heart that looks to us for guidance and inspiration.

But no immortal spirit set to teach and lead other immortal spirits can ever be satisfied to grow only in breadth and depth. By an irresistible law of its being, the tree grows also in height, lifting its green crown in defiance of the downward pull of gravity upward toward the skies. So must *We* grow if we would be worthy of our high vocation.

We are all on our way to a common grave, but the paths that lead to it are infinitely varied and each must choose his own. Petty, earth-looking lives, absorbed in the trivial, the low, the mean, the selfish, the unworthy, are choosing the valley road, amid swamp and mire and undergrowth and creeping things and perpetual shade. For them, alas, no blue sky nor tonic sunshine, no quickening breeze, nor far-off horizon!

Uphill? Yes, then climb toward it, and every step of ascent will give you a broader vision and a more tonic mountain air. Rugged and stony? Yes, but along this mountain highway the elect Spirits of the race, the great teachers of every era, have walked exultant on their way to glory!

These are the processes of growth, outward, downward, and upward, that make a teacher's life a perennial source of help and inspiration.

Love and *Sympathy* to oil the school machinery; *Will-power* and *Energy* to keep it successfully at work; *Vision* to illuminate and transfigure; and this three-fold *Growth* in breadth and depth and height. These are the four steps up which the teacher climbs the lofty levels of his great profession.

"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul!

As the swift seasons roll
Leave thy low-vaulted past,
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by Life's unresting
sea."

Report of Organization Work to The Fourth Convention*

L V LAMPSON

Field Secretary, The American Federation of Teachers

Recently, in a small city in the United States, the question of whether teachers should unionize was under discussion. In fact, the discussion became so serious that it was taken up at prayer meeting where a good old deacon appealed to the Almighty to "save the teaching 'corpses' from the labor unions." Evidently the Almighty must be on our side for in this particular city, in spite of the prayers of the deacon, the teachers were able to form a union. In the presence of this concrete evidence of Divine favor, let us consider the state of the union movement among the teachers thruout the country.

Those of you who were present at the Pittsburgh Convention in 1918, will remember how small a group we were. At that time we had no officers on full time; no official organ. We had only twenty-eight locals. Today we have three full time officials and an office force. We have an official publication. We have one hundred forty locals. There are teachers' unions in every part of the country. In fact, out in the Territory of Hawaii we have one; down in the Panama Canal Zone we have another; up in Canada we have still another. Our locals are chartered not only among the public school teachers, rural, grade and high; but also among the normal school, college and university teachers. Last night Superintendent Mortenson of Chicago, denominated the union movement among the teachers as the most progressive educational movement of the present day. I have heard other superintendents speak of it as the only hope of the American teacher. The movement has approached a national significance. We have in fact become an International Union.

WORK IN THE OFFICE

Your Field Secretary is called upon to make a report of his activities. These have to do with work in the office and work in the field. The former set of activities include among others, the sending out of—

- 1—Information to libraries, colleges and univer-

*Read at the Chicago Convention, December 30, 1919.

sities for use in debates by students.

- 2—Innumerable form letters.
- 3—Form letters to practically every educational organization in the country.
- 4—Form letters to practically every educational journal in the country. There has been quite a generous response from these journals. Many of them have printed our literature and quite a number have commented favorably upon our movement.
- 5—Literature and form letters to every labor journal in the United States and Canada with the result that there has been much publicity.
- 6—Form letters to every Indian school in the country.
- 7—Form letters to practically every director of vocational education in the country.
- 8—Form letters to 600 leading trade union women of the country, requesting their cooperation in extending the movement. As President Stillman has said, we have received a great deal of help from these women.
- 9—One thousand form letters for use among the normal school teachers.
- 10—One hundred form letters for use among the college and university teachers. The response from the higher institutions of learning has been encouraging.
- 11—Newspaper interviews. One of the best of these was published by the Newspaper Enterprise Association which had 4,000,000 subscribers. As a result of this kind of publicity, some of our locals in Texas were organized. Hawaii, Fargo, the University of Montana, Bates County, Mo, and the Canal Zone are illustrations of organizations effected thru correspondence and office propaganda.

WORK IN THE FIELD

The work in the field has of course consisted of many more or less extensive trips among which are the following:

1—To the states of Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and Mississippi, inclusive. On this occasion, the Chilocco Indian School was organized. A charter was applied for a little later but the real work was done at the time specified. In Texas, Denison, Galveston, Austin, San Antonio and Houston were organized and later Beaumont applied for a charter. A large union movement among Missouri teachers was initiated at this time.

2—To the South where we met with very gratifying results. The Atlanta teachers came across with the organization of 526 out of 566 possible members. I recall sending a telegram to my own local in Washington telling about the organization of the Atlanta teachers and making the statement that "As Atlanta goes, so goes the South." We are expecting a great deal of help in extending our organization thruout Georgia and nearby states from Mr Phillips, Miss Barker and the other members of Local 89.

3—To New England with the result that Bangor, Fitchburg and Pawtucket applied for charters.

4—To New Jersey with the result that Jersey City, Hoboken, Paterson, Trenton and Newark applied for charters.

5—To Pennsylvania with the result that Philadelphia and the Edinboro Normal College applied for charters.

6—To Virginia with the result that Lynchburg, Norfolk and Portsmouth applied for charters.

7—To Maryland with the result that Baltimore City, Allegeny, Prince Georges, Montgomery and Anne Arundel counties have applied for charters.

8—To Missouri with the result that the University of Missouri was organized. There are three delegates from that local at this convention.

9—To California. This trip was taken upon the invitation and at the request of the California Federation of Teachers which assumed in large part the responsibility for paying the expenses involved. As we are to have a special report upon California from Miss Colby, I will not encroach upon her subject, except to say that the union teachers arranged unusually fine meetings at Sacramento, San Francisco and Fresno. At the meeting in Fresno there were 2,000 teachers present. I wish to say in this connection that my faith in our movement has been strengthened by my experiences in California. I have no doubt

whatsoever of the success and growth of the American Federation of Teachers. Before concluding this part of my report, I desire to express my appreciation of the splendid cooperation extended to me by President Stillman and Secretary Stecker and the other members of the Executive Council.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are certain recommendations which I would like to place before you for consideration:

1—In my opinion, our offices must be centralized. The effectiveness of organization work is seriously hampered by the fact that the office of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer is located in Chicago while that of the Field Secretary is located in Washington. The latter is willing, under the circumstances, to move to Chicago. This decision is rendered more difficult by the belief which I hold that the permanent headquarters of the organization must eventually be located at the National Capitol.

