

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

The **AMERICAN TEACHER**

THE ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Convention Number

No conqueror can make the multitude different from what it is; no statesman can carry the world's affairs beyond the ideas and capacities of the generation of adults with which he deals; but teachers—I use the word in the widest sense—can do more than either conqueror or statesman; they can **CREATE a NEW VISION** and liberate the latent powers of our kind.—H. G. Wells.

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Labor Omnia Vincit!

The Union Promise

VICTOR A. OLANDER



THE heraldic motto—"Labor Conquers All Things"—inscribed on the seal of the American Federation of Labor is not an egotistical threat.

It is a promise and its interpretation may be found in the music of poetry:

"Why, conquering may prove as lordly and complete a thing in lifting upward, as in crushing low!"

The American trade union aims to vanquish unfavorable circumstance, never to conquer men. It seeks to exercise control over conditions, that men may have control over themselves.

The trade union mastered the forces that drove children into the factory. It carried the little ones upward into the realm of the school.

It triumphed over conditions under which men sacrificed life and limb in their daily tasks. It lifted the workers to a plane of greater safety.

The trade union prevailed against the long and arduous work day of the past. It raised the toilers towards the greater leisure necessary to family life and citizenship.

Education! Safety! Leisure! Three great essentials of civilization. These are the triumphant achievements of the American trade union. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

There remains more, much more, to be accomplished? True! That is why the conquering march of organized labor presses forward. *Labor omnia vincit!*

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One Dollar a Year

Tenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers

President's Address

To the Delegates to the Tenth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers:

From year to year our conventions express conviction and promise for further work on an accumulating list of subjects and in a growing field of interest. Where is there another group that is attempting to give such serious consideration to so many subjects of vital and far-reaching importance? The American Federation of Teachers in the ten years of its existence has laid the foundation for a magnificent contribution to social betterment. It has already made history. It is destined to make more.

The eyes of the country are upon us. Some are wondering what we want to do. Some are fearing what we may do. Others are anxiously looking for assurance that we shall make good in the particular field of opportunity that is ours, a field for social-service that is without a parallel.

While our gain in membership during the past year has been small our gain in influence, we have reason to believe, is steadily growing, and the year has brought some expansion in work accomplished that is most gratifying. I have in mind the research bureau which has been up in Washington under the direction of Miss Borchardt. She no doubt will give you details of this enterprise in her report so I shall not speak further of that.

But experience gives convincing proof that there is another expansion that is absolutely necessary to take care of the accumulating work that the conventions are pledging the Federation to do and which we are unable with our present machinery to accomplish. Half the work that the Ninth Convention author-

ized has not been touched. It is nobody's fault. The members of the Executive Council are busy people. School work and responsibilities in their own locals together with the demands upon them incident to all these make it difficult for them to do their duty even in the most pressing work that the convention directs them to carry out. In addition there are always unexpected developments that arise, making it necessary to do a great deal of conferring at long range. While the Secretary's office handles the correspondence, it is a long and tedious process, for the Secretary must necessarily wait on the convenience of the several members of the Council and it often takes several efforts to get sufficient concord of opinion to clear the way for action.

The remedy is not in curtailing our work, but in getting more people at work on our problems and in organizing to define responsibility. One of the resolutions of the Ninth Convention suggests the method. On page 25 of the Proceedings, Resolution No. 20 you find this: "To carry out this resolution we establish a committee—to be known as the Committee on Professional Standards." In pursuance of this idea the following recommendations are made:

1. That the Convention establish several committees, the following being a suggested list:

- (a) Professional Standard already provided
- (b) Education
- (c) Organization
- (d) Publicity
- (e) Education of Membership
- (f) Legislation

2. That the Executive Council be in-

structed to organize these committees within one month after the Convention closes if possible.

3. That the Executive Council be asked to pursue the following policy:

(a) Assign all work authorized by the Ninth Convention and not yet provided for to some one of these committees as the nature of the work may determine.

(b) Refer the activities initiated by the Tenth Convention to the appropriate committees, except such measures as can be more advantageously handled by the Executive Council or such as demand special committees.

(c) Assign all the work authorized by the Tenth Convention, with whatever limitations and directions may be advisable, either to a committee or to some member or group of members of the Executive Council, by September 1st, 1926.

(d) Hold a meeting following the convention, to review the work of the convention and to facilitate getting the acts of the convention into operation by September 1st. Let any additional expense to members incident to this meeting be borne by the American Federation of Teachers.

How Shall Our Membership Grow?

In February the president took advantage of a trip to Washington and New York, to have a conference with the members of the Executive Council in Washington and New York state. Full report of the conference was made to the entire executive council following the meeting. At that time we discussed the question of organizing and the possibilities for locals' undertaking that work. The idea prevailed that it was not advisable for locals to try to do that work, the organizing could not begin until such time as an organizer could be financed. Quoting from the report of the conference, "The reasons advanced were two. First, the workers in a given local do not have time to do organizing work. Second, even if locals could be formed in this way they would fail, because new inexperienced groups of teachers would not be able to keep up interest, meet opposition, and achieve success unless there were someone free to visit them occasionally, remain with them a season if neces-

sary, and pilot them through an experimental or apprentice stage."

There is no question that these two barriers to organizing are very real ones. Progress by the method of local efforts could hardly be expected to become appreciable for a long time. But there is another viewpoint that must be considered. If the members of A. F. of T. are not sufficiently in earnest about the value of their program to spend money and time and effort in promoting the idea among other teachers how can it be expected that other teachers will be very rapidly impressed with the value of the idea? A plan to promote systematic efforts to place our ideas before teachers as individuals and in groups would necessarily bring results. The concentrated efforts of an organizing committee ought to be able to develop such a plan. Individual locals could profitably give consideration to the same course.

The conventions of 1924 and 1925 authorized the effort to get funds outside of A. F. of T. for the promotion of our program. Would it not be well to consider seriously whether the membership should not begin to accumulate a fund for this purpose out of its own group? The reaction to such an enterprise might be more wholesome, both for the membership and for the success of efforts to procure assistance from interested people outside the movement.

A study of the history of some other organizations in the labor movement might be very helpful to us. I am told that one of the largest and strongest groups in the A. F. of L. was for twenty years as small as our group is at the end of ten years. There is no reason to be discouraged, but let us continue to sow the seed and to cultivate the soil where our plants are already growing.

There is one feature attending organizing activities in the A. F. of T. that it seems worthwhile to note. Apparently there are two divergent ideas in practice in regard to soliciting membership. Some of the locals practice the labor injunction "Organize the craft," and make the effort to get all teachers into the union whether or not they subscribe to all the ideas for which the union stands. Other locals apparently organize on the basis of "intellec-

tual assent" to the principle for which the union stands. It may be profitable at some time in your deliberations to discuss the relative values of these two practices.

Another related point of policy that it may be well to bear in mind as we plan for expansion is to what extent it is advisable that the organization accommodate itself to the thinking atmosphere of a major portion of the qualified teachers of the country. Will it render the greater service by leading the thought of so large a portion of the craft, or can it be more useful by encompassing a smaller group and keeping far in advance of the thought of the majority of the qualified members of the craft?

The Bureau of Education

The Education Week program adopted by the Ninth Convention was submitted to the Commissioner of Education. In September when he sent out copies of the bureau's program under caption "Prepared by the United States Bureau of Education, the National Education Association and the American Legion under whose joint auspices the observance is held" the Executive Council protested the practice of a government bureau collaborating with any one or more non-government organizations to the exclusion of all other such organizations having similar interests. We pointed out the unfairness as to publicity and the danger that the chosen ones might in time come to be regarded as official. We were told that our program last year was too late for the material to be considered in making up the official program.

Since the commissioner has announced recently the discontinuance of Education Week, so far as the bureau is concerned, it remains for the A. F. of T. to determine what course it shall pursue, if any, in furthering such a program.

WASHINGTON OFFICE.

The report of the Washington Office included a report on its legislative work, its research, and the general activities which the Office carries on in relation with other organizations.

Legislation

The status of each measure in which the organization is interested is briefly given below:

Child Labor Amendment

The American Federation of Teachers has continued its active support of this measure and each local is asked to provide time for the discussion of this question in at least three of its meetings during the coming year. The Washington Office will gladly send literature and suggestions on the Child Labor Amendment campaign, on request.

Department of Education

From the very conception of this idea the organization has sponsored it, because it heartily approves of any carefully drawn provision which would help promote education throughout the country. From time to time the organization has felt that certain wording in bills embodying this principle should be changed so as to afford the greatest possible good to the greatest possible number of communities and citizens. The American Federation of Teachers continues to safeguard the principle of state autonomy in school administration, and gives its support only to legislation providing for the establishment of a Federal Department of Education which will in no way hamper the free and full exercise of state control of school administration. The organization will also use its utmost power to see that no legislation is enacted which would permit the misuse of educational machinery, allowing it to serve as a means of propaganda, particularly for military control. The value of the principle of the Curtis-Reed Bill was pointed out and the possibility of objectionable interpretation of the wording of certain features thereof; the dangers of the Phipps' Bill, supposedly providing simply for the enlargement of the Bureau of Education but in reality giving power of administration in educational matters to private and non-educational organizations, was pointed out. It was recommended that the organization continue to support the principle of the creation of a Federal Department of Education for Research.

