PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHER UNIONISM

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PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHER UNIONISM

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PREFACE

The author of this study has long puzzled over the amount of compensation a man should have for his labor. Is a dollar a day enough for chopping cotton from daylight till evening? Is twenty dollars a day too much? The answers to these questions depend upon the cost of living. In 1945 when teachers of sixteen years' experience in many instances made $110 a month, one realized that they were underpaid. Everyone seemed to realize this crisis in education; yet few seemed to do anything about it. The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers were striving hard to improve teacher conditions as well as education in general. Each organization claimed that it could do more for education and teachers than the other. This rivalry between teachers' unions and non-union organizations has long existed. Each claimed its organization was more professional than the other.

The author of this study is not ashamed to admit that he became interested in the pros and cons of teachers' unionization because of this crisis in teachers' pay. Teachers should not put money before the good of the educational systems, children's education, and public welfare
in general; yet, they should "fight" for enough increase in pay to insure them a home, food, and clothing.

The purpose of this study is to point out the accomplishments and various benefits gained through teacher cooperation, with special emphasis placed upon the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association.

Although the shortage of teachers and low salaries led to the author's interest in this study, monetary gains are not of primary importance in this effort of determining the amount of professionalism in teacher unionism. The thing of importance is what is best for the majority of people in regard to education for the longest period of time.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. FACTORS LEADING TO TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Colonial Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horace Mann Establishes Summer Normals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Teachers' Institutes Are Established</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Typical One-teacher School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Normal Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. A COMPARISON OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION AND THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers' Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization of the National Teachers' Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Organization of the American Federation of Teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governing Bodies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aims of the Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support of Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committees, Commissions, and Councils</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Offices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official Organs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Problems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Aid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal Military Training and Other Problems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Achievements of the Two Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements in Texas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

v
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III. LEGAL ASPECTS OF TEACHERS' UNIONS</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Yellow Dog&quot; Contract</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strikes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Employees and Collective Bargaining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Activity of Teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. PUBLIC OPINION</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polls of Teachers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typical Statements of College Presidents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Various States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typical Statements of Supervisors and Administrators of Higher and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statements of Classroom Teachers and of the General Public</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadmindedness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalism in Teachers' Unions and Non-union Teachers'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstacles in Teacher Organization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

FACTORS LEADING TO TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Early Colonial Schools

One of the first problems that confronted our forefathers was the education of the youth. The problem now, as then, is and always has been, What are the best ways and means to operate our schools?

At first the education of boys was all that seemed important. In 1635 the citizens of Boston, at a town meeting, appointed Philemon Purmont to be their teacher. He was to be paid by the parents and other citizens of Boston. Boys attended classes in the morning and girls attended in the afternoon. Twelve years later the General Court of Massachusetts ordered that all towns containing as many as fifty families should appoint a man to teach the children. He was to be paid by both the parents and the town. Other colonies followed the example of Massachusetts, which had laid the foundation for our public schools.

Little effort was made in many of the colonies to establish schools because in the southern colonies there were more problems to face than there were in the more thickly settled New England colonies.¹

¹F. A. McGruder, American Government, p. 616.
As the population spread to the South and to the West, communities became so far apart, and so isolated, that it was not always easy to obtain teachers. Often teachers were employed who were not qualified for the work.

Almost every person has read about the little red schoolhouse above the Mason and Dixon line, but very little has been said about the little log schoolhouse of the southern colonies. These houses were rudely built with mud daubed between the logs to keep the cold air out. As the warm spring days came on, the mud was often punched out to make the room more pleasant. There were only one window and one door in the room. Seats were home-made, and as a rule a long plank, nailed to one side of the wall, served as a desk for pupils who needed to write on paper. Almost every pupil carried a slate on which he did his sums and copied the ABC's.

Very few books were used, since they were scarce and rather costly. The smaller children used what they called "horn books." There were always classes in the "three R's." Many of the fathers thought it was foolish for the daughters to study the last "R," which was "'Rithmetic."

When today's children read The Legend of Sleepy Hollow, they think of it as an amusing story. Irving's account of Ichabod Crane's "boarding around" seems almost as fantastic to them as does the scene in which the children of Sleepy
Hollow swayed back and forth over their spelling books, con-
ing the words aloud in unison. There are still a few
white-haired people in our midst who remember both of these
practices in the southern schools.²

With such conditions in our school system, there is
little wonder that at the time of the Revolution only one
man in twelve could read and write.

Soon after the Revolution Noah Webster published his
famous Blue-Backed Spelling Book. Copies were sold in all
the states and territories. It has been sold in such great
numbers that only the Bible has attained a greater circula-
tion. Webster never realized what he had done for the
schools of the United States, all of which at that time used
the same spelling book.

Horace Mann Establishes Summer Normals

In 1838 the great American known as the "Father of
American Education," Horace Mann, established the first
state summer normal in Boston. Teachers came to Boston
for six weeks of study and training in preparation for the
next year's work. It was years before these summer normals
reached the southern states.³

As new states arose out of the gradually developing
frontier, provisions were made to take care of schools in a

²M. A. Baker, age eighty-eight, personal interview.
way our statesmen thought magnificent. Texas, especially, boasted of her great permanent school fund. In many communities schools were crowded and equipment was poor. The terms were short, lasting from three to six months. Roads were bad, and attendance was poor in inclement weather. Teachers were often very inefficient, and pupils chose their own subjects. The author knows one dear little white-haired woman teacher of the latter part of the last century who kept two weeks ahead of her pupils who were using Ray's *Higher Arithmetic*. When she found a problem she could not solve, she would send it to a friend who would solve it for her.\(^4\)

During the latter part of the last century, academies and small colleges began to spring up all over the South. Up to that time the majority of American colleges were located in the older and more settled states. Young and ambitious teachers would come into a community and begin to champion higher education. Almost before the people realized what it was all about, plans were being made for a larger and better schoolhouse. Young men who had been out of school for years would lay down the hoe and start to school again.

Although there were scores of academies all over the country, this thesis devotes special attention to academies southwest of Fort Worth, Texas. The information that will

\(^4\)Miss Jennie Mays, Weatherford, Texas, personal interview.
follow describes in general conditions that existed in many sections of the country.

Perhaps no better example of the early academies and colleges could be given than that of Add-Ran College, established in Thorp Springs in 1889 by two brothers, Addison and Randolph Clark. It exists today under the name of Texas Christian University.5

In the neighboring county, in Weatherford, David S. Switzer established a college and a young ladies' finishing school. The same building, with additions, still stands and houses a four-year college, owned by the Methodist Church.

On the outskirts of the same town the Presbyterians established a female college or seminary which has been out of operation for many years.

In the northern part of the same county, Parker, at Springtown, the Reverend B. F. Fronabarger established a boarding school for both men and women. On the other side of the same town, John H. McCracken, a native son of the town, established another school. Boarding houses were built and young people came from all over the state to receive training. After a few years, spotted fever broke out in the town and the schools were soon deserted, never to be revived. That is another story, however; but be that as

5Dr. William H. Campbell, Weatherford, Texas, personal interview.
it may, one might say in paraphrasing Shakespeare, that
"the good that men do lives after them." Almost one hun-
dred per cent of the students of these early schools became
leaders.6

County Teachers' Institutes
Are Established

It was in the latter part of the last century that
the leading educators felt that the teachers of each county
should come together for the purpose of discussing their
problems and making plans for the betterment of the schools
of the county. To accomplish this purpose, one Saturday
of each school month was set aside for a "Teachers' Insti-
tute." Since roads were poor and some schools were several
miles away from the place of meeting, the attendance was
often poor. As inducements to increase the attendance, the
best educators from over the state were invited to address
the institutes. After the turn of the century, these in-
stitutes lasted a week and were usually held just before
the schools opened in the fall or the week before Christ-
mas. Teachers were paid their regular salaries for the
days attended, and they lost payment for those days if they
failed to attend. Because of this fact, attendance at
these institutes became almost one hundred per cent. Books

6J. Nix, A Tale of Two Schools, pp. 170-171.
on methods and management were used by the leading educators of the country in giving instruction to the teachers. These institutes were done away with in the early part of the present century, but they had served their purpose well. It was here that the undesirable conditions of our rural schools were made known, and plans were made to overcome them. Delegates were sent from the institutes to the State Teachers' Association.

About the same time that county institutes were established, the summer normals reached the South. These normals, like those established by Horace Mann in Boston, lasted six weeks. They were for the purpose of training teachers. Papers were graded by the state.

Not many counties could support a summer normal alone. Educators from various counties would meet and choose a place for holding the normal. They also chose the most able instructors available to teach the courses. Usually, these courses were for first- and second-grade certificates, but sometimes there would be some who wanted work leading to the permanent certificate.

Often teachers would want to review every subject given in the examinations. Instructors discouraged the practice of taking too many subjects; for then as now, they did not think it best to "cram for an exam." The instructors wanted teachers to take normal training for "training's sake." To discourage the cramming process further, a new
rule or law came into effect, whereby teachers could extend a certificate to double its time by attending institutes regularly and also by attending a summer normal every other year.

County boards of examiners held examinations and granted certificates also. They granted a third-grade certificate, which almost any eighth-grade pupil could obtain. Holders of these certificates were usually employed in some backwoods community where the school term was very short, and the salary ranged from fifteen to twenty-five dollars a month. Educators fought the granting of the third-grade certificates. 7 One old pioneer teacher, who was superintendent of the Weatherford schools from the middle of the "gay nineties" on through the first quarter of the present century, had this to say about third-grade certificates:

One thing that is hurting the teaching profession more than anything else is the use of third-grade teachers' certificates. Most any eighth-grade girl can obtain such a certificate and with no intention of staying with the profession, she will take one of these short-termed schools and after a few months she will buy a watch and chain and some new clothes. Before another school term begins, perhaps her name will be changed and the school will be left without a teacher. 8

Some of the best-known educators of the state at that time lectured to the teachers on the needs of the schools.

7M. A. Baker, personal interview.

8Statement by T. W. Stanley at a Teachers' Institute in 1902, and heard by Ains Baker and related to the writer in an interview.
Some of these men were E. O. McNew, R. B. Cousins, Arthur Le Fevre, J. B. Rogers, and Addison and Randolph Clark. They often talked about needed legislation and the work and co-operation of teachers needed to obtain the best results.

A Typical One-teacher School

To understand the problems encountered by many of the teachers of one-teacher rural schools, a day should have been spent in a particular school in Parker County. It was in the middle of the "gay nineties" when a handsome young normal graduate made application for the place, and was accepted. The enrollment was more than sixty pupils, and the attendance was good throughout the year. The pupils ranged in age from a six-year-old girl to more than a score of young men and women, some of whom were old enough to vote. Likewise the books used ranged from primers to algebra and mental philosophy.

The books used were by no means uniform. Three different kinds of arithmetic texts were used. They were Ray's Practical Arithmetic, Ray's New Practical Arithmetic, and Robertson's Arithmetic. All pupils in the elementary geography class had the same textbook, but two kinds of higher geographies were used. Pennybacker's History of Texas was used. The United States histories were all alike. It was the readers that ran the gamut in variety. Harper's
Third Reader was used by one girl while another used Barnes' Reader. The old McGuffey readers, too, were in use. Sometimes a new boy moved into the community at Christmas time. When he started to school, he brought his Tennessee reader. The Tennessean was a good reader, so that fact, combined with the new stories in his book, was an added interest in the school. All pupils above the fourth grade were in the same spelling class. This spelling class was "heard" the last period of the afternoon. It was a large class and the one who was at the head of the class at the close of school was given a head mark.

School was then over for the boys and girls, but not for the teachers. No mounting block was provided for the young women who came to school on horseback, so the young professor very gallantly assisted them to mount.

Going back to his deserted schoolroom, he began to sweep, dust, and straighten up the misplaced desks and seats. The worst part about the sweeping was that disinfectants for schoolroom floors were unheard of. The teacher was first to arrive at school every morning to have a nice fire made before the children arrived. He also brought much of the drinking water from the well on the schoolground. The water was brought to the house in a wooden bucket, and all pupils used the same tin dipper. No place was provided to keep the lunches sanitary. There were no
out-houses of any kind. 8

Many of the discomforts have been removed from these schools. Indeed, it is true that many of these simple rural schools have been torn down and replaced by modern school plants.

