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The AMERICAN TEACHER

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

JANUARY, 1921

The Tenure Law



Labor and the Teachers



What the Open Shop
Means



Impressions of the Fifth
Convention

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

M. MacIntosh
600 New Carolina Ave. S.E.
Washington D.C.

W. L. ...
X 72

Mr Jones and The American Teacher

Mr Jones Tells How He Picks Good Teachers

**In Talk to Staff Superintendent Says Personal Traits
Are All-Important**

What sort of face has she?
Does she look you in the eye when
she talks?

Are her shoes
turned at the heel?
Is her dress spotted?
Are her fingernails clean?

Does she say
"Yeah" or "Yes"?

Is she attractive
and wholesome?

During the course
of a school year
hundreds of candi-
dates for teaching
positions come to
the superintendent
and to the assistant
superintendents or
other executives.

They are em-
ployed or turned
down largely on
the basis of the personal impression they
make.

On the same basis dozens of persons al-
ready in the system are promoted or are
not promoted.

Personal Equation Counts

It's the personal equation that counts?

After all, the biggest job of the superin-
tendent of schools and of his staff is in the
selection of members of the educational
force. If the character of teaching in the
Cleveland schools is poor it is the superin-
tendent who is held accountable.—*From
School Topics, Cleveland, Ohio.*

The American Teacher Tells How It Would Pick a Superintendent

**In a Heart-to-Heart Talk the Editor Says That Pro-
fessional Traits of Candidates Are All-Important**

What sort of mind has he?
Does he face the issue when he talks?

Does his conver-
sation turn on what
he himself has
done? Is his rec-
ord spotted?

Is his thinking
clear?

Does he say
"Go!" or "Come!"

Is he intelligent
and inspiring?

During the course
of a year many are
candidates for the
position of super-
intendent. For the
most part, they ap-
pear before politi-
cians, and there
they are employed
or turned down
largely on the basis

of the personal impression they make.
Sometimes the politicians are good judges;
sometimes they are not.

Professional Equation Counts

But it is the professional equation that
counts!

After all, the test of a superintendent is
his success in leading and developing the
efforts of the teachers. If they were per-
mitted to select him, their own work would
stand for more before the public. If the
work of the school is poor, the persons who
do the work, the teachers, should be held
accountable.

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The American Teacher

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JANUARY, 1921

One Dollar a Year

THE TENURE LAW

The teachers of Oregon are coming in for some bitter experience on account of those who control the education system of that state. The education law of 1917 grants to teachers of Oregon after two successful annual terms permanency of tenure. It also provides that before a teacher can be dismissed she may request a hearing before a commission regularly appointed for such purpose by the circuit court of the county in which the teacher resides. The teacher may have a public or private trial as she prefers, and may have counsel. She also has the right to have witnesses summoned by the chairman of the commission.

A bill which has been introduced at the present session of the Legislature of Oregon abolishes the "permanent list," and establishes the principle of employment "on indefinite contract." It abolishes also the commission, and makes the Board of Education responsible in all cases of the control of teachers.

Section 7 of the proposed law begins as follows: "In case of gross dereliction of duty or misconduct on the part of a teacher so employed, the board may summarily suspend such teacher. In case of such suspension, it shall cause notice to be served upon the teacher, and unless the teacher shall demand a written statement of the grounds of such suspension within three days after service of such notice the suspension shall operate as final dismissal." Thus, if the mail should miscarry, or a teacher should be ill when the notice of suspension arrives, she may be dismissed with a trial or without a chance to defend herself.

The proposed law was submitted to one professional expert in New York, and his remark was that it looked as if someone was preparing to "thimble-rig" the teachers. Another expert said he had not noticed this section, and yet this one

had sent to the educational authorities in Portland, Oregon, his approval of the proposed amendment. If this expert represents a class, it may be well for class teachers to be observing of whom they trust.

THE BOARD OF EDITORS

The Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers held at St. Paul December 28-31, 1920, adopted the Report of the Committee on the Official Organ, and decided to increase the number of members of the editorial staff, and to centralize the responsibility more definitely than was possible with the staff of associate editors who have assisted the editor for the past year. This centralization of authority is made possible by the organization of a Board of Editors selected from locals in and near New York, situated so that meetings of the entire board will be possible. The convention established an editorial board of seven, three to be chosen by Local 5, New York, one each by Locals, 24, New York, 71, New York, 87, Jersey City, N. J., and 92, Paterson, N. J. The former editor was elected Chairman of the Board of Editors. The representation of the locals is not yet complete. For that reason, the responsibility for the current issue rests on the former editor.

A new feature of the periodical will be a definitely organized News Department. This department will be under the direction of members selected by Locals 2 and 3 of Chicago. Their nearness to the national office makes it possible to obtain all the news from the locals, and to organize it for publicity. In order to make this enterprise effective, the locals all over the country are urged to be more industrious than ever in sending information about their work and their needs to Secretary Stecker.

The Convention decided also to agree to a reduction in size of the American Teacher, in view

of the heavy cost of production. When the stock of paper contracted for is exhausted, the American Teacher will become a sixteen-page periodical. This change will take place in April.

THE REGIONAL CONFERENCES

Commissioner of Education, P P Claxton, is doing wonderful service in conducting regional conferences on education thruout the country. Under Dr Claxton's leadership the Bureau of Education has done more than has ever been done before to investigate the conditions of the schools especially with reference to the problems of maintaining an adequate supply of teachers for the schools. Without the studies of experts in the Bureau we never should have known that 145,000 teachers left their positions within a single year. Nor would we have realized that over half the teachers in the public schools of the country, that is, 350,000, are below normal in training. And normal itself is shockingly low. The strong campaign for salary increases as a national movement we should credit to Dr Claxton's productive energy.

The plan of the regional conference is to bring the experts in education, the officers in education representing the public and the public itself together on a high plane of service to the community. So far, none of the experts seem to be classroom teachers, but we may let that pass. Perhaps their expertness has not been convincing.

The regional conference held in New York in the present month was attended by representatives from the states of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The programs of the sessions covered the topics of rural education, the training of teachers, continuation schools, the problem of educational control, taxation for revenue, and educational legislation. However, thruout the sessions there ran the *motif* of insistence on more money for education. Time after time Dr Claxton himself recurred to it. His favorite words were, "The Poverty of the country pays heavily for education; Wealth scarcely at all." No one resented this; in fact the sentiment was always applauded. The effect of the recurrence of this strain was especially noticeable on the delegates

from New York City itself. They had been much worried by the demand for economy. But their spirits were lifted by the conference, and they responded by joining in with the general sentiment.

There is only one fly in the ointment, but it is conspicuous and cannot be overlooked. The conference talked a great deal about the absolute necessity for more money, and like Dr Claxton, they all knew who was keeping it. But even Prof. E R A Seligman, the well known economist of Columbia University, failed in his brilliant analysis of the sources of money for education to tell how we are to get the money from those who hold it. His main conclusion was that state income taxes will provide the funds. But we have the state income tax system, and the money is not forthcoming. Why not? To tell would be to accuse, and to accuse would be to attack the present economic system of wealth control and wealth concealment. Apparently no one was ready for that, and so, education must starve a little longer against the time the courage of its votaries rises.

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Labor and the Teachers*

WILLIAM MAHONEY

President, The St Paul Trades and Labor Assembly

I esteem it a great honor and privilege to speak in behalf of the organized labor movement of St Paul, in extending to the delegates to the American Federation of Teachers Convention, a most cordial welcome to our city, and to convey to you our warmest felicitations for a successful gathering.

Your meeting in this city is a propitious event. St Paul is fortunate in having a large and an aggressive body of her public school teachers organized into locals of the Federation, which is affiliated with the local labor movement. The advantages of this relationship have become fully manifest to all concerned. The benefits to the teachers, to the labor movement and to the schools from the organizing of our teacher element have caused us to look upon your body with high esteem.

The organization of teachers into a trade union, and their affiliation with other labor unions must seem shocking to those who have the conventional idea of the labor movement. It must appear to such as the abdication by the teachers of that exalted station that they theoretically occupy.

Organized labor is engaged in a higher mission; it has higher aspirations than merely to struggle for a little more compensation and for improved working conditions for its own members. If it had no higher ideals and purposes than that, if that were its limitation, I for one would be disposed to abandon it as narrow and selfish; and would not be surprised at the attitude of hostility shown at the teachers' organizing and affiliating with labor unions. It would surely savor of a conspiracy inimical to the public welfare.

I am not decrying that aspect of the labor movement which seeks to better the material condition of its own members, for this part of the work is essential; but I do not think the prime

mission of organized labor is fulfilled when this is attained. Other speakers have touched on the immediate and personal economic aspects of labor unions, and have shown you why, as a matter of self-interest, you should organize for better compensation and larger freedom. I am going to discuss another, and what I deem a vastly greater function, to which your organization must dedicate itself.

Organized labor has a great and vital mission. It aims to lead in the solution of the great problems of industry and society; and in this tremendous task, it needs the support and sympathy of every element interested in, and striving for, this paramount purpose. No other class in society has the economic interest and the social obligation that labor has to advance and to emancipate the mass of mankind from poverty and dependency.

