

The **AMERICAN
TEACHER**

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

FEBRUARY, 1920

The Clean Fight



Revenue For the Schools



The Workers' University



From the Locals



Bur of Education
Washington
D C

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

Human Nature in Industry

HUMAN nature in industry has gone on strike. The decayed autocracy of financiers and business men cannot be restored by "profit sharing" and "copartnership." The revolt is not against details. It is against the purpose, products, methods and conditions of industry. The workers do not want the "wants" that fill modern life, the splatter of the shops. Sections of them have proved this by knocking off work for a day (or even two days) a week, when they attain a moderate standard of living—the level which Professor Zimmer defined to me as one of "reasonable satisfaction."

Something in the industrial system offended the soul of the worker. He resented the forced draught that played on his working day. He saw "an immense accumulation of the apparatus of life, without any corresponding elevation in moral standards," creating a civilization of "technical efficiency without love."

There came a moment when Napoleon's soldiers tired of the grandiose and expanding campaigns of

conquest. The motives that had driven them wore thin. So it is with the workers. The familiar compulsions no longer avail, the industrial organization crumbles, and the mines and railways and factories become a wasting asset. Militant strikes can be crushed by tanks and machine guns. But against the passive resistance of the human spirit in

the millions of workers the owners make war in vain. It is a process of nature, a molecular change, invisible and universal. This life-force can be re-enlisted only on its own terms.

* * *

The Sankey report for nationalization of the coal mines has been rejected by the government. But no settlement will

be reached till the mines are nationalized.

The government failed in its attempt to lower the wages of the railway men. And now it has offered the railway men the largest installment of workers' control ever officially proposed for a key industry, including seats on the commercial directorate.

—Arthur Gleason, in article "The Year of Reconstruction," from *The Survey* for February 7, 1920.

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FEBRUARY, 1920

One Dollar a Year

A GENEROUS POLICY

The Fourth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers went on record as favoring the discussion of social and economic problems in the official organ. In accordance with this decision of the Convention, the article on Taxation prepared by Professor Brown at the request of the Convention, is offered to our readers in this issue. Other articles dealing with the live questions of the day in their relation to education will be printed from time to time. Writers within our membership, as well as outside, are urged to submit their best work for use. The present day is full of intellectual activity, and in spite of "the ring of iron" about our souls in educational systems, and about our minds in the general body politic, the time of the free and full expression of our ideas is coming soon.

INTEGRITY IN PROPAGANDA

In a debate held recently before a prominent educational body in New York City on the now familiar question of whether teachers should form unions and affiliate with labor, an important issue of professional honor arose. One of the speakers opposing the unionization of teachers, in reply to a claim that labor had been among the first to go on record demanding and supporting the organization of tax-supported schools, said, "Now, of course, we are not supposed to take this claim seriously." The speaker, a prominent member of the National Education Association, then proceeded to ridicule the claim so elaborately that to a person ill-informed on the facts it might have seemed that the original argument had been made dishonestly, when as a matter of fact the person who engaged in the ridicule was himself dishonest in debate.

We are not concerned with the ethical principles of those who are giving their energy to upholding

a dying cause. They may have to employ every resource to stave off dissolution. But with a new cause the situation is different. More or less as a moral guard and protection, the new idealism must come upon the forum backed by an invulnerable integrity of purpose, by sincerity, and by complete intellectual honesty. When the new idealism is properly equipped, ignorance of the fact on the part of the reactionaries fighting progressive movements is ultimately disastrous. But this is the concern of the reactionaries.

It is more to the immediate advantage and concern of the union movement among teachers to know of a certainty that every presentation of its principles and the facts for public consideration is based upon the absolute truth, as in the case of the interest of labor in the cause of the tax-supported schools. The intellectual honesty and the integrity of character of those persons who stand before the public in our interest, and in the defense of our movement, must be above reproach. We cannot afford to take chances with anything less.

THE CLEAN FIGHT AND THE STRONG

The organization suggestion is abroad in the land. Teachers everywhere want to join the particular body which seems to offer the best hope of positive help in the great economic tragedy that has befallen us. Some of the interested ones will continue to be joined to aggregations of "educators," and thus make sure of respectability. Others will decide for themselves, in the search for an immediate living wage. But even respectability is fighting for its living; and it is becoming more human.

There are 750,000 teachers in this country. The American Federation of Teachers naturally regards this enormous aggregation of social workers with hopeful eyes. And so does our only rival, the Na-

tional Education Association. At the present time approximately five per cent of the teachers belong to the two organizations. Another year may show a material increase in this percentage, but without a striking change in the percentage, in view of the large numbers involved, the total increase may be exceedingly great. Into this unharvested field the American Federation of Teachers must soon enter with increased initiative and with determination.

We may as well be frank and say that important as has been the growth of the national within the past year, there must be put forth a more concerted effort thruout the country. It is not enough that we have four organizers on full time. The tendency may be to count the number of our organizers, and to calculate the probabilities of growth on that basis. But with that attitude of mind we shall attain stagnation only. It is better to think of the organizers in the position of taking the final steps to close the deals for which we, the members, have prepared the way. There are four organizers. There must be twelve thousand! In other words, as one of the strongest of the A F L organizers has said, "Every Member an Organizer!"

Now, this desirable frame of mind will not be entered into by the members simply because the official organ suggests it. There must be an organized effort to bring it about. The California State Federation of Teachers has led off with a practical method, that of dividing the state into groups of towns for which each of the established locals will be responsible to visit, and there to teach the new idea of unionism among teachers. But back of the teaching there must be general understanding of what unionism really means to the individual, to the profession, and to the cause of education in its social connections.

Next in importance to the general understanding of unionism comes enthusiasm for the union, pride in its appeal, and the compelling desire to do something for it. And always and everywhere the best thing to do for a cause is to fight for it. And the best kind of a fight is one along intellectual lines. It is the cleanest kind to begin, besides being the most fun while it lasts.

We are aware that the college students all over the land are taking up in numerous debates the issue of unionism for teachers. We have been furnishing the right side with data and encouragement. But we have neglected to get into the fight ourselves. The Public Education Association of New York City recently staged an encounter between representatives of the N E A and the organized teachers of New York on the issue of affiliation with labor. It was a battle royal, and left both sides anxious for another opportunity to say the things the chairman had ruled out for lack of time. Here was stimulus and enthusiasm for the debaters and their friends, and best of all, real interest on the part of scores of persons attending the dinner, as well as on the part of potential thousands who read about the debate in the newspapers.

The Association has done a useful service in making the union issue vital and interesting, possibly attractive, in a community where the movement has had to fight for its life. Now the union is a thing to be feared by the enemies of progress, because in the battle of ideas it could force the fighting in an open and clear field. Local 5, New York, has already taken steps to issue challenges to debate the issue of unionism wherever there is an opportunity to call out an opponent.

Some animals can be taught to swim by being thrown into the water. Let us toss our complacent unionists into the arena of intellectual strife for the great cause, and make them swim out. They will make good, and have their fun besides.

THE MARCH ISSUE

of The American Teacher will go to press on March 10. Correspondents are urged to send in material promptly.

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Report of the Committee on Resolutions of the Fourth National Convention of the American Federation of Teachers

II

THE PLATFORM

The Resolutions and the Code of Ethics were printed as the first section of this Report in the January issue. With the February issue the Report is concluded.

THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM

The American Federation of Teachers believes:

1. That the union movement among the workers as well as among professional groups that have affiliated with the hand workers in a movement entitled to protection under the laws of the nation, and is also thoroly American in spirit.

2. That the economic interests of the members of labor unions are similar to, if not identical with, the interests of all who work at hard manual labor in shops, in mills, on farms, on municipal or other government enterprises, as well as those who work at professional pursuits of any legitimate kind.

3. That in no way do the rights of labor conflict with the interests of any individual, group or class, except those individuals, groups, or classes of persons who maintain their existence by exploiting for profit the services of those over whom they keep economic control.

4. That the most feasible way that has yet been developed in this country to obtain for the workers a fighting chance for a living wage, and the establishment of the principles of economic justice, is thru the principle of unionization, including both collective bargaining and an unrestricted discussion of economic problems.

5. That the increased cost of living is in no considerable or important way caused by the wage increases procured by labor unions, but is due in part to shortage of goods in Europe and to currency inflation.

6. That the existing serious economic inequality is in part due to the control of our economic policies by special interests, and is not to be chiefly explained by conditions growing out of the war.

TEACHERS AND SOCIAL RIGHTS

It is the sense of the American Federation of Teachers that no teacher should have his position brought in jeopardy because of opinions held or

expressed either in the classroom or outside of it on any social, political or economic problem so long as he does not advocate violence or the use of unconstitutional methods; and we deprecate all attempts to limit the constitutional rights of any citizen to free speech.

