

University of Nevada, Reno

**CREATING COLD WAR ROLE MODELS:
THE AFT'S AND NEA'S USE OF COLD WAR DISCOURSES TO REPRESENT
K-12 TEACHERS AS PROFESSIONALS DURING THE BABY BOOM ERA,
1946-1965**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Abstract

Teachers during the Baby Boom era (1946-1964) faced mounting pressures to be Cold War role models to the rapidly expanding population of students. Politicians, education scholars, school administrators, and community leaders considered teachers a central component to Cold War success. K-12 teachers were charged with producing new generations of cold warriors ready to defeat communism abroad and overcome social problems in America. Throughout the Baby Boom era, teachers were represented by others and presented themselves as indispensable agents for maintaining and furthering the United States' Cold War goals and American ideals. As the rhetoric about the centrality of educators to winning the Cold War escalated, teachers gained access to powerful political and cultural discourses to redefine teaching as a serious professional career. American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and National Education Association (NEA) used the discursive space around Americanism, consumerism, democracy, and world leadership to represent teachers as worthy professionals. In an effort to gain public recognition for teachers as professionals, the AFT and NEA attached each of these discourses to specific elements of professionalism in American culture, including occupational autonomy, middle class compensation, public service, and technical expertise. The NEA from its origins in 1857 until the late 1950s adopted a top-down approach to professionalism. NEA leaders argued that the best way to elevate teaching was to advance public education. From its inception in 1916, the AFT adopted a bottom-up approach to teacher professionalism. AFT leaders argued that by advancing teachers' employment status and developing their political voice then the union would increase the teaching profession's status in the eyes of administrators, politicians, the media, and the

American public. The AFT's and NEA's discursive efforts during the Baby Boom era were important factors in the claim and confirmation of teacher professionalism.

Together, these organizations utilized prominent Cold War discourses to construct a recognized professional identity for teachers. By 1965, teaching attained specific professional traits including the ability to privilege teaching as a vital public service, to achieve a middle class standard of living for teachers, to regulate the conduct of its members, and to refine the technical expertise required of its practitioners.

Dedication

To my father, Judge William Benton Boone, and my mother, Patricia Jean Boone (nee Duryea), who taught me how to persevere, achieve my goals, to overcome difficulties, to ask for help, and to enjoy the journey.

To brother, Brian Charles Boone, who taught me the importance of willingness to listen, consider, engage, and challenge ideas, interpretations, and analysis, especially those I might reflexively dismiss.

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Introduction: Teachers as Cold War Role Models

K-12 teachers during the Baby Boom era (1946-1964) faced mounting pressures to be Cold War role models to the rapidly expanding population of students. Politicians, scholars, policymakers, administrators, and communities considered teachers a central component to Cold War success.¹ Teachers were charged with forming American youth into dedicated cold warriors ready to preserve democracy, embrace consumerism, defeat communism, and lead the world. In 1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower remarked, “No man flying an airplane, no man with a defensive gun in his hand, can possibly be more important than a teacher.”² In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson, echoed this sentiment:

Education is ‘the guardian genius of our democracy.’ Nothing really means more to our future, not our military defenses, not our missiles or our bombers, not our production economy, not even our democratic

¹ For the importance of teachers to Cold War, see Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 2; In this study, *teachers*, refers to K-12 public school instructors. These individuals have been the vast majority of the teaching force in the United States since the 1870s and the most active group in promoting the professionalization of teaching since the 1890s. Since the 1870s, K-12 public school teachers have been primarily young (mid-20s), single, native born, white women from middle class families. By 1950, 75% of teachers were women, 93% of teachers were white, and 60% of teachers were from middle class backgrounds. One significant change occurred after World War II, when older (mid-30s), married women came to dominate the teaching ranks. (For statistics on teachers see, John L. Rury, “Who Became Teachers?: The Social Characteristics of Teachers in American History,” in *American Teachers: Historians on a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (New York: American Education Research Association, 1989): 34-39, 43.); *Administrators* includes members of the educational bureaucracy, including clerks, deans, vice-principals, principals, supervisors, and superintendents in the K-12 public school systems. Their primary roles are the implementation of school policy and the management of teachers. Since the 1870s, these positions have been dominated by older (mid-30s), married, native born, white men from middle class backgrounds. During the Baby Boom era, public schools “launched aggressive campaigns to recruit men for the classroom” with the “promise that they would receive rapid promotion to school administration.” By 1952, 97.3% of superintendents were men. Similar hiring practices continued into the 21st century. In 2000, women accounted for 79% of teachers, yet men accounted for 87% of superintendents of whom 95% were married. These social characteristics persisted through all levels of the administrative ranks. (Quotes are from Jackie M. Blount, “Manliness and the Gendered Construction of School Administration in the USA,” *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 2, 2 (1999): 63; For statistics see, Jackie M. Blount, *Fit to Teach: Same-Sex Desire, Gender, and School Work in the Twentieth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004): 84, 180.). *Policymakers* encompasses the members of the political leadership of the public school system, including school boards, boards of education, departments of education, education commissioners, and elected representatives. Their primary tasks are establishing school policy, drafting laws, and setting conditions for employment. *Educators* refers to the larger educational community including teachers, administrators, professors, and the staff of teacher organizations.

² William Conklin, “Eisenhower Says Farewell to Columbia University,” *New York Times*, January 17, 1953.

system of government. For all of these are worthless if we lack the brain power to support and sustain them.³

Throughout the era, teachers were represented by others and re-presented themselves as indispensable agents to maintaining American ideals and furthering the United States' Cold War goals. As the rhetoric about the centrality of teachers to winning the Cold War escalated, they gained access to powerful political and cultural discourses to redefine teaching as a serious professional career.⁴ Teachers' principal professional organizations,

³ Lyndon B. Johnson, "Recorded Remarks on the Message on Education, January 12, 1965." Located in the LBJ Museum and Library in The Presidential Papers Folder, Item 10. Accessed on May 13, 2013 from http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/lbjforkids/edu_quotes.shtml.

⁴ According to *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary* (2015), a *profession* is a calling, occupation, or job that requires specialized knowledge or skill and intensive academic preparation or training. The first known use was in the 16th century. From the 16th century to the advent of modern era in the 17th century, a profession specifically referred to theology, law, or medicine, the so-called "learned professions." ("Profession," in *Oxford English Dictionary Third Edition* (2007). Accessed on June 2, 2016 from *Oxford English Dictionary Third Edition* at <http://www.oed.com.unr.idm.oclc.org/view/Entry/152052?redirectedFrom=profession+#eid>; John J. Ahern, *An Historical Study of the Professions and Professional Education in the United States* (PhD diss., Loyola University, 1970), 74; Bruce A. Kimball, *The 'True' Professional Ideal in America: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), 6.). In the modern era (1606-1991), the meaning of profession was expanded to include more occupations, such as, science, military, engineering, architecture, psychology, accounting, pharmacy, and teaching. The expansion of meaning intensified in the 19th century and continued into the 20th century with the rise of occupational specialization resulting from industrialization, bureaucratization, urbanization, and public education. (A. W. Coats, "Review Article: The Professionalization of American Social Science," *Journal of American Studies*, 12, 2 (1978): 228; Thomas Goebel, "The Uneven Rewards of Professional Labor: Wealth and Income in the Chicago Professions, 1870- 1920," *Journal of Social History*, 29, 4 (1996): 749; Kimball, 19-22, 107-113, 198-200; Victoria-Maria MacDonald, "The Paradox of Bureaucratization: New Views on Progressive Era Teachers and the Development of a Woman's Profession," *History of Education Quarterly*, 39, 4 (1999): 432; Peter V. Meyers, "Primary Schoolteachers in Nineteenth-Century France: A Study of Professionalization through Conflict," *History of Education Quarterly*, 25, 1/2 (1985): 21; Peter V. Meyers, "Professionalization and Societal Change: Rural Teachers in Nineteenth Century France," *Journal of Social History* 9, 4 (1976): 542; Jack Shulimson, "Military Professionalism: The Case of the U.S. Marine Officer Corps, 1880-1898," *The Journal of Military History*, 60, 2 (1996): 237; Wayne Urban, "Organized Teachers and Educational Reform during the Progressive Era 1890-1920," *History of Education Quarterly* 16, 1 (1976): 47.). In the early part of the Baby Boom era, *Webster's New International Dictionary* (1951) emphasized a more traditional definition of a profession as a devotional calling. A profession is "the occupation, if not commercial, mechanical, agricultural, or the like, to which one devotes oneself; a calling; as the *profession* of arms, of teaching; the **three professions**, or the **learned professions**, of theology, law, and medicine." ("Profession," in *Webster's New International Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: G & C Merriam Publications, 1951), 702. Accessed July 2, 2015 from *The Internet Archive* at <https://archive.org/stream/thinpaperwebsterthinwebs#page/n701/mode/2up>.) *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (1960) emphasized a more technocratic definition of a profession as an occupation requiring advanced training. A profession is "a vocation or occupation requiring advanced training in some liberal arts or science, and usually involving mental rather than manual work, as teaching, engineering, writing, etc.; especially, medicine, law, or theology (formerly called *the learned professions*)." ("Profession," in *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1960), 1163. Accessed July 2, 2015 from <https://archive.org/stream/webstersnewworld001775mbp#page/n1201/mode/2up/search/profession>.) Drawing on this etymology, a *professional* is a person making his or her living in a specific activity or field of endeavor that requires special education, training, and/or skill. Professionals are governed by collectively agreed upon codes of ethics, and profess commitment to competence, integrity, knowledge, and the promotion of the public good within their particular expert domain. Professionals are accountable to those served and to society. The chief function of the

American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and National Education Association (NEA), utilized the discourses around the topics of democracy, consumerism, Americanism, and world leadership to make claim to and gain confirmation of teacher professionalism.⁵

My study contributes to the historiography of the diversity of experiences in the Cold War era. Despite the importance placed on schools and teachers in the Baby Boom era, few education histories focus on this period and fewer histories of the Cold War discuss education in depth. This study contributes to the historiography of education by focusing on how the AFT and NEA laid claim and gained confirmation of teacher professionalism in the Baby Boom era.⁶ By exploring multiple intersections between

professional label is to legitimize aspirants and titleholders claims to power. The term gained popularity between 1811 and 1900. ("Professional," in *Merriam Webster's Dictionary* (2015). Accessed July 2, 2015 from *Merriam Webster Dictionary* at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/professional>; Sylvia R. Cruess, Sharon Johnston, and Richard L. Cruess, "'Profession': A Working Definition for Medical Educators," *Teaching and Learning in Medicine*, 16, 1 (2004): 74-76; Regina G. Kunzel, "The Professionalization of Benevolence: Evangelicals and Social Workers in the Florence Crittenton Homes, 1915 to 1945," *Journal of Social History*, 22, 1 (1988): 22; Peter Meiksins, "Professionalism and Conflict: The Case of the American Association of Engineers," *Journal of Social History*, 19, 3 (1986): 408-409.)

⁵ Discourse is defined by Chris Barker as the "production of knowledge through language that gives meaning to material objects and social practices" under specific material, cultural, and historical conditions. Discursive analysis involves close examination of texts and "statements that are combined and regulated to form and define a distinct field of knowledge and objects requiring a particular set of concepts and delimiting a specific 'regime of truth' (that is, what counts as truth)." Discourse regulates what can be said and who can speak, when and where. It also prescribes what is "thinkable" and "unthinkable." Historians use discursive analysis to trace the emergence, transformations, and decline of discursive frameworks within specific time, places, and cultures. (Chris Barker, "Discourse," in *The Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 54-55; Chris Barker, "Discourse Analysis," in *The Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 55; Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural Studies and Discursive Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity* (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 177; Mark Olssen, "Discourse, Complexity, Normativity: Tracing the Elaboration of Foucault's Materialist Concept of Discourse," *Open Review of Educational Research* 1, 1 (2014): 28-55.)

⁶ *Professionalism* means the conduct, aims, qualities, competence, skill, and status that are characteristic of a certain profession during a particular historical era and within a specific cultural context. It comprises the collectively agreed upon practices, principles, laws, conventions and ethics governing an individual's conduct as a professional. Key characteristics associated with professionalism include: identifiable full time occupations offering permanent careers, standardized training or educational programs focused on an esoteric body of knowledge, providing a vital public service governed by ethical standards as defined by a widely accepted professional organization, occupational autonomy enforced by state licensing requirements based on technical expertise demonstrated by practitioners, and compensation received sufficient to assure, at minimum, a middle class standard of living. The first known use was 1856. ("Professionalism," in *Merriam Webster Dictionary* (2015). Accessed July 2, 2015 <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/professionalism>; Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (Chicago, IL: W.W. Norton and Company, 1976), 86-87; Diana D'Amico, "'An Old Order Is Passing': The Rise of Applied Learning in University-Based Teacher Education during the Great Depression," *History of Education Quarterly*, 55, 3 (2015): 321, 333; Edward J. Escobar, "Bloody Christmas and the Irony of Police Professionalism: The Los Angeles Police Department, Mexican Americans, and Police Reform

popular representations, Cold War discourses, political decisions, and teachers' collective re-presentation, I seek to understand how multiple actors simultaneously imposed, challenged, and reworked the professional identities of teachers.⁷ Sociologist Martin Oppenheimer argues, "the label [professional] is not a neutral, objective description of a particular reality, but a function of a specific social context that in turn promotes definitions that become part of and help define social reality."⁸ The chief function of the professional identity is to legitimize, or to confirm, aspirants' and titleholders' claims.⁹ Historian Gregory J. Higby maintains that professionalism "was as much conferred as it was claimed and earned."¹⁰ This process of laying claim to and gaining confirmation of professionalism is the analytical focus of this study.

This study examines the intersections between the cultural discourses about professionalism and the social processes of professionalization.¹¹ Professionalism refers

in the 1950s," *Pacific Historical Review*, 72, 2 (2003): 176; Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions 1750-1900* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), ix; Theodore S. Hamerow, "The Professionalization of Historical Learning," *Reviews in American History*, 14, 3 (1986): 320; Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 6, 196; Gregory J. Higby, "Professionalism and the Nineteenth-Century American Pharmacist," *Pharmacy in History*, 28, 3 (1986): 115; Kunzel, 21; T. Leggatt, "Teaching as a Profession," in *Professions and Professionalization: Third Volume of Sociological Studies*, edited by John A. Jackson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970): 156-157; Paul Lucier, "The Professional and the Scientist in Nineteenth-Century America," *Isis* 100, 4 (2009): 700, 711-719; MacDonald, 453; Mabel Newcomer, "Professionalization of Leadership in the Big Business Corporation," *Business History Review*, 29, 1 (March, 1955), 55; Joseph B. Shedd and Samuel B. Bacharach, *Tangled Hierarchies: Teachers as Professionals and the Management of Schools* (San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass Publishers, 1991), 2-3; Daniel J. Walkowitz, "The Making of a Feminine Professional Identity: Social Workers in the 1920s," *The American Historical Review*, 95, 4 (1990): 1052.)

⁷ Popular representations refer to images and accounts of teachers produced in metropolitan newspapers (i.e. *New York Times*), national magazines (i.e. *Saturday Evening Post*, *Look*, *Life*, *Time*, etc.), Gallup polls, academic journals, advertising, comic books, music, movies, television, literature, children's books, and audio-visual instructional materials.

⁸ Martin Oppenheimer, *White Collar Politics* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985), 125-136.

⁹ Kunzel, 22.

¹⁰ Higby, 117; Historian Christopher Lasch argues that professions "invented many of the needs they claimed to satisfy" and then the inventors rushed to offer their "professional services." Or as social historian Peter V. Meyers maintains the process of professionalization involves the "efforts of an occupational group to effect a change in both the duties it performs and its position in society." (Christopher Lasch, "The Siege of the Family," *New York Review of Books*, 24 (November 1977): 15-18; Meyers (1976), 542.)

¹¹ In the seminal sociological work, *The System of Professions* (1988), Andrew Abbott defined *professionalization* as the social processes by which an occupation develops into a widely identifiable profession. His work examines how

to culturally defined elements that define who is or is not professional. Individuals and organizations lay claim to professionalism by negotiating, challenging, and utilizing the historically specific discourses to attach these elements to their occupational identity. Four key professional elements in the Baby Boom era were providing a vital public service related to the achieving Cold War goals, attaining at the minimum a middle-class level of compensation, securing a significant degree of occupational autonomy within a bureaucratic setting, and gaining wide recognition for the technical expertise of one's occupational. Professionalization refers to how a society confirms professionalism upon individuals, organizations, or occupations. In the Baby Boom era, these processes included federal legislation, court decisions, and collectively bargained agreements that conferred the specific elements of professionalism upon teachers.

To accomplish this task, I examine how the AFT and NEA laid claim to and gained confirmation of teacher professionalism by utilizing Cold War discourses about the preservation of American democracy, the prosperity of consumer capitalism, the virtues of the American way of life, and the United States' role as leader of the free world. They attached to each discourse a specific element of professionalism in American culture, including public service to democracy, adequate compensation to consumerism, occupational autonomy to Americanism, and technical expertise to world leadership. For example, the AFT and NEA laid claim to providing a vital public service by connecting teachers to the inculcation of democratic habits and values needed to preserve and

certain practices were construed as legitimate elements of professionalism, how similar professions related to and/or competed with each other and how an individual becomes recognized as a professional. (Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labour* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1988); D'Amico, 333; Eliot Freidson, *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy, and Policy* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994).)

strengthen American democracy against the creep of communism and for the fight for civil rights for all Americans. This public service was confirmed by the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, which linked teaching to defending democracy from totalitarian impulses within American society by nurturing gifted students, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, which ascribed to teachers a central role in strengthening democracy by providing equal education opportunities to all Americans. To understand teacher professionalism, I explore how teachers fit into and were excluded from professionalism in American society from 1830s to 1960s.

Teaching and the Culture of Professionalism in the United States

From the founding of common schools in the 1830s through the expansion of free universal public school education following the 1860s, teachers repeatedly struggled to legitimize their claims of professionalism or attain confirmation of professional status. Education scholar Victoria-María MacDonald (1999) asserts that the question of whether teachers should be considered professionals has occupied historians, sociologists, and policy analysts for decades.¹² Teaching has been included in modern definitions of professionalism and acquired many of widely accepted traits of the “learned professions,” such as providing a public service which required ethical standards, advanced education, and state licensing. Yet, education historian John L. Rury argued, “unlike law and medicine, teaching has not been acknowledged as a profession historically.”¹³ Throughout United States history the American public, media, and politicians affirmed

¹² MacDonald, 429.

¹³ Rury (1989), 9.

the critical role played by teachers in their society, all the while relegating teachers “to the very edge of professional respectability.”¹⁴

Education historian Jürgen Herbst defines teacher professionalism as legally enforceable occupational autonomy in classroom management, the authority to determine curriculum, and a role in policy-making regarding working conditions, tenure provisions, certification, and compensation without leaving the classroom for administrative jobs to attain it.¹⁵ A variety of structural and cultural obstacles and opportunities both diminished and bolstered teacher professionalism since the 1830s. A key obstacle was the economic, institutional, political, and social marginalization of teachers by administrators, policymakers, politicians, and local communities. From the 1840s until the 1960s, state departments of education, local school boards, and higher education institutions controlled educational credentials, licensing requirements, employment conditions, and compensation rates. Communities and school bureaucracies also restricted the public and personal lives of teachers as part of their employment. Teachers were expected to be compliant public servants who willingly submitted to the occupational dictates of the educational leadership and dutifully obeyed the moral prescriptions of the community.¹⁶

¹⁴ Rury (1989), 11. Also see Kimball 284, 293.

¹⁵ Herbst, 190-191.

¹⁶ Ahern, 5-6, 144-147, 160-161, 218-225, 238; Susan B. Carter, “Incentives and Rewards to Teaching,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 49-55; Geraldine J. Clifford, “Man/Woman/Teacher: Gender, Family, and Career in American Educational History,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 293-296, 311-329; David K. Cohen, “Practice and Policy: Notes on the History of Instruction,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 393-404; Cremin, 230-234, 554, 650-654; Larry Cuban, “The Persistence of Reform in American Schools,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 380-383; James Fraser, “Agents of Democracy: Urban Elementary-School Teachers and the Conditions of Teaching,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 119-122, 125-128; Haber, 292-293; Herbst, 229-232; William R. Johnson, “Teachers and Teacher Training in the 20th Century,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*,

The spread of common schools in the 1830s and the expansion of the public school system following the 1870s offered teachers more opportunities for a college education, specialized training, state sanctioned certification, and professional solidarity through local, state, and national teacher organizations. During the Baby Boom era, in an effort to improve their economic, political, and social positions, a record number of teachers joined the AFT and NEA.¹⁷ The enlarged memberships of both organizations helped established the AFT and NEA as substantial political, economic, and cultural actors in local, state, and national education issues. Collective bargaining victories led by the AFT and political lobbying spearheaded by the NEA in the late 1950s and early

edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989): 237-241; Taylor Kerchner and Krista D. Cauffman, "Lurching Toward Professionalism: The Saga of Teacher Unionism," *The Elementary School Journal* 96, 1 (1995), 107-111; Charles Taylor Kerchner and Douglas E. Mitchell, *The Changing Idea of Teachers' Union* (Philadelphia, PA: The Falmer Press, 1988), 4-6, 58-60, 220-221; Kimball, 189-191, 219-221, 241-251, 259-265, 293-296; David F. Labarce, "Career Ladders and the Early Public School Teacher: a Study of Inequality and Opportunity," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 157-158, 180-183; Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1956); Marjorie Murphy, *Blackboard Unions: The AFT and the NEA, 1900-1980* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 36; Linda M. Perkins, "The History of Blacks in Teaching," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 344-345; Diane Ravitch, "A Brief History of Teacher Professionalism," *White House Conference on Preparing Tomorrow's Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 2003). Accessed on July 15, 2015 from *U.S. Department of Education* at <http://www2.ed.gov/admins/tchrqual/learn/preparingteachersconference/ravitch.html>; Rury, 23-28; Michael W. Sedlak, "'Let Us Go and Buy a School Master': Historical Perspective on the Hiring of Teachers," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 257-259, 265-271; Shedd and Bacharach, 1-5, 56-57, 176-177; T. M. Stinnett, *Professional Problems of Teachers Third Edition* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 69-70; Wayne Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., *American Education: A History Fourth Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2009), Chapters 4-9; Wayne Urban, "Teacher Activism," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 190-197.

¹⁷ The AFT had fewer than 5,000 members in 1920. From the 1930s to 1960s, the AFT had grown from 37,000 members in 1939 to 42,000 members in 1947; to 54,817 members in 1959 to 81,798 members in 1963. Collective bargaining victories added 74,000 members to the AFT between 1961 to 1965. By 1970 the AFT had more than 200,000 members. The NEA's membership grew from 8,466 in 1917 to 141,212 in 1927 to 200,000 in 1941 to 700,000 in 1957 to 850,000 in 1966 and 1.2 million in 1968. By the late 1970s, 72% of all teachers were represented by or affiliated with either the NEA or the AFT. (For AFT membership statistics, Robert J. Brown, *Teachers and Power: The Struggle of the AFT* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), 67; Stephan Cole, *The Unionization of Teachers: A Case Study of the UFT* (New York: Praeger Publications, 1969), 7; Marshall O. Donley, Jr., *Power to the Teacher: How American Educators Became Militant* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1976), 30, 35, 44, 74; Murphy, 228; For NEA membership statistics, Don Cameron, *The Inside Story of the Teacher Revolution in America* (Toronto: Scarecrow Education, 2005), 65; Michael J. Schultz, Jr., *The National Education Association and the Black Teacher: The Integration of a Professional Organization* (Carol Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1970), 81, 193; Edgar B. Wesley, *NEA The First 100 Years: The Building of the Teaching Profession* (New York; Brothers Publishing, 1957), 384; For total membership in the late 1970s, see Murphy, 209.)

1960s gave teachers across the United States a greater degree of occupational autonomy. To better understand this transition from subservient workers to empowered professionals, this section will explore the evolving relationship of teachers to the American culture of professionalism from the colonial period through the Baby Boom era.

From the colonial period through the 1810s, most schools were private and religious enterprises. Formal education conducted by a few career educators was limited to the social elite who could afford private tutors, boarding schools, and elite universities at home or abroad. Communities throughout the colonies established local grammar schools to foster proper morality and basic literacy for Bible reading. The schools were funded mainly by student fees, held in brief winter and summer terms of six weeks, restricted to boys, focused on basic literacy skills, and staffed by part-time, male citizen-teachers. As an occupation, teaching was a temporary, stop-gap job occupied by young men often to help pay for their education in one of the learned professions or by social dependents who had few employment opportunities. The teachers were hired based on their bodily strength, moral character, and religious affiliation rather than for their formal education and teaching ability. Instruction involved rote learning based on repetitive memorization activities. Classroom management techniques primarily revolved around various forms of corporal punishment.¹⁸ The seasonal nature of schooling and the

¹⁸ R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, 1953), 43-64; Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 107-112; Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980); William Jeynes, *American Educational History: School, Society, and the Common Good* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2007); Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: American Society and Common Schooling, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1983), 3-61; Carl F. Kaestle, "Victory of the Common School Movement: A Turning Point in American Educational History," in *Historians on America: Decisions that Made a Difference*, edited by George Clark (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 2008). Accessed from *U.S. Department of State Embassy Website* in January 30, 2012 at <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/publication/2008/04/20080423212501eaifas0.8516133.html>; Michael J.

privileging of non-pedagogical concerns for hiring part-time teachers in the colonial era and early republic placed teaching outside the culture of professionalism.

The culture of professionalism during the colonial era centered on classically educated gentlemen practicing medicine, theology, and law.¹⁹ Historian Bruce A. Kimball argued that between the 1600s and 1760s theology that emphasized an ethic of selfless service became the ideal, or preeminent, profession in the American colonies.²⁰ The dignified sense of moral professionalism associated with ministers was gradually applied to other professions. In part, professionals derived their status and authority from pursuing their calling as selfless public servants.²¹ According to historian Samuel Haber, beginning in 1750, the culture of professionalism in the colonies became “linked with the ‘art of rising in life,’ with upward mobility.”²² While teachers laid claim to a religious-based public service, their lack of a classical education, full time employment, upward mobility, and occupational autonomy excluded teachers in the colonial professions.

In the early republic (1780s-1820s), Americans created and sustained an upwardly mobile class of gentlemen professionals linked to a meritorious “natural aristocracy” guided by Enlightenment reason, Christian morals, and practical knowledge used for the public good. The establishment of a greater variety of professional schools and state licensing laws provided accreditation to new members of the professions. By 1800, three-

Sedlak, “A History of Teaching in America: As Told by Those Who Know,” in *Encyclopedia of Educational Research Sixth Edition* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 2007), 1369; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 22-23.

¹⁹ Vern L. Bullough, “Education and Professionalization: An Historical Example,” *History of Education Quarterly* 10, 2 (1970), 160; Haber, x-xi, 3-5; Kimball, 6.

²⁰ Kimball, 18, 103.

²¹ Kimball, 105; Haber, 5.

²² Haber, 6.

fourths of states passed licensing laws regulating lawyers.²³ By 1830, only three states had not passed licensing laws for medical practices. Law, with its emphasis on contractual service for the benefit of a client, displaced theology as the ideal profession in American culture and became the most desirable career path among more college graduate.²⁴ Lawyers' dominance of the judiciary and its role in defining constitutional powers bolstered their professional status as guardians of the rule of law. Lawyers also earned more than any other professionals and only slightly less than merchants.²⁵

As late as the 1830s, teaching remained in the lower ranks of occupations lacking occupational autonomy, educational credentials, licensing requirements, and social recognition. Kimball argues that the popular representation of teachers was “persons too lazy to work, and unfit for other profitable employments,” which contributed to teachers' lack of professional status. Worse yet, teachers' pay remained a “pittance, when compared to the remuneration of professional men.”²⁶ The advent of the common school movement between 1820s and 1860s in Northern and Midwestern states provided teachers with a few opportunities for claiming teacher professionalism. Common school proponents such as Catherine Beecher, Henry Barnard, James Carter, and Horace Mann called for publicly supported, free, universal, and non-sectarian schools that would help create a virtuous republican citizenry needed to sustain American political institutions, economic growth, and social harmony.²⁷ Between the 1820s and 1850s, common schools

²³ Haber 9-14, 105.

²⁴ Haber, 109-112; Kimball, 112, 148, 180-186.

²⁵ Kimball, 150-154, 172.

²⁶ Ibid, 190, 173.

²⁷ Lawrence Cremin, *The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on the Education of Free Men* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1957), 65-87; Cremin (1980), 148, 244, 369; Merle Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association, Part X* (New York:

expanded the scope of school funding, regular attendance, curricular offerings, and the teaching ranks. By 1853, most Northern and Midwestern states organized common schools into locally administrated school districts under the direction of state departments of education, “authorized the position of state school superintendent and required towns to provide totally free schools through property taxes.”²⁸

Both Beecher and Mann advocated hiring educated, middle-class, native-born, single women as teachers. They argued that teaching was a natural extension of a woman’s domestic duties, their innate mothering instinct, and women’s superior sense of morality. It would also serve as a valuable preparation for their future spousal duty, child-rearing.²⁹ In the 1840s, young women, most in their mid-teens and with the equivalent of an eighth grade education, began filling teaching positions. Reformers and critics worried about these young women’s intellectual capacities and their ability to enforce discipline in the classroom. Beginning in 1839, education reformers established normal schools to supply the growing number of common schools with teachers trained in basic subject matter knowledge and pedagogical methods.³⁰ A primary goal for normal school educators was “to turn the temporary occupation of schoolkeeping into a life-time career

Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1935), 4, 107, 122, 158,167; Kaestle (1983), 75-103; Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 24-57; Paul Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the 19th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1975); Kimball, 190; William J. Reese, *America’s Public Schools: From the Common School to “No Child Left Behind”* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 66.

²⁸ Kaestle (2003); Kimball 173.

²⁹ Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty, A Better Husband. Single Women: The Generations of 1780-1840* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); Nancy Hoffman, *Woman’s “True” Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981); Kerchner and Cauffman, 108; Kathrine Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: Norton and Company Inc. 1973); David B. Tyack and Elisabeth Hasnot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982); Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932), 421.

³⁰ Elhers, 61-62; Herbst, 214; Sedlak (1989), 257; Urban (1989), 191.

of schoolteaching,” or to replace citizen-teachers with classroom professionals.³¹ Most normal schools provided a high school education. By 1900, there were more than 360 normal schools, as well as 920 high schools and academies offering teaching courses.³²

Several structural factors undermined common school proponents’ attempts to professionalize teaching. Teachers’ claims to professionalism were weakened by the reluctance of administrators to recognize teaching as a profession, irregular application of teacher certification among states and school districts, the increasing number of women entering teaching, and the high rates of teacher turnover. The link of domesticity and women to teaching remained the chief ideological rationale to justify teachers’ meager salaries, lack of occupational autonomy, and social status as compliant public servants while the school system expanded following the Civil War.³³ It also damaged teachers’ attempts to attain widely accepted professional status despite improvements in teacher education and teaching increasingly becoming a full-time occupation.

The Jacksonian Era (1828-1854) marked a transition period in the American culture of professionalism. Between the 1830s and the 1860s, the republican ideal of a natural professional elite came under a “withering attack.” The attack on professionalism was part of a broader cultural assault on “various forms of exclusiveness, restrictions, and monopoly” originating in a powerful egalitarian ethos that fueled “the vigorous growth of political democracy, market capitalism, and evangelical Protestantism.”³⁴ The most

³¹ Herbst, 140.

³² Kimball, 250-251; Johnson (1989), 242-245.

³³ Johnson, 150-151; Karen Leroux, ““Lady Teachers’ and the Genteel Roots of Teacher Organization in Gilded Age Cities,” *History of Education Quarterly* 46, 2 (2006): 174.

