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Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

The **AMERICAN TEACHER**

THE ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Education Tomorrow

"We should have a body of self-respecting teachers and educators who will see to it that their ideas and their experiences in educational matters shall really count in the community; and who, in order that these may count, will identify themselves with the interests of the community; who will conceive of themselves as citizens and as servants of the public, and not merely as hired employees of a certain body of men. It is because I hope to see the teaching body occupy that position of social leadership which it ought to occupy, and which to our shame it must be said we have not occupied in the past that I welcome every movement of this sort."—Opinion of Prof. John Dewey, member N. Y. Local No. 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, of the work and the standing of the American Federation of Teachers.

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Dr. Hart is the author of *Critical Study of Current Theories of Moral Education*, *Democracy in Education*, and *Adult Education* which is now in the publisher's hand. He is also editor and part author of *Educational Resources of Village and Rural Communities*, *Community Organization*, and the *Outlines of Society*. Dr. Hart is a member of the American Federation of Teachers. He will be the guest of Chicago Locals Nos. 2 and 3 at luncheon on October 23rd, when he will speak on *The Community and The School*.

Robert C. Moore is not a stranger in the educational field. His work covers years of conscientious application to teacher problems in local, state and national organizations. First a teacher, then a principal and superintendent of schools, it follows that he is nobly qualified for the position he now holds in this field.

He has been secretary of the Illinois State Teachers Association, editor of the *Illinois Teacher* and legislative representative for the teachers of Illinois for eleven years. He has appeared before the Governor and the Committee of the House and Senate many times to present arguments for progressive and helpful bills, and to protest against bills that seemed dangerous to public education and the welfare of children and teachers. As a result, much good legislation has been enacted in the last eleven years, and a large increase in school revenues has been obtained.

In the course of work he has spoken hundreds of times to all sorts of gatherings and organizations, from kindergartens to University classes, from newsboys' clubs to legislatures. He has served on the Educational Committee of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and has spoken before that body several times.

CONTENTS

Our American Educational Program.....	3
<i>Joseph K. Hart</i>	
Equalization—What? Why? How?.....	6
<i>Robert C. Moore</i>	
Convention Notes	8
Democracy in Education.....	12
Editorials	14
Platform of Principles for the Classroom Teacher..	17
As Others See Us.....	19
Book Reviews	21
Our Locals	22
General News	24

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OCTOBER, 1926

One Dollar a Year

Our American Educational Problem

By JOSEPH K. HART
Educational Director, The Survey

Naturally enough, we have thought that our American educational problem was that of educating our children. On the basis of our historical experience on this continent, we have assumed that the American adult was competent, and therefore, well educated. The assumption grows out of the indubitable fact that the American pioneer, the settler, the farmer and the villager of our early periods did, on the whole, know his business: he conquered the continent; he made himself "free," in many ways; he improved the technics of agriculture; he got ahead. Education existed for the purpose of making sure that the children would carry on as ably, as successfully, at least.

So, we have struggled with the task of building adequate school houses, furnishing adequate, up-to-date equipment, making those material provisions which constitute "a good school;" we have passed compulsory attendance laws, and tried to see that they were really enforced; we have spent much energy on the training of teachers—to be "good instructors and disciplinarians"—who would be able to turn out graduates of the schools to "be a credit to the community." The story of school-building, compulsory attendance, and teacher training in America is a sort of heroic epic, which is not clearly enough known by the people in general.

None the less, in spite of all these heroic and expensive developments; and even in spite of our pride in our fine school-houses and our enormous attendance at schools, and our army of teachers, things do not always seem to be going quite right. Something remains to be desired: either the world has changed, or else education isn't as good as it used to be! We have been adding new enterprises to

our schools: manual training, domestic arts and sciences, industrial opportunities, vocational courses and schools—a long array of expensive developments, which attract many of the children as the older scholastic courses cannot do. What is the meaning of all these demands and changes and readjustments?

Well, the world has changed, as we well know. The older technics of industry, and the older relationships of men in work, have largely passed away. We are compelled to live and work in this new world and, for the most part, *we don't understand it, and we do not, therefore, know how to live and work in it.* We adults stumble about in it endlessly, with labor wars and national wars as proof that we do not fully understand what we are doing, and what is happening to us.

But, if we do not understand what we are doing and what is happening to us, *how can we educate our children?* Science has turned most of our old time technics upside down, and made many of our former attitudes ridiculous. Science promises a world of more rational physical and social relationships—with less of old magic, old superstitions, old prejudices, and old miseries. The promise is not self-enacting, or self-fulfilling. The realization of the implications of that promise will require the employment of the intelligences of men for ages. We are not fully convinced that we want to see this sort of thing go on: in relationship to industry and business, to politics and government, to morality and social relationships, to our fine old religious concepts and aspirations. We are not sure we want too much "science" invading these realms; and we are not sure we want our children to have too much of these disturbing "sciences." Other-

wise, we are quite broad-minded about "science."

At any rate, we have not yet fully admitted these broader implications of science and the modern mind into our dealings with education: our curriculum does not fully face the problems and issues of the modern world; our teachers are not trained in the full, free spirit of modern social science; our technics of education are not organized in the spirit of democratic freedom and the cooperative relationships of human beings. The reasons for our hesitations in these directions are not hard to find, and they are, on the whole, quite intelligible—from the standpoint of history. I am not quarreling with the facts: I am merely stating them. In spite of all the enormous scientific, engineering and industrial developments of modern times, we adults still linger in the shadows of the old forms of living, and, though our "minds" may be quite well aware of the fact that science is here, our *habits* still remain uneasily rooted in old customs and traditions. So we build school-houses, train teachers and pass compulsory attendance laws all for the purpose of schooling our children in the modes and mental fashions of a day that is dead, almost everywhere else but in school-houses.

So, our real educational problem, today, is not that of educating our children; at least, it is not that of educating them after the present modes. Our real problem is concerned with ourselves and our contemporaries—the adults. Our real problem is that of educating ourselves to the acceptance of education in a broader sense, of bringing our minds up to date, not alone as to the materials of the modern world but also with respect to the informing spirit of modern science. These remarks apply not merely to so-called "belated" men and women in the back woods; they apply, often with more nicety of bearing, to residents of cities, to teachers in schools, and even to professors of science in our universities.

They apply with peculiar fitness to almost all who are engaged in the training of teachers, whether in "training schools," in normal schools, in teachers' colleges, or in the departments of education of our universities. No-

where has the fallacy that "science is identical with modern knowledge" held more effective sway than in some departments of education in universities; and nowhere has its sway been more devastating.

We have the problem of educating teachers for our schools. But we have tackled that job narrowly, prejudicially, emphasizing the good old ways, or some modern camouflage of these good old ways under parade under the name of science—such as "administrative efficiency," or "intelligence testing as the basis of instruction." We have trained—and we are training—teachers to work in class rooms, with their eyes on the children. We have not faced, hitherto, and even now we scarcely dare face the thought of training teachers who will have their eyes turned to the living world—to the changing, evolving community that is round about the children, with all its varied interests, its calls, and appeals, its tasks and its problems, its rewards and its punishments, its beauties and its joys. We have not been as realistic, or as intelligent, in our dealing with our children, as a production foreman ordinarily is in dealing with his materials in a modern factory. He knows materials: he knows where his materials have come from; he knows what their characteristics are—what they will do and what they will not do; and he knows what is to be made out of them. He sees beginnings, processes, and objectives—all as parts of the same movement. Few teachers are trained, these days, to see children in as wide or sane a perspective.

Now, the real reason for this narrowness of perspective and consequent narrowness of technic is to be found, not in the schools, primarily, but in the surrounding community—in the adult "mind" that sums up and controls the world. This is our American educational problem: we have kept education to the school room and to the children; we have kept teacher-training largely in the grooves of old technics, or equally undesirable new ones, because, though new worlds might be emerging into existence all about us, we cling instinctively to the routines and the sanctuaries and the securities of the older type of mind. *We adults* have done and still do these things.

Hence, our real American educational problem is that of getting a new mind operative in the adult community: a mind that will not be so hostile to the implications of science; a mind that will welcome rational changes on the basis of facts and honest interpretation of facts; a mind that will permit intelligence to play through industry, and politics, and morality, and religion, and through the processes by which education either develops real mind in childhood and youth, or makes it largely improbable that such mind will ever come to fruition in the children it instructs.

To be sure, such educating of adults will not go on in a vacuum. Teachers need to be educated, too: the modern teacher must be a student of the moving order of life continuously, or else fail to represent that moving order adequately to inquiring minds. So there are three groups that must be educated, if our American schools are to do their real job well: the adult community must evolve a mind that can accept progressive educational developments without too much protest; teachers must develop a mind that can move onward with the moving current of events; and children must come up into, and through, all these things on their way to understanding and mastery of the world. The basic one of these groups is the adult community. The children will largely take care of themselves if the community finds the methods of its own continuous education, for, as the world runs, children cannot escape being educated.

But, probably, the real brunt of the task of educating the world—adults and children alike—must fall, still, upon the teacher group and upon the schools, since education is the acknowledged responsibility of teachers and schools. But present technics of instruction; present drifts toward mechanization and "administrative efficiency;" and present complacencies with results do not seem to be the proper perspective within which to envisage the future tasks of teachers and schools. We need to think all these things through, again, with our eyes not on children in class rooms, but with our eyes on the community—its past of custom, its present of habit and complacent drift, and its uncertain future;

and we need to see, in the light of the facts, what we want to make of our communities, intellectually and morally; and we need to ask what share educating—that is, releasing and developing the intelligences of the people—should play in the making of that community of our desires. Then we shall begin to understand what the real task of the school is.

But the task of the school is but one factor in the sum total of education: the community lies round about the school, and children come to school out of the community, and they go from school into the community. The community makes the school—in all too many cases. If we want better schools and better education we must get a more intelligent community, which will not be scared by the development of better schools. However big the task may be, we cannot escape it. Always we come back to it: The American problem of education is that of enlarging the mental life of the community, adults, teachers, and finally children, alike and inclusively.

Workers' Education

Will not someone challenge Hendrick Willem Van Loon's position in the September Forum in the article entitled "Do Workmen Want Culture?" Mr. Van Loon claims they do not. Is he right, or is he wrong? A representative of the Railway Clerks and one of the Electrical Workers, in the same issue of the Forum, upheld his view more or less warmly. But both it seems to us missed the point of the workman's prophecy that some day he and his fellows would build their own schools and their own colleges. It was not, Mr. Van Loon, that they did not want culture, but that they did not fancy the brand their patrons, the liberals, were handing out.