The beneficiaries of the existing order do not want any change that might imperil their privilege. So they struggle to prevent progress lest it weaken their reign of exploitation. They care nothing for the ignorance, the poverty, and the degradation of the common people, only insofar as it may menace their security.

Out of this sordid attitude of the rich has developed an anti-social and reactionary attitude that blocks the progress of civilization, and throws on labor's shoulder the burden of carrying forward the banner of a better day.

This vast responsibility must be assumed by organized labor as an imperative duty if democracy in government and industry is to be fully realized. But labor is ill-equipped for the grave task. It is true it has numbers, but it lacks training and intellectual development. Before it can properly function as the vanguard of progress it requires discipline and mental training.

We are conscious of our shortcomings as well as we are of our urgent duty, and we are striving to equip ourselves for the pressing obligations that confront us. In seeking assistance in this

* Address of Welcome at the Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers, St. Paul, Minn., December 28, 1920.

crisis, we hail with keen appreciation the advent of the teachers in the ranks of organized labor.

You will see that our eager welcome is not wholly unselfish, for we look upon the teachers as a great saving element that will make the historic mission of the labor movement an assured success. We expect great things of the teachers, and we expect to be more than compensated for whatever may be done in the way of rendering immediate material assistance to them.

And I might ask, who better than the teachers are qualified intellectually to train, to guide, and to lead in the cause of civilization? We feel that you will, and can perform this vital work when you have been in some measure freed from the stress of economic distraction and academic oppression. Organized labor will pledge its fullest power to help in making you free, in return for which service the teachers must disseminate the truth and take a prime part in the enlightenment and emancipation of the toiling masses.

It may thus be seen that a two-fold and reciprocal advantage accrues to the labor movement and to the teachers: better compensation and larger freedom for the teachers, and increased efficiency to organized labor to achieve its larger mission, the advancement of civilization and the improvement of the general welfare.

It has often been said of teachers that their contact with the practical world and an intimate first-hand knowledge with its problems that the labor movement cannot be other than of great educational advantage to them. This is true, and is one of the reasons that their organization and affiliation with labor will qualify them to lead in the march to full freedom of the race.

This is not a matter of theory or idle speculation. It is a practical fact. While the immediate and practical purpose of a labor organization is to take care of the economic interests of its members, its larger and more vital function is to educate and inspire the great mass of the common people to strive for a general improvement that will end the brutal struggle for existence.

The working people must solve this problem. It will not be disposed of by the beneficiaries of the existing order. They are interested in

perpetuating it. The solution will come only by a broad understanding of the responsibility and opportunity of the working class.

This great duty rests for its successful accomplishment largely upon the teacher element in the labor movement. It is a great obligation as well as an honor. Their position in the present crisis calls for the highest type of public service. It involves the directing and advancing of the masses along practical and progressive lines in a way that safety and success will be attained in the shortest possible time. It will mean a departure from the function they have hitherto performed. They have been engaged in the defense of things as they are, because the politician and the plutocrat have been in control of education. The new independence will free the teachers from this blighting influence and afford them the opportunity to follow truth.

Here in St Paul we have made a modest beginning along the lines suggested, and we hope to bring our ideals to full fruition within a short time. Our local teachers' federations have been of great benefit to the St Paul labor movement and have by their work proved our hopes possible. It is my earnest appeal to organized labor all over the nation to exert the utmost endeavor to organize the teachers as the most important step towards emancipation.

TEACHER SHORTAGE STILL

The teacher shortage remains a menace to the public schools according to preliminary reports made public to-day by the National Education Association. Replies to questionnaires sent out by the Association have come from all sections of the United States. These reports show that in places where teachers' salaries have been increased one hundred per cent. or more the situation is nearly always satisfactory. But such places are comparatively few, and in localities where salaries have been increased fifty per cent. or less the teacher shortage is commonly greater than a year ago. Rural communities are hardest hit. Signed reports from superintendents of many counties indicate that a third of their rural schools cannot open for want of teachers. Tens of thousands of schools will be in charge of teachers who have had no professional preparation and whose academic training barely exceeds that of the children they teach.

Relief from this serious situation, which imperils the stability of American rural life, will be sought from the next session of Congress. Renewed efforts will be made to obtain the passage of the Smith-Towner Bill, which creates a department of education with a secretary in the President's cabinet and provides federal aid of \$100,000,000 for education. —(From N E A Press Service.)

*The Iron and
Steel Safety
Officers of Union*

What the Open Shop Means

JOHN A FITCH

*New York School of Social Work
Member of Local 71, A F of T*

Judge Gary, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation, made a little speech at the annual meeting of the stockholders last spring on the subject of unionism. According to the *New York Times* of April 20, 1920, he stated that most of the employees of the corporation do not belong to unions, and that the reason is "because they know by long experience it is to their advantage to be free from dictation by outsiders." Judge Gary disapproved very strongly of this dictation-by outsiders. He disapproved also of the "one big union" idea on the ground that the welfare of the country will not be promoted "by the control of industry under the arbitrary direction of an organized minority."

That was last spring. The other day, testimony was presented before the Lockwood Committee, which is investigating the building industry in New York, showing that the United States Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel Company, the two largest manufacturers of structural steel in the country, were refusing to sell steel to New York contractors unless they would agree not to employ union labor in the erection of the steel. It appeared also from the testimony that the National Fabricators' Association, controlling 60 per cent of the steel fabricated in the country, adopted a resolution a year ago recommending that members "adjust their business so that the steel fabricated by them is erected by open shop; that the Executive Committee be instructed to use all influences within its power with mills, fabricators, manufacturers, and business associations to bring about that policy." It was stated that the members of the Fabricators' Association, together with the United States Steel Corporation, which is not a member, control 95 per cent of the fabricated steel of the country.

The Steel Corporation, however, was not to be left out of this movement to de-unionize the building industry. The National Erectors' Association, which has been fighting the Structural

Iron Workers' Union since 1906, and which has been carrying on an active campaign for several years in opposition to all forms of unionism, includes in its membership the American Bridge Company, a steel corporation subsidiary. Minutes of a meeting of the National Erectors' Association held in August, 1919, were introduced in evidence. An excerpt from these minutes reads: "Mr Drew reported having seen Judge Gary, Mr Grace, and Mr Farrell, who stated their positive intention to prevent the unionization of shops." Mr Drew, it should be understood, is counsel to the National Erectors' Association, Mr Grace is president of the Bethlehem Steel Company, and Mr Farrell is president of the United States Steel Corporation.

Testimony concerning the interest of the steel companies in destroying the unions in the building trades was given by Mr Louis Horowitz, President of the Thompson-Starrett Company, and Mr Paul Starrett, President of the Fuller Construction Company, two of the largest construction firms in the country. These men told the Committee that they cannot purchase structural steel to erect in buildings for the construction of which they have taken the contract, because they employ union labor. Mr Starrett testified that he had gone to Mr Schwab and Mr Grace of the Bethlehem Steel Company and pleaded with them to furnish him steel. He quoted President Grace as saying to him, "Don't you imagine for a minute that we are going to let you fellows build up an organization of union men who can refuse to erect our steel and force union conditions in our shops." After the inauguration of the policy of refusing to furnish structural material to contractors employing union labor, these two witnesses stated that they had been obliged to sublet steel erection to other firms employing non-union men.

Mr Horowitz testified that the most competent workers in New York belong to the unions and that the cost of erecting steel is greatly increased

as a result of the necessity imposed by the steel companies of employing non-union men. In the case of one building erected by his firm, Mr Horowitz said that the increased cost resulting from the non-union policy was somewhere between \$250,000 and \$500,000 in a building, the total cost of which was \$5,000,000.

President Grace, of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was called to the stand and admitted that it is the policy of his company both in New York and in Philadelphia to "protect" the open shop. Mr Grace testified that in those two cities the policy of refusing to sell to contractors employing union labor has been followed since September, 1919, when the attempt was made to organize the steel mills. Later, Joshua A Hatfield, Vice President of the American Bridge Company, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation, admitted that so far as New York is concerned, his company will furnish steel only to members of the Erectors' Association, who erect their steel under non-union conditions.

All of this naturally induces some reflections as to the character of the so-called "open shop" movement. In appearance, this movement is eminently fair. It is said to be a shop where anyone may work regardless of his membership or non-membership in a union. It is important, however, to note that there are at least two sorts of arrangements that are defined as the open shop. One is where anyone is employed whether he belongs to the union or not. What this implies was stated very clearly by Robert F Brooks, a New York contractor, who maintains what he calls an "open shop." He defined this as "a shop in which there are no agreements between the men and the employer." It is evident that this is actually a closed shop, for while it may be open to the union man, it is open to him only when deprived of his bargaining strength. It is closed to the union. Under such an arrangement, membership in the union is rendered of no effect. On cross-examination, Mr Brooks admitted that his policy put the union man on the same level with the non-union man. For an employer to say that he does not practice discrimination when he maintains such a shop as this is like saying that he will employ Republicans

if they do not vote, or Presbyterians if they do not pray.

