

The **AMERICAN TEACHER**

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

JUNE, 1920

Lancaster



What is the Matter with
Our Schools?

The Coming Price Level
Decline

At the Goal Posts

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

Conditions, Not Words, Create Unrest

NOW we have unrest in this country. We have a great deal of economic and industrial unrest. We have very little political unrest. But this industrial and economic unrest may be converted into political unrest by political measures which make men feel that they are being persecuted.

I have not the time now to say more than this: Communists are not made by words. They are made by the over-powering eloquence of situations, of injustice, and of persecution.

No doubt the great employing interests of this country think they are doing the right thing. They think that to strong-arm the workingman and drive him into his corner will make him submit, and that he will go back to be just as docile as he used to be in the old times before he got so enlightened. But I would like to express in my modest, apologetic way the thought that the people who are making Bolsheviks in this country are those who oppress others. It is the profiteers, it is the exploiters, it is those who grind the face of la-

bor. It is those who make the men who work feel that they are being treated with injustice.

And I want to say again in my modest and apologetic way that the head of the Steel Corporation, in my judgment, did more to provoke discontent in the United States than all the agitators put together could possi-

bly do when he stood in the President's industrial conference and refused to agree to a measure which would have made for peace and harmony between the workers and their employers.

The law of compensation is immutable — Men give in proportion to what they receive — Labor returns in service in fair pro-

portion to the justice which is meted out to it—Deal with labor unjustly and you have either a total failure or a decrease in production—Force upon labor unjust wages and unfair conditions and you will have your strikes, either off the job or on the job.

—From Address by Congressman George Huddleston, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, April 23, 1920.

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The American Teacher

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Volume IX, No. 5.

JUNE, 1920

One Dollar a Year

ST. LOUIS

For several weeks the St. Louis local and the American Federation of Teachers have been threatened with destruction by the Board of Education of that city. A resolution of the Board required the resignation of teachers from the union, or from the school system. Altho the membership of the union comprised two hundred fifty of the three hundred fifty high school teachers in the city, it was not deemed possible to withstand the pressure from the Board of Education. A vote taken recently by the teachers enabled the Board to score a victory, at least for the present.

The teachers in their last meeting adopted resolutions in which they said they would "continue as a local organization to work for the best interests of the St. Louis schools, and for those principles of a democracy on which American Education must be based."

All teachers were notified on June 9 of reappointment. The letters of notification contained a blank to be signed and returned to the Board stating that the teacher does not belong to a labor union or to an organization affiliated with a union organization.

Suit against the St. Louis Board is being brought for the restoration of the rights of teachers. Funds have been collected at the Montreal Convention of the American Federation of Labor for this purpose.

GOVERNOR SMITH

Once in a while out of the ruck of politics there develops a man. That Alfred E Smith, Governor of the State of New York, should have grown out of the environment of Tammany Hall politics makes the outcome all the more wonderful. To show what may happen in spite of the tutelage of that school, we invite the attention of readers to the message printed on the last page of this issue.

That message is the veto of the bill that was con-

ceived by its authors as a model of anti-teacher legislation for the remaining states of the Union. A description of the bill was given in the April issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER, and its more detailed provisions may be inferred from what Governor Smith says of it. The bill was passed in both houses of the State Legislature by heavy majorities. Altho it threatened the tenure of teachers and made requirements insulting to the sixty-five thousand teachers of the State, only one public school teachers' organization, Local 5, New York, opposed the bill openly. Others were deterred from doing so by the fact that the salary bill was being considered by the Legislature at the same time. Thus, the defense of the self-respect of teachers was left to other public bodies, of whom there were many in opposition, and to the understanding and courage of the Governor, a man who no more than three years before was classed as a politician, and a Tammany politician at that.

LANCASTER

"Resolved, That all the teachers affiliated with the Lancaster Teachers' Association of the American Federation of Teachers be advised by the Committee, supported by a majority of the Board that it is the conviction of the Committee that such affiliation is not for the best interest of our schools, and that all teachers so affiliated be respectfully requested, if they will, to abandon such affiliation and that each teacher indicate in writing to the Secretary of the Board on or before Thursday, June 3, 1920, whether or not he or she is willing to comply with this request.

R M BOLENIUS,
Secretary, Lancaster (Pa.) School Board

A curious document, withal. Strange mingling of cunning obsequiousness and cruel power, not to say concern for "the best interest of our schools." What does it all mean? Simply that the Lancaster Board of Education has been caught red-handed, not only by the teachers who are standing shoulder to shoulder, but also by labor and other strong bodies of citizens in the Pennsylvania city of 65,000 inhabitants.

Early in the year a committee of Lancaster teachers approached the school board with a request for an increase in salary. They were unable to get satisfaction even after numerous trials. Their next step was to appeal to the citizens thru the medium of window cards, etc. This method also failed, and as a last resort over one-half the teachers in the city applied for a charter in the American Federation of Teachers.

Lancaster is not a large town, and it happened that a member of the Board heard of the intention of the teachers to join with labor. This member "called up" the president of the teachers' union, and advised him to hinder such action if possible, and stated that he would oppose the re-election of teachers who joined the organization. Other members of the Board immediately opened a campaign of intimidation directed against such teachers as could be reached in that way. On May 18, 1920, without a hearing and without previous official notice, the School Board dropped eighty-two members of the union. Immediately the announcement of the dropping of the eighty-two was made, resignations from their organization ceased, and not a single one has been sent to the officers since. A mass meeting of citizens was called to meet in the Court House, and a big parade was held at night as protests against the action of the school board. Thus, the window cards must have had their effect at last. The Lancaster Ministerial Association met in the Y M C A building, and passed resolutions asking the school board to re-elect the teachers. The Association heard representatives from both sides before coming to a decision.

Leading citizens met at the Chamber of Commerce to investigate the merits and demerits of the union. After examining all the data bearing on the affiliation of the teachers with labor, the citizens found that the A F of T is in every sense "a legal, logical and orderly association." They said also that "The Lancaster teachers had urgent need and a perfect right to organize a local branch of the Teachers' Federation. To deny any of them re-election for that sole reason is arbitrary and unjust, and a wrong not merely to the individuals affected but also to the schools of our city. We, therefore, appeal to all our fellow citizens to insist upon the

re-election of all former teachers against whom no charges of inefficiency or incompetence have been brought."

Strange that this statement of the leading citizens should have so wholesome a sound, when the School Board is sure that "affiliation is not for the best interests of the schools." But the pounding of the ministers, the business men, and of other groups in the city had its effect, and the resolution signed by one Bolenius became public. For the School Board it was a considerable concession to "respectfully request" the teachers who were no longer members of the school system "to abandon such affiliation," or it might be regarded as merely impudence to speak to citizens in that fashion.

To an outsider it would appear suicidal for the Board to continue opposition to the outspoken will of the people. But not so. It should be understood that the School Board is for the most part a man whose name is Greist. He is the political boss, as well as some sort of a "Congressman." That being the case, the offer to reemploy the eighty-two teachers if they will disavow their union affiliations, even if the whole town supports the teachers, is about all that could be expected.

But the most vital thing of all is the fact that the eighty-two have stuck. It is too early yet to win.

SHORTAGES

Owing to shortages, one of which is print paper, the April issue of the American Teacher is followed by the June issue, with the consent of the Post Office. This issue is No. 5, being next in the series after No. 4, the April issue. The next issue will appear in September, as usual.

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What is the Matter With Our Schools?

"E S"

Grade Teachers' Union of Washington, D C.

The Great War is over—the world rudely awakened from a self-indulgent, self-satisfied, pleasure-seeking complacency, has begun to realize as never before, how near the breakers we have drifted. No phase of our nation's life seems to have escaped, and keen attention is turned to the training of the children of the land, as if there lay the cause of our failures and shortcomings, the burden of the cry being, "What is the matter with our schools?" until a layman might get the impression that everything educational has gone awry, and that our schools have failed in their mission.

Some ask the question despairingly as if the trouble is past finding out, and therefore beyond remedy, the only thing left to do being to swing on with the impetus the Past has given, until the "old cat dies," as the swing game expressed it, and then, perhaps, start again. Some refuse to believe that there is anything wanting in our scheme and are content to move along the beaten path without a thought of new conditions that are constantly arising. Others, however, more wise, look upon the unrest as a hopeful sign, since it proves that we are not in the rut of decadence, for not until there is a realization of a need for something greater, broader and finer, can progress take place.

The public schools of America have accomplished much and the nation may well be proud of their achievement, but how soon will that prestige be lost if we are satisfied with the laurels already won and fail to have a vision for the future. In the light of present-day conditions even the most indifferent should be aroused to the needs of the hour. What a calamity it would be indeed had the ultimate goal in education been reached; for, since nothing living remains static it would mean the beginning of that decay which invariably follows a supine willingness to let well enough alone.