Legislation Limiting Academic Freedom

Attention was called to the numerous attempts made by the Federal Government, state Governments, and local school authorities to curb academic freedom. The so-called Summers Amendment to the Appropriation Bill for the District of Columbia, which was one of the most glaring examples inhibiting academic freedom, was not enacted by the last Congress. The American Federation of Teachers was the organization largely responsible for the defeat of this provision.

Matters of Interest to the District of Columbia

Inasmuch as the Federal Congress legislates for the city of Washington, attention was called to legislation of that city. During the last school year, there was enacted an equitable Teachers' Pension Law for the teachers of the Washington schools. The Teachers' Union of Washington intends to seek to have introduced into the Federal Congress next year a bill providing for the granting of the sabbatical year to the teachers of Washington and support of the organization for this undertaking was asked.

Educational Attachés

In keeping with the instructions of the last Convention, the Washington Office drafted a Bill providing for the appointment of educational attachés, and at the request of our organization, the Bill was introduced into Congress by Representative Henry Allen Cooper of Wisconsin. The organization was asked to extend its vote of thanks to Mr. Cooper for his interest in the Teachers' Union and its projects, and to co-operate with the Washington Office in securing the enactment of a measure embodying the principles of the Cooper Bill.

Welsh Bill

The American Federation of Teachers appeared in the support of the Welsh Bill which provides that no government funds should be paid to an educational institution where military training is compulsory. The endorsement of the organization was asked for the Welsh Bill.

RESEARCH

This report was as of July 1st after the re-

search work had been in operation for a period of six months.

Teachers' Councils

A study of Teachers' Councils in the United States had been made. The report is now being printed by the United States Bureau of Education. The study shows that of the 140 cities replying to the questionnaire, 35 stated that they have representative teachers' councils; 27 have some medium enabling teachers to contribute to school administration, and 74 have no organized medium through which the teacher may make his contribution to the administration of the school system; 3 cities have discontinued the council, and in one, the Council is inactive.

Teacher Load

At the request of the American Federation of Teachers, the Bureau of Education is conducting an extensive study on the administrative side of teacher load. As soon as the Bureau of Education has completed and made public its studies, the Teachers' Union will make a study on teacher load in relation to extra curricula activities and incidental clerical work.

Fatigue in Relation to the School and School Work

Practically no material is available on this subject and practically no research has been undertaken thereon. As a first step in that direction, the American Federation of Teachers has asked the Bureau of Education to make a study of the physical conditions of the schools of this country. After all of these studies on teacher load and physical conditions of the schools have been completed, the Washington Office in co-operation with several consulting engineers will make a scientific investigation of the causes and possible control of fatigue of both pupil and teacher in relation to the school environment.

Elimination of Propaganda from the Schools

In view of the generally current statements that there is propaganda in our public schools, the Washington Office decided to collect assembly programs from all over the country and analyze them. As only 78 school programs had been received up to July 1st, no

compilation or analysis of the date thereon contained is attempted. Locals and individual members were asked to co-operate with the Washington Office in securing for them the largest number of assembly programs.

Attendance Laws in the United States

At the request of the Committee on Education, the American Federation of Labor, a detailed analysis and compilation was made of the attendance laws, child labor laws, mothers' pension laws (with the incidental administrative features attached thereto) and such other school legislation as is of immediate and vital importance to educational progress in this country. The Washington Office reported that the American Federation of Labor is actively interesting itself in this subject and seeks to have formulated the fundamental principles—minimum essentials—for school attendance legislation. Our organization is also asked to concern itself with the qualifications of attendance officers, inasmuch as no state at present has any statutory provisions for those qualifications.

Textbooks

At the request of the Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor, a study was made on the textbooks in use in the social sciences in the public schools of this country. The study sought the name of the textbooks, the method of selection thereof, the personnel of the selecting body, and the official reason given for selecting a particular text. The Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor has analyzed a large number of history textbooks and with the information compiled by the Research Bureau a full report has been made.

Current Legislation

The Washington Office is at present compiling and analyzing all school legislation enacted by state legislatures throughout the United States in the last ten years with a view to determining tendencies in educational legislation during that time.

In accord with these and other bodies of citizens, the Federation was asked to support:

1. The participation of the United States in international conferences.

2. The outlawry of war.
3. The publication of State Department reports.
4. The extension of the Sheppard-Towner Infancy and Maternity Act.

It was asked to oppose:

1. The so-called Wadsworth-Garrett Amendment, to prohibit further amendment of the Constitution.
2. The proposed Equal Rights Amendment which would eliminate special protective labor legislation for women.
3. Legislation to abridge our civil liberties.

Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, sent this congratulatory message to Miss Mary C. Barker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, at the tenth annual convention:

Our American labor movement, which relies for sustained progress upon educational methods, has a very warm feeling for those educators who have allied their organization with that of labor.

Labor has insisted upon equal educational opportunities for all. To attain this end Labor was the chief advocate of a free public school system and feels a continuing responsibility to contribute to the development of better educational methods throughout this system.

Our movement whose initial objective has been the making available to those who work for wages an agency through which they might share in the material progress of society and command opportunities for a larger life, has been steadily adding to its educational purposes. We believe that education should be a continuous development of physical, mental and spiritual power through the ability to apply past experiences and information to bear upon situations in life. We seek growth in work, in the activity of the labor movement, in our social and civic relationship and in the duties of citizenship.

We are glad that the teachers, banded together in the American Federation of Labor, have cast in their lot with us, for we believe the relationship will bring reciprocal benefits. Your counsel upon the technical problems of education and your co-operation in our workers' education undertakings will be most welcome.

I congratulate you on the success of your convention and wish you Godspeed in the coming year's work. Service in the labor movement demands dedication to high ideals of humanism and understanding of the practical things of life. It requires bigness of vision, generous faith in humanity and self-discipline to carry out such policies as represent common counsel.

—WM. GREEN,
President, American Federation of Labor.

On Being A "Joiner"

By HAROLD M. GROVES

University of Wisconsin, Local No. 35,
Madison, Wis.

A little less than a year ago we stepped into the office of Professor X and asked him what he thought about joining the American Federation of Teachers. X is a professor in economics. He is an acknowledged liberal in his views, and very friendly toward organized labor. He replied to us something as follows:

"I believe in the American Federation of Teachers. An organization among the rank and file of those engaged in educational work is necessary, both to maintain their standards of living and their standards of teaching. But I have never joined this organization and I advise you strongly against joining. I would no more think of joining the American Federation of Labor than I would of becoming a member of the National Chamber of Commerce or the Republican Party. I have never been a 'joiner'. One of the first principles which one who is going in for an academic career, especially if the social sciences are his field, is to keep himself objective. I always state both sides of a proposition and never take sides on a controversial question in the class room. I could do no good to the cause of labor on the inside. Students and others would discount what I said in behalf of labor organizations with the thought, 'Of course he thinks that way; he's a member of the American Federation of Labor; he's biased'. On the outside, on the other hand, I can speak with authority. Employers and labor unions both seek my services as a mediator or arbitrator in their disputes. The importance of observing every appearance of fairness and objectivity can not be overemphasized."

Because we value X's advice very highly, and because we were contemplating academic careers in the social sciences and membership in the Teachers' Federation, we thought this counsel over very carefully. Certainly the issue raised by Professor X is one of vital importance to the American Federation of Teachers. If X is right and his views are accepted, it disqualifies a great many teachers,

college, secondary, and elementary, from membership in the organization. Generally, too, those interested in the social sciences will furnish a rather large proportion of those interested in the Federation. We came to the conclusion that, though there is much to be said for X's point of view, nevertheless, he was wrong. Here are the reasons for our decision:

In the first place it seems to us that the rule, "Never be a 'Joiner'" unduly limits the possibilities for the development of one's personality. It would be well for one to sometimes play the role of the advocate as well as that of the judge. To never actively take sides on any proposition in the class room or outside would tend to make one overly cautious. Also it would make one extremely academic. A fairly normal individual sacrifices something when he makes up his mind to an academic career and decides to spend his life behind the sheltered walls of the college cloister. He has a self which craves to "get into the game" and do things. This self has to be somewhat inhibited at best. The rule we are contemplating would necessitate more inhibition. Aren't people engaged in educational work too academic already? Is it not because these people think too much and act too little that we have so many "ghosts teaching living men"?

In the second place, and closely allied to the point just mentioned, is the fact that the no-joining rule would limit the usefulness and attractiveness of the teaching profession. We are all familiar with the oft stated fact that we teach more by example than by precept. The kind of example which young people should have to follow is that of a man with strong convictions and willing to do all in his power to see them realized. Is there not after all too much objectivity in teaching? The great American sin of indifference is the one that needs to be attacked in our schools and cold objectivity in the teacher is certainly not

its cure. The missionary type of teacher with burning zeal would be a better antidote. But, says someone, if we are to make idealists out of our children they will certainly be radical. Well, supposing some of them are a little radical in their younger days? They'll get over it soon enough, won't they, when they strike the great immovable lump of conservatism in the world outside? And if a few of them should accidentally keep a little desire to change things would it not be a good thing to leaven the huge loaf of those who are overcome with inertia and would keep the old world exactly as it is?