People may think that this description is far-fetched and over-drawn. If they like proof, they can find many white-haired men and women who can testify to the truth of the story. This school was just one of many with similar problems.

State Normal Schools

In the late years of the nineteenth century the establishment of state normals was begun in the South and many school boards made professional training a requirement before electing a teacher to work in their schools. These were two-year training schools. About 1920 two more years were made an additional part of the normal-school curriculum and the normals were thereby changed to four-year colleges.

Another thing that had been discussed from every angle from the beginning of the present century was the consolidation of rural schools. Educators realized that the time was not ripe for this, because roads were so bad they would have to be improved before that dream could be realized.

8J. F. Baker, personal interview.
Teachers recognized the fact that many days of planning must pass, and more teacher co-operation must be urged before the many unpleasant conditions of common schools could be overcome. Because of these needs for improvement in the teaching profession and in general education in the United States, teacher co-operation developed. This chapter has simply been a build-up survey to present in brief the unpleasant conditions making teacher co-operation necessary.
CHAPTER II

A COMPARISON OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
AND THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Teachers' Organizations

In the United States we have teachers' organizations too numerous to enumerate in this brief study. They started out with practically the same aims, but they were striving to achieve these aims through different channels.

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief comparison of the two most prominent of these organizations, namely, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers.

The first known teachers' organization in the United States was The Society of Associated Teachers of New York City, which was organized in 1794. In that year the Associated Instructors of Youth in the Town of Boston and Its Vicinity was organized in Boston.

Among the many teachers' organizations that have existed at various times, perhaps none has been more far-reaching than the state teachers' associations which were the forerunners of the National Education Association and
the Chicago Teachers' Federation.  

Organization of the National Teachers' Association

The state teachers' associations spread rapidly and by 1857 twenty-three of the thirty-one states had firmly established state teachers' associations.

Realizing the value of the association and co-operation of teachers, and the need of a place where they could exchange plans and discuss problems, some of the leaders decided to establish a national teachers' association.

In May, 1857, presidents from the state teachers' associations sent invitations to "all practical-minded teachers" of the United States, asking them to attend a meeting to be held in Philadelphia on August 26, 1857, for the purpose of organizing a National Teachers' Association.

In response to the invitation, forty-three teachers were present, two of whom were women. The organization was perfected, but the two women were given no voice in it. The new organization was called the National Teachers' Association.

A second meeting was held in 1858 when Horace Mann, the father of American education, made the annual address. At this meeting the American Association for the Advancement

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1Mildred Sanderson Fenner, NEA History, p. 13.

of Education, which had been established by Mann in 1849, joined forces with the National Teachers' Association.\(^3\)

In 1866, women were admitted as members of the Association. The next year the Association was instrumental in the creation by Congress of the federal agency which is now called The United States Office of Education.

In 1870 the National Association of School Superintendents and the American Normal School Association united with the Association to form the National Education Association.

The Association created a National Council of Education in 1880 to make a thorough investigation of educational questions of importance. In 1884, the greatest assemblage of educators that had ever come together in North America met in Madison, Wisconsin, with about six thousand present. The population of Madison was less than 12,000.

It was at the Madison meeting that Booker T. Washington became known nationally. It was at this meeting also that the chief speaker was a woman, Frances E. Willard.

The Committee of Ten on Secondary Education was appointed in 1892. The following year the Committee made its report which, when published, proved to be of great importance to the cause of education.\(^4\)

\(^3\)Ibid.

\(^4\)Mildred Sanderson Fenner, The Story of the NEA, p. 7.
The Association was chartered by Congress in 1906, and in the same year President Theodore Roosevelt signed the bill of incorporation of the National Education Association of the United States. The old conservatives were left behind and the new Association began to emerge from its chrysalis.

Local branches and membership in the Association have spread rapidly over the country as is made evident by a report on National Education Association state memberships during 1948. Texas alone during this year made a membership gain of 2,799.5

A gray-haired teacher of the first decade of the present century has described to the writer the Teachers' Institutes that were mentioned in the first chapter. It seems that the only "fly in the ointment" at that time was the lack of local associations. The majority of teachers at that early date found it difficult to attend the State Teachers' Association. Of course they could send dues in to the State Association, but to be a member of an organization so remote as that does not appeal to many people.6 It is a different matter to be a member of a live, wide-awake local organization, and thereby be a member of not only the state organization, but also a member of the national


6Jennie Mays, in a personal interview with the writer's mother, Mrs. Kina Baker.
unit, with equal rights and privileges enjoyed by all other members. At that early date transportation was a problem. Connections were unsatisfactory for travel by railroad for any appreciable distance, and teachers did not have busses and cars at their command to overcome distance. Since the local organizations, as they are being formed today, are so near to the people and the conditions and problems of the schools, it is reasonable to assume that all differences and problems will be more easily ironed out. District associations have also been set up. The world organization will be discussed later in this chapter.

The Organization of the American Federation of Teachers

The American Federation of Teachers differs from the National Education Association in that it was organized from local units, instead of state units.\(^7\)

In 1897 Chicago teachers organized the Chicago Teachers' Federation on a union basis. Its first fight was for higher salaries. In 1902 it became affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor. Among the prominent persons giving sanction to the affiliation with labor was Jane Addams.

In 1916 there were eight local organizations of Federated Teachers, six of these being affiliated with the labor

organizations. A call for a meeting of these local federations was made but only four sent representatives. Regardless of the small attendance, an organization was formed, and an application was made for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. At this meeting this organization also adopted *The American Teacher* as their official publication. The American Federation of Labor granted the charter on May 9, 1916, and the American Federation of Teachers came into existence. The Federation now has state, local, and central local units in addition to the national unit, called the American Federation of Teachers. Like the National Education Association having interests abroad, the Federation likewise has international relationships which will be discussed later.

In the Association the Department for Special Education merged with the International Council for Exceptional Children. This council deals with the mentally gifted, the mentally retarded, the feeble-minded, the glandular unbalanced, the blind, the partially seeing, the anemic, the epileptic, the non-readers, speech defectives, the delinquents, the socially maladjusted, and the crippled.

The Association called a meeting of international educators to meet in New York in 1946. Many important representatives were present, among whom were representatives of the Pan-American Union, the International Bureau of Education,
the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and the United Nations in general. The major achievement of the conference was the drafting of a constitution for the World Organization of the Teaching Profession. This constitution was ratified by ten members and became the basis for a permanent organization.

The Federation sent its secretary on a flight around the world, enabling him to visit teachers' organizations in many countries; but he stated that the Federation would not unite with the World Organization of the Teaching Profession.8

**Governing Bodies**

Until 1920 the National Education Association was governed by the direct vote of the members present, or the town meeting type of government. Attendance became so large that a change was needed. Accordingly, a representative assembly, composed of delegates from local and state educational associations, was established. This step united the local, state, and national units into one whole. This assembly meets during the last week in June, beginning with the last Sunday. Only delegates from local associations are allowed to vote. Delegates from the state associations are allowed all other privileges, but have no vote. Decisions of the

assembly are final. It not only is the policy-forming body but in addition, all resolutions, reports of officials, reports of committees, recommendations, and amendments must come before this body.\textsuperscript{9}

The governing body of the Federation is composed of a president, secretary-treasurer, and fifteen vice-presidents. It is called the Executive Council. These officers are elected annually and all, with the exception of the secretary-treasurer, serve without pay.\textsuperscript{10}

The General Convention meets sometime in August, at the pleasure of the Executive Council. Although delegates from the local unions are allowed votes, the Executive Council must pass on every act before it can become final.\textsuperscript{11}

Aims of the Organizations

In all worth-while enterprises and organizations it has been found that behind the movement there are desirable aims.

The aims of the National Education Association, as set forth in a letter which was sent by presidents of ten state teachers' associations to all teachers of the United States, can be summed up in a few words, "To elevate the character

\textsuperscript{9}National Education Association Handbook and Manual, 1948, p. 275.

\textsuperscript{10}American Federation of Teachers, Questions and Answers, a leaflet.

\textsuperscript{11}Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers, Article VI, Section 1.
and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote the cause of education throughout the country."

These phrases carry much weight, and when the National Education Association has accomplished all of them, there will be cause for much rejoicing. As time has passed, new aims have been added, and now the Association does not stop with the nation, but it has international aims.

The preamble of the Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers states the aims or objectives of the organization at its very beginning, as follows:

1. To bring associations of teachers into relations of mutual assistance and co-operation.
2. To obtain for them all the rights to which they are entitled.
3. To raise the standards of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service.
4. To promote such a democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social, and political life of the community.
5. To promote the welfare of the childhood of the nation by providing progressively better educational opportunity for all.12

After reading the five objectives of the Federation, it seems to the casual observer that the aims of the Association are somewhat limited. However, when teachers elevate character and promote the cause of education as teachers should, the results will be astounding.

The executive committee of the Association in a recent

12 Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers, Preamble.
leaflet called for a nation-wide, aggressive, professional program. This committee pledged the National Education Association, its resources, and its influence in co-operation with state and local associations for a vigorous campaign to safeguard and develop public schools. It also stated that it is imperative for the nation's welfare that every child have an adequate opportunity for an education; the committee demanded that services of schools be improved, and that the standards of teachers be raised. The committee was of the opinion that teachers should keep contracts and agreements, and in return demand professional salaries.\textsuperscript{13}

It seems that both organizations have come to realize that child-training is not only for the good of the child, but also that the welfare of the nation depends upon his training.

Support of Organizations

In the latest National Education Association Handbook and Manual this question is found: "Why support professional organizations?" Three answers are given. First, that those who enter the profession of teaching now are standing on the achievements of men and women who through sacrifice and great efforts have made the present teaching conditions possible; second, that in these changing times it

\textsuperscript{13}Executive Committee of the National Education Association, The Professional Way to Meet the Education Crisis, leaflet.
is to the self-interest of every teacher to add to the excellence of the nation's schools; and third, that faith is responsible for most of the great achievements made.

The teacher who works for the lowest salary has most to gain, yet one person who has observed the conditions for more than half a century says that observation has proved to her that it is the high-salaried teachers who have strived hardest for present conditions. The support of our teachers' organizations is now more evenly distributed than ever before. In accordance with the plan for paying unified dues, each member of local associations is required to pay five dollars for annual membership dues which entitles him to all rights and privileges of the general assembly, and a nine-months' subscription to the National Education Association Journal. Not all of the states have adopted this plan outright, but great strides are being made in this direction. In that way the teachers are giving of their substance even though the amount is small. Many teachers pay ten dollars for annual dues which entitles them to receive the Research Bulletins and all addresses and proceedings of the organization. Then there is a life membership card which is issued to those who pay $150.00 in cash or in installments of fifteen dollars for ten years. The local associations require a small fee, but no definite amount
has been decided upon.\textsuperscript{14} Of course, special projects of the Association, such as the Future Teachers of America, also contribute financial support to the national organization in the form of dues.

The American Federation of Teachers also is supported in greater part by payment of dues. When a charter is granted a local group of teachers to organize a union local, a payment of ten dollars is made for the charter and charter outfit. Then a per capita tax is charged monthly for each member. This tax ranges from fifteen to forty cents monthly, according to the salary received by the teacher. For twelve months this tax would range from $1.80 to $4.80. Each teacher then receives a subscription to the official organ, \textit{The American Teacher}.\textsuperscript{15}

There is no initiation fee payable to the national organization, but local unions may charge a fee if they wish to do so. There are buttons and pins with the teachers' emblem which may be bought in wholesale quantities at a small cost.