So much is being said about the financial, economic and administrative betterment, that we may well pass them by and turn our attention to another, indeed, the greatest requirement of our schools—the teacher herself—for nothing transcends the personality of the teacher. What is to be her goal in all this reconstruction? May it not

well be a right about face in her attitude toward the profession? Heretofore, all too often her aim has been to use the schoolroom as a respectable way of earning a living, and while there to work only for her own glory, to outshine her fellow-workers. When such is her goal she may sometimes be tempted to stoop to the ignoble and there will follow the loss of a fineness in the atmosphere about her which will be reflected tho perhaps not analyzed. Then, indeed, there is "something the matter with our schools."

In the new education her vision is to be so broad, so high, so true, that she will forget herself in her eagerness to bring her pupils to a realization of what they may become by keeping high ideals ever before them. They will be taught that all must work for each, and each for all, if the world is to move onward and upward, away from selfishness and greed; that "liberty, equality, fraternity" must be lived not merely preached. The teacher must be what she wishes her pupils to become, otherwise her words are but a tinkling cymbal or sounding brass. She must play fair with her pupils and with her fellow-teachers or the impressionable mind of youth will detect the fraud and her words will lose force. The teacher must be actuated by the highest incentives and her pupils, absorbing the spirit, will, eventually, be moved by their power. In the schoolroom there are many opportunities for little acts of kindness and thoughtfulness which, if fostered by a sympathetic teacher, lead to an atmosphere of loving service to others, and, if continued, will become the habit of their lives. Let her by example and precept instil in the growing mind "that generosity which enables us to admire our competitors even when they are more successful than ourselves."

In the past all too many teachers have been content to teach the "three R's" and consider their duty done, but we have learned better in these stressful times when selfishness and a worshipping at the shrine of wealth have plunged the world into the surging tide of an unrest never before dreamed of. Now we see (it may be thru a glass darkly) that what this world needs, if real civilization is to live, is a keener sense of justice, to be willing to take no

more than we give; to judge others so far as we dare pass judgment at all, on what they really are in themselves not thru prejudice and biased knowledge which always bear the taint of ignorance; to respect the rights of others, not only property rights, but the right to freedom of opinion without persecution to follow, the right to live true to their own best personalities without their lives being made miserable. These are some of the things the new education is to include in its unwritten curriculum.

The teacher's materials are not those which endure for a season and then crumble to dust to be known no more, but her task is to mold that which is immortal, to find and then nourish that spark of divinity which God has implanted in all that is human. "She must view her work, not for to-day or to-morrow, but for Eternity." With what reverence then should she enter upon her responsibilities!

Teaching is indeed the "altruistic profession" and in this more than in any other must there be loyalty among its members; no belittling of one teacher by another; no subtle attempt to impair her standing; no destructive criticism of her work. Let all be worthy of this loyalty by aiming to be a help to one another—the strong to the weak, the older to the younger. Thus only can the profession inspire pupils and patrons with that confidence and respect which are its due—then only can its influence go forth to bless and advance this great Humanity of which each is a part and which is to be uplifted or debased according to the motives each obeys in doing his task. When teachers thru the land set these ideals before them there will be less cause for complaint in our schools and we shall have taken a great step in the direction of that "peace on earth, goodwill to men." Upon our schools in great part, rests the responsibility of developing a better, nobler generation than our own.

LABOR SUPPORT IN CALIFORNIA

To Guarantee Freedom

Whereas, The public schools are among the most potential factors in this country in developing a citizenship imbued with the ideals of a free government, with the result that they have become among the most prized institutions of democracy; and

Whereas, The independence, the intellectual quality and ability as well as the personal comfort and well being of the teachers in the public schools are all dependent almost wholly upon the way in which the material needs of the teachers are met in compensation for their services; and

Whereas, It is a notorious fact that the salaries of public school teachers and the conditions under which they labor are very generally inadequate and incompatible with the present day costs and standards of living; and

Whereas, Those teachers who have sought to organize into economic unions for the purpose of promoting the material welfare of teachers are being discriminated against and intimidated and crowded out by certain school boards dominated by the Commercial Federation of California, the attitude of which organization towards the teachers' union has been unmistakably shown in paid advertisements of that organization wherein it has been asserted that teachers affiliated with organized labor "will certainly be dismissed to make room for others who are faithful to the traditions of their profession;" therefore be it

Resolved, By the State Building Trades Council of California in twentieth annual convention assembled, that we commend the economic union of teachers into the organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and pledge the support of our state and local organizations to all such unions of public school teachers and that we call upon the membership or organized labor generally to take a renewed interest in the selection of local school boards to the end that those inspired by the un-American ideals of the Commercial Federation be not allowed to dominate the policies of our public schools, to enslave the lives of the teachers and to intimidate and pervert their independence as instructors of the youth of the nation.

CHAS. PILGRIM
S STINGLEY
O D TUCKLER
C C JARMAN
J L O'BRIEN
ED WASHBURN

The Coming Price Level Decline and its Significance for the A F of T

HARRY GUNNISON BROWN

University of Missouri, Local 126, A F of T

Prices are probably about to begin their swing downward. The fact is not yet, to be sure, obvious to the average citizen; and the reasoning on which such a conclusion is based involves a field of economic science of which the average citizen has but the vaguest notion. The man in the street may think that prices will fall. But his reason for so thinking is likely to be that of the small boy who asserts that "what goes up must come down." "What goes up" may, however, find a resting place on a ledge, and not come down. Sometimes the common man simply feels that the existing situation cannot last because it is so utterly different from anything in his previous experience. Pre-war prices are, in his view, "normal." Present prices are "abnormal." Therefore, present prices must fall. In fact, they probably will not for decades, if ever, return to their pre-war level; yet that they will fall somewhat, and perhaps a good deal, is fairly certain. We shall inquire, briefly, why this is the case.

To begin with, let us ask why prices rose during the war. We can hardly say that they rose *because* of "profiteering." The man who tries to make money by business chicanery, by unfair competition and by monopolistic conspiracy we have always with us. Such men were probably not appreciably more numerous than before. If, during the war and since, there has seemed to be more of what we call profiteering than in pre-war days, this is because conditions have been substantially favorable for such activities. And just why conditions have been favorable is the very thing we need to explain.

Most readers of the American Teacher probably understand that the principal underlying cause of the price rises has been currency inflation. If, without appreciably increasing our ability to produce goods, we get possession of a doubled amount of money and money substitutes (bank deposit accounts subject to check), prices will rise as inevitably as a canal boat rises when water is poured into a closed lock.

This conclusion we can make obvious by a method of reasoning familiar in mathematics, viz., the reduction to absurdity of its opposite. Suppose prices *do not rise!* Then if, as we have assumed, there is a doubling of the amount of money and money substitutes, those who have this additional purchasing power will seek to buy more goods than they would buy if their means of purchase were less. Even saved money, deposited in savings banks, is loaned by these banks and spent by the borrowers. A doubled volume of money and credit, with prices unchanged, will inevitably lead to an attempt to purchase a doubled volume of goods. But these additional goods are not in the market and cannot be produced. Men cannot work twenty-four hours out of twenty-four. To purchase a doubled volume of goods is to purchase goods that have and can have no existence. *At the old prices*, there is necessarily a short supply of goods relative to demand. This shortage may of course be accentuated when, as in war times, productive power is actually curtailed. Demand will inevitably exceed supply until prices rise in proportion to the increase of money and credit and the decrease of goods. During the rise, bond holders, recipients of salaries, wage earners in some degree, and others whose incomes rise less rapidly than prices, suffer. Active business men gain at their expense. Thus, if a manufacturing concern, because of doubled money and credit, sells its goods for a doubled price and pays a doubled price for its raw material but (as will be the case) pays the same return as before to its bondholders, the profits of the stockholders will *more than double*. This may be "profiteering"; but it is as useless to blame the persons who profit by it, while we bring into existence, by our method of war financing, its effective cause, as it is to blame the incoming tides for following the moon.

What was it, then, in war financing, that made prices rise? It was the issue of paper money (largely bank notes) and the expansion of bank credit, first in Europe and later in the United States. Bank

credit acts like money. A person or a government may go to a bank, offer whatever security is required, and get a *deposit account*, which means a privilege of writing checks up to the limit of such account. Since, in our society, the persons to whom checks are paid for goods commonly redeposit the checks in banks so that they in turn can write checks, and do not draw out the money, banks can lend in the form of deposit accounts several times as much as they actually have in money. Where, as in the United States, a money reserve of a fixed per cent of deposits is required, there is a limit to credit expansion, although that limit, when the United States entered the war, had not been nearly reached. But where, as in some European countries, the per cent reserve kept by banks was merely a matter of policy, government pressure for funds could, and did, modify that policy and lead to tremendous expansion.

What happened is familiar. Prices rose in Europe. European governments bought goods here. America received payment for these goods in securities and (before 1917) in nearly a billion dollars' worth of gold. American banks thus secured tremendous reserves. From the banks the government, in 1917 and 1918, borrowed heavily, causing bank credit to expand and using freely, in the purchase of goods, checks on this credit. Individuals were aided to borrow from banks because they had liberty bonds as security. Sometimes they borrowed *in order* to buy the bonds. All this meant larger checking accounts, increased demand for goods and, inevitably, higher prices. If you had, in 1917, \$1,000 and, instead of spending it for goods, gave it to the government to spend in return for a liberty bond, the government's increased demand for goods was offset by your *decreased* demand. But if you let the government have the \$1000 and borrowed \$800 more in bank credit on your liberty bond as security, then both you and the government were in the market for goods and there were *more dollars* offered for goods. And since there was no larger supply of goods, prices rose.