That the workers themselves are forming groups (not as Mr. Van Loon thinks, markedly Jewish) for class instruction; that they are discussing in their conventions adult education and the best use of leisure, these are facts that cannot be ignored.

TEACHER

At Ahmedabad, India, pupils of the National College noted on their faculty roster, a name new to the roster, old in fame—Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. The Mahatma, well-informed, asked students what they would have him teach. Eagerly they sought seclusion, consulted and delivered their choice. Forthwith last week Mahatma Gandhi, austere ascetic, Tolstoy disciple, famed Indian politico-spiritual leader, began to teach of Jesus, of the Apostles, of the mysterious Holy Trinity, of twenty centuries of ecclesiastical superstructure. —Time.

Equalization—What? Why? How?

By ROBERT C. MOORE

Secretary, Illinois State Teachers' Association

"Equalization of educational opportunity" is a plank that appears in every platform adopted by American educators. Therefore, it is necessary that we understand clearly just what this means, why it is a proper slogan for educators, and how to make it a concrete reality.

The ideal from which this principle springs is the same that prompted the statement of the foundation principle of the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments were instituted among men, . . . etc." Now, the separate states are governments instituted among men for the purpose of securing certain rights, and one right now recognized in all states is the right to an education. Therefore, all children have equal rights to education.

Of course the signers of the Declaration knew that men are not all equal in all ways, and that they differ in such things as color, appearance, weight, height, and ability or power of mind and body. But they did mean, and I believe it is still sound Americanism, that all men have equal rights before the law, that our government and its laws must not grant special privileges or benefits to any man, or group or class of men, and that whatever benefit the State yields to any individual it must yield on the same terms to every other individual according to his needs or his ability to receive it.

Every State has assumed the function of furnishing education to its youth at public expense. Therefore, according to our American ideals and principles of government, it must furnish education on equal terms to all its youth. It may not be possible to have educational facilities and opportunities absolutely equal in all parts of the State, but certainly the State should provide for an approximate

equality. The principle does not mean that it is possible for the State through education to develop all young people into adults of equal power, efficiency and usefulness; but it does mean that the State must give an approximately equal chance to all children to develop their powers, efficiency, usefulness and good citizenship in general according to their ability.

This principle of equality is generally admitted to be true, but up to this time several states have failed to provide anything even approaching equality of educational opportunity. The causes of the glaring inequalities are the shifting of the financing and administration of schools from the State to the local districts, the great inequalities in the distribution of wealth and population among the local districts, and the consequent inequalities in the ability of local districts to finance schools. For instance, here in Illinois we have 12,000 separate local school districts, each of which must levy about 93 per cent of its school finances on the property within its own narrow boundaries. Some of these little districts have numerous children and very little wealth or taxable property; others have few children and enormous amounts of wealth and property. Hence, some districts have high tax rates and poor schools, while other districts have very low tax rates and standard schools or better. Most of us believe this to be contrary to the American principle of equality stated above, and, therefore, advocate equality of educational opportunity.

The method adopted by the States that are working toward equality is to reduce the number and increase the size of the local districts or units of taxation, and to increase the financial support of schools from the state treasury and to apportion the state funds in proportion to the needs of the schools.

There is good authority for the equalization of educational opportunity by the State or other unit larger than the little local school district, some of which I am glad to quote:

The essence of democracy is equality of opportunity. We have shown the district system not only fails to provide for equality, but makes the approach to an equality impossible.—*Fletcher Harper Swift.*

2. "Of these two forms of general aid for education state or county, the state form is the more desirable because it more easily and evenly equalizes the burden of maintaining what is for the good of all, and thus it makes it possible for the State to demand higher educational standards on the part of all communities than can be done under any other form of support. This can be done better, too, if the amount of general aid is relatively large."—*E. P. Cubberley.*

3. "We shall not be able, however, to finance our schools on the basis of local taxation. It is ridiculous to propose that the school district or township be made mainly responsible for the support of a service which is state-wide and just as certainly national in its significance. In any one state the resources available for the support of public education will vary enormously from community to community."—*George D. Strayer.*

"The whole problem of progress is fundamentally educational in character. The problems of today and the future will tax the ability of our citizens even though equipped with the best education which our schools can afford. Within our Republic every individual should possess the rudiments of education with which he can train himself to a higher education, if denied other opportunities and assistance. To withhold opportunity for education from the least among our people is a crime committed against our Republic."—*Samuel Gompers.*

The fundamental principles of our American ideal of government, the very essence of Americanism, is equality,—equality of rights to life, liberty and happiness, equality of rights to make and support the government, and equality of rights to share in the benefits conferred by the government. A government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" can mean only a government that applies to all the people on equal terms, that is made by all the people on equal terms, and that distributes its benefits equally among the people. Therefore, it is certainly un-American, unjust, and contrary to the spirit of our Constitution for the State to neglect some of its children in distributing the benefits of education.

Such neglect and injustice are not only harmful to the neglected children; they are dangerous to the State itself in two ways. First, since all our statesmen have agreed that education and knowledge are necessary to the preservation of our liberties and the perpetuation of our form of government, we must conclude that the lack of education resulting from poor schools in any part of the state threatens our liberties and endangers our government. Second, since loyalty to and respect for the government are necessary characteristics of good citizens, it is dangerous to have citizens who feel that the State has

been partial in the distribution of its benefits or that it has discriminated against some citizens in favor of others in the distribution of its school facilities. Any American, even though ignorant, has an instinctive feeling and belief that all people should be equal before the law; therefore, if he feels that the laws of the State discriminate against him or his children, he loses some of his respect for the law and becomes dissatisfied with the government. Therefore, no State can afford to continue equalities and inequities in the distribution of educational facilities or other benefits.

How shocking it is to hear some dependent, defective, delinquent, or criminal explain his plight by declaring that he never had a fair chance, when we have so long boasted that this is America, the land of equality before the law and of the equality of opportunity! Can we still make that boast sincerely when we know that there are the greatest inequalities in the educational opportunities provided by the State? Isn't it possible that some of our citizens are justified in believing that they never had a fair chance when our State permits such great inequalities in educational opportunities?

Those of us who have had our chance should enlist in the defense of the truly American principle of equality of opportunity, at least so far as opportunities or benefits are conferred by the State. Let us see that all children have a fair chance. Let us try to appreciate what our opportunities have meant to us, and what we now might be had those opportunities been denied us. Then when we meet some poor outcast who has become a burden or a menace to society, we shall feel more thankful for our opportunities, feel less superior to the outcast, less critical of his efforts to succeed in life, and more determined to see that every child has a fair chance to succeed in the future. We shall see in the outcast what we possibly might have been had our chances been reversed. Then, addressing the outcast, we might say with the poet:

"If I had lived in the gutter, you say,
Ere the dark was dawn, ere the dawn was day,
Ere the sun arose on my infant eyes,
In an underworld of sad surprise,
I would be as you, coarse, bitter, old,
Cursed from birth with the lust of gold;
I would be as you, foul and defiled,
A menace to man and woman and child,
"And, if you had had my chance, you claim,
The sunnier skies and the nobler name,
The childhood guarded and guided sure
By a teacher sane and parent pure,
You would be as I am, strong and young,
Where deeds are wrought and songs sung;
You would be as healthy and as fresh,
In your human heart and your human flesh.
"And you may be right. Perchance the beast,
That roars in you, in me, at least
Has growled, and growling shown that we
Are fashioned one humanity.

Perchance my passions unexpressed,
 In you are but made manifest;
 Perchance in you I ought to see
 The hell from which he rescued me.
 "If this be true,—if desperate chance
 Of vast unequal circumstance
 Has given me much and scant you,
 My brother, this is also true:
 Out of my noblest I ought to give
 Your lost abundance while I live,
 And at the doors of darkness stand
 To meet you with an outstretched hand."

But the time to meet with outstretched hand and to give nobly of our abundance to the children of earth is before they become outcasts, burdens or menaces. Sympathy for the suffering, aid for the helpless, alms for the poor, and punishment for the criminal may all be commendable. But the patriotism and good citizenship that provides universal education of the right sort, freely and equally distributed among the children is more commendable; for proper education promotes the intelligence, health, efficiency, morality and character that prevents failure, misery, poverty and crime.

Therefore, it is in perfect accord with American principles and ideals for teachers to advocate equality of educational opportunity and that such equality be brought about by support from the State.

The first article of a series on equalization of educational opportunity. Other educators in other states will follow.

Convention Notes

Four major committees were established on recommendation of the Executive Council,—Committees on Credentials, on Resolutions, on Policies, on Legislation, the same as formerly, and a new Committee on Promotion and Organization. The new committee, that on Promotion and Organization, was established to handle matters dealing with the creation and functioning of standing committees, the undertaking of investigations and studies, the arrangement of the year's program, and the recommendation of conditions under which the best interests of the American Federation of Teachers can be promoted, going into such things as recommendations concerning personnel of staff of the organization itself. The purpose of this new committee was to get the work of the convention into operation. Dr. Henry R. Linville was the chairman. Dr. Linville reported on the third day of the Convention as follows:

The Committee began its work having in mind the recommendation made by President

Barker in her communication to the Convention to the effect that we should endeavor to provide for the more effective organization of our activities through the establishment of standing committees. She foresaw that by having standing committees we would be able to function between conventions as well as at conventions. The Executive Council and the Convention approved these suggestions and provided for the creation of this new committee which should formulate and recommend to the Convention a plan and a program for carrying the following into effect:

1. The establishment of standing committees in Education, Professional Improvement, Academic Freedom and Tenure, Legislation, Promotion and Organization.

2. Recommending to the Convention the personnel, so far as possible, to carry on the work of the committees, giving attention to the matter of assembling for each committee the persons who have a vital interest in the problems assigned to them, and so far as possible selecting members who are convenient to one another geographically.

3. To consider and recommend action on the several resolutions referred to our Committee.

4. To allocate all the resolutions adopted by this convention to the several standing committees when such committees shall have been approved by the Convention.

5. To undertake and report to this convention the job analysis of the positions of President and Secretary-Treasurer, and incidentally to suggest working conditions and qualifications which in the opinion of the Committee would be suitable for the effective performance of the work assigned to these officers.

In attacking assignment No. 1 it was decided that we should present an analysis of the functions of the standing committees in order to give the Convention the opportunity to approve or to disapprove the views the Committee happened to have in this matter, and also possibly to offer to those who are being invited to participate in the work of the standing committees the inducement that comes from an undertaking definitely planned and clearly organized.