³⁴ Haber, xi-xii, 93; For the attacks on professionalism in the colonial and early republic eras, see Michael Burrage, “Introduction: The Professions in Sociology and History,” in *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of Professions*, edited by Michael Burrage and Rolf Torstendahl (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 10; Kimball, 186.

visible consequence of attacks on professionalism was the removal of licensing laws and the decline of educational standards.³⁵ Licensing laws were “denounced as aristocratic and monopolistic, as a plot against the public interest, and as frauds perpetuated by trampling upon people’s natural right to take up any occupation they pleased.”³⁶ As a result, by 1860 almost all states had repealed their licensing laws, including teaching licenses. Concurrently, as historian Burton J. Bledstein argued, an emerging white middle class began to assert its economic, political, and cultural power. Ambitious middle class Americans defined individual achievement in a career as material success rather than social rank, educational background, or community obligation.³⁷ The white middle class professional ideal centered on the practical workman who gained his expertise through experience and skill rather than intellectual study.³⁸ For example, lawyers recast themselves as practitioners of a craft rather than a lofty intellectual pursuit. In this new context, professional status could be attained by almost any white man with sufficient ambition, natural talents, and a strong work ethic. Large numbers of young white men seeking a financially rewarding career flocked to a growing number of profit-making technical schools awarding professional degrees.³⁹

In response to the attacks on professionalism, repeals of licensing laws, the proliferation of technical schools, and challenges to professional status from an emerging middle class, many professionals defended their social and cultural positions. They maintained their status as trusted experts and their occupational autonomy within work

³⁵ Kimball, 186.

³⁶ Haber, 105.

³⁷ Bledstein, 14-15

³⁸ Lucier, 703.

³⁹ Haber 98-104, 112.

settings, while developing an openness for new ideas and men.⁴⁰ In local communities, professionals provided valuable services to the booming business and industrial sectors and established personal connections with their leaders and managers. Their reputations as experts were bolstered among local populations in contrast with the abusive practices of confidence men, quacks, and charlatans. A prominent defensive strategy to maintain their status was the establishment of national professional associations with state and local affiliates. The American Medical Association (AMA) was founded in 1847, the NEA in 1857, and the American Bar Association (ABA) in 1878.⁴¹ The goals of these voluntary associations included re-establishing legally enforced education standards, certification qualifications, codes of ethics, and jurisdiction over practitioners. They essentially functioned as social clubs and discussion forums for elite practitioners to share research, literature, and theories. The AMA began establishing medical schools, the ABA engaged in political lobbying, and the NEA supported efforts to reform public schools.⁴²

In the Progressive era (1870s -1920s), consistently underfunded public schools faced long-term upward trends in the length of the school year, student enrollment rates, attendance requirements, and educational attainment.⁴³ The sizable influx of immigrants

⁴⁰ Haber, 113

⁴¹ Kimball, 193, 214; Burrage, 9; Judy Duchan, "Emergence of Professionalism in Late 19th and Early 20th Century America," *A History of Speech-Language Pathology: Nineteenth Century* (2011) Accessed July 15, 2015 from http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~duchan/new_history/hist19c/professionalism.html; Donley, Jr. (1976): 10.

⁴² Stephanie Browner, "Ideologies of the Anesthetic: Professionalism, Egalitarianism and the Ether Controversy," *American Quarterly* 51, 1 (1999): 124-125; Donley, Jr., 19; Duchan; Staffan Selander, "Associative Strategies in the Process of Professionalization: Professional Strategies and Scientification of Occupations," in *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of Professions*, edited by Michael Burrage and Rolf Torstendahl (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 163-164; Wesley, 334.

⁴³ *The Landscape of Public Education: A Statistical Portrait Through the Years* (Arlington, VA: Educational Policy Institute, April 2011), 1-6; Kimball, 189; Thomas D. Snyder, "Education Characteristics of the Population," in *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, edited by Thomas D. Snyder (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, January 1993), 5-9; William C. Sonnenberg, "Elementary and Secondary Education," in *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, edited by Thomas D. Snyder (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Center for Education Statistics, January 1993), 31; U.S. Census Bureau, *Current*

and increases in school age population contributed to the rapid expansion of the public school system.⁴⁴ The number of schools more than doubled by the early 1900s. By 1918, all states had passed mandatory school-attendance laws.⁴⁵ Despite passing strict federal immigration laws in 1924 and declines in birth rates and the school age population in the 1920s, enrollment and attendance rates continued to rise for elementary and secondary schools. The resulting overcrowded, ill-equipped classrooms staffed by underpaid, overworked, and unappreciated teachers contributed to high rates of turnover.⁴⁶ Marriage bans also forced many qualified female teachers to leave teaching and these bans remained in place until after World War II. The increases in schooling along with the high turnover rate among teachers created a great demand for efficiently run public schools and a supply of well-trained novices to lead classrooms. Progressive education reforms addressed these issues by establishing centralized school bureaucracies at the state level and imposing stricter educational standards for graduates from normal school, teacher colleges, and schools of education in colleges and universities.

The centralized bureaucracy of public school systems was led by male education experts who had attended graduate programs at state colleges and universities.⁴⁷ Most of

Population Reports Population Characteristics: School Enrollment of the Civilian Population: October, 1946 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce 1946), 1.

⁴⁴ Snyder, 5; In 1870, there were 116,000 schools with 7 million children enrolled in elementary schools and 80,000 enrolled in secondary schools. Between 1890 and 1910, student enrollment of 5 to 17 year-olds increased from 57% to 81%. More than 98% of all students attended elementary school, mostly in grades 1st through 5th. The average length of the school year rose from 112 in 1870 to 143 days in 1920. The average student attended only 54% of school days with little more than half attending daily. In 1920, the average student attended 75% of school days with three-quarters attending daily. (Sonnenberg, 25-27; *The Landscape of Public Education*, 2-4.)

⁴⁵ *The Landscape of Public Education*, 2-4; Sonnenberg, 27.

⁴⁶ Clifford (1989), 293-343; Rury (1989), 9-48; Michael W. Sedlak and Steven Schlossman, *Who Will Teach? Historical Perspectives on the Changing Appeal of Teaching as a Profession* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 1986).

⁴⁷ Blount (1999), 55-68; Cameron, 3; Kimball, 216, 219; Labarce, 157-159; Myra H. Strober and Audri Gordon Lanford, "The Feminization of Public School Teaching: Cross-Sectional Analysis, 1850-1880," *Signs* 11, 2 (1986): 212-235.

the men who stayed in education filled administrative positions in order to supervise the growing number of women teachers. In 1900, men occupied 85% of all public school administrative positions and, in 1905, 96% of all high school principal positions.⁴⁸ Men who stayed in the classroom carved out masculine niches within schools teaching vocational education courses, physical education, and certain high school subjects, such as science and mathematics. In 1905, men occupied 24% of all teaching positions; 2% of elementary teachers and 38% of high school teachers were men.⁴⁹

Between the 1880s and 1920s, administrative progressives built a top-down corporate model of governance based on Frederick Taylor's principles of scientific management and applied it to all aspects of school life. Powerful superintendents functioned as CEOs to school boards. State boards of education determined the content of the curriculum, educational standards for teachers, and certification requirements for employment. Principals utilized objective, merit-based assessments to decide which teachers to hire, keep, or dismiss. As education experts, administrators received compensation similar to the other learned professionals. By 1900, schools of education in state colleges and universities had replaced normal schools and teacher colleges as the

⁴⁸ Fraser, 123; Kimball, 293;

⁴⁹ James C. Albisetti, "The Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective," *History of Education Quarterly* 22, 3 (1993): 253-263; Jackie M. Blount, "The Feminization of Teaching from 1850 to 1900," *Midwest History of Educational Society*, 23 (1996): 41-48; Frances R. Donovan, *The Schoolma'am* (New York: Arno Press, 1938); W.S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy* (New York: American Book Company, 1939); Fraser, 123; Madelyn Holmes, *Lives of Women Public Schoolteachers: Scenes from American Educational History* (New York: Garland Publications, 1995); Polly Kaufman, *Women Teachers on the Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984); Herbert M. Kliebard, "The Feminization of Teaching on the American Frontier: Keeping School in Otsego, Wisconsin, 1867-1880," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 27 (1995): 545-561; Sarah E. Montgomery, "Why Men Left: Reconsidering the Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century," *American Educational History Journal*, 36, 1 (2009): 219-236; Thomas Morain, "The Departure of Males from the Teaching Profession in Nineteenth-Century Iowa," *Civil War History* 26, (1980): 161-170; Joel Perlmann and Robert A. Margo, *Women's Work?: American Schoolteachers, 1650-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Myra H. Strober and David Tyack, "Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage?: A Report on Research on Schools," *Signs* 5, 3 (1980): 494-503.

main centers of teacher education.⁵⁰ Teacher education programs replicated the gendered division of labor in public school bureaucracies. Administrators and male high school teachers received advanced training located in graduate programs steeped in the “science of education,” such as educational psychology, sociology, and statistics. Teachers, while valued for their tuition payments, were relegated to undergraduate programs focused on providing a general liberal education and practical vocational skills.⁵¹

Women teachers were an inextricable part of building and sustaining burgeoning public school systems. Between 1870 and 1920, the majority of teachers were young, single, native born women who taught for an average of five years often isolated in one-room schoolhouses in rural areas.⁵² In 1880, female teachers occupied 57% of all teaching positions; 94% of these women had never married, 4.5% were widowed, and only 1.5 % were married. The proportion of female teachers rose to 65% by 1900 and 76% by 1905. In 1920, women filled 86% of all teaching positions and most taught in large urban school districts. Only 8% of all female teachers were married as most school districts required women to resign upon marriage.⁵³ By 1915, 84% of all female college graduates became teachers.⁵⁴ Teachers were assigned to the lowest rung of the bureaucracy and recast as semi-professionals or workers and expected to carry out the

⁵⁰ Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), 175; Fraser, 124-125; Herbst, 185-188, 229; David Hogan, *Class and Reform: School and Society in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 221; Johnson, 237; Kimball, 219-224, 241-243, 262; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xiii; Labrace, 179-180; Sedlak (1989), 265; David Tyack, *One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 255-268; Urban (1976), 45.

⁵¹ Herbst, 176-184, 233; Johnson, 238.

⁵² Judith E. Lanier and Judith W. Little, “Research on Teacher Education,” in *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, edited by Merlin C. Wittrock (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 527-569; MacDonald, 427, 439; Sedlak (2007), 1369-1373; Donald Warren, “Learning from Experience: History and Teacher Education,” *Educational Researcher* 14, (1985), 5-12.

⁵³ Hoffman, 25; Kimball, 219, 264; MacDonald, 450; Snyder, 28.

⁵⁴ Kimball, 279.

educational policies, curricular directives, and child-centered pedagogy of administrative education experts.⁵⁵ While these women faced institutional discrimination, they also developed a strong professional commitment to teaching and used educational reforms to carve out gratifying careers for themselves.⁵⁶

As teachers, women gained greater access to higher education through expanding teachers' education programs, summer institutes, and in-service programs sponsored by colleges, universities, state departments of education, and local school boards. The spread of certification requirements offered a degree of state-sanctioned expertise to teachers. Between 1900 and 1926, teachers also made gains in salary, tenure, and pensions in most urban school districts and states. However, the "average income of all teachers in 1913 (\$512) remained below the income of factory workers (\$578) and merely half of salaried employees (\$1,066)."⁵⁷ The gendered division of labor and education opportunities contributed to teaching being devalued as "women's work," a temporary semi-profession that kept women productive by using their natural skills as caregivers to children until they fulfilled their proper roles as wives and mothers.⁵⁸

The Progressive culture of professionalism remained the dominant ideal though most of the twentieth century. The gender division in the public schools related to a larger cultural congruence between professionalism and "masculine" qualities, such as rationality, efficiency, and objectivity. As a result, professional prestige was reserved for

⁵⁵ Blount (1999), 55-68; Cameron, 3; Cremin (1964), 175; Cremin (1980), 226-229; Fraser, 188, 124-125, 128; Hogan, 221; Johnson, 237; Ira Katznelson and Margaret Weir, *Schooling for All: Class, Race, and the Decline of the Democratic Idea* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 90, 108-109; Kimball, 216-219, 224, 241-243; Labarce, 157-159, 179; Leggatt, 157; MacDonald, 429; Muncy, xiii; Sedlak (1989), 265; Tyack (1971), 255-268; Strober and Gordon, 212-235; Tyack and Hansot, 203; Urban (1976), 45.

⁵⁶ Kliebald (1995), 553; MacDonald, 430.

⁵⁷ Kimball, 263.

⁵⁸ Leggatt, 157; MacDonald, 427.

male practitioners and women were excluded from or marginalized within the culture of professionalism. Women were relegated to low-paying, low-prestige “semi-professional” occupations.⁵⁹ Teaching, like social work and nursing, were classified as “women’s work.” Emphasizing “feminine” qualities of nurturing, morality, and empathy in these professions, in opposition to the “male” ethics of the dispassionate expert, only reinforced women’s subordinate status in the professional hierarchy. To attain professional status, many career women attempted to dissociate themselves from gender-based expectations and defeminize their occupations by celebrating the “male” attributes of their work in the name of professionalism. However, the promise of gender-neutral professionalism proved elusive due in part to the substantial degree of gender segregation within and among professions, the dominance of men in more prestigious leadership positions, and the continuing association of professional qualities with “masculine” traits. As a result, female professionals faced discrimination in wages, promotion, and social status.⁶⁰

Progressive era advances in technology and science sparked by the rapid growth of markets, industries, corporations, and specialization. Specialization reinvigorated the learned professions and unleashed a wide array of salaried and/or bureaucratic employees laying claim to professional status. At the core of this resurgence was the Progressive ideology that society could be perfected by public-minded, objective experts working in efficient bureaucratic systems and applying scientifically determined solutions to a variety of social ills.⁶¹ By the 1870s, science, with its emphasis on rationality, objectivity,

⁵⁹ Ahern, 234-238; Leggatt 157; MacDonald, 429;

⁶⁰ Kunzel, 23, 35; Perlmann and Margo; Walkowitz, 1051-1054, 1075.

⁶¹ Bledstein, 90-91, 124; Coats, 227-233; Haber, 199; Hamerow, 319-321; Higby 120-122; Meiksins, 403-408; Newcomer, 55-61.

and the pursuit of truth through experimentation, became the source of professional authority and autonomy.⁶² Architects, accountants, civil servants, economists, engineers, historians, managers, military officers, nurses, pharmacists, political scientists, psychologists, social workers, and many others obtained university degrees, joined professional organizations, and embraced the scientific method as means to gain access to the Progressive culture of professionalism.

Between the 1870s and 1900s, two key institutional actors benefitted from and reinforced this belief in scientific objectivity, technical expertise, and organizational efficiency: professional associations and research universities. In the 1870s and 1880s, at least two thousand “American” learned societies and professional associations were organized across the United States.⁶³ Professional associations promoted the development of scientific methods to determine best practices and worked to assert jurisdiction over the education, qualifications, and conduct of practitioners. For example, social workers in the early twentieth century recast themselves as “objective” investigators employing the “scientific” case study model based on sociological research and psychiatric methods.⁶⁴ Following the Supreme Court ruling in *Dent v. West Virginia* (1888) upholding the states’ use of police powers to regulate occupations, professional associations successfully lobbied state legislatures to reinstate licensing laws requiring the completion of state-certified education or training programs. Educators also turned to national associations to bolster teacher professionalism.

⁶² Haber, 274; Kimball, 202-209.

⁶³ Bledstein, 86.

⁶⁴ Sandra M. O’Donnell, “The Care of Dependent African-American Children in Chicago: The Struggle between Black Self-Help and Professionalism,” *Journal of Social History* 27, 4 (1994): 763; Walkowitz, 1051-1057.

In 1857, a group of “practical” male teachers representing ten states’ education associations, resentful of their treatment by civil leaders and lay school management, formed the National Teachers Association (NTA).⁶⁵ The primary goal of the NTA was “to elevate the character and advance the interest the profession of teaching, and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States.”⁶⁶ From 1857 to 1870, the NTA added several associations representing normal school staff, school superintendents, and college professors as new departments within their organizations. In 1870, the NTA became the National Education Association (NEA).⁶⁷ Between 1870 and 1920, the NEA became the leading professional association for educators. University presidents and public school administrators dominated the leadership and direction of the organization.⁶⁸

The NEA adopted a top-down approach to professionalization. NEA leaders focused on improving the public schools as a means to bolster teacher professionalism rather than teachers’ welfare issues, such as salary and working conditions, which they viewed as beneath the dignity of a professional organization.⁶⁹ The NEA “believed that all educators, including classroom teachers, should seek first to establish a profession. Hence they regarded attention to salary, tenure, and status as premature, as entirely secondary to the growth of the profession.”⁷⁰ In the 1920s and 1930s, NEA’s membership expanded significantly and the organization became a major national voice on education

⁶⁵ Wesley, 3.

⁶⁶ National Teachers Association, “Proceedings 1857,” in *Addresses and Proceedings for the 1952 NEA Convention* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association 1952), 435.

⁶⁷ Wesley, 44.

⁶⁸ Donley, Jr., 10-11.

⁶⁹ Cameron, 28, 37-38; Cole, 3-6; Donley Jr., 19.

⁷⁰ Wesley, 334.

issues.⁷¹ It sought to serve its members, policymakers, and the public by generating publications focusing on key educational issues from its well-respected research division. It created a code of ethics for teaching profession, developed professional standards for teacher education, and maintained a prominent position in state and federal political circles. When teachers became full members in 1925, after the creation of the Department of Classroom Teachers, the NEA demonstrated slightly more interest in teachers' welfare issues and working conditions. However, the primary focus of the NEA remained on elevating the teaching profession and advancing the cause of public education.⁷²

The origins of the AFT lay in 1880s and 1900s, when small groups of rebellious urban school teachers formed local organizations in Chicago, Atlanta, New York, and other cities to contest school reforms, advocate for better pay, lobby for pensions, and improve working conditions.⁷³ Some organizations affiliated themselves with local and national labor unions to help strengthen their cause.⁷⁴ A common theme among teachers in these organizations was the failure of the NEA leadership to address the issues facing teachers. In May 1916, teacher organizations from Chicago, Gary, New York City, Scranton, Washington, D.C., and Oklahoma became the first eight locals in the first national teachers' union, the AFT. The union was accepted into the American Federation of Labor (AFL) by its president, Samuel Gompers. At first, the AFT saw itself as a radical segment of the NEA and hoped to work within the organization to bring teacher

⁷¹ Donley, Jr., 30.

⁷² Wayne J. Urban, *Gender, Race, and the National Education Association: Professionalism and its Limitations* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2000), xix.

⁷³ William E. Eaton, *American Federation of Teachers, 1916-1961: A History of the Movement* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 5; Fraser (1989), 128. Murphy, 3-5. Wayne J. Urban, *Why Teachers Organized* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1982), 134. Urban (1989), 190.

⁷⁴ Donley Jr., 26-27; Urban (1982), 134.

welfare issues to the forefront. The NEA, however, regarded the AFT as a rival teacher organization. By 1921, AFT considered itself and acted as a competitor to the NEA.⁷⁵

From its inception, the AFT adopted a bottom-up approach to professionalization. An educational administration scholar William E. Eaton argued: “The AFT believed that the key to reform in education was in creating a teaching profession that was well paid, informed, secure, powerful, and proud. This it saw as the first step.”⁷⁶ Despite the teacher-first approach to professionalism, the AFT struggled to get attract large numbers of teachers to join a union. Teacher unions faced adverse reactions from anti-union policymakers, authoritative administrators, and ambivalent teachers.⁷⁷ From 1916 to 1929, the AFT led a perilous existence as up to 80% of locals folded, finances dwindled, internal power struggles divided the leadership, NEA attacks on teacher unionism resonated among teachers, many school boards refused to hire or keep union teachers, and the courts upheld the legality of antiunion provisions. Most disheartening for AFT leaders, most teachers were reluctant to join or associate with any organization that might tarnish their aspiration for professional status.⁷⁸ Eaton argues that teachers “as a whole, despite their lower middle class origins, considered unionization to be a low class activity, beneath their dignity.”⁷⁹ The AFT survived as an important teacher organization in large cities, most prominently in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, and San Francisco.⁸⁰ Despite its decline in membership, AFT leaders established a national platform focused on teacher welfare issues that would attract more and more teachers in the 1950s and

⁷⁵ Eaton, 18-19.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 183.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 34-35.

⁷⁸ Cole, 162.

⁷⁹ Eaton, 5.

⁸⁰ Donley, Jr, 34-35; Eaton, 20, 29, 38.

1960s. The AFT stood for equal pay and benefits for teachers regardless of race, creed, sex, or level; tenure protections; a permanent role for teachers in policymaking; political and academic freedom for teachers in and out of the classroom; and federal aid to bolster teachers' salaries and improve working conditions.⁸¹

The second key institutional actor in the Progressive culture of professionalism was the land grant research university. Between the 1880s and 1910s, the widespread introduction of educational requirements for licenses, certificates, and credentials helped land grant universities become the seminal institution for the acquisition of scientific expertise.⁸² Bledstein argues, “the primary function of the American university to render universal scientific standards credible to the public.”⁸³ University presidents reorganized academic departments into a growing number of specialized “scientific” disciplines, which in turn legitimized the professional status of any occupation associated with these departments.⁸⁴ A university degree became the primary route to upward mobility for a “broad range of people with middle-class aspirations.”⁸⁵ Professors, with their emphasis on the scientific pursuit of knowledge and a public-spirited commitment to the study and teaching of their specialty, displaced law as the professional ideal.⁸⁶

While education attained its professional status as a university subject, teachers as recipients of an undergraduate education did not fit into the prevailing model of professionalism. Most teachers were generalists, not specialists. Specialization was the domain of administrators, professors, and a few high school teachers. While professors

⁸¹ Eaton, 168.

⁸² Bledstein, 124-126, 288-289; Bullough, 160-164; Haber, 274-277; Kimball, 212-216, 299; Kunzel 34-36.

⁸³ Bledstein, 326.

⁸⁴ Bledstein, 130-132, 300-301, 327; Goebel, 750; Haber, 286-287; Kimball, 245-249.

⁸⁵ Bledstein, 125-126, 293-294.

⁸⁶ Haber, 277; Kimball, 271.

and teachers were both salaried employees of substantial bureaucracies, professors received similar compensation to other professionals, had a great deal of occupational autonomy within their departmental specialties, were members of strong professional associations, and were well-respected as impartial experts. Most teachers could not lay claim to any of these Progressive professional characteristics.

During the Great Depression (1929-1940) and World War II (1941-1945), the public school system developed by Progressive reformers was firmly established. There was no relief from the long-term underfunding of public school. School boards and administrators slashed their budgets, including teachers' salaries and pensions, due to the loss of tax revenues that accompanied first the economic crisis and later war-related spending.⁸⁷ During the 1930s and 1940s, daily attendance, educational attainment, and school services increased. Meanwhile enrollment rates, birth rates, and school age population initially declined, then stabilized, and increased slightly.⁸⁸ The school year was lengthened to 175 days and the average attendance increased to 152 days. Enrollment rates were stabilized by passage of child labor laws and many states lowering the compulsory age for starting school to age 6. Teaching remained a female-dominated profession, but more men were hired accounting for 25% to 30% of all teachers. The overwhelming majority of these men taught in secondary schools.⁸⁹ Due to the massive industrial mobilization for World War II, many teachers and older students left the classroom for military service or to pursue higher paying jobs in the war industries. The

⁸⁷ Urban (1989), 196.

⁸⁸ *The Landscape of Public Education*, 3; Sandra L. Colby and Jennifer M. Ortman, *The Baby Boom Cohort in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2014), 2; Snyder, 5; Sonnenberg, 25-26; U.S. Census Bureau (1967), 1.

⁸⁹ Snyder, 28; U.S. Census Bureau (1967), 1.

migration of war workers and their families to metropolitan areas overwhelmed those school districts.⁹⁰ By the end of the war, budget cuts and wartime migration left most public schools inundated with overcrowded classes, dilapidated buildings, inadequate equipment, and a worsening shortage of teachers. These factors contributed to the popular view of teaching as poorly paid, low prestige, transitory, and female semi-profession.

The unprecedented size and length of the demographic phenomena popularly known as the Baby Boom created unprecedented pressures for public schools and its teachers to meet. At one minute after midnight on January 1, 1946 in Philadelphia, Kathleen Casey-Kirschling was born, the first of the 78.8 million baby boomers born between 1946 and 1964. She eventually became a 7th grade public school teacher in New Jersey.⁹¹ Sylvia F. Porter of the *New York Post* defined the Baby Boom in May 1951 declaring it the “biggest, boomiest boom ever known in history.”⁹² The public school system faced the brunt of this boom. Between 1946 and 1964, all 78.8 million boomers were expected to attend school for 12 years or more. From troubled juvenile delinquents to college-bound overachievers, every child was expected to begin school in kindergarten and continue until completing high school.⁹³ As early as 1947, enrollment increased 10% in kindergarten and increased 36% in elementary schools.⁹⁴ At the end of the 1940s, the enrollment rate for 7-to-13-year-olds was 99%. From 1950 to 1960, enrollment in public

⁹⁰ *The Landscape of Public Education*, 3; U.S. Census Bureau (1967), 1.

⁹¹ Stephen F. Barnes, “Who Was the First Baby Boomer?” (San Diego, CA: San Diego State University Interwork Institute, 2009). Accessed on April 16, 2016 from <http://calbooming.sdsu.edu/documents/FirstBabyBoomer.pdf>.

⁹² Sylvia F. Porter, “Sylvia F. Porter Column,” *New York Times*, May 1951.

⁹³ Charles Spiegler, “A Teacher’s Report on a ‘Tough’ School,” *New York Times*, November 24, 1957. The enrollment rate of 14-to-17-year-olds rose from 83% to 90%” and “the median educational attainment of 25- to 29-year-olds rose to 12.3 years. By 1957, virtually every state passed compulsory laws requiring all children to attend school until they were 16 or 17. In 1958, there were 42.4 million students being taught by 1.7 million teachers in 47,600 school districts. By 1960, high school graduation rates reached 70%, and would peak at 77% by the end of the 1960s. (Snyder, 7, 26, 30).

⁹⁴ Murphy, 180.

schools increased 44% because of the increased attendance at secondary schools.⁹⁵ By 1965, over fifty million public school students were taught by nearly 2 million teachers.

The escalating student population was a primary cause for several persistent issues including insufficient physical infrastructure, inadequate equipment, overcrowded classrooms, and teacher shortages. The most pressing problem was the shortage of qualified teachers. The recruitment and retention of teachers was hampered by two persistent and interrelated issues: lower social status and lower salary structure than other professionals with similar educational requirements. As Benjamin Fine, the education editor of *New York Times*, claimed the dominant issue was money, as teachers were “grossly underpaid when compared with other professions and trades. Superior men and women shun the teaching profession; they enter other fields, such as industry or government.”⁹⁶ By 1950, the teacher shortage remained severe across the nation with the South and Southwest regions facing the gloomiest prospects. Poorly prepared, part-time teachers staffed many of the schools across the nation in large numbers.⁹⁷ The problem was particularly acute in kindergartens and elementary schools as the first wave of baby boomers began to enter the school system. By 1956, the shortage of teachers spilled over into secondary education as baby boomers entered junior high schools. More and more communities had to hire teachers holding emergency credentials to meet the growing demand. Math and science teachers were especially hard to recruit and retain. During the

⁹⁵ *The Landscape of Public Education*, 3; Sonnenberg, 26.

⁹⁶ Benjamin Fine, “Year in Education: Problems of Schools and Colleges Were Strongly Called to Public Attention,” *New York Times*, January 1, 1956.

⁹⁷ “Conditions in the Nation’s Schools, With Plans for Year, as Found in New York Times Survey,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1950.

1960s, teacher shortages persisted, but gradually became less acute, especially in well-funded suburban schools, with the increased employment of married women teachers.

During these years, a major demographic shift in the teaching profession occurred as married women came to dominate the teaching ranks as single women had done before the war. This demographic shift from single to married teachers eventually created a more stable, mature, and career-oriented teaching force.⁹⁸ Between 1940 and 1960, the percentage of women teachers who were married more than doubled, rising from 25% to 59%. This rate surpassed the increase in the percentage of married women in the entire U.S. workforce. Administrators recast married women as the solution to the teacher shortage and to match the needs of diverse classrooms after honing their instincts for dealing with youngsters by raising their own children.⁹⁹ More men entered the public schools also. Education historian Jackie M. Blount claims that public schools “launched aggressive campaigns to recruit men for the classroom” with the “promise that they would receive rapid promotion to school administration.”¹⁰⁰ Women were expected to leave administrative positions they had assumed during World War II and return to teaching to make room for male veterans and young men in administration. By 1952, 97.3% of superintendents were men. In 1960, more men entered teaching and stayed in the classroom, accounting for 35% of secondary school teaching positions and 29% of all teaching positions.¹⁰¹ Nearly 83% of the men and about 75% of the women were or had been married. This demographic shift in the teaching profession, along with the rising

⁹⁸ Rury (1989), 35.

⁹⁹ Lake, 38.

¹⁰⁰ Blount (1999), 63.

¹⁰¹ Blount (2004), 84; Snyder, 29.

demand for teachers to educate the baby boomers, provided the AFT and NEA with more teachers invested in improving their professional status.¹⁰²

In the Baby Boom era, the AFT and NEA greatly expanded their memberships thorough well-orchestrated public relations campaigns, collective bargaining elections, and lobbying efforts.¹⁰³ The NEA's primary goal was professional unity as the best route to laying claim to and gaining confirmation of teacher professionalism. They emphasized cooperation between teachers, administrators, and policymakers.¹⁰⁴ For example, in 1942, they created the National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education to monitor improper political influence in the educational arena, protect educators from unfounded accusations of disloyalty, and to defend teachers from attacks on their academic freedom.¹⁰⁵ In the 1950s, they focused primarily on federal aid to education, membership drive, worldwide education campaigns, and the NEA centennial celebration in 1957.¹⁰⁶ In the 1960s, a group of young, militant, urban, male high school teachers, sparked by the successes of the AFT and frustrated by the NEA leadership dominated by administrators, led a successful campaign for power within the NEA.¹⁰⁷ In the late-1960s, as a result of this change in leadership, "the NEA remodeled itself as an organization of teachers first and foremost."¹⁰⁸ By 1973, new leaders transformed the

¹⁰² Geraldine J. Clifford, "Daughters into Teachers: Educational and Demographic Influences on the Transformation of Teaching into Women's Work in America," in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, edited by Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 309. Cole, 8, 192. Rury (1989), 43.

¹⁰³ Murphy, 258.

¹⁰⁴ Urban (2000), 104.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 87.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 129; Wesley, 335-337.

¹⁰⁷ Cameron, 23, 64, 68; Urban (2000), 171.

¹⁰⁸ Urban (2000), 171.

NEA into the largest and one of the most powerful labor unions in the United States.¹⁰⁹ A significant factor driving this change was the serious challenge the NEA faced from increasingly successful collective bargaining campaigns ran by the AFT.

Beginning in 1941, the AFT went on the offensive against negative public perception of and political assaults on unions. The AFT followed a traditional labor union strategy of building strong locals focused on homegrown issues and quality of life concerns. To distinguish itself from the administrator-dominated NEA, the AFT promoted itself as a teacher-only union focused on improving teachers' working conditions, salaries, and rights. AFT leaders argued that advancing teachers' employment status and developing teachers' political voices would increase the profession's prestige in the eyes of administrators, politicians, the media, and the American public. During the 1950s, the AFT steadily gained more members, especially in urban centers, despite a red scare directed at unions and strong political pushback against their stance for immediate integration of the union, schools, and teaching staffs. During the 1960s, more teachers joined the AFT and voted for the union to be their exclusive collective bargaining agent. By 1965, the AFT and NEA had helped teachers clam a greater degree of occupational autonomy, higher salaries for teachers, better work conditions, tougher tenure laws, and recognition of the political rights of teachers in and out of the classroom.

The efforts of the AFT and NEA increased teachers' access to the corridors of power from school board meetings to the halls of Congress. Spurred by the expanding student population and growing concerns about the state of public education, the public

¹⁰⁹ Christine Maitland, "NEA Higher Education: 150 Years and Growing," *Thought and Action: The NEA Higher Education Journal* (2007): 76.

schools and its teachers, the AFT and the NEA, found themselves at the center of Cold War politics. From 1946 to 1949, teachers led a series of modestly successful strikes across the United States asking for improved salaries, benefits, and working conditions. In response to these teachers' strikes, tax-conscious conservative Republicans and anticommunist activists pressured local, state, and federal legislators to revise loyalty oaths and authorize loyalty investigations to oust militant, ostensibly subversive teachers from the public schools.¹¹⁰ The AFT and NEA fought for higher teachers' salaries and against external measures regulating schools' employment practices. Through collective bargaining victories and successful political lobbying, these organizations increased teachers' average salaries to a comfortable middle class income level. They also used these tools to protect their professional autonomy by assuring teachers' due process rights in dismissal procedures and passed strong tenure laws in most states and school districts.

