

*Democracy in Education**Education for Democracy*

The American Teacher

THE ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

World Fellowship A Prayer

for the Spiritual Union of Mankind

Eternal God, Father of All Souls:

Grant unto us such clear vision of the sin of War, that we may earnestly seek that co-operation between Nations which alone can make War impossible. As man by his inventions has made the whole world into one neighborhood, Grant that he may, by his co-operations, make the whole world into one brotherhood. Help us to break down all race prejudice, stay the greed of those who profit by War, and the ambitions of those who seek an Imperialistic Conquest. Guide all Statesmen to seek a just basis for International action in the interests of Peace. Arouse in the whole body of the people an adventurous willingness. As they sacrificed greatly for War, so, also, for International Good-will. To dare bravely, think wisely, decide resolutely and to achieve triumphantly. Amen.

Harry Emerson FosdickPublished by
AMERICAN FEDERATION
of TEACHERS

327 So. LaSalle St., Chicago

Single Copy 15c—Yearly Subscription \$1.00

VISION OF THE FUTURE

By Lord Tennyson

When the schemes and all the systems,
Kingdoms and Republics fall,
Something kindlier, higher, holier—
All for each and each for all.

All the full brain, half brain races,
Led by Justice, Love, and Truth;
All the millions one at length,
With all Visions of one's youth.

All diseases quenched by Science,
No man halt, or deaf, or blind;
Stronger ever born of weaker,
Lustier body, larger mind.

Earth at last a warless world,
A single race, a single tongue—
We have seen her far away—
For is not Earth as yet so young?

Every tiger madness muzzled,
Every serpent passion kill'd,
Every grim ravine or garden,
Every blazing desert till'd.

Robed in universal harvest
Up to either pole she smiles,
Universal ocean softly
Washing all her warless isle.

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A. N. SHERIFF,
Headmaster.

The American Teacher

Entered as second class matter October 20, 1926, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in section 1103, Act of February 28, 1925, authorized November 3, 1926.

Volume XI, No. 5

FEBRUARY, 1927

One Dollar a Year

"Resolved That Military Training in American Colleges and High Schools Should Be Abolished"

Irving Maurer, President, Beloit College

I realize that a resolution that military training be abolished in our schools and colleges is academic. Land-grant colleges, through the Morrill act, were given their charters partly on the basis that, among the special technical arts and sciences they were to teach, military training was included. The fact that it will be almost impossible to remove military training from these schools and colleges would make any argument favoring abolishing such training futile. If we are to debate on common ground we shall have to face the facts covering such schools and colleges for which military training is not written into their charters. While I favor abolishing military training from *all* schools and colleges, I am quite ready to admit that for land-grant colleges, my attack is probably the breaking of a lance against a stone door. One fact, however, I do wish to stress is that, in land-grant colleges, military training is not, by the Morrill act, compulsory. Such compulsion is the act of the institution which so decides.

Nor am I ready to attack the principle that military schools should be abolished. It would be a good thing if they were. But I am quite ready, in a democratic land like ours, to admit the right of citizens to organize military schools and academies, to which parents, if they wish military training for their children, can send them. Why any parents want such training for their children I cannot, in this day and age, see at all clearly.

What I am proposing is that the defense act of 1916 and 1920 be so amended as entirely to eradicate from its provisions the Reserve Officers Training Corps so far as these are provided by the War Department for American schools and colleges, for the high schools in American cities and for the colleges and universities which, before that act, had been functioning without this military department.

My proposition is that the recent defense act in thus invading our schools and colleges was a mistake which ought as soon as possible be rectified. Military defense may be needed, although the last ten years have changed my mind on the point. But schools and colleges are not the place where such defense shall be arranged for. It is not my task to arrange for such defense. I am, in spite of six years in National Guard work, not a military man. My task as an educator is to stand for the defense and the betterment of all schools and colleges, to insist that the educational task for such schools and colleges is paramount, to maintain that the chief business of schools and colleges is education. I maintain that a military defense, obtained at the cost of transforming our schools and colleges into quasi-military training camps, is no defense at all, for it will, if pressed to fullest efficiency, profoundly change the quality and spirit of our educational institutions, and produce, not students but soldiers, a country trained for war, but weak in the leadership which is our best defense against war.

The Morrill Land-Grant act was passed by Congress in 1862. Up to 1916 the military training given in the colleges on the basis of the act was not, from a military point of view, very high grade. No one seriously considered the drill as pointing to the training of soldiers. The idea of military drill in our high schools was not accepted as of any value, either by the War Department or by educational leaders. In 1925, sixty-three high schools had R. O. T. C's., seven hundred and twenty-three colleges and universities had them and in eight-three the training was compulsory. This, however, is only a beginning. A prominent army man at the conference for training and leadership in 1922, said that there were "at least 1200 secondary schools where junior units might be maintained." He advocated raising the number of colleges with R. O. T. C's.

This shows where we are heading. The growth in numbers, the intensification of training itself, the aim at efficiency in training, are all the result of the recent war defense act which I favor amending. It is an educational mistake so profound in its import that I stand here to sound a warning against it. Militarized Europe has never been so insane as to invade its schools with such a military program. It is viewed by military men as the best possible substitute for conscription; it is supported most fervently by those Americans who would favor conscription if the American people would stand for it.

Military training in schools is justified if it helps to provide a good education. I deny this possibility. Prominent in the characteristics of personality are the qualities of initiative, creativity, imagination, self-control, moral strength. Where, I ask you, have educational authorities used military training in order to assure our boys such qualities? If military training were needed to develop these qualities, the schools of the world would many years ago have introduced military training into their courses of study. Initiative is more than prompt response, though it includes this latter quality. But it is one thing to learn quickly to respond to a suggestion and another thing to learn how to suggest to oneself, to start something rather than be started. I do not deny that there are times when some must give orders and others must obey; my point is that education is primarily interested in self-command, in creating those who can lead and suggest, who start themselves. Creativity and imagination are true tests of an educated man—that is quite the opposite of the desideratum in military drill where the best soldier, so far as tactics go, is the man who can rid himself of his own ideas and be the passive recipient of ideas. I do not deny the necessity, in times of war, of the docile, obedient, unimaginative type—my point is that education aims at quite the opposite.

And self-control—there is only one way to learn self-control and that is by a moral discipline, by a development of a justice and truthfulness, by the building up of a code of honor, and by the winning of self to a recognition of the truth of such moral qualities. It is the life developed in freedom—that is why democracy is the most stable of societies, why England goes through its profound social changes without

bloodshed, whereas Bourbon and Romanoff absolutism are overthrown only by violence which sweeps old foundations away with rivers of blood.

Military training fails even in giving the best physical training. If this statement were not true, schools and colleges would long ago have devoted their energies to the development of a military system of physical training. There isn't a military college which depends upon its military methods to enhance the physical well-being of its men. Instead of physical training being helped by military training, military training everywhere employs the accepted physical methods which obtain in all standard schools to help its men. Athletics teach self-reliance, the ability to bear pain, the sense of honor, the quality of restraint and sacrifice far better than military drill, and, to meet the ordinary problems of civilized life, the trained athlete in school or college has a far better preparation than has the soldier.

What I have said about the failure of military training to give good education is particularly true of boys in high school. It cannot be shown that sixty-three high schools in nearly half of which military training is compulsory, have in any way produced a superior training educationally to that produced by the high schools which have no military drill at all. Their athletic teams win no more victories, their class-room work is no freer from cheating, their students do no better work in college or in the world. And on the other hand, while it is dangerous to quote authorities, many are the educators who discount the educational value of teaching high school boys the art of war. Commissioner Claxton, once United States Commissioner of Education, said, "*I do not believe military drill in our public schools is the best means; rifle practice in the schools is undesirable.*"

Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California, favoring the Switzerland universal military service, says, "*No place in the scheme for the drilling of school boys.*"

Arthur Hadley of Yale, in favor of summer camps, says, "*Military training of young men of high school age should be of the kind given in Switzerland—training in gymnastics, movements of large bodies, in hygienics of camp life, lessons in the actual use of the arms should be postponed until a later period.*"

and for the colleges and universities which, before that act, had been functioning without this military department.

were at least 1200 secondary schools where junior units might be maintained." He advocated raising the number of colleges with R. O. T. C's.

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Charles Eliot of Harvard, says, "*Military drill is not a good form of physical exercise for boys between fourteen and eighteen; training in the real work of soldiers should not begin before the twentieth year.*"

George Ehler, director of physical education, University of Wisconsin, says, "*Let us not confound military drill with training nor substitute military drill for physical education.*"

Yet, unless the defense act is changed, the process of militarizing our high schools will go on, and the corridors of our high schools will increasingly bristle with army rifles.

In college the military drill has not been regarded as in any wise a substitute for physical training. If it were you would not be witnessing the great expansion of athletics and physical training in all our schools and colleges. Colleges and universities where military training is compulsory are compelled to provide increasingly other opportunities for physical exercises; for these schools the military drill is an added load.

I stress this point because so often our military friends plead for the introduction of military training into our schools because, to use the words of the Junior R. O. T. C. Manual, "*the purpose of this book is not to make soldiers out of your boys, but to develop them physically, morally and mentally into the best type of citizens.*" I deny that military training is the best way of obtaining these things—educational history is against it. The argument cannot be supported by evidence. On the other hand it is an educational axiom that qualities of citizenship in a democracy can best be learned in a democracy, and that the qualities of creativity can only be learned by the mental and moral discipline of a genuine school life.