The Committee on Education

It was agreed that the Committee on Education should study and make recommendations to each convention concerning educational experiments, practices and tendencies in the field of education, whether of a constructive character or otherwise. Not only should this committee concern itself with such experiments as the junior high school, intelligence tests, the work-study-play plan, creative activity, etc., etc., but it should also examine the results of current educational practices in whatever way they may be observable.

The Committee on Professional Improvement

This committee should study and make recommendations regarding the training of teachers in general and their training in the knowledge of the social sciences in particular. It should ascertain the extent of the adoption of sabbatical leave and secure information on its effect beneficial or otherwise. It should secure information on the extent of the custom of boards of education paying for vacation study. It should investigate the effect of certain types of discipline based on the fear-motive in relation to the professional efficiency of teachers, also systems of rating the service of teachers. It should report whatever facts may be available on the tendency to lengthen hours of work, or to impose so-called "voluntary" extra-curricular activities. It should ascertain the tendency in the alteration of health conditions. Finally, it should ascertain whether there is evidence in teacher-participation of a tendency to develop standards as well as loyalty to those standards when democratically developed.

The Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure

This committee should deal with situations involving the status and the freedom of teachers both in the classroom and in their lives as citizens outside the classroom. It should develop as our financial resources allow machinery for obtaining information in all cases where freedom of teaching and of expression are interfered with, and also machinery for handling these cases. Until our own economic resources become sufficient for more aggres-

sive participation in defending cases, the Committee should work out the technic of dealing with such cases and help in the direction of local defense. The Committee should secure the co-operation in this field of labor groups, such as city central bodies and state federations, and also civic organizations.

The American Civil Liberties Union

The work which we should have been doing for some time in handling cases in which our own fellows (not necessarily in the organization, but all teachers throughout the country) are involved has been neglected because we didn't have the machinery for handling them, and as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, I have had a great deal of work to do with cases of teachers who have been denied their rights as citizens. But it so happens that the American Civil Liberties Union will not handle a case which involves merely a matter of tenure. The only kind of case they can consistently handle on the basis of their purposes is a case in which freedom of speech and freedom of expression have been definitely violated. So we have had to, here in New York, take over some of the cases that they had heard about and handled briefly but decided finally they couldn't continue or pursue. The result has been that a number of the cases have fallen by the wayside for lack of proper attention and teachers have been mistreated and denied their rights simply because there was no machinery for protecting them.

The Committee on Legislation

This committee should keep in touch with legislation introduced into state and national legislatures on educational matters and general social issues of special importance to education, and should make recommendations to the Executive Council from time to time. The Committee should develop machinery for providing other committees with digests of legislation along the lines with which they are severally concerned. It should develop plans by which locals of the American Federation of Teachers may keep in touch with legislation in their states, in order that the locals may have the information on which to carry

on campaigns to promote beneficial legislation and combat unfavorable legislation. In this connection the committee should develop effective co-operation between the American Federation of Teachers and its locals on the one hand, and on the other hand, with such labor bodies as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the standing Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor, with state federations, city central bodies, etc.

Co-Operation With the Research Bureau of A. F. of T.

The Committee has in mind the obvious need of the various standing committees here provided for, to keep in touch with our research bureau in Washington, D. C., and to develop effective co-ordination therewith. The Committee likewise has in mind the possibility that the federal legislation in education will be done in considerable measure through our National Legislative Representative at Washington, and also that in matters that concern state legislation there should be developed effective co-operation between the standing committees and the Legislative Representative.

The Committee on Promotion and Organization

The Convention has decided that there should be a standing committee bearing the same name as the present convention committee which is engaged in making this report to you. It is recommended that the standing committee of this name shall take over the report of the convention Committee on Promotion and Organization, and co-operate with the officers throughout the year in seeing that the work outlined by the Convention committee is carried out. The standing committee should plan for the extension of our organization, for effective contact between locals and national organization, for effective publicity, for counteracting hostile public opinion, for improving the service of the American Federation of Teachers to its members, for co-operation with the labor movement in the work of organizing teachers. Finally, the Committee should keep in touch

and co-operate with other committees of the A. F. of T. to help secure the co-ordination of the national work.

Your committee begs leave to offer for your consideration certain recommendations bearing on a promotion and organization campaign and for the financing of such a campaign. The Committee recommends that the American Federation of Teachers take steps to secure as a special fund the sum of \$25,000 to be used over a period of three years for organization work, and that those charged with raising this fund depend mainly upon an appeal to trade unions for securing it. In the opinion of the Committee the appeal for funds should be made also to individuals and organizations known to be in sympathy with the ideals and purposes of organized labor. In fact, all persons should be enlisted in this enterprise who appreciate the very great educational and social importance of organizing the teachers of America in affiliation with labor. Your committee recommends that the standing Committee on Promotion and Organization be charged with the task of raising this fund.

Your Committee further recommends that the standing Committee develop as already suggested plans for organization work and that in this connection use may be made of our own locals and individuals in these locals who may be able to help effectively in organization activity in their localities. Effective use may also be made of A. F. of L. organizers, central bodies and state federations of labor and their officers, the officers of the A. F. of T. and such organizers as may from time to time be appointed by our own Executive Council.

We urgently recommend that each delegate to this Convention be regarded during the coming year as the connecting link between the national office and the various locals, so that through the delegates the Secretary-Treasurer, for example, check up on the work already done by the various standing committees provided for at this convention.

Your Committee with due and unaffected modesty recommends for appointment on the standing committees herein provided for some of its own members, together with a few who

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are not in its membership. For the chairmanship of the Committee on Education, with headquarters in Chicago, we recommend the appointment of Lucie W. Allen. For the chairmanship of the Committee on Professional Improvement with headquarters in Atlanta, we recommend the appointment of Mr. W. J. Scott and also the appointment of Mary C. Barker on the Committee. For the chairmanship of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure, with headquarters on the Pacific Coast, we recommend the appointment of Mr. R. W. Everett.

Why, you may ask, should we recommend somebody in California for troubles in New York? Well, we are not thinking of New York primarily, but it is a matter of distributing the work in the different sections of the country. It is also true, I may tell you, if you are not aware of the fact, that California is the most reactionary state in the Union in the matter of freedom of speech. In view of the fact that there are more men in prison in California than in any other place on charges of having done something (but we believe the real reason is their exercise of the freedom of speech), and in view of the fact that the American Civil Liberties Union is practically confined to work on the release of prisoners in free speech cases in California, we feel that the inspiration from California would be a fine opportunity for this Committee.

For the Committee on Legislation we recommend for chairman, Miss Mabel Colter, with headquarters at St. Paul and Minneapolis. We also recommend that on this committee there be Miss Isabel Williams and Mr. Harrell. For the Committee on Promotion and Organization, with headquarters in New York, we recommend the appointment of Mr. H. R. Linville, Mr. A. J. Muste, Miss Selma Borchardt, and the president and the secretary-treasurer of the organization. The Committee will be glad to add other names to the committees if the Convention desires us to continue in this direction.

That leaves unfinished number 3—the consideration and recommendation of action on the several resolutions referred to our Committee; 4—the allocation of all the resolutions

adopted by this convention to the several standing committees when such committees shall have been approved by the convention; and, 5, the undertaking and reporting to this convention the job analysis of the positions of president and secretary-treasurer, and incidentally suggesting working conditions and qualifications which in the opinion of the Committee would be suitable for the effective performance of the work assigned to these officers.

John P. Coughlin, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity, in his address to the teachers on the opening day of the convention, spoke especially on the need of teachers' trade union organizations. He said "You have a most difficult problem, however, to meet. The opposition that the labor movement meets is intensified against you for the reason that you handle and mould the minds of the young. For that reason, the labor movement ought to be extremely interested in seeing that you get every teacher in the public schools of our country within the folds of your organization.

"The teachers need education, and they need education in the trade-union movement, not only from the economic standpoint but from the standpoint of moulding the children of the future to meet society and preserve our democratic government."

Frank R. Crosswaith of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters explained the marvelous growth of his organization. The keynote of his talk was that the Pullman Company had instituted a program which had submerged the soul of the American Negro into a life of tips-taking and that the Brotherhood would emancipate him from that state.

The social end of the Convention was certainly properly taken care of. If we should take a show of hands of the delegates on this there would be twice as many hands as delegates.

On Tuesday, June 29, Local 5 entertained all Convention delegates with a bus ride to Coney Island via Manhattan Bridge and Prospect Park, and a dinner at Feltman's. A perfect dinner at a beautiful place and two hours for sight-seeing. It was wonderful!

Democracy in Education

THOS. J. WILSON

Chicago Men No. 2

The battle cry of the American Federation of Teachers is "Democracy in Education; Education for Democracy." It was suggested by the fine idealism of the men and women of local No. 5 of New York City. This slogan is not an idle dream of the crusaders of 1916. It is not the illusion of radicals proposing to overthrow a properly constituted system of school administration. It is not an impossible idealism to be attained only in the millennium. Neither is it a panacea for all the handicaps of the teaching profession. It represents a sane, conservative determination on the part of a group of teachers to resist the growing bureaucratic, autocratic, and inefficient administration of the public schools. It represents a program of action, simple and effective.

Democracy in education is the prototype of democracy in industry; autocracy in education is just as pernicious as autocracy in industry. United action by classroom workers and by industrial workers is necessary to secure the former and to defeat the latter. Democracy in education means that teachers have full liberty to organize as they see fit. If they choose to organize outside the schools and affiliate with other groups of workers that is their privilege. Their right to form a union is exactly the same as that of any other group. If they desire to exclude members of the administrative force they have the right to do so. It is difficult to understand the operation of the executive mind which objects to this exclusion but sees no parallel in excluding classroom teachers from its organization. One objection raised in Chicago to teachers' councils was that principals were excluded from teachers' deliberations, yet the executives of the city have unions so tight that a classroom teacher cannot drive a wedge into one of them.

In cities where locals of the American Federation of Teachers have been maintained for several years there is little or no prejudice against them. In some places they have become so respectable that their usefulness to

classroom teachers is considerably impaired. In other places administrative forces have combined with autocracy in industry to force union teachers out of the system or to disband their organizations.

Teachers should hold this right to organize with a determination that is unshakable. It is a right to be maintained against all opposing forces. There is not a superintendent who can stand out against a united group of teachers who show courage, intelligence, and common sense in maintaining their right to organize.