It is the sense of the American Federation of Teachers that the public school buildings of any community should be made available to any lawful organization of citizens without discrimination for the discussion of social, political and economic questions.

The American Federation of Teachers believes that it is in the interest of professional efficiency of teachers, and therefore, in the interest of the schools, that educational authorities should give teachers opportunity to attend labor, political, and social conventions without loss of salary.

It is the belief of the American Federation of Teachers that these conventions offer the opportunity to teachers of coming into touch with men and women engaged in large relations to human affairs, thus supplying the inspiration that is often needed in school life.

As it is to the best interests of the schools that married women teachers shall not be deprived of the great experience of motherhood, the American Federation of Teachers holds that absence of married women teachers due to pregnancy shall be compensated in the same way as is absence due to any other physical disability. The American Federation of Teachers holds further that compulsory leave of absence should be granted to a mother teacher after the birth of a child in accordance with the provisions of the labor laws of the state, and that additional leave of not more than two years should be granted at the request of the mother teacher.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN ADMINISTRATION

It is the sense of the American Federation of Teachers that administration of education in a community is rendered less efficient by division of responsibility, and that the common system of triple control, in which authority is divided, for example, between a board of education, a superintendent of schools, and a city council, should be replaced by a single body of control in which all responsibility finally centers.

It is the sense of the American Federation of Teachers that such authoritative body should include classroom teachers nominated by the teachers themselves, subject to election to be carried out by popular vote.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The American Federation of Teachers, recognizing the necessity of close cooperation between the supervisors of vocational education and the various crafts unions in order that the larger benefits and aims of this form of education shall be attained, deems it essential that the supervisors have a proper background of industrial training. The American Federation of Teachers therefore strongly recommends that all examining bodies shall establish as a minimum requirement of eligibility for the license of principal of a vocational or trade school, or for license for higher supervisory positions in such schools, that applicants shall present evidence of having been employed on full time as journeymen for a period of not less than five years in a trade taught in the vocational or trade schools.

THE WELFARE OF THE CHILDREN

We urge upon our people the serious study, and the ultimate political consideration, of those social and economic conditions which now interfere with the administration even of our present inadequate compulsory education laws, and we recommend the amendment of laws dealing with the compulsory education of children and urge especially, the establishment of a minimum age of sixteen years. If the schools are actually to prepare the children for life in a democracy, it is necessary to protect them from the requirement of severe labor, and from unfavorable moral environment during the early years of

adolescence. It is only with this protection and under the organized and extended control of the schools, that the teachers can carry out the positive function of the schools, which is the interpretation to the children of the manifold relations in human life, along with the preparation of the children to meet life intelligently and effectively.

We believe that the schools should not be used by any group of persons for organized propaganda, or to promote the special interests of any group, and that no pupil should be hindered in his progress thru the schools, or prevented from receiving a diploma, or from graduating, because of the adherence to any political or social opinions, or membership in any political organization altho such opinion or membership may be offensive to school officials, or to business or other organizations.

It is the sense of the American Federation of Teachers that history and other textbooks ought to contain relatively more material on industrial and social facts and problems as distinguished from political and military occurrences, and the Executive Council is instructed to call the attention of publishers to the importance of such emphasis.

We deprecate the practice of using the machinery of the schools for systematic collections of funds from pupils.

We regard compulsory military service as undesirable and unnecessary in view of the successful conclusion of a war to destroy militarism.

(Signed)

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

AUGUSTINE AURIANNE	HENRY R LINVILLE
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L V LAMPSON	EDITH WHITE
W T McCoy, Chairman	

In an examination in community civics held in a girls' high school in New York in December, 1919, the following question was given a place:

"IV. Show that New York's food comes from various and distant places. How does it enter New York? Why is it so expensive? (Do not give the 'war' or 'profiteering' in your answer.) Can you suggest any improvement which would make our food better or cheaper?"

Revenue for the Schools—and Economic Justice

HARRY GUNNISON BROWN

Professor of Political Economy University of Missouri, Secretary, Local 126, A F of T

In considering the problem of revenue for the maintenance and development of free public education we have to make inquiry regarding two distinct phases of this problem. Of these phases, the first has to do with the need of funds to make the system of public education efficient. The second relates to the effect which the securing of these funds may have upon the tax paying public and upon the general economic well being. Assuming larger funds to be necessary—as it is well known that they are necessary—it becomes tremendously important that these funds should be secured in the best possible way. For the effects of different systems of securing public revenues are widely different. And we who have lately become a part of the labor movement cannot afford to blind ourselves to the very great differences in the effects of revenue systems, on the welfare of the common man.

In this article I shall discuss briefly the general property tax, taxes on commodities, on buildings, on land, on incomes and on inheritances. But it is impossible to discuss tax questions adequately without getting involved in the whole problem of economic justice and the expediency of the existing economic organization of society. These problems I can treat but briefly in a short article. I have tried to present them with greater fullness in my books, *The Taxation of Unearned Incomes*, to be published this spring, and *The Theory of Earned and Unearned Incomes*, 1918 (both, Missouri Book Co., Columbia, Mo.).

The general property tax is uniformly a failure from almost every point of view. The attempt to tax personal property is, from the nature of the case, foredoomed to failure. A recent article by Professor Gephart of Washington University shows from a number of probate records in Missouri that the amount of personal property actually assessed for taxation during the lives of the persons concerned was hardly more than one-tenth to one-eighth of what these persons were shown by the probate records to have possessed at death. Stocks

and bonds, money deposited in banks, jewelry and other valuables are easily concealed. The person who declares such property begins to feel that he is subjected to an unfair discrimination. And so the practice of **evasion grows**.

Taxes on goods produced or imported are less apt to be evaded but they are, I am convinced, not ideally managed. They operate to discourage production or importation of the taxed goods and to limit supply. Producers will not make and sell such goods unless they can add the tax to the selling price. The burden of such tax therefore falls upon consumers in proportion to their need or desire for the goods taxed; and this is likely not to be the proportion in which they ought to pay on any valid theory of taxation justice.

Taxation of real estate as currently practiced is two kinds of taxation rather than one. For taxation of real estate is taxation of land *and* taxation of buildings and the effect of taxing land is so different from the effect of taxing buildings that separate consideration is essential. The effect of the taxation of buildings is likely to be discouragement of building activity. And so we cannot take it for granted, as do some, that the burden of such a tax falls upon the well-to-do owner. On the contrary, it is quite likely to fall upon the probably poorer tenant or upon the ultimate consumer. For if taxation of buildings lessens the number constructed, it thereby makes buildings scarcer for renters and *makes rents higher*. The cost of producing and distributing various goods, since this requires the use of buildings, may be higher. Tenements are more crowded. Children die for lack of light and air. But still the ignorant, the prejudiced and financially interested will insist that not to tax improvements is to relieve of burden the rich owners of large buildings. And many of their dupes among the salaried and wage-earning classes will continue by their votes to fasten about their own necks the burden which they fondly think they are putting upon others.

Is the situation the same regarding the taxation of land values apart from improvements? On the contrary, the result of such taxation is quite the opposite. For taxation of land values *does not operate to decrease the amount of land*. As it makes land no scarcer it does not make the charge for its use any higher. Indeed, taxation of land values at higher rates (taxes being removed from buildings and improvements and imposed on the value of land as such) puts a heavier burden upon the speculative holder of idle land and compels him either himself to use his land or to dispose of it to others who may desire to use it. Hence, taxation of land values operates to *reduce* rents whereas taxation of buildings operates to increase them. Taxation of the potential rental value of all land, by compelling use, operates to *increase* the output of goods and to reduce prices, whereas taxation of buildings, machinery and commodities may restrict supply and raise prices.

In this connection, it may be emphasized that failure to tax at a high rate the rental value of land results in a high selling price for land. The price of land, unlike the price of goods produced by labor, is not held down by any *cost of production*. The price of land is the capitalization of the rental income expected from it. Also, speculative holding of land makes land harder to get, *makes it scarcer* to the buyer, in practical effect, even if there is more land than can be used. Since speculative holding and the prospective receipt of relatively untaxed rental incomes make the price of land high, it becomes difficult for tenants to purchase. There are fewer owners of farms and fewer owners of city homes than otherwise there might be. Tenancy increases. The gulf between rich and poor widens. Discontent grows greater. Irrational radicalism thrives because few connect cause and effect well enough to understand the underlying economic forces responsible for the conditions.

A special phase of this question of ownership is to be noted in our proposed policy towards the returning soldiers. Those who risked maiming, blindness, life itself, in the faith that they were serving the sacred cause of democracy, may perhaps be offered land in the swamp or the desert. Not even for these is it seriously proposed by those who control our legislation that the speculative holder

of land shall be more heavily taxed. Tiberius Gracchus is reported to have said, more than twenty centuries ago:

"The savage beasts, in Italy, have their particular dens, they have their places of repose and refuge; but the men who bear arms, and expose their lives for the safety of their country, enjoy in the meantime nothing more in it but the air and light; and, having no houses of their own, are constrained to wander from place to place with their wives and children."