2—In my opinion, the following pamphlets should be prepared at an early date for distribution:

- (a) How to Organize a Teachers' Union.
- (b) Objections to the Union Movement Among the Teachers Answered.
- (c) Benefits of the Union Movement Among the Teachers.
- (d) The Union Movement among the Normal School Teachers.
- (e) The Union Movement Among the Colleges and University Teachers.
- (f) The Smith-Towner Bill Revised.
- (g) Labor's Contribution to Public School Education.

You will be interested to know that a recent investigation of a large number of text-books dealing with the history of education disclosed the fact that in only one of them is there any reference whatsoever to labor's contribution to public school education. No reference, outside of a foot note, is made in any of them to the fact that organized labor is in large part responsible for the establishment of the public school system in this country.

3—I would recommend that the locals in the various states join together in making an arrangement whereby they can secure certain columns of some reputable labor journal for use as an official organ. The California Federation of Teachers has been able to reserve two pages in the San Francisco

Labor Clarion. The publishers have agreed to send the paper regularly to teachers thruout the state at the rate of two cents a copy. Mr C A Davis, Vice-President of the California State Federation of Teachers, is in editorial charge of the pages reserved for the use of teachers.

4—I would recommend to the officers of the national that instead of endeavoring to extend the movement entirely thru their own efforts, they pay more attention to its extension thru existing locals. Each one of our unions should have its extension committee, e. g., Fresno; each one of our states that has not yet formed a state federation should have its state union extension committee; e. g., the State of Missouri; each one of our states should as soon as possible form a state federation by means of which extension work can be very effectively done; e. g., California.

THE AFFILIATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES WITH ORGANIZED LABOR

This convention should prepare to meet the campaign that is being waged in some quarters against the affiliation of public employees with organized labor. I propose to devote the remainder of my time to that subject.

We are being attacked upon the grounds that public employees should not affiliate with organized labor because in so doing they take an oath of allegiance to a labor organization which is superior to their obligations to the government. As a matter of fact, the teachers are not required to take an oath of allegiance by the American Federation of Labor. It is the custom among the craft unions to require such an oath which, however, contains the specific reservation that nothing in it shall interfere with one's obligations of citizenship. Whenever a craft union man takes the oath of allegiance, he in reality reaffirms his allegiance to the government.

We are being attacked upon the grounds of the strike. It should be pointed out in this connection that the American Federation of Labor grants to the American Federation of Teachers a charter of complete autonomy which means that we have control over our policies and affairs. No teachers' union can be called out on a strike, sympathetic or otherwise, by any labor organization. We are protected in this respect by a strict guarantee in the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

We teachers are employees of the public. Our salaries and school laws depend upon political bodies, school boards, city councils, state legislatures and the Congress of the United States, whose membership and policies depend upon the voters. The great majority of the teachers of the country do not vote and even if they did they would not constitute a sufficient proportion of the votes in any given community to get results unaided. It is therefore necessary for us to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor whose four million voters are interested in education and will utilize their votes for the improvement of educational conditions. There have been no strikes among union teachers. There have been a considerable number of strikes among non-union teachers in the United States and Canada. We do not resort to the strike as a means of getting results, but depend upon publicity, organization and political action; methods thoroly consistent with our position as teachers and with the ideals of democracy. The American Federation of Teachers is in strict accord with the form, the spirit and the traditions of the American system of Government. Those who condemn the former assume the responsibility of condemning the latter.

We are being attacked on the grounds that by reason of our affiliation we are subject to the control of labor. Nothing could be further from the truth. This whole matter resolves itself into the question: "What does organized labor expect of the teachers in return for the support accorded them?" In the first place, the American Federation of Labor is an organization made up of employed people. We are employees and are eligible to membership. Labor leaders are candidly ambitious to build up their organization. It is a proper ambition. In the second place, organized labor is guilty of the crime of wanting to be understood. In the third place, the leaders of labor look upon the teachers as a further steadying influence in the ranks of labor. Neither of these two points requires elaboration. Both should be readily comprehended. In the fourth place, organized labor is interested in the improvement of educational facilities. I remember Mr. Hugh Magill, Legislative Representative of the National Education Association called me up on the 'phone one day to relate a conversation which he had just had with Mr. Henry Sterling, Legislative Representa-

tive of the American Federation of Labor. Mr Magill said "Sterling tells me that we need have no concern as to the support of the A F of L for the Smith-Towner Bill Revised because there is no subject in respect to which organized labor thruout the country is so united as the improvement of educational facilities." Labor leaders want our cooperation in bringing about the improvement of the educational system of the country.

We are being attacked on the grounds that as employees of the public, teachers should not affiliate with any particular class. This is the favorite argument of a prominent educator who puts the following question up to the union teachers to answer: "Why do not teachers affiliate with the Chamber of Commerce? Why not with the Bar Association? Why not with the Methodist church? Why not with the Medical Association? Why not with the Grange? Why affiliate with Organized Labor?" The answer is readily given. All teachers cannot affiliate with the Chamber of Commerce, they are not financially able. All teachers cannot join the Bar Association, they are not all lawyers. All teachers cannot join the Methodist Church, they are not all Methodists. All teachers cannot join the Medical Association, they are not all doctors. All teachers cannot join the Grange, they are not farmers. But all teachers can join the *American Federation of Labor because they are all employees*. Certainly from the standpoint of education, The American Federation of Labor cannot be regarded as a class organization. It has done much to promote the cause of public school education. Its members believe in education not merely for the children of labor, but for the children of all the people.

OUR IDEALS

In dealing with the present crisis, I believe that we would do well to make the people better understand our ideals. My own interpretation of them is as follows:

We believe in the ideal of an efficient teaching personnel. You can have schools without school buildings, but you cannot have schools without school teachers.

We believe in the ideal that teachers should know life. Education is supposed to be an adjustment to life. How can teachers make that adjustment properly if they themselves are not in touch with the

conditions of the real world?

We believe in the ideal that teachers should not only know, but dare to teach the truth.