Democracy in education means that teachers have full liberty to select in their own way, representatives to speak for them in any capacity. It means also that various administrative officers shall receive such representatives without prejudice. This is but another application of the constitutional provision that a man may have an attorney to represent him in court. This right is so well grounded in American practice that it is difficult to understand how any school official can be so obtuse as to deny its justice. The Chicago Daily Journal on March 5, 1925, supported this right in the following editorial:

"Superintendent of Schools McAndrew and his Board of Assistants challenge the right of the Chicago Teachers' Federation to be represented before them by anyone not actively in the employ of the school board. This is old stuff, Mr. Superintendent. The question was threshed out long ago. It is a well-recognized principle that any organization of employees is entitled to be represented by any spokesman it designates. The courts have upheld that principle. Common sense upholds it. To challenge it is to speak out of the past. It is rightly understood why an employee of the school board would hesitate to speak with all frankness and force against action of the board on matters affecting the Teachers' Federation. A person outside the school system, speaking for the Federation, could with safety go as far as his courage and intelligence could carry him. The Federation does well to insist upon its rights."

Democracy in education means that teachers have a right to a hearing before drastic change is made in their wages, hours, working conditions or rules which affect them in any man-

ner. School administrators too often look upon themselves as army officers who issue commands to their subordinates. A teacher is expected to take orders and ask no questions. If he is not satisfied with conditions laid down by his superiors he is subject to discipline. In the words of Kipling:

"An' them that do not like it they can lump it,
An' them that cannot stand it they can jump it."

And too often the teacher tamely submits. Teachers have a right to a hearing when a change is proposed in their salary schedule or when an addition to their teaching load is contemplated.

The defense of a superintendent for his arbitrary use of authority is that the law holds him responsible for maintaining an efficient system of schools. But no school administrator can maintain an efficient system of schools unless he has the happy co-operation of teachers. And a happy co-operation is never secured by intimidation. The administration of a school system does not begin in the board of education, nor in the superintendent's office, nor does it originate in the brain of the principal. It begins in the class room. For here is the real school. It is in the mental interplay that takes place between the mind of the teacher and the mind of the pupil. To the extent that an administrator hinders this process he is a failure. If he aids this process his work is a success.

The teacher knows more about the conditions in the class room than any administrator can ever know. It is a matter of common sense as well as simple justice that the teacher have the right and opportunity to be heard when any action is proposed which will affect the educative process.

Democracy in education does not mean that teachers have the sole right to determine what the terms and conditions of employment shall be. It throws the whole matter upon an arbitration basis. But arbitration assumes that both sides are willing to discuss their differences and settle them in a conciliatory manner. If there is no agreement between the teachers and the administrative forces the matter is left open so that either side may accept or reject the proposals with the consequent result

of a discharge or a walk out. There is nothing in the constitution of the American Federation of Teachers which forbids a strike. Its policy has been, however, to use persuasion rather than the more direct action of the industrial worker. For the most part this attitude has been met with understanding and appreciation by the school administrators. In a rough way the condition is this: If teachers do not use the strike as a weapon against the board of education, then the board of education will not use the threat of a discharge to intimidate the teachers into submission.

Democracy in education means the right to bargain collectively. The justice of collective bargaining rests upon the following purposes:

1. There is no law to say how much an employer shall pay and how much the worker shall receive. The matter of wages, hours, and working conditions is determined by a bargain between the teachers and the school authorities.

2. There can be no fair and square bargain between unequal bargaining units. The law does not sanction a bargain between a child and an adult. Such a bargain might be unfair, for the strong individual could take advantage of the weak. Similarly there can be no fair and square bargain between a powerful corporation on the one hand and the individual worker, either industrial or educational, on the other. When workers organize they gain strength, are more able to meet the employer on terms of equality, thus a fair bargain can be made. Teachers have a right to bargain collectively, a right that has been assured their brothers in the industrial field by state legislation, by federal legislation and by decisions of the supreme court. The disposition of the law is to lay down the rules of the game and leave it to the employer and the employee to fight it out. The officers of the law are referees to see that each side plays according to the rules. It frequently happens, however, that an injunction judge forgets his mission as a referee and gets into the game on the side of the employer. Opposed to democracy in education is autocracy in education, which means:

(Continued on Page 21)

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406

"This movement they call organized labor is the universal, vital problem of the world."

—Thomas Carlyle.

TEACHER TENURE

The recent agitation in Chicago created by a so-called retrenchment policy calling for the elimination of some fifty teachers' positions in the high schools makes the discussion of teacher tenure very pertinent. These teachers are not yet removed from the payroll. The law states: "Appointments and promotions of teachers, principals and other educational employees shall be made for merit only, and after satisfactory service for a probationary period of three years, (during which period the board may dismiss or discharge any such probationary employee upon the recommendation, accompanied by the written reasons therefor of the superintendent of schools) appointments of teachers and principals shall become permanent, subject to the rules of the board concerning conduct and efficiency, and subject to removal for cause in the manner provided by section 161 of this Act: "Section 161. No teacher or principal who has been or shall be appointed by said board of education shall (after serving the probationary period of three years specified in section 138 of this Act) be removed except for *cause*, and then only by a vote of not less than a majority of all members of the board, upon written charges presented by the superintendent of schools to be heard by the board, or a duly authorized committee

of the same, after thirty days' notice, with copy of the charges, is served upon the person against whom they are preferred, who shall have the privilege of being present, together with counsel, offering evidence and making defense thereto. At the request of any party such hearing shall be public. The action and decision of the board in the matter shall be final."

How the courts will interpret this law in case the teachers are removed remains to be seen.

Since its organization in 1916, the American Federation of Teachers has stressed the problem of tenure as one that must be given such consideration as will bring about its general establishment if teaching is to become a profession. Since that date the subject of tenure has received increased attention, but progress has been far from satisfactory. The teachers throughout the country have given less attention than might naturally be expected.

It is significant that no other educational measure meets with as intense opposition as does tenure.

Tenure is one of the most difficult problems confronting teachers and administrators. At first glance it appears to be economic in its nature in that it is aimed to prevent the very large turnover among teachers. The result of this turnover is not only to keep the schools in an unsettled and disorganized condition (it is not uncommon for the smaller schools to have a complete new corps of teachers) but the parents and students are dealing with teachers who are unfamiliar with local conditions, and new policies are frequently substituted for the old, creating lack of stability and permanency. The teachers in turn, because of the short stay in the community, have only a passing or superficial interest which doubtless goes far to account for the lack of civic interest and responsibility on the part of teachers. They have little or no opportunity to function as citizens since they are transients. Thus several educational problems arise.

But there is a wider phase of the tenure question than the economic or the certainty of keeping a job. In the opinion of the American Federation of Teachers it is imperative that

teachers be free if the schools are to meet the responsibility which the modern conditions of American life impose upon the schools.

The teachers realize as does everyone else, that the teacher is not free. Private opinions and feelings must be buried deep,—so deep in fact that their very life is smothered out. What the teachers must say and apparently think is more or less clearly outlined for them in almost every community, so that any good work they may do through other channels is practically nullified. The opinions of a teacher who is not supposed to have any opinions, and the child knows this, have as a rule little weight. The teachers themselves take on a lack of personality which is a part of their protective coloring. So long as the teachers develop this protective coloring they will play a small part in the Nation's destiny.

Tenure therefore, in the opinion of the American Federation of Teachers is not merely an economic necessity to give a feeling of security of livelihood to the teacher, but a spiritual necessity if the schools are to be a dependable factor in the social welfare of the nation. Only teachers who are free and who realize they are free, can do the job that America now demands of its schools.

There is a perfunctory kind of tenure which is more or less in existence which avoids the frequent turnover among teachers under ordinary circumstances. But tenure is not tenure in the real sense of the term if it merely means the perennial re-election of teachers. No one knows the number of teachers who are dismissed or who fail of re-election each year because they have gained the ill-favor of some important person or group. Even if this number is so small as one per cent, it nullifies the spirit of tenure. The feeling of a fair degree of security in the job may still be left but the other ninety-nine per cent realize thoroughly that they must watch their step.

Each year brings about some very dramatic cases of dismissal of teachers on some ill-defined charge of the good of the service or public welfare. Many of these cases are never known outside of the communities in which they occur, but the evil is done.

The American Federation of Teachers has little interest in the mere question of the hold-

ing of jobs by teachers whether fitted or not, knowing that the ill-trained and ineffective are often shielded, but it is vitally interested in the securing of freedom to teachers which will give them the right to live, to think and to express themselves through their personalities and thus to reach the lives of those with whom they come in contact.

The California Tenure Law of 1921 was the best which any state had adopted thus far. There was a drive in 1923 to destroy it. This leads to the very significant fact that nothing else in our American system of schools arouses the hostility of the invisible government to the extent that tenure does. It becomes evident that tenure is the last line of defense for those who hold to the view that education must not function as a thing in itself. Why are these forces so much in fear of tenure? This is a question every teacher in the United States should consider seriously.

How will tenure come—as a gift or as the result of a struggle? Will it be conferred on teachers or must they achieve it? Mr. Henry Ohl, Jr., president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor believes "The tenure of any teacher of course will always be of uncertain duration until teachers join the American Federation of Teachers in sufficient numbers to encourage them to bring forth their ideas openly and make their voices heard beyond the confines of the school room."

BE AN ORGANIZER

The unorganized teachers need to have the gospel of organization carried to them. How can this be done?

The most important single influence, probably, that can be brought to bear upon unorganized teachers is the influence which EVERY union teacher can have upon his or her friends and acquaintances.

Are you willing to be of maximum service to your union? If you are, see that you become effective as an organizer among your friends. See that you grow acquainted with the union's past history; see that you understand its fundamental principles; acquaint yourself with the modern problems that confront teachers; study to become as expressive as possible both in writing and in speaking.

Your local, state and national officers can do much but union success depends very largely upon the RANK AND FILE. Be an EFFECTIVE ORGANIZER for your union.

THE PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR 1926

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

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

TEACHER LOAD

What is the relation of teacher load and mental fatigue to teaching efficiency? We have numerous studies purposing to prove that the students in large classes progress as well as in smaller classes, even better, but we have no statement of a research study as to whether the teachers of large classes give as many years of inspired service as they might be expected to give if their energies were not taxed to the maximum. Now that we have the results of these studies of how much can be done under pressure, let us have some studies of how long it can be done.

We have also numerous statements of the number and causes of pupil failures. We do not see administrators or many teachers even calling any attention to the relation of teacher load to pupil failure. The administrators doubtless never will, but will the classroom teachers not become intelligent enough and fearless enough to attack this problem and solve it?