The reason why military education is not the best education is because its objective is not the training of men to live but the training of men to be soldiers. I am not denying that there have been times when men had to be trained as soldiers; what I am claiming is that schools are not the places to train soldiers. Schools are places where men are developed for the living of the best lives possible, and you cannot have the best education where training for life is a by-product and the training to be a soldier is primary.

As a matter of fact, the real aim of the R. O. T. C. in our schools is primarily the making of

soldiers. This is the second possible justification for having military training in our schools—that it is for the purpose of promoting our military defense.

LETTER FROM FREDERICK J. LIBBY Executive Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War

The relations between our Government and the Mexican Government are causing grave concern in the best informed circles in Washington. Even the newspaper men regard the situation as extremely delicate.

The oil interests, which have been the occasion of the long continued dispute, are being encouraged by our State Department to refuse to accept the Mexican oil laws.

A second occasion of ill-feeling is the religious controversy in Mexico.

Again, there is the cry of "Bolshevism." A careful study of the Mexican Constitution and laws will reveal the fact that Mexico is not remotely communistic and her extreme nationalism makes the charge that the Third International is directing her policy grotesque. Her laws regarding mineral and oil lands, while they may appear to our administration as a form of socialism are as a matter of fact based upon the old Roman law and are similar to the laws now in effect in France, Italy, Spain and other Latin countries. The United States cannot under any interpretation of the convenient Monroe Doctrine assume the right of determining what form of government other nations shall have. We did not claim that right regarding Russia but have expressly abjured it.

In the fourth place, there is the conflict of interests between ourselves and Mexico in Central America. Our State Department has seen fit to recognize one claimant to the Presidency of Nicaragua, Diaz. The Mexicans have recognized the elected Vice-President Sacasa, as successor to the presidency. Sacasa is the Liberal leader; Diaz the Conservative leader. The result is that the cry of a "Mexican-fostered Bolshevik hegemony intervening between the United States and the Panama Canal" has been raised under the influence of our State Department and bids fair to be a strong contributing factor in the growing ill-will between our two governments.

We believe that the position taken at Mrs. Catt's Conference on the Cause and Cure of

War on the basis of a considerable knowledge of the facts was eminently wise: That the matters in dispute should be settled without resort to such unfriendly measures as severing diplomatic relations and particularly the lifting of the embargo on the export of arms, which would encourage revolution in Mexico; and that if diplomacy has utterly failed, as it seems to have failed, the matters in dispute between our governments be submitted to arbitration. Since neither country is a member of the World Court and since both are members of the Hague Tribunal, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that under a treaty of peace which goes back to 1848 and is still in force we should suggest to Mexico that our differences be arbitrated by the Hague Tribunal.

We try never to ask you to send a letter or telegram to the President unless we are sure that the situation requires it and that it will serve an especially important purpose. We do ask you to write or wire the President on this issue the day you receive this. Please put the situation before others and ask them to do likewise. Churches and other bodies should send resolutions but no time should be lost. We would suggest that a telegram is more effective than a letter.

You will recall the fact that the president has power to break off diplomatic relations or lift the embargo on the export of arms without action of the senate. Therefore, your communication should be with the president. At the same time, we cannot forbear reminding you of the importance in relation to our foreign policy of the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Hon. William E. Borah. If you briefly notify him and your own two Senators also of your will in this vital issue, you will be doing well.

The time to prevent serious trouble with Mexico is now.

The Steamship *Ryndam*, Holland-American line, sailed September 18, for the long-projected voyage of eight months, with 450 college men and 50 faculty instructors, for a voyage in the interests of international education. The purpose is to develop the ability to think in world terms, to interest students in foreign affairs, and to strengthen international understanding and good will through first-hand contacts with places, people, problems and leaders of thought and action in many national centers.

DO YOU WANT ANOTHER WAR?

Great Britain spends \$12.96 per capita each year on armaments. France spends \$6.43. The United States, \$4.94. Italy, \$3.86. Japan, \$3.68. Germany, \$1.70. Russia, \$1.45. So say the reports.

Britain's big expenditures are largely naval. She has a small homeland and lives by commerce, so she thinks she must rule the waves.

The per capita method of figuring is apt to be deceptive. On account of the large population of the United States, it makes our armament expenditures appear lower than those of England and France, whereas they are higher. They look lower because they are spread over more people. Also, instead of being just a little higher than those of Japan, they are tremendously higher.

And Uncle Sam has not the same excuse for huge armaments that some other countries have. He has a vast area and is almost self-sufficient. If all the rest of the world were to sink into the sea he could get along.

The amount is made to look small, also, because it includes only the actual amounts expended on military, naval and aerial budgets, and does not include the colossal sums being paid on past wars. If the latter were included, the amount per capita would be several times as much.

The United States, for example, spends over four billions of dollars per annum. Most of this immense sum goes, in various ways, for past and future wars. It is difficult to divide the appropriations accurately and to discover precisely what proportion goes for these purposes. Some have said 85 per cent. It could be less than that, and still be about \$30 per capita, or far above \$100 per family, each year.

Do you want another war? If not, what are you doing day by day to help build a peace psychology that will be effective when the propaganda mills of the masters again get busy?—*Labor World, Duluth.*

MUST BEGIN IN THE SCHOOLS

All movements that succeed start in the schools. It is in the schools of the world that the peace movement will succeed or fail. If the old-style militant nationalism continues to be taught there—the arrogance, the hate of past days—there is no hope.

Hate is being taught now in the schools of every land and not infrequently under the guise of patriotism. For myself, I learned to love France and to hate England, as a schoolboy, through the lessons of the Revolutionary War. These lessons could have been taught without breeding hate, I think; but they were not.

South and North have not yet agreed on a history of the United States. Both are handing down from generation to generation the animosities of the Civil War, by using different text books with utterly different viewpoints. They call this loyalty. It is loyalty to the past. Loyalty to the future demands that the glorification of war with its hatreds shall cease.—*From What Price Peace, by Frederick J. Libby.*

The R. O. T. C. in High School

R. E. Blount, Chicago Federation of Men
Teachers

What is the motive for all the war preparation, the hundreds of millions spent for armored ships, for fortifications, for munitions, and for supporting young men in non-productive occupation and training them in the art of killing their fellows? Is it fear? People do the most absurd things under the influence of fear. Do we fear Canada, beside whom with an unprotected boundary we have lived in most cordial relations for many years? Do we fear Mexico, whom our highest officials, presumably at the behest of their financial masters, have threatened and abused in the most outrageous manner, struggling Mexico who is hardly able to stand on her feet after the throes of revolution? Do we fear Japan, plucky as she is but without resources of metals, fuel or adequate food? Do we fear that the Chinese will load their millions, without arms or munitions, on their sampans and house boats and devastate our Pacific shores? Do we fear that any European nation, bankrupt and desperately wounded in the great conflict it so recently experienced, has a thought of attacking us?

Is it profits we are seeking by our war-like gestures? Those who sell munitions and other supplies to our army and navy at exorbitant prices are among the most determined advocates of preparation for military "defense." Our financiers who invest millions in our weaker neighboring states—Nicaragua, Haiti, San Domingo, Cuba, and others—find the complaisant administration at Washington ready to use U. S. armed forces, at public expense, to domineer over feeble governments and protesting peoples to insure generous returns to our beneficent speculators. If we are to continue the policy of forceful exploitation of our needy neighbors we shall probably require strong armed forces and ruthless officers to command them. The vociferous patrioter talks loudly about protecting *our* property invested in foreign lands. It would be humorous if it were not so tragic. *We* who supply the young lives risked or lost in the campaign and pay the bill have no property at stake. Legitimate investments are not endangered. Concessions and holdings to the detriment of the people, obtained through bribery of corrupt officials, are sometimes threatened. Must we spend the lives of

our young men and our public funds to protect our unscrupulous speculators?

Is our war preparation due to pessimism and shrewd calculation? Pessimists say it is folly to think there will be no more war. When war comes, perhaps through the fault of other nations, we shall be drawn into it, just as we were in 1917. If we have adequate preparation we shall be able to act more promptly and suffer less than we should suffer if we were not equipped.

Whatever the motive, we are preparing for war. While disclaiming hostile feeling for any of our neighbors and protesting that we seek peace we are impregnating the minds of the people with the thought that military force is necessary and we are accumulating weapons and munitions and training young men to use them. What part does the R. O. T. C. in the high school play in this program?

In 1918 when the whole country was war mad the thought quickly spread that our older high school boys should receive military training, so that when their turn came to serve their country there would not be the long months of delay in preparing them for the field. Many high schools organized such training, usually under the supervision of a man detailed from the U. S. army, often a soldier returned from France. At first it was only the older boys who underwent this training. After a year or two the country recovered in some degree its sanity. The training lost something of its glamor. Many schools discontinued the work entirely. In others the number of boys volunteering for the training, even under more or less pressure from the school authorities, fell off so that many units were discontinued and others were kept going only by strenuous recruiting. All sorts of inducements were made to get the boys to join. Young boys just entering high school were urged to sign the roster. Uniforms were supplied free. The free use of a suit of clothes worn all day, especially if it seems to carry with it some distinction, is quite an inducement to a poor boy. Military drill gives credit toward graduation without book study. To the older boys there is the opportunity of becoming an officer with its privilege of domineering over the little fellows, provided there

are enough recruits to fill the ranks. So the upper class boys who are in the game are eager to enlist the "freshies."