We believe in the ideal of the dignity of labor. We teachers can render a great service by emphasizing with the children of the country, not only the dignity and worth of labor, but also the need, particularly at this time, of increased and better production. This would be a real contribution not only to the country but to the world in the period of reconstruction.

We believe in the ideal of public service. We are willing that the union movement among the teachers should be tested by this criterion.

We believe in the ideal of toleration. It has been said that toleration is the cement which holds society together. Most of the present unrest is due to an unwillingness of one group to appreciate the viewpoint of another group. Teachers can do much to inject the spirit of toleration into society by a proper training of the youth.

We believe in the ideal of "Democracy in Education; Education for Democracy." It is our belief that there can be no democracy in government or in industry unless there is democracy in education. The last stand of autocracy will be in the dominion of the mind. The world cannot be made safe for democracy unless the schools are kept safe for democracy.

These are our ideals. In the American Federation of Teachers, we have an agency whereby we can transform these ideals into definite and concrete action.

TEACHERS TO LEAVE UNION OR LOSE JOBS

St. Louis Forbids A F of L Affiliation

Special to THE SUN AND NEW YORK HERALD.

ST. LOUIS, April 14.—The Board of Education notified public school teachers today not only to refrain from joining the Central Trades and Labor Union, but also that high school teachers belonging to the union must withdraw from their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor or lose their jobs.

To make this effective a resolution, offered as a proposed amendment to the rule of the board dealing with employment of instructors, was presented at the regular monthly meeting of the board by W Frank Carter, who, in addition to being a member of the board, is president of the Chamber of Commerce—From *The New York Sun*.

The *Sun* has stated the most significant point in the last line: "Big Business" has no use for teachers' unions—EDITOR.

Proceedings of The Eastern Conference of The American Federation of Teachers

RUTH HARDY

Secretary, Eastern Conference

On the morning of April 2, 1920, the first annual meeting of the Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers was called to order by Mr Henry R Linville, Temporary Chairman. Miss Ruth Hardy was elected Temporary Secretary. The report of the credentials committee was read and accepted.

An address of welcome was given by Miss Mary A Depew, President of the Philadelphia Teachers Union, Local 58. Miss Isabel Williams of St Paul, Minn, Associate Field Secretary of the A F of T, replied.

Mr James P Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, addressed the delegates on the weakness of unorganized teachers. He emphasized the great strength of organizations affiliated with all other labor organizations and the value of securing benefits thru the organized efforts of those who will enjoy them.

Mr Maurer laid stress on the need of fighting for liberties under present conditions under which teachers ordered to teach lies are unable to resist, because they are unorganized. He denounced the propaganda of such institutions as business colleges designed to create a psychology hostile to the labor movement. He spoke of a newspaper to be established by the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor which is to print only the truth. In closing, Mr. Maurer offered the services of the State Federation to the teachers.

Motions to the effect that this session be continued as an open session and that committees be made up only of volunteers were carried.

The Convention moved to adopt the following resolutions on teachers' salaries, tenure, size of classes, retaining men in the school system, the sab-batical year for teachers and labor education:

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING TEACHERS' SALARIES

I. *Be it Resolved*, by the Conference of Eastern Locals of the American Federation of Teachers, at Philadelphia on April 3, 1920, that it declare itself in favor of a minimum wage for substitute teachers

of Six Dollars for each day of teaching, such pay to be made by the departments of education.

II. *Whereas*, Ours is a government founded on public opinion and the only source of intelligent opinion lies in educated citizens, the work of the teacher is the most fundamental of public services, and

Whereas, The teacher, more particularly in our free and elementary school systems, has never received the respect of the community due to so fundamental a service either in regard or in money payment, and

Whereas, No great public service can be carried on unless it attracts and retains men and women of ability, energy, and thoro training, yet the salaries of teachers thruout the country are so low that an ever decreasing number are entering the occupation, and an increasing number are leaving, many after years of study and experience,

Be It Resolved, That all locals of the American Federation of Teachers should work with their respective states for adequate salaries as a measure of the community's respect for teaching as an essential service, and that this work should be based on the following principles:

1—Equal pay for work done without distinction of sex.

2—A minimum salary for the teacher of Two Thousand Dollars a year.

3—The substitution, after adequate pay has been secured, of a sliding scale of wage, based on the varying index numbers of the cost of living as published by the United States Government, so that the adequate pay may be maintained, regardless of the fluctuating value of the dollar, until such time as Congress shall by law establish a stable unit of money value to replace the present metallic standard, provided that at no time shall the minimum be less than \$2000.

Be It Further Resolved, That study be given to the question of ways and means for retaining men teachers already in the systems and attracting men into the teaching profession, and be

it resolved to have a committee of volunteers from different localities to study the problem and to report its findings and its solution to the next Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers.

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING TEACHERS' TENURE

Whereas, There is clear evidence of an insidious effort on the part of reactionary politicians and autocratic school supervisors to gain absolute control of the teaching force by destroying teachers' tenure thru the gaining of power to dismiss teachers at will according to the political bias of those in power, or for mere personal whims, and

Whereas, This power can lead to nothing other than the complete intellectual and spiritual enslavement of the teacher by destroying any vestige of initiative or desire for expression of opinion, thereby converting the public schools into media for the propaganda of a special class, and

Whereas, A teacher's best efforts can be put forth only when he or she is entirely free from any anxiety concerning the security of his position,

Therefore Be It Resolved, By the Convention of Eastern Locals of the American Federation of Teachers held at Philadelphia on April 3, 1920, that it go on record as being in favor of tenure of office for all teachers after a probationary period of one year, and furthermore,

Be It Resolved, That this convention favor the framing and the passing of laws by state legislatures and by local authorities which make possible the dismissal of teachers only on the basis of clear-cut charges which shall have been proved at a trial of the accused by a trial board upon which there shall be teacher representation, and

Be It Further Resolved, That all unions of teachers and other workers be urged to include among their activities a vigorous agitation toward the end that such legislation shall be enacted by the state legislatures and by local authorities.