Throughout the industrial world there have been numerous investigations of the relation between physical fatigue and production. That a diminution of hours of labor results in increased output has been proved conclusively. It has been shown beyond doubt that there is a point in physical labor where the productive power of the worker ceases. Isn't it time we became a little concerned about the effect of undue fatigue upon the teacher? Of course the teachers know without scientific investigation that, under the present system of many and large classes, before the end of the day, their energy and enthusiasm is practically exhausted. With more work to do than they can possibly do well the pupil as well as the teacher pays the penalty. How can we make the public see that our interest in this situation is not purely selfish? How can we make Boards of Education, superintendents and taxpayers see that whatever serves the interest of the teacher and keeps him well and free and happy reacts upon the child, increases production and lessens production costs?

The American Federation of Teachers Research Department reported as follows on Teacher Load at the Tenth Convention in New York, June 29th-July 2nd:

"A large number of questions have been received from a number of locals on teacher load. At the request of the American Federation of Teachers, the Bureau of Education conducted a study on the administrative side of teacher load, sending a questionnaire thereon to some ten thousand cities in the United States. Latest reports from the Bureau of

Education state that the report is not yet ready, but that they hope in a very short time to have the material thereon compiled, printed, and ready for distribution. As soon as the Bureau has completed its study, we shall send out our questionnaire on teacher load, which study will concern itself with extra-curricula activities and the teachers' incidental clerical work. We hope to have a study made, also, of the physical condition of the schools—lighting, heating, ventilation, rest-room facilities, etc. From these studies we hope to gather valuable data.

"First, if the teacher is required to conduct too many classes or to conduct recitations involving a too large number of pupils, attention should be called thereto, with the view of reducing the actual number of pupil hours to the end that more individual attention from each teacher may be received by each pupil. If the study on extra-curricula activities shows a tendency to overload either the school or the teacher with extra-curricula activities, we should make a concerted effort to have curricularized the worth while extra-curricula activities and to have the others eliminated. If the study shows a tendency to demand a large amount of the teacher's time, the activity (if educationally valuable enough to warrant so much time and attention), should be curricularized; if not, attention should be called thereto and we should seek to have the amount of such extra-curricula work which is exacted of the teacher minimized to the end that his time may be used in teaching his pupils.

"If the study shows that a large amount of the teacher's time is demanded for incidental and routine clerical work, this fact should be called to the attention of school authorities to the end that such wasteful expenditure of public money be discontinued, and that the teacher be given time to do the work for which he was appointed.

"After the information on teacher load from the point of view of size of classes, et cetera, and the information on teacher load from the point of view of extra-curricula activities and incidental clerical work, and the study on the physical condition of the schools has been completed, it is the plan of this office to submit these data to a consulting engineer with the view of formulating a plan for a study on fatigue in relation to school environment. Mrs. Gilbreth has, in correspondence, expressed an interest in the project and has more kindly offered to co-operate in this undertaking. We feel that such a study would be of tremendous social and economic value. It would perhaps help in pointing out the tremendous waste due to fatigue and might enable us to develop a real, rather than a pseudo-economy, by reducing the amount of fatigue which perhaps is produced by the school environment. Inasmuch as there are absolutely no data available on this subject, this office feels that a study of such a type would be decidedly worth while and therefore is undertaking it."

PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES FOR THE CLASS ROOM TEACHERS

Academic Freedom for Teachers and Pupils
Chicago Women Local No. 3

(Continued from September Issue)

With Those in Authority

The basis of the right relations between superintendents, principals, and teachers is the basis of good will.

This good will rises naturally in a situation in which there is mutual respect, equal subordination to law and regulation, and evident willingness on the part of the superiors in office to allow their subordinates opportunities for free professional discussion of general and of local educational problems.

A. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

In their relations with boards of education, teachers should:

1. Have a clear understanding of the law of contracts since they should scrupulously observe all clauses of contracts signed.

2. Refuse to accept contracts which restrict academic freedom or which are in any way unjust or humiliating.

3. Convince boards of education of the value of legally established, self-governing school councils of teachers in which the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools may be utilized to point the way for improvement. Recommendations of such councils should be transmitted to superintendents and boards of education, and made a matter of official public record.

4. Decline to enlist the support of any board member for personal gain but feel free to confer with members on matters of general school interest.

5. Decline to apply for a position unless a vacancy actually exists or is about to occur. Underbidding an existing salary schedule is to be condemned.

B. WITH THE SUPERINTENDENT:

In their relations with the superintendent of schools, teachers should:

1. Recognize in him the man chosen by the representatives of the community to direct the social process of education and endeavor to work with him intelligently and loyally.

2. Since the teachers are in direct contact

with the pupils, they should consider carefully proposed changes in course of study or method as to their probable effect on the pupils in their charge and express honestly the results of their consideration.

3. They should stand ready to work out co-operatively with the superintendent scientific analyses of their duties and evaluate more carefully the nature of the service they are expected to render.

4. They should submit to the superintendent problems for experimentation and take up with him matters which concern the school as a whole.

5. They should support as a means of rating a probationary teacher, an objective system based, year by year, on the best scientific standards available at that time.

6. As teacher efficiency increases, they should support the substitution of self-measurement for grading by others, and work for the control of reason rather than of autocracy. The relation between superintendent, principal and teachers would then be that of an earnest group working experimentally to evolve better methods of fitting young people for life in the community, the superintendent and principals being in their positions of leadership because of superior professional ability.

C. WITH THE PRINCIPAL:

In the close relationship between principal and teacher in a single school, the teacher should:

1. Recognize the principal as the unifying force in the school, and work with him in all good causes with enthusiasm and sincerity.

2. Appreciate any efforts made by the professional principal to organize the school so as to furnish opportunities for the full expression and development of the personalities under his leadership.

3. Show by intelligent constructive consideration of matters proposed by the principal that their services can be increasingly used in shaping educational policies and administrative plans.

4. Try to see the work of the individual teacher in its relation to the whole round of the activities of the school, so as to develop a sense of proportion of values.

TEACHERS PROPOSE A CODE OF ETHICS

Suggestions for a National Standard Have Been Drafted by Twenty-Seven States—New York Outlines "Sins"—"Professional Stagnation" Called Chief Fault—Other States Condemn Spite and Jealousy

The teachers of America are attempting to formulate a national code of ethics which will include a comprehensive set of standards for their professional and personal conduct. A report on the subject aroused widespread interest at last week's convention of the National Education Association in Philadelphia, and will probably lead in the near future to the first nation-wide teachers' code ever written in the United States.

Twenty-seven States have already prepared such codes, ranging from seventy-three words in the case of Maine to more than two thousand in Alabama; varying from general discussions of the duties and obligations of the teachers, as in the New York State code, to explicit statements of the habits, customs, ideals, obligations and shortcomings of the members of the teaching profession.

While perhaps not as effective as a more definite set of rules, the New York State code is significant in that it sets forth three cardinal faults of which a teacher may be guilty.

The "greatest sin," according to the New York code, is that of "professional stagnation." "It consists in the relaxation of professional interest and ambition," the code declares, "and the sinking into the intellectual crystallization and spiritual death which makes all service mechanical. This is the primal temptation and the unpardonable sin.

Decries "Professional Dishonor"

"The second is the sin of professional dishonor. It consists in the selfish betrayal of the ideal of service for the sake of personal ambition. It sinks the whole professional activity to the sordid level of a struggle for personal ends. The professional ideal requires that absolutely no consideration but efficient service should determine the position and mutual relation of the members.

"The third sin is the sin of professional disloyalty," the New York code declares, a sin "which permits envy, jealousy, rivalry, suspicion and mutual distrust of one another to disintegrate the very structure of the profession."

Practically all the codes have something to say regarding the relations that should exist between teachers, supervisors, administrators and Boards of Education. Co-operation is generally recommended, while criticism of one's predecessors or associates, is almost universally condemned.

Against Disrespect to Superiors

Seven States stipulate that teachers should not "go over the heads" of their immediate superiors without first going to such immediate superiors.

Eleven States caution teachers and boards of education not to express publicly any criticism of one another. The code of Alabama is particularly explicit on this point. Connecticut, however, says that "constructive criticism should be eagerly sought and gratefully accepted, and he who thus seeks and accepts it is a truly great teacher."

Four States condemn any harboring of spite and jealousy on the part of teachers toward one another. Six States insist that no ill-feeling between teachers should be indicated in the presence of pupils.

Sixteen States tell teachers to conduct themselves so that no "reproach" will be brought upon the profession. They affirm that teachers should be examples to their pupils, in matters of conduct and in their dress.

—New York Times.

A TEACHER'S BILL OF RIGHTS

Definite Objectives in the Teaching Profession

JEREMIAH E. BURKE

(Superintendent of Schools, Boston, Massachusetts)

All America acknowledges its obligation to the classroom teacher. Hundreds of thousands of most worthy citizens reflect to the light of her personality. Surely, she is deserving of all eulogy and praise; but fortunately she does not need this form of tribute, however gratifying it may be.

But what the classroom teacher deserves and expectantly asks, is an assurance of peace, comfort, and security—such conditions as may enable her the more effectively to discharge her professional duties, so vital to the welfare and stability of the republic.

In this "bill of rights" should be incorporated the following provisions:

1. An adequate salary that will permit the classroom teacher to enjoy the ordinary necessities of life, and at least some of the luxuries possessed by craftsmen of other pursuits.
2. Security of tenure that fortifies the teacher against exploitation or petty annoyances. No regularly appointed teacher should ever be dismissed from service because of racial, partisan, or religious prejudice. To thwart all attempts to so dismiss a teacher, there should always be possible an appeal for justice to the Courts.
3. A retirement pension, actuarially sound, that will avert financial worry or distress; and thereby strengthen the teacher for the performance of her classroom responsibilities.
4. Academic freedom that does not mean the propagation of hypothetical or revolutionary theories, but rather the exercise of initiative and independence in the preparation of individuals for freedom in a democracy.
5. Sabbatical leaves of absence for professional study or travel at the completion of seven years of

service, and for undisturbed rest after a period of twenty years.

6. A merit system not only for making original appointments to the service, but likewise for promotions therein; thereby insuring to all teachers "equal protection of the laws."

7. Substantial courses of study for professional and cultural development, offered free of tuition charges by all Teachers' Colleges and Normal Schools maintained at public expense.

8. Generous participation that gives the teacher a voice in the solution of classroom problems and makes her a conscious and integral part of the entire school system.

9. An avenue of approach whereby classroom teachers, either collectively or individually, may express their opinions and convictions upon the forward-looking policies of school administration.