In 1925 military training was given in sixty-three high schools in the United States. In most of these the work was voluntary. The list includes a few large cities—Chicago, Cleveland, Kansas City—and many cities of 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. This work is undertaken on the pretext that it will promote in the boys good citizenship, physical training, and military instruction and training. As to citizenship, practically nothing is done, no instruction, no direction in concrete duties. As to physical training, the R. O. T. C. commonly takes the place of superior gymnasium exercises. The overwhelming consensus of opinion of physical training instructors as well as of other teachers is that such military training as we have in our schools lacks the desirable features of physical exercise and has no place in high school. The boys march and go through the manual of arms. The movements are stiff, the guns too heavy for the smaller boys. The boys probably receive very little physical harm from the drill since it lasts only a short period two or three times a week. As to preparing the boys to become officers when their country calls them to the field of war, it is to laugh. The most able boys who would really make good officers are not beguiled by the military camouflage. All the arts of war the boys learn in their two or three years of high school drilling could be taught real soldiers in training in as many weeks. If anyone thinks the boys learn obedience and devotion to duty in their school playing at war he has another think coming. Some of the banties take themselves quite seriously for a little while and strut about with their big guns very pompously. But they soon drop that manner and become natural boys again, careless, taking their job very easily. As to military discipline, there isn't any. There cannot be any drastic enforcement of discipline as there is in the regular service, and few of the non-commissioned officers who have charge of the boys are fitted by education or native ability for leaders of boys. They do not know how to appeal to their charges and inspire them to worthwhile things. At times when a competitive drill is on, the boys show some enthusiasm, even coming out for extra training. But this is only a spurt and is soon over.

The one effective result of this high school military game is to make the idea of war popular. And that, I take it, is the reason the army officers and their civilian supporters promote the thing. The guns the boys carry were made for shooting men. The boys know it and think it. The more they think it the more they take official killing as a matter of course, and the more sympathetic they are with organized killers. When they become men they will be likely to join the throng who clamor for a large appropriation for the army and navy. The R. O. T. C. is good propaganda.

Even Germany in her truculent militant days before 1914 was not so foolish as to offer her school children on the altar to Mars. We deprecate the publication of the revolting details of murder in the daily papers. It puts images of crime into the minds of our young people. Yet week after week we ask the boys to shoulder guns and imagine themselves killing their fellow men. John Dewey says that military training "is undemocratic, barbaric, and educationally wholly unwise." Progressive teachers agree with him.

For 1925, congress appropriated \$3,800,000 for R. O. T. C. work in high schools and colleges, most of it for military training in college. The entire appropriation for current military activities amount to hundreds of millions. Let teachers compare this with the sum appropriated for education. The bill which the A. M. A. is hoping to get through congress providing for a Department of Education in place of a bureau in the Interior Department very timidly asks for a half million dollars to finance it. For the R. O. T. C. nearly four million and for the whole proposed Department of Education a miserable half million! Great is Mars!

The thing to do is bravely to demand peace. Outlaw war. Stop teaching war. Stop preparing for it. Stop paying for it. Teach peace. Spend millions of dollars for it. Send young men and young women to foreign countries to make friends; bring foreigners here to make friends. Make friends in every part of the world by the thousands. Declare frankly that we shall not send war vessels and troops to foreign countries to collect the claims of our speculators. Proclaim to the whole world that we will respect others' rights and liberties as we ask them to respect ours. We will forcibly exploit no one.

Make treaties with every country on the earth agreeing to arbitrate all questions which we cannot settle by conference. If we work for peace with half the vigor we use in war promotion and spend on it one tenth the money wasted in war expenses there can be no more war. And incidentally crime, which is so largely an aftermath of war, will diminish, and there will be meaning in the words "good will to men."

POISON GAS PROTOCOL

(Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare.)

1. Purpose

To eliminate the use of poison gas and bacteriological methods of warfare as between the parties which have ratified this treaty, to the end that this prohibition shall be universally accepted as international law.

2. History

One of the treaties adopted at the Washington Conference included a treaty for the abolition of chemical warfare and control of submarines. It was not ratified by France, who objected to the submarine provisions, and, therefore, never came into effect. This treaty, almost identical with the Washington treaty save for the elimination of submarine provisions and the addition of application to bacteriological methods of warfare, was negotiated at the Traffic in Arms Conference, held in Geneva, June, 1925, at the instance and through the efforts of Theodore Burton, official representative of the United States. It was signed by 44 countries, and was transmitted by the State Department to the Senate for ratification.

3. Legislative Status

On June 9, 1926, it was favorably reported to the Senate by the Foreign Relations Committee. Senator Borah has announced that he would make every effort for ratification.

In reply to a letter from the Senator, General Pershing made the following reply:

When the opportunity came at the Washington Conference to give expression to my views, it was done without hesitation. As chairman of the subcommittee, I proposed the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

"Chemical warfare should be abolished among nations as abhorrent to civilization. It is cruel, unfair, and improper use of science. It is fraught with the gravest danger to noncombatants and demoralizes the better instincts of humanity."

I can not think it possible that our country should fail to ratify the protocol which includes this or a similar provision. Scientific research may discover a gas so deadly that it will produce instant death. To sanction the use of gas in any form would be to open the way for the use of the most deadly gases and the possible poisoning of whole populations of noncombatant men, women, and children. The contemplation of such a result is shocking to the senses. It is unthinkable that civilization should deliberately decide upon such a course.

Sincerely yours

JOHN J. PERSHING.

Ratification of this treaty has been strongly opposed by several interests which, fighting under cover, are said to represent chemical and airplane manufacturers. It is opposed also by representatives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and Reserve Officers' Association.

Opposition coming from the American Legion is headed by the General Fries who tried to have a Washington teacher discharged because he entered a contest based on making definitions of socialism.

By some of these opponents the arguments used play up the usual fear and prejudice against other nations and attempt to identify this treaty with the League of Nations, ignoring United States initiative and misrepresenting the purpose and scope of the treaty.

There is a feeling that this opposition, seeming to represent the opinion of foreign war veterans, does not really represent the opinion of the rank and file of the men themselves. The bill has been sent back to committee and an effort is being made to get a very wide expression of opinion on the use of poison gas.

Prompt action in support of this treaty is necessary on the part of organizations already on record for the limitation of armaments. All locals are urged to take action on this specific treaty, the Poison Gas Protocol, advocated by the state department and the foreign relations committee. Please send a copy of the resolution to the A. F. T. office and to the National Council for the Prevention of War, Washington, D. C. Friends of the treaty are now writing letters to their senators and to Senator Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH OF JOHN NEVINS SAYRE

Before the Late Convention of the American Federation of Teachers

Mr. H. G. Wells says: "We have a race between education and catastrophe. There are forces at work in our world for peace and very, very potent forces in our world making for war."

In our country we spent over \$600,000,000 last year for the machinery for war. That is two and a half times what France spent; more than thirty times what Japan spent. We are spending a million and a half a day.

What kind of education are we going in for? Consider the military training in public schools and colleges. In Ohio State University, for a period of about sixteen years down to 1916, there was one retired Army officer teaching the courses in military training there. Today that university has twenty-three active Army officers giving that instruction and in addition twenty-two enlisted men in the army helping with those courses; forty-five people, all told, in one institution on the payroll of the U. S. Department of War. The course is compulsory for freshmen and sophomore, and offers a bonus of about \$200 a year if taken by juniors and seniors. The whole thing is under the control and auspices of the War Department.

This situation is common throughout the country. In 205 of the 281 institutions in which military training is given it is compulsory.

Last year Congress appropriated more than ten and a half million dollars for R. O. T. C. work.

In recent years, several professors and students in colleges who have protested against the compulsory feature have been compelled to leave the colleges. Thus it is seen that military training has a decided tendency to suppress freedom of conscience and of discussion.

Moreover, college presidents are influenced to adopt military training through the financial aid given by the Morell Land Grant Act to colleges having military training.

Again, military training, instead of being a preventive of war, will produce the very thing the military people claim it will prevent. Lord Grey, in his memoirs says: More than one true thing may be said about the cause of the war, but the statement that comprises most truth is that militarism and the armaments inseparable from it made war inevitable. Armaments were intended to produce a sense of security in each nation. What they really did was to produce fear in everybody. Fear causes suspicion and hatred.

One of the most serious things about our new system of compulsory military training is that it has influenced Canada, Mexico, Japan, and Russia to continue or increase cadet training.

There is a bill before Congress now which would stop the use of federal officers and federal funds for compulsory military training in civil educational institutions. Among other delegates, one from the American Federation of Labor has appeared in support of this bill.

A great many of the church bodies recently have been taking stands against compulsory and War Department military training in civil educational institutions. If we work, everyone together, in gathering the facts and getting those facts before the people of this country we can, I believe rally some old-fashioned Americanism and some old-fashioned common sense and drive this whole thing out of our public colleges and schools.