The National Education Association is composed of voluntary members of the teaching profession, classroom teachers, school principals, supervisors, superintendents of


\textsuperscript{15}American Federation of Teachers, Suggestions Regarding Establishing New Locals of American Federation of Teachers, leaflet, p. 3.
schools, university teachers, and presidents.\textsuperscript{16}

The American Federation of Teachers is composed mostly of classroom teachers. Under certain circumstances, principals and some supervisory officers may be admitted, but in no case may a superintendent be admitted. College professors and presidents are also denied membership in the organization.\textsuperscript{17} There is much evidence to support the belief that this is a great mistake. In superintendents of our schools and in our college teachers one finds the wisest men of our nation. They are men who have devoted the greater part of their lives to study and observation; they could be of great assistance in almost any educational undertaking if given sufficient freedom.

Departments

It is commonly observed that in almost any organization departments are added as the times and occasions demand. One of the best examples is found in the departments of the President’s Cabinet. Originally there were only three members, but changing times have called for the addition of others. Conditions have been the same with the organizations under discussion in this study.

\textsuperscript{16}National Education Association, \textit{Facts about the National Education Association}, pamphlet, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{17}Constitution of the American Federation of Teachers, Article III.
There are at present twenty-nine departments in the National Education Association, each solving its own problems and making its own decisions, but at the same time working with the General Assembly, knowing it has the full support of the entire Association. Of course, all of these departments are for the benefit of some phase of the American school system, and it is difficult to say which is most important. Each has a special work to do, without which the school systems could be likened to the human body without one of its members.

The Department of Classroom Teachers opened its national office in the National Education Association Building in 1940. The Department was first organized in 1913.

The American Federation of Teachers also has a department of the same persons. The classroom teachers seemed to think they could work and plan better away from the awe-inspiring influence of the higher administrators or superintendents. The superintendents and principals, according to some, however, have been the kindest and most gracious of men eager to aid their schools, teachers, and pupils in any way possible.

It has been said that the reason for the strict division of teachers is to safeguard the work and rights of the classroom teachers.
Committees, Commissions, and Councils

Both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers maintain numerous committees, many of which do practically the same work, one for the Association and the other in the name of the Federation, but each hoping to attain the same goal. Of course, each organization has its regular standing committees, and in addition each has its special committees or commissions.

The Association was happy to move its headquarters to Washington, D. C., because such a move would give the Legislative Commission a better opportunity to keep in touch with the legislators.

The Legislative Committee of the Federation is active in the promotion of legislation in the interest of the teachers and the schools.

In 1911 the Association appointed a committee on teachers' salaries, tenure, and pensions. Under various titles committees worked on retirement problems. In 1936 two committees merged to form the National Council on Teacher Retirement. This committee was always on the alert to promote any legislation relative to retirement of teachers. The Federation had a committee working for the same purpose. All states now have a pension or a joint-contributory teacher retirement system, and the Council feels that it has had a part in the passage of the laws that make the pensions possible.
In the 1948 report to the thirty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers, the convention recommended greater security for teachers through the adoption of wider state legislation providing adequate retirement plans and job tenure protection.\textsuperscript{18}

The writer failed to find information concerning a committee on the teacher retirement plan. However, the subject of pensions has been an important issue with the Federation since the mass meeting was called in Chicago which resulted in the organization of the Chicago Teachers' Federation. The call was for a meeting to discuss plans for teachers' pensions. This problem is still unsolved.

**National Offices**

As is the case in all national organizations, both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers maintain competent office employees to operate the machinery and do the office work in their headquarters offices. This central office of the Association is located in Washington, D. C., in its own building. It is occupied by fourteen divisions, five commissions, and fifteen of the twenty-nine departments mentioned earlier in this study (a veritable beehive with three hundred workers coming and going).

The work outlined by the policy-making bodies is directed by the secretary's office. This office is very important and during this time of scarcity of qualified labor the task is also very difficult. Mail for the offices is handled here. The new Victory Action Program has added a great volume of work, which the assistant secretary has handled. With 440,299 national members, the mailing of The Journal alone means a vast amount of work.

The office of the Federation is located in Chicago. The author has been unable to find information giving the number of employees required to operate this office. The American Federation of Teachers has between 32,000 and 50,000 members. Addressing, wrapping, and mailing nearly 50,000 copies of The American Teacher, the official monthly publication, has been no small task, not to mention the vast amount of other literature sent out daily.

Official Organs

As has been mentioned, both organizations publish and send a monthly magazine to each member. These official organs are of general educational interest and of great importance in the field of education.

The National Education Association Journal. -- The official publication of the Association is the National Education Association Journal, more commonly designated as The Journal. This publication has been published since 1921,
and it has promoted campaigns for better salaries for teachers, for federal aid and many other worthy causes. One of the outstanding causes championed by The Journal is that of the Overseas Teacher Relief Fund. The Journal contains sections devoted to current trends, international education, and discussions of many subjects of interest to the teaching profession. In short, it keeps teachers informed on all topics of present-day interest.

The American Teacher. -- The National Office of the Federation publishes The American Teacher, with emphasis upon approximately the same type of material as that used by the Association's organ, The Journal. This publication also supported the Overseas Teacher Relief Fund.

The Journal is mailed monthly to more than 400,000 teachers, and The American Teacher goes out to almost 50,000 educators each month. Because of this widespread circulation, a great amount of wholesome advertising is found in both magazines. By means of this advertising, more revenue is brought into the national offices. Both magazines have been highly instrumental in educating the public regarding public needs.

Both organizations publish articles on the question of professionalism and teacher unionism. Each gives strong evidence, logic, and persuasive reasoning supporting the policies of its leaders. An outstanding professor of
political science once told his class that if a person who was easily influenced should read enough of Hitler's writings without reading literature of a different or opposite nature, his mind would eventually run in the same channel as that of Hitler. This one example can be applied to the exclusive reading of either of the magazines under discussion. In many of the editorials found in these magazines one editor often makes a criticism of the other. These criticisms are given and discussed in the last chapter of this study.

General Problems

Perhaps of all the problems connected with the teaching profession, no other is of more importance than that of teacher and child welfare. To a certain extent the problems of both the child and the teacher are identical, such as crowded classrooms, health, safety, comfortable and sanitary rooms and equipment.

The Association has an International Council for Exceptional Children. It also has a national committee that makes a study of child health. This committee is doing much to improve the health of the youth of the United States.

The National Education Association believes that Congress should provide funds to strengthen the health and physical education program for all pupils in all schools.
The Federation is of the opinion that children should have the best training possible.¹⁹

The Association and the Federation are in agreement also on the menace of overcrowded schoolrooms. It is generally conceded that no schoolroom should ever have more than thirty regular pupils. Crowded rooms are detrimental to pupils' health. It is the earnest desire of each organization that the conditions encountered by the pupils at school, and on the way to and from school, be safe, comfortable, and sanitary. The teacher load is a problem for both organizations.

Both organizations favor tenure laws for teachers. Both have fought valiantly for them. Each group has come often to the aid of members who have been unjustly dismissed or who have been treated unfairly in any other manner. Campaigns for teacher tenure laws are being promoted in all states which do not have tenure laws.

One of the most discussed issues at the recent convention of the National Education Association in Cleveland was the question of teachers' pay raises with reference to training and experience and the merit rating system of teachers. At the same time the Association met in Cleveland the Federation met in Glenwood Springs, Colorado. The same question was widely discussed. It was reported that

¹⁹American Federation of Teachers, Labor's Answer to the Teacher Shortage, leaflet, p. 3.
the teachers were fairly evenly divided on the subject. There was no action taken on the matter by the Association and the Federation came out definitely against it.

Dr. John W. Studebaker, ex-United States Commissioner of Education, says that there is no system of measurement that will show by how many dollars one teacher is better than another.\textsuperscript{20}

The organizations are both fighting for a minimum salary of \$2,400 for college graduates. Some states, Texas among them, have already passed minimum salary laws.

Along with the question of salaries comes the problem of professional training. Naturally it is difficult to determine exactly the amount of professional training needed to produce good teachers. This problem depends upon the individuals involved. Some make good teachers with little professional training while others never make good teachers. Both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers are recommending that all teachers have four years of college work with six hours of practice teaching. Administrators should have the same amount, along with a master's degree.

There are many other problems that come under the general heading of teacher and child welfare which are too numerous to discuss in this survey. However, in most of

\textsuperscript{20}Kuenzli, \textit{The Union in Action in 1948}, p. 15.
these problems the Federation has followed the same general policies as those set up by the National Education Association.

Federal Aid

Both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers have been in the fight for more federal aid for education. Since the election there is hope for more federal aid in the future. The Democratic party platform as adopted in 1948 advocates federal aid for education, administered by and under the control of the states. This platform supports the authorization of the $300,000,000 which was asked of the Eightieth Congress for immediate use. 21

Irvin Kuenzli gives the Federation credit for influencing the passage of laws relating to federal aid. The Federation endorsed the idea of asking the Eighty-first Congress for more federal aid.

Universal Military Training and Other Problems

The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, as units, are strongly opposing universal military training. It is felt by the majority belonging to these organizations that teachers can do a

21Ibid.
better job of training in civilian schools than in military schools. In general, the organizations feel that if universal military training can be justified at all, it must be justified only on the basis of purely military necessity and not for alleged benefits that military training might confer on the youth of the nation in the way of health, character development, and education. It is claimed by many educators that civilian schools could not only do a better job of training, but that teachers in these schools can do the job with much less cost than the nation's military schools; however, many prominent educators deny the statements just given.

Naturally, both organizations are favoring the raising of taxes, especially by raising the property valuations. Since property and the cost of living have gone up, educational expenses have also increased. Yet, property valuations on the tax rolls have remained about the same. This, in part, explains our present school crisis.

The National Education Association is strongly opposed to teachers' strikes. It is surprising to discover that the American Federation of Teachers is opposed also to teachers' striking. This organization has a no-strike policy and has dismissed several units because they violated the same.

On political questions such as veterans, equal rights, civil rights, atomic energy, and so on, the author of this
survey has little concrete information. Such powerful organizations, naturally, could not hold their influence and public support if they were not in favor of such general "goods" as academic freedom, veterans' aid, conservation, patriotism and democracy, safety, better living conditions, and lessening juvenile delinquency and crime in general.

In April, 1945, the State Department invited the National Education Association to appoint a man to confer with the delegation which helped to draft the United Nations' Charter in San Francisco. This conference led to the drafting of a constitution for a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. Because of the part played by the National Education Association in the United States and the National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and other groups, the influence of the American teacher has been greatly felt.

Both the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor sent delegates to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization meeting in Philadelphia. Irvin Kuenzli visited the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization headquarters in Paris and made a speech to a few of its representatives. In a report on this visit and meeting he said:
At this meeting we strongly recommended that all four existing international teachers' organizations, WFTA, IFTA, FIFESO and WOTP (sponsored by the NEA) be combined into one international teachers' organization. We pointed out that organizations in a large number of countries would not join WOTP and that this organization could not, therefore, serve as the one united teachers' organization.\textsuperscript{22}

This contention presented by Kuenzli to do away with the World Organization of the Teaching Profession (WOTP), especially in name, shows that the two teachers' organizations carry their differences as to the proper type of teachers' organization needed even into international undertakings.

There has been enough research done by both the teachers' organizations under discussion on any one major educational problem of today to fill many books.

Growth

The growth of the Association and of the Federation might well be described by a phrase in the Negro spiritual, which is "sometimes up and sometimes down." The National Education Association works so quietly and unobtrusively that it has never attracted widespread attention. The history of the growth of both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers is very detailed. The National Education Association Handbook and Manual shows an increase in the National Education Association

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., p. 31.
membership from 150,000 in 1934 to almost 450,000 in 1948. The Association hopes to have 800,000 members by 1951. This number does not include all of its affiliated groups. More than 800,000 teachers are enrolled in the Association and its affiliated groups.23

The American Federation of Teachers is very small in comparison with the National Education Association; however, American Federation of Teachers leaders always point out the strength (over 7,500,000 union men) of the American Federation of Labor, of which the American Federation of Teachers is a part. From 1929 to 1933 the membership of the American Federation of Teachers wavered between 5,000 and 7,000. In 1931, fifteen years after the organization was formed, the total membership stood at around 7,000. The Federation by 1939 had reached a membership of 29,000 and by 1940 the total exceeded 32,000. Because the Federation expelled some local units in 1941, its membership dropped to 22,000. Although the Federation's membership increased by 10,000 during the Second World War, it has lost in membership in the past year or two. Today the American Federation of Teachers, as estimated to the best of the author's ability from the meager information available concerning the size of the Federation, numbers approximately 32,000 members.24


General Achievements of the Two Organizations

The author of this survey finds it very difficult to draw the line in reference to the achievements of the two educational organizations under consideration. Naturally, both organizations have been influential in bringing about almost every important improvement in education.