10. Straightforward, sympathetic and courageous support from principals, superintendents and school committees, as occasion may require.

—Yearbook of the Department of Classroom Teachers.

AS OTHERS SEE US

The Autocratic American School System

(Translated from the "Allgemeine Deutsche Lehrer Zeitung.")

The autocratic organization of the American school system which puts all the power in the hands of city or county school boards is being severely scrutinized. There are still those who attempt to excuse it, as for example, W. C. Bagley, a prominent professor of pedagogy in Columbia University, who in his book "Classroom Management" says, "Unquestionably, obedience is the first commandment of successful teaching. The classroom teacher owes obedience to his superiors, and if he does not wish to render such obedience, then his only alternative is to resign. In school organization as in all other organization, as for example in the Army, the Navy and big business enterprises such is the case. A united power productive of results can only be obtained in this way.

... Such obedience must be carried over into the classroom, and such a sense of appreciation of authority must be instilled in the pupils themselves. Youth feels sufficient unto itself, and does not welcome authority. I do not overstate my case when I insist that our present theories of bringing up children contribute much, perhaps unbeknown, to instilling in them resentment to authority. ... An appreciation of the need of obedience is essential throughout the system. The Board of Education demands results from the Superintendent who, in turn, makes similar demands of his teachers, and the teachers are expected to force these demanded results from the pupils. Centralized authority, brilliantly expressing itself through intermediate authorities is to them the only known method to assure economy also."

"Democratic" America permits the administration of the schools of a community through a Board of Education which selects a superintendent to carry out its wishes. This superintendent is the main reason for school politics, the type and form of which have previously been determined by those in authority. At times if he is a "good autocrat" he can advance his schools. However, as he himself is not necessarily a superman and as he lowers his officials to servants and his teachers to dwarfs, the entire school organization suffers. School and Society (October 25, 1924), a quite progressive pedagogical organ, says: "Because of this condition the pressure for democratic organization is irresistible."

As the N. E. A., in which the important offices are held by the school authorities, conducts its business most conservatively, the American Federation of Teachers was organized, and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Teachers declares, "If the schools are to achieve their fullest attainment and be most responsive to the needs of the community, they must themselves be democratically administered. 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."

In many cities there are teachers' councils which advise and consult with the school officials. W. P. Burris, professor of pedagogy in the University of Cincinnati, in *School and Society*, does not speak very highly of the idea. He believes them to be quite inadequate. Power and responsibility would then have to be divided between the school authorities and the employees. A teachers' council chosen by the teachers would then replace a representative parliament. An elected assembly composed of officials and teachers of all grades and subjects must in the end be provided. The function of such a body would be to present their views and projects to the Board of Education. If their proposal is not accepted, then the Board of Education, which ought to represent the people, should refer the subject back again to the executive staff of the schools with an explanation and statement governing the case. In this type of school organization the teachers and the minor officials would no longer regard themselves as mere puppets of the organization which appoints and pays them, but rather as servants of the community, and so the ensuing decisions would tend to become all inclusive and, in light of the public goods, they would be the result of observations on a broader basis. In this way the worth and significance of the teaching profession would rise. Professor Burris does not doubt but that the American teachers have sufficient academic training and experience to enable them to assume this new responsibility to the full satisfaction of citizens and parents."

The Educational Gap—SPIRITUAL VALUES IN ADULT EDUCATION. By Basil A. Yeaxlee, New York: Oxford University Press. 1926. \$8.75.

Reviewed by Mary Agnes Hamilton

If I were asked to put in a sentence, what I feel to be the biggest advantage enjoyed by the United States over my own country, I should cite the fact that free public education, which with us stops when the child, at fourteen, leaves the primary school, there extends to secondary schooling. Free primary education is, with us, not more than half a century old; for free secondary education we are still fighting, and, at the moment, with but poor hope. That being so, the movement described by Dr. Yeaxlee, in his two ample volumes, is, inevitably, more important in Great Britain than in the United States. For though he talks of adult education as applicable to all adults, and urges, with incontrovertible force, that there is none whose education is finished, in a sense, and that a tragic one, adult education, as commonly understood and practiced in England, is an admission of social failure.

It is thought of and organized, whether inside the churches or outside of them, as education for the working classes—a form of instruction designed to fill up, belatedly, the gap left in their equipment for life by the fact that 90 per cent of them leave school at the age of fourteen, and get no subsequent organized teaching. Free education terminates: the pressure of economic necessity drives boy or girl into the labor market. That is normal. That, further, is why a proportion of the teaching supplied, by voluntary agencies, to these same half-baked products, is deeply colored by a propagandist bias which Dr. Yeaxlee very justly condemns as aside from any true purpose of education. There is a harsh realism in this, which his enthusiasm is too honest to refute. The propagandism of some groups corresponds to the philanthropy of others; both arise out of the same root fact—the fact that there is this huge educational gap, covering the great majority of the workers.

Essentially, and in its origins, the adult educational movement is, and always has been, an effort to fill this gap. It was thus that Lovett, the Chartist, saw it; his sense of it compelled him to devote his later years exclusively to the cause of education. The gap was still yawning, in 1903, when the Workers Educational Association was formed. It remains, today; the multifarious, and mainly unco-ordinated activities Dr. Yeaxlee describes only register its reach and extent. He gives a most excellent survey, of a completeness that, in itself, lends value to his volumes, of all that is being done and attempted in the way of adult education; anyone who wants to know the data will find them all assembled and organized here, clearly and definitely. But the fulness of his description only forces home more sharply the sense of in-

adequacy, and of deprivation. As Sir George Newman puts it:

In the first place, the education provided has probably been too miscellaneous and casual, insufficiently thorough and organized. Some schools have been overdone with emotional religiousness (though never with religion) and underdone on their intellectual side. With others, the opposite has been the case. . . . The education afforded by an Adult School tends to be discontinuous. . . . The whole movement is lamentably short of teachers and tutors, of books and equipment. We have hoped great things of it, but we have starved it.

Dr. Yeaxlee's purpose is not merely descriptive. He is concerned with the spirit as well as the substance of education, and on that spirit he can be, and often is, eloquent. It is, however, a pity that possessing, as he does, ideas and ideals that are transparently clear, although difficult of attainment, he should rely so little on his own power to state them. The scrap book habit is a temptation to nearly everyone who has a case which he feels strongly; the illusion that a "cloud of witnesses" will enforce conviction is hard to resist. Dr. Yeaxlee has compiled a useful book, but it might have been half as long and twice as readable had he cast overboard most of the supporting quotations he has laboriously assembled, in order to drive home the view that education is an affair of the spirit. He knows what he thinks. He is a Christian, who sees no necessary antithesis between Christianity and science, but believes that "Courage and Catholicity" can, and should, go hand in hand. Most of his authorities however, are platitudinous.—*The Saturday Review of Literature*, Sept. 11.

PICTURESQUE AMERICA.—A truly fascinating book, this "Picturesque America," on which 200 people have collaborated—among them Zane Grey, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Henry Van Dyke, Charles F. Lummis, Mary Carolyn Davies and Arthur Stringer. Five hundred pages and 550 soft half-tones, here and there a color plate. And maps that really visualize the country—simple maps, profile maps, aeroplane maps. Attached is just enough reading matter to whet the appetite.

The title, taken from William Cullen Bryant's deluxe work issued in monthly numbers in 1872, was chosen with the thought that it would "dignify" this volume. "America" here includes not only the United States, but the Canadian Rockies, Mexico, and the Caribbean. No reader of this volume will need the slogan "See America First," if he loves Nature.

There is a school edition that Resorts and Playgrounds of America is offering at little more than half the original price. We commend it as a valuable reference book.

CHARACTER EDUCATION

Objectives in character education which will stimulate and develop moral judgment and the ability to fulfil one's moral obligations successfully are presented in Bulletin No. 7 (1926) of the United States Department of Education. Topics discussed include the following: processes of character education, classroom procedure, curriculum materials, character scales, measures of delinquency, and character educative plans.

More or less conflict exists in the elements which constitute the child's volitional flow. From these elements, through selection and confirmation, must emerge character. Conscious and deliberate educative procedure gives a positive means of guiding the pupil in his selective development so that the "I" merges into new and wider forms of the "We."

Fitting the individual for various tasks and occupations aids him in development for service and in appreciation of service rendered to him. Appreciation of honesty, cleanliness, reliability, and promptness on the part of a merchant constitutes one series of lessons in character development.

Studies of traits and character qualities are made in observing the fundamental elements of personality. Self-rating and rating by associates is made helpful through various devices. Attention is called to valuable experimental studies in the bodily changes including vaso-motor phenomena, glandular secretion and blood constitution in their relation to the development of personality and moral responsibility.

Teacher-training must emphasize these same objectives, and the pupil as a person must be the "center of reference" in every educational problem. Schools must be pupil-centered instead of being subject-centered.

Delinquency may be decreased through the projection of control experiments and by analysis of available case studies in definite observation of delinquencies.

Indirect moral instruction through all school studies is possible. Direct moral instruction through groups, student participation in the management of the school community, and many extra-curricular activities foster these essential objectives and the pupil's best moral and social development through practical service.

—Josephine E. Haff.

THREE QUOTATIONS

1. " . . . Education makes it possible for a person to determine the relative qualities of products." —Chancellor Lindley, Kansas University.

2. "College teachers are among the worst paid of skilled laborers."—Report of the Alumni Committee, Bowdoin College.

3. "A combined indoor stadium, gymnasium and

natatorium—said to be the largest and most expensive building of its type in the country—is now under construction at the University of Pennsylvania. The Cost, \$1,250,000. . . .—School and Society.

—The New Student.

Our Executive Council

TABLOID BIOGRAPHIES

CARLOTTA T. PITTMAN

Educated at Highbee, Memphis, Tenn. Summer work at University of Chicago and Columbia.

Primary teacher in Memphis City Schools.

Charter member and first president of the Memphis Teachers' Association, Local 52.

Four times a delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

Three times a delegate to the Trades and Labor Council, central labor organization of Memphis.

Twice president and once first vice-president of Local 52.

Vice-president of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers.

Faithful, loyal, judicial, enthusiastic.

(To be continued)

(Continued from Page 13)

1. That the administrative officials recognize no rights of the teacher to be consulted as to their terms of employment or as to any change in those terms.

2. That the administrative officials consider only their own wishes in making changes in rules, wages, hours, or working conditions.

3. That the administrative officials refuse to recognize teachers' organizations or any of their accredited representatives.