Don't you see that this dress parade version of military training is no good for preparedness, and it is no good for the kind of citizenship we try to train for in a democracy, for getting people to think, to settle complicated problems by proc-

esses of reasoning and conciliation, conference and thought, but it is good for leading youngsters into the war system, the war psychology, and the war ideas?

FOR THE SCHOOLROOM

To our office came the other day from the National Council for Prevention of War, a gift in the form of a unique calendar commemorating heroes of peace. Each page bears in a stenciled frame-work the portrait of a benefactor of humanity, beginning with Pasteur, followed by Lincoln, Columbus, Socrates and others. Below the portrait is a short biographical sketch, which gives to the Calendar of World Heroes a distinctly educational value.

The calendar was the outgrowth of competition for a prize of \$1,200 offered for the twelve best essays on world heroes, the three essentials of heroism being nobility of character, fearless and self-sacrificing devotion to a great cause, and constructive work for humanity of a permanent character.

Six of the prizes went to writers in the United States, and six to foreign countries. The twelve heroes who inspired the prize-winning essays are those chosen for the calendar.

The National Council for Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., would like to have one in every school.

The American Federation of Teachers recognizes keenly the need for furthering the growth of an international spirit of good will and how much this growth may be developed by breaking down the prejudices of school children. Much can be done certainly by this appeal to the admiration of all children for these world heroes who worked to give life to the world. The membership of the Federation will feel much satisfaction in recalling the resolution (the full text of which is given on p. 14) passed in the convention last July asking the schools to glorify the heroes of peace.

The strength of trade unionism in Mexico is shown by recent statistics given out by Richard Trevino, secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor, generally known as "CROM." This organization enrolls some 2,000,000 organized industrial and farm workers. As the population of Mexico is less than 15,000,000, the labor movement in the United States would have to comprise 14,000,000 organized workers (instead of less than four million) to show a numerical strength comparative with that of this so-called "backward" country.

Is there any relation between the above and our Mexican political complication?

The British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches has made arrangements for the interchange of visits between young people of different countries. Homes where young people will be welcomed have been found in Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland and Italy. Information can be obtained from Miss Olive Tritton, 1 Arundel Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2.

The **Seventh Annual Educational Conference** sponsored by the Ohio State University will be held at that institution on April 7, 8 and 9, 1927. As in former years the general sessions will be held on Thursday evening, Friday evening and Saturday morning. Men of national note, such as Professor E. L. Thorndike of Teachers College, Columbia University, Professor Wallace W. Atwood of Clark University, Judge Olson of the Juvenile Court of Chicago, Payson Smith, Commissioner of Education for Massachusetts, and others will address the general sessions.

Both forenoon and afternoon of Friday will be given over to sectional meetings of which this year there will be more than thirty. Here again specialists in their fields will contribute as, for example, Professor S. A. Courtis of Michigan in the Educational and Intelligence Test Section; Professor S. A. Leonard of Wisconsin in English; Professor Hill of Illinois in Non-biological Science, etc.

The keynote of this year's conference is "Expertness in Teaching" and the whole program, both general and sectional, will center around this idea. The uniform testimony of the thousands who have attended past conferences is that each year the conference is outstanding for its helpfulness, its abundance of ideas and its lack of mere talk. There is every reason to believe that this year's program equals, if it does not exceed, all former ones.

I look to the trade unions as the principal means for benefiting the condition of the working classes.—*Prof. Thorold Rogers, University of Oxford.*

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COMFORT OF OUR GUESTS
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JOSEPH E. GOULET, Mgr.

TEACHERS MUST NOT THINK

It is an old story for radicals to be called crazy by their enemies. It is a new thing to try to penalize radicals by actually trying to prove them psychopathic. If every non-conformist can be proved mentally unsound simply because he or she will not travel with the herd human progress is at an end and a new weapon of tyranny has been forged. This is precisely what Superintendent O'Shea and some of his associates seek to do in the New York schools. The superintendent himself let the cat out of the bag by announcing that many radicals "are considered by medical men of some eminence as psychopathic." Some effort to apply this judgment to Miss Ruth Hardy, a brilliant and competent teacher, has been made.

Miss Hardy is but one of three teachers who have been refused the promotions to which their examinations and record entitle them. The others are Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, a prominent Socialist, and Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz at one time active in the effort to form a farmer-labor party. Against neither of these teachers is there any charge whatsoever against their activities in school. Their ability is admitted even by their enemies. They are penalized simply because, out of school hours they have dared to express their own opinions on politics and economics. Such control over education is far more dangerous than any control over the police which the bosses now exercise.—*Union Labor Record, Wilmington, N. C.*

Trade unions are the bulwarks of modern democracies.—*W. E. Gladstone.*

Academic Freedom and History Text Books

The American Federation of Teachers is again the only nation-wide educational organization to interest itself actively in a question relating to academic freedom which comes before the federal Congress. This time it was in connection with the Connery Bill which sought to go into the question of history text book writing. Our Washington representative appealed to the author of the bill and found him willing to hear our side. He accompanied her to the Chairman of the Committee on Education of the House and himself asked that the request of the American Federation of Teachers be granted, and that when hearings on this measure are held that the educator's and the historian's point of view on history text book content matter be presented, along with that of the military men. Mr. Reed, the Chairman agreed and held that because so many educators would probably be interested that the hearings be not held this year during the short session, but be postponed until full time can be given to them to present their views.

Shortly after the decision to postpone hearings on this question had been reached, there appeared press reports that Colonel Dickinson, the Army Chaplain, is so anxious to have more military achievements discussed in our history textbooks that he appealed to the Military Affairs committee, asking them to grant a hearing. Again it was the American Federation of Teachers which alone took cognizance of this situation.

Our representative had watched General Speaks of Ohio at the hearings on the Welsh Bill, on compulsory military training in our schools and colleges. It was then that Congressman Speaks, himself a man with military record, fought to get a fair deal for Dr. John Nevins Sayre, when some members of the Committee were most prejudiced against him.

Because of this keen sense of fairness which General Speaks then displayed our representative appealed to him on this case. She asked him if he did not feel that a question on textbooks should be considered by the Committee on Education rather than by the Military Affairs Committee. He quite agreed and when Colonel Dickinson appeared before the committee on Military Affairs it was General Speaks, who had himself been under fire, a soldier from a line organization and not from the staff, who strongly differed with the Army Chaplain and who insisted that children should be taught about Leagues of Nations and International Tribunals and efforts for peace, to which the army chaplain objected. It is General Speaks who assures the American Federation of Teachers that Colonel Dickinson's request will be referred to the committee on Education. And that committee will not hold hearings on the measure this year.

In the meantime we are informing other educational organizations, asking them if they wish to be informed of the hearings and be present if they are held.

The American Federation of Teachers, as the pioneer, will lead and hopes the other interested organizations will join.

AN INVITATION TO THE TEACHING PROFESSION OF AMERICA

The memory of *John Henry Pestalozzi*, one of the illustrious sons of that modest, but very active republic in the heart of turbulent Europe, Switzerland, is to be honored this year, the centenary of his death. The city and the state of his birth, Zurich, are co-operating in the preparation of elaborate plans, in which the educational authorities, the University of Zurich, and other educational institutions will take leading parts. Special exercises, educational exhibits and conferences, to which foreign representatives have been invited, will mark February 1927 as a real "Pestalozzi Month."

For August 1st, 2nd and 3rd, a great International Educational Congress has been planned to which the teachers of Europe and America are invited. A National Advisory Committee for America has been organized, consisting of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University; Dr. J. J. Tigert, U. S. Commissioner of Education; Dr. Frank P. Graves, President of the University and Commissioner of Education of the state of New York; Dr. Lillian Stroeb, Professor, Vassar College. The Educational Directors of the branches, representing the various countries of Europe and America form an International Committee, the names of which will be published later.

The organization of the work for the Zurich Convention, and the transmission of the official invitation to the American teaching profession have been placed in the hands of Dr. K. E. Richter, College of the City of New York, who in his capacity of Educational Director for the American Branch, will be glad to furnish any information concerning the educational congress.

He is also closely co-operating with the authorities of Zurich to work out an interesting program for the three days of the convention, which will attract the teachers of Europe and America. During the three days the mornings will be devoted to conferences, the afternoons to sight-seeing, the evenings to social functions such as a Venetian night on the Lake, a concert and dance, and finally a farewell dinner. Other attractive features will be included in the program of the other cities, which will be visited. It is expected that the American teaching profession will be represented by a large contingent commensurate to the dignity, calibre, and numbers of the American teachers.

The management of the tours through Europe and return has been entrusted to the Touring Department of the United American Lines, 28 Broadway, New York, thus assuring a comfortable and delightful journey. Information concerning the educational congress in Zurich will be furnished by the Educational Director (American Branch), Dr. K. E. Richter, College of the City of N. Y., Convent Ave. and 138th St.