It developed in the testimony before the Lockwood Committee that there is another kind of "open shop" which bars not only the union, but union man as well. Former employees of the American Bridge Company testified that they had been discharged in pursuance of the "open shop" policy of that company, their discharge having taken place immediately after the discovery of their membership in the Structural Iron Workers' Union. A detective who occupies an office adjoining that of Walter Drew, counsel to the National Erectors' Association, testified that he has operatives working in the steel mills in order to discover and report on union activities. A "field superintendent" of the National Erectors' Association testified that none but non-union foremen were hired by members of the association, that union men would not apply for work under these men, or if they did, would not be hired. This man testified also that reports on the activity of men working on the different jobs were made to him by other representatives of the association, and that these reports covered the question of "agitation" and attitude toward the union.

Thruout the testimony it was evident that the kind of open shop that the steel corporations are attempting to enforce in the building trades of New York and Philadelphia is one where union men cannot get a job, and the way in which this kind of "open" shop is to be maintained is thru organization of the industry and the exercise of coercion, as testified above. Mr Grace testified that he would follow this policy whether contractors could get steel anywhere else or not, and whether it would require a complete cessation of building operations in the great cities or not. This policy he would follow because he does not think it is a good thing for the workmen to be "banded together in a single organization and recognized as a union."

This is an attitude which makes doubly interesting Judge Gary's statement of last spring in condemnation of one big union and minority control. He is opposed to these things and to "dictation by outsiders" as well. Certainly.

Impressions of the Fifth Convention

By Delegates

MABEL A COLTER

Local 28, St Paul, Minn

What most impressed me in the convention? Without a moment's hesitation I answer, "The harmony that prevailed thruout its sessions." From the moment the gavel fell until Mr Stillman announced that the fifth annual convention had come to an end, the atmosphere was pervaded with a spirit of friendship such as I have never before seen in a gathering of any kind. While, of course, members differed widely on many points, never once **was** an invidious cut made.

So thoroly were the delegates dedicated to the cause of education as a whole, so unselfish were they in their attitude toward all the problems of the schools, that it was not possible to tell, in any case, unless it came out by accident, whether a given speaker taught in kindergarten or in college. There were no lines of cleavage between teachers of different groups, and none between those coming from different sections of the country. North, South, East, and West met in the Middle West on common ground.

In the words of Dryden it was true of the convention, "From harmony to harmony thru all the compass of the notes it ran"

E J HARRELL

Local 43, St Paul, Minn

As this was the first real democratic educational convention I had ever attended, it was certainly a revelation to me. At first I was keenly disappointed in the small number of delegates present. However, as the meeting progressed, I realized that it was not the number of delegates, but the consecration to a cause that made it a great gathering. One of the things that impressed me most was the thoroness with which the main body thrashed out the details. In my mind this was a strong point. The convention revealed concretely to me that the personnel of the class room could furnish educational leaders fully as capable as men with executive and administrative offices. It also impressed upon me the fact that these leaders were not fanatics, but

successful teachers with a vision and with progressive ideas to bring this vision to pass. The devotion of those present to the cause was well illustrated by the manner in which they responded to the publicity campaign. My one regret was that the great mass of teachers were not more fully represented, and that the inspiration could not be carried back directly to all the locals. It makes no difference how devoted the officers and the field secretaries may be, they cannot give the inspiration to the teachers so well as one of their own group could after having attended a convention like the one at St Paul.

CARLOTTA PITTMAN

Local 52, Memphis, Tenn

The chill of the below zero weather into which we plunged on our arrival in St Paul was dispelled by the friendly warmth of the welcome we received from our fellow delegates. And this subtle atmosphere of cordiality, of good will, of mutual understanding pervaded the 1920 convention of the American Federation of Teachers thruout.

Among my many vivid impressions of the personnel of the convention are the reserve force of the president; "the torrential eloquence" of one delegate, convincing by the overwhelming flood of his argument; the "one simple word" of another which could tactfully turn the tide of opinion by its direct appeal; and the happy faculty of the delegate from California of reaching at once the minds and the hearts of her hearers.

A great volume of business was transacted in three short days. In spite of strong opposition the A F of T has already done much toward democratizing education, toward improving teaching conditions and teachers' salaries, and incidentally toward inspiring teachers with a courage which we were woefully lacking. What will be done, with the solid support of the locals under the wise and fearless leadership of those who have accomplished so much, may surpass our highest hopes.

JENNIE A WILCOX
Local 3, Chicago, Ill

A surface play of wit; a spirit of give and take; a willingness to get another's point of view; high idealism combined with the most practical and up-to-date methods of setting those ideals to work; above all, a deep undercurrent of seriousness, and an almost obstinate determination to carry out the principles for which the A F of T stands; all these characterized the St Paul convention.

When we reflect that the resolution to stand for equal pay for equal training and experience for all teachers from the kindergarten to the university was carried without a dissenting vote, we must admit that our convention took the greatest and most advanced step ever taken by any educational body in the United States, if not in the entire world.

The union teachers of Washington, D C. were the first to put forth this program, but other locals thruout the country have been quick to follow their lead.

The demand that, in the future, three-fifths of those applying for a charter from the A F of T shall have at least two years of training beyond the high school, is an attempt to raise the standard of equipment for teachers never before advocated by any aggregation of educators, and sounds a challenge to educational organizations thruout the country that cannot be ignored.

Are not these two steps sufficient proof that the A F of T is determined that the United States shall not much longer remain under the stigma of having forty per cent or more of its teachers practically untrained?

ALICE LORRAINE DALY
Local 138, Madison, S D

During the closing days of December the Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers was held in St Paul. North, South, East and West sent their representatives to that meeting in the interest of better education. It was an inspiring convention. One felt immediately the air of freedom. The atmosphere was one of freedom; and every delegate was encouraged to contribute his viewpoint, and was heard

with the respectful attention and exquisite courtesy that true democrats accord to all mankind. At this convention ideas of vital importance to education were discussed. The people there had the power to see "big things big and small things small," which is the truest test of education. Then, too, the spirit of progress prevailed—the welcoming attitude toward new and progressive thought. Nobody at this convention wanted to throw a hateful light on liberalism and the pursuit of freedom.

It was the first convention of teachers that I have ever attended the procedure of which was not the result of manipulations of book trust agents who remained behind the scenes. I felt that here teachers had met of their own volition in an organization of their own framing to discuss their own problems in their own way. It was an indescribable relief from the stereotyped, so-called educational convention. It renewed my hope. It gave me courage, strength and faith. I felt after the deliberations were closed that the spirit of liberty, tolerance, progress and justice is still vital in our educational life of today, and that I had found it in concentrated form at the convention of the American Federation of Teachers.

MARY A O'CONNOR
Local 182, Buffalo, N Y

Every real teacher who feels an intense interest in the cause of education experiences a deep regret that our present-day educational system fails to give children a reasonable thoroughness in attainment for time spent in our public schools.

Educators write fluently and lecture profoundly on progress in education, yet each year leaves the all-important problem of how to make the desired progress still unsolved.

The teachers who enjoyed the privilege of attending the convention of the American Federation of Teachers at its session in St Paul during the Christmas holidays were filled with the hope that a solution of this long discussed question is now in sight.

The Federation, composed of competent and successful teachers, approached the study of this matter from the advantageous angle of experi-

enced students who have studied long and deeply while in direct contact with the living ever present subject—the child.

It must be conceded, even by the most skeptical, that the teacher who spends several hours daily for ten or fifteen years in the class room with children is better prepared to solve professional problems than is the school board member, appointed for his social standing, or because of his enjoying a sufficient income to enable him to devote his time to the game of school administration.

This Federation of teachers seeks to secure efficiency in our schools by direct co-operation with parents and relatives of the children. It seeks to work hand in hand with them in a big, broad, human way, to arrive at a clear understanding of their interests and their purposes, to secure their help and to give help in exchange, living up to the American interpretation of what constitutes Democracy.

It seeks also to enable teachers to educate children in citizenship by securing to teachers citizens' rights, thru tenure of position after a satisfactory probationary period, with removal only for cause and after a hearing before a board composed in part of representatives chosen by the teaching body.

By so recognizing the profession of teaching the work will attract men and women of broad vision and intellectual attainment. The type required to train our boys and girls to that standard of manhood and womanhood under which we can safely trust the future of our great republic.

JOSEPHINE COLBY

Field Secretary, A F of T

I had thought last year's convention admirable in every detail of arrangement; but it might as well have been anywhere else as in Chicago. We shall think of the Fourth Annual Convention, and then recall the fact that it was held in Chicago; this last convention we shall always think of as the St Paul Convention. The substantiality of conviction imparted by the St Paul group, its evident high evaluation by the community, the generous hospitality, the perfection of detail of the arrangements for comfort and effective

working conditions, all had their effect, conscious as well as subconscious, in inspiring a fine quality of work.

Work proceeded with greater unanimity than last year. There was a sense of the gravity of the issues entrusted to us to carry on, which gave a tone almost religious to the later sessions.