Following the *Brown I* (1954) and *Brown II* (1955) Supreme Court decisions that outlawed racial segregation in public schools, teachers found themselves at the heart of the civil rights struggles to make American democracy live up to its promise of equality. Proposals for federal aid to improve teachers' salaries and public schools were blocked by conservative Republicans suspicious of federal control and Southern Democrats seeking to prevent desegregation. Segregationist in the South repealed tenure protections and fired teachers for supporting integration. The AFT and NEA fought for teachers' political rights as citizens and their duty to be politically active. They lobbied for Great Society education legislation in 1965, such as the ESEA, Head Start, and the National

¹¹⁰ Murphy (1990), 184.

Teacher Corps, that positioned teachers as essential actors in assuring every American had an equal opportunity to succeed and protected teachers from political reprisals.

With the launch of Sputnik in 1957, teachers were thrust to the forefront of the Cold War. The United States needed education experts in classrooms across the nation to insure the survival of democracy in the world and strengthen its position as leader of the free world. The passage of the NDEA in 1958 positioned teachers as vital actors in winning the Cold War's ideological and technological battles against the Soviets. The AFT and NEA fought for paid in-service training, rigorous higher education programs, and more stringent credentialing requirements for teachers to enter the profession with greater technical expertise and to maintain this level of expertise throughout their career. The passage of the ESEA in 1965 secured funding for these enterprises.

Preview

This dissertation examines how teachers through the AFT and NEA moved from denial to claims to confirmation of teacher professionalism. The AFT and NEA laid claim to teacher professionalism during the Baby Boom era by using the Cold War discourses around democracy, consumerism, Americanism, and world leadership. To lay claim to and gain public recognition for teacher professionalism, the AFT and NEA attached each of these discourses to specific elements of professionalism in American culture, including public service, adequate compensation, occupational autonomy, and technical expertise. I argue with the passage of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 that the federal government conferred the AFT's and NEA's claims for teacher professionalism.

Chapter one explores the dominant popular representations of teachers in American culture from Washington Irving's Ichabod Crane (1819) through the passage of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). These representations constituted the cultural and discursive milieu in which the AFT and NEA engaged, reinforced, and challenged to re-present teachers as professionals.¹¹¹ After I explain how the role of representation in the construction of a professional identity, I examine how popular representations of "bad" teachers remained dominant from 1820s through the 1930s, while popular representations of "good" teachers ascended to dominance during the 1940s through the 1950s. The rise of "hero" teacher representations following the 1954 bestselling novel and the 1955 cinematic release of *Blackboard Jungle* contributed to the construction of an affirmative professional identity for teachers.

The next four chapters discuss specific Cold War themes. The AFT and NEA purposely deployed prominent Cold War discourses on the representative democracy, consumer capitalism, American way of life, and U.S. world leadership to re-present teachers as professionals equal in importance to doctors, lawyers, engineers, and scientists. In chapter two, I argue that the AFT and NEA drew on the popular consensus

¹¹¹ Education scholars have done substantial content analysis into the narrative structures, teacher archetypes, plot elements, genre demands, artistic conventions, and cultural myths in a variety of cultural texts. Their work is valuable for deciphering the construction of popular representations of teachers. These studies are primarily concerned that negative stereotypes, good teacher archetypes, and hero portrayals set unrealistic expectations for the profession, negatively impacted recruitment, led to low levels of job satisfaction, and mislead the American public about realities of teaching. However, the studies do not contextualize their sources historically. Education researchers tend to view popular culture as a reflection of the times, overlooking the ways that popular representations, audience reception, and group re-presentation can inform readers about the era in which the texts were created. Education scholars also tend to privilege the influence of popular culture on the formation of teachers' professional identity. They rarely investigate how the construction of teachers as professionals is mediated by popular representations, political ideology, teachers' organizations, and individual teachers within a particular historical era. (For more information on concerns of education researchers, see: William Ayres, "A Teacher ain't Nothin' but a Hero: Teachers and Teaching in Film," in *Images of Schoolteachers in America*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 209; Michael Belok and Fred Dowling, "The Teacher Image and the Teacher Shortage," *Phi Delta Kappan* 42, 6 (1961): 255; Adam Farhi, "Hollywood Goes to School: Recognizing the Superteacher Myth in Film," *The Clearing House* 72, 3 (1999): 158; Arthur Foff, "Scholars and Scapegoats," *The English Journal* 47, 3 (1958): 118; George Gerbner, "Smaller than Life: Teachers and Schools in the Mass Media," *Phi Delta Kappan* 44, 5 (1963): 205.)

that consumer capitalism was a public good to make arguments for higher salaries and better benefits in order to advance the professional status of teachers. A central concern of the AFT and NEA was the association of material rewards with professional status. Both organizations had to combat popular representations of teachers as self-sacrificing public servants who voluntarily forsook a “normal” life of family commitments and material success. By improving teachers’ economic position, the AFT and NEA sought to re-present as and re-make teachers into viable participants in the American dream.

NEA leaders relied on research studies, public relations, economic experts, and political lobbying to get their message to the public and politicians. Public education, they argued, was a highly profitable investment. AFT leaders relied on organizing teachers and collective bargaining to boost teachers’ economic power. They maintained that professional salaries for teachers could only be obtained by teacher-only unions that focused, first and foremost, on bread-and-butter issues. Together, these organizations re-presented teachers as teachers as intelligent consumers in need of professional salaries so they could contribute to a booming American economy. Teachers were re-presented as family men and women trying keep up with Joneses and as pedagogical experts who instilled values of consumerism in their pupils by developing the academic understanding and the practical skills necessary to participate in consumer capitalism wisely.

In chapter three, I study the organizational uses of the prevailing political concern over the survival of democracy at home to re-present teachers as knowledgeable, experienced agents of citizenship education. Both organizations argued that teachers’ pedagogical and curricular experience, training, and skills represented an essential public service. AFT and NEA leaders focused on two interrelated issues to challenge the popular

representation of teachers as apolitical beings. From 1946 to 1955, they advocated for recognition of teachers' rights as American citizens. Both organizations concentrated their arguments on teachers' importance in preserving and furthering American democracy by producing enlightened democratic citizens. From 1956-1965, they urged teachers to be politically active. AFT and NEA leaders alike declared that, in order to be democratic role models, teachers needed to act politically to insure their rights as American citizens were recognized. Only then could teachers make sure the educational needs of future generations Cold War warriors were met. In securing teachers' civil rights, the NEA and AFT sought to re-present teachers as well-informed, experienced specialists essential to inculcating democratic values and habits in American youth.

The AFT and NEA disagreed over the support for and approaches to integration of the school system, teaching staffs, and teachers' organizations. The AFT took a more liberal position on civil rights.¹¹² From 1947 onward, they called for the immediate integration of school systems, teaching staffs, and teachers' organizations. From 1946 to 1963, NEA leaders and publications largely ignored the external and internal debates over desegregation of public education. When NEA leaders did address segregation, they took a gradualist approach, proclaiming that the best way to resolve segregation was to focus efforts at the local level, where citizens would cooperate with the proper authorities to ensure the orderly application of the law.¹¹³ Despite varying convictions, these organizations were able to re-present teachers as active and knowledge agents of democracy in the classroom, community, and nation.

¹¹² Eaton (1975), 181; Urban (2000), 212.

¹¹³ Schultz, Jr. 71, 115, 125, 202.

In chapter four, I illustrate how the AFT and NEA leaders used the Cold War discourse on Americanism to re-present teachers as staunch anticommunists and patriotic defenders of the American way of life in order to advance their claims for occupational autonomy. With the reality of constantly enlarging school populations of impressionable young Americans, and the ubiquitous political discourse on the heightened importance of education to the survival of the American way of life, the teaching profession came under suspicion of communist influence or, worst yet, infiltration. Teachers, in their central function of preserving and transmitting American heritage to their students, were seen as both key contributors to and possible saboteurs of the American way of life.

Anticommunist activists and politicians passed loyalty legalization that severely hampered teachers' autonomy, especially in terms of curriculum and personnel practices. The NEA and AFT sought to counter these laws by strengthening teachers' authority within the educational hierarchy and challenging the validity of anticommunists' claims.

The NEA focused on an institutional and national approach to Americanism. Its answer to anticommunist critics was to disseminate unbiased information to the public, to pass sound tenure legislation, and to emphasize teachers' professional ethics.¹¹⁴ In order to maintain an "image of neutrality," the NEA represented itself as the objective arbiter of criticism of public education.¹¹⁵ The AFT advocated for union solidarity, strong locals, and collective bargaining as the best means to deal with anticommunist politics. They stressed their active and vocal opposition to anti-communist extremists to bolster an

¹¹⁴ "Standing Committees: Tenure and Academic Freedom," in *NEA Handbook 1946-1947* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August 1946), 78-79; "Teachers at the Bar," *NEA Journal* 35, 5 (May, 1946): 241.

¹¹⁵ Stuart J. Foster, *Red Alert!: Educators Confront the Red Scare in American Public Schools, 1947-1954* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 176.

organizational identity as the advocate and defender of teachers who stood up to the powerful critics. Together, these organizations forged a positive identity as loyal American professionals dedicated to the preservation and perpetuation of the American way of life. In doing so, the AFT and NEA were able to blunt the impact of loyalty legislation on teachers' autonomy in and out of the classroom.

In chapter five, I investigate how AFT and NEA engaged with the discourse surrounding the United States' role as the leader of the free world, promoting the importance of education in securing that role. Both organizations focused on the association of technical expertise with professionalism and teachers with localism. Both groups represented teachers as pedagogical and curricular experts central to preserving and extending America's world leadership, as well as exemplars of and contributors to peace, security, and freedom. From 1946 to 1957, the NEA and AFT asserted the professionalism of teachers as advocates for world peace and key contributors to national security. The teacher's role was to develop international cooperation and understanding in order to preserve and extend the American way of life. Following the launch of Sputnik on October 24, 1957, through the passage of the NDEA in 1958 and the ESEA in 1965, the NEA and AFT emphasized the importance of teachers as objective professionals insuring America's survival and position of leader of the free world in the ideological and technological battles with the Soviets. The teacher's role was to present the facts about the democratic way of life in order to counteract the dangerous spread of communist propaganda. By improving teachers' image as public intellectuals, the NEA and AFT sought to re-present teachers as experts who could extend the democratic way of life to millions of school children in the U.S. and the world.

The NEA took the lead in representing teachers as Cold War role models to the American public and politicians, as well as to the world's diplomats and educators. NEA representatives worked closely with officials from international agencies to facilitate the worldwide institutionalization of free, universal public education and to help improve the professional status of teachers around the world. AFT spokespersons used the discourse about America's world leadership to represent teachers as educational experts on world peace, national security, and human freedom. They sought to bolster teachers' morale as publicly recognized professionals central to establishing America's moral leadership. Together, these two organizational approaches helped to forge a world-minded professional identity for teachers.

Both the AFT and NEA used the increasingly demands placed on public schools and their teachers by the Baby Boom and Cold War imperatives to remove structural obstacles to teacher professionalism, challenge popular the central institution the daily lives of American families. These demographic pressures also created a great demand to recruit and retain teachers. As a result, young, single women who were forced to leave teaching upon marriage were replaced by older, married men and women. This demographic shift from single to married teachers eventually created a stable, career-oriented teaching force. The AFT's and NEA's discursive efforts during the Baby Boom era were important factors in the confirmation and claim of teacher professionalism.

In 1946, the popular images of teachers thwarted the claims of professionalism by the AFT and NEA. Teachers were seen as apolitical public servants and atypical social misfits. As public servants, they served at the pleasure and discretion of local communities. Their primary duties centered on satisfying local concerns and needs. As

social misfits, they were perceived as unfit for the rigors and rewards of the political and business worlds. These representations reinforced teachers' position at the bottom of the educational hierarchy, inadequate salaries, lack of occupational autonomy, and poor working conditions. They also justified legal restrictions on teachers' personal, public, and professional lives. The AFT and NEA actively challenged these representations and their impact. Both organizations turned to the prominent Cold War discourses to construct a professional identity for teachers as essential contributors to and participants in representative democracy, the American dream, the American way of life, and United States' world leadership.

By 1965, with the help of the AFT and NEA, teachers achieved greater recognition of their professional status. The federal government passed two major federal aid bills that conferred a new professional status on teachers. In 1958, the NDEA recognized teacher's technical expertise in securing national defense at home and promoting democracy abroad. In 1965, the ESEA acknowledged teacher's specialized knowledge in achieving greater economic and political equality. Both bills also conceded that teachers needed to receive more adequate material rewards in order to recruit and retain the "best and brightest" to teaching. The federal aid allowed school systems to devote more of their budgets to teachers' salaries and benefits. Teachers were also able to claim a greater degree of occupational autonomy. From the late 1950s through the 1960s, through collective bargaining victories and national political lobbying the AFT and AFT helped pass stronger tenure laws and attained more authority for teachers over their working conditions, material rewards, educational policies, and personnel practices. As a result, the teaching profession offered the ability for practitioners to serve a vital

public good, to attain a middle class standard of living, to regulate the conduct of fellow practitioners, and to refine the technical expertise required of its practitioners.

Chapter 1: Popular Representation and Teacher Professionalism

Since the common school movement took hold between 1820s and 1860s in Northern and Midwestern states, teachers have actively sought to be seen, valued, and treated as professionals. This desire intensified with the vast expansion of the public school system across the United States and the corresponding number of teachers from 1870s through the 1950s. However, teachers continually struggled to gain full status as a publicly recognized professionals.¹¹⁶ While the phrase “teaching profession” has been widely used since the 1870s, the public attitude regarding the professional status of teachers has been ambiguous.¹¹⁷ The public has often recognized that teaching is primarily an intellectual activity, requires a college education as part of a certification process, involves regularly attending in-service training, and exalts public service above personal profit. The public, as well as many leaders in higher education, have rarely, if ever, recognized teaching as needing a technical expertise; as requiring extended professional preparation beyond a general college-level education; as offering a lifelong or permeant career to its members; as having a united professional organization with control over internal matters vested by law; or as necessitating compensation equivalent to other esteemed professions.¹¹⁸ While most professionals were rated by their

¹¹⁶ John J. Ahern, “An Historical Study of the Professions and Professional Education in the United States,” (PhD diss., Loyola University, 1970), 218; Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions 1750-1900* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 175; T. M. Stinnett, *Professional Problems of Teachers Third Edition* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 52; Charles Taylor Kerchner and Krista D. Cauffman, “Lurching toward Professionalism: The Saga of Teacher Unionism,” *The Elementary School Journal* 96, 1 (1995): 107-108; Charles Taylor Kerchner and Douglas E. Mitchell, *The Changing Idea of Teachers’ Union* (Philadelphia, PA: The Falmer Press, 1988), 220.

¹¹⁷ T. Leggatt, “Teaching as a Profession,” in *Professions and Professionalization: Third Volume of Sociological Studies*, edited by John A. Jackson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 175; Stinnett, 52, 54.

¹¹⁸ Leggatt 172-175; Myron Lieberman, *Education as a Profession* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1956), 247-256; Myron Lieberman, “Is Collective Bargaining Professional?” in *The Highway Called Professionalism* (1964), 2-9. Located in the Mary Wheeler Files Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Stinnett, 54-69; Joseph B.

competence, teachers are often evaluated by certain personality traits, such as fairness, friendliness, and a sense of humor.¹¹⁹

To understand how American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and National Education Association (NEA) utilized Cold War discourses to craft a professional identity for teachers during the Baby Boom era (1946-1964), I examine the dominant popular representations of teachers in American culture from Washington Irving's Ichabod Crane (1819) through the passage of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). Education researchers Claudia Mitchell and Sandra Weber define these representations as the cumulative cultural text of the teacher:

A multitude of teacher images feeds into the popular culture into which we are born. These images overlap, contrast, amplify, address, or confirm each other as they compete for attention. The cumulative cultural text of the 'teacher' is a massive work-in-progress.¹²⁰

These representations constituted the cultural and discursive milieu that the AFT and NEA engaged, reinforced, and challenged in their efforts to re-present teachers as professionals. I first explain the role of representation in the construction of an accepted and recognized professional identity. Next, I examine how popular representation of "bad" teachers that remained dominant from the 1820s through the 1930s impacted the fledging professional identity of teachers. These "bad" teachers were displaced by popular representations of "good" teachers that emerged during 1940s and the 1950s. These representations contributed to a more positive, yet limited, professional identity for teachers. Finally, I explore how popular representations of "hero" teachers that developed

Shedd and Samuel B. Bacharach, *Tangled Hierarchies: Teachers as Professionals and the Management of Schools* (San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass Publishers, 1991), 3.

¹¹⁹ Stinnett, 356-357.

¹²⁰ Claudia Mitchell and Sandra Weber, *Reinventing Ourselves as Teachers: Beyond Nostalgia* (Philadelphia, PA: Palmer Press, 1999), 167.

from the 1954 bestselling novel and the 1955 film release of *Blackboard Jungle* contributed to the construction of an affirmative professional identity for teachers.

The Importance of Representation to Professional Identity

A significant element in the cultural discourses of professionalism is the construction of a professional identity that is commonly accepted by members of an occupational group and widely recognized by the public.¹²¹ Political forms of recognition include instituting widely accepted standards for admission to practice, enforcing rules regarding ethical public service, and securing licensing laws. All of these elements were crafted authoritatively by professional associations, enacted into law by politicians, and institutionalized by bureaucrats.¹²² Social-economic forms of recognition include higher education disciplines focused on professional training programs, cohesive professional associations that define and enforce occupational regulations, and substantial material rewards in exchange for vital public services that allow practitioners to maintain, at the very least, middle class lifestyles.¹²³ Cultural forms of recognition are complex and unstable. They include the public's consciousness of its dependence on the services that professionals provide, public acceptance of a profession's claims to esoteric knowledge and public service that justify its occupational autonomy, and public esteem for the

¹²¹ C. Curnow and T.P. McGonigle, "The Effects of Government Initiatives of Occupations," *Human Resource Management Review* 10 (2006): 288; Kerchner and Cauffman, 108. Tom Meisenhelder, "The Ideology of Professionalism in Higher Education," *The Journal of Education* 165, 3 (1983): 298.

¹²² Haber, 201; Kerchner and Cauffman, 108.

¹²³ Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (Chicago, IL: W.W. Norton and Company, 1976), 126-127; Randall Collins, "Market Closure and the Conflict Theory of Professions," in *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of Professions*, edited by Michael Bursage and Rolf Torstendahl (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 38; John A. Jackson, "Professions and Professionalization: Editorial Introduction," in *Professions and Professionalization: Third Volume of Sociological Studies*, edited by John A. Jackson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 9; Bruce A. Kimball, *The 'True Professional Ideal in America: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), 318.

professionals who serve these societal needs.¹²⁴ One important indicator of the status of a profession is the popular representations of its members. As Sari Knopp Biklen, women's studies and education scholar, explains, popular representations “circulate among people who call on these images when they speak, write, or think about teachers.” These representations serve as a cultural currency which both educators and members of the public used to construct, or deconstruct, ideas about teachers.¹²⁵

Stuart Hall's politics of identity helps to explain the cultural discourses of professionalism for an occupational group. Hall argues that identity is constituted within representation.¹²⁶ Representation is mimetic, an imitation or portrayal of reality. It stands in for the person, thing, or event. Representation is also a constitutive force. There is no meaning until a thing is represented. Meaning is attached when people represent what they make of a person, thing or event.¹²⁷ Meaning is interpretative, not definitive. It depends on individuals and groups in a specific cultural context with specific available discourses, who enact and produce social norms and cultural conventions. Identities are “inflected by a particular mix of circumstances, feelings, histories, and experiences.”¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Ahern, 35; Bledstein, 94, 99, 126; Michael Burrage, Konrad Jarausch, and Hannes Siegrist, “An Actor-based Framework for the Study of Professions,” in *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of Professions*, edited by Michael Burrage and Rolf Torstendahl (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 209; Hannes Siegrist, “Professionalization as a Process: Patterns, Progression, and Discontinuity,” in *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of Professions*, edited by Michael Burrage and Rolf Torstendahl (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 178.

¹²⁵ Sari Knopp Biklen, *School Work: Gender and the Cultural Construction of Teaching* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1995), 108.

¹²⁶ Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation,” in *Film and Theory: An Anthology*, edited by Robert Stam and Toby Miller (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 705.

¹²⁷ Stuart Hall, “New Ethnicities,” in *Identities: Race, Class, Gender, and Nationality*, edited by Linda Martín Alcoff and Eduardo Mendieta (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003), 94. Sut Jhally. *Representation & the Media* (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 1997).

¹²⁸ Stuart Hall, “The Centrality of Culture: Notes on the Cultural Revolutions of Our Time,” in *Media and Cultural Regulation*, edited by Kenneth Thompson (London: England, The Open University Press, 1997), 219.

Identities emerge over time as individuals and groups take up and try to live out different identities. In short, identities are always in negotiation.¹²⁹

Politics is central to representation: “[I]t is only through the way in which we represent and imagine ourselves that we come to know how we are constituted and who we are. There is no escape from the politics of representation.”¹³⁰ Popular representation is a site where individuals and groups engage with identities, interact with portrayals, and contest their meanings.¹³¹ Conflicts are inevitable and are mediated through contrasting representations.¹³² Time loosens and frays representation, changing the possibilities of identity.¹³³ This is where the politics of identity becomes the power to claim recognition, the capacity to name one’s self, and gain access to the right of representation. Given that all representations are historical, discursive, and political constructions, what is at stake in representation is the production and articulation of identities and meanings.¹³⁴

Popular Representations of Teachers: The Good, the Bad, and the Hero

Teachers consistently struggled to gain access to the right of representation. They have needed to negotiate a variety of representations in a multiple social, political, and cultural arenas in order to have a voice in or access to the construction of representations of their profession. Teaching is a public profession funded by taxes that serves a wide swath of the population.¹³⁵ As schooling became commonplace in the United States between the 1870s and 1920s, and more students were expected to finish high school. By

¹²⁹ Stuart Hall, “What is This ‘Black’ in Black Popular Culture?,” in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, edited by David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Hutchinson, 1996), 465.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 473.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 468.

¹³² Stuart Hall, “Deviance, Politics, and the Media,” in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, edited by Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (New York: Routledge 1993), 65.

¹³³ Jhally (1997).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Stinnett, 278.

late 1940s, teachers became the largest group of professional workers in American society.¹³⁶ As a result, increasing numbers of American students and parents, taxpayers and politicians, became stakeholders in the public discourses about public schools. All of them participated in defining the teacher's identity.¹³⁷ Teachers have been presented both as scapegoats for and the solution to various social ills.¹³⁸ For example, in response to the influx of immigrants into the United States between the 1880s and 1920s, Progressive reformers represented teachers as the main agents in making Americanization programs successful.¹³⁹ Also during this period, social scientists and education leaders blamed the

¹³⁶ Geraldine J. Clifford, "Man/Woman/Teacher: Gender, Family, and Career in American Educational History," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 300; Stinnett, 49;

¹³⁷ "Introduction," in *Schooling in the Light of Popular Culture*, edited by Paul Farber, E.F. Proven, Jr., and Gunilla Holm (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1994), 9; Ann G. A. Tan, "The Image of Teachers in Film," (PhD diss., Boston College, 2002), 3-5, 30.

¹³⁸ David K. Cohen, "Practice and Policy: Notes on the History of Instruction," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 393-402; George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York: John Day Company, 1932), 8; Larry Cuban, "The Persistence of Reform in American Schools," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 383-386; Duane J. Grobman II, *Teachers in Film: A Narrative Study of Schoolteachers in Cinema* (E.D., Harvard University, 2002), 104; William R. Johnson, "Teachers and Teacher Training in the 20th Century," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 241; David F. Labarce, "Career Ladders and the Early Public School Teacher: a Study of Inequality and Opportunity," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 157; Allan Ornstein and Daniel Levine, *Foundations of Education* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1993), 144; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 336, 370-374.

¹³⁹ Noriko Asato, "Mandating Americanization: Japanese Language Schools and the Federal Survey of Education in Hawai'i, 1916-1920," *History of Education Quarterly*, 43, 1 (2003): 10-38; Ezri Atzmon, "The Educational Programs for Immigrants in the United States," *History of Education Journal* 9, 3 (1958): 75-80; Walter J. Ballard, "Uncle Sam's School Teachers," *The Journal of Education* 62, 12 (1905): 325-326; James R. Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930," *The Journal of American History*, 79, 3 (1992): 996-1020; James R. Barrett and David R. Roediger, "The Irish and the 'Americanization' of the 'New Immigrants' in the Streets and in the Churches of the Urban United States, 1900-1930," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 24, 4 (2005): 3-33; Robert A. Carlson, "Americanization as an Early Twentieth-Century Adult Education Movement," *History of Education Quarterly*, 10, 4 (1970): 440-464; Frank Cody, "Americanization Courses in the Public Schools," *The English Journal*, 7, 10 (1918): 615-622; Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1990); Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *The Journal of American History*, 84, 2 (1997), 524-558; Otis L. Graham, Jr. and Elizabeth Koed, "Americanizing the Immigrant, Past and Future: History and Implications of a Social Movement," *The Public Historian* 15, 4 (1993): 24-49; Gayle Gullett, "Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915-1920," *Pacific Historical Review* 64, 1 (1995): 71-94; Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1951, 1973); Brian Holder, "Americanization as a Cure for Bolshevism: Anti-Revolutionary Popular Song in 1919," *American Music* 25, 3 (2007): 334-352; Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers: The Journey of the East European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976); William Issel,

large number of female teachers for the poor academic performance and high dropout rates for boys.¹⁴⁰ At the core of these competing representations was the assumption that teachers should provide whatever education the community determines they need.¹⁴¹

From the 1870s through the 1950s, administrators seized the mantle of professionalism at the expense of teachers. They represented themselves as the ‘true’ professional educators, scientific managers of the school system who helped to set and enforce standards for ethical practices. As salaried employees of public bureaucracies, teachers were recast as semi-professional workers who were expected to be subservient to local school boards, state departments of education, and career administrators.¹⁴² This representation was complicated by the institutionalization of gendered hierarchies in the education bureaucracy, in which men led and women taught. Male superintendents, as the educational experts in conjunction with male-dominated local administrators, school boards, and state departments of education, established the curriculum, policies, and

“Americanization, Acculturation and Social Control: School Reform Ideology in Industrial Pennsylvania, 1880-1910,” *Journal of Social History* 12, 4 (1979): 569-590; Clifford (1989), 300; Gerd Korman, “Americanization at the Factory Gate,” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 18, 3 (1965): 396-419; John F. McClymer, “Gender and the ‘American Way of Life’: Women in the Americanization Movement,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10, 3 (1991): 3-20; Kenneth B. O'Brien Jr., “Education, Americanization and the Supreme Court: The 1920’s,” *American Quarterly* 13, 2 (1961): 161-171; Michael R. Olneck, “Americanization and the Education of Immigrants, 1900-1925: An Analysis of Symbolic Action,” *American Journal of Education*, 97, 4 (1989): 398-423; Richard A. Overfield, “The Agricultural Experiment Station and Americanization: The Hawaiian Experience, 1900-1910,” *Agricultural History* 60, 2 (1986): 256-266; Robert E. Park, “Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific (1926),” in *Race and Culture*, edited by Robert E. Park (Glencoe Ill: The Free Press, 1950); Frank Thistlewaite, “Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” in *A Century of European Migrations, 1830-1930*, edited by Rudolph J. Vecoli and Suzanne M. Sinke (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 17-49; Rudolph J. Vecoli, “Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of the Uprooted,” *Journal of American History* 51 (1964): 404-417; Lisa Yaszek, “‘Them Damn Pictures’: Americanization and the Comic Strip in the Progressive Era,” *Journal of American Studies* 28, 1 (1994): 23-38.

¹⁴⁰ Biklen, 177; Morwenna Griffiths, “The Feminization of Teaching and the Practice of Teaching: Threat or Opportunity?” *Educational Theory*, 56, 4 (2006): 387-405; Clifford (1989), 297-300; Mitchell and Weber, 105, 161; Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2003), 183; Weber and Mitchell, 119.

¹⁴¹ Shedd and Bacharach, 55.

¹⁴² Jackie M. Blount, “Manliness and the Gendered Construction of School Administration in the USA,” *International Journal Leadership in Education* 2, 2 (1999): 55-68; Jackie M. Blount, “The Feminization of Teaching from 1850 to 1900,” *Midwest History of Educational Society* 23 (1996): 41-48; Johnson, 250; Kimball, 239, 242. Willard Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932), 425.

procedures to which female-dominated teaching ranks were expected to adhere. Female teachers were permitted to exercise some discretion in how they worked in the classroom but only within the limits set by their male superiors.¹⁴³ These institutional realities and representations subverted the claims of professional status by teachers who lacked the traditional occupational characteristics associated with professionals, chiefly occupational autonomy. Teachers were “plagued by association with two groups in society with low ascribed status: women and children.”¹⁴⁴ At the same time, these representations and realities highlighted a path toward teacher professionalism: extended professional preparation at the college and/or university level; compensation that could sustain a middle class lifestyle; and a degree of autonomy beyond the classroom in which teachers could contribute to decisions about certification, curriculum, policies and procedures. While administrators and policymakers supported extending the educational requirements to obtain and keep a teacher certificate, they suppressed teachers’ attempts to attain higher salaries, better benefits, and occupational autonomy.

Teachers gradually became familiar and influential figures in the lives of a growing number of people, first with the burgeoning common school movement in the

¹⁴³ James C. Albisetti, “The Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective,” *History of Education Quarterly* 22, 3 (1993): 253-263; Cuban, 386; James Fraser, “Agents of Democracy: Urban Elementary-School Teachers and the Conditions of Teaching,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 118, 125; Clifford (1989), 326-328; Sarah E. Montgomery, “Why Men Left: Reconsidering the Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century,” *American Educational History Journal* 36, 1 (2009): 219-236; Joel Perlmann and Robert A. Margo, *Women's Work?: American Schoolteachers, 1650-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Myra H. Strober and David Tyack, “Why Do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research on Schools,” *Signs* 5, 3 (1980): 494-503. Myra H. Strober and Audri Gordon Lanford, “The Feminization of Public School Teaching: Cross-Sectional Analysis, 1850-1880,” *Signs* 11, 2 (1986): 212-235; John L. Rury, “Who Became Teachers?: The Social Characteristics of Teachers in American History,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 15; Shedd and Bacharach, 56; Wayne Urban, “Teacher Activism,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 192.

¹⁴⁴ Kerchner and Kaufman, 108. Also see Waller, 421: “School teachers, like negroes [sic] and women, can never quite enter the white man’s world, and they must remain partial men, except in the society of others who, like themselves, are outcast.”

1830s and increasingly as the public school system expanded in the late 19th century. As teachers became more commonplace fixtures in the formative years of young Americans, representations of teachers increasingly populated the columns, pages, panels, canvas, charts, stage, and frames of popular cultural texts. Teachers have been ubiquitous stock characters, central symbols of civilization, and occasionally lead players.¹⁴⁵ Three prominent representations emerged: “bad,” “good,” and “hero” teachers. Much like the public estimation of teachers, popular culture texts largely focused on personality traits rather than professional characteristics to define teachers. Teachers were rarely shown teaching, the central activity of their profession.¹⁴⁶ In contrast, the popular representations of other professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, and scientists, emphasized their technical expertise and/or intellectual mastery as central to the plot and character development.¹⁴⁷

Beginning with Ichabod Crane in 1819 and persisting into the 1930s, “bad” teachers were represented as callous authoritarians who quashed students’ “true” natures and/or as social misfits who provided poor role models to their students.¹⁴⁸ Authoritarian

¹⁴⁵ Bass, 19; Biklen, 20; Grobman, 118; David Hobson, “Images of Oral Histories and Narratives: Shifting Images Across the Generations: Conversations with Beginning, Current, and Retired Teachers,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 60; Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1963), 319; Pamela Bolotin Joseph, “Prologue: 100 years of Schoolteaching: An Invented IV,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 17; Tan, 3, 30.