The American Federation of Teachers claims that labor was largely responsible for the present free school system; yet, Horace Mann, a great friend and supporter of the fore-runner of the present National Education Association, is known as the "Father of American Education." This conflicting claim by the organizations is a typical example of the many claims made by both the Federation and the Association to the same achievements. Together they have achieved educational victories such as the improvement of teacher salaries, teacher load, and teacher rights in general. They have obtained much needed federal aid, consolidation of schools, health and sanitary measures, better buildings and equipment, compulsory school laws, adoption of uniform textbooks and numerous other important improvements. Even though the organizations claim credit for the same educational victories, the American Federation of Teachers has little to stand on in reference to many of the educational advances before its time. A good example of this is the
creation by Congress of the federal agency now known as the United States Office of Education. In reference to the work of the National Education Association in bringing about this legislation, Thomas W. Bicknell said: "Had the Association lived only to secure this great act of national legislation, its labors would have been amply compensated."  

Today both organizations have helped in a national way to alleviate the present school crises.

Achievements in Texas

Although Texas is given credit for having had the first teachers' union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, there has never been a strong teachers' union element within her boundaries.  

Since there is no teachers' union problem in Texas, and since there has been a strong affiliated State Teachers' Association in Texas since 1880, it is reasonable to assume that the National Education Association is mainly responsible for the achievements of the state. The statement just made is justified by the fact that Texas teachers are almost one hundred per cent affiliated with the Texas State Teachers' Association.

The Association has been influential in the passage of

\[\text{25}^{\text{Fenner, NEA History, p. 18.}}\]

\[\text{26}^{\text{A. W. Robinson, A Critical Evaluation of the American Federation of Teachers, p. 18.}}\]
many laws leading to school improvement, among which are a compulsory school attendance law, federal aid to education laws such as the Smith-Hughes Federal Aid Bill of 1917, uniform textbook laws, and many others. The majority of the one-teacher schools have combined with other schools, but, according to the Gilmer-Aiken Committee, there are still 1,822 in existence in the state. 27

More then three thousand small schools have been combined with other schools to form consolidated schools. With the assistance of state aid given in such cases, schools were greatly improved. They had good, comfortable buildings, first-class equipment with good libraries, and plenty of books for supplementary reading.

The consolidated schools flourished for a season. These consolidations brought much lasting good to the communities. Consolidation not only benefitted the youth, but in bringing more people together, it united by a common bond all elements in the neighborhood, and community spirit increased.

In the past few years many of the consolidated schools have been eliminated. By vote of the citizens they have consolidated with nearby town and city schools. Busses often carry the pupils many miles to the city schools, in which the country child has all the educational

27 Sam Kinch, "Reforms of Texas Schools," Fort Worth Star-Telegram, October 12, 1948, p. 3.
opportunities of the city child. However, not all of the consolidated schools have combined with the city schools. Texas has some of the largest consolidated rural schools in the world. Their buildings, equipment, and teaching are on a par with the city schools.

If the instructor of the one-teacher school portrayed in Chapter I should have fallen asleep as did Rip Van Winkle and should have suddenly awakened fifty years later, one could hardly imagine his great surprise. It is difficult to imagine how a person under these circumstances would react to his new surroundings. First, one would take note of the new buildings and the comforts provided. No more chopping wood; cleaning stoves; bringing in wood, kindling, or coal; no more sweeping, dusting, and rearranging of furniture would be demanded of the teacher. A neatly dressed janitor is on hand to take care of these details. Gas or coal-heated furnaces take the place of the old wood or coal-heated stoves of yesteryears.

The old wooden water bucket with its tin dipper, which had to be refilled so many times each day, has been replaced by white shining fountains. Comfortable restrooms with polished mirrors afford a place for pupils to tidy themselves before classes. No longer must the pupil open the old tight dinner pails and eat his sandwiches composed of soggy biscuit with flabby bacon between the two layers of bread.
Now if the pupil wishes to bring his lunch from home, he has a nice ventilated lunch kit with a container for cold milk or hot chocolate. If the child does not wish to bring a drink, the lunch can be very conveniently brought in a manila paper bag and put in a sanitary, screened cabinet where it is protected from flies, mice, and other harmful pests. Better still, if he wants a good hot meal just like "Mom" cooks, without going out into the inclement weather, he can eat at the school cafeteria where the menus vary to give variety to the diet.

Perhaps the teacher would appreciate more than anything else the fact that the teacher's load has been lightened as much as it has been, although there is still room for improvement.

The rank and file of the people cannot realize how much the teacher's load was lightened by the adoption of uniform textbooks.

If the reader is not convinced what teachers' organizations were most instrumental in bringing about these changes, let him trace the history of the Texas State Teachers' Association and the work of the National Education Association in Texas. He will find on their records the names of the leading educators of Texas. It has taken time, as men have to be educated in the needs of the country, and especially of the schools. They have never given up, but have accepted
the old adage that "constant dripping wears away the stone."
CHAPTER III

LEGAL ASPECTS OF TEACHERS' UNIONS

Hitler believed that nothing is permanent and that there are no eternally true values that are true for all times. Of course, Hitler overlooked religion; however, if one thinks of only man-made things and man-made laws, Hitler's belief carries much weight. In spite of the United States Constitution and the fact that America is supposed to emphasize principle at the expense of expediency, one finds that law in the United States changes. Whether these legal changes are good or bad depends upon the time, the persons involved, the changes made, and, of course, upon the general outcome. Any person claiming to know all the answers as to what constitutes good laws in detail is either very narrow-minded or else God has given him special powers. The author of this study will not try to be a fortune teller in regard to future laws governing teachers' unionism. Some laws have been passed to prevent teachers from organizing into unions; however, these laws have not all been tested. In 1947 the Texas Legislature passed a law prohibiting general collective bargaining measures on the part of public employees. This law has not been tested in the courts.
Sufficient information could not be obtained for this study in regard to legal aspects of teachers' unions. This is especially true in reference to those states in which teachers' unions are few in number or weak in strength.

There are some who deny that teachers have the legal right to unionize. One needs only to open his eyes and see and read about the many teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers and the Committee of Industrial Organization to realize the fact that many teachers are unionizing and have done so since 1902. If it is illegal for teachers to unionize, then there are certainly many teachers violating American laws. The vast majority of teachers' unions are in the larger cities and in the more densely populated states. Since the teachers' union problem is more prevalent in certain states, most of this chapter will deal with the states having the most powerful teachers' unions.

"Yellow Dog" Contract

One of the most common types of legal controversies involving teachers' unions is that connected with the "yellow dog" contract. Many school boards have enacted rules declaring the policy of refusing to appoint or reappoint any teacher who will not first sign a statement that he will not join a labor organization. In general, the earlier cases involving the "yellow dog" contract presented by school
boards have been decided in favor of the school boards. One of the first cases to set judicial precedent in regard to this matter was an Ohio case in 1915 which did not involve the American Federation of Teachers, but a grade teachers' club in Cleveland which fell under the displeasure of the school authorities. In general, it was held in the Ohio case of 1915 that the reappointment of anyone as a teacher is wholly at the discretion of the board, and the courts must not intervene.¹

In May, 1928, the Teachers' Union of Seattle entered local politics by opposing a reactionary member of the Seattle School Board, who was up for re-election. After the election the Board of Education enacted a resolution not to appoint any person as a teacher who was a member of the American Federation of Teachers. A suit to restrain the Board from enforcing the "yellow dog" contract was denied and the case was appealed to the State Supreme Court of Washington in 1930. The validity of the contract was upheld, but Judge Beals dissented along with others. The dissenters in general felt that the resolution of the Seattle School Board excluded people from such employment for reasons having nothing to do with their moral or physical characteristics, their educational qualifications, or their general ability as teachers.²

²Robinson, op. cit., pp. 34-38.
Tenure laws in some states protect teachers from having to sign the "yellow dog" contract. M. M. Chambers in 1938 said, "The time may come when membership in teachers' unions will no longer be legal grounds for discharging or failing to reappoint our teachers." This time has not arrived unless one is speaking of certain localities. In general, the firing and hiring of teachers is in the hands of the school boards and of local officials. If the statutes are silent as to the term of a public officer or employee, then he serves at the pleasure of the appointing authority. This is held to be true even where there is a contract for a definite term, for the appointing authority cannot bind itself for a definite term unless empowered by statute.

 Strikes

Some states have in recent years passed laws prohibiting teachers' strikes. New York State passed a "no-strike" law prohibiting teachers and other governmental employees from engaging in strikes. It was introduced in the state Senate by William F. Condon of Yonkers and in the Assembly by John F. Wadlen of Ulster. Known as the Condon-Wadlen Law, it provides that severe penalties be invoked if a teacher goes on strike. This law has not been effectively

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3Chambers, op. cit., p. 39.

tested; therefore, only time can tell how well it will bar teachers' strikes in New York State.\(^5\) Of course, in many states the right of teachers to strike has not been seriously contested. This fact has been verified in the daily newspapers during the past few years. Every now and then, in recent years, one could read about some teachers' strike. These strikes are too numerous to discuss in general. One of the recent teachers' strikes to make headlines was the teachers' strike at Minneapolis, Minnesota, on March 8, 1948. The strike, called February 24, by members of the American Federation of Teachers, had affected more than two thousand teachers in ninety-two schools and had made idle more than 65,000 children. A settlement was reached boosting teacher pay in Minneapolis from the permanent minimum of $2,000 to $2,400 and the permanent maximum of $4,200 to $4,400.\(^6\) The Minneapolis strike and others of its nature give evidence that teachers' strikes are not being completely stopped either by legal means or by public opinion.

As to the desirability of laws prohibiting teachers from striking, one has fewer facts to stand on. Most teachers or educators oppose teachers' strikes. Even the American Federation of Teachers has a no-strike policy; however, there are a few good arguments in favor of strikes. Some

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\(^5\)Benjamin Fine, Our Children Are Cheated, p. 85.

\(^6\)Fort Worth Star-Telegram, March 17, 1948, editorial, p. 4.
claim that in a democratic society the problem should be solved by improving conditions causing the unrest rather than by punishing those dissatisfied.

Public Employees and Collective Bargaining

The right of teachers or public employees in general to affiliate with labor and to bargain collectively depends upon the seriousness of the situations involved, the state of the union, the place, time, and general details involved. It appears that there are more public employees who do not unionize because of public opinion and the general unpleasant outcomes of collective bargaining than because of fear of legal outcomes. In general, the right of public employees to bargain collectively has been upheld in the courts. This does not mean necessarily that collective bargaining by public employees is desirable. There are many good reasons why teachers as government employees should not unionize; however, there are also good reasons why they should.