THE SIZE OF CLASSES

Whereas, It is the consensus of pedagogical experience that classes should be limited as to the number of pupils, and

Whereas, It is the right of every child to have the best kind of school training which the community can give to that child, and

Whereas, The child cannot receive the proper

kind of individual attention when he is placed in a class which has more pupils than pedagogic theory and pedagogic experience have found to be proper,

Be It Resolved, By the Conference of Eastern Locals of the American Federation of Teachers, held at Philadelphia on April 3, 1920, that the number of pupils in any class shall be limited as far as possible to twenty, and that in no case shall the number of permitted to exceed twenty-five, and

Be It Resolved, That the locals of the American Federation of Teachers be urged to agitate for such limitations in the size of classes in their respective communities, and

Be It Further Resolved, That the aid of all labor bodies be enlisted in the efforts to secure such limitations in the size of classes thru appropriate legislative enactments and local school board regulation.

TO RETAIN MEN IN THE SCHOOLS

Resolved, That the Committee in charge of the problem of retaining men in the school system be known as the Teachers' Welfare Committee, this committee to consider also the question of the length of the school day and of the school year.

COMMITTEE OF TEACHERS' WELFARE

Mr John W Marsh.....	Local 100
Miss Dent	" 16
Miss R Stutz	" 8
Mrs F Martinez	" 24
Mrs G Ryan	" 56
Mrs B Ryan	" 45
Miss Boles	" 95
Miss M Brown	" 87
Miss Depew	" 58
Mr Jno A Frenzel	" 24

(Proceedings to be continued in the May issue.)

WARN TEACHERS AND FIREMEN TO QUIT UNIONS OR LOSE PLACES

San Francisco, April 27.—Members of the teachers' and firemen's unions recently organized here, received notices today from the Board of Education and the Board of Supervisors, respectively, that they must give up labor union affiliations or lose their positions.

San Antonio, Texas, April 27.—A temporary injunction restraining city officials from interfering with the affiliation of members of the fire department with a firemen's union, recently organized here, was in force today. District Judge S. G. Tylac issued it yesterday and made it returnable on Friday.

—From the New York Times of April 28, 1920.

From the Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

FROM LOCAL 5

(The Teachers Union of the City of New York)

How the New York Teachers Secured \$36,000,000

The passage of the modified Lockwood-Donohue Bill by the legislature of New York State was the most remarkable salary victory ever won in this country. This signal triumph was due, not altogether to the public or legislative recognition of the fact that the laborer, even tho he be a teacher, is worthy of his hire, but also to the striking campaign waged by the united teachers, aided somewhat by the fear of the business men and educational officials who labored under the delusion that failure to enact additional salary legislation meant the growth of the union sentiment among the teachers—something that our educational and business autocrats greatly fear. That my statement is no exaggeration is evidenced by the fact that just before the passage of the salary bill Dr William L Ettinger, the Superintendent of Schools of New York City, was quoted by the public press as having said that failure to pass the Lockwood-Donohue Bill would mean a fearful future for the schools. "The teachers have been reluctant to organize or affiliate themselves with unions for the purpose of obtaining necessary pay increases," said Dr. Ettinger, "but they will be driven to unionize unless their demands are granted." Thus, according to the admission of this educational authority the very existence of the Teachers Union made possible and necessary this remarkable piece of legislation!

The teachers, realizing the immensity of the task that faced them—securing \$20,500,000 after having secured \$16,000,000 a few months previous—set aside organization and personal prejudices and formed a central directing committee of 25 called the Merger Committee. This committee represented not only the most powerful teacher organizations such as the Teachers Union, Local 24, the Federation of Teachers Associations and other non-union bodies, but also the most effective and experienced campaigners in the various groups. The Merger Committee formulated plans

and policies for enlightening the public and the legislature as to the crisis confronting our schools, and designated three committees—legislative, publicity, and finance—to carry them out.

The function of the Legislative Committee was to pledge enough votes to insure the passage of the Lockwood-Donohue Bill which contained our demands. To accomplish this most effectively and, with as little friction as possible, the State was divided into two parts: New York City with its 25,701 employes of the education department; and up-state, with its 29,413 teachers; each division conducting its own legislative campaign along similar lines. New York City was divided into school districts each with a Salary Committee under the guidance of an experienced chairman, and each school in every district was similarly organized. The salary committee divided their functions along the same lines as did the Merger Committee—legislative, publicity and finance—and worked in harmony with their central chairmen. The district organizations, under the guidance of the Central Committee, worked to secure the endorsement of the legislative representatives of their respective districts and usually succeeded by using the following tactics:

1. Thru the Teachers Union and Local 24, New York, they secured the endorsement of organized labor thruout the state, and of their various locals. The members of these locals wrote to their representatives in the legislature urging them to support the bill. In addition, President Holland of the State Federation of Labor and John O'Hanlon, the State Legislative Agent helped the teachers' lobby at Albany, and were very effective in securing support.

2. The parents of the various schools were organized into associations, addressed by well-known speakers who told them about the teacher-shortage and then secured, not only their endorsement of the salary bill, but also succeeded in getting most of them to write to their representatives urging them to vote for the measure. These associations were then united into one large city-wide Parents' Association which later

stormed the capital on behalf of the teachers.

3. Committees of parents and teachers personally canvassed the legislators at their homes and tried to secure their promise of support.

4. Local labor unions, social clubs, tax associations, church organizations, Republican and Democratic clubs, settlements, Rotary clubs, community councils, prominent public men and others were visited, circularized or addressed by teachers and enlisted in the cause of education.

5. Immense and spectacular mass meetings were held by the teachers in various schools and some under the auspices of public spirited citizens such as the Committee of 100, the community councils and organized labor. These meetings secured much publicity for the cause.

While this work was going on in the districts and rural communities, a dozen members of the Legislative Committee, often aided by other district and school representatives, were at Albany working incessantly to explain the educational crisis to the members of the legislature and to remove the misconceptions under which many labored. Many of these men ignored our literature, but they could not ignore what our representatives said. This personal lobbying was the most effective offensive weapon employed by the teachers.