The convention was different in personnel. I missed many delegates with whom I had looked forward to renewing acquaintance. Some of them I had known would not be there—the friends from Missouri, for example. Some I had confidently expected to see this year, Miss Stutz and others from Washington, D C; Mr Lawson, too; Miss Aurianne of New Orleans, Miss Little of Memphis, the New Jersey delegates, Mr. Wells of Peoria, Henrietta Rodman and Joseph Jablonower of New York—and other vivid personalities who have become identified with our movement. Much as I regretted the absence of these delegates I was glad to see evidence of that democratic spirit which maintains the fairness of rotation in privilege. A principle so fundamental and so final as the proposition of DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION: EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY is common ground on which we found the group of delegates, new recruits and veterans, standing shoulder to shoulder.

There are many who approve the organization and the aim of the A F of T as a teachers' organization who do not understand the advantages of affiliation. The phase of democracy which tends to unify different groups in society was demonstrated to the great satisfaction of those who heard the addresses of welcome and had the privilege of attending the St Paul Trades and Labor Assembly. The Convention in St Paul has strengthened the conviction that the American Federation of Teachers is doing a work essential to the preservation of our integrity as a nation—a work some phases of which are being attempted by no other group of teachers.

L P DOVE

Local 134, A F of T, University of North Dakota

The slogan of the A F of T, Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy was not at any time consciously stressed, but it was my

good fortune to see an organization that was a living epitome of this slogan! From the warm-hearted welcome of Mayor Hodgson who said: "this is the first time I have had the opportunity to address a truly democratic body of teachers" to the annual election conducted under the Hare system of proportional representation, there was no repression of the democratic spirit. No secret caucuses, no gag rule, no star chamber stuff that we so commonly associate with national conventions. Absolute harmony and frank utterance were so common as to become routine.

Furthermore, came the inspiration from the moving characters in the splendid fights for democracy in the schools of New York, Buffalo, Fresno, San Francisco and other cities. The appalling lack of efficient, decisive, assertive leadership in the teaching profession that is traceable to initiative which has been smothered under the blanket of so-called "loyalty" was brought into strong relief by contrast with the excellent leadership displayed in the fight courageously waged for simple elemental human rights and generously endorsed by public opinion when given the opportunity. The teacher is learning leadership.

It was an inspiration to see a high idealism pervading the social movement. It gives a hopeful outlook to see the intelligence and democratic judgment which is part of the essential equipment of the trained teacher being felt in the conference chambers from the national congress down to the trade and labor assemblies of the cities.

It was a strong rebuke to enemies of the A F of T who have accused them of crass materialism to note that an infinitesimal portion of the resolutions were offered to improve the material welfare of the teacher while the great bulk were directed toward the correction of inequalities in our schools and the social system at large. The meaning of it all is to remove the teacher from its jocularly assigned place in the "third sex," and give it a place in the class of self-respecting human beings.

The address of William Mahoney, editor of *The Union Advocate*, and president of the Trades and Labor Assembly of St Paul, was at once

an inspiration and a challenge to American teachers. He believes that the material welfare of the teacher would be improved when the public knew of their plight, but the real job of the teachers was to furnish intelligent leadership. He said, "organized labor in itself might become a menace to the social welfare without the guidance and training of intelligent leadership that the democratic idealism of the teacher can supply."

The American Federation of Teachers has the background of idealism that is essential to its future greatness. The fifth annual convention at St Paul laid still further foundations of its claim of being the champion of Democracy in Education and Education for Democracy.

CHESTERTON IS WITH UNIONS

Calls It Mistake for Professional Men to Side With Capital

"It is a mistake for the professional man to ally himself with the capitalist, and, since he will be dragged into one camp or the other, his position is with the workingman," said G K Chesterton, replying to a question as to what he thought of the action of a group of American playwrights in the American Society of Dramatists and Composers in repudiating the Actors' Equity. "I, myself, belong to two journalists' unions," he continued, punctuating the remark with a smile.

"One is a middle-class affair, and the other working class. You may say that my sympathies are with the unions. The whole middle class should cast its lot with labor, for the laborer is striving for an organization of a society of free men. Either we will have a more equitable distribution, or we will have slavery."

Patrons the Alternative

"But," the reporter suggested, "the artist and the writer believe that they cannot be tied down by trade union restrictions."

"If they do not join with the workingman," was the answer, "they must depend upon patrons. But you can't have patrons of art now. In the old days you might expect a patron to be a gentleman of culture. Capitalism has made it possible for the stupid man to acquire wealth, and the stupider he is the richer he gets. We have artists in England who do work for advertising. Fifty years ago that would have been impossible. Paintings to advertise soap—and pork!"

From a Country of Moderation

"I can see how the professional people are afraid of what they call the Bolshevism of labor; the bombs and riots and destruction. Or is that all literature? I come from a country where everything is done with moderation. Even the Reformation was accomplished with moderation, so that one part of the Established Church, the part to which I belong, can still call itself Catholic. With this tradition of moderation we in England do not fear violence in the labor movement."—From the *Globe*, New York, of January 26, 1921.

Resolutions

*Adopted by the Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers
St Paul, Minn, December 28-30, 1920*

At a time when there is a widespread spirit of reaction and when by direct attack and by innuendo the attempt is made to connect union labor in all its branches with destructive radicalism, it is peculiarly fitting and necessary that the American Federation of Teachers go on record as to Americanism and patriotism.

That we may have a statement of our stand on these points it is therefore matter for congratulation that the consideration and adoption of the following declarations were the first business which came before the convention:

AMERICANIZATION

There is a general misconception of the problem of Americanization. Those who write and speak of it and the common conception of what it means agree in throwing the emphasis of the problem in the wrong place. They would make it the problem of assimilation of the immigrant. This we believe is not the true theory of Americanization.

The necessity for Americanization applies as fully to the native born as to the immigrant. The ignorance and apathy of the American citizen and voter are the most perilous factors in our politics. This is indicated by the discrepancy between the census and the poll lists, and between the registration and the vote cast. It is further shown by the general ignorance of political organization and methods, the lack of interest in or attendance upon meetings of county, city and school governing bodies, the sheep-like dependence on party organs or party leaders as a substitute for individual choice founded on knowledge of the facts.

To remove this ignorance, to abolish this apathy, ought therefore to be a principal function of education. The schools must be the agency by which citizens shall be trained to an understanding of the machinery of government, be made to realize the importance of personal attendance of citizens on meetings of governing bodies, in order to exercise that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Citizens must be trained to exercise their privilege and duty of voting and to understand how inevitably abstention from this privilege and duty throws political dominance into the hands of the worst elements among citizens. Citizens must be inspired to the study of public affairs, to deliberate choice between divergent measures. All this, in the measure to which it can be attained, is the work of the teacher.

It is the purpose of the American Federation of Teachers to urge upon its membership the importance of this work, and the splendid service which

they can give to the nation by doing it faithfully and consistently.

Any announcement of a program for Americanization should contain a definition of what meaning shall be attached to Americanism.

For those who assume that none but foreigners need to be "Americanized" a satisfactory method apparently would be a painless but complete excision from the foreigner's heart and brain of every tie that connects him by loving memories with his native land. If this wonder could be performed the further assumption is required that a clean, intelligent, overwhelming tide of affection for America as it is now must flood the whole being of the new-comer to our shores.

He must at once fully understand and approve our land, our institutions, our laws, our customs. He must revere the Constitution and adore the flag. He must become a political optimist, convinced that the United States government is the best of all possible government. He must be at once naive and docile in his acceptance and keen in appreciation of the beauties of our system.

If he is so unfortunate as to fail to take this humbly receptive attitude toward all that he finds here, he runs great risk of being classed as a dangerous radical. If he balances in his mind and expresses in speech or writing a doubt as to the superiority of American ideas and institutions over those to which he is accustomed or for which he has been striving in his homeland, if he believes that some matters here might be and ought to be improved, he becomes suspect. If he becomes indignant under exploitation amid miserable conditions of existence and denounces these conditions, he is subject to deportation.

But in fact, if that view is the true view of what makes an American, how many of the native born are good Americans? Do we not in all the groups and categories of our citizenship entertain our hopes and fears, our aspirations and our deep misgivings about many of the present phases of the national development? Should we ask more of the immigrant in loyalty and submission than we are able to give as sons and daughters of this land?

As educators our first duty is intellectual honesty. Our function of instruction becomes a mockery without that. We can honestly point out to the new citizen and to his children that America is the most hopeful example in the history of the world; that because of her basic principles and her organization, America is the land of opportunity; that with ballots in their hands her citizens can bring about

changes upon which a majority may determine after full debate; that because this is true it is a crime for citizens to appeal to violence or to disregard constitutional procedure.

This work can be done universally and effectively only by the public schools. It is distinctively a function of public education. We pledge the American Federation of Teachers that this shall be done thoroughly, sanely and continuously so far as our influence with teachers and the people prevail. We are convinced that the practical application of this program is necessarily the function of the classroom teacher and therefore we regard it as a field in which our national organization of class-room teachers is peculiarly called to service.