In the State of Nebraska public utility agencies attempted to prevent employees from joining labor unions. The Nebraska State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees presented a bill in the Nebraska Legislature to guarantee the right of public employees to organize. Walter R. Johnson,
Attorney General of Nebraska, in an opinion on the proposed bill, indicated that it was constitutional but unnecessary since the right of public employees to organize into trade unions and to bargain collectively is already established. Johnson said, "The passage of such a bill would be, therefore, merely a declaration of existing rights and laws."\(^7\)

Of course, much hinges upon the definition of "collective bargaining." Collective bargaining has been defined as the arranging of a mutual agreement upon the conditions of work between employers, or an employer, and a group of employees. There is no settled judicial determination of the term "collective bargaining." Many think that it implies the right to strike because labor has made it so, while many others think differently. If "collective bargaining" does imply the right to strike or prevent or obstruct the operations of government until certain demands are satisfied, then such action looking toward the paralysis of government by those who have sworn to support it is unthinkable and intolerable unless under unusual circumstances. This is especially true in times of war and during national emergencies.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed himself as being in accord with the view that government employees have the right to organize and participate in a limited form of collective bargaining. He said in 1937 in a letter

\(^7\)Walter R. Johnson, quoted by American Federation of Teachers, *The Right of Public Employees to Organize and to Bargain Collectively*, leaflet, 1943, p. 1.
The desire of Government employees for fair and adequate pay, reasonable hours of work, safe and suitable working conditions, development of opportunities for advancement, facilities for fair and impartial consideration and review of grievances, and other objectives of a proper employee relations policy is basically no different from that of employees in private industry. Organization on their part to present their view on such matters is both natural and logical, but meticulous attention should be paid to the special relationships and obligations of public servants to the public itself and to the government.8

Judge Clarence U. Ahl upheld the right of municipal employees to strike in a decision unprecedented in the State of Ohio in the opinion of some. Judge Ahl would not enjoin Local 190, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers (American Federation of Labor), from picketing the municipal light and power plant of Celina, Ohio. The writ was sought by the local board of trustees of public affairs. Ahl said in upholding the right of the employees to strike that the village, in operation of its power plant, was subject to the same laws as an individual or private corporation. He said that the three-man picket line was reasonable and that it was not unlawful for the strikers to engage in peaceful discussion with prospective employees in an attempt to dissuade them from strike-breaking. The strikers had been accused by the village officials of making threats against "scabs" entering the plant, but this

8Letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Luther C. Steward dated August 16, 1937, ibid., p. 4.
was disproved at the hearing. Claims by the village officials that the Wagner Act does not apply to government employees were ruled irrelevant by Judge Abl. The strike and case just mentioned from its decision indicates, according to some, the right of public employees to organize into bona fide trade unions and to conduct collective bargaining with a public employer in the same manner as with a private employer.\(^9\)

Collective bargaining in the American Federation of Teachers seldom means formal recognition of the union as the sole bargaining agency and the signing of contracts by the union and the employer. Collective bargaining for teachers generally means obtaining a uniform printed contract for individual teachers, based upon training and experience. The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees often makes master contracts which cover all employees.

In Illinois there is no law making collective bargaining in public service illegal. Locals all over the country are bargaining with their government agencies and there is a long list of places where contracts and working agreements have been signed and are in effect.

Joseph Padway, General Counsel of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, is of the

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\(^9\)Addendum from the Federation News, official publication of the Chicago Federation of Labor, December 20, 1941.
opinion that collective bargaining in the public service is legal, as was brought out in an address he made at a meeting of the National Lawyers' Guild in Washington, D. C., in 1943.10

Government today is the largest employer in the country. About one out of every eleven workers in the United States is on some government payroll. The health, comfort, and safety of the people of the United States are dependent, to a large degree, upon the quality of service rendered by public employees. This situation makes strikes a serious problem; yet on the other hand efficient and clean government cannot be maintained in the face of low standards of working conditions, sub-standard wages, political discriminations, and other handicaps. These two problems cause some to believe that laws governing the right of public employees to bargain collectively should be so worded that each case is decided as an individual situation. It would be too bad, many claim, to take away completely the right of public employees to bargain collectively or to take the other extreme. It would be more serious for soldiers (as public servants) in time of war to strike than for teachers to strike in peacetime. In general, the right of

10Letter from Arnold S. Zander, President of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, May 19, 1943, quoted by the American Federation of Teachers, "Collective Bargaining and Union Status of Public Employees" (mimeographed), 1943, p. 1.
public employees to bargain collectively is upheld; however, the balance of power between public opinion and court decisions can easily change.\textsuperscript{11}

Political Activity of Teachers

In a direct way the Wagner Labor Act and the Taft-Hartley Act do not affect teachers. However, because of their importance in an indirect way, they should be considered in this chapter. The Wagner Labor Relations Act, passed in 1935 and upheld in five cases in 1938, guarantees to workers the right to organize and bargain collectively with their employers through representatives of their own choosing. It forbids employers to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of that right and in general greatly favors labor. The Wagner Labor Act has been considered by many as the best thing that has happened to the labor movement, and at the same time many have also considered it unfair to employers.

The Taft-Hartley Act has tried to wipe out much that labor has gained under the Wagner Labor Act. It is now a year old. According to some union heads, the act was designed to wipe out all of labor's gains, destroy unionism, and introduce fascism to America. However, labor unions are going strong, and union membership has actually grown in

\textsuperscript{11}Quotations from the opinion of the National War Labor Board, in "Collective Bargaining, Rights of Public Employees" (mimeographed), reprinted as leaflet by the American Federation of Teachers, December 23, 1942.
the past year. The closed shop is gone, but the union shop remains in plants where the members vote for it. This gives the employer more discretion in his hiring; but since the union shop requires a worker to join the union or lose his job, the dues keep coming in. The power of injunction has been restored under this act; however, it has been used in only a few important cases. In short, it is evidenced that the Taft-Hartley Law has worked no great hardship on labor's rank and file.

When the teacher crisis reached its peak, political awareness by teachers increased. This brings up the question of the right of public school teachers to engage in political activity. More and more teachers are taking a more active part in politics than ever before.

Local customs and local school board rules often prohibit or, at least, discourage political activity by teachers. There are some state laws which bear on the subject; however, since many schools receive some form of federal aid, the problem is most clearly presented in cases in which it is thought that the Hatch Act may apply. The Hatch Act was first adopted in 1939 and applied only to federal employees. The statute was amended in this same year to include state and local employees whose principal employment is in connection with any activity which is financed in whole or in part by federal loans or grants.
In general, the Hatch Act forbids teachers who receive any part of their salaries from federal aid funds to engage in the following types of political activity:

1. To promise employment or other benefits out of federal funds as reward for political activity.
2. To solicit contributions from persons employed from work relief funds.
3. Furnishing lists of relief recipients.
4. Intimidating or coercing voters.
5. To contribute more than $5,000 in any year to any candidate.\(^\text{12}\)

A teacher may engage in political activity even if directly employed in an activity financed from federal funds, if that can be done without violating any of the restrictions just given. A teacher is not forbidden to take an active part in political management or in political campaigns. He may vote as he may choose and express his opinion on all political subjects and candidates. Under the Hatch Act a teacher may run for office, but would have to resign his teaching position if elected. This requirement that a teacher must resign if elected to a political office applies only to those employed in an activity supported by federal funds, unless a question of tenure rights

\(^{12}\text{"A Memorandum on the Legal Rights of Teachers in Political Activities" (mimeographed), prepared by the General Counsel, John Ligtenberg, for the Research Department of the American Federation of Teachers, 1942, p. 3.}\)
is involved. All teachers may take an active part in elections not identified with national or state issues or parties. They may, therefore, campaign actively on questions relating to constitutional amendments, referendums, approval of municipal ordinances, and others of similar nature. Also under the Hatch Act teachers may take an active part, regardless of other provisions, if an election is non-partisan.

The Taft-Hartley Act provides no restrictions on political activities of teachers as individuals; however, it does restrict the right of unions, including teacher unions, to engage in political activities. It makes it unlawful for a labor organization to make certain contributions in connection with the more important political offices. This, however, does not restrict individual union members and does not apply to state officers.

A number of states have passed laws much like the Hatch Act, but in most states these statutes do not cover teachers. The laws of New York, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Alabama, and Rhode Island cover teachers along with other state and local employees, and prohibit certain types of political activity.

Most of the political restrictions on teachers are local, usually adopted by school boards. In an Indiana case a school board adopted a rule that any school employee who becomes a candidate for public office will be
dismissed during the election without pay. The Supreme Court of Indiana in considering a case of dismissal of a teacher running for state representative held that such candidacy should not be and is not ground for cancellation of a teacher's contract as a permanent teacher. Dismissal for the period of political activity, it was held, does not seem such an unreasonable exercise of the board's powers.\textsuperscript{13}

Teachers must keep their political activities out of the classroom because such activity may be considered unprofessional conduct. A teacher in California told his class to urge their parents and friends to vote for a certain candidate. In a case concerning this incident it was held that under common law a board could dismiss a teacher for political activity in the classroom.\textsuperscript{14} In an Arkansas case, it was held that a city superintendent had the legal right to oppose the election of certain candidates for the school board.

Massachusetts denies a school board the right to restrict the political activity of teachers in voting, signing nominating papers, petitioning the legislature, or appearing before its committees, except to the extent that such activities interfere with school duties. Teaching disloyalty to the American system of government is made

\textsuperscript{13}School City of E. Chicago v. Sigler 36 NE 2nd, 760 (1941).

\textsuperscript{14}Goldsmith v. Board of Education 225 Pac. 783; 66 Cal. app. 157.
ground for revocation of the certificate to teach in Oklahoma. Many states have laws requiring teachers to be American citizens. These requirements have been held valid under the Constitution; and in one case it was decided that an alien could not acquire tenure and could be dismissed without a hearing, even after serving the statutory period, since the employment was illegal from the beginning. In one case, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court refused to sanction the dismissal of a teacher charged with associating with Communists and with signing an election nominating paper for a candidate of the Communist Party. In New York the overthrow of the government by force, and membership in an organization which advocates such action, is forbidden to teachers. Similar laws in Pennsylvania make subversive activity a cause for dismissal of tenure teachers. Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and Rhode Island, by various means, protect teachers and other public employees from being required to make political contributions.\footnote{A Memorandum on the Legal Rights of Teachers in Political Activities" (mimeographed), prepared by the General Counsel, John J. McGraw, for the Research Department of the American Federation of Teachers.}

Summary

The Taft-Hartley Act does not limit the right of a teacher, who happens to be a union member, to engage in political activity. In considering federal law, restrictions on teachers exist only in so far as they are found in
the Hatch Act.

State laws are mostly concerned with loyalty provisions and often contain provisions protecting teachers from political interference.

No doubt many local school board rules regarding political activities of teachers exist. Some courts have passed on such cases and in general have decided that teachers may engage in political activity as long as there is no interference with their classroom work. In general, school boards have been given much freedom in employing and discharging teachers and in other legal controversies.
CHAPTER IV

PUBLIC OPINION

One can never be completely sure of what the general public is thinking. This is true because of several reasons:

1. Many people are afraid to say what they think.
2. Many do not say what they think because they are not sure themselves.
3. Many are too indifferent to co-operate in the taking of polls.
4. Only fate can make partial polls one hundred percent accurate.

Many polls are planned to show certain findings. There is a "nigger in the wood-pile" when two competing companies are both claiming that nine out of ten doctors recommend the product they are selling as being the best.

Polls of Teachers

A series of polls taken by the author of this study shows the following:

1. Of twenty-seven college and university supervisors polled, twenty-six believed that unionization of teachers would lower the standard of the teaching profession; one
believed otherwise.

2. Of thirty-three high school supervisors polled, twenty-four were against unionization and nine were in favor of it.

3. A poll of seventy-eight college teachers showed that thirty-three were in favor and forty-five against unionization.

4. Three hundred six elementary teachers, out of 463 polled, felt that unionization of teachers would raise the standard of the profession, while 157 thought it would not.

5. This gives a grand total of 603 educators polled, of whom 249 believed unionization would lower the professional standard and 354 believed otherwise.

George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, in his most recent poll on this subject, says:

There is a widespread public sympathy with the economic plight of school teachers.

With teachers in many communities expressing their discontent by strikes or other concerted action, opinion polls have found that the public rates teaching as one of the professions where the pay is far too low.

One recent survey found that forty-four per cent of voters think the pay given to teachers in their communities is too low, only two per cent think it too high, thirty-three per cent consider the pay about right, while the rest had no opinion.