¹⁴⁶ Biklen, 7; Harold J. Burbach and Margo A. Figgins, “A Thematic Profile of the Images of Teachers in Film,” *Teacher Education Quarterly* 20, 2 (1993): 74-75; Sara Efron and Pamela Bolotin Joseph, “Images of Oral Histories and Narratives: Reflections in a Mirror: Metaphors of Teachers and Teaching,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 76; D. F. Gunderson and Nancy S. Haas, “Media Stereotypes in Teacher Role Definition,” *Action in Teacher Education* 9, 2 (1987): 29-31; Tan, 22-23, 89, 112, 166.

¹⁴⁷ Burbach and Figgins, 67; Gunderson and Haas, 30-31; Paietta, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Biklen, 116-118, 124; Burbach and Figgins, 48, 65; Mary Dalton, *The Hollywood Curriculum: Teachers in the Movies* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Incorporated, 1999), 91; Dorothy Yost Deegan, *The Stereotype of the Single Women in American Novels* (New York: King’s Crown Press, 1951); Rob Edelman, “Teachers in the Movies,” *American Educator: The Professional Journal of American Federation of Teachers* 7 (1983): 26; Marsha G. Ehlers, “The Film Depiction of America’s Teachers, 1968-1983,” (M.A. thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 1992), 17; John Hammond Erskine, “The Teacher in the Drama: An Analysis and Evaluation of the Characterizations of American Teachers in Broadway Productions from 1920 to 1950,” PhD diss., New York University, 1951), 35; Arthur

teachers were portrayed as rigid disciplinarians; either the stern bachelor taskmaster or the dictatorial, puritanical old maid.¹⁴⁹ Teachers as social misfits were portrayed as incomplete men and women; as unmanly middle-aged bachelors or frustrated old spinsters; as effeminate, meek, absent-minded men and asexual, bitter, frustrated women with no life outside the classroom.¹⁵⁰ “Bad” teachers were antagonists in popular texts. They were the foils or targets for protagonists played by students or later by “good” and “hero” teachers.¹⁵¹ These representations undermined teachers’ claims of technical expertise and calls for occupational autonomy. In the classroom, “bad” teachers were boring instructors who stuck to irrelevant curriculum regardless of the students’ needs or interests, were either afraid of their students or eager to dominate them, and avoided any personal relationships or connections with students.¹⁵² These incompetent teachers were in desperate need of supervision or sanction from the community and/or administrators.

Foff, “The Teacher as Hero,” in *Readings in Education*, edited by Arthur Foff and Jean Grambs (New York: Harper’s 1956), 27; Edna Lue Furness, “The Image of the High School Teacher in American Literature,” *The Educational Forum* 38, 2 (1960): 460; Grobman II, 70, 361; Leo Gurko, *Heroes, Highbrows and the Popular Mind* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958); Clifford (1989), 311-312; Claudia Mitchell and Sandra Weber, *That’s Funny, You Don’t Look like a Teacher: Interrogating Images & Identity in Popular Culture* (London: The Falmer Press, 1995), 119; Ann C. Paietta, *Teachers in the Movies: Filmography of Depictions of Grade School, Preschool, Day Care Educators 1890s to the Present* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co. Inc., 2007), 2; J. Rosen, *Defiant Negotiations with Celluloid Colleges: Pre-service Teachers Aspirations and Apprehensions of Teaching* (London, ON: University of Western Ontario 2004), 34; Jack Schwartz, “The Portrayal of Education in American Motion Pictures, 1931-1961,” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1963), 125; Tan, 6, 26, 39, 45-46, 83, 87, 110, 112, 151, 153, 171, 185, 191, 202; Urban (1989), 190-191; Waller, 421.

¹⁴⁹ Bass, 19; Joanne Bernstein, “The Image of Female Teachers as Portrayed in Fiction for Young Children,” *Library Journal* (1973): 80; Edelman 26; Ehlers 17-21; Hobson, 60; Gunilla Holm, “Learning in Style: The Portrayal of Schooling in *17 Magazine*,” in *Schooling in the Light of Popular Culture*, edited by Paul Farber, E.F. Proven, Jr., and Gunilla Holm (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1994), 63; Henry Earl Jones, “Some Aspects of an Occupational Stereotype: The American Public School Teacher,” (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1957).; Tan, 33-34.

¹⁵⁰ Mary Adams T. Crume, “Images of Teachers in Novels and Films for the Adolescent, 1980-1987,” (PhD diss., University of Florida, Gainesville, 1988), 56; Ehlers, 12-14, 17-21, 82; Grobman 108, 350, 383; Paietta 2; Tan, 34, 58, 83, 153; 184; Weber and Mitchell, 71, 128.

¹⁵¹ Dalton (2013), 79-80; Gunderson and Haas, 72-73; Schwartz (1960), 82.

¹⁵² Diane Barone, Maria Meyerson, and Maria Mallette, “Images of Teachers in Children’s Literature,” *The New Advocate*, 8, 4 (1995): 260; Bass, 16-17; Bernstein, 79-80; Erskine, 225; Paul Farber and Gunilla Holm, “Adolescent Freedom and the Cinematic High School,” in *Schooling in the Light of Popular Culture*, edited by Paul Farber, E.F. Proven, Jr., and Gunilla Holm (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1994), 244-246; Tan, 153; Cheri

The prototypical “bad” teacher was Ichabod Crane in Washington Irving’s “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” (1819).¹⁵³ Crane was represented as an authoritarian in the classroom and a misfit in the community. As a teacher, he was a stern taskmaster.¹⁵⁴ Crane ruled his “little empire, the school,” with his “ferule, that sceptre of despotic power; the birch of justice reposed on three nails behind the throne, a constant terror to evil-doers.”¹⁵⁵ In Irving’s brief descriptions of Crane’s teaching, the ferule was the primary tool for keeping order and prompting learning. Crane “ever bore in mind the golden maxim, ‘Spare the rod and spoil the child.’—Ichabod Crane’s scholars certainly were not spoiled.”¹⁵⁶ Irving represented teaching as repeated bullying and the teacher as a petty tyrant. Crane’s main duty was to maintain order among and instill discipline into “a legion of young imps” who occupy the schoolhouse.¹⁵⁷ Thus, a teacher was to be measured by his ability to dominate and control a room full of children rather than by his mastery of specialized knowledge or technical expertise.

Foster Triplett and Gwynne Ellen Ash, “Reflecting on the Portrayal of Teacher-Student Relationships in Children’s Literature,” *The New Advocate*, 13, 4 (2000): 244; Waller, 419; Weber and Mitchell, 85, 113, 128-130.

¹⁵³ Ehlers, 20-22, 118; Arthur Foff. “Teacher Stereotypes in the American Novel,” (ED diss., Stanford University, 1953), 125; Furness, 459; Hofstadter, 315; Clifford (1989), 311; Schwartz (1960), 77; Tan 33. Ichabod Crane of Washington Irving’s *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* has been reproduced several times. In song, “In Sleepy Hollow” (1913), piano suite by Eastwood Lane; “Legend of the Headless Rider” (1993) by Mercyful Fate; “Legend of Sleepy Hollows” (1998) by Monotones; “Undead Ahead” (2010) by Motionless In White; “Head over Hills” (2011) by Blitzkid; On the stage, the Broadway musical *Sleepy Hollow* (1948 and 2009); a one-act play *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* (1988); the play *Washington Irving’s The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* (2002); the opera *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* (2009); a one-man retelling *Irving’s Legend* (2010); a musical *The Hollow* (2011); In Hollywood movies, the silent film *The Headless Horseman* (1922); the cartoon short, *The Headless Horseman* (1934), Disney’s cartoon *The Adventures of Ichabod and Mr. Toad* (1949); Tim Burton’s *Sleepy Hollow* (1999); and on broadcast televisions with “The Headless Horseman of Halloween” (1976); NBC’s movie, *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* (1980); PBS’ multi-award winning animated adaptation and a subsequent book of *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* in 1988; Fox’s computer animated *The Night of the Headless Horseman* (1999); ABC Family Channel’s movie, *The Hollow* (2004); and the Fox series, *Sleepy Hollow* (2013). There have also been versions of Ichabod Crane in television episodes of *The Scooby-Doo Show*, *Shelley Duvall’s Tall Tales and Legends*, *The Real Ghostbusters*, *Kolchak: The Night Stalker*, *Are You Afraid of the Dark?*, *Rocko’s Modern Life*, *Wishbone*, and *Charmed*.

¹⁵⁴ Ehlers, 21; Tan, 33.

¹⁵⁵ Washington Irving, “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow,” *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent* (New York: C. S. Van Winkle, 1819), 399, 408.

¹⁵⁶ Irving, 396.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 409-410.

As a man, Crane was a social and gender misfit. The plot revolves around the competition between the unmanly Ichabod Crane's intellectualism and masculine Brom Bones' "rustic waggery" for the hand of Katrina Van Tassel, the attractive and wealthy "daughter and only child of a substantial Dutch farmer."¹⁵⁸ Irving represented Crane as sexually inept, financially dependent, and physically unattractive. The schoolmaster was portrayed as a pitiful coward victimized by Brom's practical jokes and as a self-important intellectual with an overactive imagination, easily frightened by old women's ghost stories.¹⁵⁹ In the end, Katrina rejects Ichabod's fanciful advances and Brom, disguised as the Headless Horseman, either chases off or murders the fainthearted schoolmaster. As both a teacher and a man, Crane was easily discounted and replaced: "As he was a bachelor, and in nobody's debt, nobody troubled his head any more about him, the school was removed to a different quarter of the hollow, and another pedagogue reigned in his stead."¹⁶⁰ Ultimately, the schoolmaster was an outsider. Ichabod was an impractical dreamer, pompous intellectual, and spineless weakling in a community that privileged pragmatic farmers, natural ability, and physical strength.

The characterization of "bad" teachers embodied by Irving's Ichabod Crane persisted from the 1820s through the 1920s, specific gender inscribed variations replicated and reinforced the gendered division of labor in the educational system.¹⁶¹ Female teachers were most commonly represented as overbearing old schoolmarms or

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 400 (Katrina), 407 (Brom). Waggery refers to a mischievous merriment especially in practical jokes; jocularity. Accessed on May 15, 2015 from *Meriam Webster' Dictionary* at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/waggery> and form *Oxford Dictionaries* at http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/waggery.

¹⁵⁹ Ehlers, 21; Hofstadter, 315-316; Tan, 33; Wayne Urban, "Teacher Activism," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 191. For Irving's depictions of appearance 394, 410; economic dependent 396-397; imagination 399; sexually or romantically inept 401, 407; Brom's pranks 407-408;

¹⁶⁰ Irving, 425.

¹⁶¹ Ehlers 20-27, 117-118; Clifford (1989), 312; Tan, 33; Weber and Mitchell, 174;

timid young novices. As women, they were portrayed as sexless prudes, frustrated spinsters, husband seekers, boyish lasses, or prim ladies.¹⁶² Male teachers were most commonly represented as rigid disciplinarians and solitary bachelors. As men, they were portrayed as absent-minded dreamers, sleazy Lotharios, effeminate jokes, shabby dressers, unmanly buffoons, or inept teachers.¹⁶³ Thus, teaching remained a job for social and gender misfits who could, at times, control a classroom of youthful imps but accomplished little else in their public and personal lives as men or women.¹⁶⁴

A typical domineering and flawed schoolmarm was the poor, feeble, and stiff Miss Precise in the short story “Red Chignon” (1870).¹⁶⁵ She strictly forbade whistling, wearing chignons, and poor grammar, unless it was done by Hannah, the daughter of the one of the richest men in the city. Miss Precise got her comeuppance when her students embarrassed her in front of the fashionable Miss Lofty by following her advice to “imitate” Hannah.¹⁶⁶ The teacher, represented as a hypocritical autocrat, privileged her own self-interest or sense of propriety over her students’ concerns for equal treatment and moral consistency. The story replicated Ichabod Crane’s motivation as he rushed students through their lessons, ferule in hand, so he could spend extra time primping himself for his date with the wealthy Katrina.¹⁶⁷ These representations undermined claims of public

¹⁶² Bass, 14; Foff (1958), 121; George Gerbner, *Mass Communications and Popular Conceptions of Education: A Cross-Cultural Study* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 203.

¹⁶³ Burbach and Figgins, 48, 65; Ehlers, 19; Farhi, 157; Farber and Holm, 33; Paul Farber and Eugene F. Provenzo, “Education, Rock-n-Roll and the Lyrics of Discontent,” in *Schooling in the Light of Popular Culture*, edited by Paul Farber, E.F. Proven, Jr., and Gunilla Holm (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 52; Foff (1956), 21; Foff (1958), 121-123; Holm, 63; Schwartz (1960), 82.

¹⁶⁴ Furness, 460; Foff (1956), 27; Erskine, 35; Schwartz (1963), 125.

¹⁶⁵ George M. Baker, “Red Chignon,” *Our Boys and Girls* 7, 15, January 1, 1870, 475-476.

¹⁶⁶ Baker, 476-477.

¹⁶⁷ Irving, 409-410.

service by portraying teachers as self-important fools who placed their personal agendas over the emotional and scholastic needs of their students.

The schoolmarm was most often represented as an old, stern authoritarian in contrast to young, permissive novices. The short story “Are Teachers Human?” (1926) by Jeanette M. Collins, a Child Study Consultant at Glassboro College who spent thirty-two years in the Stafford Township School District, featured two strict schoolmarms, Miss Semple and Miss Saunders, and a lax French teacher, Miss Williams. Their student, Junior, described the characteristics of each teacher. Miss Semple and Miss Saunders were described as women “visibly beyond middle years.” They were grey haired, bespectacled, immaculately dressed, rigidly posed at their desk or backboard, and old enough to have taught the students’ parents and relatives.¹⁶⁸ As teachers, Junior described both schoolmarms as strict disciplinarians. Miss Semple “bites the face off ya even when ya do yer told.”¹⁶⁹ She demanded displays of proper respect from her students from the moment they greeted her to the end of class. Miss Saunders expected quiet scholarship and absolute attention from “each awestricken wretch” who entered her classroom. A fearsome figure, that even her smile, “which far from thawing the terror-frozen hearts of her auditors seems to inspire even greater fear in them.”¹⁷⁰ By contrast, Miss Williams was introduced as a little “pleasant-faced woman” with a “quiet voice,”¹⁷¹ who engaged in laughing conversations with her students at the start of class. During class, she acted as an “onlooker who neither disciplines, ‘squelches,’ nor ‘weeps.’”¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Jeanette M. Collins, “Are Teachers Human?,” *The English Journal* 15, 8 (1926): 610, 612.

¹⁶⁹ Collins, 610.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 612.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 614.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 614.

In a variety of popular texts, teaching itself was viewed as a social death sentence for young women, an almost certain path to spinsterhood and loneliness.¹⁷³ Collins concluded her story with a commentary on the inevitable evolution of young, engaged teachers into old, frustrated schoolmarms. Quoting a “well-known state commissioner of education,” she claimed Miss Williams would find that “after ten years of teaching the corners of your mouth will turn down, that you need only two hairpins for hair, and you begin to fret if your collar isn't quite starched -you're not a ‘teacher’-you're a 'schoolmarm'-that's all!” The teachers’ social life revolved around her fellow-workers and elevated entertainment. She will have “bought nothing to wear but serviceable serges with tailored collars, avoided face powder, eschewed movies, refused to understand slang.” It is her fate to live “far from real life as the world from Mars.”¹⁷⁴

Yet, teaching remained one of the few acceptable public roles for proper young women to occupy in popular cultural texts. In the popular imagination, teaching became women’s work. Journalists and education leaders proclaimed teaching as suitable and useful employment for ladies and as dignified work for earnest women. Teaching was represented as natural extension of the mothering instinct and women’s innate sense of morality.¹⁷⁵ The schoolmarm in the one-room schoolhouse was the symbol of the

¹⁷³ Anna Fuller, “The Schoolmarm,” in *Pratt Portraits: Sketched in a New England Suburb* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1892), 175-180: Mary William’s “ridiculous idea” to be a teacher was met with dismay and anguish by her family.

¹⁷⁴ Collins, 615.

¹⁷⁵ This ideology was developed by Catherine Beecher and Horace Mann from 1830s to 1850s in New England. Both advocated for the hiring of women as teachers. (Kathrine Sklar. *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New York: Norton and Company Inc. 1973); Nancy Hoffman. *Woman's "True" Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981). For examples, see Frank Leslie, “Education and Employment for Women,” *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), May 28, 1870, Accessed on March 10, 2011 from <http://tinyurl.com/3mxxp97x>; Mrs. Russell Sage, “‘Too Much Luxury!’ Mrs. Russell Sage Has Something to Say about the Higher Education of Women,” *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune*, (Salt Lake City, UT) February 23, 1897. Accessed March 10, 2011 from <http://tinyurl.com/3nz8qaa>.)

burgeoning school system. In the popular Western genre, the schoolmarm was either the romantic interest, portrayed as a virginal, young lass awaiting the right man to marry, or a supporting character portrayed as an rigid, puritanical old maid who was the target of her students' pranks.¹⁷⁶ The classic plot as found in *The Cowboy and the Schoolmarm* (1908 and 1910) and *Corralling a Schoolmarm* (1940) features the young, pretty schoolteacher rescued by the rugged, but honest cowboy, first, from the advances of bad men and, second, from the schoolhouse by marriage.¹⁷⁷ Thus, teaching was not an occupation for marriageable women to aspire to, but a tedious job to be rescued from.

The typical “bad” male teacher continued to resemble the visage and pedagogy of Ichabod Crane. Norman Rockwell’s “First in His Class,” the cover for the June 6, 1926 *Saturday Evening Post*, features a gaunt, lanky, big eared, balding, old-fashioned teacher (see figure 1). As a teacher, he melodramatically lectured, and most likely bored, the class on the scholastic virtues and intellectual abilities of the serious young man beside

¹⁷⁶ Edelman, 26; Paietta, 2;

¹⁷⁷ *The Cowboy and the Schoolmarm* (New York: Edison Manufacturing Company, 1908; *The Cowboy and the Schoolmarm* (Los Angeles, CA: Bison Motion Pictures, 1910); Charles E. Roberts, *Corralling a Schoolmarm* (Los Angeles, CA: RKO Radio Pictures, 1940). This trope of the schoolmarm in Westerns was common. See, Zane Grey, *A Missouri Schoolmarm* (New York: Start Publishing, 1926, 2011); William MacLeod Raine, *Wyoming, a Story of the Outdoor West* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1908); Victor Fleming, *The Virginian* (Hollywood, CA: Paramount Pictures, 1929); Lesley Selander, *The Frontiersmen* (Los Angeles, CA: Harry Sherman Productions, 1938); John Ford, *My Darling Clementine* (Century City, CA: 20th Century Fox 1946); William Witney, *Down Dakota Way* (Los Angeles, CA: Republic Pictures, 1949); Fred Zinnemann, *High Noon* (Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1952); Rod Amateau, *The Bushwackers* (Los Angeles, CA: Republic, 1952); Charles Marquis Warren, *Copper Sky* (Century City, CA: 20th Century Fox 1957); Elliot Silverstein, *Cat Ballou* (Culver City, CA: Columbia Pictures, 1965).

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

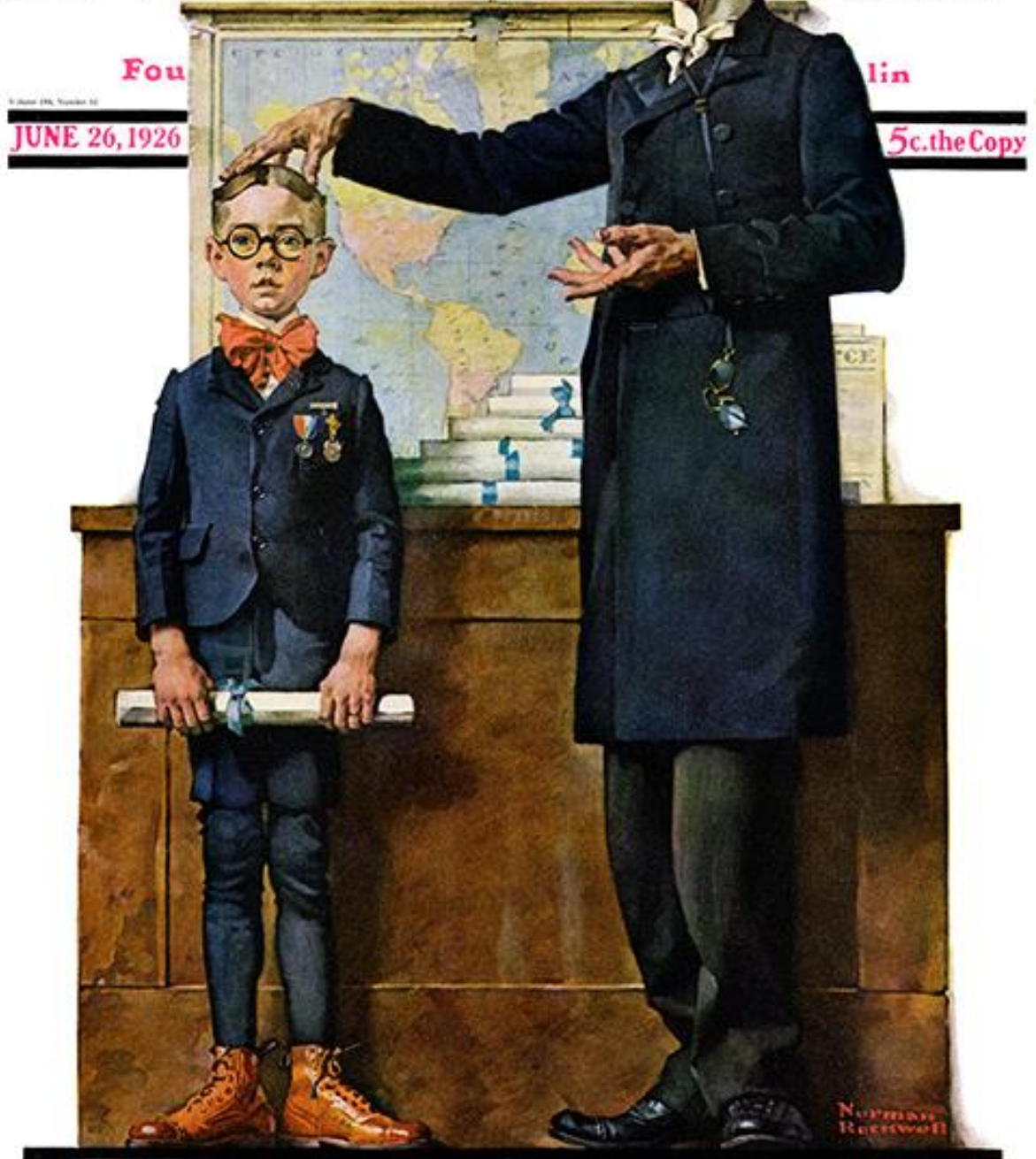


Figure 1: Norman Rockwell, "First in His Class" *The Saturday Evening Post* (June 6, 1926)

him.¹⁷⁸ Much like Miss Semple and Miss Saunders, Rockwell's schoolmaster seemingly expected rapt attention from his star pupil's classmates as he pontificates on the day's lesson. As a man, Rockwell faithfully replicated impotent "cognomen" of Ichabod Crane:

He was tall, but exceedingly lank, with narrow shoulders, long arms and legs, hands that dangled a mile out of his sleeves, feet that might have served for shovels, and his whole frame most loosely hung together. His head was small, and flat at top, with huge ears, large green glassy eyes, and a long snipe nose, so that it looked like a weather-cock perched upon his spindle neck to tell which way the wind blew. To see him striding along the profile of a hill on a windy day, with his clothes bagging and fluttering about him, one might have mistaken him for the genius of famine descending upon the earth, or some scarecrow eloped from a cornfield.¹⁷⁹

The continual cultural appropriation of Ichabod Crane as the archetype for the male schoolteacher weakened men's place in the classroom and male teachers' place in the larger society. Education scholar Arthur Foff's study of American novels featuring teachers from 1900 to 1950, found male teachers were depicted in the classroom as strict disciplinarians and in the community as unmanly fools.¹⁸⁰ As men, they were physically distasteful and terribly antiquated. He was "stooped, gaunt, and grey with weariness. His suit has the shine of shabby gentility and hangs loose from his undernourished frame."¹⁸¹ As teachers, men were represented extensively as petty tyrants demanding immediate obedience or ineffectual authorities outwitted by their students. unduly intellectual, and/or physically defective.¹⁸² Overall, the male teacher was solitary, effeminate, peculiar, impractical, self-important, in other words, another version of Ichabod Crane.

¹⁷⁸ Diana Denny, "Rockwell's School Teachers," *Saturday Evening Post* (August 26, 2011). Accessed on May 1, 2012 from <http://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2011/08/26/art-entertainment/rockwells-school-teachers.html>.

¹⁷⁹ Irving, 394.

¹⁸⁰ Foff (1958), 121-123.

¹⁸¹ Foff (1956), 21.

¹⁸² Jackie M. Blount, "Spinsters, Bachelors, and Other Gender Transgressors in School Employment, 1850-1990," *Review of Educational Research* 70, 1 (2000): 83; Ehlers, 17; Foff (1958), 121; Waller, 147-149.

From the 1870s through the 1920s, teachers as a whole were represented as physically unattractive and socially inept characters who served as obstacles to the protagonists' progress or as the butts of jokes. In 1898, the American Mutoscope Company released five moving pictures with teachers falling for students' pranks: *The Teacher's Unexpected Bath*, *The Schoolmaster's Surprise*, *The Katzenjammer Kids in School*, *Tribulations of a Country Schoolmarm*, and *The Nearsighted School Teacher*.¹⁸³ Education scholar Heather A. Weaver claims all these films followed the same formula: Students set a booby trap for the stern schoolmaster or dictatorial schoolmarm; "the trap causes the teacher physical and/or psychological harm; the students in turn are very pleased. The end."¹⁸⁴ In these representations, the rural one-room schoolhouse was an unnecessary, old-fashioned institution staffed by pompous, incompetent, and clueless, teachers.¹⁸⁵ These "bad" teachers could not lay claim to technical expertise or to a specialized body of knowledge. Their teaching careers consisted primarily of dominating, or even terrorizing, young children in the name of instilling a sense of discipline and a respect for adult authority. However, due to their personality flaws and reliance on out-of-date ideas, these 'bad' teachers failed in and out the classroom.

In the Progressive era (1880s-1920s), these representations of "bad" teachers both countered and reinforced an emerging optimism among education theorists, reformers, leaders, and the public about the potential of mass education to serve as an effective agent

¹⁸³ For silent and early films where the teacher was the target of student gleeful pranks see, D. W. Griffith, *The School Teacher and the Waif* (Studio City, CA: Biograph, 1912); Mack Sennett, *The Little Teacher* (Hollywood, CA: Mutual Film, 1915); *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (Hollywood, CA: Mary Pickford Film Corporation, 1917); Edward Venturini, *The Headless Horseman* (Hollywood, CA: Paramount Pictures, 1922); Gregory La Cava, *The New School Teacher* (New York: C. C. Burr Pictures, 1924); Robert McGowan, *Readin' & Writin'* (Hollywood, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1932).

¹⁸⁴ Heather A. Weaver, "'The Teacher's Unexpected Bath': Plumbing the Meaning of Mayhem in the Celluloid Schoolroom," *History of Education Quarterly* 54, 2 (2014): 145-146, 150.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 145, 150.

of human and technological progress. For progressive reformers, the one-room schoolhouse ruled by a bossy schoolmarm or a stern taskmaster symbolized a forlorn relic of the past. For producers of popular culture texts, the hopelessly old-fashioned teacher who ruled over the rural one-room schoolhouse endured as a prime comic target into the 1920s.¹⁸⁶ Integral to these representations of “bad” teachers was the hidden counter-narrative of competent, nurturing, and “good” teachers. Edward Eggleston’s *Hoosier Schoolmaster* (novel, 1871; films in 1914, 1924, and 1935) combined the dominant tropes of the “bad” teacher with the elements of what would become the “good” teacher representations. The melodrama followed the adventures of a Civil War veteran and new teacher, Ralph Hartsook. At first, like a “bad” teacher, Hartsook was barely competent in the classroom and fell prey to students’ pranks.¹⁸⁷ A precursor to the later “good” teacher representations, he befriended a troubled student and earned the respect of the class by confidently evading their traps.¹⁸⁸ As a man, Hartsook was brave. He protected a group of veterans from the corrupt townspeople, regained his position, and won the heart of his beloved. Hartsook embodied the hidden counter-narrative, the anti-Ichabod Crane. For teachers, he was a model whom they could embrace.

Many teachers, especially the overwhelming number of women in the teaching ranks, sought to promote these counter-narratives. They represented themselves and other teachers as professional practitioners of educational science and as thoroughly modern

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 150.

¹⁸⁷ Edward Eggleston, *Hoosier Schoolmaster: A Story of Backwoods Life in Indiana* (Chicago, IL: Orange Judd, 1871), 20-22; Edwin August and Max Figman, *Hoosier Schoolmaster* (Hollywood, CA: Masterpiece Film Manufacturing Company, 1914); Oliver L. Sellers, *Hoosier Schoolmaster* (Yonkers, NY: Whitman Bennett Productions, 1924); Lewis D. Collins, *Hoosier Schoolmaster* (Culver City, CA: Paul Malvern Productions, 1935).

¹⁸⁸ Eggleston, 32.

individuals.¹⁸⁹ In teachers' journals, autobiographies, photos, and articles, women represented teaching as a means for procuring economic independence, pursuing a meaningful career, obtaining personal autonomy, providing adventure, having a social life outside the household, and finding a compatible husband. In figure 2, Lucy Osborne, a teacher from Frisco, Colorado, was fashionably dressed and elegantly posed in an “elaborately carved chair, and wears a dark high-collared blouse with three-quarter length sleeves and a dark skirt.”¹⁹⁰ She represented herself as a self-assured woman of means. In figure 3, a group of studious young women are reading educational theory, pedagogical methods, and child psychology in order to prepare themselves for their teaching



Figure 2: Lucy Osborne (or Orsburn), a teacher in Frisco, Colorado (1906).

Figure 3: Group of young women reading in library of normal school, Washington, D.C. (1909).

¹⁸⁹ Nancy Hoffman, “Inquiring after the Schoolmarm’: Problems of Historical Research on Female Teachers,” *Women's Studies Quarterly* 22, 1/2 (1994): 105-109, Herbert Kliebard, “The Feminization of Teaching on the American Frontier: Keeping School in Otsego, Wisconsin, 1867–1880,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 27 (1995): 553.
¹⁹⁰ Western History/Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library, American Memory, “Osborne, Lucy, Teacher at Frisco, between 1906 and 1909.” Accessed on March 10, 2011 from <http://tinyurl.com/3cog34s>.

careers.¹⁹¹ As women, they resembled the feminine ideal of the 1890s and early 1900s, the “Gibson Girl.” They were fashionably dressed, physically fit, and possessed a winsome self-assurance in their social skills, intellectual capabilities, romantic options, and occupational abilities.¹⁹² As teachers, these women represented themselves in opposition to the dowdy, old schoolmarms. Educators by choice, not out of necessity or circumstance, they were professionally trained to pursue a career. These teachers are desirable young women embracing the aesthetic and demands of modernity.