We all know these things in a general way. We know that government price regulation did not prevent price increases, except, perhaps in special cases where the goods were rationed; and government regulation *could not prevent them* unless by

making the surplus dollars *useless* thru rationing or thru making it dangerous to try to spend them.

What, now, of the present situation? Why are prices to fall? The reasons are: that our bank reserves are close to their legal minimum; that gold has been going out instead of coming in; and that, with the war over, the pressure on the banks to expand their loans is in large part removed. The percentage of bank reserves to bank deposits subject to check is low largely because deposits have been so greatly inflated. The limit on available reserves is nearly reached. But the reserves have of late been actually flowing away from us. During 1919 nearly \$300,000,000 of gold flowed out of the United States in excess of what flowed in. During the first two months of 1920, there was a net outflow of about \$75,000,000. The banks will try to keep the legally required per cent of reserves, or more. They cannot do this except by decreasing loans of cash and credit. To decrease these loans they charge higher interest or discount rates. If gold continues to flow out the banks must curtail credit in like degree. And it is highly probable that gold will continue to flow out. For the full effect of occidental inflation seems not to have been reached in India and China, and perhaps in South America. So long as gold will buy more there than here it is likely to be exported. Meanwhile, our bank reserves will decrease; our bank loans will presumably decrease; the amount of money and credit in circulation will therefore decrease; and the importation of goods from abroad will tend to increase.

If these things happen, prices must fall. Or rather, with a decrease in the supply of the media of exchange with which to make purchases, we cannot buy so many goods as now, *unless prices do fall*. A refusal of sellers to lower their prices, when purchasers have and can get less money or credit to buy with, inevitably means decreased purchases. There will be, of necessity, either lower prices or dull business, or some of both. Indeed, any large and rapid outflow of gold must inevitably reduce wages also, where they have risen proportionately to the previous rise of prices; or else, if the same high wages are insisted upon such a gold outflow must cause unemployment. I do not mean that wages in terms of dollars are likely to do so if prices fall fast and far.

A period when bank credit is decreasing tends to be a period of business depression *because* both business men and laborers have acquired, during the high prices preceding, ideas of what prices and wages are fair, ideas which are unrealizable when the volume of money and credit have greatly decreased. In a period of expanding credit, demand tends to exceed supply until prices rise; meanwhile business is active, lenders and persons on fixed salaries lose, and business men gain. In a period of diminishing credit, supply tends to exceed demand until prices fall; meanwhile business is dull and unemployment common, lenders and persons on fixed salaries gain (if employed), and business men as such suffer relative loss. If all persons who were desirous of selling goods, working for wages, lending capital or leasing real estate, would voluntarily reduce their charges as rapidly as money and credit decreased, business might remain active. But with less of the media of exchange in circulation, i. e., with less money and credit offered for labor and goods, it is mathematically impossible that there should be both as many and large transactions as otherwise and as high prices. Any hesitancy to reduce prices under such conditions, any widespread holding out for the prices that have become customary, will inevitably mean business depression.

Such business depression—unless credit quickly expands again, as it will hardly do with gold reserves decreasing—will eventually lead to reduced prices and, probably, wages. Failure to sell goods forces down prices. Failure to find employment forces down wages. A period of business depression is a period when *men's spirit is broken*. And the depression is not unlikely to last until men's spirit is far enough broken to bring the lower prices and wages which at first were hardly thought of.

Our chief present concern is with the bearing of different stages in the business cycle upon the power of labor to secure reasonable conditions of work and, in particular, upon the ability of teachers to face successfully the opposition which would forbid them to organize or affiliate with labor and which would dismiss them for criticism of the established economic order. The period of rising prices before salaries have risen proportionately may be economically worse for most teachers than a period of business depression. But it has at least

this advantage: that the places of dismissed teachers are almost impossible to fill. When, on the other hand, business is depressed and prices are falling, there is not an equivalent deterrent on boards of education and other administrators resulting from the fear that places of dismissed teachers cannot be filled.

Consider now the effect of the business situation on the teacher. During business activity the dismissed teacher can be fairly sure of getting other work at, often, increased pay. He has, therefore, relatively little occasion to fear the wrath of a despotically minded board, in case he joins a union. But during depression, when many men are idle and other work is hard to get, he has more reason to be afraid of the consequences of joining a union and is likely to be less willing to join.

If, therefore, as seems probable, business depression is on the way and is likely soon to overtake us, teachers must make haste now to organize and to establish the tradition that it is their right to organize and to have freedom in their expressions of opinion on economic and social problems. The A F of T must do its best to reach the maximum size and strength while the tide still flows in. Another year, perhaps, will see conditions changed to our disadvantage. For if depression does come, we shall be lucky to maintain anything like our present rate of growth. Opportunity beckons now. It may never, in our generation, beckon quite so hopefully again.

A REASON FOR DEMOCRACY

The strongest reason for democratic administration in universities is that it is necessary to the self-respect of the instructor. This reason applies as strongly to workers in secondary schools as to professors in universities. The startling fact in the educational world today is the wholesale desertion of the teaching profession by teachers of all grades. This is attributed, and is chiefly due, to low salaries. But this is only a part of the explanation. Even if salaries could be made adequate it would not meet the situation. Inquiries made with a view of filling vacancies in the University faculty disclose the fact that competent men cannot be had at any price. The tide cannot be turned until there is an improvement in the position of the teacher, until he ceases to be regarded as hired help, and is given a voice in the conduct of the enterprise to which he devotes his life. In this way and in no other can the type of men and women who formerly entered the teaching profession be called back to it.—PROF F H HODDER, in *The Graduate Magazine* (Univ. of Kansas) for May, 1920.

Proceedings of The Eastern Conference of The American Federation of Teachers

II

RUTH G HARDY

Secretary, The Eastern Conference

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING A SABBATICAL YEAR FOR TEACHERS

Whereas: It is recognized that teachers need periods of absence from their regular duties to travel, to take courses, and to engage in other than gainful occupations, to be better fitted for their tasks, and

Whereas: It has been found beneficial to grant leave of absence to teachers in some universities for such purposes, and

Whereas: It has been found beneficial to encourage such travel and study during such periods of absence.

Be It Resolved, by the Eastern Locals of the American Federation of Teachers, in convention assembled at Philadelphia on April 3, 1920,

1—That boards of education be urged to grant one year's leave of absence with pay to all teachers after every six years of service, and

2—That all labor bodies be requested to urge such action upon Boards of Education and

3—That all locals of the American Federation of Teachers be asked to take steps to secure action by State Legislatures, and local education boards to provide for such leaves of absence from duty with full pay.

RESOLUTIONS REGARDING QUALIFICATION FOR PRINCIPALSHIP OF VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS, AND SUPERVISION OF TEACHERS OF TRADE SUBJECTS

Resolved: That in addition to academic requirements satisfactory to the board of examiners, five years of practical experience at a trade taught in a vocational school be among the qualifications for principals of vocational schools and supervisors of teachers of trade subjects.

EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS

Whereas, A country as large as the United States, in which the educational systems are entirely under state or local control, offers many diversities of excellence in teaching of which it is almost impossible to have complete appreciation, and

Whereas, The true way to learn more of one's

profession and to criticise oneself is to come into first-hand contact with these diverse systems rather than to learn of them either thru print or thru addresses,

Be It Resolved, That the members of the American Federation of Teachers work to secure an adequate interstate exchange of teachers, whereby anyone desiring such an experience may be released from his own school for a year every fifth year or less frequently with full pay, to serve in a school of the same grade in another section where another teacher will be released to take his place,

And Be It Further Resolved, That the United States Bureau of Education be asked to consider this matter, and advise the states on the value of such experience.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Resolved, That teachers be granted by proper legislative enactment in the various states, the right to nominate superintendents, supervisors, principals and heads of departments and,

Resolved, That the terms of such officials be limited to three years, no official to serve more than two consecutive terms.

Resolved, That the present Committee on School Organization be constituted a standing committee of the Conference on Democratic Administration of Schools.

Members of Committee:

Miss M Agnes Boles, Local 95, Providence, R I

Mr. Louis Goldman, Local 5, New York

Miss Clara K Stutz, Local 16, Washington, D C

Miss Cora McCarthy, Local 16, Washington,

D C

Mrs. Elizabeth Draper, Local 16, Washington,

D C

Miss Amy F Dilcher, Local 45, Mahonoy City,

Pa

Miss Florence Salzberg, Local 5, Washington,

D C

Mr. T W Turner, Local 33, Washington, D C

Miss Henrietta Rodman, Local 5, New York, Chairman.

It was moved to consider the Report on Permanent Organization of Eastern Convention of American Federation of Teachers at 11 o'clock.