We pledge ourselves to impress deeply upon those whose thinking is so greatly under our direction the fact that our political organization is designed to express the will of the majority with due protection to the rights of minorities; that that will must be expressed by vote and not by violence; that other methods are inexcusable and most dangerous to the continuance of a democracy.

PATRIOTIC SERVICE

The American Federation of Teachers declares its earnest purpose to be a servant of the public welfare. Its desire is to be one of the great formative factors in making education in America the actual and effective basis of sane and steady progress which it ought to be. To this end our federation is drawing the class-room teachers of America into a closer brotherhood; informing them of their community of interest in the main problems of society; improving the standards of qualification for teaching; increasing the value of the schools to the people; providing needed publicity to the people regarding their schools; striving to secure for teachers their due weight in determining educational policy thru teachers councils, in legislatures; promoting the adoption of local, state and national legislation to advance the efficiency of education.

The attention of the American Federation of Teachers for the past two years has naturally been largely focussed upon an effort for improved financial support for education. In this effort our organization has done a great service to the whole teaching force of the nation whose attention has been directed to the same thing. The time has not yet come when we can relax our activity in regard to better pay for teachers because poor pay is inseparable from and fundamental to the prevailing deterioration of public education—a deterioration which has not been arrested by the very inadequate increases which have been granted to teachers in the past two years. However, the impetus to better support of the schools has been given by our own efforts no less than by those of other teachers' organizations. Improvement has begun. The public

is becoming aroused to the needs and will not be content with anything less than adequate provision for better schools.

The American Federation of Teachers is therefore justified in dividing its attention between the completion of its work of publicity and propaganda for improving teachers' pay and its original and fundamental purpose of making the class-room teacher the real factor in education which he should be.

This shift marking not a return to our original task, but a renewed emphasis on what we have never ceased to insist upon, was noticeable in the resolutions and the discussions at the Convention.

The principles which we have asserted—of democracy in education, education for democracy, better pay and better teaching conditions, a larger initiative and participation of teachers in educational and administrative councils—have been so right and so vital that in many quarters they have compelled their own acceptance.

The results to which we can point as definite achievements of our organization are:

1. Improved salaries for teachers by means of the cooperation of labor groups.
2. Improved salaries for teachers outside the affiliated groups.
3. A considerable adoption and successful operation of teachers' councils.
4. The reorganization "along democratic lines" of practically every important organization of teachers, including the National Education Association.
5. The development of teacher initiative and leadership independent of official superiors.

It is certainly not the desire of union labor to maintain schools apart from the public school system if public school authorities can be induced to offer the kind of education which union labor wants. There is evidenced by labor in establishing labor schools and colleges nothing of the spirit of snobishness which animates the wealthy and socially elect who maintain the private schools. Special types of educational work have constantly been developed outside the schools and under pressure of public demand have been adopted into the public educational system. But in many cases this process of initiation, upbuilding and inclusion takes the lifetime of a generation. And labor cannot wait.

IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

Whereas, recent experience in Illinois, Wisconsin, Oregon, New York, California, Texas and several other states lends certainty to our conviction that Labor Unions are the friends of education and the earnest advocates of a progressive program of education, and

Whereas, the state federations of labor in these and other states are willing and eager to give support and publicity to efforts for school betterment,

Be it Resolved, that locals of the American Federation of Teachers generally be informed of the possibility of making use of such support and endorsement and be advised, where conditions permit, to make full use of this support. To this end locals are urged to send delegates to the conventions of the labor federation of their states,

Be it further Resolved, that the A F of T express its deep appreciation of the loyal and consistent support so generously given by the labor union movement.

Whereas, reports published by the National Bureau of Education show that the teacher shortage is now over 100,000, and of those in actual service over one-half, or 350,000, are classed as below the normal standard in qualifications, and

Whereas, the tendency is still further to relax standards already too low, and

Whereas, organizations of teachers maintain no standards of qualification as pre-requisites to membership in their organization and

Whereas, both professional and craft organizations have set us a standard which we shall do well to emulate.

Therefore, be it Resolved, that it be recommended by the Fifth Annual Convention to the Executive Council that hereafter no local be chartered unless at least three-fifths of the group applying for a charter shall have had a professional training or education of at least two years beyond a high school course.

Whereas, in some states the option is offered between military training and genuine physical training. In many cities of California, for example, military drill is imposed upon the High School students without option. Not only is military training not a substitute for genuine physical training, but the continuation of military drill in the public schools will tend to fix the traditions of militarism in the minds of our boys, and will tend to postpone universal disarmament,

Therefore be it Resolved, that the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers go on record as being opposed to military training in the public high schools; (1) because it is not an adequate substitute for physical training; (2) because militarism should be discouraged, not encouraged.

Resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers goes on record as unalterably opposed to the effort of any state Board of Education to establish provision for the Sabbatical year for teachers of exceptional ability, leaving the election of such teachers to the judgment of said Board or Presidents of State Institutions.

Resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers reiterates its earnest support of the principles embodied in the Smith-Towner bill revised.

Resolved, further that the convention instruct its Executive Council to use every effort to secure its advance the measures provided in that bill under whatever form it may appear in congress and that the Executive Board take advantage of any opportunity to improve the provisions of the bill as occasion may offer.

LABOR EDUCATION

A Call to Unions of Teachers

(Approved by the National Convention)

The teachers' unions of the eastern states, in conference in the city of New York, November 26 and 27, issue this call to their sister organizations the country over to give earnest thought to the problem of adult education which at present is hopelessly inadequate, because such work is administered at present by boards which are unsympathetic toward labor, and is done by teachers who do not understand the workers' needs.

We believe that adult education is a problem of importance second only to the problem of child education. Adult education needs teachers who are especially prepared for the work, and it needs an administration which realizes the importance of education for the workers.

A teaching force so equipped can be the result only of a conscious and conscientious training, and an administration so qualified can come only from the ranks of labor.

We urge, therefore:

(1) That our brother and sister unionists in the teaching ranks prepare themselves for such educational work by a study of history, economics and trade unionism;

(2) That our brother and sister unionists in the teaching ranks get into intimate contact thru association with the workers in all walks of life. We urge them as opportunity permits to attend their meetings and to join in their social life. Only thru such intimate contact can teachers learn to know the worker and the worker's needs; and

(3) That teachers' unions everywhere assist and even take the lead, where there is need in the movement to organize workers' schools administered by and for workers.

The American Federation of Teachers approves the effort of labor union groups to determine the kind of education which best suits their needs. We regret the neglect of the public educational system to meet the demands for the adequate education of adults. We urge upon the authorities of public education study of the democratic methods which

appear to be employed in many labor colleges, and also consideration of the new educative material used in the labor schools. We call to the attention of public education authorities the fact that their neglect to occupy this important field tends to bring about the dissolution of solidarity in popular support of a public school system.

In conformity with the committee report to the Montreal Convention of the American Federation of Labor with regard to the advisability of preparing text books suitable for the use of labor union members, and in order to encourage the actual carrying out of the suggestions contained in the report,

Be it Resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers in its convention at Denver be urged by our delegates to appoint a committee to carry out the suggestions by securing writers for such text books and appropriating funds to pay for writing and publishing them.

Whereas, labor as a whole has not taken enough interest in seeking the appointment or election of its representatives to Boards of Education and to certain educational advisory boards established by law,

Be it Resolved, that we strongly urge in view of the great importance of this matter that all local, central and state labor organizations appoint education committees the function of which shall be to keep constant lookout for opportunities to have labor representatives appointed to boards of education and to educational advisory boards.

In view of the fact that members of labor unions have been elected to municipal offices in certain localities and probably will be elected in increasingly large numbers to such offices,

Be it Resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers use its influence to establish in convenient centers suitable extension courses that deal with problems of city administration.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Whereas, it is necessary that the coming generations be trained vocationally, as well as culturally, in order that the youth of to-day who are to be the workers and producers of tomorrow may be better prepared to meet the problems of life efficiently, and

Whereas, vocational education has proved its worth,

Therefore, we, the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled urge that the following classes of public schools be established and extended, insofar as local conditions justify.

First, Day Vocation Schools, open to graduates of elementary schools.

The aim of these schools is to train young men and women for direct entrance into the trades as skilled mechanics. These schools to rank as high schools.

Second, Day Prevocational Schools, open to seventh, eighth and ninth year pupils. The aim of these schools is to enable the pupils to select trades for which they are fitted by giving them an opportunity to work at different trades, also after a pupil has selected the trade he wishes to follow to teach him enough of the rudiments of this craft to enable him to enter this trade as an apprentice at a somewhat more advanced stage than if he had no trade training.

Third, These schools to rank as junior high schools. Evening Trade Schools, whose aim it is to enable men and women engaged at a trade to perfect themselves in certain phases of their work, or to prepare themselves for foremanship or superintendencies.

Fourth, Evening Prevocational Schools, for those who are working in blind alley jobs and may wish to enter a trade, and for those who may wish to change their occupation. The scope of the work of these schools to be the same as the "Day Prevocational School."