In the 1890s and 1910s, for an increasing number of educated women, teaching represented a noble profession. Whether teaching practical knowledge about modern life to young minds or studying the latest pedagogical practices at normal schools, teaching offered educated and single women a meaningful, challenging, and intellectual professional life. Brown Lyman always found teaching children interesting, and there was always something to be done and something else to be learned and yet another thing to be shared.¹⁹³ Florence Morgan McDonald and Alice Laura Iverson Gardner envisioned teaching as means for doing good in the world.¹⁹⁴ Luella Waveing Cannon viewed teaching as an opportunity to elevate children with love and sincere interest, and a form of dedicated motherhood.¹⁹⁵ For Eva Louise Alvey Richards, a teacher’s job was to be

¹⁹¹ Frances Benjamin Johnston, “Group of Young Women Reading in Library of Normal School, Washington, D.C.” (1899). Accessed on March 10, 2011 from *Library of Congress* at <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/90711146/>

¹⁹² Julie Malnig, “Athena Meets Venus: Visions of Women in Social Dance in the Teens and Early 1920s,” *Dance Research Journal* 31, 2 (1999): 38; “The Gibson Girl’s America: Drawings by Charles Dana Gibson.” *Library of Congress*. Accessed on April, 6, 2015 from <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/gibson-girls-america/index.html>.

¹⁹³ Amy Brown Lyman, “Autobiography,” in *A Schoolmarm All My Life: Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah*, edited by Joyce Kinkead (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1996), 167.

¹⁹⁴ Alice Laura Iverson Gardner, “Life Sketch,” in *A Schoolmarm All My Life: Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah*, edited by Joyce Kinkead (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1996), 199; Florence Morgan McDonald, “Memories,” in *A Schoolmarm All My Life: Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah*, edited by Joyce Kinkead (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1996), 192.

¹⁹⁵ Luella Waveing Cannon, “A Desire Fulfilled,” in *A Schoolmarm All My Life: Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah*, edited by Joyce Kinkead (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1996), 209.

worthy of her students' affection and gratitude.¹⁹⁶ In 1926, *The English Journal* published "Are Teachers Human?" a reply to Collins' caricatures of schoolmarms that had "stimulated much warm controversy."¹⁹⁷ Lilla A. Stetson, an English teacher in Portland High School, Maine, felt "impelled" to protest Collins' conclusion about the inevitability of young, vivacious women teachers becoming old, frigid schoolmarms. After all, not all "schoolmarms" were bitter old authoritarians. Many, if not most, schoolmarms were "adored" by their students, as years of experience had taught them "to see in the most discouraging boy or girl a spark of something fine that given the needed warmth and encouragement."¹⁹⁸

Three key factors contributed to these counter-narratives gradually gaining traction in popular culture. First, schooling became a mass and urban phenomenon by the 1920s. A growing number of students attended large graded schools for longer period of time and were taught by teachers specializing in specific grade level pedagogy. Second, women took more public roles as "new women" in American society between the 1900s and 1920s. In the workforce, they were factory workers, sales clerks, nurses, teachers, fashion designers, sociologists, and social workers. In the political world, they were suffragettes, temperance activists, and elected officials. In the cultural realm, they were acclaimed and provocative writers, artists, choreographers, actresses, and flappers. Third, a conservative cultural movement favoring censorship of immoral conduct took hold in

¹⁹⁶ Eva Louise Alvey Richards, "December, 1924," in *Arctic Mood: A Narrative of Arctic Adventures* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1949): 139. Accessed on May 5, 2011 from <http://tinyurl.com/3rragrc>.

¹⁹⁷ Lilla A. Stetson, "Are Teachers Human? A Reply," *The English Journal* 15, 10 (1926): 773.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 773.

the 1930s.¹⁹⁹ The Motion Picture Production Code of 1933 exemplifies the cultural desire for “good taste” in the portrayal of authority figures and public institutions. ²⁰⁰ Weaver concluded her rebuttal with the observation that the growth of public schools staffed by college educated teachers, filmmakers and other producers of popular culture “could not ignore the fact that schoolteachers and schools” fit into the censors’ guidelines.²⁰¹

The transition from the dominance of the “bad” teacher to the rise of the “good teacher” can be seen in social issue dramas and in the Our Gang film comedies in the 1920s and early 1930s. Social issue dramas reflected a central ideology of Progressive reforms that emphasized the influence of environment, race, and gender on individuals. As public schools became central to reformers’ effort to remedy a variety of social ills, the focus shifted from the flawed personality of failed teachers to the structural problems

¹⁹⁹John Baxendale, “... into Another Kind of Life in Which Anything Might Happen...’ Popular Music and Late Modernity, 1910-1930,” *Popular Music* 14, 2 (1995): 137-154; Sherry Buckberrough, “Delaunay Design: Aesthetics, Immigration, and the New Woman,” *Art Journal* 54, 1 (1995): 51-55; K.A. Clements, “The New Era and the New Woman: Lou Henry Hoover and ‘Feminism’s Awkward Age.’” *Pacific Historical Review*, 73, 3 (2004): 425-462; Marie Clifford, “Working with Fashion: The Role of Art, Taste, and Consumerism in Women’s Professional Culture, 1920-1940,” *American Studies* 44, 1/2, (2003): 59-84; Lynn Dumenil, “The New Woman and the Politics of the 1920s,” *OAH Magazine of History* 21, 3 (2007): 22-26; Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920’s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Lewis A. Erenberg, “Everybody’s Doin’ It: The Pre-World War I Dance Craze, the Castles, and the Modern American Girl,” *Feminist Studies* 3, 1/2 (1975): 155-170; Estelle B. Freedman, “The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s,” *Journal of American History* 61 (1974): 372-393; Claudia Goldin, “America’s Graduation from High School: The Evolution and Spread of Secondary Schooling in the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Economic History* 58, 2 (1998): 345-374; Maureen Honey, “Gotham’s Daughters: Feminism in the 1920s,” *American Studies* 31, 1 (1990): 25-40; Sherrie A. Inness, “Who’s Afraid of Stephen Gordon?: The Lesbian in the United States Popular Imagination of the 1920s,” *National Women’s Studies Association Journal* 4, 3 (1992): 303-320; Margaret D. Jacobs, “Making Savages of Us All: White Women, Pueblo Indians, and the Controversy over Indian Dances in the 1920s,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 17, 3 (1996): 178-209; Jeffrey Mirel, *The Rise and Fall of an Urban School System: Detroit, 1907-1981* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993): 131-37; Jayne Morris-Crowther, “Municipal Housekeeping: The Political Activities of the Detroit Federation of Women’s Clubs in the 1920s Michigan,” *Historical Review* 30, 1 (2004): 31-57; Judith L. Stephens, “‘Why Marry?’: The ‘New Woman’ of 1918,” *Theatre Journal* 34, 2, (1982): 183-196; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The New Woman and the New History,” *Feminist Studies* 3, 1/2 (1975): 185-198; Daniel J. Walkowitz, “The Making of a Feminine Professional Identity: Social Workers in the 1920s,” *The American Historical Review* 95, 4 (1990): 1051-1075; Weaver, 166-167; B. June West, “The ‘New Woman,’” *Twentieth Century Literature* 1, 2 (1955): 55-68.

²⁰⁰ Henry James Forman, *Our Movie Made Children* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1935); Neil Gabler, *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood* (New York: Doubleday, 1989); Grobman, 58; Arthur R. Jarvis, “The Payne Fund Reports: A Discussion on their Content, Public Reaction and Affect on the Motion Picture Industry, 1930-1940,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 25, 2 (1991): 127-140; Richard Maltby and Ian Craven. *Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1995); John Nichols, “Countering Censorship: Edgar Dale and the Film Appreciation Movement,” *Cinema Journal* 46, 1 (2006): 3-22.

²⁰¹ Weaver, 166.

that made teaching difficult.²⁰² Historian Nancy Hoffman noted that in *Bread Givers* (1925) Anzia Yezierska contrasted her protagonist, Sara Smolinsky's, idealization of teachers as a child with the reality of becoming a teacher. As a student, Sara dreamed of being a teacher and spreading light to the world. As a young woman, teaching offered her the possibility of personal and economic independence. As a teacher, the daily demands of an overcrowded classroom and underfunded school crushed her idealism. "Not one of the teachers around kept the glamour. They were just peddling their little bit of education for a living, the same as any pushcart peddler."²⁰³ Sara's and the other teachers' cynicism in the face of the grim realities of teaching represented a reasonable, if tragic, reaction to the working conditions of the urban schools rather than an internal shortcoming.

The producers of Our Gang films created several shorts about the experience of schooling. Weaver claims that a discernable shift in the representation of teachers and schooling occurred between 1932 and 1936. In the short *Readin' and Writin'* (1932), pranks of students and the forces of nature overwhelmed the sweet, but overmatched,

²⁰² Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988); Edwin Amenta, *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Clarke A. Chambers, *Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918-1933* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963); Alan Dawley, *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003); Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Jaime G. A. Grinberg, "Teaching Like That: 'The Beginnings of Teacher Education at Bank Street" (New York: Peter Lang, 2005); Gwendolyn Mink, *The Wages of Motherhood: Inequality in the Welfare State, 1917-1942* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Alice Boardman Smuts, *Science in the Service of Children 1893-1935* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); Leigh Ann Wheeler, *Against Obscenity: Reform and the Politics of Womanhood in America, 1873-1935* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

²⁰³ Yezierska, 270.

teacher, Miss Crabtree, or “Crabby” (figure 4). In the end, Miss Crabtree was forced her to end school early to the sheer delight of the students. Within a few years, the tone and content of the *Our Gang* shorts and other popular culture texts shifted away from the tried and true trope of making fun of the teacher. In *Two Too Young* (1936), the nurturing and smart Miss Lawrence (Rosina Lawrence) calmly extinguished a fire and returned the classroom to its normal routine (figure 5). By *Our Gang*’s 1939 *Time Out for Lessons*, the importance of academic success and respect for the “good” teacher was established by Alfalfa choosing to do his lessons over playing football.²⁰⁴ Weaver argues the change in the *Our Gang* films, from students’ gleeful enjoyment of pranks on inept teachers to the respect for the capable teacher and the value of schooling, marked a significant cultural shift that “affirmed the necessity of school as a social institution and underscored the



Figure 4: June Marlowe as Miss Crabtree



Figure 5: Rosina Lawrence as Miss Lawrence

²⁰⁴ Weaver, 165; Also see, McGowan; Gordon Douglas, *Two Too Young* (Hollywood, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1936); Edward L. Cahn, *Time Out for Lessons* (Hollywood, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1939).

importance of formalized education for children and youth.”²⁰⁵ These films also recast teachers as competent individuals in the classroom and vital contributors to society.

From the mid 1930s through the 1950s, “good” teacher representations increasingly rose to prominence.²⁰⁶ These representations focused on self-sacrificing individuals who dedicated their whole life to teaching children and/or on “born” teachers who patiently worked to develop meaningful personal relationships with their students.²⁰⁷ These selfless, natural teachers were primarily white, single, stylish, and attractive idealists with little or no professional training.²⁰⁸ Central to these representations was the teacher’s willingness to listen to and learn from his or her students. In doing so, they were able to either enliven or personalize the curriculum to match students’ needs and interests. They also stepped out of the classroom and became personally involved in their students’ lives. Thus, they were able to connect with their students on both scholastic and

²⁰⁵ Weaver, 145, 165.

²⁰⁶ Bernstein, 79; Tan 294; Weaver, 145.

²⁰⁷ Ann Trabue Bass, “The Teacher as Portrayed in Fiction,” *Contemporary Education* 42 (1970): 15; Biklen, 118, 181; Deborah Britzman, *Practice Makes Practice: A Critical Study of Learning to Teach, Revised Edition* (Albany, NY: The State University of New York Press, 2003), 5; Burbach and Figgins, 68; Burnaford; Edelman, 30; Joseph Fischer and Anne Kiefer, “Images of Oral Histories and Narratives: Constructing and Discovering Images of Your Teaching,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 110; Nancy Stewart Green and Mary Phillips Manke, “Images of Oral Histories and Narratives: Good Women and Old Schoolteachers: Retired Teachers Talk about Teaching,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 37-43, 46-48; Grobman, 29, 68, 333-339, 350, 383-384, 408; Arthur T. Jersild, *When Teachers Face Themselves* (Teachers College Columbia University Bureau of Publications, 1955), 132; Joseph, 5; Pamela Bolotin Joseph, “The Ideal Teacher: Images of Early 20th Century Teacher Education Textbooks,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 136; Mary Phillips Manke, “The Sentimental Image of the Rural Teacher,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 162; Mitchell and Weber, 161; Paietta, 2; David G. Ryans, *Characteristics of Teachers: Their Description, Comparison, and Approach, A Research Study* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1960), 99; Tan, 5, 26, 41-43, 46, 81, 83, 276-277, 282; A. M. Trousdale, “Teacher as Gatekeeper: Schoolteachers in Picture Books for Young Children,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 195; Triplett and Ash, 244; Waller, 419; Weber and Mitchell, 85, 113, 128-130.

²⁰⁸ Barone, et al, 260; Bernstein, 79; Burbach and Figgins, 66; Burnaford, 233; Edelman, 28-19; Ehlers, 27; Fischer and Anne Kiefer, 110; Grobman, 18, 114, 360; Joseph, 4; Tan, 26, 36-38, 155, 224-226, 293; Trousdale, 196-198.

personal levels.²⁰⁹ While the “good” teacher exemplified selfless public service by competent educators, these representations also tended to weaken teachers’ arguments for better compensation and claims that teaching constituting technical expertise. For these devoted educators, teaching was a calling pursued out of the love for children and the desire to serve humanity, not for material gain. In depictions of the “good” teacher, teaching is its own reward.²¹⁰ The effectiveness of “good” teachers had more to do with strong moral compasses and large reserves of common sense than pedagogical skills.

Arthur Chipping, or Mr. Chips, of *Goodbye Mr. Chips* (novel, 1934; film, 1939) represented the prototypical “good” teacher.²¹¹ Much like the Ralph Hartsook of the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, Arthur Chipping started out as a “bad” teacher. Initially, he was shy, awkward, and tentative in and out of the classroom. When the headmaster rebuked Mr. Chipping for not exercising his authority over an unruly class and questioned whether he chosen the correct vocation, he adopted an stiff, autocratic manner in order to impose his will over the classroom.²¹² He also sank “into that creeping dry rot of pedagogy” repeating “the same lessons year after year.”²¹³ Mr. Chipping’s transformation into a “good” teacher (Mr. Chips) and a complete man coincided with his marriage to Katherine.²¹⁴ Katherine helped Arthur overcome his shyness, develop a sense of humor, and gain insight into the difference a teacher can make in the lives of his students. Mr. Chips threw himself into teaching and developed an enduring devotion to his boys. By

²⁰⁹ Barone, et al, 262-263; Dalton (2013), 80; Green and Manke, 39; Grobman, 64-65; 86-92, 392-396; Joseph, 148.

²¹⁰ Joseph, 136-138;

²¹¹ Edelman, 26; Grobman, iv, 28; Weaver, 145; It was remade three more times: as a musical, Herbert Ross, *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* (Hollywood, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1969), as a 1984 BBC-TV mini-series, and as the 2002 PBS-produced movie.

²¹² Grobman, 35; Sam Wood, *Good-Bye, Mr. Chips* (Hollywood, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1939).

²¹³ James Hilton, *Good-Bye, Mr. Chips* (New York, Little Brown, 1934), 34.

²¹⁴ Grobman, 35-36, 46; Hilton 33-38, 43-53.

listening to his students, he learned how to be a better teacher, gained empathy for his boys, and built personal connections with the “thousands” of boys he ushered into manhood.²¹⁵ Teaching even served as Arthur’s salvation and purpose after the early death of Katherine. He eventually sacrificed his well-deserved retirement to save his beloved school and boys from an unworthy headmaster.²¹⁶ Over the course of 68 years, Arthur transformed from the boring, autocratic Mr. Chipping into the beloved Mr. Chips.

The acclaim Mr. Chips received as a great teacher was based primarily on a change of personality rather than technical expertise in the classroom. As a teacher, his improvement was not because of a change in his pedagogical method. In the rare scenes in the classroom, he continued to take the traditional approach to pedagogy with the teacher lecturing and the students listening, although, Mr. Chips did eliminate the “creeping dry rot” of early teaching days by continually working on and updating his lectures, he became a “good” teacher because of the personal connections he made with his boys. The students’ respect for Mr. Chips came from his extracurricular role as a trusted confidants and wise advisor. His progress as a teacher was not based professional training in a specialized body of knowledge. His classroom instruction actually ran counter to the Progressive-influenced theories and pedagogical methods taught in most teacher education programs. His improvement came from his dedication to his boys and his desire to learn from human interactions and life experiences. His competence was measured by the personal connections he developed with his students and the respect he

²¹⁵ Hilton, 47, 107, 113-114, 125.

²¹⁶ Ibid, 63-64.

earned from his colleagues. Teaching did afford Mr. Chips with a permanent, or lifelong, career providing a vital public service fundamental to the well-being of society.

With the prominence of “good” teachers, popular representations of the spinster schoolmarm took a more positive spin as feminine versions of Mr. Chips. Instead of sour old maids who took out their frustrations out on their students, the “good” schoolmarm became a dedicated educator who forsook the unfettered joy of marriage and family and took on the “burdensome joy” of teaching generations of young people.²¹⁷ As represented in fiction and the news media, the “good” schoolmarms went above and beyond to help their students.²¹⁸ They tutored children on their own time, offered free summer courses to help students catch up, taught evening classes for the adults of the community, created new programs for students to learn useful skills, obtained necessary equipment for the schools, nurtured their students’ talents, actively contributed to the welfare of the community, devoted themselves to extra-curricular activities, and helped underprivileged youth earn scholarships to prestigious prep schools or colleges.²¹⁹ The “good” female

²¹⁷ The term “burdensome joy” comes from the Grobman’s conclusion about film narratives featuring K-12 teachers from 1939-1999. Grobman, 422.

²¹⁸ Britzman, 5; Burbach and Figgins, 68; Adam Golub, “John Dewey vs. the Terrible Miss Dove: Frances Gray Patton’s Postwar Schoolmarm and the Cultural Work of Nostalgia,” *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy* 23, 1 (2012): 39; Green and Manke, 44-46; Hoffman, 113; Joseph, 136; Paietta, 2; Tan, 276-277; Waller, 419; Weber and Mitchell, 128.

²¹⁹ For examples, see novels, plays, television and films such as Bess Streeter Aldrich, *Cheers for Miss Bishop* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1933); Tay Garnett, *Cheers for Miss Bishop* (Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1941); Henry King, *Remember the Day* (Hollywood, CA: 20th Century Fox, 1941); Emlyn Williams, *The Corn is Green* (New York: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 1940, reprint 1956); Irving Rapper, *The Corn is Green* (Burbank, CA: Warner 1945); Elia Kazan, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (Hollywood, CA: 20th Century Fox, 1945); Gerald Mayer, *Bright Road* (Hollywood, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1953); Robert Z. Leonard, *Her 12 Men* (Hollywood, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1954). For magazine items and *New York Times* coverage see, Louisa MacFarland and D. G. Wittels, “I’m Through with Teaching,” *Saturday Evening Post* 219 November 9, 1946, 16, 111; “Teacher Learns from her Photography Pupils,” *New York Times*, December 9, 1951; “Truman Greets Teacher of the Year,” *New York Times* May 5, 1952, 23; Reef Waldrep, “Miss Teacher of the Twentieth Century,” *The Clearing House* 31, 3 (1956): 163-164; “Jersey Teacher to be Feted,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1956, 36; Robert Haley, “Don’t Call me a Sissy!” *Saturday Evening Post* 223, October 6, 1956, 104; Jeanne Storrs, “We’re Lucky to be Teachers,” *Saturday Evening Post* 229, November 17 1956, 49; Edith Evans Ashbury, “Arizonan Named Teacher of Year,” *New York Times*, June 7, 1957, 17; Joseph Mersand, “English Meets the Challenge: Presidential Address. Delivered at the Annual Convention of the National Council of Teachers of English, Denver, Colorado, November 26, 1959,” *The English Journal*, 49, 2

teacher was a virtuous women, a surrogate mother, and a resolute educator who always kept her students' best interests at heart.²²⁰

The transition of the “bad” schoolmarm into a “good” teacher was best illustrated by comparing Norman Rockwell’s *Saturday Evening Post* covers “First Day of School” (September 14, 1935) with “Teacher’s Day Off.” (March 3, 1956). In figure 6 (1935), Rockwell replicated many the “bad” teacher tropes. As a teacher, the ferule behind her back and the bandage on the young man’s head demonstrates that she controlled rowdy boys by corporal punishment. The open books behind her back and at her feet suggested her attention was primarily on the intellectual and not emotional development of her pupils. As women, the old, prim, bespectacled, and homely schoolteacher with her hair pulled into a severe bun compared poorly to her adversary, the young, attractive, and fashionable mother who caringly holds her son’s hand.²²¹ In figure 6 (1956), Rockwell’s Miss Jones, or “Jonesy,” combined traditional schoolmarm tropes with elements of the ascendant “good” teacher representations. As a woman, the drably dressed, “mousy looking.” Miss Jones replicated the dowdy, prim schoolmarm.²²² As a teacher, the birthday wishes and humble gifts from her adoring, yet spirited students seated in orderly rows demonstrated “Jonesy” took care of both her students’ scholastic and emotional

(1960): 62; “Teacher from Kansas Honored by Kennedy,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1962, 34; “Oklahoma Teacher Wins Recognition by Johnson,” *New York Times*, May 5, 1964, 40; Special to *New York Times*. “Teacher Honored at White House,” *New York Times*, April 8, 1965, 20; Dave Kelly, Toledo AFT Local 250, “Commentary on Channel 11 WHC 6 O’clock News: What is a Teacher,” *Weekly Bulletin* 22, 13, December 13, 1965. Located in the Mary Wheeler File Box1, 4 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

²²⁰ Bernstein, 79; Burbach and Figgins, 67; Gail E. Burnaford, “Personal Memories and Social response: Teacher Images in Literature for Older Children,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 228. Dalton and Linder, 21; Efron and Joseph, 82-83; Grobman, 70-71, 101-102, 361; Hoffman, 112-113; Clifford (1989), 329; Fischer and Kiefer, 109; Tan, 34,47, 294; Weber and Mitchell, 113.

²²¹ Denny, <http://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2011/08/26/art-entertainment/rockwells-school-teachers.html>.

²²² Ibid, <http://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2011/08/26/art-entertainment/rockwells-school-teachers.html>.

needs. While the boy in figure 5 noticeably recoiled from the teacher, the students in figure 6 were seated respectfully, glorying in Jonesy's "sweet face," despite ample evidence of mischief.²²³ Miss Jones had no need for a ferule to rule her classroom. She earned the admiration of her students through her hard work and nurturing personality.



Figure 6: Norman Rockwell. "First Day of School" *Saturday Evening Post* (September 14, 1935)

Figure 7: Norman Rockwell. "Teacher's Day Off." *Saturday Evening Post* (March 3, 1956)

The "good" teacher representations also contributed to the development of the "hero" teachers. These contributions are personified by the title characters in *Our Miss Brooks* (Radio, 1948-1957; Television, 1952-1956; Film, 1956) and *Good Morning, Miss Dove* (Novel, 1954; Film 1955).²²⁴ Each character exemplified the self-sacrificing ethos

²²³ As Denny noticed, while the students are seated orderly in their desks, "an eraser and chalk dust on the floor indicate there was an eraser fight while waiting for the teacher to show up. The kid with the red shirt still has an eraser on his head." (Denny, <http://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2011/08/26/art-entertainment/rockwells-school-teachers.html>.)

²²⁴ *Our Miss Brooks* (Los Angeles, CA: CBS radio, 1948-1957); *Our Miss Brooks* (Los Angeles, CA: CBS-TV, 1952-56); Al Lewis, *Our Miss Brooks* (Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 1956); Frances Gray Patton, *Good Morning, Miss*

and natural abilities of the “good” teacher images. As women, both sacrificed the promising sanctuary of love, marriage, and family for the overriding demands of their students and classroom. As teachers, both were dedicated educators who emphasized the importance of education to their students’ lives. Teaching became the central purpose of their own lives. As precursors to the “hero” teacher, they sparred with administrators, teachers, parents, and the community to help their students achieve their potential.²²⁵



Figure 8: Eve Arden in *Our Miss Brooks*

Figure 9: Jennifer Jones in *Good Morning, Miss Dove*

In critically acclaimed and warmly received *Our Miss Brooks*, Eve Arden played Connie Brooks, an attractive, wise-cracking, and dedicated English teacher at Madison High School.²²⁶ Retaining some aspects of the traditional schoolmarm, Miss Brooks reiterated the desire to escape teaching through marriage. She futilely chased after and

Dove (New York: Pilot Press, 1954); Henry Koster, *Good Morning, Miss Dove* (Century City, CA: 20th Fox Film, 1955).

²²⁵ Considine, 131; Mitchell and Weber, 186-187.

²²⁶ Dalton and Linder, 26; Ryan and Terzian, 90-91, 147;

tried to snare the oblivious biology teacher Mr. Boynton into marriage.²²⁷ She was not the traditional schoolmarm, however. Miss Brooks was a self-sufficient woman maintaining close personal relationships, a teaching career, and a comfortable home. She dressed fashionably accenting her long and lean figure, wore make-up, and had her hair styled to frame her face.²²⁸ She was also a self-sacrificing community member. Despite her meager teacher's salary and consistent debt, she supported her colleagues, friends, students, and strangers with financial gifts. She fed a destitute man instead of buying a formal dress for the dance, helped a burglar get hired as the school's custodian, and gave money to students and teachers instead of buying herself a birthday gift.²²⁹ Miss Brooks was not social or gender misfit. Instead, she was actively involved in civil society, doggedly pursued a husband, and presented herself as an undeniably appealing woman.

As a teacher, Miss Brooks embodied the Progressive ideal of a child-centered, holistic approach to education and the "good" role as surrogate mother.²³⁰ In the rare classroom scenes, Miss Brooks carefully crafted her lessons to engage the students' interests at a level appropriate to their abilities. She spent time outside the classroom to help students with their scholastic pursuits and personal dilemmas. She helped the lovesick star baseball player to get a date with a new student, challenged a rich father to

²²⁷ Mary M. Dalton, "Our Miss Brooks: Situating Gender in Teacher Sitcoms," in *The Sitcom Reader: America Viewed and Skewed*, edited by Mary M. Dalton and Laura R. Linder (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 99-109; Dalton and Linder, 27; Gunderson and Haas, 27-28; Tan, 41, 191; Patrick Ryan, "Image of the Teacher in Postwar United States," (PhD diss., Gainesville, FL; University of Florida, 2008), 124; Patrick A. Ryan and Sevan G. Terzian, "Our Miss Brooks: Broadcasting Domestic Ideals for the Female Teacher in the Postwar United States," *National Women's Studies Association Journal* 1, 1 (2009): 76-100; Mitchell and Weber, 121.

²²⁸ Dalton and Linder, 26, 29.

²²⁹ Ryan, 107, 113-114; Ryan and Terzian, 80; "Mr. Whipple," *Our Miss Brooks* (CBS-TV, November 21, 1952); *Our Miss Brooks* (CBS-Radio, October 24, 1948; March 12, 1950).

²³⁰ Burnaford, 223; Ryan 11-12, 104-107.

be a better parent, and paid a tutor to help a struggling student.²³¹ Miss Brooks was also a school leader. She advised the school newspaper, student bank, and school safety, ‘volunteered’ to help the principal with various administrative tasks, and covered her colleagues’ classes and extracurricular duties when asked, without asking for or receiving an increase in salary.²³² As a precursor to the “hero” teacher, Miss Brooks proved an effective adversary to the out-of-touch, dictatorial, and bumbling principal. She addressed grievances arising from the students and her colleagues with the principal, prevented a students’ expulsion through creative subterfuge, secured a star football player’s eligibility, and appropriated a heater for Mr. Boynton’s class, new uniforms for the basketball team, and a sewing machine for the domestic science lab.²³³

The “good” teacher representation of Miss Brooks supported teachers’ claims of dedicated, selfless, and practical public service. Miss Brooks did whatever was needed to help her students, support her colleagues, and improve the school. However, as with Mr. Chips, Miss Brooks’ technical expertise as a teacher seemed, at best, secondary or, at worst, irrelevant to her role as a surrogate parent. Education scholars Patrick Ryan and Sevain Terzian argued that, while Miss Brooks’ students acknowledged her skill as an English teacher, “they predominantly valued Miss Brooks for her nurturing role outside the classroom.”²³⁴ Her respect among her colleagues rested primarily on her advocacy, support, and willingness to help rather than her curricular knowledge or instructional

²³¹ Ryan and Terzian, 79, 141; Tan, 226; *Our Miss Brooks* (CBS-Radio, February 26, 1950).

²³² Ryan, 131; Ryan and Terzian, 80-86; *Our Miss Brooks* (CBS-Radio, January 16, 1949; January 30, 1949; February 6, 1949; March 27, 1949; October 16, 1949; February 5, 1950; March 19, 1950; March 26, 1950; November 12, 1950; January 27, 1952); *Our Miss Brooks* (CBS-TV, November 1, 1953; January 10, 1954; January 24, 1954; October 17, 1954; January 16, 1955; April 10, 1955; July 24, 1955; December 4, 1955; January 8, 1956; February 12, 1956).

²³³ Dalton (2004), 88; Dalton and Linder, 28; Gunderson and Holm, 27; Ryan, 113-114; Ryan and Terzian, 79; *Our Miss Brooks* (CBS-Radio, October 24, 1948, January 9, 1949 and February 12, 1956).

²³⁴ Ryan and Terzian, 79.

methods. The “good” teacher representation of Miss Brooks also undermined teachers’ calls for better salaries and working conditions by reinforcing that teaching was its own reward. Despite recurrent themes of being overworked and underpaid, Miss Brooks willingly and, in the end, gladly sacrificed her own time, money, self-interest, and personal desires to help her students and colleagues succeed.

In the bestselling novel (1954) and popular film (1955) *Good Morning Miss Dove*, the title character as both a woman and teacher replicated and reimagined the traditional schoolmarm tropes. As a schoolmarm, the “terrible” Miss Dove was a strict disciplinarian, who saw the first duty of the teacher was to establish and preserve order.²³⁵ As a woman, she was “not pretty.” She had a pointed nose and was overly thin with “small” bones. She wore her hair tied up in an “old maid’s knot,” and always “ignored fashion,” instead wearing drab, conservative dresses. In the WASP-y small town of Liberty Hill, the community considered her a social and gender outsider, a “childless, chickless, figless” spinster.²³⁶ In the earlier representations, these traits would have marked Miss Dove as a “bad” teacher. In 1954, they instead marked Miss Dove as a respected, but feared, “good” teacher who dedicated her life to educating generations of young people and preserving the traditions of Liberty Hill.²³⁷

As a self-sacrificing teacher, she devoted herself to enriching the lives of her students and family. Following her father’s death, Miss Dove rejected her fiancé’s proposal, left college, and abandoned her dream of traveling the world to become a teacher in order to support her mother, educate her sisters, and repay the money her father

²³⁵ Biklen, 116; Golub (209), 45; Patton, 1, 139.

²³⁶ Biklen, 110; Golub (209), 42; Patton 19, 25, 34, 64; Weber and Mitchell, 4.

²³⁷ Gloub, 116; A.H. Weiler, “Movie Review: Teacher Is a Pet,” *New York Times* (November 24, 1955).

had embezzled. As an authoritarian teacher, Miss Dove embodied “Pre-Deweyian” teacher-centered pedagogy that emphasized strict discipline, rote memorization, standardized testing, and moral certitude.²³⁸ American Studies scholar Adam Golub argues as a cultural phenomenon *Good Morning, Miss Dove* was an anti-progressive education parable that echoed the major critiques during the early 1950s of Progressive education as anti-intellectual and Progressive teachers as too permissive.²³⁹ As a precursor of the “hero” teacher, Miss Dove embraced a tough-love approach to teaching. Her “adamantine regulations” as “fixed as the signs of the zodiac” were equitably administered and designed to instill self-discipline and moral courage so her students could succeed in the “real” world.²⁴⁰ In a letter from a former student and World War II veteran, Randy explained how the lessons he learned in Miss Dove’s classroom helped him survive being lost at sea and face his fears while under attack.²⁴¹ As a “born” teacher, Miss Dove never graduated from a teacher education program or acquired a license. She purposely avoided “modern fads” and took pride in never taking “an educational psychology or classroom management class.”²⁴² Her “teacher education” came from her classroom experience, a sense of moral duty, and voluminous reading of geography texts.