4. It means individual bargaining.

In conclusion, there is forming in the public mind a code of mutual obligation between teachers and administrative officers. Vital relations between teachers and school officials ought not to be changed before each side has been given an opportunity to discuss with the other the desirability of such a change. The day of the educational and industrial autocrat is passing and should pass. School administrators may well rid themselves of their "offishness" in receiving representatives of the teachers, because mere discussion between teachers and administrators does not bind either side.

Our Locals

TEACHERS' UNION TO GO OUT FOR A MEMBERSHIP GAIN

**E. E. Schwarztrauber, Vice-President of A. F. of T.,
Chosen Organizer**

A teachers' union of a numerical strength, combined with the influence of other labor, that will secure for the teachers the things which they cannot secure individually and which no other teacher organization can secure for them is the aim of an organizing campaign that is to be prosecuted during the present school year.

For several years there has existed a teachers' union in Portland. In the past year there has been noticed an increased interest, and at the last meeting of the union an organization committee was named which will endeavor to place before the unorganized teachers the advantages which the union has to offer. E. E. Schwarztrauber, now president of the union, is chairman of the committee and will bear the title of organizer after next meeting, when he retires from the presidency.

There has been much talk in the union, says Mr. Schwarztrauber, of doing things for humanity, much altruistic planning and effort, but there has been little consideration of the matters directly and vitally affecting the teachers. This is to be changed. The union will devote itself to the problems of the teachers, but that does not mean that the interests of the schools are to be sacrificed or ignored in any case.

The five cardinal points to be sought by the union are: A voice for the teachers in the conduct of the schools; a genuine tenure that will protect the teacher and based on efficiency of the teacher; fair working conditions; an adequate salary schedule, and full rights as citizens.

Miss Beulah Berolzheimer, teacher of English at Crane Junior College, has been chosen as president of Chicago Women No. 3 to succeed Mrs. Hanson, who resigned when she became secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers. Miss Berolzheimer has been devotedly active in the Chicago Local since its organization. The Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers will be able to continue its career of effective accomplishment under the able leadership of its new president.

Chicago Men No. 2 and Chicago Women No. 3 will have a joint luncheon at the Hotel Morrison on Saturday, October 23rd. Dr. Joseph K. Hart, of The Survey, will be the principal guest and speaker. He will speak on "The Community and the School."

Chicago Men No. 2 and Chicago Women No. 3 have published jointly a Program of Action with opinions of the Federation and its work by distin-

guished educators and citizens. They have found it effective in interesting and enlightening non-member teachers. Would you like a copy?

The Chicago Locals are co-operating with the City Council in a campaign for the equalization of taxes. They will continue their suits against tax delinquents, which were so productive both directly and reflectively last year.

Dr. Henry R. Linville, New York Teachers' Union No. 5, was the delegate of the American Federation of Teachers at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, October 4th-October 16th, Detroit, Mich. A. J. Muste, Brookwood College, was also in attendance. Secretary Hanson spent one week at the convention. Dr. Linville is a member of the permanent Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. and was a member of the Convention Committee on Education. The report will be published in a future issue.

A meeting of presidents of state federations of labor and presidents of central labor bodies from regions as far apart as California and Massachusetts, Montana and Florida, was held on Monday evening, October 11, for the purpose of discussing the organization of teachers. There was much lively discussion and many suggestive plans. A most hopeful interest in teacher organization was stimulated. Harry Fox, president of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor, was chairman of the meeting. Mr. Fox has worked out a plan of co-operation looking to the organization of the Wyoming teachers which has already been inaugurated.

Portland Labor College opened for class work on Monday, October 4. Courses are given in America Today, National Social Problems, Crucial Problems in American Education, Practical Public Speaking, English, The World We Live In, History of Trade Unions, and the Place of Women in the Labor Movement. The most successful year in the history of the college is anticipated.

St. Paul Men Teachers' Federation, Local No. 43, has organized a Joint Protective Committee to protect the teachers' rights in any proposed new charter. The working rules for teachers, sick leave, pension fund, method of salary increases, local tenure, and other items of lesser importance were secured after years of struggle by teachers, and the purpose of this committee is to safeguard these dearly bought and long-struggled-for rights.

The St. Paul Men are using every endeavor to secure the passage of the teacher tenure bill in

Minnesota, the provisions of which were first proposed in the St. Paul Local. The Federations of the Twin Cities Locals forced the bill into the last session of the Legislature. Through their efforts the teacher tenure bill just as it passed the House at the last session of the Legislature by almost a three-fourths vote will be presented again in January. It applies to cities of the first class only, which are Duluth, St. Paul and Minneapolis. As there is the least opposition to such a bill in the large cities, there is the greater hope of securing passage. It is not designed to protect unworthy teachers, but to safeguard the school children and the worthy, honest and efficient teachers against unwarranted dismissals for political and other irrelevant reasons. Shrewd observers believe that such a law will force the procrastinating superintendent to dismiss the no-good teacher rather than keeping her year after year and merely hoping for results. Certainly the responsibility is placed squarely on the superintendent. After three years in a position a teacher may not be dismissed except for one of the four causes listed in the bill, and then only after due notice and a full hearing at which the teacher may have all witnesses desired and counsel of his or her own choice. The causes of dismissal must be in writing and signed, and a decision must be rendered within twenty-five days after notice of dismissal. The fact that reactionary interests are now trying, but without success, to persuade the committees in charge of the tenure movement to agree to certain amendments indicates that there are teeth in the bill.

There is a well-organized committee at work in each city, and the teachers have, out of their own resources, financed a full-paid worker to organize and carry on the campaign for this bill.

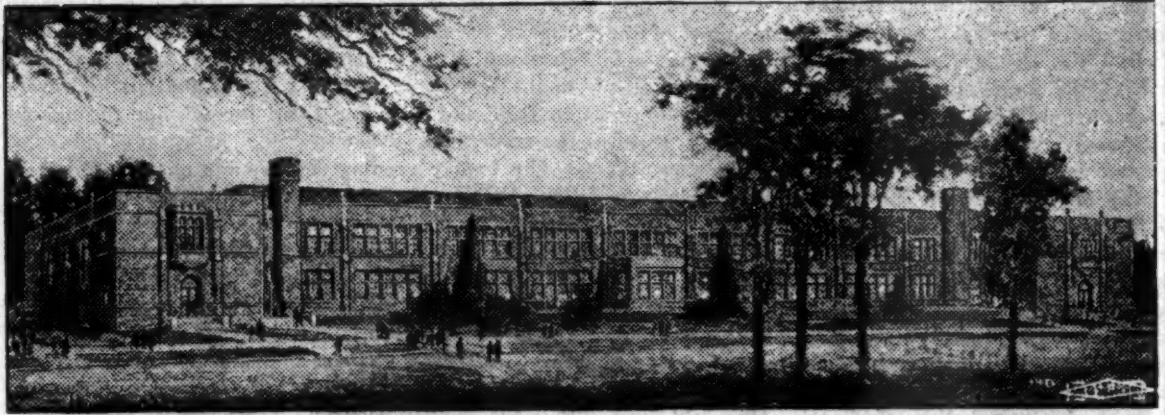
Gathered at the Hudson Guild Farm, which is located picturesquely in the hill and lake country of northern New Jersey, seven miles from a railroad station, the members of the Teachers Union of the City of New York and the Teachers' Union Auxiliary and their friends, entered upon their third annual October Conference with a zest rarely found in the hurried conditions of the city. From Friday evening, October 1st, through Sunday afternoon, October 3rd, the 140 conferencites who had traveled to the conference in special coaches chartered for the occasion via the D. L. and W. Railroad, met morning, afternoon and evening informally out of doors or in a rustic hall with a fire crackling cheerfully. The Farm was filled to capacity and not another chair could have been placed in the dining room.

The program of the conference was divided into five sessions. There were two speakers and a chairman for each session. Every speaker appeared as announced, a fact which conference-going members know is in itself remarkable. One of the speakers, Mr. E. C. Lindeman, of the New York School for

Social Work, had hurried home from a European trip to be on hand, and had talked at length with Bertrand Russell about the best message to bring to the Teachers' Union. Most of the speakers were on hand not only for their "turns" but throughout the conference.

The Friday evening session was on the subject of The Press and Platform in Education for Citizenship. The speakers were: Paul U. Kellogg, Editor of the Survey, and Robert Morss Lovett, of the Editorial Staff of the New Republic and Professor of English at the University of Chicago. Royal J. Davis of the Editorial Staff of the New York Evening Post was chairman. The Saturday morning session was on the subject of Labor's Contribution to Educational Progress. The speakers were: Ruth Gillette Hardy, Chairman of the Girls' Commercial High School, and Dr. Norman Thomas, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy. The chairman was Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, teacher of history in the High School of Commerce and Legislative Representative of the Teachers' Union. The discussion at the Saturday afternoon session on "How Shall Our Schools Educate to Combat the Domination of Prejudice and Dogma in Education?" was led by Dr. Joseph K. Hart, Associate Editor of The Survey, and Mr. E. C. Lindeman, Instructor in Social Psychology and Philosophy, New York School of Social Work. Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott, Headworker of Hudson Guild, was the chairman. The Saturday evening session on the subject of "Parents and the Newer Educational Procedures and Objectives" was led by Dr. Louis A. Marks of the Board of Examiners, Department of Education of the City of New York, and Dr. Harold O. Rugg, Educational Psychologist, Lincoln School, Teachers' College, Columbia University. Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg, Managing Director of the American Association for Medical Progress, presided. After the formal program, the conference listened to the singing of the American, French, Russian and English folk-songs by Agnes Armington Laidler. The Sunday morning session on, "What Can the Training and Normal Schools Do to Produce a Better Teaching Body for Our Public School Systems?" was addressed by Dr. Ambrose L. Suhrie, Professor of Normal-School Education, New York University, and Dr. John L. Tildsley, District Superintendent in the High School Division, Department of Education, City of New York. Dr. Henry R. Linville, President of the Teachers' Union of the City of New York, was chairman. Except for the Saturday evening program and a Saturday-supper-sing which poked good-natured fun at the educational system of New York, the conference devoted itself earnestly to trying to solve these pertinent educational questions. It is agreed that the Union October Conference has become a splendid institution in our work for educational reconstruction.

First School Named After Samuel Gompers



The Samuel Gompers Public School of Chicago, at 123rd and South State Streets, which will be finished in the spring of 1927, is one of the first, if not the first, to be named in honor of the dead labor leader. It will be dedicated with impressive ceremonies. President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has promised to be present. Judged from the architect's drawing, it will be one of the largest and handsomest schools in Chicago.