Laborers must be recognized as being entitled to as much consideration as employers, and their rights must be equally safeguarded.—*Commission on the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.*

WOMEN OF TODAY

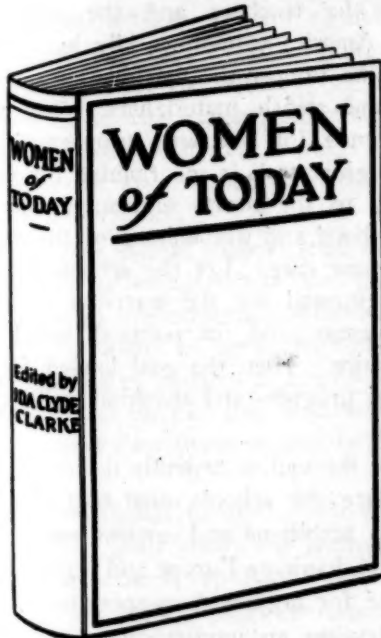
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"Women of Today" of great value in my work at the University.—*G. R. Hebard, University of Wyoming.*

The Wall Street Woman's Club wishes to go on record as being fully in accord with the work being done in bringing out the publication "Women of 1923."—*Mary E. Fraser, Secretary.*

Please accept my compliments on the excellence of this valuable publication.—*Dr. A. Z. Stangler, Czechoslovak Legation.*

"Women of 1923" is a pioneer work of which all women may be justly proud.—*Thyraa W. Amos, Dean of Women, University of Pittsburg.*

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WOMEN OF TODAY PUBLISHING COMPANY NEW YORK, U. S. A.

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Democracy in Education Education for Democracy
Published monthly, except July and August, by
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
327 South La Salle Street, Chicago
FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON
Sec.-Treas. and Editor

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

—Thomas Carlyle.

WAR AND EDUCATION

Resolution Adopted by American Federation of Teachers' Tenth Annual Convention, June 30, 1926

Instead of scrapping educational machinery to meet pleas of economy, if such pleas are justifiable, economy should be undertaken by curtailing naval and military organization. The funds thus saved should be devoted to education, so as to make the children of America not only guardians of our revolutionary and constitutional heritage, but pioneers of a better social order—an order built not on special privilege or personal gain, but on service for all. Not the development of robots, but the development of character and nobility of soul should be our goal. War not only militates against the development of the highest type of citizens, but is destructive of all that is best. It makes for the survival of the biologically unfit, for economic disorganization, for misery, chaos and for hatreds which make future wars inevitable. A single engine of destruction—such as a battleship and its auxiliaries—costs \$70,000,000, enough to provide for the construction of 500 elaborate school buildings, where 750,000 embryonic voters can have their potentialities for good developed to the utmost. Can such criminal waste be permitted to continue without emphatic opposition?

Those whose loved ones died in war and those who were called upon to pay in peace for the havoc wrought by war are determined to wage

but one kind of war—war to outlaw war and a campaign to eliminate social, economic and political injustice. Profiteers, munition makers and those who profit by war are making future wars inevitable. As the next war will be a war fought in the air and by means of deadly chemicals and disease germs or death rays, it may mean the possible destruction of civilization. In the face of these facts the teachers and the organized workers of America cannot sit idly by without resisting to the utmost the machinations of the militarists and selfish materialists. We must meet propaganda for war with propaganda for peace. Our great task is to organize for peace by appealing to the hearts and minds of the growing manhood and womanhood of the nation intrusted to our care. Let the schools become the training ground for the warriors of peace and righteousness, and for political, social and economic justice. Then the goal longed for by the lovers of progress and mankind will surely be attained.

To achieve the end so ardently desired by the lovers of peace, the schools must first root out those narrow ambitions and ancient animosities that haunt and dominate Europe and replace them with a desire for organized co-operation, which alone can develop an international mindedness without which no world machinery, however admirable, can function. The American Federation of Teachers should seek to have the states enact legislation, or, better still, complete our plans for a world conference of educators with a view to reconstructing our text-books in literature in the social and natural sciences so as to eliminate national egoism, race hatred, the glorification of war, and the substitution therefore, of the teaching of the truth about war—its cold-blooded butchery, its elimination of the biologically fit, its economic chaos, its debts, starvation and disease. We should glorify the heroes of peace rather than the heroes of war, heroes of peace as symbolized by the physician who risks all to discover the cure for leprosy or the idealist who holds fast to a minority view which will make for a better world and greater happiness for all. In our literary work we should stress not the "Charge of the Light Brigade" or "Ulysses," but rather Tolstoy's "Ivan the Fool"; in our science, teachers should show that war is a biological menace, since it means the survival of the less

fit, to propagate their kind. In our social sciences we should especially emphasize the fundamental causes of war.

Second, we should work to secure the passage of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for a referendum on war except in case of a direct invasion of our territory.

Third, we should endeavor to have Congress enact legislation that would empower the president to work for the outlawry of war and the creation of an international tribunal for the settlement of such disputes as may arise on the principles of an international code to be developed and codified.

Fourth, we should support such measures and movements as seek to have the United States participate in international conferences called to consider reduction of armaments and such economic and social matters as are of vital concern to mankind to the end that imperialistic conflicts and the wars they produce may be forever banished.

Fifth, we should favor the enactment of legislation which shall insure the prompt publication of state department reports.

Sixth, we should support measures, as the Welsh Bill, which seeks to prevent the use of government funds for the support of compulsory military training in public schools and colleges. We are opposed to the conscription of American manhood by educational institutions as tending to develop the military spirit. Compulsory military training, which is a poor substitute for physical training, is educationally unsound since it substitutes automatic for rational reaction. What may be far worse, compulsory military training engenders an attitude of mind menacing to world peace because it recognizes war as a normal social phenomenon placing upon citizens the duty to participate in it.

The outcome of the struggle between war and peace, upon which so much depends, rests largely with the schools and the colleges. It is therefore encouraging to the lovers of peace and brotherhood to find the young men of our colleges objecting strongly to compulsory military training. The American Federation of Teachers hopes that this opposition to military training and especially, to the domination of such training by the Department of War with the resources and prestige

of the government behind it, will grow until compulsory military training is completely wiped out of every educational institution. Only through such a victory will a peace mind-set gradually develop and help undermine and finally nullify the organized efforts being made to fix more firmly the war mind-set, which unfortunately still dominates mankind.

Seventh, we should maintain direct and intimate relations with teachers of other nations through the World Federation of Educational Associations, bonafide trade unions, teacher and student exchanges.

"THE CALL OF THE CAMPS"

There comes to our desk a beautifully printed announcement of the Citizens' Military Training Camps. It is copiously illustrated and skillfully planned to make the training camps attractive to young men. All the sport features of the camps are played up—competitive games, music, movies. Adventures in new surroundings at the sea shore, in the mountains, are invitingly presented. There are Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., church services, and careful chaperonage to win the parents. And all free of charge, with transportation thrown in. (If you beg or steal your transportation the mileage allowance is pure gain.)

To boys who spend their year in an office or shop or even in school the thought of four weeks in camp with a jolly crowd of fellows, out of doors, with good food and comfortable bed, under perfect hygiene conditions, is very alluring. Of course there are strict regulations to be observed and hours of stiff drill to be endured. But these are not made much of in the prospectus.

In 1925 the government maintained twenty-eight such camps, in which about thirty-five thousand boys were trained. Gen. Pershing hopes the number will soon reach a hundred thousand. The expense to the government was over two million dollars. To this must be added over a million dollars contributed by sympathetic wealthy citizens. For most of the great financiers of our country seem to think a trained military force desirable. Is it to assist them in putting down strikes or in collecting profits in some weak Central American country? At any rate they support the camps and send chosen employees to them.

The camps claim to teach good citizenship and hygiene and to give physical and military training. The program made out by the war department provides in the first year for five hours in citizenship, five in hygiene and first aid, ten in physical training, and ninety in military training. In the fourth year there is no time assigned to the first two items, ten hours to physical and one hundred forty-eight to military training. Quite a preponderance of Mars!

The boys admitted to the camps are of course all able bodied, over seventeen years of age, physically fit to be soldiers. They come back from the camps brown

and hearty, much improved by their life in the open. What a pity that the government does not maintain camps in which worthwhile occupations instead of war preparation should be the main business! Simply recreational camps could be provided at about half the expense of the military camps. When we become wiser our Boards of Education may establish summer camps as part of our educational system. In them the children could study plant and animal life and get acquainted with the outdoors as they cannot in the city. From them the pupils would observe farm and village life and do field work in geography. But what is the use of building castles in Spain? Such educational visions cannot be realized without money, and our Boards of Education must economize lest the rich have to pay more taxes. We can afford to spend only for that which yields profits or protects the investments we have made.

One straight speaking army officer has cried out against the whole miserable business:

"Good citizenship," he says, "is an excellent thing, and so are religion, filial affection and brotherly love. But they are not the ends of an army. An army exists to kill men, when ordered, in the nation's quarrel, irrespective of justice. It should train its men to that single end. If we object to any of our citizens thus specializing on murderous and unchristian activities, we should abolish the army. If we want an army, we should recognize it for what it is. We should not lie about its being a school for citizenship or manual training, nor clutter up its drill grounds with disciples for these irrelevant arts."

HOW WARS COME

Earl Grey, of Falloden, in "Twenty-five Years"

If there are armaments on one side, there must be armaments on the other sides.* * * The increase of armaments, that is intended in each nation to produce consciousness of strength and a sense of security, does not produce these effects. On the contrary, it produces a consciousness of the strength of other nations and a sense of fear.