To furnish the speakers with ammunition and to enlighten the public, the Publicity Committee was organized. The chairman of this committee was assisted by a very large staff of volunteers who could be called upon at a moment's notice, for such necessary work as securing data, reading proof, mailing literature, addressing district or parents' meetings, and the like. The committee succeeded in gathering a mass of statistics dealing with earnings of teachers as contrasted with the earnings of workers in other occupations, prepared leaflets showing the decrease in normal school enrollment and in the teacher supply, the increasing number of rejections and resignations; the number of children that were dismissed daily without instruction because of the teacher shortage, and gathered other data of great value in making it possible for the citizens to realize that a real crisis confronted them, and heroic action was imperative. The literature, thus prepared

was spread broadcast thru the city. Editors were visited and induced to write editorials on the teacher shortage and leading feature articles dealing with concrete situations, while other public-spirited citizens, as Mr. William Fox, the moving-picture magnate, placed the screen at our disposal, thereby making it possible for us to appeal to hundreds of thousands of people. With such aid and thru the use of window placards and posters, the public was forced to face the facts. The result was the birth of an overwhelming sentiment in favor of our cause, which no legislature, however reactionary, dared ignore.

To conduct so extensive a campaign funds were necessary. Teachers were asked to make voluntary contributions of one dollar or more, depending on their annual salaries and ability to pay. Moreover, thruout the campaign the teachers in the schools held themselves ready to carry out every request of their chosen leaders. Certain pivotal legislators were continually flooded with letters, literature and telegrams requesting and sometimes ordering them to support the Lockwood-Donohue Bill. Despite the opposition of the various Boards of Election, of Mayor Hylan and up-state city officials, the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 50 to 1 and the Assembly without either debate or opposition.

This campaign, more than any other, has proved conclusively that teachers will never receive full recognition, nor function effectively as community leaders, in the coming social order unless they do two things; (1) unite into one big educational organization; (2) come into intimate contact with the economic and social forces in the community. This can only be achieved in one way—thru the unionization of teachers and thru affiliation with organized labor. As the dignity and the efficiency of the teaching profession rest upon unionization, the ultimate triumph of the union movement is inevitable. The fight will be a long and bitter one because unionization of teachers will be fought by educational and industrial autocrats with every powerful weapon at their command, but victory when it comes, will then be all the more welcome. Those who believe in the union movement, who know that only in it and thru it lies the salvation of America

and the hope of struggling humanity, will neither hesitate nor falter to make the necessary sacrifice that this struggle will entail because all progress worthy of the name is—SACRIFICE.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ,
Chairman of the Legislative Committee,
Local 5, New York

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Lefkowitz prepared this statement on the request of The American Teacher for the purpose of outlining the technique of what appears to have been the most successful salary campaign ever waged by teachers. Doubtless many suggestions contained in the statement will be useful to other locals. We take pleasure in adding that special tributes have been paid by leaders in non-union teachers' organizations to the skilful and honorable leadership of Mr Lefkowitz in this campaign. Local 5 is very proud of him.

NEW YORK SALARIES AFTER AUGUST 1, 1920, IN COMPARISON WITH SALARIES OF 1919

The most substantial increases over 1919 rates provided in the new bill will go to the lowest paid teachers—those serving in the lower grades. The minimum salary for these teachers is increased from \$900 last year to \$1,500, beginning Aug. 1. The maximum of \$1,600 becomes \$2,875. Of the 15,128 teachers in this group, 4,919 women will receive increases beginning Aug. 1, over 100 per cent. above the 1919 rate, while 4,052 women will receive increases between 80 and 100 per cent. The 3,737 women teachers who have served in these grades sixteen years or more will receive increases between 70 and 80 per cent. above 1919 salaries.

Stated in terms of actual pay there will be 432 of these women teachers who will receive during the year beginning Aug. 1 more than \$1,500 more than they would have been paid had the 1919 salary schedules still been in force, 7,720 will receive from \$1,200 to \$1,500 more; 1,803 will receive from \$1,000 to \$1,200, 3,153 from \$700 to \$1,000, and the 281 in the first year of service an increase of \$595.

In the upper grades there are 4,541 teachers who will be paid a minimum of \$1,900, a maximum of \$3,250 with annual increments of \$150. This new schedule will give 521 women teachers an increase of between 80 and 100 per cent., seventy-three from 70 to 80 per cent., and 1,923 increases of less than 70 per cent. In terms of salary 155 upper grade teachers will receive an increase in excess \$1,500; 230 an increase of from \$1,200 to \$1,500, and fifty-five an increase between \$1,000 and \$1,200.

The 546 assistants to principals will be paid under a schedule with a minimum of \$3,400 and a maximum of \$3,600 reached in two annual increases. There are 492 assistants receiving the present maximum of \$2,600.

The schedule for principals begins at \$3,750 instead of \$2,540, the 1919 rate, and increases \$250 a year to a maximum of \$4,750. Of the 404 principals 350 now receiving \$3,666 will be increased on Aug. 1, to \$4,750.

A new schedule has been inserted for teacher clerks with a minimum of \$1,200 and a maximum of \$1,800, to be reached in six annual increments of \$100 each.

The 2,508 assistant teachers in high and training schools will get a minimum of \$1,900 and a maximum of \$3,700, to be reached in twelve annual increments of \$150 each.

First assistant teachers, of whom there are 196, will get a minimum of \$3,200, with a maximum of \$4,200, to be reached in five annual increments of \$200 each.

Clerical, laboratory and library assistants, 186, will receive a minimum of \$1,400 and a maximum of \$2,400, reached in ten annual increments of \$100 each.

—From the New York Globe of April 26, 1920.

FROM LOCAL 32

(The Shenandoah, Pa., Teachers Federation)

The subjoined quotation indicates the response which the superintendent at Shenandoah, Pa., made to certain formal requests made by Local 32 of the Board of Education.

At the meeting between a committee of teachers and this Board on the 24th of last month, one very important demand was made. It was "an increase in salary." The teachers, in their effort to pattern after the custom to demand much with the hope of getting a little, in the judgment of the speaker, not only put themselves in unprofessionally, but both farcical and ludicrous, as well as showing a lack of business principles applied.

The demand for pay for "time attending local institute" is a farce. If any teacher is not sufficiently inclined, professionally, to attend local institute, then she or he may be excused.

The speaker is not opposed to a Teachers' Association, but he does believe that superintendents, supervisors or principals should not be members of them, and especially if the tenets discussed at the convention in Philadelphia last Friday, are to become part of the principles of the Association; namely, "No fewer than one-third of the school board shall be teachers"; "that teachers shall help in the election of superintendent, supervisors and principals"; "that a principal shall not serve more than six years in succession, that is, two terms of three years each after which he should be sent back to the class room." Woe be to the public schools if the assertion of the president of the association ever comes to be a reality! It is. "It was gratifying to see that teachers at last realized they belong to the workers' class and not professionals"—From the Shenandoah (Pa.) Herald of April 8, 1920.