The report was adopted as a whole. It recommended that:

1—The Convention be permanent but unofficial. That it hold two meetings: (1) in the Spring vacation, Friday and Saturday of Easter week; (2) in the Autumn, Friday and Saturday after Thanksgiving.

2—A permanent Executive Council to carry out the work: (1) Assist and strengthen small and new locals in Eastern District; (2) co-operate with field secretaries on organization of new locals; (3) give effect to proceedings of conference; (4) make provisions for two meetings.

3—Officers to be one president, eight vice-presidents; proportionally represented council to elect its own chairman and secretary and treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF PERMANENT EASTERN
CONFERENCE, AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF TEACHERS

Henry R Linville, Local 5, President
Herman Defrem, Local 71, 1st Vice-President
Cora McCarthy, Local 16, 2nd Vice-President
Henrietta Rodman, Local 5, 3rd Vice-President
Helene Cummings, Local 87, 4th Vice-President
John A Marsh, Local 100, 5th Vice-President
Mrs G Ryan, Local 56, 6th Vice-President
A O'Mara, Local 98, 7th Vice-President
B. Ryan, Local 45, 8th Vice-President
Ruth G Hardy, Local 5, Secretary

Literature Committee

Florence Salzberg, Local 5
Henrietta Rodman, Local 5
Cora McCarthy, Local 16

RESOLUTIONS CONCERNING LABOR EDUCATION

1. *Be It Resolved*, by the Convention of Eastern Locals held at Philadelphia, on April 2, 1920, that all locals of the American Federation of Teachers be urged to foster the movement toward the establishment of trade union schools and colleges;

Be It Further Resolved, That wherever possible members of teachers' unions give and take courses in such schools and colleges;

Be It Further Resolved, That whenever feasible,

only members of teachers' unions be on the staffs of such schools and colleges.

2. *Whereas*, Labor has found it unfeasible and impracticable to leave entirely to the established school systems the important matter of adult education; and

Whereas, Organized labor has begun to establish schools of its own which experience thus far has shown to be more effective in meeting its needs; and

Whereas, This experiment of organized labor gives promise of great good to adult and child education generally,

Be It Resolved, by the Convention of Eastern Locals of the American Federation of Teachers at Philadelphia on April 2, 1920, that it disapproves most emphatically attempts which are being made in some localities to hamper the work of labor self-education, and

Be It Further Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor and all state and central labor bodies be urged to oppose vigorously every attempt made by reactionary forces to hamper this work of trade union schools thru the enactment of laws calling for the licensing of such schools, and

Be It Further Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the American Federation of Labor, the New York State Federation of Labor and to appropriate committees of the New York Legislature.

Be It Resolved, by the Convention of Eastern Locals held at Philadelphia April 2, 1920,

That copies of the above resolutions (sets one and two) be transmitted to Trade Union Colleges and similar organizations thruout the United States.

Be It Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to re-affirm its endorsement of schools conducted under union auspices;

Be It Resolved, That this body recommend that Workers' Colleges and similar organizations cooperate in the formation of a national association for the promotion and extension of the Workers Educational movement.

Be It Resolved, That this body recommends the early establishment, under control of organized labor, of a bureau of labor research and reference.

Be It Resolved, That the trade union colleges and similar institutions cooperate in the preparation

of a series of text books dealing with economic, civic and historical questions from the workers' point of view.

Be It Resolved, That this body stand for the incorporation of industrial history in the course of study of all schools.

LABOR EDUCATION

At the morning session on April 3, an address was delivered by Miss Fannia Cohen of the Ladies Garment Workers' Union of the educational activities of that union. She said that the union felt the need of education among those who had gone into industry at an early age. The union began propagandizing among workers for labor education and found them receptive. At the unity centers members assemble four or five evenings a week to attend lectures. The Board of Education supplies some school buildings and teachers subject to the approval of the union, but allows the unions to choose their curriculum and their methods of instruction. Some of the courses are English, Economics, History, Literature, Music and Art. The students can make recommendations as to the subjects they would like to have given, and in the method of instruction to be followed. If these recommendations are considered practicable, the teachers and students try to carry them out.

The teachers are chosen for their sympathy with widely divergent views and for their ability to cooperate with students under their charge. The teachers are asked not to follow the usual method of instruction obtaining in universities, but to take into account the practical experience of these students and their desire to participate in the lessons. So they are asked to make out special outlines and questions which would call into play the initiative and desire for expression of the students.

All Union teachers can help this labor education work by qualifying to take positions as teachers in such institutions as are under the charge of trade unions.

The Educational Committee of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has also fostered the new School for Social Research. They finance a special class for trade union teachers in order to prepare them for trade union colleges.

The students in these institutions feel that the trade unions not only care for their economic inter-

ests, but for their spiritual welfare; so there is a spirit of good fellowship among the trade union members and between teachers and students.

MEMORANDA FOR BUILDING UP THE UNION MOVEMENT AND KEEPING IT BUILT UP *Submitted by Henry R Linville, President, and approved by the Eastern Conference*

1—It may serve as a test of the effectiveness and penetrating power of our propaganda to observe whether or not we hear of the work of the American Federation of Teachers thru the great mediums of publicity, reaching us as if we who are already members were hearing the great news for the first, second or third time. If the publicity does not reach us, does it reach others who should hear of it thru the press or thru the talk of newly interested teachers?

2—The union movement should proceed with vastly more accelerated speed than is possible with our present insufficient equipment and funds.

3—The hard and able work of our four organizers should be supplemented by a publicity bureau organized on a national scale.

4—The publicity bureau could with some increase of facilities be carried on in connection with the office of the AMERICAN TEACHER.

5—The staff could then organize an effort to circulate information about the union movement among teachers thruout the United States, to teachers organizations already in existence, to summer normals, to Chatauqua schools, to schools and educational institutions of every kind.

6—Most important of all it could make arrangements to gain publicity thru the newspaper and the magazine press.

7—A correspondence section of the work has already developed, but can not yet be made efficient for following up inquiries from individuals in schools, and also students in colleges who are interested in the polemic features of the movements as a subject for debates.

8—In order to make the publicity take, the standard literature published by us should be entirely revised and made more penetrating with the help of a specially equipped, professional publicity worker, a person who can get publicity where all others would fail, a well-trained newspaper man or woman. Much of our publicity at present is carried on with-

out this necessary penetrating power. It does not go thru and reach its proper destination in the minds of the public, including the teachers.

9—A second and equally important feature of our work should be an entirely new effort. We have at present no economical and efficient method of getting new locals immediately and interestedly at work on their problems. During the early weeks of the existence of these new locals, they frequently lose heart because of opposition which they do not know, from lack of experience, how to meet. Furthermore, many new locals after the effort of getting organized is spent, do not know what to do.

10—In order that the infant mortality of the American Federation of Teachers may be satisfactorily reduced, the Eastern Conference strongly urges upon the Executive Council of the A F of T that plans be worked out at once to look after the new locals more effectively.

11—The organization as a national body could extend the hand of fellowship to welcome the new locals. This could be followed up with a brief summary of the best of the experience of the older locals, as a means of saving the great amount of time required by new locals in learning over again the experience which is common to us all.

12—Then could follow a series of letters giving the history of other locals whose experience and success in meeting problems and finding work to do have been marked.

13—The influence of well-known men and women who believe in our cause could be made effective in certain regions far distant from large bodies of union fighters, and this influence would be available to the smallest locals.

14—Advice could be offered to affiliate with local labor bodies, and to get into the real labor movement by offering to help labor itself.

15—Methods of starting to work on finding work for the members for the purpose of keeping up interest and developing leaders could also be sent out.

16—So important do the possibilities of this work of preventing waste on the part of the national organization appear to the Eastern Conference that it urgently recommends a shifting of the emphasis of effort from the present major effort of organizing new locals to the effort of saving locals from dying for lack of care and proper teaching.