Fifth, Continuation Schools, for employed minors under eighteen years of age, who have not finished a four year high school course. The scope of the work of these schools to be as required under the New York State Continuation School law (Art. 22, Ed. Law).

ORGANIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT

The recommendation of the November, 1920, session of the Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers is accepted, that the Executive Council of the Eastern Conference send letters to all central labor bodies in the United States requesting them to use their influence to organize teachers' locals where they are not already formed.

1. This should be done:

- (a) Thru invitation to union teachers in nearby locals to assist in organization work;
- (b) Thru the aid of state organizers;
- (c) Thru men and women interested in and fitted for such work in their own locals;
- (d) Thru the aid of educational committees organized in Women's Auxiliaries to craft unions where such auxiliaries exist.

2. Teachers' locals already organized should be urged to send delegates to their local central bodies and state federations to co-operate with them in every possible way, especially at the present time in their fight against open shop propaganda.

3. A committee should be appointed to request assistance from all magazines, papers and labor investigators having access to labor statistics and articles referring to the open shop, to compile this

material and distribute to all teachers' locals such literature as will help us to contend with this coming problem.

4. An education committee should be formed in each local to co-operate with similar committees elected or appointed from each labor body and the central labor body in each locality.

5. Every teacher's local should be urged to have a committee on labor co-operation to stand ready to assist labor bodies in every possible way.

Whereas, the problems of reconstruction are pressing heavily upon the world their need for solution, and *whereas* the underlying principle of this period of reconstruction is the need to translate the ideals of political democracy into industrial terms,

Therefore be it Resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers recognize in its affiliation with labor an opportunity for service to the nation which is offered by no other type of teachers' organization.

Resolved, that the convention instruct the President to appoint a committee of three before the close of the convention to prepare a comprehensive and well-written statement of the work accomplished and ideals held by the American Federation of Teachers. That this statement be published in the official organ, and separate copies be forwarded to selected teachers and bodies of teachers everywhere, and also be used by any publicity agency available to us.

Resolved, that the Executive Council be instructed to appoint a committee to devise ways and means of effecting a closer relation between the American Federation of Teachers and the Federal and municipal employee's unions.

Resolved, that the Executive Council be instructed to appoint a committee to devise ways and means of encouraging the organization of State and Sectional Federations of the American Federation of Teachers.

Resolved, that the Convention of the American Federation of Teachers authorize the Executive Council to appoint an unpaid Secretary for International Correspondence responsible to it. The duty of this officer shall be to obtain information and keep in close touch with the movements tending toward the establishment of an international federation of teachers' unions.

Resolved, that our delegates to the American Federation of Labor may, on behalf of the American Federation of Teachers, introduce such resolutions as are favored by a majority of our delegates attending the convention, unless specifically instructed in the matter involved.

Resolved, That the delegates of the American Federation of Teachers to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to introduce a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to restore to the American Federation of Teachers the three organizers dropped on January 1, 1921. These instructions to be binding unless three-fourths of the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers believe that unexpected later developments make such action inadvisable.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

Resolved, that the teachers' council, democratically organized, is the instrument most available to teachers for attaining teacher participation in the management of the schools, and in the determination of educational policies. In order that the teachers' council may serve its purpose best, the council elected by teachers' organizations alone cannot stimulate the interest and represent the views of all the teachers. We believe that teachers' council, as a central body for the teachers should be representative of the entire body of teachers, and should include principals. But the quota of representation should be so determined that no single group such as elementary or high school groups may have a majority. We recommend that, wherever it is possible, local school councils be organized in the several schools. These local councils should be composed of all the teachers in the school, but the principal should not be included.

At the earliest time possible, organic relations should be established between the central teachers' council and the local councils so that every judgment expressed by the central body concerning the opinions of the teachers shall be referred to the local councils before it shall be said to express the views of the teachers.

It is the opinion of the American Federation of Teachers that after these councils have attained a satisfactory state of organization thru democratic effort they will be on the way to obtaining direct and legalized participation in the actual management of the schools.

We urge that the consideration of every resolution presented to the educational authorities by the teachers' council be brought about by the following regulation: That the educational authorities be required to reply to the communications within ninety days, either accepting, or when rejecting, explaining their reasons therefor.

ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS FOR BETTER SERVICE

Whereas, social revolution is now menacing the peace of the world; and

Whereas, America cannot safely pass thru the period of transformation unless the schools are in

the hands of the ablest teachers imbued with ideas of social service; therefore,

Be it Resolved, that to secure such teachers we insist that teaching be made attractive by establishing the following:

1. A Cultural Wage—that is, a wage that will enable teachers (a) to live according to the requirements of their position; (b) to provide for the hazards of life such as illness and old age; (c) to provide for culture and recreation and professional improvement.

2. An Index System of paying wages so that the purchasing power of the dollar is kept stationary.

3. A system of tenure which will secure to every efficient teacher a permanent right to his position.

4. Decent working conditions.

5. The right of the teachers to participate in the administration of the schools.

6. The establishment of the principle that teachers, like other citizens in the community, are entitled to the rights of self expression, the right to organize and to affiliate with such groups as they find desirable, and deem socially and spiritually sound.

Whereas, the disparity between the salaries paid in small towns or rural communities and those paid in large cities tends (1) toward the unsettling of the market for the services of teachers; (2) toward underbidding for the positions of teachers in cities, and confirming of the migratory habit of members of the teaching profession. The shift of teachers towards the centers of population is paralleled by a far more serious shift of rural population towards cities in which children may receive proper educational advantages.

Therefore, be it Resolved, that the American Federation of Teachers goes on record as approving in principle the zoning system in effect in Queensland, where favorable location is considered as extra-monetary compensation, and where teachers are compensated for the inconveniences they undergo on account of location. The principle involved is obviously that of equality of opportunity for teacher and for child.

The federation also approves the district consolidation in the rural schools.

Resolved, That the convention adopt as one of its educational principles the principle of equal pay for equal professional preparation and experience regardless of the grades or classes to-night.

This change, we realize, cannot be brought about with satisfaction unless conditions of work in all grades are equalized to the greatest possible degree by the democratic effort of the teachers.

GENERAL

Resolved, that the chairman be empowered to arrange and connect the material of the resolutions

for publication and to make such verbal corrections as may not affect the intent of the resolutions as adopted by the convention.

Resolved, that the address given by Mr. William Mahoney before the Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Teachers be published in the official organ, and be offered for publication in all the trade union journals of the international bodies.

Whereas, in the war-devastated regions of Austria and Hungary the state-paid teachers in common with other public employees and paid in a depreciated currency and receive salaries too small to support life.

Resolved, that an emergency committee be appointed to bring to the attention of the American Relief Administration the distressful condition under which European teachers as a class are suffering in the war-stricken districts. We believe that the reconstruction of society in these countries demands that special attention be given to making possible effective work by the teachers of Central Europe.

Resolved, that the convention express to the St Paul locals its hearty approval of the excellent arrangements for the convenience of the convention and its sincere thanks for the successful work of the local committees.

Resolved, that the convention signify its earnest appreciation to the officials and citizens who gave us welcome and to the press for courteous notice; also to the Y W C A for the comfort and beauty of the convention hall and committee rooms.

In concluding this report your committee takes pleasure in pointing out the almost epoch-making nature of the convention's pronouncements in regard to loyalty and service, equality of pay for equal preparation regardless of grade taught, and particularly the standard of professional preparation of teachers as prerequisite for charter. On all these points the convention has reflected the vitality and enlightenment of the constituent locals and has marked a further stage of professional progress which we believe gives proof of the unique value of our class-room teacher movement.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

WM T MCCOY, *Chairman*, Local 2, Chicago
 MRS. ALMA ALLISON, Local 79, Milwaukee, Wis.
 JOSEPHINE COBY, Local 72, Fresno, Cal.
 GERTRUDE CORRIGAN, Local 89, Atlanta
 LEONARD P DOVE, Local 134, Univ of N D
 WM H KROGER, Local 24, New York
 HENRY R LINVILLE, Local 5, New York
 JENNIE MCLEOD, Local 128, Fargo, N. D.
 KATHERINE REGAN, Local 35, Madison, Wis.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Fifth Annual Convention
St Paul, Minn

December 28 to 31, 1920

ROLL OF DELEGATES

Local	Delegates	Votes
2 Chicago Men	W T McCoy	1
	F G Stecker	1
	C B Stillman	1
	Geo W Tanner	1
3 Chicago Women	Lucie W Allen	1
	Jennie A Wilcox	1
4 Gary	Ida Lull	1
	E B Carlile	1
5 Teachers Union of New York	Ruth G Hardy	3
	Abraham Lefkowitz	4
	Henry R Linville	4
8 Washington High School	Elizabeth I Gatch	1
24 New York Vocational	Wm Kroger	1
28 St. Paul Women	Margaret Buckley	1
	Mabel A Colter	1
	Emily E Dobbin	1
	Alice M Hosmer	1
	Florence Rood	1
	Edith Wallenburg	1
	Isabel Williams	1
35 Madison (Wis.)	Katherine Regan	2
36 New Orleans	Miss Shook	
43 St Paul Men	A D Bailey	1
	E J Harrell	1
52 Memphis	Genevieve Oakley	2
	Carlotta Pittman	3
59 Minneapolis Women	Florence Fish	1
	Lettie Hunt	1
71 Associated T (N Y)	Herman Defrem	2
72 Fresno High School	Josephine Colby	2
79 Milwaukee Normal	Mrs Alma Allison	
89 Atlanta	Gertrude Corrigan	3
	C E Phillips	4
128 Fargo, N D	Ruth Christie	1
	Jennie McLeod	1
134 University of N D	Leonard P Dove	2
138 Madison, S D	Alice Lorraine Daly	1
152 Oshkosh, Wis.	L C Feldman	2
182 Buffalo	Catherine A Cassidy	1
	Helen C Foody	1
	Mary A O'Connor	1
159 Minneapolis Men	Geo M Caveness	1

TO THE MEMBERS

The service of our efficient business manager, Mr Max Rosenhaus, has terminated by his own desire. He gave much thought and skill to the work of organizing the system of distribution of the American Teacher to the members of the national organization. A continuance of the method followed by

him is earnestly hoped for by those who succeed him.