FROM LOCAL 45

Mahanoy City can now boast of having two local unions of the Teachers' Federation; one in Mahanoy City and the other in Mahanoy Township. Clustered in the valley, surrounded by the beauties of nature, you can find a very progressive corps of teachers, who are alive to the every need of the under-paid men and women. This is the great factor in moulding the minds of the future citizens of America. The hopes of a better America, a better people, and a better and greater democracy. This depends wholly on the schools of our country. Therefore, let everyone who believes in the fundamentals of education, give his best thought and efforts to this great cause of humanity. Mahanoy City teachers are determined to put forth the good work of organized effort to help this cause. An-

other star has been added to our banner in our locality. Mahanoy Township teachers were organized on April 19th, by Mr D W Davis, international organizer for the United Mine Workers of America. Mr Davis is a man to be admired and appreciated. He is one of the most popular and best known organizers, and one of the strongest advocates of the Trade Union Movement. He has spent many untiring years fighting for the betterment of the laboring classes. It was thru his firm effort and kindly advice that Local 45, Mahanoy City, owes her one hundred per cent membership.

BINA M RYAN, *President Local 45.*

FROM LOCAL 149

The teachers in the Marion, (Illinois) local early in February, decided that it would be necessary to have a raise in salary. After a meeting and careful consideration of our system of taxation, they asked for a flat raise of \$25.00 per month, from January 1, 1920.

The Board of Education for various reasons neglected to give them an early meeting to present their claims. On February 17, Chas B Stillman explained the Federation movement to the teachers, and the entire corps of teachers organized, forming the Marion Federation of Teachers, and sent delegates to the next meeting of the Trades Council.

In a few days the Board of Education received our committee, gave it a courteous hearing, then unanimously granted our full request, a flat raise of \$25.00 per month from January 1 for each teacher.

There is at present a "school fight" on for members of the Board of Education. There are two tickets in the field, and one has publicly recognized the Federation and the right of the teachers to organize.

ROY L SHIRLEY, *Cor. Secretary.*

THE TEACHER'S SELF-RESPECT

I am convinced that whatever proportion of the difficulty may be ascribed to low salary scales, it nevertheless is not by any means the whole story. I should say that factors fully as important have been the tendency toward vexatious prescriptions and irritating standardization far beyond what is necessary for effectiveness in work, the net results of which constantly decrease the opportunity for self-expression in the teacher's work.

Add to this the present demoralizing and demeaning interference of legislative committees,

school boards and self-acclaimed patriots, defining what may be mentioned and proscribing various topics and various methods, and you have what is essentially an attack on the self-respect of teachers, which necessarily results promptly in a reduction of the teaching force of the country which tends to sap it of its vitality. Thus the whole morale of the service is gradually shattered.

—Ernest M. Hopkins, *President, Dartmouth College, in Bull. of Institute for Public Service.*

A STORY FROM JERSEY CITY

Mr John G Anderson taught with me at Englewood, N J, a few years ago at \$800 a year. In 1914 he was studying at Teachers' College with no prospects. Mr Fessenden, of the Fessenden School for Boys offered him \$2,200 and a home for himself and family. He refused it. Then Mr Wanamaker offered him \$5000 and commission to take charge of his sporting goods department, which he accepted. He told Mr Grant and me on Saturday that he had just had an offer of another position, but that Mr Wanamaker gave him \$3800 flat increase to stay. Note please \$3800 to remain. Yet there are those who say to teachers, "Get out if you don't like the pay."

O Tempora! O Mores!

CLEAR PROOF THAT LOCALS SHOULD INFORM THEIR MEMBERS

To the Editor, *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*:

Last year, without very mature deliberation, I joined a teachers' local in Newark, N J. I wish to absolutely withdraw from any such affiliation and request that no more publications be sent me.

The more I read *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* the less American and more inflammatory I consider it. This country is not a Democracy, but a Republic. I am sick to death of the juggling with words which mean nothing but the Creed of Self. The way Labor has and is acting, puts it outside the pale of toleration of good, honest, red-blooded Americans. There are still, thank God, those of us to cling to the good old-fashioned Anglo-Saxon ideals and who still have a belief based on the Golden Rule, and we are going to keep it going.

If I am to be governed—and I still am sane enough to believe in government, I prefer to be governed by those who are valued from the "neck up," not from the "neck down." I think all this agitation is a direct attempt to foster class prejudice not to allay it—and springs from dangerous, diseased minds.

I believe in one Union!

The good old U S A—you are on the wrong track.

ELLA W MOCKRIDGE.

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

PARIS, March 24.—In the course of my interview with Lunacharsky, the Peoples' Commissary for Public Instruction, he laid especial stress upon the country-wide character of the Bolshevik system of education in Soviet Russia. While of course the maximum effort toward the establishment of schools is being made, he said, in thickly populated centres, children in the remoter districts are not being forgotten.

In the Tver Government he observed the number of schools had increased from 2,800 in 1916 to 3,400 at the beginning of 1920. In the same province the scholars increased from 160,000 to 278,000 in the same period, while the personnel of instructors was more than tripled. Even in far-off Turkestan the number of children receiving a first grade education climbed from 40,000 to 120,000 and that of teachers from 2,000 to 5,000. The Government, despite the shortage of paper and printing facilities, managed to supply school books gratuitously to 2,500,000 pupils during 1919. Moreover, 9,400,000 pairs of shoes were distributed to the Soviet's little wards. For the same year the educational budget reached the amazing figure of 20,000,000,000 rubles.

"How about finding teachers for all these new schools?" I asked. "That is the hardest problem we have to solve," Lunacharsky replied. "In principle we have mobilized all persons sufficiently cultured to serve as instructors and who are not needed for other purposes, but obviously we can only intrust the teaching of our children to those who share the ideals to which we aspire. There are now 10,000 members of the primary teachers' union and the membership is growing daily. Of course the union by no means comprises all the persons engaged in the work of public instruction.