The “good” teacher representation of Miss Dove supported claims that teaching was a permanent career for dedicated public servants and that the public schools were essential social institution to general welfare of the community. The “terrible” Miss Dove earned the respect of her students, their parents, her colleagues, and the community with

²³⁸ Barone, et al, 259; Biklen, 118; Golub (2009), 39-40; Patton, 9, 11, 14, 21, 34, 118.

²³⁹ Golub (2009), 43-47

²⁴⁰ Burbach and Figgins, 68; Golub (2009), 49; Patton, 1, 9.

²⁴¹ Patton, 136-137.

²⁴² Ibid, 117, 180.

her “selfless devotion to her calling [that] shaped the character of an entire generation, both inside and outside of the classroom.”²⁴³ However, the pride Miss Dove took in her traditional pedagogical approach and her purposeful lack of formal teacher education undermined teachers’ claims of technical expertise and specialized base of knowledge. Her anti-progressive methods ran counter to the bulk of contemporary curriculum of teacher education programs, educational research into effective teaching, and practices of classroom teachers. The positive impact that derived from Miss Dove’s teaching resulted from her steadfast adherence to tradition and a moral consistency of character.

The latter part of the Baby Boom era (1955-1965) saw a new twist on the “good” teacher, the triumphant pedagogy of the young, white, and masculine “hero.” In the mid 1950s, the “hero” teachers took center stage in social issue dramas as liberating saviors who inspired troubled, but worthwhile, urban youth to overcome obstacles and/or as ethical rebels who single-handedly took on the “system” so students could get the best possible education.²⁴⁴ In these dramas, teachers were shown in classrooms practicing their craft. Teaching was represented as a pitched battle. It required continual individual effort to win the trust of the students and unwavering moral courage to overcome various

²⁴³ Golub (2009), 39.

²⁴⁴ William Ayers, “A Teacher Ain’t Nothin’ but a Hero: Teachers and Teaching in Film,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 201-208; Biklen, 91-94; Burbach and Figgins, 66-69; Gail E. Burnaford, “And the Oscar Goes to... Teacher as Supporting Actors in Fiction for Young Adults,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 173-175; Edelman, 26-31; Ehlers, 103; K. Freedman, *(Re)presentation of Education: Preservice Teachers’ Interpretations of Dangerous Minds* (Austin, Tx: University of Texas, Austin 2000), 1-8; Grobman, 110-143; Evan Hunter, *Blackboard Jungle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1954) 134-135; Edward R. Mikel and Sue Hiserman, “Images of Oral Histories and Narratives: Beyond the Classroom: Progressive Activist Teachers and Images of Experience, Meaning, Purpose, and Identity,” in *Images of Schoolteachers in America, Second Edition*, edited by Pamela Bolotin Joseph and Gail E. Burnaford (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 115-124; John Rodden, “The Teacher as Hero,” *The American Enterprise* (September, 2000): 40-41; Rosen, 144; Leslie A. Swetnam, “Media Distortion of the Teacher Image,” *Clearing House* 66, 1 (1992): 30-33; Tan, 64, 72-74, 78-82; 144; Weber and Mitchell, 87-89, 99-102, 129, 136.

impediments to be allowed to teach the truth.²⁴⁵ To win the battle, “hero” teachers had to devote themselves to do whatever was needed to help their students succeed in school and life.²⁴⁶ Heroic representations tended to support teachers’ claims of providing a vital public service, possessing technical expertise, and being underpaid, overworked professionals. However, the focus on the perseverance of rugged individual teacher in contrast to his cynical, compliant, or naïve colleagues in the same schools replicated “bad” teacher tropes, reinforcing the idea that “natural” attributes make “good” teachers, and diminishing the need for professional unity to bolster teaching’s status.

Richard Dadier, of the popular and controversial *Blackboard Jungle*, represents the foundational “hero” teacher. He was first depicted in the bestselling novel by former teacher Evan Hunter in 1954, and then played by Glenn Ford in the Oscar-nominated film in 1955. As a man, Mr. Dadier was a social and gender insider. He was a World War II navy veteran who benefitted from the GI bill, an aspiring middle class professional dedicated to the common good, and happily married with his first child on the way. As a teacher, Mr. Dadier was a professional outsider. Like the “good” teachers before him, Mr. Dadier envisioned teaching as a creative act, a moral duty, and a medium for social reform.²⁴⁷ He considered teaching to be “the worthiest profession.” Thus, Mr. Dadier “seized upon teaching, had seized upon it fervently” as an opportunity for a man to “be a big creator” in the classroom where there “were minds to be sculptured, here were ideas to be painted, here were lives to shape.”²⁴⁸ However, his inner-city, blue-collar vocational

²⁴⁵ David M. Considine, *The Cinema of Adolescence* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland; 1985), 64-65; Grobman II, 112, 366.

²⁴⁶ Burbach and Figgins, 68; Furness, 463; George Gerbner, “Images across Cultures: Teachers in Mass Media Fiction and Drama,” *The School Review* 74, 2 (1966): 213; Schwartz (1963), 90.

²⁴⁷ Grobman, 117.

²⁴⁸ Hunter, 200-201.

high school was staffed by cynical teachers and an ineffectual principal who devalued Mr. Dadier's idealism and efforts to make a difference in the lives of his students.²⁴⁹

As a liberating savior, Mr. Dadier hoped to teach its ethnically and racially diverse students how to be "thinking, reacting, responsible citizens."²⁵⁰ On his first day, he was immediately confronted with a classroom full of insolent, apathetic, and undereducated students. Like Miss Dove, Mr. Dadier quickly adopted a tough-love approach. He realized that classroom discipline was the necessary first step to effective teaching.²⁵¹ Relying on his military experience rather than his teacher education, he asserted his authority over his more troubling students through physical intimidation.²⁵² He demanded students treat him and each other with the proper respect. He required students to remove their hats, learn proper pronunciation, refrain from name calling, and refer to him as Mr. Dadier. He firmly admonished students for "kidding around" by using racial and ethnic epithets: "There's not gonna be any name calling here. Not today, not tomorrow, not ever. Now you understand that? All of ya!"²⁵³

In the first of several classroom conflicts with a student gang leader, Artie West, West refused to remove his hat, derisively replied to Mr. Dadier as "Daddy' O," and threatened him by asking "You ever try to fight thirty-five guys at one time, teach?" Dadier calmly approached West who stood, and said, "Take your hat off, boy, before I

²⁴⁹ Ayers, 203-204; Burbach and Figgins, 66; Edelman, 30; Adam Golub, "Into the Blackboard Jungle: Educational Debate and Cultural Change in 1950s America," (M.A.T. thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 2004): 9; Grobman, 111-112; Weber and Mitchell, 99.

²⁵⁰ Hunter, 201.

²⁵¹ Burbach and Figgins, 68; Grobman, 118;

²⁵² Weber and Mitchell, 88, 92.

²⁵³ Hunter, 290; Richard Brooks, *Blackboard Jungle* (Hollywood, CA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1955).



Figure 10: Glenn Ford as Richard Dadier confronting Vic Morrow as Artie West in *Blackboard Jungle* (1955)

knock it off.”²⁵⁴ Outside the classroom, he stopped the attempted rape of female teacher by West’s gang, fended off an attack by the same gang, protected his pregnant wife from threats by West, and disarmed West of his switchblade in a climatic classroom fight after which West was restrained by the other students led by the troubled, but worthy, “Negro” student, Gregory Miller (Sidney Poitier).²⁵⁵ By physically standing up to West and enforcing his rules fairly, Mr. Dadier gradually gained the respect of the more “worthy” students who actually wanted to learn. By establishing himself as a tough but fair authority figure, Mr. Dadier could direct his efforts to his pedagogy and convince his students of the significance of school.

As an ethical rebel, Mr. Dadier challenged the apathy of his students, cynicism of his colleagues, and the inequities of the school system. Like Miss Brooks, Mr. Dadier

²⁵⁴ Brooks; Hunter, 98.

²⁵⁵ Considine, 64-65; Adam Golub, “They Turned a School into a Jungle! How *The Blackboard Jungle* Redefined the Education Crisis in Postwar America,” *Film & History* 39, 1 (Spring 2009): 22-23; Grobman, 112, 366; Dan Leopard, “Blackboard Jungle: The Ethnographic Narratives of Education on Film,” *Cinema Journal* 46, 4 (2007): 24-26; Beth McCoy, “Manager, Buddy, Delinquent: “Blackboard Jungle’s” Desegregating Triangle,” *Cinema Journal* 38, 1 (1998): 26, 28-29, 32-33.

reached out to his students to foster personal connections and crafted the curriculum to match the students' interests and abilities in order to encourage their personal development and academic inquiry. After failed lectures, Mr. Dadier decided to use visual media to stimulate students' interest. He showed a cartoon of *Jack and the Beanstalk*, which ignited a rousing discussion of ethics that continued after the bell.²⁵⁶ He also engaged students outside the classroom. Mr. Dadier's initial attempts to build trust with the students was thwarted by a misunderstanding involving an introverted and bright student, Gregory Miller. Mr. Dadier later apologized to Gregory and further encouraged him to embrace being a "natural-born leader."²⁵⁷ When Dadier heard Gregory was considering dropping out, he went to his father's shop in a "colored" neighborhood to talk Gregory out of it, suggesting that the two "have a sort of pact, you and I: neither of us quit."²⁵⁸ Gregory eventually became an ally in the classroom, helping Mr. Dadier maintain order and participating in class activities. Mr. Dadier earned the trust and attention of his students by examining his own practices, by adapting his lessons to fit his students' needs, and by personally connecting to his students.

The "hero" teacher presentation of Mr. Dadier supported teachers' claims to public service and technical expertise and highlighted the need to properly fund public schools and pay teachers a professional salary. His heroic journey from an overmatched novice teacher to a tough, leveled-headed pedagogue highlighted the difficult task and long hours faced by a dedicated teacher in overcrowded and underfunded schools. Mr.

²⁵⁶Leopard, 37-40; Jerold Simmons. "Violent Youth: The Censoring and Public Reception of 'The Wild One' and 'The Blackboard Jungle.'" *Film History* 20, 3 (2008): 388.

²⁵⁷ Golub (2004), 106, 110; Hunter, 106-107; McCoy, 29;

²⁵⁸ Brooks; Hunter, 387-390; McCoy, 30-31.

Dadier persevered and overcame. “Yeah, I've been beaten up, but I'm not beaten. I'm not beaten, and I'm not quittin’.”²⁵⁹ He won over his troubled students by utilizing his military skills, employing innovative pedagogy, and fostering meaningful relationships.

In *Blackboard Jungle*, all these professional traits and concerns were solely embodied by Mr. Dadier and his classroom was the lone refuge from the chaos otherwise enveloping the school. The rest of the school was staffed by “bad” teachers. The ineffectual principal meekly disciplined students, “making them write multiple acts of contrition on the chalkboard.” When the principal threatened to reprimand Mr. Dadier over his tough-love disciplinarian methods, he caved “nervously before the teacher's righteous rage.”²⁶⁰ Dadier’s fellow teachers were depicted as burnt out, fearful, naïve, indifferent, or contemptuous, reconciled to their school being “the garbage can of the educational system.”²⁶¹ They chided Mr. Dadier’s attempts to innovate by complaining he would just end up butting their “heads against a stone wall for a bunch of kids that don't want to learn in the first place.”²⁶² In return, Dadier derided his male colleagues as fumbler, grumblers, and meatheads. He dismissed his female colleagues as “simpering female idiots.” Both groups of teachers pleaded, cowered, floundered, and complained their way through the day.²⁶³ Mr. Dadier, as the lone “hero” teacher, reinforced and repudiated the “bad” teacher representations by modeling a heroic path of individual determination in a school filled with incompetent colleagues.

²⁵⁹ Brooks.

²⁶⁰ McCoy, 35.

²⁶¹ Hunter, 86, 304, 388, 433.

²⁶² Brooks.

²⁶³ Hunter, 200, 299-302.

The principled “hero” teacher confronting contemporary social issues became the standard for teacher representations into the 1960s and 1970s.²⁶⁴ The trend was best exemplified by the television series, *Mr. Novak* (NBC-TV, 1963-1965). As a man, Mr. Novak was “shyly attractive, boyishly lovable,” and “endowed with a mind, a will, and a strong sense of values.”²⁶⁵ A first-year English teacher, John Novak was tough-minded,

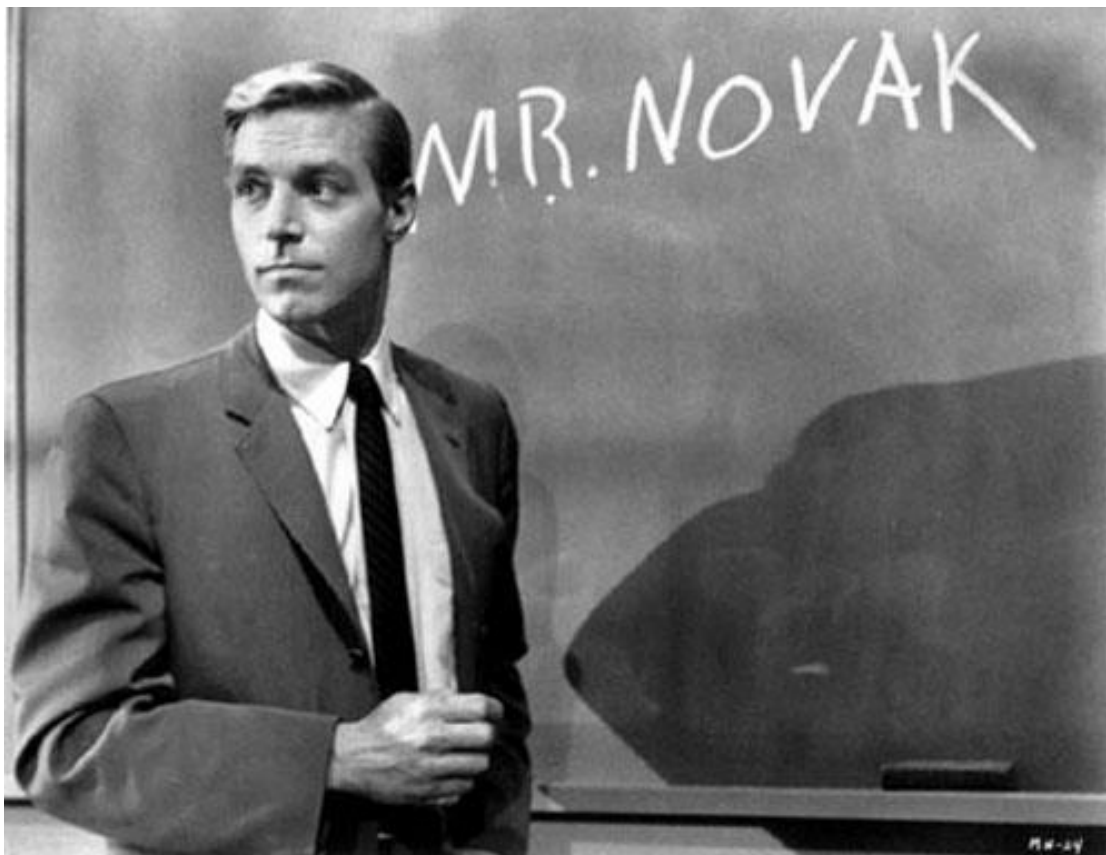


Figure 11: James Franciscus as Mr. Novak

²⁶⁴ Examples include Lillie Muse Humphrey, *Aggie* (New York: Vantage, 1954); William Gibson, *The Miracle Worker* (London: Playhouse Theatre, 1959); Arthur Penn, *The Miracle Worker* (Los Angeles, CA: Playhouse 90, CBS-TV, 1957); Arthur Penn, *The Miracle Worker* (Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1962); E.R. Braithwaite, *To Sir with Love* (London: Bodley Head, 1959); James Clavell, *To Sir with Love* (Culver City, CA: Columbia British Productions, 1967); *Mr. Novak* (Los Angeles, CA: NBC-TV, 1963-1965); Bel Kaufman, *Up the Down Staircase* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1964); Robert Mulligan, *Up the Down Staircase* (Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 1967); *Room 222* (Century City, CA: 20th Century Fox Television, 1969-1974); Martin Ritt, *Conrack* (Century City, CA: 20th Century Fox, 1974); Michael Schultz, *Cooley High* (Los Angeles, CA: American International Pictures, 1975).

²⁶⁵ George Gerbner, “‘Mr. Novak:’ Young man to watch,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 45, 13 (1963); Judine Mayerle and David Rarick, “The Image of Education in Primetime Network Television Series 1948-1988,” *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 33, 2 (1989): 151.

idealistic, intelligent, and ethical.²⁶⁶ Mr. Novak often got involved as a savior in the lives of his students and fellow teachers. The series dealt with a variety of student issues, including dropping out, drug use, gang violence, teen pregnancy, Russian defection, anti-Semitism, racism, deaths of a well-liked teacher and a star football player, unorthodox family, conscientious objectors, cheating, hazing, and a student sit-in. Mr. Novak also helped his fellow teachers with their troubles, including alcoholism, grade inflation, retirement, assaults, superintendent election, classroom management, and teaching methods. An ethical rebel, Mr. Novak defended himself, his colleagues, and the school from attempts at censorship, anti-communist attacks on the curriculum, parents concerned with the quality of education their children received, and a sex education controversy. Unlike Mr. Dadier, Mr. Novak was depicted as a member of a professional community. The principal, while wary of Novak's methods, admired his devotion to teaching, as well as his willingness to take principled stances on issues important to his students, colleagues, and the school.²⁶⁷ His colleagues were well-intentioned, if flawed, professionals who wanted both to be and to work at being good teachers.

The difference in the “hero” teacher representations between Mr. Dadier and Mr. Novak reflected the differences in the American educational scene at the time of their respective presentation. *Blackboard Jungle* was published (1954) and released (1955) at the height of the post-World War II education “crisis.” Public school systems across the United States faced chronic teacher shortages, severely overcrowded classrooms, and inadequate school facilities. Critics charged that ineffectively administered schools

²⁶⁶ Golub, 43.

²⁶⁷ Rebecca Brittenham, “‘Goodbye, Mr. Hip:’ Radical Teaching in 1960s Television,” *College English* 68, 2 (2005): 157; Mayerle and Rarick, 151.

employed permissive, lazy, and incompetent teachers who caused the “rise” of juvenile delinquency rates.²⁶⁸ Many reviewers praised the book’s sociological perspective on the pressing educational issues and thoughtful plea to improve the public school system.²⁶⁹ The blockbuster film became the talk of the nation: “Throughout the spring and summer of 1955, the *Blackboard Jungle* was debated, denounced, banned, and scapegoated on account of its violent content and its sharp educational critique.”²⁷⁰ The film was marketed as a “fiction torn from big city, modern savagery” and as “Drama of Teen-Age Terror!” The movie purposely used the first rock-n-roll soundtrack to signify a sense of youthful rebellion.²⁷¹ Film critics commended the film’s documentary-style realism and the inherent morality of Mr. Dadier.²⁷² Director and screenwriter Richard Brooks argued *Blackboard Jungle* was not “something Hollywood dreamed up. The situation exists.”²⁷³ He hoped the film would bring much needed attention to the plight of overworked and underpaid teachers.²⁷⁴ Proponents saw the dedicated, tough, and moral Mr. Dadier as a hero capable of dealing with delinquents and possibly solving the school crisis. Schools simply needed to find, groom, and reward heroic teachers like Mr. Dadier.

²⁶⁸ Golub (2009), 21; Judith Kafka, “Shifting Authority: Teachers’ Role in the Bureaucratization of School Discipline in Postwar Los Angeles,” *History of Education Quarterly* 49, 3 (2009): 329.

²⁶⁹ Golub (2009), 22; Golub (2004), 116-119; “Review of *The Blackboard Jungle*,” *Time*, October 11, 1954, 134; Stanley Cooperman, “Violence in Harlem,” *The Nation*, December 4, 1954, 493; Gilbert Millstein, “Teacher’s Ordeal,” *New York Times Book Review*, October 24, 1954, 43; Nathan Rothman, “Review of *The Blackboard Jungle*,” *Saturday Review of Literature*, October 9, 1954, 16.

²⁷⁰ Golub (2009), 21

²⁷¹ Golub (2009), 21-22; Golub (2004), 4, 102-103; Leonard, 26-28; Mc Coy, 36; Simmons, 384.

²⁷² Golub (2009), 25; Golub (2004), 123-125; Philip K. Scheuer, “Impact of ‘Blackboard Jungle’ Stunning—Maybe Too Much So,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 6, 1955; Dick Williams, “‘Blackboard Jungle’ is Frank Shocker,” *Mirror-News*, May 12, 1955; “Hard-Hitting Drama,” *New York Journal American*, March 21, 1955; “‘Blackboard Jungle’ May Shock but Won’t Bore,” *New York Daily Mirror*, March 21, 1955; “The Exception or the Rule,” *New York Times*, March 27, 1955; “‘Blackboard Jungle’—True or False?” *Variety*, March 23, 1955.

²⁷³ Erskine Johnson, “Stage and Screen,” *Daily News*, December 13, 1954.

²⁷⁴ Golub (2009), 24.

Critics of *Blackboard Jungle* highlighted the film's sensational violence. In 1955, politicians argued the Soviets could use it as evidence of America's failings.²⁷⁵ Clare Booth Luce, the U.S. Ambassador to Italy, blocked a screening of the movie at the Venice Film Festival, referring to the film as "anti-American propaganda."²⁷⁶ The Secretary of State supported Luce, arguing that the film advanced a "seriously distorted impression of American youth and American public schools."²⁷⁷ The Senate Juvenile Delinquency Sub-committee declared the film had no beneficial effects on contemporary youth.²⁷⁸ Educators were also alarmed by the film's depiction of schools. Administrators in large cities denounced the film as libelous.²⁷⁹ New York City teachers called the film a "gross exaggeration and bad art."²⁸⁰ Teachers were distressed when the title became shorthand to describe, criticize, or defend urban schools. In 1957, Charles G. Spiegler, a New York City vocational high school teacher noted the *Blackboard Jungle*, "once only the title of a novel and a film, is now an accepted phrase in the language. It means switchblades instead of compasses on students' desks. It means the ace of spades for bookmarks in the comic books. It means schools that are little beyond armed camps."²⁸¹ As late as 1965, recorded in an oral history of Chicago's battle to integrate public schools, a "barrel chested Polish Catholic, science teacher" referred to the "Negro"

²⁷⁵ Peter Lev, *Transforming the Screen, 1950-1959* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 246-247.

²⁷⁶ Golub (2004), 99; Lev, 247.

²⁷⁷ "'Blackboard Jungle' Gets Ax; Schary Irked," *Citizen-News* (August 27, 1955); "State Dept. Upholds Luce's 'Blackboard' Blast in Answer to Arthur Loew's Complaint," *Variety* (September 22, 1955); "The Affair Luce," *Motion Picture Herald* (September 10, 1955); Golub (2004), 100.

²⁷⁸ Lev, 246-247; Simmons, 385.

²⁷⁹ "Our Town's Teachers: Blackboard Jungle?" *New York Post*, May 5, 1955; Sam Levenson, "Teachers and The Blackboard Jungle," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* 37, 6 (June 1955): 33; "What's Happening in Education?" *National Parent-Teacher* (May 1955): 15; "Jungle Tempest," *New York Times*, April 3, 1955.

²⁸⁰ "Our Town's Teachers: Blackboard Jungle?" *New York Post*, May 5, 1955.

²⁸¹ Charles G. Spiegler, "A Teacher's Report on a 'Tough' School," *New York Times*, November 27, 1957, 25.

elementary school he was assigned to as a “blackboard Jungle,” deriding “lazy” parents as “hostile to any white teacher” and describing his students as “savages” who had no self-control and manifested psychological problems.²⁸² For better or worse, the film had entered into the discourse about the schools and its teachers. On the one hand, Mr. Dadier was a “hero” worthy of emulation. On the other hand, city schools were battlegrounds.

Mr. Novak ran from 1963 to 1965 when the school “crisis” seemed to be abating. Well-funded, new suburban schools had been built. The teacher shortage was lessening in most areas of the United States. Civil Rights activists were focused on securing voting rights and passing a federal civil rights legislation. The rising memberships and growing political clout of the AFT and NEA helped to secure significant improvements in teachers’ salaries, rights, and working conditions. Decades of “good” and “hero” teacher representations contributed to the public acceptance of teachers as essential actors in solving the nation’s social ills rather than as cause of them. Mr. Novak’s relatively short run “was not at all indicative of the critical acclaim” for being “first serious, realistic portrayal of a teacher on television” nor its popularity delivering “an audience of almost 20 million viewers.”²⁸³ The principled, devoted, and admired Mr. Novak represented a hero as a leader of a community of educational professionals. Public schools represented places where dedicated teachers helped students and their communities solve problems.

i. ²⁸² Charles Remsberg and Bonnie Remsberg (transcribers), *Chicago Voices: Tales Told Out of School*, 1965. Located in the Chicago History Museum, “Bonnie and Charles Remsberg interviews [manuscript], 1965-1966.” Box 1; For more information on Northern metropolitan teachers’ negative attitudes regarding minority students, see Larry Cuban, *To Make a Difference: Teaching in the Inner City* (New York: The Free Press, 1970).
²⁸³ Mayerle and Rarick, 151; Swetnam, 30.

Conclusion

Together, the popular representations of “bad,” “good,” and “hero” teachers informed the cultural milieu that the AFT and NEA had to engage to craft professional identities for teachers during the Baby Boom era (1946-1964). These images circulated in the public mind, administrators’ offices, teachers’ classrooms, and popular cultural texts. They had consequences for teachers and their organizations who worked diligently and intelligently to re-present teaching as a worthy profession.²⁸⁴ For critical media studies scholar Mary Dalton, the romanticized “hero,” idealized “good,” and ineffectual “bad” teachers tended “to dichotomize real teachers into camps of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ in ways that are not only reductive but that also fostered a lack of trust in teachers, their training, and their professionalism.”²⁸⁵ After all, these teachers succeeded or failed as educators based on their basic personality traits, “natural” abilities, and/or their love of teaching. “Bad” teachers with their demands for automatic obedience and their stubborn refusals to make meaningful connections with students made “school an inauspicious place to be.”²⁸⁶ “Good” teachers with their “natural” desire to help others and willingness to sacrifice their own interests made a positive difference in the scholastic and personal lives of their students by fostering positive relationships in and out of the classroom.²⁸⁷ With their commitment to the rugged individualism of ethical rebels and liberating saviors, “hero” teachers enacted a social cure centered on individual transformation, not on collective action taken by teachers or changes to the status quo in the school system.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ Lieberman (1956), 16-17; Stinnett, 356.

²⁸⁵ Mary M. Dalton, “Bad Teacher Is Bad for Teachers,” *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 41, 2 (2013): 86.

²⁸⁶ Barone, et al, 268.

²⁸⁷ Ryans, 1; Waldrep, 164; Weber and Mitchell, 128.

²⁸⁸ Ayres, 155; Dalton. 99.

The AFT and NEA were acutely aware how popular representations of teachers impacted their attempts to professionalize teachers. They regularly promoted positive representations of public schools and its teachers. The NEA represented public schools as a primary institution strengthening the United States' economy, politics, culture, and world leadership. It represented teachers as indispensable members within a community of educational professionals seeking to improve public schools. They also challenged negative representations of public schools and its teachers. The NEA criticized the film version of *Blackboard Jungle*. They argued that its hyperbolic depiction of an inner-city schools was "harmful." They felt the film would scare capable people away from teaching "at a time when there is a dire shortage of teachers."²⁸⁹ The NEA also worried *Blackboard Jungle's* depiction of a rough-and-tumble public school filled with delinquents and staffed by incompetent educators who undermined its primary discursive strategy to elevate the status of public schools as a key Cold War institution and the educators worked in these schools as vital actors in achieving America's Cold War goals.

The AFT carried a double burden. First, they represented teachers as the most important actors in creating the best possible public school system for the Cold War. Second, the AFT represented unionism as the best possible route to professionalism. While the "administrator-dominated" NEA focused on elevated public schools to improve teacher professionalism, the AFT focused on teacher welfare, such as salaries, and working conditions to elevate teacher professionalism. They crafted a pragmatic image of teacher unionism based in collective bargaining rather than political pronouncements. They argued that teachers as public employees working within a large

²⁸⁹ "Pedagogs Pummel 'Blackboard;' Hits Teacher Prestige," *Variety* (July 13, 1955).

bureaucracy needed a teachers-only union to achieve greater occupational autonomy, better compensation, and improved working conditions.²⁹⁰

The AFT and NEA debate over the “hero” teacher representation in *Mr. Novak* highlighted each organization’s concerns about and visions of professionalism. NEA leaders were actively involved in the production of the *Mr. Novak* as advisors to the producers on educational details. NEA publications and public relations departments promoted the show among teachers and to the public for drawing “attention to problems faced by teachers and schools with emphasis on the importance of the teachers’ job on the American scene.”²⁹¹ NEA leaders hoped *Mr. Novak* would “do for the teaching profession as Kildare and Casey did for doctors or Prestons and Sam Benedicts did for lawyers.”²⁹² The depictions of cooperation among teachers and with administrators aligned with the NEA vision of teacher professionalism. AFT leaders, cognizant of the NEA connection to the show, criticized its portrayal of a “lax” Mr. Novak and the unrealistic solutions offered to the problems faced by the students. Even worse, AFT leaders observed that Mr. Novak’s methods and solutions supported “establishment-type” leadership that diminished teacher professionalism.²⁹³

While both the AFT and NEA crafted, reinforced, and encouraged positive representations of teachers, they disagreed sharply on how to utilize these representations

²⁹⁰ Cremin (1980), 500; Eaton, 34-35; Fraser, 193-195; Kerchner and Mitchell, 2, 4, 14, 54, 57, 63, 220; Murphy, 139, 228; Rury, 37-43; Shedd & Bacharach, 149; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 348-354, 380-384.

²⁹¹ Urban Project, “Memorandum to Urban Executive Secretaries and Presidents on Mr. Novak.” *NEA Journal* (September 13, 1963): 1. Also see, “Meet Mr. Novak,” *NEA Journal* (September 1, 1963): 32; “Mr. Novak’s Second Year,” *NEA Journal* (September, 1964): 26-29.

²⁹² United Teachers of Los Angeles Local 1021, “California Teacher Flunks Boob Tube Mr. Novak,” *The United Teacher* 5, 13 (Los Angeles, CA: United Teachers of Los Angeles Local 1021, May 21, 1964). Located in the AFT President’s Office, Part 2, Box 2, Folder 7 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

²⁹³ “Bell Flowers High School Rear its Hydra Head,” *The Southland Teacher* 1, 3, December, 1963. AFT President’s Office, Part 2, Box 1, Folder 7 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; “California Teacher Flunks Boob Tube Mr. Novak” (May 21, 1964).

to lay claim to and gain confirmation of teacher professionalism. The NEA preferred a top-down, institutional approach to teacher professionalism. They linked the value placed on schools by the larger society to the professional status of all educators. They championed free, universal, nonsectarian public schools in face of anti-communist attacks on instructional practices, segregationists' closure of integrated schools, and liberals' concerns with anti-intellectual curriculum. They represented teachers as members of a cooperative education community dedicated to providing a vital public service in the Cold War and developing their technical expertise to accomplish this task.

The AFT preferred a bottom-up, teacher-first approach to professionalism. They linked improving teacher welfare, such as salary, working conditions, and civil rights, to elevating the professional status of teachers. They constantly advocated for teachers' rights as both instructors and citizens in the face of anticommunists' attacks on academic freedom, segregationists' repeals of tenure protections, and conservatives' opposition to federal aid to improve teachers' salaries. They represented teachers as curricular and pedagogical experts who deserved a voice in education policymaking. These differences continued as both organizations engaged in other Cold War discourses to bolster teacher professionalism. With NEA's focus on public schools, it took the lead in representing teachers as key actors in promoting an inclusive Americanism and strengthening the United States' position as leader of the free world. The AFT took the lead in representing teachers as first-class citizens dedicated to creating a more perfect democratic union and as enlightened consumers devoted to prosperity for all Americans.