DELEGATES

*to the Eastern Conference of Teachers' Unions,
Held at Philadelphia, April 1-2-3, 1920*

Frank V Adamthwaite, Local 87, 812 Ocean Ave., Jersey City, N J

Elizabeth D Burrell, Local 143, 1711 11th St, N W Washington, D C

M Agnes Boles, Local 95, 139 Rochambeau Ave, Providence, R I

Elizabeth Bellis, Local 32, Shenandoah, Pa

Margaret Brown, Local 87, 38 East 37th St, Bayonne, N J

Mr J V Crowne, Local 71, 607 W 138th St, N Y City

Mary E Cox, Local 95, 40 Sterry St, Pawtucket, R I

Mary Costello, Local 87, 337 Bovoma Ave, Jersey City, N J

Helene Cummings, Local 87, 2128 Hudson Blvd, Jersey City, N J

Mr H Defrem, Local 71, 2875 Broadway, N Y City

Amy F Dilcher, Local 45, Farney Apt, Mahanoy City, Pa

Mrs Elizabeth Draper, Local 16, 1453 Fairmont St, N W, Washington, D C

Mary C Dent, Local 16, 3009 P St, N W, Washington, D C

Marie A Depew, Local 58, The Normandie, 36th & Chestnut, Philadelphia, Pa

John J Donohue, Local 5, 1137 Longfellow Ave, Bronx, N Y City

John A Frenzel, Local 24, 2152 Webster Ave, N Y City

Louis A Goldman, Local 5, 674 Hendrix St, Brooklyn, N Y

Sara Golden, Local 5, 1880 Belmont Ave, N Y City

Anna J Garland, Local 95, 472 East Ave, Pawtucket, R I

Edna E Hauke, Local 56, 605 Mass Ave, N E, Washington, D C

Ruth G Hardy, Local 5, 228 Henry St, Brooklyn, N Y

Jos Jablonower, Local 5, 2380 Creston Ave, N Y City

Henry R Linville, Local 5, 36 Terrace Ave, Jamaica, N Y

Mrs F Martinez, Local 24, 176 W 89th St, N Y City

Cora McCarty, Local 16, 1729 H St, N W, Washington, D C

John A Marsh, Local 100, 56 Peter Parley Rd, Boston, Mass

Mr A O'Mara, Local 98, 11 Columbia Ave., Trenton, N J

Augusta Orlinger, Local 5, 599 Van Siclen Ave, Brooklyn, N Y

Mrs Grace L Ryan, Local 56, Kensington, Md
Henrietta Rodman, Local 5, 174 25th St, Elmhurst, N Y

Mrs Bina Ryan, Local 45, 111 W Pine St, Mahanoy City, Pa

Rose Stutz, Local 8, 1628 Swann St, N W, Washington, D C

Miss Florence Salzberg, Local 5, 1107 Forest Ave, Bronx, N Y City

Mr T W Turner, Local 33, Howard University, Washington, D C

Anna D Hershman, Local 58, 514 Tasker St, Philadelphia, Pa

Clara K Stutz, Local 16, 1628 Swann St, N W, Washington, D C

BUT ALWAYS THE SCHOOLS FOR PROPAGANDA

A high school student from Clinton, Iowa, has won first prize in the War Department's prize essay contest. Chillicothe, Missouri, takes second prize, and Olive Branch, Mississippi, third, on the benefits of an enlistment in the army. This is an ingenious method of inspiring proper politics and patriotism in the younger generation of Clinton, Chillicothe, and Olive Branch. In some schools of the West, and perhaps of the East and South, too, this prize essay writing was made compulsory for high school students. (A few pusillanimous school boards, awed by the protests of labor councils, let the contest be purely voluntary.) Of course the contest is no debate—the students are to argue the side that will win the prize; and the prize winners, in addition to their gold and silver and bronze medals, get a free trip to Washington at the taxpayers' expense. It must be said that the War Department has been rather amateurish in applying the method. It might have had the nation's school children argue the benefits of universal military training or of compulsory military service. Then Mitchell Palmer might start a national school essay contest on *The Menace of Free Speech* and the *Superiority of Suppression*, with Albert Sidney Burleson, Thaddeus Sweet, and Ole Hanson as judges; Josephus Daniels might start another on *America's Need for Incomparably the Greatest Navy in the World*; in fact, the method, carried to its logical conclusion, might include a compulsory prize essay contest on *The Necessity for a Third Term*. Why not?—From *The Nation*, of May 1, 1920.

NON-PARTISAN POLICY A F OF L ENDORSED

New York, May 20.—The Central Federated union at a largely attended meeting decisively repudiated its former action in endorsing the so-called Labor party by a vote that leaves no doubt in the minds of thinking trade unionists as to where it stands. The vote was 122 to 18. Much political capital has been made out of the fact that the Central Federal union of this city had repudiated the plan of the A F of L to adhere to its non-partisan political policy. The radicals were successful as result of the conservative members failing to attend meetings since the endorsement of the Labor party. Realizing that they were being misrepresented, a determination was reached to correct the misleading reports that had been spread broadcast over the country, and the action of the conservative members at the last meeting makes that so clear that there can no longer be any misconception put upon it. It is the most staggering defeat that element in our central bodies has met with and will no doubt have a sobering effect in other sections where similar action has been taken or contemplated by central bodies.—From the *Weekly Newsletter* of the American Federation of Labor.

The facts are not completely disclosed by the accounts as printed in the *Weekly Newsletter*. The Labor Party was launched by a referendum vote of the locals, and not because the conservatives failed to attend the meetings.

On May 21, 1920, Peter J Brady, a member of the Allied Printing Trades and James P Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, accompanied by about one hundred long-shoremen, teamsters and others, most of whom were not delegates to the Central Federated Union of New York City, raided that body. They forced the sergeant-at-arms to one side, intimidated the members with threats of violence, howled down all opposition, forced the chairman out of the chair, which was then seized by Peter J Brady for a time. Then the former chairman was forced to take the chair again. Mr Hugh Frayne, the New York Representative of the American Federation of Labor was present, and seemed to approve the action taken.

The real Central Federated Union did not repudiate the Labor Party. The conservatives, aided by the thugs, forced thru a resolution stating that it was the consensus of opinion of those present that the delegates to the C F U endorse the nonpartisan policy of the A F of L. Endorsing gun-man tactics reflects no credit on labor, or on leadership of that kind.—Editor, THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

The June Message

F G STECKER

Secretary-Treasurer, The American Federation of Teachers

We have now passed the fourth anniversary of the American Federation of Teachers. Such has been its development that many among both members and non-members are in the habit of thinking of this organization as being much older. Its organization took place at the City Club in Chicago, April 15, 1916. The eight pioneer locals which had previously been chartered by the American Federation of Labor paid their last A F L per capita in April and the May per capita opened the treasury of the new national union. The fiscal year therefore, begins with May 1st. In the first year one charter was granted; in the second year, ten; in the third year, fifty-five; in the fourth year, one hundred five. Total, one hundred seventy-nine.

It would be misleading to infer that every group included in the numbers just given, has proved a success. An examination of the reasons for the failures not only reflects seriously upon school conditions, but also adds greater credit to the groups which have won out over these obstacles. The majority of failures have been due to the habitual transiency of teachers. Groups which had been organized late in the school year have in many instances lost their entire leadership, if not the entire membership, through acceptance of better positions elsewhere before the organization had become a fixed institution in the life of the school. A few cases may be attributed to lack of understanding on the part of the teachers as to what organization means. These were teachers looking for a panacea for their troubles. Upon discovery that school problems, like all others, must be solved by those most concerned, and that organization is intended at best to provide the means, encouragement, good counsel and support in the efforts to bring about a solution, their courage failed them. They thought it easier to suffer their present evils than to venture on new paths. A truthful presentation of the failures of the American Federation of Teachers can give little comfort to those who wish to build thereon an argument against affiliation.

Indeed, it is a matter of gratification to those who have watched with interest the growth in mem-

bership, influence and effectiveness of the American Federation of Teachers, to see more than ten thousand teachers standing firm in their convictions. The past year has been one of splendid achievements. Enthusiastic returns from scores of presidents of locals indicate that the adoption of better salary schedules will serve to retain the present teachers and attract high grade talent among high school and college students about to choose a vocation. But, what is more important, the teachers are winning a new position of respect on the part of the public. As teachers assume their places in the civic and social life of the community, there will be less dissatisfaction, less loss of good material and a greatly strengthened morale. A year ago some of us may have expected a more rapid growth during the present school year. It is easy to see in retrospect that a growth of one hundred per cent in membership is a remarkable attainment. So much must be done. Teachers have done so little thru and for themselves. So much must be learned about organization and business procedure. It takes time to grasp fully the civic responsibilities of a group of teachers and to come in touch with the important civic institutions of the community. Self confidence and initiative must be developed and leadership must be selected and tested. Discouraging obstacles must be overcome. The history of any one of these groups during the past year confirms the statement that the present status of the American Federation of Teachers is one of which its members may well be proud.

We must not forget the fact that salary schedules are not all important. The present danger lies in the premature assumption by the public that all is well in the schools because the board of education has granted an increase. The newspapers are promoting this sentiment. Little is to be gained from salary adjustments unless there be an accompanying improvement in other phases of working conditions. Education must be in the hands of teachers and administrators of the highest quality, properly trained and professionally minded. The work must be such as to call forth from them the best that is

in them. Conditions must not be such as to kill initiative, ambition and personality. Advanced salary schedules in themselves may have a tendency to hold or attract those who have come well qualified but whose nobler nature is dwarfed by undemocratic conditions. Few members of any community appreciate the real values in education. It is easy for newspapers, politicians and those in public life not really interested in the schools, to deceive the public. The present practice is to announce boldly that having adjusted the salaries all is well. Eternal vigilance on the part of teachers will be the price of good educational conditions. Campaigns to interest and instruct the public on other topics than salary will also be necessary.

It must also be kept in mind that in many quarters there is no desire to have a high grade of teachers. The poorer the grade of teachers, the more easily they will be handled, the more easily they can be intimidated and the less they will seek to assert themselves. In this way the secrets of mismanagement, inefficiency and low educational standards will be safe. Often, it is found, the entire community feels that education is safe because it has confidence in the members of its board of education. It never stops to consider whether these members are qualified for their positions on the basis of knowledge of, and interest in, educational affairs. How often a community is satisfied to permit men to sit as members of a board of education and entrust them with complete charge of the destiny of the children when those same men would not be permitted to sit in other public bodies in whose duties the community feels a more direct interest. Even tho the members of the board of education be highly qualified, honest, and faithful, how stupid it is that the community should feel that the education of the children requires no further consideration.