Credit for the naming of this public school in honor of the great American trade unionist is due to John A. English, organizer for Chicago Typographical Union No. 16 and a member of the Chicago Board of Education. Mr. English proposed the name to the board and later selected the site for the location of the school.

"I believe we are placing this school in just the kind of environment that Mr. Gompers himself would have selected," said Mr. English to International Labor News Service, which has forwarded this article to the "Labor Press." "It is to be down among the poor and the lowly, the kind of people that Mr. Gompers loved and to whom he gave a lifetime of service and devotion."

"This monument to the memory of the great unionist, the great patriot and great citizen will be an inspiration to the youth of the Calumet region," continued Mr. English.

"It was for the children that President Gompers fought his greatest battles. It was not so much for the adult trade unionist of his time that his achievement counted, but for the coming generation, for whom he will have lessened poverty and distress, enabling them to reach higher ground and to enjoy blessings that we of this generation and the ones preceding us have only dreamed of. This is a fitting manner in which to immortalize our

great chieftain's achievements in behalf of humanity."

SCHOOL PREPARATION THEORY IS OUTLINED

University of Chicago Dean Advocates Twelve Years of General Education

The Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, made public September 27, a statement by Dr. Charles H. Judd, dean of the School of Education at the University of Chicago, giving Dr. Judd's theory of the manner in which a child should spend his years of scholastic preparation for life.

Dr. Judd's statement follows in full text:

A six-year elementary school should be organized to take care of all the fundamental training of pupils. Following this should be a second school six years in length covering what is now covered in the ordinary high schools and in the first two years of college. At the end of these twelve years the pupils' general education should be measurably completed and he should be equipped with the mathematics and languages and elementary science necessary to prepare him for specialized study.

At 18 years of age, instead of 20, he ought to be ready for the advanced professional training which must now wait until he is 22. The six-year secondary school which is thus proposed should not only train pupils in general lines; it should also select its pupils for various types of advanced work. Thus it should deliver to the professional schools a group of students especially equipped for advanced study.

What have you to say about this? Let us know.

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The Children Look to You



WE KNOW HOW MILK TASTES NOW!

Are Children People? Children of the Passaic Textile Strikers enjoying milk at Victory Playground and realizing for the first time in their dreary young lives that there are people, outside of their parents, who care what becomes of them. The now defunct Citizens' Committee made strenuous but futile efforts to deprive these kids of the milk their starved bodies crave. To cut off their milk supply was one way of starving their parents back to the mills, and the mill bosses stopped at nothing. But thanks to Labor's generous support of strike relief, there was no cry of hungry children to break the strike. Instead, the children became the back-bone of the strike!

In Passaic, New Jersey, today, thousands of little children are looking to you for help. Their fathers and mothers are the striking textile workers who, since last January, have been struggling bravely for decent American living standards.

This committee has undertaken to help give milk and shoes to some ten thousand of the neediest children. If you subscribe to this fund you will be rendering genuine service to the poor and oppressed.

You cannot be deaf to the cry of these Passaic children.

Give generously to this worthy cause.

Send your check or money order to H. S. Raushenbush, Treasurer, Passaic Children Milk Fund, Room 638, 799 Broadway, New York City.

FOR ALL THE RACE

He's true to God who's true to man;
Wherever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest,
'Neath an all-beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us;
And they are slaves most base
Whose love of right is for themselves
And not for all the race.

—Lowell.

Enclosed is check for dollars
for the Passaic Children Milk Fund.

Name

Address

PLANS ANNOUNCED FOR MEETING OF PACIFIC NATIONS

Pan-Pacific Conference on Education, Rehabilitation, Reclamation, and Recreation

The Department of the Interior has just issued a statement regarding the Pan-Pacific conference on education, rehabilitation, reclamation, and recreation, to be held at Honolulu, Hawaii, April 11 to 16, inclusive, 1927. The conference is being organized and conducted by Dr. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, under the terms of a joint resolution passed at the last session of Congress.

Countries Bordering on Pacific Invited

These comprise Australia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Dutch East Indies, Ecuador, France, French Cochinchina, Great Britain, India, Japan, Macao, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Oceania, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Siam.

Invitations have been issued by the Secretary of the Interior through the appropriate departments of the United States Government to all territories and outlying parts of the United States. These comprise Alaska, Canal Zone, Hawaii, Philippines, Porto Rico, Samoa, Virgin Islands.

All organizations and institutions, public or private, which are engaged or interested in the fields covered by this conference are invited to send delegates. The expenses of these delegates must be borne by the organizations they represent, or by themselves.

Although this conference is planned primarily for Pacific countries and territories, yet all other countries having an interest in the conference will be welcome, and invitations will be sent to any other countries desiring to participate and not included in the invitations previously sent.

Leaders in education, reclamation, recreation and kindred subjects representing countries outside the United States will have important parts in the presentation and discussion of topics. Ample provision will also be made for unofficial representatives on the program.

III. Purposes of the Conference: This conference is planned (1) to establish a basis of co-operation for the promotion of peaceful arts and pursuits among the countries participating; (2) to provide a medium for exchange of knowledge on the subjects under discussion; (3) to afford a wider field of service for certain technical activities; (4) to be of assistance to the territories of the several participating countries.

Section 1. The conference will convene on Monday, April 11, and close on Saturday, April 16, 1927.

Section 2. An international exhibit relating to the major interests of the conference will be held in conjunction therewith. The Department of the Interior of the United States Government will offer an

exhibit if the work and activities of three of its bureaus, the Bureau of Education, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the National Park Service. All countries participating in the conference are invited to send exhibits. Space will be provided for all exhibits, but the expense must be borne by the respective governments.

Section 3. The conference will be divided into three sections: (1) education; (2) reclamation; (3) recreation.

—The United States Daily.

Mr. Benjamin Chass, in an admirable article entitled "America's Poorly Paid School Teachers," declares that there is a widespread fallacy that American schools are the best in the world. Actually "this nation ranks first and foremost in industry and finances, but ninth in education. Is there any reason why the richest nation in the world should occupy a position in the educational world behind most of the civilized nations?"

"One very important reason why America's place is ninth in education is that this nation hardly regards education as a thing of foremost importance, if we are to judge by federal and state expenditures for education in comparison with other items of expenditure. According to the figures it would seem that this nation is more interested in killing its young than in the education of its children. America shows this preference most conclusively, according to an analysis of federal appropriations for the year 1920. In that year 68 per cent of all federal appropriations went for past wars; for future war, 25 per cent; civil departments, 3 per cent; public works, 3 per cent; education and science, only a meager 1 per cent. In other words, over \$5,000,000,000 for wars, past and future, and only \$57,000,000 for education and science."—H. L. K.

—Official Bulletin, Cleveland Teachers' Ass'n.

A Government Monthly

SCHOOL LIFE, published monthly (except July and August) by the Department of the Interior, has a most attractive number for September, well illustrated. There are articles pedagogical, social, recreational. Rural schools, Junior high schools, Americanization by parent-teacher associations, kindergarten and home economics have their pages or half-pages. The newest idea voiced is that of a Municipal Lodging House for Visiting School Children. The oldest scene is the foot of Mount Shasta, where a valley school held its summer session.

It strikes one with surprise that such an excellent periodical is issued at five cents a copy, singly, or in quantity. All one need do is forward the subscription price 50c to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"CONSENT"

By Wm. Green, President A. F. of L.

The outstanding difference between the company "union" and trade unions may be summed up in one word—consent.

Company "unions" are planned and brought into being by management.

Trade unions are planned and fostered by the workers. Everything connected with them is representative of the will of the workers.

In the case of the company "union" the company endeavors to tie employees to their jobs by various types of paternal benefits.

The company "union" is opposite in spirit to the trade union. The company "union" was created without the consent of the wage earners. Because it is not the product of their consent or initiative, wage earners do not have the trust and confidence toward it that they have in organizations of their own making.

Company "unions" lack backbone and virility and can never perform the type of service necessary to keep industrial relations policies upon a scientific and efficient basis.

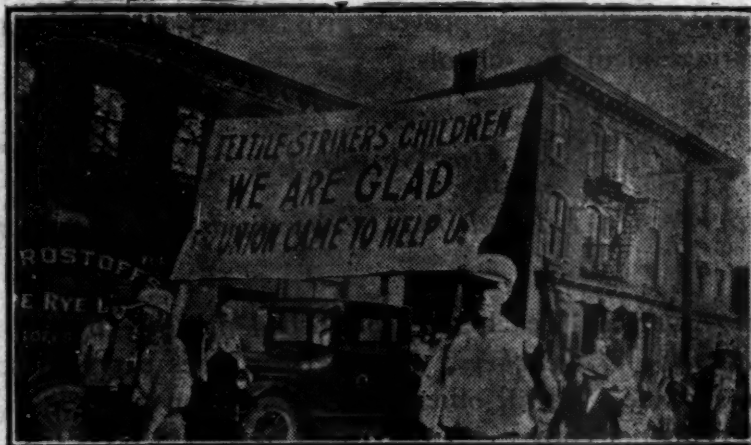
A recent study of Teachers' Councils in the United States and on the extent of teacher participation in school administration shows that there are only thirty-five cities in the United States having a Teachers' Council, and in none of these cities has the Council the final say in any school question.

MAJORITY FRENCH TEACHERS ARE MEMBERS OF THE UNION

Paris.—A majority of the teachers in the elementary schools of France now belong to the National Union of Teachers, which affiliated in 1921 with the General Confederation of Labor through the Federation of Employees in the Public Services. While the teachers' local unions have not in all cases, as yet, co-operated with local trades councils, they have taken out a total of 64,050 cards of affiliation with the General Confederation of Labor.

This development, one of the most significant in French labor unionism, since the war, is expected to stimulate the interest of French boys and girls in the working class struggle which France anticipates in the next two decades.

Teachers' Union No. 111, Portland, Oregon, has out a fine booklet, called Federation Facts. "This pamphlet answers the most common questions in the minds of members, both present and prospective," e.g., as to our principles, our object, why unionize. It sets forth what the Portland Local has done and what it proposes to do. It contains the opinion of John Dewey of the work and standing of the American Federation of Teachers. It is difficult to see how such a pamphlet could fail to be effective.

**THE CHILDREN'S THANKS**

Textile Strikers' children are glad the Union came to help them. They have been better cared for during the strike than while their parents were starving in the mills. Child relief will be necessary even after the strike is over to repair the ravages of years of starvation wages and bitter exploitation.

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.

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