Fear begets suspicion and mistrust and evil imaginings of all sorts, till each government feels it would be criminal and a betrayal of its country not to take every precaution, while every government regards every precaution of every other government as evidence of hostile intent. * * * The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made war inevitable.

This seems to me to be the truest reading of history, and the lesson that the present should be learning from the past in the interest of future peace.

CHILD LABOR INCREASES

The United States Children's Bureau reports that child labor in industry is on the increase throughout the country.

This information does not accord with predictions that agitation for the federal child labor amendment will result in improved state child labor laws.

Instead, it again proves that profiteers in child labor cannot be trusted. It is all the same to them whether the federal government or the state checks them. They use different excuses, but they have one purpose.

It remains for the people to decide whether a physically stunted and an illiterate citizenry of the future justifies a continuance of present conditions.

Congress attempted to debar the products of child labor from interstate commerce, but the Supreme Court said this was illegal. Lottery tickets can be debarred, but not a commodity that children make.

Congress then attempted to tax the products of child labor, but again the Supreme Court interfered. The court had previously ruled that it is legal to tax state banks and oleomargarine out of existence. In these cases the court held that the intent of congress cannot be considered. It reversed itself in the child labor case by holding that while the law claims it to be a tax bill, it is an attempt to accomplish another purpose.

The child labor evil calls for insistent protest by every citizen who considers the welfare of future generations and his country.

Courts and profiteers have been known to bow to an intelligent public opinion.

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THE SECOND CONFERENCE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR

The Conference was remarkable for the large number of experts who spoke on Arbitration, Security and Disarmament and the Foreign Policy of the United States. It would be impossible because of the limitations of space to give any adequate idea of even the most important ideas put forward. Prof. James T. Shotwell spoke of the Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, which was the outcome of the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, as a turning point in human affairs. For the first time in history an alternative for war was sought openly and frankly.

The next milestone on the road to peace was the Treaty of Locarno and six associated treaties which went into effect upon the entry of Germany into the League of Nations during the Seventh Assembly last September. According to these treaties Germany and each of her neighbors, France, Belgium, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, will submit all their legal disputes to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to arbitration. But the dangerous disputes between nations are the political disputes—disputes which concern the vital interest or national honor of a nation. These are the incidents about which wars arise. They are not often matters which can be brought before a court or submitted to arbitration.

In the Treaties of Locarno disputes of this kind are referred to Commissions of Conciliation. Treaties of peace in the past have announced the high resolve to maintain peace and friendship in the future, but the significant thing in the Locarno Treaties is this definite provision for Commissions of Conciliation for political issues, Commissions which are in existence at the present time. And it was because there was this definite machinery and a limited responsibility that the British Government was able to say that it would guarantee the peace between France and Germany and come to the help of the victim in case of aggression by the other.

Prof. Shotwell spoke again of the necessity of revising the law of neutrality. Since Locarno, we are the potential accomplice of the aggressor unless we definitely give up the traditional right of a neutral nation to sell and to ship arms and munitions to the belligerent nation which is the aggressor—the test of aggression being an attack on another nation without first submitting the dispute to arbitration or, having done so, without accepting an arbitral reward. In the Locarno Treaty France and Germany accept this definition of the aggressor.

Prof. Shotwell asks for an American doctrine equal in dignity to the Monroe Doctrine. He thinks there should be a conference for the revision of the law of neutrality—a great international conference which will make aggressive war a crime.

Norman Angell underlined what Mr. Shotwell had said about the necessity of revising the law of neutrality. He emphasized the fact that peace between individuals is the result of long efforts, which gradually

brought into existence our legal system and a police force—that is, an organized society. But internationally we have no organized society and there is the real cause of war. Our wars have not been wars in defense of our territory. *What we have fought for in reality was the right to be a judge of our own interests. There is a violation of the first principle of organized society. A party to a case cannot be a judge of that case. We must have third-party judgment.* He thinks we shall waste our efforts if we fail to support any tendency of the nations to transfer power from the individual nation to the community of nations. He thinks we must support this as an improvement—it is a step forward, which we must take. It is an attempt on the part of a combination of powers to secure third-party judgment. It is in reality the conversion of an army into a police force.

The discussion on arbitration revealed that in this country our Presidents and the State Department have from time to time desired to extend the use of arbitration. Their efforts have, however, generally been blocked by the Senate. The rank and file of the people of the United States do not realize this. The Senate's attitude on arbitration is the real crux of the problem in this country. It requires only a one-third vote of the Senate to defeat a treaty with a foreign nation.

The report of the Committee on Findings, when published, will be a brief but very interesting and important document. The addresses given at the Conference will also be published.—*Bulletin, Illinois League of Women Voters.* Lydia M. Schmidt.

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

19

Book Reviews

"There is no international dispute that cannot be solved in the council chamber. There is no international dispute that can be solved by war."—Arthur Ponsonby in *Now Is the Time*.

Now Is the Time, by Arthur Ponsonby, M. P. Thomas Seltzer, New York. 1926, 192 pp., \$2.50.

Here is the book that has awakened the trade unions of Britain to undertake the greatest crusade for world peace in the history of organized labor. As I write this, the last of a million signatures are being signed to the mammoth peace pledge—not a mere petition—drafted by the author of this book by which these British workers solemnly covenant with each other and notify their government that they will never sanction or engage in another war. There are no ifs or buts about this Ponsonby peace pledge; it is an absolute undertaking by a million of the most thoughtful and influential trade unionists and liberals of Britain never under any circumstances to take part in another war.

This may seem like strong gospel for many American workers. If so, read *Now Is the Time*. It is without exception the most important and forceful analysis of the criminal folly of war that has appeared since the great blood-letting of 1914-18. Its author knows what he is talking about. He was born and bred in the atmosphere of British imperial diplomacy. As a lad he was a page to Queen Victoria. Later he served with distinction in a number of diplomatic positions before he finally awakened to a realization that the old diplomacy and the governmental influences behind it are the breeders of humanity's greatest scourge—war. Then Ponsonby turned to the Labor Party as the one political organization with a real desire and program to end war, accepting the office of Under Secretary of State for foreign affairs in the cabinet of the first labor government.

Now Is the Time is as convincing and unemotional as an alarm clock. With cold, forceful logic the book compels us to wake up and face the facts about the next war now in the making. The great conspiracy for this next war is already in existence. Ponsonby reveals that at this very moment it is being promoted by those in high authority. The author lifts up the diplomatic curtain and shows us these forces at work. He also discloses what will happen when the next war comes and why it is necessary for governments to lie to their people about the real origin of war.

"What the people imagine to be a spontaneous outburst of indignation (against the other nation) is worked up, organized and prepared; the high-sounding motives for fighting given out publicly are deliberately faked and fictitious; the clamor they will find around them is false and hollow and much of the excitement is the work of a particular type of scoundrelism which war discovers, encourages and extols."

Ponsonby puts little trust in religious and humanitarian arguments against war; they have been tried for centuries with precious little effect. Not even the economic argument of the colossal cost and wastefulness

of war has prevented it. "Let us pick up the bludgeon of common sense," Ponsonby counsels, "and as the chief foe is Humbug, it may turn out to be the best weapon." Then follows the author's staggering mass of evidence against the insanity of war; none of its alleged justifications is left with a leg to stand on. Not the immorality, honor, cruelty or cost of war, but its sheer madness and futility is the crushing indictment against it.

"The greatest tragedy of human life," asserts Ponsonby, "is that we are fighting the wrong foe. International war is a sham fight. The workers, who have to fight and pay in blood and taxes for all wars, never know the truth about the lack of reason for their sacrifices. They always lose, no matter which group of warmakers may win. But there is a real war awaiting our enlistment, a war in which labor has everything to gain and nothing to lose." I would give all I possess if every worker in America might read and ponder Ponsonby's call to action against labor's real enemy.

There is a far more dangerous enemy in our midst than any foreign army, however well equipped it may be. This enemy is the real enemy. The casualties it inflicts may be found in the slums, the workhouses, the asylums, the public houses, the prisons and the brothels up and down the country. The wounds to body, mind and soul are far worse than those inflicted by bullet and shrapnel. In infantile mortality, neglect of child life and squalid environment, this enemy reaches the youngest as sure as any bomb, not once in a way, but in season and out of season, all the time. The existence of squalor and poverty among our own people is a far greater national danger than the existence of ideas of which we disapprove in a foreign nation. Hopeless sodden degeneration is far worse than the loss of a limb because it is the loss of self-respect.

This enemy with its staff poverty, ignorance, selfishness, greed, servitude and exploitation—operates without rest, and accomplishes its nefarious work before our very eyes. The sinews of war that might be used against it—money, men, youth, enterprise, genius and invention—have all been captured already by authority for the sham fight. The smallest success against this enemy would repay the nation a thousand fold. The greatest success against the supposed enemy in the sham fight gives the nation nothing. The whole nation co-operating together with the same encouragement and combined effort as in the war of massacre might work miracles; it requires just as much co-ordination, well thought out, scientific and drastic action.

But the forces and weapons wanted are not forthcoming, and the excuse that there is no money has damped down any serious attempt to deal with the dire social evils for which the real enemy is responsible. Until we can free people's attention, enlist their services and demand their contributions toward a great campaign, there will be no change and evils will continue.