Perhaps, too, textbooks would not suffer from a little more idealism in the authors. For example, because of the desire to be extremely scientific and objective, economics, for a long time at least, was little more than a "cloistered scholastic exercise carried on for the amusement of its initiates." Although social welfare has a somewhat larger place in its consideration than formerly, it could still stand considerable more development in its present direction.

In the third place, if we were to follow X, great movements to improve the world would be deprived of valuable leadership. The divorce between men of thought and men of action not only limits the vision of both and makes each the object of the other's contempt, but it is bad for the conduct of the world's affairs. The Wisconsin Idea, of which we have heard so much, was based upon the notion that the state's legislators and administrators should seek the counsel of the state university and that the latter in turn should work out and promote a program for the state. To promote a program means to favor measures; this means to favor men; and this in turn means to favor parties. Of course, this would not mean that everyone in a state university would need to agree. But everyone in the social sciences at least would be interested in a program for the state and no one would be afraid to show his colors.

In the fourth place, is one's influence with either students or others much enhanced by the superficial appearance of objectivity? Isn't

the confidence which others put in one more a matter of one's inherent fairness of mind, one's willingness to present and to hear both sides of a proposition, one's spirit of tolerance, and one's saneness of judgment? Of course no one would advocate making the class room a medium for propaganda. But this does not preclude the teacher from warmly expressing his own views. And it certainly does not preclude him from championing and actively supporting outside the class room whatever cause he may choose.

Now as for influence with employers and labor unions. We know of a professor who has never hesitated to join any cause and any party which he thought needed championing. Yet he is so inherently fair in his point of view that both employers and unions constantly seek his advice. He is widely known as an exponent of trade unionism and collective bargaining. Yet when he served on a federal commission to investigate industrial relations some years ago he won the approval of employers as the fairest man on the commission. Nor did he sacrifice at all the good will of labor to do it. Real objectivity and fairness run much deeper than their superficial appearances. They are what count.

If the above reasons are conclusive enough to justify a verdict against the principle of not being a "joiner," the next question to arise is: Would it not be foolish, nevertheless, to join a body which is allied to the American Federation of Labor? Why go so far in taking sides upon controversial issues? The answering question is: Just how far does one go, after all? When one joins the American Federation of Teachers does one subscribe to each and all of the tactics of the American Federation of Labor, the strike, the boycott, the closed shop, perhaps restriction of output, and all the rest? We in no way wish to discredit here anything for which the A. F. of L. stands. But we believe that in joining the Federation he need subscribe to none of these things. He need only subscribe to the view that any group of people with common interests must act collectively in order to make themselves articulate, and that teachers are no

exception. In this age of combination and group action, this should have long since ceased to be controversial among intelligent people. Of course the Open Shop Review and similar fear-mongers, with each new local of teachers will shout, "Socialism in the schools again!" As a matter of fact and as the American Federation of Labor has frequently emphasized, the surest way and perhaps the only way to make the world safe for capitalism (and capitalism safe for the world) is for groups with common interests in industry and the professions to organize and put their own house in order so that the government will keep out.

All of which leads us to the conclusion that with all due respect for X, and a recognition that many sane and intelligent people will subscribe to his views on these matters, we can not agree with him.

FRENCH TEACHERS AS TRADE UNIONISTS

(From the International Federation of Trade Union Press Report)

(I. F. T. U.) At the time of the Pope's War Reconstruction of the French Trade Union, a large number of elementary teachers placed themselves on the side of the organized workers. In the year 1921, the National Union of Teachers affiliated with the Federation of Employees in the Public Services. The Teachers' Congress of 1925 resolved that so far as possible every member of the Union of Teachers should, before the date of the 1926 Congress, be in possession of a card of membership in the French National Trade Union Centre (C. G. T.) and thus to the tremendous propaganda effort of the National Committee, which, without disturbing existing relations, did everything possible toward arousing the sense of class-consciousness and appreciation of working class organization among teachers, complete success can be recorded. Out of the ninety Departmental Sections, (including colonial sections) there is only one which does not report a total number of membership cards of the C. G. T. equivalent to the membership strength. In addition four hundred and thirty-six cards were bought by the Section in Morocco, three hundred by the branches in Martinique, and twenty in Indo-China. The total number of cards placed was sixty-four thousand and fifty. Although representation at this year's Congress was made strictly dependent on membership of the C. G. T., only nineteen sections recorded a decrease in membership, and that slight. Thirty-six sections have sent their membership intact, and thirty-one

recorded increases. (Returns are still to come from eleven sections). The Teachers' Union thus includes the majority of the elementary teachers in France, and is in a position to represent them in negotiation with the education authorities. In a large number of Departments, the Teachers' Unions co-operate with the Trade Councils.

A TEACHERS' TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

(From Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions)

(I. F. T. U.) On August 1st, delegates of teachers' organizations met in Paris under the chairmanship of Sassenbach, Secretary of the I. F. T. U., the promotor of the meeting. The organization represented were those which through their National Trade Union Centres, are affiliated with the I. F. T. U. Germany, France, Holland, Luxemburg, and Austria were represented. The conference discussed in detail the tasks and possible activities of a teachers' trade union international and reached complete agreement. The following decision was unanimously voted:

"The Conference recognizes the need for the teachers' organizations belonging to Trade Union Centres affiliated with the I. F. T. U., to form an international organization.

"The form to be taken by this international organization shall be decided at a second Conference which is to meet in the Autumn.

"The preparatory work for this further Conference is entrusted to a committee which shall prepare draft rules in accordance with the principles laid down above.

"Only those organizations shall be invited to the second Conference which through their Trade Union National Centres, are affiliated with the I. F. T. U."

The proposed Conference is to take place on November 27th, in Brussels.

The American Federation of Labor asked the American Federation of Teachers to send material for use in the booth at the Sesqui-Centennial. We sent 1,000 copies each of our Constitution, Program of Action, and leaflets, and 50 each of the last three Bulletins. A second request has come, saying that they can use much more of our material at their booth. They say that "there are a number of teachers who come by the booth and all are ever so interested in the fact that there is a Teachers' Union and want to know about it."

The outlook for the teacher organization movement is bright. Inquiries regarding the forming of locals come to the office almost daily.

A number of communities were visited in August and labor bodies and teachers talked with. It is too soon for returns but there will be.

Platform of Principles for the Class Room Teachers

Academic Freedom for Teachers and Pupils

Last spring Local No. 3, Chicago Women, felt that they might gain a clearer insight into the real position of the teacher by formulating a set of professional principles outlining his proper activities and attitudes. A committee turned into the Local in June, a tentative statement of principles, and requested that it be put before the National for discussion and improvement. This will be done by printing the various sections of the report in early issues of the American Teacher.

It is hoped that all the locals will make suggestions as to how this original statement may be improved so that a really fine set of principles may be worked out which would represent the mature thought of the American Federation of Teachers.

With the Public

In the relations of teachers with the public, teachers should:

1. Interest themselves in movements for public betterment and take a leading part in all activities for child welfare.

2. Work actively with other civic groups to secure the nation-wide establishment of the proper standards of public education, and hence equalize the educational opportunities for the children of all the people.

3. Be alert, intelligent, impersonal students of local educational conditions and set forth their findings fearlessly and truthfully. In such reports they should project constructive policies for improvement rather than simply recite prevailing poor conditions.

4. Experiment, study, and report upon educational experiments with scientific impersonality so that the public may come to depend upon them for thorough, unbiased explanations of new educational theories and methods.

5. Promote and perpetuate in the children under their charge the ideals of human rights and of human duties, and develop in them the ideal of a virile citizenship.

6. Strive to understand and respect the ideals and activities of our foreign population and seek to retain such of those as would broaden and enrich the stream of American life.

7. Help to awaken and influence public opinion as to the nature of good government and see it as a changing organism which tests and conserves the good of the past, while trying out and adopting such new ideas as are for the benefit of the general public.

8. Understand and accept the right of the public and of the parents in particular to a voice in the operation of the public schools. This right is naturally based on the admitted

power of the schools to modify social conditions, and on the fact that as vital and pervasive a factor as public education calls for wise study by all intelligent citizens of the objectives of public education and for investigation of actual results attained.

9. Co-operate with the public in the joint task of building an intelligent humane school system and recognize the duty of the public to set up broad aims for the school, while the teachers in addition to making their own contributions to the setting up of these aims, concern themselves with selecting the ways and means by which these aims are to be worked out. These ways and means would include the administration of the schools, the making of the course of study, the selection of texts and the determination of the methods to be used.