Committees Over Schools

"It is not easy to accustom conservative individuals to whom the imperial system gave autocratic authority over the children of their care to the Bolshevik theories of school administration. We feel that a teacher should not be a dictator but an adviser and comrade of his pupils and that his discipline should be enforced morally rather than physically. Thus each school is managed not only by the teacher alone but by a committee composed of teachers, representatives of the children's parents and delegates of the pupils, themselves over the age of twelve, to which is added an envoy of the local branch of the Commissariat of Public Instruction. Of course, in the actual classroom the teacher's sway is unquestioned. Vigorous efforts have resulted in the establishment of a considerable, though still inadequate, number of training centres for teachers.

Thus the former Catherine Institute, one of Moscow's foremost institutions of learning, is devoted altogether to preparing for educational work, a rapidly growing class of Communist instructors. Graduates of this institute are sent out into the country to spread the knowledge they have acquired among their less favored colleagues. There was opened on February 1, the so-called Sverdloff University, to which will come students from all over Russia, desirous of gaining a thorough insight into Communist doctrines from the political, social and economic point of view. Sverdloff University is designed primarily for the training of the exponents of Communism and world revolution but it will undoubtedly produce plenty of good teacher material.

"The establishments which we call Peasant Universities are of course purely specialist schools dealing with agronomic science and other matters of immediate interest to the farmer. In many cases they have been organized on the initiative of rural communities without reference to the central authority.

To Aid Defective Children.

"Another noteworthy feature of our programme is the formation of pedagogic courses designed to prepare a teaching personnel for abnormal children. The curriculum in-

cludes the study of physical and psychological peculiarities of the child and of methods for overcoming such defects through tuition. As for lectures on particular subjects outside the ordinary educational scope, there are so many I could not attempt to enumerate them. Here in Moscow our prospective teachers were offered in one week a popular lecture on the solar system by the distinguished Prof. Mikhaileff, a report by Igor Grabar, a famous historian of Russian art dealing with his recent archaeological researches in the Volga region, and a series of talks on the history of music. I suppose those of our enemies who still regard us as a gang of brutalized murderers would be rather surprised to hear that we go in for such abstract erudition."

I reminded Lunacharsky that he had said nothing about the Soviet Government's campaign for the abolition of illiteracy among adults. He handed me a copy of the celebrated anti-illiteracy decree issued by the Council of Peoples Commissaries, which provided in part:

"The whole population of the Soviet Republic must be able to read and write. All Russians between the ages of eight and fifty who are illiterate are bound hereby to learn to read and write in the Russian language or in their original tongue as they please. All literate persons may be called upon to assist in teaching the illiterate. The period in which illiteracy shall be abolished shall be fixed by the municipal or Provincial Soviet in each district.

"For adult citizens undergoing instruction in reading and writing the working day is abridged by two hours during the entire educational period. Citizens evading duties specified by this decree or in any way interfering with its provisions are subject to trial by the revolutionary tribunal."

"Before the revolution," Lunacharsky affirmed, "there were more than 100,000,000 illiterates in that part of Russia now controlled by the Soviets. How many of these have learned to read and write in the past two years I cannot say, for accurate statistics covering the whole country are lacking. This we know, however, and that is that where there were originally scarcely 15 per cent. of literate Red soldiers, there are now nearly 60 per cent.

"In the navy, where the percentage of illiteracy was almost as high as in the army, there is virtually none. We know too, that where two years ago Petrograd numbered 30 per cent. of illiterates among the population, she now numbers only 60,000 or about 8 per cent. Continuing at same rate of progress she will have none whatever six months hence. "I don't hesitate to predict that in three years there will be no more illiteracy thruout the whole length and breadth of the Soviet Republic"—LINCOLN EYRE, in *The New York World* of March 27, 1920.

THE LABOR JURY AT CENTRALIA

Six men delegated by organizations affiliated with the A F of L and by a railway brotherhood division to sit as a "labor jury" through the trial of I W W members for the murder of Warren O Grimm at Centralia, Washington, rendered unanimously a verdict of "not guilty." In their report they declare that there was a conspiracy of the business interests of Centralia to raid the I W W hall; that Warren O Grimm was a party to this conspiracy; that the hall was unlawfully raided; and that the defendants had a right to defend their hall. They say that the evidence convinced them that an attack was made on the hall before a shot was fired. They also charge that the trial was unfair because the court refused to admit evidence vital to the defense, and because troops and American Legion members were brought to Montesano the trial scene to influence the jury. The organizations represented by the labor jury are the central labor councils of Seattle, Everett, Tacoma and Portland, the Seattle Metal Trades Council, and the Centralia division of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen—From *The Survey* of April 17, 1920.

BOOK NOTES

The American Labor Year-Book 1919-1920; Edited by ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, Rand School of Social Science, New York.

The American Labor Year Book will be welcomed by teachers perhaps more than by many other groups of workers. Within the compass of its 447 pages are packed a wealth of information concerning the many phases of the labor movement thruout the world, carefully arranged and thoroly indexed.

The American Labor Year Book now issued for the third time is undoubtedly one of the most important contributions made in the field of Social-Economic literature in the United States. The Rand School of Social Science, under whose auspices the work is done; Alexander Trachtenberg, its editor; and the host of authorities in Europe, America and elsewhere that the editor has succeeded in marshalling in the service of this volume deserve very high praise in their painstaking work.

Readers will note with satisfaction the absence of any propaganda in the many articles contained in this volume. It is evident that it was the aim of the editor to present the facts of the labor and Socialist movements in a scientific and impartial spirit. The book is divided into six parts. The first three numbering 255 pages, deal exclusively with the general labor movement, two-thirds of this space being devoted to "Labor in the War," and the rest to the "Labor Movement in the United States," and "Labor and the Law."

In the section on "Labor in the War," are included articles describing the part played by labor in the English Coalition Government; the "History of Woman Labor in War-Time France"; "England and America"; the "Work of the War Labor Board," which played so important a part in the adjustment of industrial disputes during the war; and a concise account of the numerous war boards which were set up in the United States and elsewhere. This section closes with a description of the restrictions on Press and Assemblage and an account of some of the famous trials of opponents of the war in the United States, such as the Debs, Berkman, Goldman, Nearing, O'Hare and other trials.