There should be no peace against the real enemy and no pacifists. International war, be it remembered, not

only distracts the attention of the nations for the time it lasts, but by destroying a large part of the manhood of the nation, and impoverishing the whole country, it sears and scars our national life for generations to come. In fact, international war plays the game of the real enemy, aggravates his ravages, and deprives us of the weapons we want to use against him.

Every tradition-bound reactionary Government quite emphatically does not want enduring peace, because it dreads the out-break of the real war. With international peace secured, the workers could properly turn their attention to a radical change in the cruel and unjust inequalities perpetuated by our social system. International war, therefore, is kept in reserve as a huge superior distraction by means of which the real war can be indefinitely postponed, and through which the workers in different countries can be prevented from uniting their forces against the real enemy.

NOW IS THE TIME to organize the workers of the world into absolute opposition to another international war and to enlist them in the real war against their common foes. Are the workers of America ready?—*The Locomotive Engineers Journal*.

War—Patriotism—Peace, by Leo Tolstoi. The Vanguard Press, Inc., New York, 1926. 124 pp., 50 cents.

This little book comprises the principal writings and letters of Count Leo Tolstoi, the great Russian pacifist of the last generation, who prophesied the coming of the World War with the uncanny certainty of a man possessed with acute spiritual insight. The first story in the book, "Neglect the Fire and You Cannot Put It Out," is one of the best of Tolstoi's short stories. The chapter on *Christianity and Patriotism* is just as true today as it was in 1894. Indeed, no other writer of which we know has so clearly and emphatically portrayed the ghastly effects of what we often call patriotism as has Tolstoi, perhaps the greatest literary genius of the last generation.

If you are a sincere Christian and yet believe that war is compatible with Christian ideals, by all means get this inexpensive volume of Tolstoi's essays and absorb it to the last page.

World Court

The World Court, by George W. Wickersham. Workers Education Pamphlet, Series No. 10. Workers Education Bureau Press. 1927. New York. 34 pages. Price, 25c postpaid.

The World Court, a pamphlet by George W. Wickersham, former Attorney General of the United States and a leading authority on constitutional and international law, is prepared especially for the Workers Education Bureau and designed to meet the needs of study groups and individuals. The pamphlet is distinctive in that it is in no wise propaganda for American action in respect to joining or staying out of the World Court. Rather it is a careful study and exposition of the facts attending the origin, development and accomplishments of the World Court.

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor has written a preface for this pamphlet

in a part of which he records labor's interest in this important matter as follows:

"Organized labor has long been committed to international peace as the only intelligent ideal for international relations. We have special interests then in knowing the facts of the organization and work of the Court. This institution naturally becomes the center of our interest in international organizations and could well serve for our workers' study groups as an orientation to the study of international relations."

—*Workers' Education News*.

Sourcebook on Civil Liberty Published

"*Civil Liberty*," a book compiled by Edith M. Phelps, tracing the history and development of civil liberties in the United States, will be published by the H. W. Wilson Company early in February. The book reproduces many documents on the subject, including clauses from state and national constitutions and laws, and many quotations and articles from thinkers, writers and statesmen. The reprints are grouped under the headings: History and Philosophy, The Law, The Courts, Communist and Fascist Views. Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Professor of Law of Harvard University, has written an introduction. Orders for the book, \$1.25 postpaid, may be sent to the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Pierce, Bessie Louise. Public opinion and the teaching of history in the United States. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. xi, 380 p. 8°.

Much general attention has been drawn in recent years to the controversy regarding the character of history teaching and of history textbooks used in American educational institutions. This study purposes to give an historical account of some of the attempts to control the teaching of history in our public schools. It first traces the legislative control of this subject from colonial times on, culminating with the effect of the World War on this legislation and resulting disloyalty charges against teachers. The activities of various propagandist agencies in attempting to control history textbooks are next taken up.—*School Life*.

"Expenditures of State Universities and State Colleges, 1924-25," by Walter J. Greenleaf, Associate Specialist in Land Grant Statistics. Issued by the Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, as Higher Education Circular No. 32. Price, 5 cents per copy. E 26-253.

Data are collected and explained, origination from 100 different institutions, relative to Salaries and Wages; Materials, Supplies and other Outlays; Equipment; Lands, Buildings and Improvements; Total Outlays Excluding Trust Funds; Trust Funds.

Refusal of the State Industrial Commission to grant compensation to three Toledo school teachers was upheld Tuesday by the Ohio Supreme Court.

These teachers were injured on the way to and from school. The teachers' interests need protection. What is the answer?

Any sociologist will tell you that crime is prevented not so much by education as by continuing education. Reading is the born enemy of the gang. Any psychologist will tell you that the quickest and surest way to assure continuing education is to develop the reading habit.—James Weber Linn, *Herald-Examiner*.

What Shall We Read?

American Property Rights in Mexico. Further correspondence between the governments of the United States and Mexico in relation to the so-called land and petroleum laws of Mexico, supplementing the correspondence heretofore published as Senate document No. 96, 69th Congress, first session. Free.

Kincaid, Margaret. A study of individual differences in learning . . . (Thesis (Ph. D.)—University of Minnesota, 1922. Offprinted from Psychological review, vol. 32, no. 1. January, 1925.). 34-53 p. Lancaster, Pa., 1926.

McLaughlin, Robert William. The spiritual element in history. 312 p. N. Y., Abingdon press, 1926.

Washburne, Carleton. New schools in the old world; by Carleton Washburne in collaboration with Myron M. Stearns. New York, The John Day Company, 1926, xvi, 174 p. 12°.

Doctor Washburne, superintendent of schools at Winnetka, Ill., here gives an account of a special tour made by him in England and on the Continent during which he inspected a dozen progressive schools scattered throughout Europe.—*School Life*.

Maurice, Sir Frederick Barton. Governments and war; a study of the conduct of war. 171 p. London, Heinemann, 1926.

Sadler, William Samuel. How you can keep happy. 292 p. Chicago, American Health Book Concern, 1926.

Allard, Daniel. War against war; or, The joys of peace. 156 p. Boston, Stratford, Co., 1926.

William English Walling has published "American Labor and American Democracy" in two small volumes issued in The Workers' Education Bureau's Series.

LITERATURE TO BE HAD THROUGH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WARS

What Price Peace, Frederick J. Libby.

War and Peace in U. S., History Text-books, Educational Series II.

Geography and the Higher Citizenship, J. Russell Smith.

The Public and Peace.

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THE AMERICAN TEACHER

21

A TRIBUTE

Hedwig Hochbaum Hume entered into rest on Christmas Day.

As first president of the Chicago Federation of Women High School Teachers and one of the founders of the American Federation of Teachers, she holds a unique place in the hearts of those pioneers in teachers' unions. In their behalf is this tribute paid by one who, as a charter member of No. 3, worked beside Hedwig Hochbaum.

Her leadership attracted and held that little band by rare personality and the magnetism of simple faith. Not by optimism, which knows that right will win; not by enthusiasm, which champions right, defying all its enemies; but by simple faith, which espouses right—for better, for worse, whatever the event—and thenceforth follows it with gentle, cheerful, fearless loyalty. The die is cast, once for all. Thereafter there is no turning back. Life may test her cruelly, but leaves her undismayed. And this same fidelity she expected in her associates in the Federation. Otherwise, why join: why, like her, espouse right? It goes without saying—yet we are proud to say it—that to her, then, there was no terror in Loeb rules, or raids on salary schedules and tenure, or other infringements of justice. The only thing was to follow right; and, "having done all, stand." Yet she was never intolerant.

Her years with the Federation were not many. Her marriage took her far away. But her radiant personality, her dauntless courage remain an inspiration to those who knew her, and who will remember her as

"One in whom persuasion and belief
Had ripened into faith, and faith become
A passionate intuition."

There is not a wrong against which we fail to protest or seek to remedy; there is not a right to which any of our fellows are entitled which it is not our duty, mission and work and struggle to attain. So long as there shall remain a wrong unrighted or a right denied, there will be work for the labor movement to do.—*Samuel Gompers.*

Trade unionism has passed the trial stage. It has come to its maturity out of long years of struggle and experience to an earned position of trust and confidence. The unions have built up standards of life and living. carefully, step by step.—*William Green.*

A memorial service was held January 14 for Mr. Herbert Miller, the organizer of the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers, Local No. 2, A. F. of T., whose death occurred December 21, after several weeks of illness from heart disease.

Mr. Herbert Miller was born in Brantford, Conn., the son of Frederick and Susan Miller, the father an Episcopal clergyman. His college life began at Hobart College and was continued at Yale College. A student by nature, throughout life, he devoted himself to educational work. After teaching some years in his native state and in California, he entered the Chicago Schools, serving in the Marshal and Crane Technical High Schools until his retirement about eight years ago. At the time of death he was eighty years old.

Most of the summer vacations were spent in travel, frequently in Europe, where he was fond of long walks, mountain-climbing and the study of the life of the people of a community. At one time he attended the University of Naples, its first American student. He appreciated music, and was a life-long devotee of history, philosophy and world affairs.

As a teacher, Mr. Miller was interested in the activities and the welfare of teachers. An early member of the Chicago Teacher's Federation, he aided in the development of a teachers' pension system and was for several years secretary of its Board of Trustees. He was among the first teacher delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor. In 1911 he organized the Chicago Federation of Men Teachers by whom he is cherished as the founder.