Chapter 2: Consumerism and Teacher Professionalism

Following World War II and taking hold during the 1950s, a political and cultural consensus developed around a mass consumption economy as the most promising route to prosperity. As Lizabeth Cohen has argued this consensus envisioned maximizing the purchasing power of individuals as the best means to achieve economic security for all Americans.²⁹⁴ The more Americans bought, the more Americans would have better paying jobs, the more Americans would pay taxes that would help support public services and more money would flow to American companies that would make the American economy the envy of the world. The consumer took center stage in the American economy and democracy:

In our free-market economy the consumer, who is *everybody*, is sovereign. He has dollars, and with the dollars he certainly has economic votes.... American capitalism is both sensitive and responsive to the wishes of the individual, whether they are expressed in the open market place or in the privacy of a polling booth.²⁹⁵

An enthusiastic public seemed to enjoy its newly available consumer choices after two decades of enforced thriftiness. In the Cold War context, where the United States' free market capitalism competed with the Soviet's centrally planned communism for world economic dominance, consumerism was linked to the preservation of the American way of life, the creation of an egalitarian economy for all Americans, and the assurance of

²⁹⁴ Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 114; Also see, Victoria de Garza, "Introduction," in *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*, edited by Victoria de Garza and Ellen Furlough (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 5; Sheryl Kroen, "Historiography Review: A Political History of the Consumer," *The Historical Journal*, 47, 3 (2004): 728-730; T. Jackson Lears and Richard Wightman Fox, "Introduction," in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History 1880-1980*, edited by T. Jackson Lears and Richard Wightman Fox (New York: Pantheon, 1983), ix; Steven Mills, *Consumerism as a Way of Life* (London: Sage Publications, 1998), 8.

²⁹⁵ Baldwin Lee and Galen Jones, "Toward Economic Literacy," *NEA Journal* 46, 4 (April, 1957): 24.

economic and political freedom.²⁹⁶ In the midst of exceptional prosperity at home and a certainty about consumer capitalism as the righteous path abroad, teachers joined into the chorus glorifying consumer capitalism's promise for social equality measured by the individual's purchasing power and the right to participate in consumption.

American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and National Education Association (NEA) incorporated the consensus on the public good of consumer capitalism into their arguments for higher salaries that would reflect teachers' professional duties. The concern was that teachers' salaries did not compare favorably to the salaries received by other professionals who had similar education requirements and provided public services. The AFT and NEA understood that in a consumer-oriented society a profession's status was often determined by its ability to command a salary that allowed its members the capacity to be consumers.²⁹⁷ Thus, a professional's status depended on in part on the ability to procure more of the best or latest goods and services.²⁹⁸ Both groups challenged popular representations of teaching as women's work, teachers as economic outsiders, and teachers' salaries as a burden for the tax-supported public schools. They represented teachers as intelligent consumers with families to support and argued that the much needed and long delayed increase in teachers' salaries was a profitable investment.

²⁹⁶ Laura A. Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: United States Propaganda and the Cold War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 3-7, 116-122, 127-134; Robert Bocoock, *Consumption* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 2; Greg Castillo, "Domesticating the Cold War: Household Consumption as Propaganda in Marshall Plan Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, 2 (2005): 265, 268, 282; Cohen (2003), 124-125, 190; de Garza, 5; Robert Griffith, "The Selling of America: The Advertising Council and American Politics, 1942-1960," *Business History Review* 62 (1983): 391-396; Kroen, 730-732; Lears and Fox, ix; Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 19; Mills, 8-10, 32-33; Shelley Nickles, "More Is Better: Mass Consumption, Gender, and Class Identity in Postwar America," *American Quarterly*, 54, 4 (2002): 584; Vance Packard, *The Status Seekers: An Exploration of Class Behavior in America* (London: Longmans, 1959), 176.

²⁹⁷ Ahern, 124; de Garza, 4; Donley, Jr., 6, 29; Mary Douglas and Brian Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1996), xxii; Mills, 6-8; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 96; Stinnett, 67-68.

²⁹⁸ Mills, 18-19; Nickles, 603, 609.

From 1946 to 1957, the AFT and NEA represented teachers as intelligent, family-oriented consumers who needed professional salaries so they could contribute to the American economy and serve as suitable consumer role models to their students. Prior to the Baby Boom era, teachers were often represented as middle-aged bachelors and old maids who did not need a large salaries to sustain their single life. The AFT and NEA challenged these representations by arguing that teachers were family men and women dedicated instilling in their students the practical skills and knowledge to participate wisely in consumer capitalism. Unfortunately, most teachers could only “keep up with Joneses” by moonlighting, having a working spouse, or leaving the profession. The AFT and NEA concluded that in order to recruit and retain the most qualified individuals who could serve as proper consumer role models teachers needed a professional salary.

From 1958 to 1965, the AFT and NEA argued that offering teachers adequate salaries to maintain a middle class standard of living was a highly profitable investment for the American economy and the American people. The popular representation of “good” and “hero” teachers was self-sacrificing public servants who forsook the business world and its material success to follow their “true” calling to educate generations of American youth. The AFT and NEA sought to represent teachers as key economic actors in their communities and for the nation. The vast expansion of public schools brought on by increasingly large enrollment of students and employers’ demands for better educated workers meant education was big business. Since the largest expenditure in public school budgets was teachers’ salaries, both organizations argued that the purpose for federal aid to education was to raise the teachers’ salaries to professional levels. After all, teachers were the driving force of education. The talent and competence of teachers determined

the quality of American education. In other words, an investment in public schools and their teachers was an investment in the American people.

While the AFT and NEA found themselves in agreement on most issues regarding professional salaries, their fundamental organizational identities kept them apart. Each organization saw the other organization as part of the problem. The NEA represented itself as an inclusive professional organization open to all educators. By joining the NEA, teachers joined the larger education community concerned primarily with the welfare of the nation's children. The NEA focused most of its resources on securing federal aid to help underfunded public schools. They argued that improving public schools would bolster the professional status for teachers and justify teachers' demands for professional salaries. Improvements in public schools' budgets and teachers' salaries could best be achieved through cooperation between teachers, administrators, policymakers, and communities. The NEA represented the AFT as counterproductive to professionalism. They argued that union tactics, such as across-the-board raises, strikes, and collective bargaining undermined political support for public school funding and diminished teacher professionalism, thus undercutting teachers' primary claim for better salaries.

The AFT was an exclusive, teacher-only union. AFT leaders argued the first step toward teacher professionalism was the wide implementation of professional salaries. They argued that salaries allowing for a middle class standard of living could only be obtained by a teacher-only union that focused, first and foremost, on bread-and-butter issues. The AFT relied on strong locals and collective bargaining to boost teachers' economic status. The AFT represented the NEA as an "administrator-dominated" organization serving the demands of budget-conscious administrators over the needs of

underpaid and overworked teachers. If teachers wanted to be able to raise families in manner similar to their neighbors, then they needed to join a teacher-only union that focused primarily on achieving professional salaries for teachers.

Teachers and Consumerism in American Culture

The origins of the Baby Boom era's consumerism can be traced back to the industrialization of the early 1800s, the corresponding rise of the white middle class, the passage of Progressive era protective legislation, and the consumer citizen representatives in New Deal and World War II programs. During the early 1800s industrial revolution, several key factors led to the ascension of consumerism in American society. Consumer markets were enlarged by the uniformity and speed of manufacturing, the expansion of the United States' empire across the continent, the improvement of transportation and communication technologies, the emergence of an industrial, urban working class reliant on consumer goods and services to fulfill everyday needs, and increasingly specialized industries supported by mass advertising campaigns that created and met consumer demands. These developments supported and were supported by the growth of a white middle class from the 1820s to the 1840s.²⁹⁹ In *Democracy in America* (1835), Alexis de Tocqueville was struck by the restless ambition, acquisitiveness, and industriousness of the middle class striving for upward mobility.³⁰⁰ Historian Burton J. Bledstein argues that the middle class culture was intensively acquisitive and its ambition was "not related to income but to styles of consumption and to patterns of psychological hopes, envy, and

²⁹⁹ Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (Chicago, IL: W.W. Norton and Company, 1976), 8-15.

³⁰⁰ Alexis de Tocqueville, "Chapter 19: Why in the United States You Find So Many Ambitious Men and So Few Great Ambitions," *Democracy in America*, edited by Eduardo Nolla Translated from the French by James T. Schleifer (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, Inc., 2010), 1116-1128.

despair.”³⁰¹ This acquisitive and ambitious middle class was the driving force in the proliferation of businesses and professions offering a variety of specialized goods and services for a growing number of consumer-oriented Americans.³⁰²

By the 1880s, these essential elements for a nationwide consumer society were established. Consumers began to take a more active role in the political economy.³⁰³ Midwestern, Western, and Southern farmers joined in the Populist movement seeking consumer protection from banks and railroads. In 1887, Populists convinced Congress to pass the Interstate Commerce Act, which created the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate the railroads. In 1906 it expanded to regulate other monopolistic practices. Consumer activism continued as a driving force for Progressive reformers.³⁰⁴ Robert Wiebe argues that in the 1890s a new group of professionals working for interventionist government spurred Progressive reform movements. These professionals’ identities were based on their occupation and their specific area of expertise rather than where they lived or their personal reputation.³⁰⁵ They sought bureaucratic reforms within the existing system by focusing on flexible regulations and procedures to address complex, interrelated social problems. The goal of state intervention was to create a rational social order through scientific management to counter insecurities of wage labor, backwardness of the countryside, and instabilities of capitalist markets.³⁰⁶ These reformers also passed worker and consumer protection laws to abolish child labor, curtail monopolies, and

³⁰¹ Bledstein, 22-23.

³⁰² Ibid, 38-19.

³⁰³ Kroen, 720.

³⁰⁴ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 2.

³⁰⁵ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 1.

³⁰⁶ Rodgers (1998), 3; Wiebe, 147-148.

assure the quality of consumer products. By 1900, Progressive reformers sought national solutions to social problems through centralized government led by civil servants dedicated to the common good and the rational management of resources. By the 1920s, bureaucratic values of stability and rationality were a significant part of the political culture.³⁰⁷

Public schools were viewed by many Progressives as the cause of and cure for social ills. Education reforms tended to replicate the patriarchal family ethic of social work reforms.³⁰⁸ For example, education reformers pursued a “social hygiene” agenda. To counter the appeal of inappropriate popular culture entertainment, social hygiene courses included frank, open discussions of human sexuality that emphasizing women’s special role in protecting the family and bettering society.³⁰⁹ Most school districts also employed marriage bans forcing married women to leave the classroom to take on their proper social roles as wives and mothers. School officials minimized the costs of an expanding school system and compulsory attendance laws by hiring young single women as teachers who were paid one-third to one-half the salary of male teachers.³¹⁰ The

³⁰⁷ Wiebe, 295. In 1906, Progressive reformers and politicians led by President Theodore Roosevelt convinced Congress to pass the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Federal Meat Inspection Act, which required accurate labeling, sanitary work requirements, and product inspections, as well as providing for the persecution of violators. In 1913, following a series of financial panics, the Federal Reserve Board was established to maximize employment, stabilize consumer prices, and regulate banks. In 1914, the United States Federal Trade Commission was created to administer consumer protection laws and promote competition by regulating interstate trade. (Chambers (1963); Samuel P. Hays, “Review,” *The American Historical Review*, 73, 4 (1968): 1249; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xi-xii; Wiebe, 169-170, 207-208.)

³⁰⁸ Progressive reforms and policies rewarded men and punished women for working. Men received insurance and pensions for working outside the home while women received welfare benefits for having children and staying home. The reforms focused on the primacy of the mother-child relationship for the well-being of the family. A group of white, college-educated, native-born, single, middle class women carved out female “semi-professional” domains in social work, nursing, home economics, female medical specialties, and teaching. (Abramovitz, 36; Muncy, xv, 3.); Labor historian Daniel J. Walkowitz claims the “percentage of employed women classified as professionals grew from 8.2% to 14.2% between 1900 and 1930.” These female reformers embraced the Progressive belief that society could be perfected through the application of scientifically based, rationally administrated reforms. (Walkowitz, 1054.)

³⁰⁹ Wheeler, 185.

³¹⁰ Kaestle, 123; Perlmann and Margo (2001), 104; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 112.

resulting image of teaching as low paying women's work tended to diminish its professional status in an American culture that privileged male professionals and workers, who served as their families' breadwinners. However, teaching remained one of a few meaningful and relatively well-paid career opportunities available to educated women before the 1920s.

Progressive economic reforms created a template for consumerism as the basis for the American economy by the 1920s and the rise of the citizen consumer during the 1930s. Economic historians agree that the 1920s marked a fundamental cultural shift in the acceptance of consumerism by the majority of Americans who embraced mass consumption as the best path toward security, contentment, and pleasure.³¹¹ Several key factors contributed to the expansive consumer culture of the 1920s, including a mature advertising industry, the introduction of consumer credit through installment payments, the mass production of standardized goods on moving assembly lines, the growth of brand-name products sold in nationwide chain stores, the booming audience at a variety of entertainment businesses, and an increase in purchasing power and leisure time provided to more Americans by Fordist employers, Progressive politicians, and labor

³¹¹ Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Kathleen Donahue, *Freedom from Want: American Liberalism and the Idea of the Consumer* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Lynn Dumenil, *The Modern Temper American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995); Paula S. Fass, *The Beautiful and the Damned: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Dana Frank, *Purchasing Power: Consumer Organizing, Gender and the Seattle Labor Movement, 1919-1929* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Benjamin Kline Hunnicutt, *Work Without End: Abandoning Shorter Hours for the Right to Work* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Meg Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon, 1993); Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-century New York City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1983); Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997).

union victories.³¹² Business leaders, advertisers, politicians, and the American public saw mass consumption as the solution to all economic issues.³¹³ Not everyone was able to fully enjoy or benefit from the “prosperity” of the 1920s. The participation of racial minorities and women in the consumer society was limited by discrimination. Many workers lived in or close to poverty. Lizbeth Cohen argues that “the struggle for economic security, not the struggle to keep up with the Joneses, dominated working-class life in the prosperity decade.”³¹⁴ While the wages and purchasing power of the average worker increased, their real income did not keep up with the cost of living.

In the 1920s, teachers, especially in large metropolitan school districts, benefitted from the drive to create more consumers, an unprecedented teacher shortage, and increased presence of the NEA and AFT in the nation’s public schools with substantial gains in salary, pensions, and tenure. During the 1920s, the real value of teacher salaries improved by more than 80%, although teachers’ salaries remained low compared to the earnings of manufacturing and white-collar jobs.³¹⁵ The growth in the NEA’s

³¹² Marie Clifford, “Working with Fashion: The Role of Art, Taste, and Consumerism in Women’s Professional Culture, 1920-1940,” *American Studies* 44, 1/2 (2003): 59-61; Cohen (1991), 101-120; Gary Cross, *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993), 7; Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), 19, 29; Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 135-65; Lawrence B. Glickman, “Rethinking Politics: Consumers and the Public Good during the ‘Jazz Age.’” *OAH Magazine of History* 21, 3 (2007): 16; Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 87-90; Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 288-91; T. Jackson Lears. *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994) 177-83; Ruth Mayer, “‘Taste It!’ American Advertising, Ethnicity, and the Rhetoric of Nationhood in the 1920s,” *American Studies* 43, 1 (1998): 131-141; Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 69; Jeffrey L. Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America 1925-1939* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1979, 2001), 16, 70, 83; Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society During the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 105-141.

³¹³ Cross, 38; Ewen, 70, 118; Hunnicutt, 45-47, 79;

³¹⁴ Cohen (1991), 102.

³¹⁵ Susan B. Carter, “Incentives and Rewards to Teaching,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 53; Sedlak (1989), 271-173; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 97-99; Stinnett, 207; Sonnenberg, 32.

membership, particularly the increases in dues-paying women teachers, helped the organization become a major national voice in educational issues.³¹⁶ Beginning in 1900 and increasing after World War I, prominent educators Ella Flagg Young, Margret Haley, and John Dewey pushed the NEA to recognize teacher welfare issues and the need for women teachers to have a larger voice in the leadership of the organization. By 1920, Young and Dewey helped to restructure the NEA by allocating more power to the Representative Assembly. That body, in turn, passed several resolutions calling for higher teachers' salaries, initiating yearly studies of teachers' salaries and public school funding to be conducted by the Research Department, and alternating the presidency between men and women.³¹⁷ Despite these changes, the NEA's primary organizational goal and actions remained reforming public education rather than improving teachers' salaries.³¹⁸

Frustrated with the NEA's lack of interest in teacher welfare issues, especially their reluctance to lobby for better salaries, Margret Haley became one of the founders of the AFT in 1916.³¹⁹ The AFT, with its goals and actions directed at improving teachers' salaries, saw an initial surge in the formation of locals between 1916 and 1922. However, the AFT struggled to maintain earlier membership gains due to internal battles and anti-union actions taken by school districts, the courts, and the government.³²⁰ Union teachers faced job discrimination. In 1915, after several successful protests by the CFT, the

³¹⁶ Robert J. Brown, *Teachers and Power: The Struggle of the AFT* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), 38; Cameron, 28, 37-38; Cole, 3-6; Donley, Jr. 29; Kerchner and Mitchell, 59; Stinnett, 382, 475; Wesley, 334.

³¹⁷ Donley, Jr, 21-24; Fraser, 144-145; Stinnett, 475.

³¹⁸ Wesley, 280.

³¹⁹ Brown, 22; Cameron, 17; Fraser, 143-145; Murphy, 55-58; Urban (1989), 193-195.

³²⁰ Brown, 38-39; Cole (1969), 162; Eaton, 15-16, 18-36., 167-170; Murphy, 4-5, 83-85; Daniel Nelson, *Shifting Fortunes: The Rise and Decline of American Labor from the 1820s to the Present* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee, 1997), 98-99; Shedd and Bacharach, 149; Sharon Smith. *Subterranean Fire: A History of Working-Class Radicalism in the United States* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2006), 97; Stinnett, 477; Urban (1989), 194-196; Robert Zieger and Gilbert Gall, *American Workers, American Unions* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 5, 69-70.

Chicago School Board passed the “Loeb Rule,” prohibiting teachers from joining unions. During the 1920s, school boards across the country followed Chicago’s lead. These restrictions stayed until the mid 1930s when New Deal policies supported unions.³²¹

The Great Depression (1929-1941) drove millions of Americans out of work and into economic uncertainty, but it did not diminish their faith in consumer spending as the best hope for a return to prosperity. The New Deal economic policies accommodated consumer capitalism by rebuilding markets through business-government cooperation.³²² Cohen in *A Consumer’s Republic* (2006) argues that the federal government policies of the Great Depression reaffirmed the “Progressive Era discovery of consumerism as a social force” by establishing the consumer citizen as the voice of the public interest within the government and the savior of capitalist America in the culture.³²³ While most of these policies privileged married white men, racial minorities and women were able to utilize the official recognition of the consumer citizen as a means to assert their political power by pursuing their rights as consumers.³²⁴ Cohen concludes that the citizen consumer ideal reached its height during World War II. Wartime programs limited

³²¹ John P. Lloyd, “Teacher Strikes,” in *The Encyclopedia of Strikes in American History*, edited by Aaron Brenner, Benjamin Day, and Immanuel Ness (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2009), 254.

³²² Rodgers, 345. In terms of home ownership, the Home Owners’ Loan Corporation of 1933 and the Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1938 helped farmers and homeowners refinance their mortgages. In terms of personal wealth, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation founded in 1933 insured an individual’s bank deposits and the Social Security Act of 1935 provided for federal-state unemployment insurance and pensions. In terms of jobs, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (1932-1935) provided work and unemployment benefits for over 20 million people working on states’ public projects, the Civilian Conservation Corps (1933-1942) provided employment for over 3 million unmarried young men from 17 to 28 years old, the Public Works Administration (1933–1944) funded 34,000 projects mostly by private construction firms employing and housing millions of workers, and the Works Progress Administration (1935–1943) provided 8.5 million jobs, including thousands of teachers for adult education courses. (E. Arnesen, *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working-Class History* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 1540; “WPA Pays Up and Quits,” *New York Times* (July 1, 1943); Otis L. Graham, Jr. and Meghan Robinson Wander, *Franklin D. Roosevelt, His Life and Times* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1985), 336-337; George McJimsey, *The Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 221; Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 87.)

³²³ Cohen (2006), 24; Kroen, 721.

³²⁴ Cohen (2006), 23-33, 42, 97, 100.

individuals' consumption to support the war and defined "good citizenship and good consumership" as "inseparable."³²⁵ The relationship between citizenship and consumers continued in the Baby Boom era but the focus shifted from the citizen consumer serving the general good to the purchaser consumer serving his or her own self-interest.

The Great Depression initially reduced public school funding. Local school districts' budgets were cut due primarily to the loss of property tax revenues. From 1931 to 1935, school budgets decreased at a rate of 10% a year with small school districts, secondary schools, and segregated schools hit the hardest. Between 1929 and 1935, teachers' salaries were drastically cut, many teachers lost their pensions, some teachers were paid in local scrip, and numerous teachers were dismissed.³²⁶ Beginning in 1935, state governments provided more funding for public schools. State funding increased from 19.5% in 1930 to 29% in 1935 to 41% in 1939 with only 1% from the federal government.³²⁷ This influx of state funds initially stabilized and eventually increased school budgets between 1935 and 1941. Teaching became steady work, especially compared to blue-collar jobs. School districts actively recruited older, married men to serve as teachers and enforced marriage bans for women.³²⁸ The percentage of women teachers overall fell from 86% in the 1920 to 70% during the 1930s.³²⁹

Gender and racial discrimination continued in the school system. Minority teachers in poorly funded segregated schools were consistently paid far less than their white counterparts. By 1940, female teachers' salaries rose to two-third of that of their

³²⁵ Ibid, 83.

³²⁶ Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 97.

³²⁷ Cameron, 23; Murphy, 180; Sonnenberg, 31.

³²⁸ Ehlers, 30; Murphy, 177; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 98, 102, 114; Snyder, 28.

³²⁹ Clifford (1989), 339; Rury (1989), 10; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 98-99.

male colleagues. A main reason for the salary gains made by female teachers in relation to male teachers was the wide adaptation of the single salary schedule during the 1930s and 1940s. Male secondary teachers and administrators often opposed single salary schedules. Each group saw it as a threat to their professional status if elementary teachers, who were predominately women, earned as much or similar to what they earned. By the late 1950s, single salary schedules were nearly universal and based on a teacher's preparation, experience, and degrees. These conditions favored secondary teachers and administrators who were more likely to have advanced degrees and on average had longer careers.³³⁰ Given that women and racial minorities had limited professional alternatives, teaching offered both groups a relatively good-paying and socially respectable occupation.³³¹

The NEA and AFT both began to negotiate formal, uniform contracts with school districts to mitigate the deprivations of the Depression for public schools and teachers.³³² For the NEA, these contracts meet their organizational goal to bolster public schools by fostering cooperation among teachers, administrators, and policymakers. They also were a public relations tool, representing a visible alternative to the unionization of teachers by the AFT.³³³ For the AFT, these contracts represented the political legitimacy of teacher unions. The AFT made steady gains in membership from 1930 to 1940 despite internal

³³⁰ Brown, 155; Cole, 32-35, 60; Fraser, 131; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 100, 103; Urban (1989), 199; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 347, 354.

³³¹ D'Amico, 329; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 99-100; Snyder, 10.

³³² Carter, 58; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 94.

³³³ Urban (2000), 98-100.

leadership battles and accusations of communist infiltration.³³⁴ The AFT benefitted from labor unions' lobbying for and government support of workplace rights, which boosted unions' membership and political power. The Wagner Act (NLRA) in 1935 provided the legal right for workers in private industries to strike and collective bargaining.³³⁵ While the NLRA did not apply to public employees, the politically favorable climate for unions contributed to the growth of the AFT. The AFT was able to negotiate fair contracts for teachers in large cities that stabilized teachers' salaries.³³⁶

During World War II (1941-1945), most school districts faced a severe teacher shortage. Thousands of teachers left the classroom to pursue higher paying jobs in the war-related industries or to join the armed services. In December 1944, Commissioner of Education John Studebaker argued that the reason for the shortage was that teachers received the lowest pay of any professionals and could not keep up with the rising cost of living.³³⁷ As industrial workers' real income rose 80%, teachers' real income fell 20%.³³⁸ In an effort to recruit and retain more teachers, many school districts eliminated marriage bans for female teachers. Marriage bans were eliminated almost everywhere after the war.³³⁹ The elimination of marriage bans meant more family men and women could turn to teaching as a stable career. The AFT and NEA focused on promoting teachers'

³³⁴ Liberal AFT leaders, John Dewey, John Childs, and George Counts, consolidated control within the AFT and expelled communist-associated leaders and affiliates between 1935 and 1941. (Murphy, 176; Stinnett, 477; Urban (1989), 196-197.)

³³⁵ Stinnett, 504-505.

³³⁶ Lloyd, 254.

³³⁷ John W. Studebaker, "Missing 115,000 Teachers," *Click* 7, 12 (1944): 65-67. Studebaker claimed that as many as 115,000 teachers had left their classrooms, 15,200 teaching positions were unfilled, and 57,000 unqualified individuals filled teaching positions.

³³⁸ Murphy, 182

³³⁹ Clifford (1989), 309, 323; In 1923, more than 75% of school districts had marriage bans for women, in 1941 58% of school districts still had bans, but in 1951 only 8% of school districts had bans. ("Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-51," *Research Bulletin*, 30 (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1952), 12-13; Carl N. Morris, "Career Patterns of Teachers" in *The Teacher's Role in American Society* edited by L.J. Stiles (New York: Harper, 1957), 254; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 114.)

patriotic duties rather than their economic needs.³⁴⁰ These changes created new obstacles to and opportunities for teacher professionalism. Underpaid teachers worked in poorly funded schools with overpopulated, inadequate classrooms. The Lanham Act, which included federal government funding public schools for child care centers in “war impacted areas” from 1942 to 1945, created a precedent for federal aid to public schools.

The Baby Boom era (1946-1964) was a celebration of mass consumption and the free market, that Cohen labels a consumer’s republic.³⁴¹ Consumerism “dictated the most central dimensions of postwar society, including the political economy (the way public policy and the mass consumption economy mutually reinforced each other), as well as the political culture (how political practice and American values, attitudes, and behaviors tied to mass consumption became intertwined).”³⁴² The self-interested purchaser consumer, who fulfilled his or her civic obligation by pursuing personal desires for more and more of newer and better goods and services became the quintessential American citizen.³⁴³ The white, middle-class, suburban family with a male breadwinner became the ideal unit of mass consumption. Politicians, business leaders, and union organizers supported policies to maximize families’ purchasing power. From 1945 to 1950, the median family’s purchasing power increased by 30% and the average household purchases of appliances rose 240%.³⁴⁴ With the introduction of the credit card, the debt-to-income ratio

³⁴⁰ The migration of war industry workers and their families to metropolitan areas overwhelmed their school districts. Many schools ran double shifts to facilitate the growing number of younger children, who attended overcrowded classrooms housed in increasingly inadequate or temporary buildings. (Carter (1989) 54; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 345.)

³⁴¹ Cohen (2003), 127; Lears and Fox, ix-xii;

³⁴² Cohen (2003), 7-8.

³⁴³ Cohen (2003), 8, 54, 118-119, 214; Kroen, 709, 712.

³⁴⁴ Nickles, 584; The Federal Housing Administration loan program and highway construction bills subsidized the suburban housing boom with new tax codes allowing exemptions for mortgage payments and credit for dependents. The G.I. Bill of 1944 made higher education and training programs necessary for entry into high-income occupations

grew from 10.4% of 21.5 billion in 1950 to 16.1% of 56.1 billion in 1960 to 18.5% of 127 billion in 1970.³⁴⁵ By 1950, consumerism became the ubiquitous reality for Americans.³⁴⁶

In the Cold War context, consumerism came to represent the American way of life at home and abroad. Economic historian Victoria de Garza argued that in the 1950s it became “axiomatic that access to consumer goods was a fundamental right of all peoples, that this right was best fulfilled by free enterprise, and that free enterprise operated optimally if guided by the profit motive unimpeded by state influence.”³⁴⁷ Consumerism was explicitly associated with democracy, freedom, and justice while communism was purposely tied to totalitarianism, oppression, and injustice.³⁴⁸ In domestic affairs, civil rights activists utilized the association between citizenship and consumerism to fight for their equal rights as consumers to access public spaces.³⁴⁹ Their victories in gaining access to public accommodation, private businesses, and public schools contributed to the white flight to the suburbs. Kevin Kruse argues that the most successful resistance to the desegregation was the mass migration to racially isolated suburbs.³⁵⁰ These suburbanites embraced the discourses of freedom of association, privatization, limited government,

affordable to World War II veterans. From 1947 to 1955, the suburban population grew 43% while the rest of the population areas increased 11%. (Cohen (2003), 135-37; Kroen, 729; May, 161-162.)

³⁴⁵ Cohen (1996), 1073.

³⁴⁶ Mills, 1.

³⁴⁷ de Garza, 2.

³⁴⁸ Belmonte, 127-128; Castillo, 120; Cohen (2003), 214; Griffith, 389-390; Kroen, 729-73-; Mills, 10.

³⁴⁹ Cohen, 166-167, 173-174, 190.

³⁵⁰ Kevin Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 8.

and free enterprise to justify the exclusion of non-whites from their communities.³⁵¹ This suburban development reinforced the self-interestedness of the purchaser consumer.³⁵²

In foreign affairs, mass consumption in unfettered marketplaces represented the ultimate weapon of the Cold War by demonstrating to the world's people that the "good life" in range for all American could be theirs by embracing consumer capitalism.³⁵³ The Marshall Plan (1948-1952) purposely linked democratic governance and economic security to consumer capitalism.³⁵⁴ The Department of State featured consumerism in its propaganda efforts to discredit communism and the Soviet Union.³⁵⁵ By 1960, the State Department had sponsored ninety-six U.S. trade exhibitions in twenty-nine countries reaching over 60 million people.³⁵⁶ The "Kitchen Debate" between Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev occurred at the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959. Nixon equated the American way of life with the standard of living afforded every Americans through the spectacular array of consumer items they freely chose from. Consumers' freedom of choice was connected to political freedom.³⁵⁷

In terms of professionalism, an occupation was expected to offer its members, at minimum, a middle class standard of living, or the means to be avid consumers and to raise a family with all the modern conveniences. The lack of a middle class salary was a

³⁵¹ Cohen (2003), 213; Kruse, 10.

³⁵² Cohen (2003), 254-255.

³⁵³ Belmonte, 134, 262; Cohen (2003), 61, 126, 315, 378; May, 154-157; Susan E. Reid, "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev," *Slavic Review*, 61, 2 (2002), 222.

³⁵⁴ Belmonte, 127; Castillo, 267-268; Kroen, 709, 731-732.

³⁵⁵ Belmonte, 2-5, 134; Castillo, 261-262, 281-282.

³⁵⁶ Belmonte, 127.

³⁵⁷ Belmonte, 132; Castillo, 262; Cohen (2003), 126; Lears and Fox, ix; Mills, 10;

prime cause of the teacher shortage and the series of strikes in the late 1940s.³⁵⁸ In January 1947, a 30-year veteran teacher Henry Borchardt in *Life* magazine claimed that poorly paid teachers were turning to striking.³⁵⁹ While the cost of living was steadily rising, teachers' pay stayed "almost exactly what it was in 1929."³⁶⁰ Most teachers had to moonlight to make ends meet, which drained their energy and distracted their attention from their professional duties as a teacher. Worse yet, most teachers did not ask for raises for fear of dismissal. Borchardt's answer was convincing the public to pay teachers a living wage.³⁶¹

From 1946 to 1949, thousands of teachers vented their frustrations at their salaries and working conditions with a series of strikes across the United States that gained national attention. The high inflation that followed the war's end negatively affected teachers' purchasing power as their salaries, which had been depressed over the past two decades, could not keep up with the postwar cost of living.³⁶² Despite the NEA's and AFT's no-strike policies and state laws prohibiting teachers' strikes, numerous NEA affiliates and AFT locals struck from 1946 to 1949. In September 1946, the Norwalk (Connecticut) Teachers Association (NTA), an NEA affiliate, led 900 teachers on an eight-day walkout over the school board's revoking its promised salary raise and defied a court injunction to return to work. The NEA and the NTA's President Jack Ryan denied the walkout was a strike. They argued that since teachers did not have a contract, they

³⁵⁸ In 1946, there were 70,000 teaching positions vacant, over 100,000 teachers had only the minimum standards for a temporary certification, and another 280,000 teachers left the profession. Cole 29.