In another nation-wide survey voters were given a list of various occupations such as farmer, congressman, minister, doctor, teacher, factory hand, etc., and asked which occupation deserved to earn the most money per year.
The voters placed teachers second only to doctors as deserving to earn the most money.

Actually, teaching is the poorest paid of the major professions in most communities. Thousands of people are getting out of teaching and into more financially-rewarding occupations, thus contributing to an acute shortage of teachers.

In some areas there has been talk of forming unions for teachers. A small percentage already belong to unions with A. F. of L., C. I. O. or other affiliation.

Public opinion is closely divided on the question whether teachers should join unions. About as many oppose unionization of teachers as favor it. The following poll by the American Institute of Public Opinion shows:

Do you think school teachers should form unions?
  Yes . . . . . 43 per cent
  No . . . . . 40 per cent
  No opinion . . 17 per cent

Those favoring unions for teachers say, "It's the only way the teachers can get a living wage."

"They're the poorest paid of all the professions. Everyone else is organized, why not teachers?"

Those opposing unions for teachers say: "People in public service shouldn't join unions."

"There are too many unions now." . . . "Teachers shouldn't get mixed up in union politics and arguments; unions are below their dignity." 

1

Typical Statements of College Presidents in Various States

Among those opposed to teachers' unions, college presidents play a leading role. The following statements may indicate the trend of thought on this subject by college and university presidents in the United States:

1. The president of a noted teachers' college in New Jersey says:

1George Gallup, "More Pay for School Teachers? Public Is Willing, National Poll Shows" (mimeographed), paper sent in letter to the writer from the American Institute of Public Opinion.
I have always felt personally that teachers identifying themselves with unions would endanger the freedom of choice and action in their personal activities. The teaching profession should hold itself in a position to render justice to all types of pupils and students irrespective of social or economic background, religion, race, or any of the other ways in which people are usually classified. The identification of teachers with unions which might be managed in such ways as to restrict the objective and equitable treatment of all classes in our population would in my modest judgment, in so far forth, throw the profession out of focus. Another consideration that sometimes is read into unionism is an over-emphasis upon the action of union members designed to benefit the members as such, rather than the services that the profession can render to the public. To say all of this differently and somewhat more simply, I have always felt that teachers who restrict their actions or tend to confine their purposes to anything but the justice that should be done to an individual as a person tended to defeat the very purpose of the teaching profession.

In saying the above, I am aware of the fact that a great educational leader like John Dewey classified all people into one of two categories, either "workers" or "social parasites." Dr. Dewey has long felt that workers therefore should unite in the interest of the dignity and usefulness of labor. With this point of view I would have no quarrel, but my position still holds with reference to unions as I have expressed it above.2

2. The president of a South Dakota college says:

First of all, let me say that I think that the teachers have been driven to resort to union membership and union tactics because the efforts to improve their situation made by professional organizations have been so slow and generally ineffective.

However, I think of teaching as a potential profession which can become a real profession through the institution of high standards of training and selectivity. Proceeding from this premise, it is my opinion that teachers should not join, support or participate in union activities. We should strive to improve our professional status and our service to children through our own organizations such as local

2F. A. Irvin, New Jersey State Teachers College, Jersey City, New Jersey; personal letter.
Teachers' Associations, State Teachers' Associations and the N. E. A. I firmly believe that through strong professional organizations such as those mentioned above, the interests of the individual teacher and education in general can be best served.3

3. In a statement from the president of a college in Kentucky one may find the following opinions:

My personal opinion concerning unionized teachers is that I think it lowers their dignity and takes them out of the professional realm, to a certain extent classifying them with industrialism. I do not think the teacher and preacher can afford to unionize. Intelligent people should sit down and work out their relationships to the satisfaction and mutual concern of all. If education doesn't enable us to solve our problems through intelligent understanding, then there is something wrong with education. We cannot build a democracy or a better world by force.4

4. In Texas a university president says:

I do not believe that the teachers' union is the best thing for the teaching profession. There are other organizations available for them that would accomplish the purpose they have in mind and in a more popular and diplomatic way.

I am happy that the public is turning now to the teacher and his problem. The people are more willing than ever to pay the teacher what he deserves. Of course, he can never be fully paid for his services. I think that other means and methods of protecting the rights of teachers will be more effective in this problem.5

5. The president of a college in Oregon says:

My personal reaction is that if we are a profession and if we follow the principles set forth by our professional organizations, there is no need for a

3J. Howard Kramer, Southern State Teachers College, Springfield, South Dakota; personal letter.

4Sam P. Hill, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Kentucky; personal letter.

5W. R. White, Baylor University, Waco, Texas; personal letter.
teachers' union. This latter type of organization tends to magnify problems which ordinarily can be settled by the democratic process and in what we have considered to be purely and definitely professional manner. Teachers' unions often resort to pressure methods, which at least in the past, have not been considered professional.  

6. From Richmond, Virginia, comes this statement from the president of the University of Richmond:

We do not have teachers' unions in Virginia and I hope we never do. Though I approve unions of workers for profit, I do not favor the organization of professional workers engaged in public service and employed by the government representing all the people. An activity so important to the public interest as to justify public or government operation, such as fire protection, police, schools, is so vital to the public that unions and strikes should not be permitted. A person entering such employment should be willing and obligated to forego union organization.  

7. In favoring teachers' unions the president of a Pennsylvania state college states:

I should say that teachers have the same right to affiliation with any valid social organizations as any other American citizen possesses. Their professional standards should gain.

Typical Statements of Supervisors and Administrators of Higher and Lower Education

Most school supervisors and administrators oppose teachers' unions. This is true for several reasons. Unions

6E. N. Stevenson, Southern Oregon College of Education, Ashland, Oregon; personal letter.

7G. M. Modlin, University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia; personal letter.

8L. P. Hill, State Teachers College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania; personal letter.
mainly represent the classroom teachers and have more to offer those in the lower income group. Unions are making a great effort to secure for the teacher more power in running the school; and since supervisors and administrators already have enough power, they have little to gain. Of course, some oppose unions purely from a sincere belief that they are not best for the American educational system.

Here is what many supervisors and administrators are thinking:

1. A director of a Reading Clinic in a Virginia college says:

   I believe that any trend to the unionizing of the teaching profession is an unwholesome one and I am strenuously opposed to the promotion of this idea in the ranks of American teachers. Trade unions relate to skilled labor activities and not to the higher professional services where individuals are personally and directly related in a psychological, social, ethical, and spiritual relationship. I do believe, however, within a generation we will see the teaching profession either advanced to a professional status through the development of scientific methods of studying children and the administration of stimulating routines for which teachers will be correspondingly rewarded, or the teaching program will degenerate into trade union status.\(^9\)

2. This is what the head of the English Department of a certain Texas teachers' college says:

   Unions of widely scattered members soon fall under the control and become the tool of a minority. Teachers are widely scattered and serve the public in somewhat an intimate way. The teacher by law is in loco parentis (in place of the parent). This is

\(^9\)Ullin W. Leavell, Director of the Reading Clinic, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; personal letter.
too sacred a relation to be disturbed by dictates of a union. A union dictates to the individual member as well as to the employing agents. I, for one, fear the evils of a union more than I yearn for its doubtful benefits.¹⁰

3. The dean of a School of Education in a Mississippi institution of higher learning says:

I am of the opinion that teachers' unions, if affiliated with other non-professional unions, would lower the professional standards of teachers, whether or not led by teachers, of "proper intellectual qualifications." If any need for help is felt by teachers, they should make more profitable use of the already existing professional organizations which at the present time do not seem to be recognized by all teachers. [Name withheld by request.]

4. A superintendent of a New Mexico public school system says:

The New Mexico Education Association has consistently refused to allow union leaders to appear on the program at our State Association Teachers' Meetings. It is our contention that so long as we have good professional leaders and keep the public properly informed of our needs that the majority of the people and our legislature will go along with us on a constructive and progressive school program.

I have taught in both Oklahoma and Texas and have made a study of the school financial situation in Oklahoma, which leads me to think that possibly a teachers' union, in some states would cause the politicians to realize the importance of cooperation with the Educational System. It is my opinion that unless the status of the teaching profession is raised, the private and parochial schools will flourish to the point that we will have a dual system of education, namely, our so-called public schools and a parochial system, partially supported by tax money. It seems that, rather than to have a dual system of education it would be better to unionize and, more or

¹⁰B. F. Fronabarger, West Texas State Teachers College, Canyon, Texas; personal letter.
less, force the support of public school educa-
tion.11

5. The Assistant Director of the Physical Education
Department of a college in North Carolina stated his views
as follows:

It is the opinion of the writer that the proper
organization of teachers' unions would not tend to
lower the professional standards of teachers. How-
ever, unless some method, other than degrees, is used
as a basis for ranking, teachers' unions would not
necessarily improve professional proficiency. Some
method similar, possibly, to civil service rating
scale would be suitable to use in rating teachers.
Through this method or means, minimum standards of
proficiency with a minimum wage scale could be estab-
lished for our teachers.

An individual with "proper intellectual qualifi-
cations" assigned to carry out specific policies
would improve professional standards. The code of
ethics established by the National Education Associ-
ation, plus specific local requirements could serve
as requirements for membership (academic requirements
included). By offering teachers greater job security,
the union could require the attainment of the estab-
lished standards in a given period to attain or re-
tain certain union certifications.12

Statements of Classroom Teachers and of
the General Public

Many, when polled, have no opinion; many are undecided
because they believe experts should decide such questions;
and others see only one side of the question. Below are
some of the answers setting forth the views of teachers from
many different states on unionization and professionalism.

11 Odie Ludlow, Superintendent, Magdalena Public Schools,
Magdalena, New Mexico; personal letter.

12 E. F. Williams, Assistant Director, Physical Educa-
tion Department, Agricultural College, Greensboro, North
Carolina.
These teachers seem completely to have made up their minds.

1. A classroom teacher in South Dakota writes:

I do not believe that "teachers of proper intellectual qualifications" could aid professional standards because of the narrow philosophy of unionization and the entrenched complexes in the issues of seniority, tenure, administration, merit rating, salary rights, rooted in the psychology of persecution and inferiority complexes.

The professional standing of the teaching profession must not be founded on a system of unionization adhering to the principle of force and based on fundamentally incorrect ideals.13

2. A teacher of athletics in a college in Michigan opposed unionization with the following comments:

It is my opinion that the unionization of teachers would definitely lower the professional standards of teachers. One reason for my thinking this is that the term "union" does not mean an agency pledged to raise professional standards, but rather a "brake" on management which attempts to raise the standard of living. In other words, many people confuse the term professional standard with living standards. Consequently, because unions as we know them, do not strive for the raising of professional standards, it does not seem logical that unions of teachers would fare any better, despite excellent leadership.

Because any type of union patterned after our labor unions would not be successful, it seems to me that the teaching organization as a profession should attempt to approximate the "unofficial" union of the medical profession, namely, the A. M. A. With such an organization they would be concerned with teacher supply and demand, teacher preparation, raising minimum standards in the states, and as such places the teaching profession in a position of higher esteem. In so doing, they would then be in a position to obtain better salaries and lighter teaching loads, thus raising the entire professional standard of teachers as well as their standard of living which normal labor unions are successful in achieving.14

13E. W. Knudson, personal letter.
14George Flint, Ann Arbor, Michigan; personal letter.
3. One teacher said:

Teachers' unions if operated properly and led by high-minded people, would add and not lower the standards of the teaching profession. The standards of the teaching profession are too low all over the country. Any sincere, wholehearted attempt to elevate the teachers' standards in living and teaching would be in order. If the business of the union is conducted on a democratic basis, standards would be increased or improved. If the union is to be dominated by educational racketeers or other elements of subversive interest as has been the case in other labor organizations, then nothing but evil can come from such an organization.15

4. A superintendent answers (in reference to a request that a small poll be taken in his school) as follows:

It is rather difficult for me to reply to your question, "Do you believe that teacher unions will lower the standard of the teaching profession?" and I shall try briefly to explain why this is the case.