10. In all relations, exhibit an attitude of restraint and fairmindedness.

With Other Teachers

In relation with other teachers, teachers should:

1. Show a generous desire to discern what is good in their work and support it.

2. Assist new teachers to understand the local situation and demands, in order to achieve a uniform excellence of practice.

3. Support each other in professional investigation and constructive work.

4. Refuse to underbid other teachers for positions, or to try to secure extra privileges for themselves in any way.

To the Teaching Profession

Teachers should:

1. Use every honorable means to uphold the dignity and honor of their vocation, and extend its sphere of usefulness.

2. Individually and in organized groups extend and increase professional training and

spirit until an experienced classroom teacher is regarded as an expert able to determine what he should do in his own profession.

3. Resist the control of the schools by political or other selfish interests.

4. Be honest, loyal, and sincere in their work, disdaining to gain applause or preferment on any ground but merit.

5. Insist that no one be granted permission to teach who does not have excellent personal character and good training in the technique of education.

6. Stand for tenure of office for teachers; such tenure to be terminated in particular cases only after trials openly conducted, in which incapacity or misconduct has been proved.

7. Stand for such salary schedules as provide a cultural wage, and attract to teaching the best of the young men and women in the colleges.

8. Affiliate with teacher organizations and work collectively for the principles for which they stand.

With Their Pupils

In their relations with their pupils, teachers should:

1. Regard the children under their care as organic entities who carry within them interests and qualities of widely divergent range and who should not be "factoryized" into standard human beings, but who should be encouraged to develop these diversities of native endowment, in which lie possibilities for great enrichment of the individual and of the national life. The teacher's ideal should be to understand the social, moral, physical and intellectual life of the pupils.

2. Recognize that many children vary from normality, and endeavor to secure intelligent sympathetic study of children so that all classes, from the super-natural to the sub-normal, shall be placed in the environment which will give their faculties the best scope.

3. Criticize the conduct and work of pupils constructively and kindly.

4. Have as the aim of the class work the development of sound judgment, the will to do right, and the acquisition of illuminating

experience; not resourcefulness in passing machine-made tests.

5. Regard the child as the future citizen and worker, and lead him to gain a well-informed, well-balanced conception of the political and economic environment of the modern human being.

6. Actively oppose the idea that the U. S., the richest nation in the world, shall make the cost in dollars the deciding factor in her maintenance of public education.

7. While supporting the good features of such educational activities as vocational guidance and intelligence testing, be on guard to see that these are not misused to serve selfish interests and to limit the opportunity of American youth.

8. Allow pupils to participate in room and class activities to the degree in which such participation is constructive, thus vitalizing class room method, releasing energy, and leading to positive personal achievement on the part of the pupil.

With the Parents

Teachers should:

1. Recognize the right of the parents, both as parents and as citizens, to assist in determining the objectives of public education and their right to judge whether those objectives are being realized in the lives of their children.

2. Welcome special methods of contact between parents and themselves; for example, Parent-Teacher Associations, visiting teachers, etc.

3. Encourage the establishment of relations with the parents in which parents and teacher will grow to understand each other, in order that family and school life may co-operate helpfully in furthering the education of the individual children.

4. Treat confidentially intimate knowledge of family life of pupils. (To be continued)

Congress has authorized and Secretary of the Interior Work has called a Pan-Pacific Conference on Education, Rehabilitation, Reclamation and Recreation, to be held at Honolulu, April 11-16, 1927. Nations bordering on the Pacific and those having territorial possessions in it will be asked to send representatives.

Program for American Education Week

The American Federation of Teachers has prepared a suggestive program for each day of American Education Week, November 7th to 13th. A slogan is proposed for each day.

The program and slogans are as follows:

MORAL DEVELOPMENT DAY

Sunday, November 7th—The Development of High Moral Standards Among all Men.

1. The record of achievement in moral growth under freedom in America.
2. Creative activity and self-direction in education in relation to character development.
3. The release of the Creative Power of workers as the key to industrial ethics.
4. Social ideals as a power in individual and group conduct and in relations between the nations.

Slogan: Freedom to Choose and Intelligence to Know the Right, Lead on to Character.

AMERICAN TRADITIONS DAY

Monday, November 8, American Traditions of Freedom

1. Freedom of the Press; the Zenger case of 1734 in which a printer of the Colony of New York won the freedom of the press for Colonial Americans.
2. The Revolution—The Declaration of Independence; the influence of Thomas Jefferson; political freedom.
3. Democracy; Lincoln's First Inaugural Address; the Gettysburg Address; the Emancipation Proclamation.
4. Freedom of speech.
5. America establishes the principle of religious freedom to all (a) The Statute of Toleration of Maryland, 1649; (b) Religious liberty in the colony of Pennsylvania, 1685; (c) Roger Williams in Rhode Island, 1636 (1663); (d) Thomas Jefferson in Virginia (1777-78); (e) The First Amendment of the Constitution (1791).
6. America, the Haven of Political and Religious Refugees. (a) The Pilgrims, 1620; (b) Louis Kosuth, the President of the Hungarian Republic, 1848; (c) Refugees of the German liberal movement, 1848; (d) Russian refugees from religious pogroms, 1880-1904; (e) Cases of our government refusing to surrender Russian refugees to Czar's government; (f) Huguenots, Germans, Moravians of the 18th Century.

Slogan: America First in Freedom and Democracy.

NATIONAL PROGRESS DAY

Tuesday, November 9th—National Progress in Times of Peace.

1. The Development of Agriculture.
2. The Development of Industry.
3. Transportation.
4. Commerce.
5. The development of public education, workers' education and of general educational institutions; the

part played by the labor movement and other organized groups.

6. The development of new world culture; literature; philosophy, art, music, drama.

7. The promotion of the national spirit through friendly relations with other countries—as advocated by Washington, Jay, Franklin, Jefferson.

AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS DAY

Wednesday, November 10th—American Institutions Promoting Social Progress.

1. Representative assemblies voicing the will of the people in community, state, and nation. (a) The Virginia House of Burgesses, 1619; (b) The establishment of the principle of self-government throughout America, about 1689.

2. The Northwest Ordinance, 1787; statehood versus imperialism.

3. The Constitution; a government instituted by discussion, not by violence.

4. The administration of Government; when carried on by honest, qualified and devoted officials in local, state and national branches.

5. Voluntary associations on a community basis; community councils; city clubs, playground associations, garden clubs, probation societies.

6. Political organizations to proclaim political issues; political parties, old and new.

7. Economic organizations operating in our industrial and commercial life; the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods; U. S. Chamber of Commerce; manufacturers associations and farm organizations.

8. The public school and other educational institutions.

9. Federal, state and local courts.

Slogan: The Will of the People, the Supreme Law.

POLITICAL LIBERTY DAY

Thursday, November 11th—The Extension of Political Intelligence Among the People of the Nation.

1. Town Meetings.
2. Free discussion of all political questions to promote general understanding.
3. Freedom of assemblage.
4. Freedom for all political parties.
5. Universal suffrage.
6. The duty of the teachers and of all other citizens to encourage the discussion of political and social questions, subject to the guidance of sound educational principles.
7. Freedom of the radio.

Slogan: No Progressive Government Without Ideas; No Progressive Ideas Without Freedom.

SOCIAL JUSTICE DAY

Friday, November 12th—Social Justice for All.

1. Child Labor Law; compulsory education; juvenile courts.

(Continued on page 22)

The American Teacher

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EDITORIALS

The American Federation of Teachers is advancing into its eleventh year with the same courage and high purpose of its first. Its program is unchanged in character but intensified in purpose. The new year opens another period of energetic effort to our members. We grasp another glorious opportunity to promote the welfare of education and the cause of labor, to create true ideals of citizenship through the democratizing of the schools.

Somebody once said that success comes to those who do well the things that are to be done at the right time. This applies to us. We must all get together to make this a year of opportunity for growth in a spiritual as well as a material way. We will forget the obstacles that have beset us but increase our exertions and achieve higher and better things with faith in ourselves and organization.

A few practical suggestions:

1. Co-operate in an intensive organization campaign. As a method of organization it is suggested that each local select a committee to visit before the first of November, some nearby town or city, within auto distance, we will say, to confer with the teachers of that community regarding organization, a place being selected in which there is already some acquaintance so that arrangements for a conference can be made by correspondence. Ask the national office for the necessary organization material. Your success in your first at-

tempt will make you wish to try again. If your first attempt is not successful, it will make you more determined to succeed the next time. Watch over your offspring carefully to see that it keeps really alive and reaches a mature growth. This will be to you the great privilege of serving the cause in which you so thoroughly and sincerely believe.

2. Keep in close touch with the national office. Have a correspondent who will write us regularly.

3. Support your magazine by keeping us informed of local happenings and other educational affairs, by contributing literary articles, and by securing subscriptions from non-members, teachers or others interested in education.

4. Let us have the benefit of your criticisms and suggestions. Give us an opportunity to help and be helped. With your full co-operation along these lines the American Federation of Teachers can certainly maintain the reputation of which it is justly proud and make continuous progress and improvement in unity of purpose, organization and contribution to the cause of education, the teacher, and the child.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM FOR TEACHERS AND PUPILS

Especially in the Social and Natural Sciences
(From the Program of Action, 1926, of the A. F. of T.)