Does history repeat itself or does the system of exploitation merely remain substantially unchanged from age to age? It was less than a year ago that an American organization of soldiers and sailors (The Private Soldiers and Sailors Legion) presented a petition to Congress which included the following:

"We demand prompt action by Congress to open up for demobilized soldiers, sailors and marines the opportunity to employ their labor on the unused lands and natural resources of our country. And we don't want to be confined to swamp lands, cut-over stump lands and desert lands, either. We hold that the hundreds of millions of idle acres of good agricultural, mineral and timber lands and vacant city lots are none too good for the use of the soldiers who are conceded to have saved civilization at \$30 per month, minus large reductions for fines, insurance, etc. * * * Nature's bounty has provided Uncle Sam and all his nephews with ample opportunity for all to work if the government will only let down the bars of monopoly and privilege."

There is another, tho perhaps in the last analysis a related reason, why public revenues, whether for schools or other purposes, ought to be raised more largely from taxes on the rental value of land. This is that the value of land—including mines and power sites—is almost entirely the result of social growth and development. The value of a building can not ordinarily rise above the cost of constructing another like it. But land cannot be made and its value grows as a city grows. The owner of the land receives an income which is not earned by service given to those from whom his income is derived. Suppose that A and B each own a \$2,000 lot. A puts on his lot a \$5,000 house,

making his real estate worth \$7,000. The city grows until his property is worth \$10,000. If the house could still be built for \$5,000, his *land* has more than doubled in price, for the house as such is no more valuable than before. And evidence of this fact is that B's land if similar and similarly situated is now worth, though still vacant, \$5,000. For the prospective purchaser—as B himself—knows that with a \$5,000 house on it, the value of both will be \$10,000. Thus, it should be clear that the effect of a community's growth is to raise land values rather than building values. The rent of land is a community made product. It is not fairly earned by its individual recipient. And to let him enjoy it, while simultaneously taxing earned wealth and incomes, is to produce landlordism and tenancy, poor housing conditions, and gross inequality of possessions.

It is unfortunate that these facts are not more generally understood. Reactionary and Socialist join in lumping together all property incomes, in refusing to distinguish property incomes, which are received for no service rendered and which are therefore purely exploitive, from property incomes which are fairly earned. To the reactionary, all incomes from property are sacred. To the Socialist, all incomes from property are anathema. Yet a person whose labor produces an orchard, a factory, or a machine and who does not consume an equivalent of goods in some other form, thereby adds to society's industrial equipment. And he makes possible an addition, because of this better or larger equipment, to the annual output of goods. If he receives interest on this capital and if such interest does not exceed the addition to productive efficiency which it brings about, he is robbing no one. The other members of industrial society receive incomes which are just as large as would have been theirs had this capitalist never been born and never produced and saved his capital. The Socialist, in asserting that interest, as such, is necessarily exploitation, brands his system as pseudo science. And too high a tax on the income made possible to the owner by capital so produced and saved may discourage its production and accumulation, may "kill the goose that lays the golden egg."

The recipient of land rent, on the other hand, is

not responsible for the land, which would equally have been there had he never lived. Neither is he responsible for its advantages of situation. These are due to the growth and groupings of population. The income which he draws *by virtue of* his ownership of land—by virtue of his power to prevent its use except as tribute is paid to him—is not earned by equivalent service given. *And no service would be lost by the community if this income were entirely absorbed in taxation.*

Those self-supposed progressives and radicals who think to secure a better economic order by high taxation of incomes without distinction as to source, are the unconscious auxiliaries of the forces of reaction. *For the farther such taxation is carried, the more is land relieved of taxation.* And in proportion as land is relieved of taxation, speculative holding grows; land prices rise; home ownership becomes, for most, impossible; landlordism and tenancy flourish together; and the unearned increment becomes a powerful cause of great fortunes which are not the rewards of great service. For this reason I am inclined to deprecate resolutions of labor parties which call for increased taxation of *incomes and excess profits* along with land rent. Such resolutions dissipate what might be an effective force in support of the change that I believe to be most important; and they fail to concentrate public attention upon the desirability of this most important change.

The progressive taxation of inheritances may be a means of reducing inequalities which ought never to have been allowed to arise. There is much to be said in its favor, and no objection to such taxation, carefully adjusted to the ends in view, is *here* made. But heavy burdens should not be placed on moderate inheritances going to direct descendants. Many persons save almost solely for their children. If we allow one man to profit by the educational advantages which his father's wealth enabled him to secure, may we not fairly allow another to receive from his father's accumulations, advantages of a different kind? And we hardly want to proceed so far in the direction of doing away with the family and not to allow a son or daughter to reap any benefits whatever from parental care and sacrifice. But very large inheri-

tances and funds going to remote collaterals are in a somewhat different category.

No system of taxation, however, can take the place of a properly devised system of taxation of land rent. It is not possible in a short article to go into the entire economic philosophy of the distribution of wealth, the causes of inequality, etc. Nor is there any intention to suggest, here, that any system of taxation can serve as a panacea for all social and economic evils, or can even do away with all unearned incomes—for example, those secured by monopolistic conspiracy and by business chicanery. But there is every intention to assert that orthodox socialism is so far astray in its economic analysis as to make support of socialism by the masses preferable to inertia only if and so far as ignorant but active discontent is better than ignorant lethargy. Socialists think of themselves as radicals. Many of them would doubtless brand the

writer of this article as a hopeless conservative. But if radicalism means accurate analysis, if it means ability to discover the root causes of the evils to be destroyed, and ability to find or even to comprehend a simple, clear-cut, scientific and effective program for the elimination of these evils, *then socialism is hopelessly conservative*. Indeed, if it were not that the privileged interests understand economic phenomena little if any better than the exploited masses, and if they could feel entirely secure against Bolshevistic upheaval, one might well expect these interests to be exultant at the relative strength of socialism among economic reform movements. For the effect of socialist propaganda is to lure into economic confusions those who might be the most effective protestants against the private receipt of incomes which are socially unjustifiable because not earned by service rendered.

The Workers' University of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union

THE BASIS OF LABOR EDUCATION

Louis S. Friedland, Educational Director

The principles and methodology of adult and trade union education are still in their infancy. Every labor and trade union college is an experiment for the discovery of the true aims and basis of adult education. Even in England and in Denmark, where some progress has been made in the education of grown-ups, we find that no well-based curriculum for the trade unionist has as yet materialized. While we in America can learn much from the Workers Educational Association of England and from the reports of the English Government on adult education, from the accounts of higher school training for adults in Denmark, France, and Germany, and from the experiments in peasant education carried on by the former *Zemstvos* in Russia, and by such private educators as Tolstoy, our trade unions will have to work out curricula and methods peculiarly suited to industrial and trade union conditions in our own country. I will suggest very briefly a few of the things that appear to me as the basis of labor education.

Labor education is not a training for a vocation. It is rather a development of avocations. Labor education should not transfer unchanged the curricula and aims of accepted schemes of education. I am convinced that the primary basis of labor education rests on the solid realities of our lives. We are members of families, dwellers in or citizens of a community, a state, and a nation; workers in an industry, and members of a trade union. The personal and social contacts and relations formed in these ways give us the basis on which to erect the superstructure of an educational system suited to intelligent adults. In the past, such haphazard and undirected education as the adult acquired was largely of a theoretical nature. We dabbled in "isms" and in political and social "futures." The time has come when we need to know the facts of our environment; their social, political, industrial, and economic implications.

The second main prop or support of labor education is our need, as workers, to have a clear knowl-

edge of the entire sweep of our industry. In the garment industries, for instance, we need to study the facts of production and distribution in all the stages from the growing of cotton, thru the textile mills, thru the final manufactured product in our shops and factories, and the distribution of these manufactured products. For this reason, we are interested in the economics of the industrial system rather than in some generalized or theoretic type of economics. There is no stage in the gamut of education which cannot be based on the facts of an industry. Such a re-basing of education will bring about, among the workers, a new and keener interest in the processes, hitherto somewhat mechanical, of their labor. It will reveal to them all the social and international implications of the work which they do from day to day. That such an understanding of work will help to make it more creative and self-expressive from the standpoint of the individual worker goes without saying. And, when to this, we add the definite and clear aim of organized labor—to share in the control and management of production and distribution—our daily labor will assume a new dignity and importance. It is only by laying such foundations now that the workers will inherit the future.