We have had for the past two years a local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers in this school system. I do not know how many they have in the organization but I understand that it is a small group and does not have a majority of our teachers as members. In my relations with the local federation, I have found that the question of leadership has been the one that has been the most difficult.

Because of this local situation it is not possible for me to take any poll of teachers without raising the question that I am making an investigation of a practice that is already established here. I feel sure that you will understand that this would be unwise under existing circumstances.16

5. The president of the Chamber of Commerce in a large city answers the author's poll as follows:

15W. J. Homlund, Ypsilanti, Michigan.

16Roy J. Wason, Superintendent of Schools, Colorado Springs, Colorado; personal letter.
Your question regarding teachers' unions is a "king size" question which would require more time for thought than I am able to put into it at this time, so must pass the issue for the present.\[17\]

6. A member of the American Federation of Teachers answers the author's question as follows:

The fact that I am a member of Local X (Teachers' Guild) of the American Federation of Teachers, should be taken into account in any appraisal of my reply to your query. It is my opinion that membership in a teachers' union does not, in and of itself, point to either a lowering or a raising of one's professional standards. The program of the union and the nature of its affiliation would have to be taken into account. Where the program, honestly formulated and courageously adhered to, indicates a purpose to improve the schools and the professional status of the teachers, the membership serves to elevate the professional standards.

It is the uses to which the power is used that need to be considered. Organized groups of teachers and other functionaries have been harmful when they have used their power in unsocial ways. Unionism as such is merely a form of effective organization. A teachers' union enjoys advantages of affiliation with the labor movement and assumes by that fact an even greater than ordinary responsibility to use those advantages in ways that are socially constructive. The record of teachers' unions in this respect is, I believe, a meritorious one.\[18\]

7. One of the many letters received (in regard to questions asked about teachers' unions and their influence on the teaching profession) that favored unions was one from Dan Mowrey of El Paso, Texas. The following are statements taken from his letter:

I feel that I could write a book on the question of whether teachers should be unionized. I believe I

17Jerry O'Neal, President, Chamber of Commerce, Long Beach, Washington; personal letter.

18Joseph Jablonwer, Ethical Culture Schools, New York.
could offer some rather strong reasons why they should. In the first place, I do not concede that the various teachers' associations have accomplished very much. These associations have been "going strong" (???) for several years, and now it is generally conceded that we have a national crisis in the field of education. Crowded classrooms and low salaries are usually given as the reasons but the real reasons are never mentioned. The associations merely ask for improvements, always on bent knees, and since all of them are controlled by administrators, the teachers might or might not be granted what they request. Incidentally, teachers' associations to which administrators are not eligible to become members, are controlled by administrators.

On the other hand, teachers' organizations which are affiliated with organized labor have the assistance of other organizations which are affiliated, and the pressure for badly needed improvements is multiplied several times. Furthermore, teachers affiliated with organized labor always have the financial backing they need. Central labor unions frequently supply all the money necessary for action taken by the federation of teachers, frequently, actually donated to the teachers. Tremendous pressure is frequently necessary as you, of course, know. Notwithstanding the fact that it is contrary to the policy of the national organization of the American Federation of Teachers, it has been necessary for two or three teachers' federations to go on strike to effect the improvements needed. As you might recall, these teachers were successful in their demands. This, of course, could never have been accomplished by a mere association. As a matter of fact, the associations had been trying futilely for a long time to get the changes made, but had failed consistently.

School administrators and enthusiastic association "promoters" are, or become, quite skilled propagandists, and emit statements which will hit the weakest and most vulnerable spots -- the teachers' pride and sympathy for "the poor pupils." They prey upon, and nourish the fantastic belief on the part of a good many teachers that teachers are professional and that affiliation with organized labor is beneath the dignity of teachers and will destroy their high peak of professionalism. In view of the fact that thousands of people who are infinitely more professional than teachers belong to the A. F. of L., this reasoning is fantastic, absurd, and pure rubbish -- just slimy propagandas. All radio performers, script
writers, movie actors, radio newscasters and commentators are members of their guilds, which are affiliated with organized labor, and their affiliation has never lowered their professional standing one bit. The statement that affiliation with organized labor will not be fair to the "poor children" has frequently been a very effective pile of rubbish, but nothing is ever said in regard to the damage being done to the "poor children" by administrators and patrons -- and especially trustees.

Speaking of trustees, I might brush them aside in very few words. It is my firm belief that a person wants on a school board for one of the following reasons: (1) he wants to be in a position of authority; (2) he has an axe to grind; or (3) he wants to use such a position of eminence to further his own selfish ends or a combination of these reasons. Seldom does a man serve on the local school board un-selfishly and fairly, with a genuine interest in and feeling of devotion to the schools and community. This is a rather harsh -- maybe fiendish -- attitude on my part, but I have seen so much filth dished out by trustees, I have been driven to this belief. I could easily support my belief by citing experiences of my own and those of other teachers -- many of them. Furthermore, I feel that I should explain that I am a rather calm, quiet type of person, and am not generally looked upon as a radical in any sense of the word.

I might conclude with the statement that many, many teachers firmly believe in unionization of teachers, but simply do not have the intestinal fortitude to join a federation of teachers. These poor souls use some rather disgusting reasons for failing to join. Some few of them are honest enough to admit frankly that they are afraid they will lose their jobs. I admire these more than those who "get lost" in a maze of alibis.

Some sweet day I would be very happy to write an article for publication in a magazine with a tremendous circulation, explaining the real reasons why teachers quit teaching!! Small salaries and large classes form an infinitesimal part of the complete picture.

I am a Food and Drug Inspector for the State Health Department and am not at all afraid of stating my views and beliefs as loudly and as enthusiastically as possible -- from the rooftops or anywhere else where an audience might be found. You can show my letter to anyone, and I would be very happy if you
would print it in every daily paper in the nation! My wife is a teacher in the El Paso schools, but I resigned in disgust about four years ago.

Incidentally, it is quite evident that the teacher's "position" is much more precarious in a small town than in a larger one, and heaven help the teachers in rural communities! Referring back to paragraph four, I would like to state that I seriously doubt the high state of professionalism of teachers. I can not believe that the thousands who have mere bachelor's degrees (and these include me) can be called professionals. I believe that teaching is merely a job, just as is bookkeeping or operating a projector in a movie.

I enjoy teaching more than any other work I ever did, but do not believe I shall ever teach again. I was driven out -- smoked out -- completely. I might wait tables some day, but doubt that I shall ever teach another day, not even coach.  

The above was the strongest defense received for the unionization of teachers, as well as the lengthiest of all responses. Below will be found another statement favoring a form of union for teachers but, if boiled down, it seems to resemble the National Education Association very much:

8. From a preacher and a teacher of philosophy in the Southwestern Baptist Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas, comes the following statement:

We are glad to give our approval, in general, of the idea of teachers' unions. From people of such intellectual qualifications we have every reason to expect a most constructive program and avoidance of radical avenues, sometimes accompanying unionization. It would seem to me that a teachers' union would represent nothing more or less than an adequate professional cooperation, which would greatly enhance the profession and its qualifications for service.  

19 Dan Mowery, Food and Drug Inspector, El Paso, Texas.

20 A. S. Newman, Registrar and Teacher of Philosophy, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.
9. Below is a letter from the Minneapolis Public Schools. Superintendent Goslin referred to another teacher to answer for him, so in that case the statement would probably represent his sentiments also:

My first reaction to this question when taking a long-range view of the Minneapolis situation, is that it [unionization] has not had any effect on the professionalism of the teachers. However, I believe the union leaders and many of the union members feel that education should be put on a time basis and that if the community wants it, then it is up to them to pay for it. They feel that education has been too cheap and, therefore, has lost the respect of the public. I believe some union members will have to raise their professional standards if work is put on an hourly basis. It seems that the status of the teacher was lowered considerably in the eyes of the public because of the strike.
Union and non-union teachers have gone on working together since the strike, and I do not believe their work has been hampered except perhaps as a result of a long interruption.21

10. From Mount Vernon, Illinois, comes this statement: "Personally, I hope we can keep teaching a profession. I'm sure we can if we pay teachers what they deserve."22

These polls and statements were taken at random by disinterested persons and the author does not claim that they show the majority of the people of the United States as to what they are thinking concerning the unionization of teachers; however, it is felt by the author that his small

21 Helen Andrews, Minneapolis, Minnesota; personal letter.
22 J. T. Buford, Superintendent of Schools, Mount Vernon, Illinois; personal letter.
poll is as accurate as any other poll of its size and scope. Schools in every state in the union were contacted, but not all replied. One must consider the fact that the majority is not always right.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Broadmindedness

The author of this study concludes, first, that answers to certain questions in political science and in certain fields cannot be completely given unless they are narrowed down in scope and a unified definition of certain words and groups of words is agreed upon. How many people have the same thing in mind when they hear the term "good government" used? How many picture the same girl when they think of the "most beautiful girl in the world"? How many agree on what is best for the teaching profession? How many define the word "profession" in the same way? Is teaching a profession? Is a good teacher broadminded in his or her thinking? If teachers should be broadminded, can they be so and completely be for or against teachers' unions? Would the teaching profession be better off if everyone agreed on what is best for teachers, students, and education in general? Is it best for all of us to cherish the same things? Should we have a balance of power and a variety of thoughts, or should one branch of government have all the power and all thinking be alike? Americanism believes in the battle
of words rather than in the battle of clubs. Is a true American pro- or anti-labor? Is a patriotic teacher pro- or anti-labor? Did not many young men who were anti-labor die fighting for the United States? Did not many young men who were pro-labor likewise die for their country? Will there always be a battle of words between the non-union teachers' organizations and the teachers' unions? Team work is desirable if it is team work of the right kind. Hitler had team work. However, it is better not to have team work at all than to have the kind of team work which produces undesirable ends. One should not use a desirable means to reach an undesirable end. One should not employ an undesirable or shady means to reach a supposedly desirable end. True Americans are striving for desirable means to reach desirable ends.

The second conclusion reached in this chapter is that teachers should have a variety of views and personalities. In general, they should be broadminded enough to recognize important arguments on both sides of the questions and problems confronting American educators. Any man or woman who thinks he or she knows the complete answers to any of the major problems in controversy does not belong in the teaching profession. Any person who thinks that beyond a doubt teachers' unions are good or bad for the profession is too narrow-minded to be a good teacher. Do not
misunderstand these conclusions. It is often necessary and best to draw the line somewhere and make important decisions. This does not mean that the one who draws the line should draw it as if there are no other answers or lines which have a chance. God does not mean for men to be perfect while on earth. The author of this study concludes that no one man or no group of men can prove beyond a doubt that teachers' unions in general are good or bad for the teaching profession unless they are given special powers from God. There are too many strong arguments for and against teachers' unions to claim that logic, opinions, and the facts prove that unions are professional, non-professional, or unprofessional unless the word "proof" means convincing only a certain percentage of the people.

Leadership

Leadership is very important in any undertaking. Some say that if dictators were all as intelligent, broadminded, generous, and considerate of their subjects as a few have been, totalitarianism would be better for the majority of the people than a democratic government. A teachers' union with good leadership and the right attitude can do more for education than a non-union teachers' organization with poor leadership. On the other hand, a non-union teachers' organization with good leadership can do more for education than a teachers' union with poor leadership. In this study
it is found that both teachers' unions and non-union teachers' organizations have had more than their share of capable leaders.

Many eminent educators and capable leaders of America are affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers. John Childs of Columbia University and Floyd Reeves of the University of Chicago have served as chairman of the American Federation of Teachers Commission on Education and Reconstruction. The noted educator, John Dewey, was a member of the American Federation of Teachers for many years. He felt that if more were within the teachers' unions, much more could be done to reform and improve education, provided they were all active working members. Harold K. Beal in his book, *Are American Teachers Free?* indicates that he feels that the teachers' unions are the most effective of all the teachers' organizations in increasing freedom in education and in obtaining teachers' rights. Jane Addams, one of the great women educators in the United States, sanctioned the affiliation of teachers with labor. Of course, there are many others too numerous to mention who were leaders affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers or else sanctioned its work.