Whereas, Death has taken from us our faithful founder and friend Mrs. Hedwig Hochbaum Hume, and

Whereas, The Federation of Women High School Teachers owes its organization and in large measure its success during the first two years of its existence to her wise leadership and unselfish devotion, and

Whereas, Her interest and helpfulness never were withdrawn but continued to the end, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Federation of Women High School Teachers record its sincere appreciation of Mrs. Hume's distinguished services in behalf of their organization and her devotion to the labor movement as a whole, and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to her husband and family, also be made a part of the permanent record of the Federation of Women High School Teachers and published in The American Teacher and Federation News.

OUR LOCALS

There is a most gratifying growth in our locals. Atlanta, Georgia, has the largest membership in its history with an increase this month of 76. Washington, D. C., Teachers Union has increased 30%. A 10% increase in the national organization with hopeful prospects is the encouraging report.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE TEACHERS UNION OF NEW YORK CITY ON THE RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Whereas, production has been expanded at an unprecedented rate since the inauguration of the Industrial Revolution, and has been steadily advancing since because of public education, the application of engineering to production and because of labor's increased productivity; and

Whereas, the industrial expansion made necessary by such increased production has been improperly used by exploiters to further the aids of economic imperialism popularly and properly nicknamed "dollar diplomacy" and,

Whereas, American oil and mineral interests anxious to exploit the rich Mexican resources and other South American republics (often illegally acquired) to the detriment of the Mexican people and the peaceful relations that should exist between the nations of the western hemisphere at a time when the "spirit of Locarno" is dominating the diplomatic relations of the continental powers; therefore be it

Resolved, that the Teachers' Union is unalterably opposed to the tactics of Secretary of State Kellogg in supporting the unrestrained economic imperialism of our oil and banking interests in the territories of our southern neighbors regardless of the sovereign rights thus violated; and, be it further

Resolved, That we call upon President Coolidge to accord to our southern neighbors the full control of their internal affairs without any interference by our State, Army or Navy Departments, and further that the acts of the State Department in its relations with the American republic be determined by that same unselfish idealism and spirit of fair play which characterizes America in its dealings with the great European powers and further, that we give to these American republics the same friendly help and understanding that America gave when statesmen of the type of Clay and Webster guided our foreign relations.

The Teachers' Union has ordered copies of these resolutions to be sent to President Calvin Coolidge, Secretary Frank B. Kellogg, Senator William E. Borah, and President William Green of the American Federation of Labor.

The teachers of Arkansas had as their sole representative in the annual convention of the Arkansas State Federation of Labor the week of Jan. 10 Alice Hanson, instructor of public speaking and literature at Commonwealth College. She represented Commonwealth Local 194 of the American Federation of Teachers.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Memphis, Tenn., and Atlanta, Ga., stand out pre-eminent in the progressiveness of their public school systems. Memphis is at the top of the ladder in Tennessee, and Atlanta occupies the same distinction in the state of Georgia. Memphis and Atlanta public school teachers are organized under the banner of the American Federation of Teachers and are active in the affairs of the National Association. The per capita tax is smaller in Memphis and Atlanta than it is in Nashville, yet the salaries of the teachers range from 10 to 20 per cent higher, and both Memphis and Atlanta have a better curriculum than Nashville. The compulsory school law is enforced in Memphis by the regular employment of eight attendance officers, while Nashville employs only one, and his "duties" are entirely foreign to the enforcement of the compulsory school law.

The Atlanta Journal of Labor, one of the best edited labor journals in the entire country, has the following to say on the subject:

"During our quarter of a century in Atlanta we have seen many organizations arise, many groups formed, many movements launched. These have ranged throughout the entire gamut of human activities—religious, fraternal, economic, social, business, recreational, etc. We have watched these with a keen interest, many of them with an intense personal solicitude.

"Some have prospered, grown rapidly in size and increased steadily in influence, others not so prosperous. Some have served their group well and their city, too; others, neither. Some are alive and active today—a credit to their founders and their city; others, like the wind, have passed on, died of diseased objectives, lack of vision, devitalized leadership or plain dry rot. Some are standard bearers of progress; others, monuments of folly.

"As we have seen these come and go few have attracted us as strongly as the organization of the public school teachers of the city. In our estimation few organizations have assumed in so short a time the strength and force in city life that this organization has. Only a short time ago the teachers were just teachers. They kept school. And for the most part manifested the same qualities of meekness and subservience that they were expected to exact of their pupils. Outside the classroom they were to be seen but seldom—heard much less.

"Now the Atlanta Teachers' Association has brought a change. Its members are teachers still better than before, and citizens, too. They have come to the point where the term "fellow teacher" really means something, and having accomplished that they have grown in self-respect, dignity, influence and public esteem.

"This organization has recently chosen as its leader for the new year Mr. J. P. Barron, who seems not only to hold the confidence of the members of the local, but embodies as well the spirit of the organization, its purposes and its traditions. The teachers' union is facing a most active year, and Mr. Barron gives promise of being an unusually active man."—*The Labor Advocate, Nashville, Tenn.*

The Teachers Union and the Teachers Union Auxiliary have arranged a series of four Saturday discussion luncheons on vital educational topics announced as "Fingers in the Educational Pie." The first of these discussion luncheons, Mr. Walter Pollack, Chairman, was held Jan. 29 at the Civic Club. The topic for discussion was School Teachers and Citizenship—what guarantee of citizenship can we offer the teacher? The speakers were S. Stanwood Menken, National Security League, Dr. William P. Montague, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.

The program for the succeeding meetings follows:

Saturday, February 19

Subject—Equal Pay for all Teachers—With Equal Preparation, Ability, and Experience.

Speakers—Mr. William R. Lasher, President, High School Teachers' Association; Prof. J. R. McGaughy, Head of the Department of Elementary Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Chairman—Dr. Henry R. Linville, President, The Teachers Union.

Saturday, March 26

Subject—Should the Board of Superintendents be Abolished?

Speakers—Mr. I. Edwin Goldwasser, formerly District Superintendent, New York School System. Dr. Edward B. Shallow, Associate Superintendent, New York School System.

Chairman—Miss Ruth Gillette Hardy, Head of Department of Civics and Economics, Girls Commercial High School.

Saturday, April 30

Subject—Are Educators a Brahmin Class?

Speakers—Mr. Royal J. Davis, Editorial Staff, New York Evening Post. Dr. David S. Muzzey, Professor of History, Columbia University.

Chairman—Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott, Teacher of Ethics, Ethical Culture School.

The St. Paul Federation of Women Teachers believes that no condition of war, either declared or undeclared, should be permitted to exist among the nations of the American continents through failure to make use of any of the known peaceable methods of the settlement of international disputes.

Therefore it urges that the misunderstanding between the government of the United States and the governments of Mexico and Nicaragua be settled before whatever international commission, court, committee or agency shall be acceptable to the interested governments.

The secretary is instructed to send a copy of this statement to President Coolidge, Secretary of State Kellogg, Senator Borah, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, our representatives in the House and Senate of the Congress of the United States and to the Legislative Representative of the American Federation of Teachers in Washington.

(Unanimously adopted at the regular January meeting.)

The Federations of Women Teachers of St. Paul and Minneapolis, No. 28 and No. 59, Dorothy Gary, Chairman, Florence Rood, and Amy Edmunds, have been appointed the workers' education committee by President Hall of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor. The entire movement is being carried out in accordance with the program of the A. F. of L. and of the State Federation of Labor.

Since the free discussion of all questions of social and scientific interest is necessary to encourage that independence of thought and judgment upon which the strength of a democracy rests; and

Since the attempt to control such discussion by legislative enactment may wholly discourage such freedom of thought and judgment but also establish a dangerous precedent that may result in the complete control of the public schools by factional groups; be it

Resolved, That the St. Paul Federation of Women Teachers is unalterably opposed to the passage of an Anti-Evolution Bill by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the legislature.

(Unanimously adopted at the January meeting after a full week's notice of intention.)

The Portland Teachers' Union, Local No. 111, at the annual election chose the following officers:

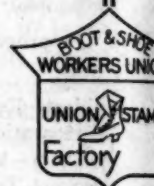
President. Hilma Anderson; vice-president, Maude Hill; recording secretary, Laura Northrup; financial secretary, May Darling; organizer, E. E. Schwarzauber; delegates to the Central Labor council, H. A. Director and Margaret Reid.

These officers also constitute the executive committee which functions for the union between the semi-monthly meetings and which recommends the policies to be pursued by the union.

The address at the last monthly luncheon by Mr. Norman C. Thorne, assistant superintendent of our schools, was well received and of interest to everyone present. It is fortunate for Portland's city school system that it has a man in the superintendent's office who so recently served his apprenticeship, first as teacher and then as principal of one of our high schools. It will take him some time, a long time it is hoped, before he loses the point of view of the classroom teacher. One can but ask whether it would not be an excellent practice for all persons serving in supervisory capacity whether as principals or superintendents, to be required, say once in seven years, to take leave of absence to go back into the schools as classroom teachers. It is doubtful whether anyone can, however much he may desire it, retain indefinitely the attitude of, shall we say, employee when the experiences of employee become submerged in those of employer. Mr. Thorne is confident he can maintain the proper balance. But can he? Could any of us?

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