Finally, we cannot afford in labor education to lose sight of the human, the personal element. There is no doubt in my mind that the industrial conditions of the last century and more have resulted in a gradual deterioration of human material—a process which has not been stemmed, and for the prevention of which very little systematized effort has been made. We have used our energy, our intelligence, our enthusiasm, our forethought, for the production and perfection of machines and of manufactured material. We have ended by becoming the slaves of our own handiwork. We can work machines, but machines and the conditions of industry have mastered us. It is necessary to regain control of ourselves as human beings, to assume mastery of our bodies and souls, to come to a knowledge of the human machine, to regain ease and grace of movement. For these reasons, health education and physical training and right modes of recreation are necessary ingredients of workers' education. With the acquiring of greater degrees of leisure, we need to learn the right use of leisure. The worker will

not translate his free time in terms of idleness, extravagance, and riotous living. For the worker, leisure must be filled with activity and self-expression. Whatever powers, talents and faculties have lain dormant in the masses of workers for generations must, thru education, be brought to light for the saving of workers, and for the salvation of society.

These are some of the bases of labor education, as conceived by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. The educational activities of the International began as early as 1914. Since then, the work has developed in many directions, until today the educational system of the International is by far the most important, the most significant, the most practical of the experiments made in trade union education in our country. The large number of labor schools and colleges founded in the last two or three years bears testimony to the vision and forethought of those present at the International Convention in 1914 which initiated trade union education. At present, the International supports a Workers' University, which meets at the Washington Irving High School in New York City. There are classes for officers and for other active members of the trade union. The business agents and other officers of the local unions attend classes of an advanced or post-graduate character in the following required subjects: "Economics of the Industrial System," "Advanced English and Written Composition," "Psychology," "Public Speaking," "Physical Training and Health Education," "Trade Union Problems," and "Labor and Management."

For the active members and other qualified university students there is a similar group of required subjects. Among the elective subjects are: "Present Tendencies in Literature," "American History and American Civics," "Modern European History," "Current Events and Reconstruction problems," "The Cooperative Movement," and "Elementary Science." These courses were arranged by the Executive Educational Committee of which Mr. Harry A. Wander is the chairman and Miss Fania M. Cohn, the secretary.

The students participate thru discussions in the actual teaching. In this and other ways the proper

technique of teaching adults is being worked out.

But it is in the Unity Centers of the I L G W U that the busy active pulse of the educational system beats most constantly and to best purpose. In cooperation with the Departments of Education of New York City, Philadelphia, Newark, etc., suitable class rooms, gymnasiums, etc., are put at the disposal of the International. These school buildings, chosen for their location in residential sections, are called Unity Centers. In New York City there are six such centers.

The curriculum of these centers concerns itself largely with the study of the English language. There are classes in English, of elementary, intermediate, advanced and high school grades. The teachers are assigned by the Evening School Department of the Board of Education. At each Unity Center there is a recreation worker assigned

by the Department of Community and Recreation Centers. The International arranges, in addition, series of lectures on the Labor Movement, Trade Unionism, and kindred topics in economics. The rest of the curriculum deals with the more cultural interests, such as literature, music, art, educational films, lectures on health, hygiene, and sex education, physical training and social recreation. This gives each Unity Center a balanced program of educational activities.

Another phase of the educational work is the Extension Division which, combining art and education, arranges special lectures and concerts for local unions, giving a form of education that reaches the homes and the families of the members. So many have had to enter shops and factories before they gain knowledge and have formed character, that now it is necessary to regain the lost ground.

Education and Labor

JOSEPH JABLONOWER

Local 57, New York

On Saturday, February 7th, a group of labor delegates, more than one hundred in number, met in conference on a matter which is usually not associated by the uninitiated with labor unions. This group of leaders and potential leaders in the labor movement met to discuss the means whereby labor might educate itself. In the past the only consistent and persistent advocate of a tax-supported system of public schools, and at present the only element in society that realizes the menace which an under-paid and over-supervised staff of teachers is to the development of a school system is labor. Labor seems to realize also that no one knows so well the real spiritual and cultural needs of the laborer as does the laborer himself, thus reflecting in honest fashion the hopes and aspirations of the people whose children are entrusted to the schools.

Labor does not trust the professional exponent of culture, for it has found this exponent wanting in human sympathy and understanding. Labor will no longer accept the traditional values which educational institutions have been preaching. In order to transvalue the traditional cultural values, in

order to have this transvaluating done by experts who are not themselves the tools of the forces in whose interests there has been an attempt to perpetuate the *status quo*, labor is organizing schools of its own. And it is calling to these schools men of scholarship who have established for themselves records of probity in scholarship, fearlessness in the statements of their conclusions. They have displayed a human interest in the human factors which constitute the field of their studies.

The Conference of the United Labor Education Committee, which is the official title of the gathering to which reference is made at the beginning of this article, is but an example of similar efforts that are being made throught the country. The International Ladies Garment Workers in New York City and in Philadelphia, the Womens Trade Union League in Chicago, the Trade Union College in Boston, the Trade Union College in Washington, D. C., are other instances of a widespread effort on the part of the labor movement to understand its own tendencies and deeper implications.

Keen observers of contemporary events, such as Mr. John A. Fitch, Mr. Charles A. Beard, and Mr. Robert Bruere, men who have a full appreciation of the import of present tendencies in the labor movement, see in these educational efforts of the labor movement as epochal an event as can be found in all the history of education.

The report which was rendered at the Conference of the work done by the United Labor Education Committee during the past year showed that the educational work of the Committee was divided into three parts: First, the concerts and popular lectures on contemporary problems, always given by experts, the object of which it is to arouse in the worker an interest in the finer things, and to give him: the ability to appreciate them; second, the classes in English and elementary subjects; third, the classes for leaders or potential leaders in the labor movement, in which courses are given in economics, sociology, and all the allied subjects.

In New York City thousands of workers are already enrolled in the classes and courses. Beginning in the needle trades, this work has reached out into so unallied an industry as the shipbuilding trade. A significant thing, this fact. Where before, relentless necessity drove the workers together, no matter how diversified the industries in which they were employed, a common understanding and aspiration will hold them together.

What that common understanding is to be and what that aspiration is, were voiced best by Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, when he was urged to speak at the conference. He said, in part, "We workers need education in order to do things better than they have been done. We are acquiring control of the industries because those who have exercised control up to the present, did not do it well. We want to understand the world in which we live, in order that we may function in it at our best. These classes, this great educational work to which we are going to devote more and more of our energies and resources will be the means whereby we shall acquire such an understanding."

Teachers in all communities have a great opportunity in this trade movement to function socially, an opportunity which has never been accorded the professional intellectual before. Teachers' unions should cooperate with such activities in their localities, they should aid in initiating similar activities in the localities where they do not yet exist. They should seize the opportunity to build for the future, with the help of those to whom the future belongs!

NOTE: Teachers who are interested in the details of the work referred to in this article should write to the United Labor Education Committee at 41 Union Square, and to the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union at 31 Union Square, New York City.

The February Message

F. G. STECKER

Secretary-Treasurer, The American Federation of Teachers

The striking event of the month is the selection of Miss Josephine Colby, Fresno, Calif., and Miss Isabel Williams, St. Paul, Minn., as Associate Field Secretaries who will give full time to organization work this semester. The addition of two very capable, experienced and well informed women is an important step in the right direction. There is sufficient interest among the teachers of the United States and Canada to warrant a large number of speakers. Gradually organization is being built up to take care of the situation. Thousands of teachers who know Miss Colby and Miss

Williams will not only be interested in their activities in the next few months, but will also gladly cooperate in attaining success.

This spirit of cooperation on the part of members with the officers of the locals and with national officers is increasing rapidly. Cooperation is one of the elements which teachers have needed to acquire and are acquiring. Groups of teachers see that by joining together with other groups of teachers they have not only assisted the other groups but they have also assisted themselves. A local can do no more important work than to lend its efforts to the

development of the American Federation of Teachers whose increased strength in membership, workers and influence will return again and again to its advantage. Every local should create a committee on organization, as many locals have already done. This committee should be composed of members with initiative and energy. Efforts should be made to get acquainted with unorganized teachers in nearby communities, and bring about meetings for discussion of the objects of the American Federation of Teachers. Officers and members of the Executive Council will gladly communicate with any committees on organization, and assist them in their work. Literature may be obtained on application. In many cases arrangements may be made for a member of the Executive Council to assist in person.

The Code of Ethics and the Resolutions adopted by the Fourth Convention have been printed in separate pamphlets. Two other pamphlets, "Objections to the Union Movement Among Teachers Answered" and the "Smith-Towner Bill Revised" are in the hands of the printer. Several other pamphlets are contemplated. Supplies of these together with "Labor and Education," the Constitution, and Professor Dewey's address will gladly be sent on request.