Most pertinent is the New Republic's editorial (Sept. 15) entitled "Poisoning the Pierian Spring," which aims to answer the question, Where do we stand today in regard to compulsions laid upon the teacher for political reasons? Says the editorial:

Luckily, we do not need to resort to guess-work in answering this question. Dr. J. K. Flanders has written, and Teachers' College, Columbia University, has published, a book entitled *Legislative Control of the Elementary Curriculum*, which shows the situation in the various states in the year 1923 (the last for which complete records were available) and ten and twenty years previous. It is true, of course, that the elementary school is only one part of the educational system; but we think our readers will agree that it is the most important part both quantitatively and qualitatively. In it are formed the first and therefore most vivid and ineradicable impressions. For many thousands it is the only contact with formal education.

According to Dr. Flander's findings the

number of "prescriptive" laws—including both things required and things prohibited—has almost doubled in 20 years. Those on the conservation of life and property have mounted from one to 43; those on health (including "prohibition") from 102 to 171, while those prescribing precisely the tenets of "nationalism" to be taught have grown from 147 to 304.

"Patriotism," the teaching of which was compulsory in only one state in 1913, was required by twelve in 1923—the result, of course, of the labors of the aforementioned professional 100 per center. Formal flag exercises were required in three states in 1903, and in ten in 1923. That instruction be carried on in the English language only was compulsory in fourteen states in 1903, and in thirty-four in 1923, all but three of the new laws having been passed since 1913. Alabama and Oklahoma divide the distinction of requiring that no other language shall be studied until after the sixth and eighth grades respectively. Several states still forbid the teaching of German, a lingering remnant of wartime hysteria.

"That these laws have been passed largely through the efforts of 'professional patriots,' single or in groups is strongly suggested by the uniformity of wording. This flock of new laws is the result of systematic pressure applied, usually on the nationwide scale, by persons intent on having their ideas adopted."

Dr. Flanders points out that all these laws are at direct variance with the current tendency of the best educational thought of today. Curriculum making is now regarded as an expert science, and one which is constantly and necessarily changing: these laws take an increasingly large part of it out of the hands of the experts and leave it fixed immovable, the abiding work of always incompetent and often grossly ignorant men. Pedagogical theory now tends to make the child's studies grow directly out of his own interests and activities: the legislative enactments dump down upon him studies which usually have no relation to his life. Indeed, this compulsory education is likely to be self-defeating in the fullest sense. As Doctor Flanders says of the now popular laws for Constitution worship:

"What effect does the teaching of a subject like the Constitution of the United States have upon an immature mind? Does it have the desired effect when one is forced to study it? What does it mean 'to teach' the Constitution? Has it been adequately taught when the child is able 'to recite' specific facts about it?"

Probably it is true that much of this compulsory study has an opposite effect from that intended. An anti-evolution law like that of Tennessee is sure to result in the "bootlegging" of books on science at

least among the intelligent minority of the older students. Yet this fact should lull no lover of truth into any false security. When the 100 percenters have obtained everything they want—and they are rapidly reaching that goal—it will be their kind of world in which the child will grow up. He will get no chance to learn of anything different until it is, in most cases, too late. Germany under Bismarck is sufficient evidence as to the ease with which the mind of a nation may be regimented through skilful misuse of the state schools.

Equally important in the long run is the effect on the quality of the teaching. How can a self-respecting educator accept the status of a mere automaton parroting the words which politicians, at the order of propagandists, have put into his mouth? The answer is that he can't; and if the present tendency continues the best teachers will be increasingly likely to abandon their profession, and the best potential recruits will turn to other fields. Certainly, anyone who wants to see old-fashioned Americanism preserved can find, in combating the tendency which Doctor Flanders has revealed, a field of usefulness fully worthy of his best efforts.

Our Executive Council

TABLOID BIOGRAPHIES

PRESIDENT MARY C. BARKER

Educated in the public schools and at Agnes Scott College.

Taught in Atlanta schools for twenty years.

Last four years principal John B. Gordon (elementary) School.

Officer of the Atlanta School Teachers' Association.

Represented Local 89 of the Teachers' Association in the American Federation of Teachers.

Three years Vice-President of the American Federation of Teachers.

Served as delegate to Atlanta Federation of Trades. Also served as delegate to Georgia Federation of Labor.

President of the American Federation of Teachers. Sincere, earnest, devoted, capable.

SECRETARY-TREASURER

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON

Educated at Vassar College and University of Chicago.

Taught in Chicago schools for twenty-one years.

Teacher of History and Civics at Hyde Park High School, Chicago.

President and Secretary of Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, Local No. 3, American Federation of Teachers for past four years.

President, High School Teachers' Council.

Delegate to American Federation of Teachers.

Delegate to Illinois State Federation of Labor.

LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE SELMA BORCHARDT

Educated Washington public schools, Syracuse University, John Hopkins and University of Chicago.
Teacher Washington Public schools, Supervisor rural schools, Montgomery County, Md.

Vice-president and legislative chairman Local No. 8.
Delegate from Women's Trade Union League to Washington Central Labor Union.

Chairman Legislative Committee Washington Women's Trade Union League.

Member Legislative Committee of the Washington Central Labor Union.

Representative American Federation of Teachers on Women's Joint Congressional Committee, on National Council for Prevention of War.

Delegate American Federation of Teachers to World Federation of Education Associations, Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1925.

Vice-president American Federation of Teachers.

Author many articles, educational and social.

Enthusiastic, brilliant, wise and witty.

LUCIE W. ALLEN

Educated in the grammar schools of Greencastle, Ind., and DePauw University.

Teacher Lake View High School, Chicago.

President Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers 1920-1922.

Delegate Chicago Federation of Labor.

Delegate Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs.

Member Women's Trade Union League.

Vice-President American Federation of Teachers since 1922.

True as the needle to the pole.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

Teacher, editor, lecturer.

Educated New York public schools, College of the City of New York and New York University.

Legislative representative New York Teachers' Union since 1917.

Member Committee on Banking, New York Central Trades and Labor Council.

Member advisory committee Manumit School.

Member executive committee, Brookwood Labor College.

Member national council Pioneer Youth of America.

Vice President American Federation of Teachers since 1919.

Leave it to Lefkowitz.

A. J. MUSTE

Educated in the public schools of Grand Rapids, Mich., Hope College, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary, New York University, Columbia University.

Clergyman in New York and Boston.

Leader in Lawrence textile strike for 48-hour-week and in Paterson strike for 44-hour-week.

Member Board of Editors of Labor Age and The World Tomorrow.

Vice-President Pioneer Youth of America.

Dean of faculty and instructor in history, Brookwood Labor College, since 1921.

Vice-President American Federation of Teachers.

He has the vision and the force to make the vision a reality.

DR. HENRY R. LINVILLE

Teacher and author.

Educated University of Kansas and Harvard, First Vice-Chairman Manumit School.

Vice-President American Federation of Teachers and President of Teachers' Union of New York City since 1916.

HENRY RICHARDSON LINVILLE

Out of the child buoyant into youth,
Then questioning youth's roadway into man,
He strove persistent on the paths where truth
Summoned, though the steep approaches ran
Through bane-weed or past fair, inviting dell.
Precipitate, he stumbled; and they mocked
Who measure merit by the wether-bell,
Whose souls are supervised and are time-clocked
To mute acceptance. Rising, he strode on
With caution born of infinite despair
And phoenix hope:—and every step he's gone
Comes nearer truth, to know life's answer there.

He seeks the child's true birthright for the child,
That now, preparing for the days to come,
The ever future days, unreconciled
To the always present, looks out with a numb
Wonder at ways that wring it to the schemes
Of a world it cannot grasp. Then his the plan
To give the child its own life, its own dreams:
From the childlike child shall rise the manly man.
Democracy, that art thyself a child,—
With a child's eagerness and cruelty
Of self-concern, tender and swift and wild:
Only when thou shalt question shalt thou be
Cured of the cankers earlier chains have scored,
Ready to take the road that such as he
Have beaten, and by the light their souls afford
Move onward to a world made truly free.

—JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

FLORENCE ROOD

Miss Florence Rood has given a long term of valuable service to the American Federation of Teachers, to her local and to Labor.

She has been on the Executive Board of the National continuously since the affiliation of her local. Her value to the organization, and the strength and charm of her personality was so strongly felt that

when Mr. Stillman resigned from the presidency in 1923, there was no question as to whose shoulders should receive the mantle.

She served as National President of the American Federation of Teachers from 1923 to 1925 and was our delegate to the American Federation of Labor in 1924.

In St. Paul she serves the teachers of the city as the Secretary-Treasurer of the Teachers' Retirement Fund Association.

She has been Vice-President of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, and is the only woman who has ever presided at meetings of that body. She also edited for several years a column in the Minnesota Union Advocate.

E. E. SCHWARZTRAUBER

Mr. E. E. Schwarztrauber is beginning his third year of service on the Executive Board.