Gradually the locals are coming to adopt the system of having the periodical sent to a representative in each school covered by the list of our members. This obviates errors and is more economical. It also tends to prevent waste and to insure to new members the receipt of the periodical.

Permission to omit the publication of the December, 1920, issue was granted by the postal authorities.

DATA ON DUES

Many locals are considering the raising of dues. In fact, there will be few locals that will be able to escape this necessity on account of the increase in *per capita* that was made by the Fifth Convention.

Inquiry among the locals in the needle trades in New York City has brought some interesting information. We are glad to pass this knowledge along for the use of teachers' locals.

The Waistmakers Union receives dues of 25 cents a week, 10 cents of which is paid to the international as *per capita*.

The White Goods Workers Union receives dues of 25 cents a week from those whose pay is less than 15 dollars a week; from those whose pay is over 15 dollars, the dues are 35 cents a week; 10 cents goes to the international.

The Hat and Cap Workers Union receives from the members of two locals 30 cents a week, and from six locals 40 cents a week. The international receives from 13 to 17 cents a week.

The Millinery Workers receive from the locals of women members 30 cents a week, and 40 cents from the locals having men in the membership.

The Upholsterers Union (women) receives one dollar a month, and collects three dollars at a time in advance.

The Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union receives 75 cents a month. If a member falls behind three months and desires to be reinstated, she must pay 25 cents additional.

TEACHERS WILL VOTE ON INCREASE OF DUES

Action upon the amendment proposed at the annual meeting of the Milwaukee Teachers' Association* on Wednesday, whereby the dues will be raised from \$1 to \$10 quarterly, will be taken at the February meeting. It is expected that this will eliminate special assessments. The proposed change does not anticipate an increase in the gross expenditures of the organization, but merely does away with the assessments which were formerly made to support various undertakings of the association.—*From the Milwaukee News of January 13, 1921.*

* Not a teachers union.

The Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers

RUTH G HARDY

Secretary, Eastern Conference

The First Session of the Eastern Conference was held in Philadelphia at Easter, 1920. The Second Session was held in New York on November 26, 27, 1920. The territory represented by the delegates to the Second Session was practically the same as that represented in the First Session, as far north as Boston and as far South as Washington.

There is a reputation that has come to characterize all conferences of locals of the American Federation of Teachers. They waste no time listening to addresses by anybody. Not that union teachers are indifferent to the ideas and messages of leaders of educational thought, but rather because the teachers themselves have work to do in their own behalf and in behalf of constructive education. Thus the day and three-quarters was full enough.

Aside from the constructive work done in the reports of committees, an especially interesting feature of the Session was the account given by President Stillman of the progress of organization and defense made in Pennsylvania and in the South and West. Mr Wilmer Stone of Local 5, New York, gave a very instructive report on the World Labor Situation. Mrs Bina Ryan, of Local 45, Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, reported on the fight for the right to maintain an organization in her locality. The meeting of Friday evening, November 26, was given up to reports on "The Professional Unions in the Coming Struggle on the Open Shop Issue." The program was given by two members of Local 71, New York, Mr John A Fitch, of the School for Social Work, and Mr George Soule, of the Labor Bureau. Both of these able students of industry and industrial movements have contributed articles to the American Teacher.

A considerable portion of the work of the committees as recorded in the form of resolutions has been accepted by the Fifth Convention of

the American Federation of Teachers, and has now become a part of our national propaganda. However, three reports are different enough from those considered by the national convention to justify their publication here.

COMMITTEE ON TEACHER PARTICIPATION

We favor the establishment in every school of a council of teachers to co-operate with the administrative officers in all matters affecting the welfare of the school. The council should include the entire teaching staff in each school. The functions of the council should be to make available for the benefit of the school the pooled experience and organized co-operation of the teachers. This should be offered first in the execution of existing policies leading to the formulation of new policies. We believe that such school councils are destined to be the foundation of democratic administration in the schools.

We therefore urge teachers' unions everywhere to take the initiative in the establishment of these councils. The members in each school should seek the co-operation of other progressive teachers and form, with the latter, an organization committee. The aim of the organization committee should be to engage the interest of the entire faculty in the idea of the council.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

It is recommended by the Committee on School Improvement that the locals of the Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers create the opportunity actually to improve the work of the school teachers in their own localities. By improving the teaching in the schools teachers will be engaged in establishing their own standards of work. By endeavoring to improve the working of the school systems of the several localities, they will be impressing upon the people their right to participate in the management of the schools.

As a concrete plan for improving the schools, it is recommended that the locals work out a comprehensive study of the schools in their own towns, cities or countries. If the authorities of the school systems contemplate making school surveys in the immediate future, it is urged that the teachers offer their services in the work of studying the schools from the point of view of the teachers themselves.

The teachers may reasonably ask that their own inquiries be carried on in their own way, and under their own management. Only in this way can the study be valuable to the public itself. The teachers should not, however, postpone investigation of the schools until the authorities are ready on their own account to proceed with work of this kind. The improvement of the schools cannot wait upon the convenience of any individual or interest.

It is recommended that locals establish committees for the collection of data concerning the three natural phases of school organization and life; namely, the physical condition under which the school work is carried on, the conditions relating to administration, and the conditions relating to teaching. One of these committees should be entrusted with the work of analyzing the specific conditions under each of these headings which directly or indirectly affect their communities. Having done this scientifically, completely and without bias or fear, questionnaires should be prepared and forwarded to all the teachers within their own organizations. Committees whose duties it would be to obtain answers to the questions could then deliver the results over to committees capable of studying the answers and formulating the facts under general conclusions and recommendations.

In order to obtain the support necessary to have conditions changed, the locals should send committees to appear before their affiliated labor bodies, and also before civic bodies of standing to make public their findings. In communities where locals are strong, it is recommended that the findings be published in book or pamphlet form. Thus in a dignified and impressive way there would develop the tradition of the right of teachers to direct and possibly control the development of the schools.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The Eastern Conference of the American Federation of Teachers rejoices that teachers everywhere are awakening to the full meaning of their professional responsibility. Teachers have always devoted themselves in self-sacrifice to society. Too often, however, they have been rewarded by having to contemplate schools starved by niggardliness and strangled by routine. Meanwhile they could not conceal from themselves a progressive loss of public respect and a significant dearth of qualified recruits.

An increasing pressure of poverty and a better understanding of vocational psychology have at last revealed to teachers the indispensable conditions of effective service to the community. Like other workers, teachers cannot serve society well without adequate pay and democratic working conditions.

These truths once perceived, it was inevitable that teachers should join the ranks of organized

labor—today the strongest protector and preserver of the means of production and of our democratic institutions. The labor unions have always led in the struggle for better schools. Like ourselves, their members are striving to win the pay and working conditions necessary to human dignity and social efficiency. We could not stand aloof.

Our affiliation with the labor movement is practically expedient and spiritually sound. We are convinced that from it alone can spring the morale that will establish a true guild of teachery, dignifying teaching and improving both the teacher and the school. With the friendliest disposition toward us, our fellow citizens can hardly of themselves convert sentiment and words into legislation and appropriations. We call upon all teachers who believe in efficient service as to high social ideal to join us in securing better pay, more certain tenure and the working conditions of free men and women. Only when we have these shall we be able to send out from our schools men and women fitted to develop the highest ideals of America.