A meeting of the California State Federation of Teachers was held in Fresno May 15th. The program was a very heavy one for a one day meeting. It outlined plans for state federation organization; finance; detailed scheme of trade union education including Americanization; teachers' union policies; legislation and resolutions. As the entire program cannot be reproduced here a few items will be mentioned. Under organization these questions were

raised: "Shall all locals affiliate with state labor federation thru state teachers' federation?" and "Shall an official lawyer be chosen?" Under finance: "Shall state bear all the expense of organizing new locals?" "Shall state print *all* its own literature?" "Shall convention recommend assessments on all members of National with a view to liquidation of National debt, including American Teacher deficit?" "Shall state federation institute (a) death or sick benefit fund? (b) summer rest camp?" Under the third topic came—"Study work of Boston Trade Union College, N Y Garment Workers' Educational committee and Seattle Workers' College." As to the teachers' union policies more than a dozen topics appear some of which are "education among trade unionists; community activity; club for union teachers; publicity as to school problems; local problems (to be presented in writing by delegates); reorganization of literature; advisability of persistent *activity* at present." The topics under legislature were of wide range and included several California tax questions; several questions of administration; the protection of the teacher as to minimum salary law; retirement salary law; married women; dismissed teachers; tenure; sabbatical year; size of classes; equal pay for all teachers having same qualifications. The proposed resolutions were to deal with the demand for educational plank in the national party platforms; the school crisis—teacher shortage—financial shortage—support of normal schools; A F L and trade union schools and the establishment of a high class labor paper at Washington, D C. This is but a brief sketch and does not do justice to the program as announced. The California State Federation of Teachers has manifested a great deal of initiative and energy in leading the way to the position which teachers and teachers' organizations should occupy.

The following is quoted from a San Francisco correspondent:

"Last Sunday evening two of the prominent clergymen in San Francisco spoke on teachers' unions. I happened to see on Saturday evening that Dr Gordon of the First Congregational Church was going to answer the question: "Should the teachers of San Francisco organize themselves into labor unions?" Dr Gordon's church is one of the fashionable churches in San Francisco—near the hotel

district—and somehow I took it for granted that he would give a negative reply. I drew this conclusion as I knew his salary was paid by people who are opposed to all forms of unionism but that of capital. I expected to go to hear him so decided that I would write him a letter stating our point of view explaining a few of the "bogey" and enclosing some of our literature. I also sent him the March AMERICAN TEACHER with Prof Overstreet's article. In all I gave him about ten pieces of literature—our own constitution, the American Federation of Teachers' constitution, Call to Action, Right to affiliate, John Dewey's letter, etc. I wanted the satisfaction of knowing that he had our viewpoint and if he spoke against the unions it could not have been helped. To my great surprise and delight he answered "yes" and he started in to explain that there was a teachers' union in San Francisco known as San Francisco Federation of Teachers No. 61 and that he had its constitution before him and he then read Article III, Section 1, on strikes. He spoke of the Prussian system of education in the U S—that all the orders came from the top down, that the teachers had no voice in the conduct of the schools, etc. He said the union teachers were the bridge between the two forces and concluded with a repetition of his answer, "Yes, despite what the press has said in the past few days."

I could hardly contain myself while he was talking.

The other clergyman, Dr Reed, also spoke in favor of the unions after Mr Mohr had spoken with him for two hours on Saturday and convinced him of our aims and purposes. He seemed to be opposed to teachers aligning themselves with a class but Mr Mohr gave him Professor Overstreet's article so he was finally won over to our cause."

The Executive Council has authorized the creation of a new activity to be known as "School Betterment Service of the American Federation of Teachers." It will be in charge of Mr W T McCoy as director and Mr Geo W Tanner as assistant director. Mr McCoy is president of the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers No 2. He is also chairman of the Chicago High School Teachers' Publicity Committee. Mr Tanner is an important worker in the same local and treasurer of the Chicago High School Teachers' Publicity Com-

mittee. The work of this Chicago committee conducted a victorious campaign a few months ago. For some time it has been apparent that the methods of this campaign would be extended on a national scale and the Chicago members have been anxious to make it a federation activity. In the Chicago and Illinois campaign the services of the McCutcheon-Gerson Publicity Agency have been found invaluable and the gentlemen connected with this agency have become deeply interested in the educational situation. For the present the School Betterment Service will be located in their office 1024 Garrick Bldg, Chicago, Ill. Mr McCoy and Mr Tanner will devote to this work their time outside of school hours. It is evident that in this school crisis the opposition is succeeding in preventing A F T from making its due influence felt in a way that is recognized by the teachers at large and the public. The country is pretty well covered with isolated school betterment campaigns many of them state-wide. Many of these are almost a unit in their concentrated and coordinated hostility to any movement toward organization of teachers or the raising of the teachers' professional status. Under these conditions our 150 locals do not offer a sufficient fighting front to make much impression on the country. The protection of our present membership makes it essential to offer our service to the great mass of unaffiliated teachers and thus extend our influence among them and the general public. If we do not successfully compete with the agencies we distrust in this matter, we will find that they have seized the opportunity and strengthened their hold on the schools. The unusual national publicity the Chicago drive secured has brought Mr McCoy scores of inquiries and requests for advice from all parts of the country. Mr McCoy has emphasized in his replies, the value of close-knit organization and labor affiliation. The School Betterment Service is a natural outgrowth. Mr McCoy and Mr Tanner have been living with the School Betterment campaign proposition for many months and will continue to do so for many years as the Chicago activity has not been discontinued. They are well informed in the methods of arousing favorable public opinion. They have learned much regarding the methods of publicity. They know what information to ask for and how to compile the results.

They will collate the experiences of various communities and become a clearing house for information, advice and direction when desired on the most effective means of conducting school campaigns. They believe it will not be long before fees received from groups of teachers who benefit from the service will make it self-supporting. It is the plan to extend this service to non-union as well as union teachers on the basis of suitable remuneration. No doubt you have received a communication from them in advance of this letter. Please give careful attention to the items asked for and be assured that all assistance and cooperation extended to them all will help greatly in developing one of the best activities the American Federation of Teachers could undertake. Mr McCoy became engaged in work of this nature several years ago when he was chairman of a Chicago High School committee gathering information for a salary drive in Chicago. The report of that committee published under date of January, 1914, is enclosed herewith as it has much material still of value in spite of time and change.

FROM ASSOCIATE FIELD SECRETARY,
JOSEPHINE COLBY

En Route Corpus Christi to

San Antonio

May 11, 1920.

To the California State Federation of Teachers:

Greetings!

It was with the greatest regret that I gave up the idea of attending my state convention. At the last meeting of the Executive Council I was sure that I could be of no real service as Secretary so long as my work in the Field continues, and I should then have insisted upon the acceptance of my resignation. Since that time the possibilities of working more intensively as well as more extensively have increased. If I were twenty selves, all of them could be busy. I, therefore, ask that you accept my resignation as Secretary of the State Federation.

I believe that it will be interesting to you to have an account of my work. If it is somewhat informal it is because I think of you more as a group of friends than as a State Federation.

I have planned notes on Southern California,

Arizona, Texas, and an interview an hour in length, I had with the Premier of Queensland. You will probably not have time for the whole letter.

In Southern California I found a very carefully misinformed community at large. In three of the largest centers, Los Angeles, Bakersfield, and San Diego, I think we may yet look for organization. There is nothing to foster a good union spirit like denial of the right to organize. By next fall the independence of teachers will be established on the basis of the Teacher Shortage, if on no better basis. In Imperial Valley I found two obstacles to reorganization: (1) The fact so many teachers were going to leave, and (2) the excellent salaries. In Holtville, I found one school of 500 pupils where every teacher handed in a resignation. At Brawley, the minimum High School next year is to be \$2,000. I found the idea that teachers are the "wards of the state" flourishing in Southern California. If organization is to occur, the idea should originate with County Superintendents. They failing to take the initiative, etiquette demands that the principals lead off. Whether there is any third alternative doth not appear. The Commercial Federation, with headquarters at Los Angeles, is undertaking not only to see that teachers with a proper regard for tradition are placed and maintained in the schools, but that they are paid without any activity in their own behalf.

Similar sentiments prevail in Arizona. The control of Arizona is vested in the copper mining interests. I attended sessions of the Arizona State Teachers' Association. I am sure every administrator in the school system of Arizona was there, and possibly 30 classroom teachers. I was present when reports were given on salaries to be paid next year. The Bisbee schedule is fairly representative:

Elementary	Min. \$1500	Max. \$2000
High School	Min. \$1750	Max. \$2600

There is a definite schedule in most cases, and in one town 8 different ways of bestowing rewards of merit in addition to place in the schedule. One school system gives a bonus of \$300 for attendance

on summer school. Encouragement of teacher training is certainly needed in Arizona. I was glad to see a uniform elevation of the lower end of the salary scale. Not one word of anything constructive did I hear from any classroom teacher during the two sessions I attended. It was distinctively a conference of superintendence. A note of democracy was struck at the debate where Arizona defeated Los Angeles on the teachers' union question. Nor was this the only rivalry between the two states: one statistician cited a little too gleefully, it seemed to me, the fact that California now ranks 17th in the salaries she pays her teachers.