Requests by debating teams in high schools, normals, colleges and universities for literature dealing with the subject of affiliation of teachers with organized labor, are increasing to an extent that indicates a wide-spread interest in the question. This occasion is taken to request any reader of this magazine knowing of a debate on this subject, to send the results of the debate together with a copy, if possible, of the briefs used to this office.

Wonderful development of the cooperative movement in many countries of Europe will be rivalled in time no doubt, by a similar development in America. The cooperative long ago passed from the experimental stage. The increasing interest of teachers in the every day economic questions is gradually bringing home to them the value of the cooperative. Little is to be gained by the teachers if the success of salary campaigns is to be more than offset by the decrease in the value of the dollar. It is both timely and wise to make each dollar go far by membership in the cooperative.

When teachers undertake salary campaigns they encounter many experiences. Not only do they come in contact with practical politics and many other manifestations of human nature, but they also come sooner or later to do some serious thinking. Teachers have long listened to the stories of shortage of money in educational treasuries. Many times these stories have been doubted. Many times they have been believed along with other strange manifestations of nature. Now, however, there is a remarkable indication that the teachers intend to find out whether the chronic bankruptcy of boards of education is a false alarm or pathetic truth. All too often it is the latter. Practical minded people then seek the cause. Is it due to legislation which is influenced by heavy taxpayers? Is it the fault of administrative officers in assessing and collecting the taxes? Or does it reach deeper, into the inadequacy of the present system of taxation? The Illinois State Federation of Labor believes that the schools cannot be properly maintained under the present tax system. They advocate that

"Ample school revenue must be based upon a fundamental system of taxation of land values instead of the present taxes levied on labor and its products."

The following resolution submitted by Mr. Harry G. Brown, Secretary, Missouri University Teachers Union, Local No. 126, and adopted by the Fourth Convention.

"Whereas, The taxation of buildings tends to decrease the number of buildings and so to raise rents and to fall heavily upon the masses who can least afford to pay; and

Whereas, The taxation of any goods which are produced by labor tends to discourage their production and so raise their prices to the people; and

Whereas, The taxation of land value tends to encourage building and production by making unprofitable the holding of land out of use for speculation purposes, and so operates to reduce rents and prices; and

Whereas, The holding of land out of use for speculation makes rent high, discourages production, limits opportunities of employment, and so raises the price of land as to make home ownership difficult for the masses; and

Whereas, The value of land as distinguished from the value of the improvements on it is chiefly a matter of situation and of population growth and is in no considerable degree due to any activities of the owner; and

Whereas, The private enjoyment of this value is the cause of our present gross economic inequality; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we recommend that the funds necessary to maintain and increase educational efficiency should be secured by taxes on land values rather than on buildings or other goods produced by labor."

The Teacher Who Leaves the Profession

EDWIN J BRUNNER

Chicago, Ill

During a period of stress and strain for our political democracy, a period in which we are not only readjusting to fit in as a nation having definite international responsibilities, but also a period when our domestic economies are in a state of upheaval, teachers are leaving the school rooms following the thousands who have left. In the great city of Chicago the anomalous condition is at hand of calling pupils from the high schools to do part time grade work. Chicago is short of the requisite number of teachers to man its system.

Chicago's position is not unique. There is a shortage of teachers in every city and in every hamlet. There is a shortage of instructors in the colleges and in the great universities.

It is admitted that the standards of qualification all along the line have been lowered to the detriment of the youth of this country.

When bricklayers receive higher wages than college professors, and when milk wagon drivers' salaries make salaries of young men teaching in high schools look insignificant, there is plain and indisputable reason for thinning of the ranks. A white collar backed by a three thousand dollar investment in education will be loosed and replaced by the soft collar representative of toil, if the owner of the white collar is forced below the income limit for having laundry work done.

However, is there moral justification for a man or woman on whom a state has spent a considerable sum out of its coffers to educate, to deliberately step out of the career he has chosen to take up a more lucrative profession at a time when he knows his stepping out will imperil the efficiency of the educational system? Is there moral backbone in so doing?

Rather than to do this and leave only those who cannot get out in the profession, is it not the duty of American teachers to see to it that salaries commensurate with their training and standard of living are paid?

Much has been written concerning the lack of ethics in organizations of teachers to secure better

salaries thru cooperation. The taboo of doing what organized labor has done and profited by looms big in the mental perspective of many members of the profession.

Which is the more American—to slink away one by one, or to stay on the job and unite to secure rightful dues owed by society to the educators of future society?

There is a sounding of alarm on the part of vested interests that teachers in many cases are teaching un-American doctrines in the schools. This alarm on the part of society or rather one portion of society may result in raising wages. Wherein is manifested any American spirit in waiting until outside professions are so alarmed about your status that they take up the cudgel and wield it for you? At conventions of manufacturers, of engineers, of business men, the problem is discussed. Journals devoted to specific interests are full of editorials advising that teachers' wages must be raised.

Would it be American if coal miners left the work of mining coal and took up other work in such numbers that society in general would be compelled to say, "We must pay the poor coal miners more because they are so faithful? They work unceasingly and they have such high standards of ethics that they will not help themselves. They are starving to death—and besides, we must have coal."

There is just one American way out for the American teacher. Thru his own efforts, not thru the charitable efforts of others, he must compel society to dignify him adequately and to recompense him adequately.

THE RIGHT ANGLE

Incidental to the discussion of the \$2,000 minimum for teachers at the Fourth Convention of The American Federation of Teachers, which was held at Chicago during Christmas week, the correct emphasis on the question was applied in a new way by Mr. C. E. Phillips, the President of the Atlanta Teachers' Union. Mr. Phillips said, "Every teacher may not be worth \$2,000, but my own children are worth a \$2,000 teacher."

JUSTICE FOR ALL TEACHERS

MARY L MASON

*Washington (D C) Elementary Teachers' Union,
Local 27, A F of T*

Like the new pupil in the primary school, who mutely observes procedure and studies with absorbed interest the personal abilities of the new teacher and classmates, and then having oriented himself, finds voice to join spontaneously in the life and activities of the school, so Local 27, The Washington Elementary Teachers' Union, now feels it time to give collective expression through its Press Committee to its emotions born of the new experience of working thoughtfully and systematically with fellow craftsmen in a great movement for changing for good the status of those who teach, and helping in the Herculean task of bringing a just compensation, joy, and a measure of rest into the lives of the great toiling masses whom Kipling so strongly painted in his poem, "Martha's Sons."

Our first emotion is eager satisfaction—we have found a voice for our great body of more than four hundred souls, engaged in the basal work of teaching the colored youth of the nation's capital.

Hard upon this satisfaction follows chill doubt—East St. Louis and its expression of organized hate is too big, and too dark to be soon forgotten.

Then comes the courage of the hereditary toiler—at least we may help smooth paths for later feet (that has been our creed always); at least we may realize ourselves other than impersonal cogs in a great machine—men and women, helping shape lives, helping mould citizens—more than any other group of different racial extraction, consciously forming a race for the highest self-expression, and for assuming the responsibilities of the highest type of citizenship, and what is more conscious of success, even tho working like ancient Israel to make bricks without straw. Shall we not also force even from an unkind fate, the meed of diligent laborers?

But chief among our emotions has been a great, leaping, surging flood of hopeful light, born not only of the prospect of attaining a respectful hearing before the powers which control the teachers fate—tho none have greater need; born not of a hope of a living wage—and we represent the teachers of a groaning burdened group of toilers, which has

ever been expected to live and thrive on less than half of whatever scanty loaf is doled to others; born not of the consciousness that we come not to our co-laborers empty-handed, but rich in gifts which are ours in full measure, the gift of musical interpretation which is unique, the gift of large capacity to sympathize with all who suffer; the gift to laugh in the face of such terrors as might well crush souls less strong with the sinews of life; the gift of the joy of mere living—fine as these thoughts are, and inspiring, our new star of hope leaped above the horizon when we sensed these words of the Federated Teachers' slogan:

Education for Democracy

If this be as yet but a dimly conceived ideal, nevertheless it is clearly a new star in the constellation of new ideas, bursting into being with the mighty travail of the birth of a new world epoch.

If we may truly believe, and have our faith continually strengthened by such deeds as shall make further doubt impossible, that there is an ever-widening circle of the mightiest force in American life—its teaching force—shaping itself into a mighty, a powerful dynamo, pledged to "Educate for Democracy," then we are sure that the keynote of this newer and better system will be the fundamental idea of justice—pure justice, without qualifying conditions of color, or sex, or class for all Americans, for men everywhere—and for ourselves we crave no greater boon!

THE PREAMBLE OF A CONSTITUTION

Missouri University Teachers Union No. 126, American Federation of Teachers

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

We believe that the success of the schools depends upon the teachers and that it is necessary to obtain for teachers such conditions of work as will attract and retain men and women of independence and ability. Among these conditions of work we deem the chief to be security of position, adequate salaries, a freedom of thought and speech such that the use of the schools for propaganda may not even be suspected, and a large measure of control over policies and programs of education.