He represented his local and the far Northwest at the National convention of 1923 and left a lasting impression of ability, clear thinking and devotion.

He was the delegate from the American Federation of Teachers to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1923.

The faith of his local in him is attested by, his oft repeated election to the presidency.

Of equally great value to labor and to education has been his service to the Portland Labor College.

He was a member of the first Executive Board to which the launching of the college was entrusted. He has repeatedly served as chairman of the Board of Directors of this very successful adult school.

He is frequently called on to present the cause of labor, of the schools and of adult education to churches, educational and social organizations. He has conducted a department in the Oregon Labor Press, editing a column each week entitled Labor College Notes and Comments.

CHARLES B. STILLMAN

Charles B. Stillman, who has never failed the organization, who has dreamed when dreams seemed vain, who has achieved when accomplishment seemed impossible, who has maintained skillful leadership through thick and thin, and who has been able to harmonize widely divergent attitudes for the good of the organization.

His services for the national organization represent on a larger scale, the record he has made in his own local. As an organizer and long time president of the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers he built so well that recently he was unanimously drafted to serve again as president. He has led in the Chicago High School Teachers' Council and the city-wide Schools' Committee.

His record for the American Federation of Teachers needs no review. Of the little group of creators, he served for years as president—a full time worker

when possible and a part time worker when necessary. His continued membership on our Executive Board assures us of ripe judgment, sound counsel, and purposeful planning.

In addition to teaching, Mr. Stillman is now occupying an important administrative position at the Lane Technical High School.

MR. ED. L. SUTTON

The tenth convention made few changes in the Executive Council, the committee in charge of nominations placing in nomination all the vice-presidents of the preceding year. At his own earnest request, however, Mr. Ed. L. Sutton of Atlanta was retired, and Mr. Scott, president of the Atlantic Local, succeeded him, on the recommendation of the Atlanta delegation and by the vote of the convention.

Mr. Sutton is a past-president of the Atlanta Public School Teachers' Association which has a proud history of twenty years of growth and progress as a factor in the educational affairs of that city. He has attended the last three conventions of the American Federation of Teachers.

With a long trade-union experience, as a member of the Typographical Union, Mr. Sutton brought to the convention and to the Executive Council an understanding of the organized labor movement, both extraordinary and beneficial. Most of us affiliated with labor after it had reached its present position of influence and strength. Mr. Sutton's years of labor membership have spanned its period of struggle and development. He knows through what defeats has come whatever success Labor has attained.

On many occasions the conventions have listened with pleasure to his delightful humor; with benefit to his words of wisdom. He has won the high esteem of the delegates as a man of fairness, poise and constructive ideas. He will be welcome at future conventions.

(To be continued)

THE ONE DAY INSTITUTE OF THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

The high spot of the tenth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League, which took place in Kansas City, Missouri, the week of June 28th, was the "One Day Institute on the Technique of Organization." An entire day of the convention was devoted to a discussion of the problems of organization, the first "seminar" ever conducted by a Labor Organization in America on Methods of Organization.

Just as the League had been the first Labor Organization in America to found a Workers' School, so it is now sensing the changes in social and industrial conditions which demand a different approach, a new

technique. For years workers have had to organize their fellows as the immediate occasion demanded without special regard to technique. The "trial and error" method is, of course, the first stage in the development of any movement, but the time comes when it must give way to a more carefully-planned procedure, when successes of the past must be set down in writing as guides for like successes under similar conditions in the present.

A new approach is necessary in the organization of workers, because industrial conditions and public opinion have undergone great changes. Organization can no longer depend upon the accidental emergence of an inspired leader. Woman's economic status is also changing, and with it changing the whole psychology of women and girls. A new procedure is, therefore, particularly required in the unionizing of women workers, with which the National Women's Trade Union League is especially concerned.

It was with a deep consciousness of this pressing need that the One Day Institute was planned by the League. The first step was the appointment of a committee several months before the convention to collect the material and outline the main subjects for discussion. Besides members of the League, there were represented on the committee such economic experts as Robert Bruere, A. J. Muste, David Saposs, E. C. Linderman, Ordway Tweed and Evert C. Routzohn.

A careful study was made by the 1926 students of the League school of the proceedings of thirty-three national and international Labor Conventions. It was found that only twenty-one of these thirty-three even mentioned the problem of Organization and that only fifteen of the twenty-one recognized the question of "Method" or "Technique" as particularly vital or perplexing. The League was indeed entering a new and untried field. The material collected by the committee was outlined to the delegates under the following heads:

The Questions Summarized

In general: How can trade unions increase their membership particularly among women, and accomplish their aims more effectively?

1. What are the present difficulties in organization?
2. What are the particular problems in organizing women?
3. What are the most important methods of organization?
4. How can the individual worker be interested in membership?
5. How can the work of organizers be made more effective?
6. How can an employer be induced to give recognition to a union?
7. What are the conditions in industry today which most vitally affect the program of trade unions?

8. Are the aims and purposes of trade unions adequately stated today?

9. Should the structure of trade unions be changed in order to accomplish their present purposes better?

10. How much attention are unions giving to methods of organization?

11. How can public interest and confidence be secured?

12. What steps shall be taken by the National Women's Trade Union League to follow up the suggestions made in the Institute?

The Institute from the very beginning bristled with lively discussion. Instead of an apathetic group listening to a leader holding forth volubly on a pet hobby, the delegates drawing upon their varied experiences, made the day the most stimulating event of the week's convention. It was not an occasion for vague vaporizings or arm-chair philosophizing, for these women, many of them, were not only working at their trades in mill and factory, but also experienced organizers. Nor did they try to "whitewash" their own mistakes or those of their fellow-workers. The spirit was that of "hewing to the line, letting the sparks fall where they may!"

The difficulty of organizing women was laid partly at the door of union men because they had failed to bring home to their families the ideals of trade unionism. The organized men in skilled occupations were severely criticized because they usually felt no responsibility for organizing the unskilled women workers in the same industry. Union officials, like other "males of the species," were said to be most reluctant to share the offices with women, even in occupations where a majority of the workers were women. The entire blame for the last offense was not placed on the men, however, as the women delegates admitted that women frequently shun the responsibility of holding office or taking part in union activities.

The problem of the married woman in industry was most thoroughly discussed. The older women, it was found, who had worked for some time feared that they would lose their jobs if they joined a union. Women who have dependents, although they represent the majority of women in industry, are likely to be giving so much thought to their households that they will not take part in union activities.

The liveliest discussion, however, centered on the "Flapper." The increasingly large number of young unmarried women in the industrial field and the growing preponderance of the modern frivolous type with the resultant heavy turnover was considered one of the most important problems affecting the future of trade union organizations.

The more serious-minded delegates advocated the institution of lectures and courses of study which would imbue the young girls with the principles of trade unionism, whether they liked it or not, but the consensus of opinion among the more experienced

organizers was that it was best to meet the "flapper" on her own ground. Several delegates insisted that the younger workers were perfectly justified in their demand for a good time, a happier life; that the union ought to encourage this desire for a fuller life. It meant, they declared, that industry had not entirely crushed the spontaneity of the woman worker. Miss Alexia Smith, one of the youngest organizers, and formerly a worker in a Maryland textile mill, gave an interesting "testimonial."

"I guess I'm what you Northerners would call a Fundamentalist," she declared. "I certainly wasn't brought up to go to dances, but I have gone to two or three dances a night, four nights a week, in order to get the attention and interest of young flapper factory girls. Why I've even learned to Charleston!"

The question of gaining for Organized Labor the confidence of the public and even of employers was discussed openly and with considerable difference of opinion. There were those who felt that their cause was just, that the workers must not waste time or energy on a "public" too indolent to become informed or on an employer too obdurate and self-centered to see the cause of the workers. There were others who argued that in the long run the "public" vague entity though it be, is the final arbiter in all industrial disputes and that the workers must gain its good will; that all employers were not hopelessly recalcitrant and that they could be made to see that the policy of "guerrilla warfare" was disastrous to all concerned.

Many organization problems were discussed with much spirit and openness of mind. The committee, however, had gathered enough material for a week's discussion so that no delegate or visitor got the feeling that the problem of organization had been solved by the "One Day's Institute." The National Women's Trade Union League feels that it has made only a beginning of a careful study of the problems of method, which will be taken up by the general Labor Movement.

This fall each of the local leagues affiliated with the National will conduct a similar institute at its annual city or interstate conference.

The "Institute Committee" will pool the contributions of these conferences with the discussion which took place at the National Convention, organize the material and publish its findings in a pamphlet for distribution.

The One Day's Institute has focussed the attention of the labor movement of America on the problems of a new approach, which will doubtless find expression in an objective study of the problems of industry and in the substitution of a scientifically planned procedure for the "trial and error" methods of the past.

LILLIAN HERSTEIN,

Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers.

ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION

The 44th Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor was held at Streator, Ill., September 13-September 18, with about 700 delegates present. The sessions were held in the auditorium of the Streator High School. Mr. James A. Meade, Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, Miss Lillian Herstein and Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers, were delegates. Mrs. Hanson was chairman of the Committee on Schools.