In the section on the Labor Movement in the United States, the history of several important labor unions is given, including, among others, The American Federation of Teachers, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Office Workers, and Industrial Workers of the World. This section closes with an account of the forces which are attempting to develop an educational program for the workers, i.e., the Rand School, The Ladies' Garment Workers Union, The United Labor Education Committee and the Boston Trade Union College.

Part Four, which describes social and economic conditions, will be particularly helpful to teachers. In this section are brought together a good many useful articles discussing the cost of living, food profiteering, wealth and income in the United States, the Plumb Plan, the United States Employment Service, the Non-Partisan League and other matters.

The last two sections, dealing with the Socialist movement in America, and in all the countries of the world where there exists an organized Socialist and labor movement, will be found, in these days of the increasing importance of Socialism everywhere, particularly helpful, especially since the information contained in these two sections is not often available in such convenient form.

THE GREENWICH SUMMER SCHOOL

The Greenwich Summer School will be continued from July 5 to August 13, 1920, under the direction of Mrs. Marietta L. Johnson, Director of the School of Organic Education, Fairhope, Ala. The address is, Mrs. H. C. Allen, Greenwich Summer School, Greenwich, Conn.

The charge for any course will be \$15, for any two or more regular courses, \$25. Accommodations for boarding at \$15 a week will be offered for a limited number of students.

Professor John Dewey says of Mrs. Johnson's work at Fairhope:

"In my judgment the school has demonstrated that it is possible for children to lead the same natural lives in school that they lead in homes of the right sort outside of school; to progress bodily, mentally and morally in school without factitious pressure, rewards, examinations, grades or promotions; while they acquire sufficient control of the conventional tools of learning and of the study of books—reading, writing and figuring—to be able to use them independently.

"What has been done is simply to provide the conditions for wholesome, natural growth in small enough groups for the teachers (as a leader rather than as an instructor) to become acquainted with the weaknesses of each child individually, and then to adapt the work to individual needs."

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

What is referred to as a general "shortage of teachers in New York is a misstatement of the case. The supply of teachers, is as great as ever, but the administration of the schools has driven thousands of teachers out of the profession in sheer disgust. The schools have become so many sweatshops, administered by a few bureaucrats who should be superintending penance camps in some of the nations of Latin America.

Aside from the miserable salaries paid the teachers, these bureaucrats have attempted to stifle every tendency toward independent thinking by the teachers. The administration has become an annex of the financial crowd, the professional patrioters and their bankrupt politicians. It is becoming the agent of a Prussian conception of the citizen, a servile, unthinking manikin having no personal initiative and responding to conservative traditions in politics, economics and government.

Just because of his education the teacher is likely to be the first to resent conscription of his conscience by bureaucratic upstarts. The tendency under such conditions is to make for the survival of the unfit in the schools. The most servile teachers submit, and the progressives with initiative and ideals leave in disgust. The result is that the pupils suffer in the end—From the *New York Call* of February 29 1920.)

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 April 1, 1920.

State of New York

County of Queens ss:

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 443, 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, N Y; 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, 12,000.

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.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or 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 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 14th day of April, 1920.

[SEAL]

ALVIN M DUNHAM,

(My commission expires March 30, 1921.)

Public employment must never mean the surrender of the cherished right of American citizenship.

WEBSTERS NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY

Mr. W. H. Maddock who has long been our representative in the educational field, will, after April first, have charge of our Educational Department, and make his home in Springfield.

In this broader field we bespeak for him a continuance of the kindly consideration that has always been extended to him and to us in the past.

G. & C. MERRIAM COMPANY.

Springfield, Mass.

March 23, 1920

Contracts awaiting teachers for all classes of school work. No fee unless appointed. Select service, prompt and efficient. Write us fully today, we can assist in your promotion.

OSWEGO TEACHERS' AGENCY

Box C, Oswego, N. Y.

This is the Official Organ of the **American Federation of Teachers**

ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers.

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1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill.

First Vice-President and Editor American Teacher,

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ARE WE OUR BROTHERS' KEEPERS?

Penal Code of California

"§ 679. Any person or corporation within this state, or agent or officer on behalf of such person or corporation, who shall hereafter coerce or compel any person or persons to enter into an agreement, either written or verbal, not to join or become a member of any labor organization, as a condition of such person or persons securing employment or continuing in the employment of any such person or corporation, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor."

But the Board of Education of San Francisco, which is in the State of California, has denied to San Francisco teachers affiliated with organized labor the right to maintain their affiliation (See p. 88), and has threatened them with dismissal.

Will the Board of Education of San Francisco be permitted to have its way? It all depends, and mostly on US.

Whom are we fighting? The Commercial Federation of California. Otherwise known as Big Business. Here is the proof.

This blessed body is spending money on three-column-wide, column-long advertisements in California papers urging teachers not to join teachers' unions. The advertisements say the purposes of the Commercial Federation are, for example, "to encourage and support true Americanism," "to uphold and enforce all laws," "to strive in every fair and generous way for a better understanding and cooperation between employer and employe," "to raise the standard and safeguard the future of the public schools."

With one hand they toss out promises to help teachers obtain better pay; with the other they set up walls dividing teachers off from useful organizations and from useful thinking. They say, "Neither must the disputes between labor and industry be aired in the schoolroom. Teachers must keep aloof alike from political and industrial discussions. Teachers are beginning to be regarded as wards of the state." They not only set up walls, but they put the teachers inside. Teachers are "wards, and like other dependents and defectives are forbidden any activity that will tend to break down the walls.

Down at the bottom of the advertisement the mailed fist uncovers itself, thus:

"Those who do so [join unions] are false to the trust that the community reposes in them, and they will certainly be dismissed to make place for others who are faithful to the traditions of their profession.

Read over again the "purposes of the C F of C, and tell us whether it is safe to depend on Big Business to protect Americanism and the Law. Californians may not be able to carry on this fight alone, so,

WHAT IS LABOR GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

WHAT ARE ORGANIZED TEACHERS GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

WHAT IS EACH LOCAL GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

YESTERDAY IT WAS THE ST LOUIS TEACHERS WHO WERE THROWN OUT; TODAY IT IS SAN FRANCISCO; TOMORROW BIG BUSINESS MAY STRIKE ELSEWHERE.

ARE WE NOT COMPELLED TO BE OUR BROTHERS' KEEPERS?