We believe that the only dependable means of securing these ends lies in the organization of teachers on a national scale to deal with problems that are national in scope.

We believe in the cooperation of all workers and that it is both logical and desirable for teachers to cast in their lot with other workers. We believe that the affiliation of the organized teachers with other organized workers will promote the welfare of the schools, safeguard the freedom of teaching, and further the cause of democracy in education.

From the Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

FROM LOCAL 31

The High School Teachers' Union, Sacramento, Cal

In the late fall of 1918, Local 31 of the American Federation of Teachers was formed by the high school teachers of this city. Out of more than seventy teachers, sixty-eight at once joined the organization, almost without discussion.

Such unanimity and expeditiousness in accepting the idea of a close-knit organization had its roots farther down than the immediate incentive of salary increase. In the preceding year the high school faculty had been shocked by sudden charges of disloyalty. Coming, as these did, in the midst of unremitting patriotic efforts, and selecting, as the accusers insanely did, people distinguished for their character and self-sacrificing patriotism, the effect was an immediate rallying of all the teachers to the defense of those singled out for attack, and a permanently awakened consciousness of solidarity of aims and interests as the situation was faced.

The more serious results that might have ensued from such an episode were averted; but an unsatisfactory inconclusiveness over the issue, and a total lack of reparation toward those so unjustly accused, brought us all to recognize the future value of a definite organization, one capable of defending its members against injustice, and of insisting upon conditions making possible a high standard of professional usefulness. A year of preliminary discussion, somewhat reminiscent of the episode just referred to, but actively concerned with the pressing matter of salary, ended in the formation of Local 31. Following so quickly upon this action of the High School teachers that we like to consider it a first fruit of our action, came the organization of the elementary school teachers as Local 44, with which our progress is inseparably connected.

After more than a year since our founding we feel that we have justified our existence, as we view certain desirable changes in conditions, notably that which was attained in conjunction with Local 44—a raise of salary. This raise, if still most inadequate, yet represents a victory when it is compared to the first suggestion made by the school authori-

ties, a suggestion of five dollars added to the monthly salary. This pitiful amount was multiplied four times under the more virile pressure of federated effort, and the teachers of Sacramento received in July, 1919, a flat increase of twenty dollars a month.

Following the raise in salary there has been a steady, if tacit, recognition of the teachers' place in the community and in the administration of the schools. It is true that this recognition has not been avowedly influenced by the organizations, but it has followed too closely upon their heels not to be considered a result, at least, of the sturdier attitude of the teachers under the backing of federation.

Concrete instances are not hard to quote. Preceding the last election for City Commissioner, all three candidates for office, for the first time in history, asked permission to visit the high school and to address the teachers.

Within the high school, individual suggestions from teachers are given more cordial welcome and are more frequently adopted than in the past. One interesting result is the formation of a disciplinary committee of teachers, to act directly with the principals upon cases of lawlessness.

Similarly, the school superintendent has recognized the teachers of the city as collaborators with him in the administration of the schools by forming a council of representative teachers, chosen by their colleagues, to meet with him in monthly conference.

Within Local 31, *esprit du corps*, independence of thought, and breadth of sympathy have markedly increased. Its interest has not stopped at personal advantages. During the past year the city voted to erect new school buildings. At once the organization appointed a committee to keep informed upon the progress of building operations, and to stand prepared to offer suggestions whenever fitting. And just as it has increased our sense of responsibility toward local school administration, the fact of federation, connecting us with the whole industrial world, has emphasized to us, as instructors of youth, our vital relation with the greatest issues of the country. Only a virile generation will save this

country, in the next two decades, and to produce such a manhood is largely the teachers' task. In times past we have been charged, as a class, with stagnation. With the dawning of this new hope of recognition, of which the outward and visible sign is a remuneration that makes efficiency possible, that charge will be wholly a false one, for where there is hope there is life.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

Sacramento High School Local 31

FROM LOCAL 111

The High School Teachers' Union, Portland, Ore

The Portland High School Teachers' Union, which was chartered last October, made its first public appearance at the Oregon State Teachers' Association, held in Portland, December 29, 30 and 31. Up to that time our union had been practically unknown to the public. We had been too busy perfecting our organization to do much publicity work. We believed, however, that the time had come for some judicious advertising; so we decided to have union headquarters during the meeting of the State Association. It must be confessed that some of our members had misgivings as to the wisdom of the undertaking, but being good unionists and real democrats, they cooperate heartily, once the plan had been agreed upon by the majority.

We rented an attractive room in one of Portland's leading hotels—a room on the main corridor of the first floor. This we kept open from ten a. m. to eight p. m. on the two days, December 30 and 31. The members of the union were divided into groups of four or five, each group being scheduled to be at the headquarters for two hours at a time. Tea was served during the afternoon hours. This did much to make the undertaking a success. There is nothing better than a cup of tea to make a visitor feel at home—and making visitors feel at home was our first concern. If they wished to talk unionism—and most of them did—they had plenty of opportunity to do so. But no one had the subject thrust upon him. If it was evident that a person came primarily for the tea—and perhaps to see if we were really like ordinary folk—we gave him the tea, plus a hearty welcome and stopped with

that, leaving him to draw his own conclusions as to our similarity to the rest of mankind.

The National Headquarters supplied us with literature which we distributed to the visitors. Our visitors included representatives from all ranks of the teaching profession, from district school teachers to college professors.

Announcements concerning the headquarters were published in the daily papers, and visiting teachers were further notified of our official presence by cards distributed at the building where the meetings were held. This advertising seemed to have a salutary effect on our opponents. The fact that no anti-union resolutions were introduced in the sessions of the Association was largely due, we believe to the realization by the opposition that we were on the ground, ready, if necessary to defend our principles.

Not least among the benefits derived from having the headquarters was the effect on the members of the union. Since we come from five separate high schools, located in different parts of the city, the matter of getting acquainted with one's "brother" is a real problem. The headquarters helped to solve this. By serving as a general meeting place for union members, it developed a spirit of friendship that had been somewhat lacking heretofore.

We believe that the undertaking paid in the friends gained for the union, in the opposition silenced, and in the friendly feeling and spirit of unity developed among the union members.

MAE DARLING

CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

SUMMARY OF REPORTS FROM LOCALS FOR THE MONTH ENDING NOV. 15, 1919

Membership returns show that on November 15, Vallejo, the oldest local in the State, had 62, or 100 per cent of the teaching body, Sacramento High School 75, Sacramento Elementary 172, Visalia 29, San Francisco 175, Fresno High School 66, Benicia 15, Fresno Elementary 188. These figures give a grand total of 783. During the month Sacramento High added 6, San Francisco 14, Fresno High 6, and Fresno Elementary 39, a total

increase of 65. A loss of three members who emigrated to new places of work makes the net State increase 62. Since November 15, a very considerable accession to membership has been made thru the organization of Bakersfield, Selma and Kerman. More will be said of these places in the December report.

Sacramento High and San Francisco report the formation of committees to confer with the Central Labor Councils as to a closer educational connection between the teachers and the other workers of the community. A committee from the Sacramento Elementary Local is working with the Chamber of Commerce in arranging for University Extension Lectures and other means of community education. Fresno Elementary has a committee engaged in framing a program of social and educational work. The Sacramento Locals, after taking a leading part in putting thru a \$3,000,000 school bond issue, have appointed a Teachers' Committee to deal with the construction of the new buildings. They are also undertaking an industrial survey of the city as a basis for a revised course of study and an improved scheme of vocational guidance.

The relation between Locals and school authorities has been smooth, but it is hoped that superintendents will soon avail themselves more fully of the efficient and unselfish service the teachers' unions have placed at their disposal. With the aid of the Labor Council the San Francisco Local secured the reinstatement of two teachers under suspension by the Board of Education.

The relations between Locals and their communities have been friendly in every case. The Sacramento "Bee" and the Sacramento "Union" have both, however, issued editorials attacking the right of the teachers to affiliate with Labor.

The State Federation arranged for Mr. Chas. Pease, Sacramento, to speak at the Tulare County Institute at Visalia. As the president of the meeting gave Mr. Pease just twenty minutes in which to present our case, Mr. Pease reports that the venture was not as successful as he had anticipated. On his way he addressed an open meeting at Fresno.

The Sacramento Locals succeeded in electing Miss Ella G. McCleery as President of the N. Section of the California Teachers' Association.

Miss McCleery is a charter member of the Elementary Local.