Much emphasis was placed during the entire convention on the subject of Education. Robert C. Moore, secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Teachers, spoke eloquently and effectively on the equalization of educational opportunity. Mr. Moore's talk was illustrated with graphs and charts and he certainly got his message across. This clear and careful statement resulted in the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, that we recommend and insist upon liberal increases in the state school fund appropriated by our General Assembly, and that such fund be apportioned to the schools primarily for the purpose of promoting one of the fundamental principles and purposes of democracy, the equalization of educational opportunity; and be it

"Resolved, that we call upon the State Department of Finance to include an adequate increase in the state school fund in the State Budget prepared for the 55th General Assembly, that we support bills providing for an adequate increase and for a proper apportionment, and that we urge the Governor, the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Director of the Department of Registration and Education to endorse and aid our efforts to bring about the enactment of such bills."

The convention adopted the Chicago slogan, "No High School of More Than 2,000 Pupils" and a legislative program for equitable, productive, and rigidly enforced tax laws, for tax amendment to the Constitution, for larger territorial units for taxation and administration, for special schools for the handicapped, and for improvement in the ability, efficiency and permanency of the teaching force.

The Committee on Schools recommended an intensive campaign for the organization of teachers in Illinois. The Chairman spoke to the motion as follows:

"The organized teachers are very grateful to the Illinois State Federation of Labor for all that has been done so loyally, devotedly and continuously in the support of teachers' organizations, against which there are so many obstacles.

"Your committee believes that the time is ripe for the Illinois State Federation of Labor to support actively the teachers' organization movement. We

recommend that the State Federation of Labor continue its efforts for the organization of teachers.

"The American Federation of Teachers, of which I have the honor to be the Secretary-Treasurer, is an organization of class room teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It is therefore an educational organization and a trade union. Its purposes are two-fold, to work for educational improvement and to work in the labor movement. You will agree, I am sure, with the preamble of our constitution, which is as follows:

"We believe in democracy, and in the schools as the chief agency of democracy.

"We believe that the schools have failed of their fullest attainment because of undemocratic administration, adherence to tradition, and lack of responsiveness to the needs of the community; and that the remedy the teachers must find that remedy, if it is to be found.

"We believe that servility breeds servility, and that if the schools are to produce free, unafraid men and women, American citizens of the highest type, the teachers must live and work in an atmosphere of freedom and self-respect.

"We believe that the teacher is one of the most highly productive of workers, and that the best interests of the schools and of the people demand an intimate contact and an effective co-operation between the teachers and the other workers of the community—upon whom the future of democracy must depend.

"I want to read a letter from one of the great men of the University of Chicago, who says:

"I think the organization of teachers into compact bodies is a natural and essential part of our evolution and these organizations seek to raise the level of efficiency and morale among the teachers as they also seek always to improve the economic status of the teaching profession, a profession none too highly prized in this country of ours. Nor do these organizations cease at that point. They seek the benefit of the students under them, a better attitude of parents toward education and a clearer conception of the meaning of freedom of teaching. I therefore wish them all success.

"It would not be to my purpose to speak on this subject in such positive language if the business men of this country had not long ago organized every important business except farming in so compact a way that all others must organize for self-protection. It was the business of a democratic state to prevent the various organizations or to render such organizations unnecessary by its conduct of affairs; but the democratic state failed and we are in the midst of a rising feudalism in which every man has his place and must seek to protect himself in it.

"WILLIAM E. DODD,

"University of Chicago."

"The teachers that belong to the American Federation of Teachers recognize the fact that the labor

movement is the biggest thing in the world today, and they want to be in that movement. They want to do everything that they can to promote the labor movement as well as to have the people in the labor movement do everything that they can to help the teachers. They want you to recognize that it is a matter of self preservation for you. When you cast about for reasons for lack of growth and lack of sympathy in the trade union movement, put well up on your list that the children are taught by non-union teachers who are teaching them non-union principles.

"Many a father has said to me, 'My son or my daughter sneers at the trade union,' and I reply, 'Why not? Wasn't he taught in the school by an opponent to the trade union?' If the labor movement is going to be what it should be, we must organize the teachers. If the teachers are to be what they should be, we must organize them. It cannot be done in a day, but it can be done if we work together.

"I have heard a great deal this afternoon about the union label. I wish you would add to your slogan of 'No goods unless union made,' 'No teachers for our children unless they are union teachers.'"

President Walker and Secretary Olander endorsed the recommendation and the convention pledged themselves to the campaign.

The meeting was inspiring and helpful. Much is expected as a result and under the capable leadership which the Illinois State Federation of Labor has, the expectations cannot but be realized.

MRS. HANSON AT THE AMPLIFIER

The Federation News thus summarizes a talk recently given by Mrs. Florence Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers. It was broadcasted from WCFL (The Chicago Federation of Labor) station.

"The aims and achievements of the American Federation of Teachers, the reforms realized because of the activities of this organization with the aid of the general labor movement, and the manifest advantages realized because of solidarity, were brought to the attention of the public by Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer of that organization recently in a well conceived review that also covered the needs of the schools.

"Mrs. Hanson covered many points not known by the general public. She spoke of the teachers' labor affiliations and the resultant advantages gained. She told how organization won recognition for the teachers. She emphasized that schools today fail to respond to public needs and that teachers must live in an atmosphere of freedom and self-respect. She viewed the objects of the organization and its constructive program of action. She laid stress upon the teachers' successful fight to collect delinquent taxes. And she finally urged that every effort be made for a greater organization of teachers to bring forth also

the intellectual, spiritual and moral values rather than the material ones."

For the edification of those who need the reminder—and who does not?—we quote the excerpts from our constitution and program of action to which Mrs. Hanson gave publicity:

"The objects of this organization shall be:

"1. To bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and co-operation.

"2. To obtain for them all the rights to which they are entitled.

"3. To raise the standards of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service.

"4. To promote such a democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social and political life of the community."

The Program of Action for 1926:

"1. The normal five-hour day in the public schools.

"2. The single salary schedule for those having equal experience, preparation and other qualifications.

"3. The sabbatical leave with adequate compensation, automatically operative in order of application.

"4. Academic freedom for teachers and pupils, especially in the social and natural sciences.

"5. A cultural wage with annual automatic increments.

"6. Payment for absence due to illness, quarantine, or death in the immediate family.

"7. The abolition of the rating system to be replaced by intelligent co-operative supervision.

"8. A pension after 30 years' service, sufficient to maintain the teachers' standard of living.

"9. A maximum of 1,500 pupils to a building, a maximum of 30 pupils to a class.

"10. School buildings that are comfortable, safe, sanitary and well equipped, retaining an atmosphere of friendliness and non-institutionalism.

"11. Teachers' Councils, controlled by the teachers and participating in the determination of educational policies.

"12. Democratic trial, appeal, salary and educational boards, including, among others, representatives of the teaching staff and organized labor.

"13. Teacher tenure.

"14. Application to the public schools of the most modern methods developed in the field of experimental education.

"15. Elective boards of education possessing financial independence and having teacher and labor representation.

"16. Equal educational opportunity for all without discrimination on account of race, religion or social status."

Then followed the names of the officers and the executive board. She closed with a word about the Chicago locals and their prosecution of tax delinquents.

"THE PRACTICE OF TEACHING IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL." By H. C. Morrison, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1926. Pp. 653. \$4.00.

Reviewed by Nell W. Peterson

Here is a book that educators must weigh carefully, for it is trying to give a method of pedagogical thinking which may in time enable teachers to develop a new and better kind of education.

Back of its theory there is experience gained in the Laboratory Schools of the University of Chicago, where each step of the proposed method has been tried. If results obtained there could be duplicated throughout the country, the average citizen would probably be delighted. Moreover, granted that taxpayers can be persuaded to finance any effective system of schools, the one suggested is feasible. It is not like some attractive plans built around a charming personality and dependent upon his presence for success. Rather it represents the co-operation of intelligent men and women who have devised ways of giving systematically and on a large scale such guidance of individual students as could be given in old times by the best village schoolmasters. The resulting school is one which could in time be reproduced, even in the large cities by the sort of men and women who are now teaching.

For that reason those who are not satisfied with the way of thinking about education advocated by Mr. Morrison must read his book thoughtfully. After doing so, many will be convinced that even under the ideal conditions courageously demanded the method would be more apt to produce citizens fit to live happily in the world as it is than to create a new society of changed purposes and desires. These critics cannot oppose the plan on the ground that it is too expensive to be put in operation in public schools, for they will agree with the author's contention that genuinely effective schools will always "in their products pay the bill and some over." Nor can this group accomplish much by destructive criticism alone. If they are to make their dreams come true, they must first set up a method of thinking and then develop appropriate and practical operative and administrative technique; for it is not possible to oppose a substantial reality with a vision. If the challenge of "The Practice of Teaching" rouses a contradictory intelligence to this effort, its publication may be epoch-making.