Most of the school administrators, college officials, and college teachers with the highest degrees are opposed to teachers' unions, according to the poll taken in this
study. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the best leaders of the teaching profession belong to non-union organizations; but it is a fact in favor of non-union organizations. Another fact in favor of non-union organizations is that the majority by far of teachers do not belong to teachers' unions. Of course, one must not overlook many college presidents, deans, and college teachers who oppose teachers' unions. A very few of these many are the following:

1. Lotus D. Coffman, President of the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

2. James E. Russell, Dean of the Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

3. William H. Kilpatrick, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

4. Samuel P. Capen, Chancellor of the University of Buffalo.¹

Of course, there are numerous leaders of the National Education Association today and of the past who deserve mention. For further information as to leaders and leadership of the National Education Association, the author of this study refers the reader to Mildred A. Fenner's book, NEA History. Special mention and consideration should be given in any discussion of educational leadership to Horace

Mann. One of the greatest educators of his age, Mann was a firm supporter of the forerunner of the National Education Association, the National Teachers' Association.

Professionalism in Teachers' Unions and Non-union Teachers' Organizations

In determining the amount of professionalism in teacher unionization, much hinges upon just what constitutes professionalism in education. Of course, there are varying opinions on this subject. Many say that the word "profession" means a calling or vocation, especially one that requires learning and mental, rather than manual labor, as the profession of medicine. The word "professional" pertains to a calling or occupation requiring a superior education.² Both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association are hard at work improving the teaching profession. Each claims that its organization is the more professional, yet others say that teaching is no more a profession than bookkeeping, running a movie projector, and other jobs of a routine nature.³

This study would be one-sided and unfair unless the arguments, both pro and con, in regard to "professionalism in teachers' unions" were presented. It is found that most authorities on both sides of the question present about the

³Personal letter from Dan Mowery, El Paso, Texas.
same arguments and discuss the same topics. The term "arguments" is used in this study because of the lack of "concrete" facts. Personal letters were written in this study to leaders in many schools in which teachers' strikes have occurred and to schools in which teachers have recently unionized. Only two schools in these categories answered the author of this study and these two did not give thoughts on the questions presented. The author of this study concludes that this failure on the part of the striking teachers to answer his letters shows either an indifference to help a worth-while study to be more nearly complete or else indicates a dissatisfaction with conditions. Fear may be the answer. If the striking teachers believe in what they are doing, they should advertise their activities. Failure to answer letters regarding professionalism in their organization is not a good sign.

Leading authorities opposing teachers' unions think in general what is presented in the following summary by the author of this study:

Teachers should not join labor unions because of the nature of their calling. Teaching is a profession which has certain distinctive characteristics that make unionization undesirable. Since teachers are public servants, their pecuniary gain should not be paramount. Serving the public educational system should be considered first. Strikes and
disharmony arising from labor unions keep teachers from following the desired code of professional ethics. Rivalry in efficiency is not had in teachers' unions, because salary increases are not on the merit system. The strike is a weapon of warfare. Striking always hurts someone. When teachers strike against the government, teachers either hurt themselves, the children, or the nation as a whole. No profession can assume a hostile attitude toward the public and continue to claim recognition as a profession. Since teachers serve the whole public, they should be neutral. Especially teachers in the field of the social studies should not take sides. Teaching personnel belonging to labor unions would naturally take sides. Being one-sided in teaching social studies would forfeit the confidence of the people. 4

Unionism surrenders the individual rights of a person to the decision of a leader and the complete disregard of the public interest in aims which are chiefly economic. The purposes, methods, and problems of organized labor are essentially and fundamentally different from those of the teaching profession. Labor unions usually believe in "equal pay for equal work." The slogan should be "equal pay for equal work of equal worth." Class struggles would be intensified by labor unions for teachers. Teachers should be

striving to prevent the warfare between the classes. They should not commit themselves in advance to any specific program which is one-sided.\(^5\)

A teacher cannot exert his greatest influence if students can say that he believes in this or that.\(^6\) The National Education Association is the only organization that unites or has the possibility of uniting the great body of teachers in this country. It is building for unity and not division among the public, the school administrators, and the teachers. For a hundred years the National Education Association or its forerunners have served patiently in building the teaching profession up to the standards it now enjoys. More can be done for education and even labor itself if teachers maintain their professional independence by serving all of the people by uniting with the National Education Association.\(^7\)

Leading authorities favoring teachers' unions think in general what is presented in the following summary by the author of this study:

The argument that teachers must remain neutral, when carried to its conclusion, would mean that teachers should

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not join any organization unless all of the parents of the children under their influence belong also to that organization. According to this argument, that does not take a neutral attitude.

Professionals have reached its lowest ebb when administrators assume that teachers cannot be trusted to join a church, vote with a political party, or join a union without using the classroom unfairly as a medium for promoting prejudice. 8

There is nothing in the history of the American Federation of Teachers to indicate that its teachers are prejudiced. Judges and doctors belong to political parties and various organizations, yet they do not show prejudice. Would doctors be more careful in operating on a person belonging to their same political party than when operating on a person of another party? Of course not.

The great majority of non-union organizations reputedly are controlled by the administrators who have the power to employ and discharge teachers. Classroom teachers are taxed but have only partial representation. Many of the administrators who control the teachers' organizations are involved in politics and have been selected by organized business groups for the specific purpose of keeping teachers' salaries down. How can the non-union teachers' organizations claim that they are professional when they

8Irvin R. Kuenzli, "Should Teachers Be Neutral?" (mimeographed), American Federation of Teachers Folder No. 572.
have been hopelessly ineffective in providing better educational facilities for children and proper working conditions for teachers?

Teachers' associations have operated much like those forms of student government in which the students are led to think they are governing themselves but are being tactfully persuaded to adopt measures handed down by their superiors.\(^9\)

It was not the teachers' unions that introduced the economic factor in education by attempting to keep the teachers' mouths shut on all questions that were of economic interest to all excepting a numerically small group of big business concerns.\(^10\)

The thing that organized labor deserves credit for above anything else is the desire that the schools shall be free of propaganda. Parents of children attending school in the United States have a right to know that in the classrooms private influences are not making the teachers say certain things or else lose their jobs. The American Federation of Teachers can obtain freedom of teachers from such private influences that might otherwise dictate to the teachers.\(^11\) The National Education Association has failed to safeguard American educational standards as is evident by the low salaries of teachers, poor buildings, and generally inadequate educational facilities. A more militant or aggressive organization that does more than just talk about

\(^9\)Ibid.


educational problems is needed. This militant organization is the American Federation of Teachers, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Organized working people have always been the most dependable friends of public education in the United States and, more than any other element in the population, they are carrying on the old struggle for human freedom.  

Obstacles in Teacher Organization

The author of this study believes that there is much truth in the story about the bundle of sticks as given in the old McGuffey's Reader. In this story there was a father who had seven very quarrelsome sons. In order to teach them a lesson, he called them to him one day and gave them a bundle of seven sticks tied together. He asked each son in turn to break the bundle. Each son tried with all his strength, but could not break them. The father said he could break them easily. When they expressed doubt, he cut the cord, and then broke them easily, one at a time. The sons protested that he took them one at a time. The father then explained that as a group working together, whether sticks or men, they are much stronger.

Why is it that so many teachers are not organized or unionized? Members of almost all trades and professions

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12 George S. Counts, "Why I Joined," Education for Democracy, pamphlet issued by the American Federation of Teachers, p. 2.
have bettered themselves through co-operation. Many say that teachers do not organize because they are too stupid, too suspicious, and too afraid of their jobs. There are many other reasons why teachers are not fully organized which are more important than the one just given.

Since the government is organized for public good rather than for private gain, the relationship between the teachers and their employers is not the same as the relationship between capital and labor.

A second difficulty for teachers' organizations is the scattered nature of the school systems. Instead of being located in centers of population as are most industries, the American public schools are widely scattered. There are many city and county systems, and forty-eight state systems. Schools range in size from the one-teacher schools of the rural districts to the great universities. The American educational system is scattered over 3,743,529 square miles of territory. Bringing the American school teachers together in large numbers often enough to do much work of true value to education and to do much effective work toward self-help is very difficult and expensive.

A third handicap to teacher organization is the varied types of teachers who would belong to organizations and those who do belong to them at present. The ages of school teachers range from the late teens to the eighties and one
finds both women and men in the profession. In mental abilities the range is almost from morons to geniuses. The amount of preparation varies greatly but this defect is being lessened somewhat today. In religion and morals one finds non-believers as well as Methodists and Baptists and members of all other denominations. These differences, therefore, bring about wide divergences in opinion, in theory, and in practice.

The fourth handicap to teacher organizations is the fact that teachers are fighting each other. The wide differences in salaries have aroused much hatred and jealousy, and on the political questions the teachers of the United States are hopelessly divided, both upon national and local issues. Even when teachers are brought together, they are more concerned with their classroom problems than with the problems of a nation-wide organization. Often there is little in common between the elementary, the high school, and the college teachers. At times there is considerable friction among them. In his work, the teacher is away from other teachers, and fails to learn the value of co-operation that the industrial worker learns while working at the same machine with his industrial buddies.

A fifth difficulty to teacher organization is the complicated setup of school finances. School moneys come from state, county, city, and local districts and some come from
lend grants and from the national government. This money is distributed in unequal amounts to certain systems; therefore, some schools can operate only seven months per year while others can operate longer.

Other difficulties to teacher organization are as follows:

1. There are many men and women who would join anything to get their names in print, and there are also those who are afraid to join certain organizations because of expense and the fear of losing their jobs.

2. There are many who use the teaching profession as a stepping stone to some other profession or line of work and therefore do not take an interest in the teachers' organization.

3. Teachers have very little control over who is to be allowed membership in the teaching field. During depression years there is a surplus of teachers and the passage of tenure laws is in the hands of state officials. This fact makes it hard for teachers' organizations to make the progress they should and in turn discourages many about joining teachers' organizations.

4. Many teachers refuse to join organizations because they are told that they are to play a neutral role in everything. Thus, they feel that organizations with aims are not neutral.
These handicaps to organizations should not and have not prevented teachers' organizations from doing a commendable job. There is still need for more co-operation among teachers and teacher groups. The National Education Association has a fine record of accomplishments, but could do more if all teachers would support it in its efforts. Many men, coming one at a time, could not move a large boulder, but the same number, all lifting at once, could move it easily.

The same can be said of the American Federation of Teachers or of the National Education Association. They have played a great part in the improvement of teachers' conditions and education in general. If teachers would wholeheartedly support both types of organizations, they would gain much. The author of this study concludes that the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association should combine their efforts, leadership ability, and equally split the differences by forming a complete new organization similar to the American Medical Association.

Teachers should not be forced to join either organization as they indirectly are at times. Both teachers' unions and non-union organizations are helping the teaching profession. It is felt in this study that to take sides definitely for or against teachers' unions is to gamble;
however, the author of this study, after serious thinking and a change of attitudes, gambles slightly in favor of non-union teacher organizations. If there must be a choice between the two, it is felt in this study that the National Education Association can more easily unite and uphold the generally accepted standards for "professionalism" in organization. The obstacles to teacher organization outlined previously in this chapter apply to a teachers' union more so than to a non-union teachers' organization. Why take the rough road when the paved road is still in good condition? Why strike and unionize as long as there is a more peaceful way out? Uniting with the National Education Association is the peaceful, desirable means to a desirable end. To the author the National Education Association compares with the terrapin that ran the race with the rabbit. The rabbit worked rapidly but was careless and lost the race in the long run because it tried to accomplish everything at once. The terrapin was slow but sure of its actions and won the race in the end. The American Federation of Teachers is the rabbit. The National Education Association is the terrapin. It has come a long, hard, slow path, but has not lost an inch of ground it has gained. Its path is sure even though slow. This type of progress will win out in the long run or over a period of twenty years. In describing the slow, steady, commendable growth
of the National Education Association, one is reminded of the old adage, "The world was not built in a day."
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