The most vigorous activity in Extension work during the month has been shown by the Fresno Locals. They have organized Bakersfield, Selma and Kerman, and they have held extension meetings in two other towns. Reports indicate that Miss V. B. Carson, president of the Fresno Elementary Local, deserves special mention for her energetic work on behalf of our extension campaign. Presidents have not had time to get into action the machinery suggested by the State Federation for the distribution of literature, etc., at the time a definite organization district was assigned to each Local. However with a supply of propaganda material obtainable on application to Miss J. Colby, 124 N. Van Ness Ave., Fresno, Cal., it seems quite possible to reach every teacher in the State within the next two months. Every teacher has a right to hear *directly from us* the aims and spirit of our movement. Our influence on school administration and on the passage of proper school laws at the next Legislature will vary almost directly as our numerical strength. Our propaganda work must therefore be pushed vigorously. Our best policy, however, during these times of mental upheaval is to avoid wars with our critics, and to spread quietly and persistently literature, etc., setting forth the altruistic basis and patriotic objects of our movement.

Dec 5, 1919

S G McLEAN,
President

NEW ORGANIZING FORCES

From time to time the American Federation of Teachers will be able to draw from the ranks of its membership capable leaders who will go out among the unorganized, and bring them into the fold of unionism. The national is very fortunate this half-year in being able to have the services of two of its women members, as announced by Secretary Stecker in his "February Message." Miss Colby, of California, and Miss Williams, of Minnesota, now appointed organizers, attended the Fourth National Convention, and gave important service in the constructive work of that body. We bespeak for them a welcome everywhere, and plenty of hard, inspiring work.

A LETTER TO THE FRENCH UNIONS

The Fourth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, on January 1, 1920, sent the following message of greeting to the Federation of Teachers' Unions of France:

To the Federation of Teachers' Unions
of France,
Tours, France.

Fraternal Greeting:

The honor conferred upon the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled December 29, 1919 - January 2, 1920, by the kind message of greeting from the federated teachers of the great Republic of France is only outweighed by their profound pleasure in realizing that there is a genuine and significant sympathy between the trainers of the youth of the great democracies which you and we have the privilege of representing.

We trust that the solidarity of feeling so betokened may eventuate in educational policies and agencies that will not only be mutually helpful to the teachers and schools of France and the United States but will also insure the perpetuation of those ideals upon which the security and development of modern civilization rest, and for which we have worked and fought side by side.

Please express to our honored fellow-workers of the Federation of Teachers' Unions of France, our hearty good wishes for the early realization of the high destiny of French education, and accept collectively and individually our sincere assurances that the appreciation of the qualities of mind and heart which distinguish the French people and which we profoundly feel, will strengthen and endure.

(Signed) The American Federation
of Teachers
Chas B Stillman

Either the people are fit to govern or they are not. If they are fit to govern, it is no function of government to protect them from any kind of propaganda. They will protect themselves. That capacity for self-protection is the very essence of self-government. Without it regular institutions are inconceivable, and the moment that a republican form of government sets itself up as the nurse maid of the people, to train their immature minds to suit its own purposes and to guard them from all influences that it considers contaminating, we already have a revolution and a revolution backward, a revolution by usurpation.

—Frank I. Cobb, *Editor of the New York World*, from article, "The Press and Public Opinion," in the *New Republic* of December 31, 1919.

FORGOTTEN VANITY

It was the intention of the Executive Council to have a photograph taken of the delegates to the Fourth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers that was in session in Chicago during the Christmas holidays. But the interest and the excitement of the convention were so great that it seems everyone forgot altogether about the plan to have the photograph taken.

THE DEAD MARCH

There is great commotion within the realm of the dead. The gleaming shanks tremble as millions of gaunt bodies turn uneasily from their accustomed sleep. The dead are awaking. The new light and the strange sounds and the world of life are agitating the ether of the bodies of the dead, and they can rest no longer.

The new light is the light of intelligence streaming down from afar, loosed from the bondage of ignorance, springing from the fierce grip of prejudice, set free in the mind of man after years of a terrible war. The light strikes with heavy impact the sightless sockets of the dead, and the dull heads feel. It is the light that bears new ideas.

The strange sounds are the voices of men raised in anger that the institutions designed to make citizens of their children have lapsed into heedless sleep; nay, they are dead. And there are other voices, the voices of Idealism and Service, calling the dead things from their slumber. But these voices were ever scorned by the dead as being the voices of dreamers, of malcontents, and of radicals. Yet their voices stir relentlessly and without mercy, and they make the dead writhe even more than do the pleading voices of the children.

But the world of life, the great giant labor, strikes the dead with its mighty hand. And the dead shiver. It is the blow that warns, for, if it does awaken, education will be left to rot. Labor will make its own out of its image, and for its own purposes.

Let the dead rot, and let their ghosts haunt the shambles of history; or let them awaken into life. Let them stand. Let the Dead March!

SOME RESULTS OF THE NATION-WIDE DEMAND FOR IMPROVED CONDITIONS FOR GRADE TEACHERS

FLAT INCREASES

Houston, Texas	\$700
Newton, Mass.	600
Montclair, N. J.	500
Jersey City, N. J.	500
Ansonia, Conn.	500
Chicago, Ill.	\$450-400
Portland, Ore.	400
Winchester, Mass.	400
St. Joseph, Mo.	400-300
Newark, N. J.	400-200
Beverly, Mass.	350
Waltham, Mass.	350-100
Plymouth, Conn.	300
Putnam, Conn.	300
Stratford, Conn.	300
San Diego, Cal.	300
Manchester, N. H.	300
Paulsboro, N. J.	300-150
Dayton, Ohio	270
Clinton, Mass.	250
Waterbury, Conn.	250
Springfield, Ill.	250-200
White Plains, N. Y.	225
Montague, Mass.	220
Grand Rapids, Mich.	200
Morloboro, Mass.	200
Palmer, Mass.	200
Lewistown, Me.	200
Andover, Mass.	200
Waukegon, Ill.	180
Beloit, Wis.	180
Providence, R. I.	165
Little Falls, Minn.	135
Kearney, Neb.	185
Woburn, Mass.	120

PERCENTAGE INCREASES

	Per cent.
St. Paul, Minn.	50
Hamilton, Ohio	36
Monroe City, Iowa	33
Sioux City, Iowa	33
New Orleans, La.	30-40
Schuyler, Neb.	30
St. Joseph, Mo.	25-94
Cambridge, Ohio	25
Missoula, Mont.	25
Ironwood, Mich.	25
Worcester, Mass.	25
New Bedford, Mass.	25
Monroe, La.	25
Redfield, S. D.	25
Indianapolis, Ind.	22
Birmingham, Mich.	20
Lima, Ohio	20

Some of the new salary scales established recently are:

	Minimum	Maximum
Jersey City, N. J.	\$1,400	\$2,000
Oakland, Cal.	1,200	1,800
East Orange, N. J.	1,200	—
Billings, Mont.	1,200	—
Chicago, Ill.	1,200	—
Los Angeles, Cal.	1,100	—
Missoula, Mont.	1,100	1,500
Tulsa, Okla.	1,080	1,500
Sioux City, Iowa	1,020	—
Denver, Col.	1,000	1,800
Ironwood, Mich.	1,000	—
Worcester, Mass.	1,000	—

Lawrence, Kan.	900	—
Racine, Wis.	900	1,500
St. Paul, Minn.	900	1,500
Everett, Wash.	900	1,350
Buffalo, N. Y.	800	1,600
Rochester, N. Y.	800	1,600
Albany, N. Y.	800	1,400
Seymour, Conn.	800	1,200

—From Bulletin of Institute for Public Service, New York

CHANGES IN COST OF LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1913, TO OCTOBER, 1919.

The following table is an estimate, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, of the average increase in the cost of living in the United States since 1919. The Bureau has not complete retail price data back to 1913 and it has taken the average increase in the prices of the different groups of items for a number of industrial centers for the period from December, 1914, to June, 1919. While it is not held that the prices in these industrial centers necessarily agree with prices in every section of the country, yet the experience of the Bureau goes to show that the changes in prices in the industrial centers used are fairly representative of changes in the country generally except as to rents.

From data relating to food prices and to the wholesale prices of other groups of commodities, the changes from 1913 to December, 1914, and from June, 1919, to October, 1919, have been computed and the increases for these periods added to those from December, 1914, to June, 1919. The final results are shown in the table.

Rents are a purely local matter and changes in rents in a given locality can be obtained only by a special study in that locality. However, the percentages of increase in rents as well as in the other groups of items in the industrial centers mentioned have been applied to the increase shown in this table.