Meanwhile during this time of changing standards a loyal acceptance of the theory underlying this book, or of some better theory, will enable educators to use their force constructively. Perversions of any principle will occur while it is being worked out in a new environment. Morrison says, "Pedagogical history is full of the wreckage of method, in itself sound and good, picked up and put in practice in an apish sort of way by enthusiastic men eager to be in pedagogical style."

Already one can point out abundant instances of such unwise applications of the theories contained in "The Practice of Teaching." The author strongly urges the substitution of sympathetic supervision for rating of teachers. Yet many teachers who are in systems where rating for promotional credit is a reality, have had their first introduction to the book by being informed that some unknown "attention expert" has assigned them a grade of 50 or 98, as the case may be by using Morrison's group attention test. Others who have long realized the importance of mastery teaching for each individual child are inexpressibly shocked by orders to promote or demote children merely to save money or to fill each seat in the room. If we can remember that where old promotional methods are being discredited and new ones are not in existence such evils are inevitable, we may turn what might be futile despair into an effort to work out new and convincing ways of measuring pupil progress.

Finally, people who have worked devotedly, and with a measure of success, to secure real education under the old system are being overwhelmed by impossible classes of forty or forty-five on the theory that "a school which handles its program on a daily lesson basis * * * should be able to handle one size class about as well as another." Yet Mr. Morrison's statement must surely mean simply this: That a fight for small classes will not in itself give us what we want, while the widespread acceptance of true educational standards will ultimately bring both small classes and an opportunity to do real teaching. At any rate one can scarcely read his book without being convinced anew that lasting results may be attained only by people who are willing to work untiringly at the task of converting their desires into intelligence and revising them "in terms of the ways and means which nature makes possible."

Suggested Books

"The Normal Mind," by William H. Burnham. D. Appleton & Co. Pp. 686. \$3.50.

"The American Public School," by John L. Horn. The Century Co. Pp. 404. \$2.00.

"The Education of Exceptional Children," by John L. Horn. The Century Co. Pp. 342. \$2.00.

"The Growth of the Mind," by Kurt Koffka. Harcourt, Brace and Co. Pp. 356. \$4.50.

CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

One of the best outlines for group discussions on the Child Labor Amendment has been prepared by the Y. W. C. A. Inasmuch as the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment is the most important legislative question confronting us, such material as the Y. W. C. A.'s Child Labor Discussion Plans are of particular interest and value to us.

"Washington, D. C.—In a letter to city central bodies, President Green suggests the formation of speakers' classes to train workers to explain the need for federal regulation of child labor.

"He says there has been a general relaxation in the control of child labor since the child labor amendment was temporarily blocked. President Green will furnish literature and detailed information to meet the problems of each locality.

"The need of educating public opinion on the subject of child labor is made increasingly evident by recent investigation," he said. "The 1920 census showed that over 1,000,000 children between 10 and 15 years of age were employed in industry and agriculture, and studies since then have shown that in Jersey City, last year, 1,000 children were doing sweatshop labor in their homes. Most of these children were under 14 years old, and many of them 6 and 7, and even 5 years.

"The oyster and shrimp canneries of the south depend on young children. They are more active than their elders and can be hired for a very small wage. In every one of the 37 canneries visited violations of the law were found, even in states which had relatively high child labor standards. Scores of cases like these could be cited."

(Continued from page 13)

2. Social and equitable apportionment of public money; adequate school appropriations.
3. Justice for the alien; justice for all races, political, economic, social.
4. Tendencies making for improved industrial relations; collective bargaining, shop committees, union-management co-operation, viz., railroads; mediation and arbitration.
5. Public regulation of railways and other utilities.
6. Mothers' pension and workmen's compensation legislation.
7. Conservation of forest, mineral and power resources of the nation.

Slogan: **There shall be no Exploitation in America, —neither of Men, Women nor Children.**

PUBLIC HEALTH DAY

Saturday, November 13th—Public Health—The Guarantee of the Strength of the Nation.

1. Physical education.
2. The triumphs of sanitation and preventive medicine. Heroes of peace: Koch, Lister, Pasteur, Metchnikoff, Gorgas, Lazear, Curie, Noguchi.
3. Play and leisure in relation to public health.
4. The socialization of health protection; value of medical research institutions.
5. Disease no respecter of national boundaries; the necessity for international relations.
6. The study of race improvement.
7. National, state and municipal park systems and regional planning.

Slogan: **Sound Bodies for the Service of Mankind.**

Our Locals

RETRENCHMENT

At the time we went to press, the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, Local No. 2, was about to hold a conference with Assistant Superintendent Bogan on the School Board's policy of retrenchment in the public high schools by eliminating technical courses. For days the papers had been announcing "protests of teachers and principals" and mass meetings of pupils.

James Mullenbach, a board member, suggested to a conference of superintendents and board members that it would be wiser to leave the school system intact without disturbing all that had been built up through the years and close the schools for a month to permit the board to recoup. He said the parents would realize just as well by that means that the schools were hard pressed and would vote for a tax increase.

AT THE CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR

Miss Lillian Hirstein, delegate of the Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers at the Chicago Federation of Labor, was elected to the Legislative Committee by that body on Sept. 19.

Chairman Fitzpatrick introduced Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson with the remark that he felt it was a signal honor that a former delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor should have been elected as General Secretary of her national organization, namely, the American Federation of High School Teachers. Mrs. Hanson is the third woman in the American trade union movement, to be elected to an office of this kind. Mrs. Hanson made the statement that the High School Teachers Federation is an organization of class-room teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and that this organization is therefore a national educational and a national labor movement, their purpose being two-fold, that is, to work for educational improvement and to work in the labor movement.

ST. PAUL

The Federation of Women Teachers, St. Paul, Minn., has issued a very attractive booklet inviting the St. Paul teachers to take advantage of their opportunity and join the Federation. All colors and designs of paper were used so that a package made a rainbow. The booklet has the advantage of being brief but it tells a great deal in three small pages, what the organization is, the dues, the club room, Sunday evening teas, sick benefits, Health and Accident Insurance, Credit Union, Fellowship. It is a marvel that so much could be condensed into so small a space. It is hard to offer something new in the line of publicity, but the St. Paul Women have accomplished it.

PORTLAND LOCAL

The Teachers to Elect a New Head

The Portland Teachers Union last Saturday accepted the resignation of E. E. Schwarztrauber, as president and will elect his successor at the October meeting. Hilma Anderson of Lincoln High School, and William Kletzer of Benson Polytechnic, have been nominated for the position.

Mr. Schwarztrauber desired to be relieved from the duties incident to the presidency to give more time to organization. The local union has created the office of organizer to which it is expected Schwarztrauber will be elected. He is a vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers.

MANUMIT LOCAL No. 191

The annual meeting and conference of the Manumit Associates was held on Saturday and Sunday, September 18th and 19th, at Manumit School, Pawling, N. Y.

Friends of Manumit School, those vitally interested in the new educational procedure, and its place in the Labor Movement and its ultimate effect on future groups, besides the members of the Manumit Associates, took part in the discussion. The Manumit Associates is a group of labor men and women educators and others participating in movements for social reconstruction, organized to maintain and direct the work of Manumit. There were four sessions; the first one beginning at four-thirty on Saturday afternoon. The discussions were devoted chiefly to the Past, Present and Future of Manumit.

The program consisted of the following: Manumit Ideals and the Measure of their Attainment, by Sarah N. Cleghorn, Margery N. Wilson, and Sidney Henderson, Faculty Members. An Outlook Upon the Possible Future of Manumit, by William W. Biddle of the Faculty. The Procedures of the New Education and their Possible Influence on the Public Schools, Henry R. Linville, Co-Director, Plans for the Development and Maintenance of the school.

THE SANCTITY OF WORK

All true work is sacred; in all true work were it but true hand labor, there is something of divineness. Labor, wide as the earth, has its summit in heaven. Sweat of the brow, and up from that to sweat of the brain, sweat of the heart; which includes all Kepler calculations, Newton meditations, all sciences, all spoken epics, all acted heroisms, martyrdoms—up to that "agony of bloody sweat," which all men have called divine. . . . Look up my wearied brother; surviving there, they alone surviving; sacred band of the immortals, celestial bodyguard of mankind. Labor, fact indubitable. No man can roof his house with clouds and moonshine, so as to turn the rain from him.—Thomas Carlyle.

American Federation of Teachers

327 S. La Salle Street

CHICAGO, ILL.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

Organized April 15, 1916



The American Federation of Teachers desires to establish an intimate contact and an effective cooperation between the teachers and the other workers of the community.

The American Federation of Teachers desires to cooperate with all civic organizations for improved civic life.

Groups of seven or more public school teachers are invited to affiliate with this National Organization of Classroom Teachers, for mutual assistance, improved professional standards and the democratization of the schools.

Our Slogan Is:

Democracy in Education: Education for Democracy.

"The American Teacher" is published monthly by the *American Federation of Teachers*. Membership dues carry subscription to the magazine. To all others the subscription price is \$1.00 per year, 15 cents per copy.