DELEGATES TO EASTERN CONFERENCE

November 26-27, 1920

New York City

Miss Matilda L Beck, Local 87, Jersey City, N J.
Mr J Vincent Crowne, Local 71, New York.
Mr Allan Davis, Local 156, Washington, D C
Mr Herman Defrem, Local 71, New York.
Mr John Donohue, Local 5, New York.
Mr Arthur K Harris, Local 92, Paterson, N J
Mr Dwight O W Holmes, Local 33, Washington, D C
Miss Ruth G Hardy, Local 5, New York.
Mr Joseph Jablonower, Local 5, New York.
Miss Elizabeth Jack, Local 179, Philadelphia.
Miss Sara Joffe, Local 5, New York.
Miss Helen T Keefe, Local 85, Boston, Dorchester.
Mr Abraham Lefkowitz, Local 5, New York.
Mrs Johanna M Lindlof, Local 5, New York.
Mr Henry R Linville, Local 5, New York.
Miss Lulu MacIntosh, Local 16, Washington, D C
Mrs Marie M Marshall, Local 27, Washington, D C
Mr C P A Peterson, Local 24, New York.
Mrs Bina M Ryan, Local 45, Mahoney City, Pa.
Miss Henrietta Rodman, Local 5, New York.
Miss Mathilde A Schuldt, Local 87, Jersey City, N J
Mr Bird Stair, Local 71, New York.

SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS OF CALIFORNIA DENOUNCE TEACHERS' UNION

Issued by the Publicity Bureau of the California State Federation of Teachers

Stern opposition to any association of teachers with organized labor was the outstanding feature of the Convention of City and County Superintendents of California schools recently concluded at Riverside. A report of the proceedings written for the November issue of *The Sierra*

Educational News, the official organ of the California Teachers' Association by Mr A J Cloud, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, San Francisco, and Mr James A Barr, Assistant Editor of the *News*, revealed a spirited discussion of teachers' organizations and especially of teachers' unions.

Superintendents H B Wilson, of Berkeley, Jerome O Cross, of Fresno, and Mrs Susan M Dorsey, of Los Angeles led the attack on the unions, and the knockout blow was finally administered by the unanimous adoption of a resolution introduced by Superintendent Dorsey, praising the efforts made by the school boards and superintendents of Fresno and San Francisco to stamp out the teachers' unions of those cities.

The resolution has drawn much humorous comment. In both cities the teachers' unions are healthy and active. In each case the attacks of the educational hierarchy provided the precise stimulus necessary to create among the teachers a grim determination to do their own thinking, and to form such associations as their study and experience have convinced them are necessary to the well being of American democracy. The ludicrous part of the whole performance is that Superintendent Roncovieri, of San Francisco, has always posed as a member of the Musician's Union, and in January, 1919, he actually wrote officials of the American Federation of Teachers asking for such information as would enable him to render effective assistance to the San Francisco teachers in organizing themselves into a union. Further, within a month after the resolution received the unanimous approbation of the Superintendents' Convention, the San Francisco Teachers' Union saw the successful finish of its fight for the reorganization of the city's school system. Charter amendment No 37, passed by a huge majority in the November election, took the absolute choice of the Board of Education out of the hands of the Mayor and made the office of Superintendent of Schools appointive instead of elective. Amendment No 25, backed by Superintendent Roncovieri and the City Teachers' Association and designed to perpetuate the old political system, was ignominiously defeated.

Again, Principal Addicott of the Polytechnic High School, who was dismissed after a so-called

hearing before the Board of Education of charges preferred against him by Supt Roncovieri, himself a member of the Board, received the fearless support of the teachers' union all thru his persecution. Mr Addicott has just been reinstated at the order of Mayor Rolph after City Attorney Lull found that the Superintendent's case had not been substantiated. Evidently the high esteem in which the Superintendents of California hold the Roncovieri policies is not shared by the voters of San Francisco.

The Sierra News says that Supt Wilson of Berkley found that "the ends for which teachers' unions strive are unsound." Hence, he objected to the principles laid down in the following statement of the objects of the American Federation of Teachers as given in the Constitution of that organization.

"Art. 2. The object of this organization shall be to bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and co-operation; to obtain for them all the rights and benefits to which they are entitled; to raise the standard of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service; and to prosecute such a democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social and political life of the community."

Supt Wilson's emphatic assertion of the unsoundness of the objectives for which teachers' unions strive was of course an emphatic assertion of the unsoundness of the objectives of the American Federation of Labor with which the teachers' unions are affiliated. Yet when one comes to think of it those objectives have been such things as improved sanitation and housing, safety devices in mills and mines and on railroads, such wages and hours of labor as will enable men to be efficient citizens, democratic election of United States Senators, postal savings banks, abolition of the "sweating" system in industry, abolition of the "sweating" system in industry, the Initiative and Referendum, the Australian or secret ballot, *free public schools without distinction of class or creed*, and part-time and vocational education. The platform of the British Labor Party demands "the recognition, financially and otherwise, of the teaching professions, *without distinction of grade*, as one of the most valuable to the community."

Superintendent Cross loudly emphasized the great danger to democracy of any "entangling alliance" of the teachers with organized labor dedicated to such a program, for the alliance must necessarily make them self-conscious. While he did not name a single dishonorable thing that the teachers' unions of Fresno had done, as the Superintendents present expected he would, yet, according to press reports, he asserted that his experience had shown him that the matter of the teachers' unions cannot be settled by mere peaceful "conference; it seemed to him that a baseball bat or a gatling gun is needed." In other words, these are the only weapons by which the eighty university-trained teachers of the Fresno high school can be induced to bury their dangerous union convictions and accept the constructive democratic ideas of Supt Cross. Genius shown in devising such a simple method of nurturing real democracy in the minds of teachers "In the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," brings its financial rewards: shortly after the Convention the press of Fresno printed a notice that Supt Cross had received a salary increase of \$1,000, a grateful acknowledgment of his services under the care of a school board that itself had driven from the Fresno schools, without giving any cause whatever, teachers of statewide educational repute who were officers of the teachers' unions.

WHERE UNCLE SAM'S MONEY GOES

According to the United States Bureau of Standards, 93 cents out of every dollar of Uncle Sam's money this year goes for war, past, present or to come.

Only one cent out of every dollar goes for education and the improvement of the public health.

Copies of this remarkable analysis of our national budget may be secured on application to Dr E B Rosa, United States Bureau of Standards, Washington, D C.

Whereas the cities spend an average of \$6 per capita for education per year, and the states and private agencies about \$3 per year per capita for education, Uncle Sam with his huge billions only spends 6 cents per capita for education,—and some of that goes to the "land grant" colleges for military drill!

Without anybody in the country realizing it, your Uncle seems to have become obsessed with militarism to the exclusion of the normal, balanced interests of government. Of course, the truth is merely that the army and navy have developed a "technique" for extracting from Congress huge ap-

propriations whereas the other departments have not.

According to the analysis quoted above, the national government is levying a tax of \$50 this year upon every man, woman and child in the United States, and of this amount \$46.50 goes for war and militarism.

Now on top of it, that ex-actor, Congressman Julius Kahn of California, genially proposes a system of universal military training which will cost the country, according to Congressman Mondell, the Republican floor leader and watchdog of the treasury, in the neighborhood of one billion dollars a year!—*From Bulletin of American Union Against Militarism.*

This is the Official Organ of the American Federation of Teachers

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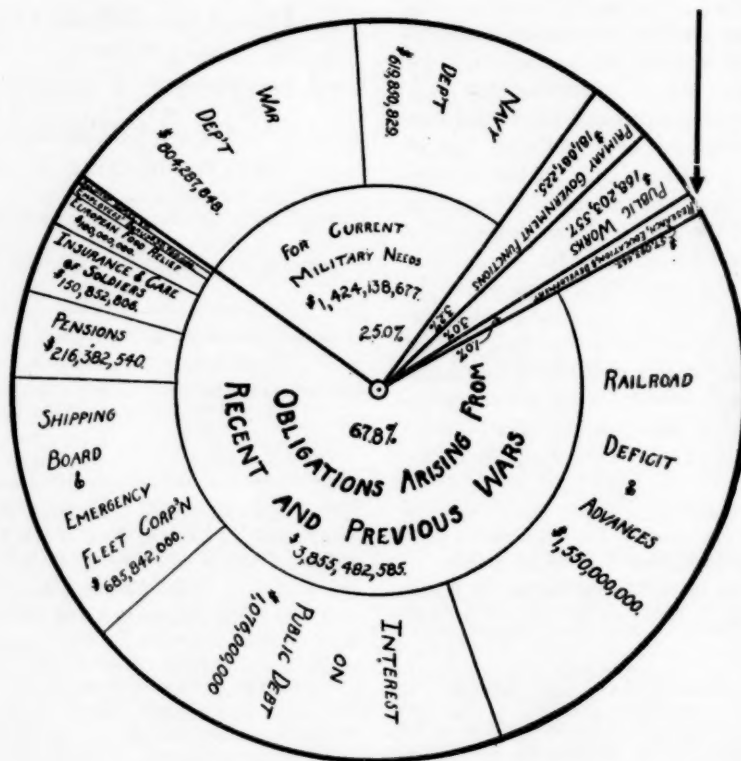
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UNCLE SAM'S MONEY PIE

WHAT WE GET FOR
CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT



NEARLY ALL THE REST FEEDS THE ELEMENTS
OF NATIONAL LIFE THAT DESTROY

(See "Where Uncle Sam's Money Goes," page 23)