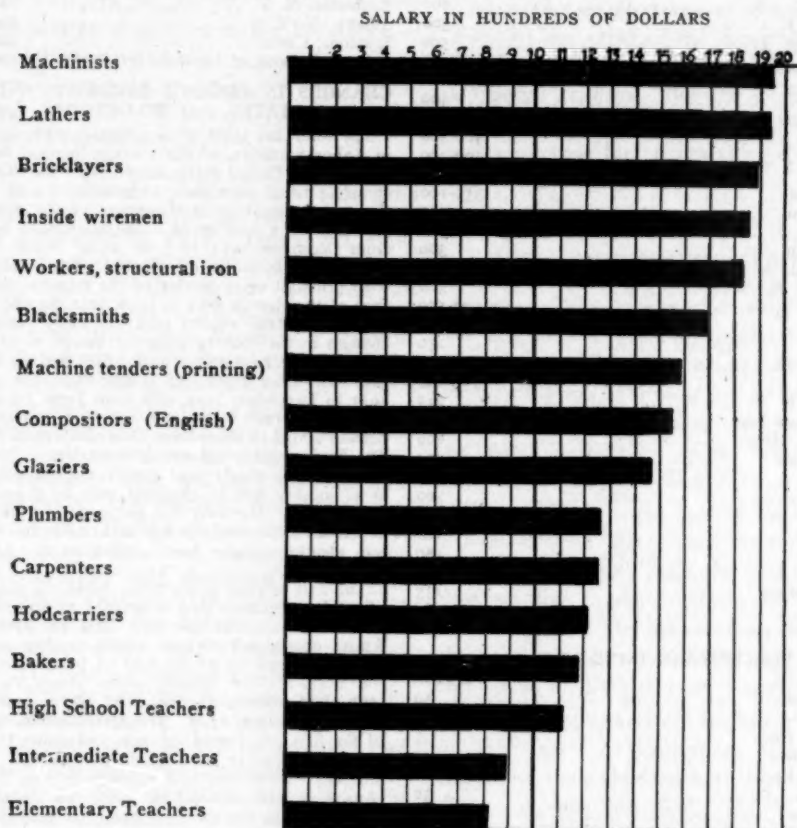
The first column in the table shows the average per cent of total expenditure that is devoted to the different groups of items—foods, clothing etc. This per cent is based on figures obtained from over 12,000 families in 92 localities, in a careful survey of the cost of living recently made by the Bureau. The second column shows the average per cent of increase in the prices of the several groups from 1913, to October, 1919. The third column is the product of the first and second columns and shows the per cent of increase applied to the total family budget. To illustrate: 38.2 per cent of the total expenditure goes for food; food costs have increased 80.7 per cent; this makes the per cent of increase in the price of food, as related to the total family expenditure, 30.8 per cent.

ESTIMATED PER CENT OF INCREASE IN COST OF LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1913 TO OCTOBER, 1919.

Items of expenditure.	Per cent of total expenditure.	Average per cent increase in prices from 1913 to October, 1919.	Per cent of increase as applied to family budget.
Food	38.2	80.70	30.8
Clothing	16.6	139.30	23.1
Housing	13.4	17.75	2.4
Fuel and light	5.3	45.07	2.4
Furniture and furnishings	5.1	139.62	7.1
Miscellaneous	21.3	81.31	17.3
Total	...	...	83.1

—From the Monthly Labor Review, of the U. S. Department of Labor, Vol. X, No. 11, January, 1920.

CHART SHOWING COMPARISON OF TEACHERS' SALARIES IN FIVE MIDDLE WESTERN STATES WITH THE UNION SCALE OF WAGES FOR CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS IN THE SAME SECTION AS INDICATED BY THE AVERAGE OF THE WAGES PAID IN CHICAGO AND CLEVELAND



—From the Bulletin of the National Education Association of December, 1919

OUR ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

Union teachers have to thank Dr. George Strayer of Columbia University, Dean William Russell of the Iowa University and President D. B. Waldo of the Kalamazoo state normal school for much effective advertising of the union movement among teachers, altho they had no intention of giving it anything of that kind. After brief mention of the subject he was scheduled to speak on, each of these speakers devoted most of his time and the best of his eloquence to this particular question. To do President Waldo justice, however, it must be said that his remarks were largely in the nature of a chorus to the preceding speakers, interpolated into the main body of his discourse. The emphasis of these three men has most certainly indelibly stamped the idea of unionism on the minds of teachers who had never before heard of it. No member of that audience will need to have explained what the American Federation of Teachers is or how it works thru its affiliations. —From Editorial, in *The Minnesota Union Advocate*, of November 14, 1919.

THIS EXCITES OUR CURIOSITY

It is very difficult to get news of constructive events in Russia today, and considerable interest attaches, therefore, to an article in *The London Times* educational supplement of a few weeks back. The writer tells us that the vast new educational scheme begun by the Bolsheviki is in the hands of a commissar named Lunachavski, who knows most European languages and is highly cultured. All schools have been abolished and in their stead a Labor school, divided into two parts, is attended by all children alike. The first part is for children from 8 to 13 years, the second for those of 13 to 17 years. Attendance is compulsory, all schools are coeducational, the teacher is called a "school workman" and has 25 pupils under him. No religious instruction will be given, no home lessons, no examinations, no punishments. One may see the influence of Tolstoy at work here. A hot lunch is provided for every child.

—From the *Christian Science Monitor*.

A TENTATIVE QUESTION BOX

The "American Teacher" has received several requests that a "Question Box" be made one of its ventures. Fortunately, the material for an experiment is ready to hand. An inquiry has arrived which supplies the immediate stimulus to action.

A correspondent writing from Michigan desires to know in what localities there is a system of subsidizing teachers for attendance at summer normals, universities, or elsewhere.

Anyone who has information bearing on this question should write to The American Teacher without delay. Answers will be published in the March issue.—The Editor.

AMERICAN RED CROSS

44 East Twenty-third Street
New York City

MOTION PICTURES IN CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS

In connection with the peace program of the American Red Cross, it is announced that that organization will develop a broad educational program by means of the motion pictures. According to a statement from Washington Headquarters the Red Cross will furnish not only pictures depicting its own work but will expand its film activities to include subjects pertaining to governmental, industrial, scenic and such other pictures as may properly be made parts of a broad program for a healthier and happier America.

The Red Cross states that in entering the educational film field its work is based on a definite demand for pictures of this character which are not provided in sufficient quantities by commercial concerns. Distribution will be made through the thirteen Red Cross Divisions and 3,700 chapters throughout the country.

Catalogues describing available films, suitable for churches and schools, will be sent to such institutions as send their addresses to National Headquarters, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

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

OSWEGO TEACHERS' AGENCY
Box C, Oswego, N. Y.

CONDITIONS FOR SCHOLARSHIP

It is this overwhelming lack of proportion in responsibility that is helping to drive active men out of university positions and reducing scholarly activity to a pedagogical dead level. The emasculated professor should have no place nor be tolerated in college teaching, and yet the manner in which many universities and colleges are now being administered cannot help but breed this very type. And who shall then make vital the higher education of the state? Scholarship must have force, vitality, and independence; and if regents and members of our boards of administration persist in misunderstanding this essential need of the men who work under their control, theirs alone must be the blame. A university cannot be a factory under the control of a superintendent and a few foremen. It must consist of hundreds of independent individuals guided by intelligent and generous leadership. If democracy in government or industry is ever to be trusted it should here of all places be able to prove itself.

—C Ferdinand Nelson, in an article on "Problems of Democracy in University Administration" in *The Graduate Magazine*, Univ. of Kansas, January, 1920.

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Literature and Music

The COLUMBIA PLAN of Teaching True Appreciation of Literature

In music and literature there is more than correlation; there is *identification of thought, feeling, subject matter, structure, and response*. The message of literature and music is one—to preserve the spirit of youth, to arouse wholesome emotion, and to quicken the mind and spirit to joyous, complete living. Class-room study of literature may be clarified and vitalized through music.

No teacher of English would neglect the opportunity of having his class listen to the music records of the songs of Burns, Longfellow, or Tennyson. Music is here fitted to poetry. But poetry is music.

Tell the pupils the story of Shakespeare's "Cymbeline." Describe the occasion that called forth

that inspiring morning song, "Hark! Hark! the Lark!" What kind of bird is a Lark? What are its habits? Who is Phoebus? Where is "heaven's gate?" Then play

Columbia Record A5484, "Hark! Hark! the Lark!" piano solo by Godowsky. Forget the words. Note Schubert's employment of brilliant chords for "Hark! Hark!" Observe the musical grammar in the phrase corresponding with "To ope their golden eyes." Study the musical progression in the last three lines, "My lady sweet, arise, arise, arise!"

There is no element of poetry—*type, rhythm, metre, rhyme, figure of speech, stanza form, or sentence structure* that cannot find its identical counterpart in music.

What is true of *Poetry* is also true of the *Drama* and *Fiction*. There is the same element of organization of material and emotional appeal.

The booklet, "Literature and Music," is a complete treatise of the subject, relating all types and elements of *Poetry, Drama* and *Fiction* to the corresponding form in music. It contains record and literature lists, exercises and a bibliography of helpful books and magazines. Send for free copy.



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