But Texas is 44th, according to her own State Superintendent. In Fort Worth, with considerably more than 100,000 population, the minimum salary is \$648.00. In Cleburne, \$55 per month. In both Cleburne and Fort Worth the buildings are adequate and beautiful. The highest per cent increase I have encountered was in Houston, where our local raised the minimum from \$450.00 to \$800.00. Houston and Denison were the only locals that had representatives at the state convention. The Houston delegate, Miss Bessie Palmer-ton, was the cynosure of every eye, as she is 5 feet, 2 inches tall, weighs 95 lbs and is very pretty. She is wildly enthusiastic about her first State Labor Convention. She was made secretary of the Legislative Committee and sat gravely on the platform among an assortment of very large men. She introduced some valuable legislation (resolutions) in behalf of schools, the most important being the proposed removal of the 5-mile limitation, the sky to be the limit hereafter.

I was equally impressed with the character of the State Labor Convention. As Miss Palmerton said: "Where could you find a Teachers' Institute where educators could or would get up and talk so intelligently on such vital subjects?"—Then, too, imagine if you can, a convention composed mostly of men where there was no smoking—the rostrum adorned with Bermuda lilies and ferns, not any of the movable furniture that we always fall over at the Labor Temple! Then when the resolution proposing the re-introduction of beer and light wines was introduced, it was voted DOWN BY A VOTE OF 400 TO 200. We were mighty

proud! And you could never describe a Texan as effeminate! I have just come from another State Labor Convention—Carpenter. There was just as much "class" there, and I never before realized how nice it was that a lot of men could live so long without smoking! I organized an educational committee in the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Carpenters' to help with extension work. Open Shop is making a strong fight against Teachers' Unions. The Rotary Club of Texas has gone on record against teachers' unions. The president of the State University has said that affiliation of teachers with labor would be a "national calamity." Well, of course, he may have his choice of calamities.

School boards nearly everywhere in Texas seem to have been hastening the departure of teachers from the profession. They are of that old vintage that deems its function to be that of furnishing the community with bargain counter teachers. In many a community the school board has been serving for twenty or thirty years. By that time they must function almost involuntarily. I enclose a slip of salaries of principals of high schools just as they occur on the pages of the State Directory. Do you wonder that there is a teacher shortage of over 2000 teachers in Texas? And President Vinson thinks that "affiliation would be a national calamity."

I note a strong tendency towards equalization by means of heavier State taxes. In Arizona the lift is only partly due to State aid. In the rural communities the conditions are bad. One of the labor candidates said that Bisbee, with an assessed valuation of \$125,000,000 ought to support other school systems besides its own. It would seem so! The Lockwood-Donohue Bill (which was passed largely by the efforts of No 5 of New York) provides that the state shall bear half the cost of teachers' salaries. In Queensland, so the Premier told me, salaries are so standardized that a teacher going from one position to another, would under the same conditions, receive the same salary. There are five steps in the salary scale, and a maximum and a minimum at each step. Rural teachers are not twice penalized as they are in the United States. They receive extra compensation because of the undesirable conditions of their teaching. A

teacher at the highest degree in the salary scale would, in Brisbane, receive a salary with a purchasing power of \$3000. A teacher in the outmost zone in the rural system would receive for similar work performed a salary with a purchasing power of \$4000. Thus the country child is valued as highly as the city child. Equality of opportunity is one of the essentials of democracy. The Queensland teachers are unionized. There is no teacher shortage even of men. That is how a Labor Government cares for its teachers.

Here we are threatened with the subsidizing of our teachers. In the copper towns of Arizona, the mining companies pay a bonus over and above what the school board pays. In San Antonio, Texas, the leading capitalist offered to donate \$50,000 towards teachers' salaries, and withdrew that offer because the teachers are unionized. Are our schools to be PUBLIC schools, or the agents of selfish interests? Those interests already control a vast majority of our school boards. Under these "watch dogs of the treasuries" our school system has broken down. Opportunities for democratization, for Americanization, for unifying our nation—all these have been let to slip from our hands into private or denominational control or no control at all! Let us not remain asleep!

Faternally,

JOSEPHINE COLBY.

TEXAS PRINCIPALS' SALARIES

Taken from State Directory in exact order of occurrence on page

Menard	\$ 810.00
Mercedes	1500.00
Meridian	900.00
Merkel	810.00
Mexia	1400.00
Miami ..	1350.00
Midland	1500.00
Midclothian	1600.00
Milford	810.00
Minden ..	720.00
Mineola	1125.00

ALL HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS!

BRIEF ON UNIONISM

Prepared by Mr Hess Seaman, University of Arizona, Tucson, one of the winners of the Intercollegiate Debate with the University of Southern California on the question, *Resolved, That Teachers Should Affiliate with the American Federation of Labor*

Introduction.

I. Statement of the Situation.

A. Vital importance of the Educational System.

B. Impending breakdown of American School System.

1. Shortage of Teachers.

2. Number of children out of school.

3. Conditions, economic, general—cause of collapse.

a. Low salaries.

b. Uncertain tenure of position.

c. Autocracy—nothing to say as to working conditions.

1. School boards.

2. Superintendents.

C. Failure of individual effort and existing organizations to save the situation.

1. Publicity efforts of the N E A Bulletin Spring 1919.

2. Newspaper and magazine publicity.

3. Advertising campaign by teachers.

a. Los Angeles.

II. Proposal—organization and affiliation with the A F of L.

1. Outline of plan.

THE ISSUE: Is affiliation the surest and most desirable remedy for the evils that have caused the present breakdown of our school system; for low salaries, uncertain tenure, autocracy and attendant unsatisfactory conditions.

We believe that affiliation is the surest and most desirable remedy, for it will furnish a means of effective organization, as opposed to the present ineffective system, for carrying out progressive ideas.

I. Only from effective organized effort from within will any marked changes be brought about.

- a. History of labor advancement.
- b. Slowness of public to recognize and reward services.
 1. Boston Police, 2. Postal employees, 3. Teachers Inadequate salary increases.
2. Labor is the strongest democratic and progressive body that offers opportunity for affiliation.
 - a. Labor takes a strong stand on matters of democratic educational legislation.
 - b. Labor has strong voting power.
 - c. Labor is able to exercise a powerful moral influence.
- II. Affiliation has proved effective in the past.
 1. The schools of Chicago, St. Paul, New York and other cities have benefited by it.
- III. Affiliation will result in permanent benefit to the schools, to society, and to the workmen.
 1. It will improve the quality of our teachers, for
 - a. An increase of salary along with better working conditions will attract into the schools the right kind of men and women,—men and women capable of turning out leaders for true democracy.
 - b. It will result in the retaining of teachers of experience and maturity of judgment in the place of the boys and girls who now make up 50 per cent of our teaching force.
 - c. Given economic freedom and rights of representation teachers will develop independence of spirit and thought sadly lacking in the schools today, while initiative, responsibility, independence, breed like qualities.
 2. Society as a whole will be benefited, for
 - a. Better schools mean a more educated and efficient citizenship.
 3. It will work toward improved industrial relationships.
 - a. Affiliation will mean better understanding between labor and education.
 1. Industry (labor) at present suspects education (the schools).
 - b. The secret of industrial peace lies in a broad, democratic education that fits men to see both sides of a question.

1. This means broad-minded, mature men and women teachers.
- c. It will work toward industrial peace, for
 1. Teachers stand for gaining their ends only thru moral influence and the ballot.
 2. Teachers will furnish sane and conservative leadership, for
 - a. It will dignify manual labor, and so save our nation from the economic disaster sure to come if the laborer is look down upon.

Conclusion.

CONDITIONS IN ARIZONA

C O Case, Supt Public Instruction, Arizona, said in an interview published February 2, 1920

"There is a considerable shortage of teachers in this state. The number of temporary certificates we have issued shows this shortage. Between the August and December teachers' examinations we issued seventy-seven temporary certificates to teachers not regularly qualified. Since the December examinations we have granted forty-three temporary certificates, making a total of a hundred and twenty.

"Vacancies are constantly occurring which cannot be replaced by regularly qualified teachers. There is an increasing shortage. Unless something is done in allowing teachers decent remuneration, in my opinion there will be a still greater shortage next year.

"On the average fifty per cent of the candidates pass the teachers' examination. But only forty per cent passed the last teachers' examination. This was due to the fact that a good many of the candidates were on temporary certificates and were not qualified to pass the examinations. In the last examination more than two-thirds or in fact almost all of those holding temporary certificates did not pass.

"The final result is that the educational standard is being lowered greatly. In this time when we need the very best of teachers, we are getting immature, underpaid teachers not qualified for the work.

"To remedy the situation each teacher should have a raise in yearly salary of a thousand dollars or more."

DISCUSSION ON THE CODE OF ETHICS

ETHICS WITHOUT GOD

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Mr John J Donohue in AMERICA for May 8, tells us in defense of the code of ethics of the American Federation of Teachers that "in our ranks are found supporters of all religious denominations, as well as several who belong to none whatsoever. The code of ethics adopted must be one to which all can subscribe. It must set forth clearly the high aims of a community of various creeds, and not what is matter for theological discussion or dispute." Does Mr Donohue mean by this that the American Federation of Teachers includes in its ranks supporters of the doctrine that God can be excluded from a code of ethics? I did not claim that a code of Catholic ethics should have been drawn up. What I claimed was that the code of ethics drawn up and approved by the American Federation of Teachers did not mention the responsibility to God for the charges entrusted to the care of the teachers. No matter what may be the creed of the teacher, he should admit that true morality rests first upon his duty to God. Even the pagans realized this. If Mr Donohue will read the pages of the ethics written by the men who lived before the Light of the World came to enlighten mankind, he will find that these pagan authors insist that full duty to the gods is the first essential in any system of ethics. And yet Mr Donohue tells us that the duty a teacher owes to God was omitted because the code of ethics had to be one to which all can subscribe.

He would have me say that the effectiveness of ethical teaching is to be judged by the number of times a teacher mentions God. This I did not say. The greatest ethical teaching can be accomplished without ever mentioning God, but ethical teaching is impossible if the teacher is not guided in his work by a sense of his duty to the Creator. I do not care if the teacher is a Christian, Jew or Mohammedan, if he leaves his sense of duty to God out of his daily life, he is not a fit teacher for our schools. For how can such a teacher inspire obedience to authority when he has excluded the author of all authority? The proposition I laid down is not "*The matter for theological discussion or dispute.*" I simply stated that a code of ethics which does not include our obligation to God is a misnomer.

The citation of the ex-Kaiser is rather out of place, as William Hohenzollern's idea of "*Gott*" was a rather perverted one built upon the philosophy of Kant, who made the same mistake as the American Federation of Teachers made; he, too, endeavored to find a norm of morality, which would exclude the duty man owes to God.

Granite, Md.

JOHN P GALLAGHER.

ETHICS WITHOUT GOD

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Mr John P Gallagher in AMERICA for May 22, asks me if I mean that the "American Federation of Teachers" includes within its ranks supporters of the doctrine that God can be excluded from a code of ethics. That is precisely what I do mean. He has phrased my thought much more clearly than I was able to phrase it myself; but there are some points about his last letter on which I should like to be enlightened.

The words, "No matter what the creed of a teacher, he should admit that true morality rests upon his duty to God," and, "if he leaves his sense of duty to God out of his daily life he is not a fit teacher for our schools,"

mean to my mind that the individual who does not believe in God should not be permitted to teach in the schools of the State. To exclude a teacher on such grounds as these, would be applying a religious test for a public office, which test would be contrary to American principles and ideals of democracy and freedom. Is there any difference between the authority that would exclude a candidate for a teaching position because he does not believe in God, and the bigoted board of education in Florida that deprived a young woman of her right to teach because she happened to be a Catholic? The code of ethics that does not mention responsibility to God certainly cannot be all that a Catholic would like, but it is a thousand times better than the code that mentions that Holy Name in order to establish bigoted oppression.

Mr Gallagher refers to the pagans to show they recognized their full duty to the gods. This recognition was the cause of the most violent persecution the pages of history anywhere record. We need not read the works suggested by Mr. Gallagher to recall the inhuman cruelties exercised upon those who believed in the one and only God. I ask Mr Gallagher, then, would one who owed responsibility to these destructive, vicious deities be "a fit teacher for our schools?" It would appear so, for Mr Gallagher does not care if the teacher be a Mohammedan, provided he keep his sense of duty to God. But Mohammed believed in spreading the doctrine of duty to God by the force of the sword. Wherever he went he left behind a trail of blood and death. Would the teacher who felt his sense of duty as strongly as all this be "a fit teacher for our schools?"

I learn that my citation of the ex-Kaiser was out of place as the Hohenzollern's idea of "*Gott*" was a perverted one. That was my purpose in mentioning Wilhelm. Did the pagans or Mohammedans have a less perverted one? Mr Gallagher cites the latter to prove his point. The very thing I am trying to show is the futility of judging a code of ethics according to whether duty to God is expressed or not. What guarantee have we that any idea of God existing outside the Holy Catholic Church may not be just as perverted as that of the Kaiser? Where is the assurance that the authority referred to may not be built upon the philosophy of Kant, or some other mistaken sage?

We Catholics cannot force our code of ethics upon non-Catholics in associations to which we happen to belong. We can, however, in the interest of tolerance and progress, agree to certain principles common to all well-intentioned people. The code taught me by the good sisters in the parochial schools was a very simple one—"Love thy neighbor as thyself." My neighbor was then defined as "Everybody in the world." But I cannot love him if I am to deny him his right in the school system, or his right to believe or not according to his light. He may deserve my sympathy, but surely not my censure. This compromise we Catholics must make in order to hasten that glorious day, "When there shall be one fold and one Shepherd."

Since Mr Gallagher admits that "the greatest ethical teaching can be accomplished without ever mentioning God," it seems strange that he should criticize the "American Federation of Teachers." Ethical teaching is what this organization is accomplishing daily. It has spread the bonds of brotherhood among some 12,000 teachers from New York to California. It is the only organization of teachers, always excluding the religious orders of course, which realizes that the teacher's work is not confined to the classroom, but extends to the community, even to the humblest and lowliest toiler. In this, as in its other

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aims, it follows in the footsteps of the Greatest of all Teachers. It has fought consistently for justice for all workers and for the children of the workers; it has fought for truth often against the most powerful business interests, in their attempt to gain control of public education and their bold efforts to turn the schools into media for the propaganda of their own special class.

When we have all said our say about ethics, it will be "by their acts ye shall know them." The American Federation of Teachers stands by its acts as the only teachers' organization fighting this great battle for humanity. Can a Catholic who by his very faith must have these ideals at heart, can a Catholic stand by and remain neutral? I know that he cannot; so, I have an application blank ready for Mr Gallagher.

New York.

JOHN J. DONOHUE.

THE AMALGAMATED

One of the most significant conventions of labor unions probably ever held in this country was the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America held in May in the City of Boston. For the inspiration of this wonderful convention read the accounts of William L. Chenery, "The Vanguard of Labor" in the Survey of May 22, and William Hard, "Hillman and the Amalgamated" in the New Republic, of June 2, 1920,

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AT THE GOAL POSTS

How a Governor Downed a Bill that was Getting by Others (Including a
State Department of Education)

STATE OF NEW YORK

Executive Chamber

Memorandum filed with Senate Bill, Introductory Number 1121, Printed
Number 1275 (Assembly Reprint Number 2165), entitled:

"An Act to amend the education law, in relation to the qualifications
of teachers, and making an appropriation for expenses."

NOT APPROVED:

This bill provides that every public school teacher in the State shall obtain a certificate from the Commissioner of Education to the effect that he or she is of good moral character, and has shown satisfactorily that he or she will support the State and Federal constitutions and is loyal "to the institutions and laws thereof." The certificate may be revoked without hearing on the ground that the Commissioner may find that the teacher is not "loyal to the institutions of the United States and of the State of New York and the laws thereof." The test established is not what the teacher teaches but what the teacher believes, and the effect of the bill would be to make the Commissioner of Education the sole and arbitrary dictator of the personnel of the teaching force of the State in its public schools.

This bill must be judged by what can be done under its provisions. It permits one man to place upon any teacher the stigma of disloyalty and this even without hearing or trial. No man is so omniscient or wise as to have entrusted to him such arbitrary and complete power not only to condemn any individual teacher but to decree what belief or opinion is opposed to what he deems to be the institutions of the country.

No teacher could continue to teach if he or she entertained any objection, however conscientious, to any existing institution. If this law had been in force prior to the abolition of slavery, opposition to that institution which was protected by the Constitution and its laws, would have been just cause for the disqualification of a teacher. There is required of the teacher not only loyalty to the Constitution and laws of the State but also loyalty to what is described as the institutions of the United States and of the State of New York.

Opposition to any presently established institution, no matter how intelligent, conscientious or disinterested this opposition might be, would be sufficient to disqualify the teacher. Every teacher would be at the mercy of his colleagues, his pupils and their parents, and any word or act of the teacher might be held by the Commissioner to indicate an attitude hostile to some of "the institutions of the United States or of the State."

The bill unjustly discriminates against teachers as a class. It deprives teachers of their right to freedom of thought, it limits the teaching staff of the public schools to those only who lack the courage or the mind to exercise their legal right to just criticism of existing institutions. The bill confers upon the Commissioner of Education a power of interference with freedom of opinion, which strikes at the foundations of democratic education.

The bill is, therefore, disapproved.

(Signed) ALFRED E SMITH