³⁵⁹ Henry G. Borchardt. "Teacher Looks at his Job," *Life*, January 6, 1947, 77.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 79.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*, 80-82, 84.

³⁶² Brown, 57; Cameron, 28; Cole 14, 28, 51; Donley, Jr., 38; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 345.

could not go to work.³⁶³ Teachers attained the promised raise and the NTA was recognized as the sole bargaining agent for Norwalk's teachers.³⁶⁴ Several other NEA affiliates participated in "walkouts" with varying success.³⁶⁵ At the national level, the NEA essentially ignored the teacher strikes and growing teacher militancy.³⁶⁶

AFT locals participated in the largest teacher strikes in the postwar era. In the St. Paul Minnesota teachers' strike of 1946, 90% of the teachers (1,165 total), who were among the lowest paid in the country, struck for five weeks during November and December with the slogan "Strike for Better Schools," after voters defeated a tax increase to pay for teacher raises. In April 1947, after another tax referendum loss, the St. Paul Federation of Teachers successfully negotiated substantial salary increases.³⁶⁷ In February 1947, the Buffalo (New York) Teacher Federation led 2,400 teachers in the "biggest teacher walkout in the nation's history."³⁶⁸ Although, New York state teachers were among the best paid teachers in the nation, they still struggled to keep up with the cost of living.³⁶⁹ With the support of the AFL and local unions, Buffalo teachers got

³⁶³ "Facts about Norwalk," *NEA Journal* 35, 8 (November, 1946): 533; "Obituary: John "Jack" Ryan," *The Hour*, June 1, 2004.

³⁶⁴ "Facts about Norwalk," (November, 1946): 533; Lloyd, 254; Urban (2000), 105.

³⁶⁵ Lloyd, 254-255.

³⁶⁶ Wesley, 81.

³⁶⁷ "'Strike for Better Schools:' The St. Paul Public School Teachers' Strike of 1946," *Workday Minnesota*, April 11, 2007. Accessed from *WorkdayMinnesota.org* on March 15, 2015 at <http://www.workdayminnesota.org/articles/strike-better-schools-st-paul-public-school-teachers-strike-1946>; Kris Berggren, "Historic St. Paul Walkout," *Twin Cities Daily Planet*, April 18, 2011. Accessed from *Twin Cities Daily Planet* on March 15, 2015 at <http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/historic-st-paul-walkout/>; Lloyd, 254; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 346.

³⁶⁸ "N.Y. State Steps into Buffalo Teacher Strike," *Chicago Tribune*, March 1, 1947. Accessed from *Chicago Tribune Archives* on March 15, 2015 at <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1947/03/01/page/20/article/n-y-state-steps-into-buffalo-teacher-strike/index.html>; Additional large strikes occurred in 1948 as Minneapolis teachers won a salary increase after a walkout "despite efforts by the board of education to lock them out." In 1948, AFT locals in San Francisco and Jersey City won pay raises after combative teachers strikes. In Chicago, AFT local 1's threat of strike led to concessions by the board of education. Lloyd, 255.

³⁶⁹ "Past is Prologue," *Life*, January 6, 1947.

salary increases.³⁷⁰ At the national level, AFT leaders stressed attaining collective bargaining rights for all teachers and lobbying legislatures to repeal anti-strike laws as their primary goals. While the AFT adopted its no-strike policy in 1920 as a condition for joining the AFL, their leaders supported these strikes. Officially they opposed the strikes. Quietly, they provided aid to the striking teachers, seeing the strikes' value in arousing the public interest and improving teacher salaries.³⁷¹

These strikes had two opposing effects on teacher militancy and collective actions. First, the average teacher salary rose by 13% and their purchasing power increased by more than 20%.³⁷² Second, there was "a backlash from state legislatures" which passed anti-strike laws for public employees.³⁷³ The template was set by New York's Condon-Waldin Act of 1947, which called for the immediate firing of striking public employees and prohibited their reinstatement for five years.³⁷⁴ These anti-strike laws combined with the dominance of anti-communist politics, the related purges of "subversive" union teachers, and the strength of politically conservative anti-tax lobbyists effectively discouraged teacher militancy and strikes during the 1950s.³⁷⁵

AFT leaders championed collective bargaining as the primary means for teachers to attain better salaries, thus bolstering teachers' professional status in American society. AFT locals gained support among teachers as they fought successfully for significant salary

³⁷⁰ "All of Buffalo's Schools Shut in Teacher Strike," *Chicago Tribune*, February 27, 1947. Accessed on March 15, 2015 from *Chicago Tribune Archives* at <http://archives.chicagotribune.com/1947/02/27/page/5/article/all-of-buffalo-schools-shut-in-teacher-strike>.

³⁷¹ Eaton, 146, 150-151; The AFT did not repeal the no-strike policy until 1963. (Brown, 65; Lloyd, 254-255.)

³⁷² Lloyd, 255; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 98.

³⁷³ Eaton, 149; Lloyd, 255.

³⁷⁴ Lloyd, 255.

³⁷⁵ Eaton 155-156; Lloyd, 255; Murphy, 175-176.

increases.³⁷⁶ While only a few cities approved collective bargaining for teachers in the late 1950s, the election of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) AFT Local 2 as the sole collective bargaining agent for New York City teachers in 1961 was a turning point for the AFT, teachers' collective bargaining rights, and for teachers' salaries. On Nov. 7, 1960, 5,600 teachers led by the UFT went a one-day strike for teachers' collective bargaining rights in direct violation of the Condon-Waldin Act and with condemnation from *New York Times*. The school board approved an election for June 1961, which the UFT won easily.³⁷⁷ Following a strike by 22,000 teachers in April 1962 to protest the board's refusal to implement a scheduled increase, the UFT won substantial across-the-board raises in 1963. The success of the UFT inspired a new wave of teacher activism with nearly 300 teacher strikes involving more than 40,000 teachers between 1961 and 1965.³⁷⁸ It also sparked an upsurge in collective bargaining elections in which the AFT and NEA competed. From 1961 to 1965, there were forty collective bargaining elections involving 10% of the two million teachers in the United States. The NEA won twenty-six elections, mostly in small cities, and added 21,000 members. The AFT won fourteen elections, predominantly in large cities, and added 74,000 members.³⁷⁹ Because of these collective bargaining victories and collective bargaining's growing appeal among teachers, the AFT's teacher-only membership rose from 39,000 in 1947 to 82,000 in 1963, about 5% of teachers, to 250,000 in 1972, or 12% of teachers.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ Brown, 137-139; Cole, 6; James T. Copper (transcriber), *Oral History of Albert Shanker on Formation of UFT* (1990). Located in the Albert Shanker File Box 10 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Murphy, 175, 180-181, 196.

³⁷⁷ Brown 61; Cameron, 74; Cole, 6, 19; Donley, Jr., 47; Eaton, 163-166.

³⁷⁸ Cole, 7, 20, 65-69, 162; Urban (1989), 199-200.

³⁷⁹ Cole, 7.

³⁸⁰ Brown, 64; Cameron, 65; Donley, Jr., 30, 34, 49, 75; Eaton, 194; Murphy, 258; Schultz, Jr., 81; Wesley 384.

During the 1950s, the NEA continued to focus most of its organizational efforts on lobbying for federal aid to public schools. For most of the decade, federal aid was stalled by Southern Democrats, conservative Republicans, Catholic proponents for federal aid to private schools, and a budget-conscious Eisenhower Administration. The launch of Sputnik on October 4, 1957 provided a spark for the passage of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958. Public schools received categorical aid for science, mathematics, foreign language, and vocational instruction, counseling for gifted students, and educational media programs.³⁸¹ In the 1960s, opponents to federal aid blocked further attempts to pass federal aid bills. However, the NEA found support for federal aid in the media, Congress, and the White House. President Lyndon B. Johnson, a proud former teacher, led the drive for federal aid as central to his “Great Society efforts to eradicate poverty.”³⁸² The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965 increased federal aid to public schools from a half billion dollars under the NDEA to three and half billion dollars under ESEA. It also expanded federal education programs from twenty under the NDEA to over three hundred programs under ESEA.³⁸³ These bills boosted the overall expenditures on public school by 69% in the 1960s and raised the federal government percentage of all education funding to 9% by 1970.³⁸⁴

By 1965, the tremendous demand for teachers to accommodate the growing number of Baby Boomers, the AFT’s successes in securing collective bargaining rights

³⁸¹ Larry Cuban, “The Persistence of Reform in American Schools,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 385; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 336-339.

³⁸² Bethany Rogers, “‘Better’ People, Better Teaching: The Vision of the National Teacher Corps, 1965–1968,” *History of Education Quarterly* 49, 3 (2009): 352.

³⁸³ Harvey Kantor, “Education, Social Reform, and the State: ESEA and Federal Education Policy in the 1960s,” *American Journal of Education*, 100, 1 (1991): 48; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 373-374.

³⁸⁴ Sonnenberg, 31-32

for teachers, and the NEA's effective lobbying efforts to pass federal aid contributed to the average teacher earning a middle class income and being able to participate in the avid consumerism of the period.³⁸⁵ Teachers' salaries increased 40% during the 1950s and by another 30% during the 1960s. Teachers' purchasing power almost doubled between 1950 and 1970.³⁸⁶ By 1965, the median salary for teachers rose to \$6,279 and the median salary for starting teachers was \$5,166, which placed them squarely in the middle class. The median income of all families was \$6,900 and the middle range of family incomes went from \$5,000 to \$6,999.³⁸⁷ These increases in teachers' salaries and buying power confirmed that teaching was a middle class profession.

Teachers as Consumers, 1946-1956

The initial usage of the consumerism discourse by the AFT and NEA emphasized the representation of teachers as family-oriented consumers. In terms of professionalism,

³⁸⁵ As school districts struggled to attract teachers, school boards raised the starting salaries of teachers between 1951 and 1957 by 17%. As collective bargaining became more common for teachers between 1958 and 1965, starting salaries exceeded the rate of inflation by 15%. The purchasing power of the average beginning teacher increased by nearly 75% from the 1950s through the 1960s. Despite these gains, teachers' salaries continued to compare poorly to other professionals. "The average teacher earned \$4,019 in 1955, as contrasted with \$12,480 for dentists, \$14,817 for self-employed physicians in general practice, and \$18,010 for self-employed specialists." Between 1950 and 1980, these discrepancies were worst for male teachers who earned "only 70 to 90 percent of the median salaries earned by all male professional and workers." While female teachers continued to make 75% to 85% of what male teachers paid, they "earned 150 to 200 percent more than the females in the civilian labor force in general... [and] earned between 100 and 130 percent of the median salaries earned by all female professionals." (For increases in teachers' salaries and buying power see, NEA Research Division, "Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1962" *Research Report 1962-R8* (1962): 122; Ray C. Maul, "The Changing Nature of the Teacher Shortage," *NEA Journal* 52, 8 (November, 1963): 41-42; Research Division, "Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1964" *NEA Research Report 1964-R9* (1964): 122; Research Division, "Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1965" *NEA Research Report 1965-R10* (1965): 4; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 102; For comparison to other professionals in 1955 see, Research Division, "Financial Incentives for teachers," *NEA Research Bulletin*, 37 (1959): 49; For data on teachers' salaries from 1950 to 1980 see, Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 99, 107.)

³⁸⁶ Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers in 1958-59," *NEA Research Report 1960-R3*, (July, 1960): 50; Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers in 1960-61," *NEA Research Report 1961-R1*, (January, 1961): 5; Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers, 1963-64," *NEA Research Report 1964-R7*, (April, 1964): 4; Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers in 1964-65" *NEA Research Report 1965-R7*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association (1965): 4; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 98; Newell B. Walters, "Salary Related or Non-Wage Compensation for Teachers," *A Report Fourth National School Teachers Salary Scheduling of the NEA September 26-29, 1961* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association April, 1962) 46-75.

³⁸⁷ Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 98-99, 103; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Income in 1965 of Families and Persons in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1967), 1.

teachers' salaries compared poorly to the compensation of other professionals and denied teachers a middle class standard of living. First, both groups countered the "bad" teacher representations of incomplete men and women (unmarried or unmarriageable) who could not or did not want to cope with the demands of the "real" world outside the classroom. The consensus on consumerism positioned the self-contained family unit at the center of the American economy. As the married person became the norm among the teaching ranks, the NEA and AFT associated their claims for professional salaries with the consumer needs and desires of family men and women. Second, the AFT and NEA portrayed "good" teachers as "purchaser consumers" seeking the American Dream for their families. The teacher strikes from 1946 and 1949 created a momentum for these representations of teachers as aspiring middle class professionals. Both organizations concluded that if communities, administrators, policymakers, and politicians wanted teachers to be proper Cold War role models, then they needed to be paid as professionals so they could pass on their knowledge and experience as consumers to their students.

AFT leaders and their allies argued teachers' salaries were the principal cause for the teacher shortage. In 1945, Lyle Spencer, President of the education publisher Science Research Associates, argued that American education was deteriorating and the primary reason, or "first black mark," was teachers' salaries, which had "raised 60% as fast as other wages in the last 10 years." Therefore, teachers were "quitting the profession at an unprecedented rate," teaching trainees came from "the very bottom of intellectual ladder," and the dedicated teachers who remained in the classroom were plagued by "low

morale.”³⁸⁸ This situation meant that the teaching profession would be represented by less talented, dispirited individuals who struggled to make ends meet. Even worse, this situation was occurring amid a booming economy. In 1946, Irvin R. Kuenzli, the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFT (1936-1953) and a Latin teacher in Springfield Ohio, saw teachers’ salaries as “a serious crisis in time of unprecedented prosperity,” since children were “suffering” in overcrowded classrooms staffed by unqualified teachers.³⁸⁹ With a high school diploma becoming a prerequisite for employment, public schools that developed individuals’ potentials, skills, and work ethic were fundamental to the strength and vitality of the nation’s complex consumer economy and democratic society.³⁹⁰

AFT leaders and locals concluded that if school districts did not offer salary schedules that afforded a higher standard of living to teachers then the public schools could not attract talented people to the profession and keep the best teachers in the classroom.³⁹¹ And since the quality of teachers determined by the quality of education, the disgraceful status of teachers’ salaries would lead to the deterioration of public schools and eventually undermine the American economy. In 1950, the San Francisco Federation of Teachers (SFFT) argued that the progress of any country depended on the

³⁸⁸ Lyle Spencer, “Expert Opinion on Teachers’ Salaries.” (October 4, 1945). Located in the Mary Wheeler Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

³⁸⁹ Irvin Kuenzli, *Publicity and Research Bulletin* (November 20, 1946). Located in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

³⁹⁰ San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61, “A Refutation of Superintendent Argument of June 14 and June 28 for Improving Salary Schedule,” (June 28, 1950). Located in the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, Local 61 Files Box 3, Folder 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Arthur W. Walz, “Luxury or Necessity,” *Chicago Union Teacher* 11, 5, April, 1946, 2.

³⁹¹ Walz (April, 1946), 2; Raymond Peck, “Secretary-Treasurer Report,” *Ohio Federation of Teachers Convention Minutes*, edited by Raymond Peck (May 9, 1946). Located in the Raymond Peck Files Box 3, Folder 11 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University, 2; Arthur W. Walz, “World’s Greatest Industry,” *Chicago Union Teacher* 11, 6, June, 1946, 2; “Teachers’ Pay Raise Not Enough,” *Chicago Union Teacher* 12, 3, December, 1946, 8; “Equal Pay for Equal Work,” *Chicago Union Teacher* 12, 5, December, 1946, 6; Omaha Federation of Teachers Local 695, “Letter to the Board of Education, May 27, 1955.” Located in the Carl Megel Files Box 1, Folder 23 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

quality of its schools: “Failure now to improve the present inadequate system will result in staggering crisis in poorly educated, half-trained citizens.”³⁹² With less qualified teachers, students would not receive the education necessary to become productive workers, efficient managers, innovative entrepreneurs, and wise consumers, all of which made the American economy the envy of the world.

Teachers’ salaries made it untenable for skilled people to stay in the classroom if they wanted to live a middle class lifestyle or raise a family with a decent standard of living. In 1953, the Illinois Federation of Teachers represented the “terrible teacher shortage” as the meager salaries teachers received. In figure 12, a beleaguered male teacher surrounded by unpaid bills, late notices, a candle, and a “short beer” represents the plight of all the teachers unable to pay for the basic necessities of life. This “terrible teacher shortage” meant well-educated individuals would eventually leave the profession to pursue more lucrative careers, regardless of their love of teaching, their technical expertise in the classroom, or their dedication to public service.

The AFT knew exactly who was to blame: the “administrator-dominated” NEA. In 1946, Kuenzli claimed the disastrous state of teachers’ salaries was “both graphic and tragic proof of the professional inadequacy of non-union teaching organizations.”³⁹³ AFT leaders pointed out that teachers were systematically being excluded from consumer society by penny-pinching administrators more concerned with pleasing school boards than helping teachers gain entrance into the middle class. They pointed out the disconnect

³⁹² San Francisco Federation of Teachers (June 28, 1950)

³⁹³ Kuenzil (November 20, 1946).

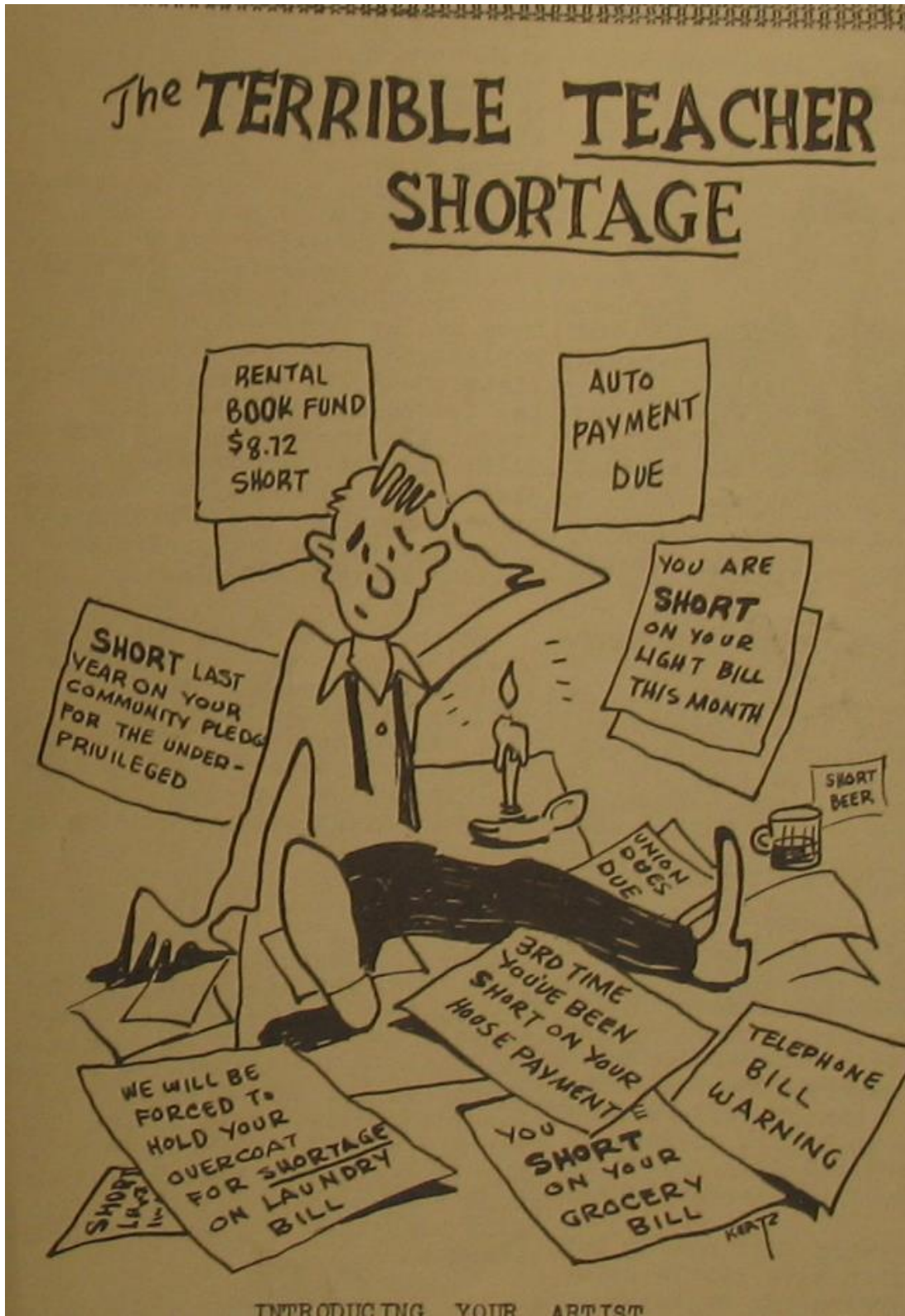


Figure 12: "The Terrible Teacher Shortage" *Illinois State Teacher* (October 1953), 1.

between administrators' perception, the reality of teachers' salaries, and the expectation of professionals in a consumer society. The Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231 highlighted the comments of Rock Island, Illinois Superintendent Earl Henson in October 1949 issue of *Nation's Schools*. Henson proclaimed that, "teachers' wives should work." It was "good all around" for the "family's budget, wives' soul, and the children," who would learn to be "more self-reliant." To AFT leaders, Henson concluded that teachers did not deserve to lead "normal" family lives: "normal" being a suburban middle class life supported by a husband/father breadwinner. Administrators who dismissed teachers' needs for better salaries were denying their "fellow educators" the chance afforded them "to support families decently and buy homes and purchase commodities necessary for a fair and decent standard of life."³⁹⁴ To make matters worse, administrators and policy makers expected teachers to cover for the deficiencies in staffing caused by a growing list of services demanded of public schools and the ever-increasing flood of students.

AFT leaders were confronting a long history of administrators and school boards requiring teachers to perform non-teaching duties, such as leading Sunday school, hosting community events, supervising student activities, running PTA meetings, nursing sick children, serving as postmaster, and maintaining the school, which included cleaning water closets, sweeping chimneys, scrubbing desks, mowing the yard, and plastering holes in walls.³⁹⁵ In the early years of the Baby Boom era, teachers had extracurricular

³⁹⁴ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, "Salary Too Low, Put Wife to Work," *The Detroit Teacher* 8, 9, May 22, 1950. Located in the Helen Bowers Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

³⁹⁵ For examples see Anonymous American Woman, *Diary 1920* (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2001), especially entries for "Monday, Mar. 15, 1920," "Wednesday, Feb. 11, 1920," and "Monday, May 31, 1920." Accessed on May 5, 2011 from <http://tinyurl.com/3dusakz>; Josephine Edith Brown, *Diary of an Iowa Farm Girl: Josephine Edith Brown, 1892-1901*, edited by Vivian C. Hopkins (Iowa City, IA: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1973), 140. Accessed on May 5, 2011 from <http://tinyurl.com/3rsk7gl>; Vilate Elliot, "Diary, 1899-1900" in *A Schoolmarm All My Life*:

duties, such as PTA meetings, double shifts, clerical work, and other odd jobs added to their workloads without receiving additional compensation. AFT leaders argued that teachers' free labor subsidized administrators' professional salaries and underfunded school budgets. If teachers wanted to be recognized as professionals, they needed to be paid for all the work they performed. In 1946, the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) sought higher salaries for all teachers that reflected the duties assigned to them and urged the adoption of a single salary schedule that recognized equal pay for equal work. It was, they claimed, a matter of simple justice.³⁹⁶ After all, "extracurricular work is WORK and should be paid for." The reason teachers were not being paid was "the easy assumption" that new duties "dreamed up at central offices and added to a teacher's work—probably giving the teacher something to do."³⁹⁷ This "assumption" replicated "bad" teacher representations in which teaching was depicted as an easy job for social misfits who could not make it in the "real" world.

The AFT represented teachers as multi-faceted professionals who provided a multitude of services to their students and for their schools. In 1955, Rosalie "Research Rosie" Kraus, the "chairman" of the *Illinois State Federation of Teachers Bulletin*, depicted the multiple roles required of teachers on a daily basis:

"to try to earn part of a living as a part-time mother, nurse-maid, disciplinarian, arbitrator, psychologist, housekeeper, cashier, clerk,

Personal Narratives from Frontier Utah, edited by Joyce Kinkead (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 142-157; Bessie Mattern, "July, 1898," in *Bessie Mattern Diary, 1892-1910*. Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2002), 56V; Eva Louise Alvey Richards, "September, 1924," 68-69. Accessed on May 5, 2011 from <http://tinyurl.com/3bwoosw>.

³⁹⁶ Arthur W. Walz, "Friends of Education (And Others) Speak Up," *Chicago Union Teacher* 11, 5, April, 1946, 4; "Equal Pay for Equal Work," (December, 1946): 5-6; Arthur W. Walz, "CTU's Salary Statement at the 1947 Budget Hearing, Chicago Board of Education," *Chicago Union Teacher* 12, 4, February, 1947, 4.

³⁹⁷ "Equal Pay for Equal Work," *Chicago Union Teacher* 12, 5, December, 1946, 6;

playground supervisor----envoy extraordinaire and minister plenipotentiary-
---What Rosalie? Oh yes, in other words, a classroom teacher!”³⁹⁸

Given all the work they performed for their students, schools, and the communities, the Omaha Federation of Teachers Local 695 estimated that teachers in 1955 averaged “43 cents an hour.”³⁹⁹ These conditions and the lack of remuneration led many teachers to supplement their meager salaries by moonlighting.

The AFT bemoaned the fact that teachers had to work part-time during the school year and/or full-time in the summer to make ends meet. They saw moonlighting as a serious threat to classroom competence and to “normal” family life. Teachers forfeited “time and energy earning money” by working as bartenders, carpenters, garment workers, real estate brokers, sales clerks, security guards, truck drivers, and a variety of odd jobs “to eke out a living.”⁴⁰⁰ The more time and energy teachers spent outside the classroom and the home, the less time and energy they had to commit to their professional duties or pursue professional development opportunities at in-service trainings and summer university courses.⁴⁰¹ It also meant teachers had less time to spend with their spouses and children. Thus, teachers found themselves living outside the dominant cultural ideal of the self-contained nuclear family that was expected to provide the primary source for an individual’s satisfaction and happiness. If teachers wanted professional salaries so they could avoid moonlighting and support their families, then they needed the AFT.

³⁹⁸ Rosie Kraus, “Rosie’s Ramblings” *Illinois Union Teacher*, January 1, 1955.

³⁹⁹ Omaha Federation of Teachers Local 695 (May 27, 1955).

⁴⁰⁰ E.P. “That ‘Equal Pay’ Business,” *Chicago Union Teacher* 12, 1, October, 1946, 14; Also see Borchardt (January 6, 1947), 76, 78-80; Walz (February, 1947), 4; San Francisco Federation of Teachers (June 28, 1950).

⁴⁰¹ San Francisco Federation of Teachers (June 28, 1950); “Equal Pay for Equal Work,” *Chicago Union Teacher* 12, 5, December, 1946, 6; E.P. (October, 1946), 14; Walz (February, 1947), 4.

AFT leaders argued that the best solution for teachers was to leave the administrator-led NEA and join the AFT's teacher-only union. They believed building strong locals would help teachers gain their proper economic status. The AFT called union membership a "vital necessity" to the individual teacher who could easily be "completely lost in a large city school system without the saving identification" with other teachers that only teacher unions provided. Unionism with its principal focus on attaining better salaries and protecting economic interests was required to bolster teacher professionalism. A union representing a majority of teachers could convince the American public, the teachers' "true employer," to pay taxes that would adequately fund the public schools, provide teachers with professional salaries, and make teaching an attractive career. Thus, unions were "good for education as well as for the educators" going "far toward raising teaching to a really professional status, where the teacher's energy and talents are conserved for the exacting job of educating the young."⁴⁰² The AFT believed the union efforts that had raised many blue-collar workers into the middle class could help teachers do the same.

The AFT had to convince teachers that unionism was compatible with professionalism. In 1951, Raymond Peck, who served the Ohio Federation of Teachers as President, treasurer, and lobbyist (1937-1968), claimed administrators, school boards, and the NEA deluded too many teachers into thinking they were "pretty well off" financially and that their cooperation with the educational "leaders" would improve their salaries. He concluded teachers needed to join with the AFT to get accurate information, pragmatic

⁴⁰² E.P. (1946), 14-15; Meyer Halushka, "Increased Appropriations Needed," *Chicago Union Teacher* 12, 2, November, 1946, 8; Walz, (1947), 4.

advice, and vigorous support for their salary demands.⁴⁰³ By the mid-1950s, as the AFT made substantial membership gains in large metropolitan areas, their leaders intensified calls to unionize teachers as a best way to improve salaries. In 1955, the Omaha Federation of Teachers Local 695 claimed that teachers were “part of a great professional segment of this country that is grossly underpaid, the first step is to improve the labor spirit.”⁴⁰⁴ In 1956, Peck denounced NEA-back merit pay plans as inherently divisive and exploitative. In merit rating systems, administrators defined cooperation as compliance. “Teachers with vision, imagination, and courage,” who insisted on being treated and paid as professionals, were singled out for dismissal or forced to resign to maintain their dignity. He concluded that after “33 years of teaching” the “most satisfying” solution to the pitiful state of teachers’ salaries was the AFT principle: equal pay for equal training, experience, and work.⁴⁰⁵ For teachers to enter into middle class consumerism with the confirmation of professionalism that came with it, they needed to join the AFT. These representations of union teachers reinforced the association between consumerism and professionalism. They also formed the basis of the AFT’s arguments for collective bargaining into the 1960s.

The NEA’s initially used consumerism to advocate for adequate funding for public schools at the local, state, and national levels as the best means professional salaries for teachers. Since the largest expenditure for public schools was teachers’ salaries, the more taxes assigned to public schools, the more money there would be for

⁴⁰³ Peck (May 12, 1951).

⁴⁰⁴ Omaha Federation of Teachers Local 695 (May 10, 1955).

⁴⁰⁵ Raymond Peck, “Merit Rating as a Detriment to Teachers’ Salaries” *Ohio Federation of Teachers Convention Minutes*, edited by Raymond Peck (May 4-5, 1956). Located in the Raymond Peck Files Box 3, Folder 11 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

teachers' salaries. The NEA's primary means of advocating professional salaries was providing accurate research to support their public relations and lobbying efforts. The NEA took a three-prong approach to bolster their claims. First, they stressed that cooperation among teachers, administrators, policymakers, and communities as the best possible method to achieve more public school funding and better salaries. Next, they represented teachers as role models for wise consumption both in the classroom and the community. Finally, they argued that quality public schools staffed by qualified teachers were essential to economic prosperity.

As a growing number of teachers, many of them were members of NEA affiliates, struck for better salaries and working conditions in the late 1940s, NEA emphasized the need for teachers to work cooperatively with all stakeholders to improve public education. NEA leaders argued that teachers' salaries were one of the key causes for teachers' frustrations and the persistent problems in public schools. In 1946 and 1947, *NEA Journal* editors championed state and local associations' work to improve their school systems. Several articles highlighted cooperation between teachers, administrators, policy makers, business leaders, and civic groups. Together, these groups conducted research, published studies, ran public relations campaigns, and built political alliances in concerted efforts to raise school taxes, create reasonable salary schedules, strengthen certification standards, fund scholarships for teaching candidates, and improve teachers' social status in their communities.⁴⁰⁶ The praise heaped on the "intelligent and

⁴⁰⁶ "NEA Action," *NEA Journal* 36, 2 (February, 1947): 81; "Facts about Norwalk," (November, 1946): 533; "Our Affiliated State Associations; Teacher Recruiting in New Mexico," *NEA Journal* 36, 3 (March, 1947): 216; Lyle W. Ashby, "Topeka Steps Out," *NEA Journal* 35, 5 (September, 1946): 288-290; Belmont Farley, "Different in Decatur," *NEA Journal* 35, 3 (March, 1946): 138-139; Gunnar Horn, "Digest Raises Heat in Omaha: A Reply to 'How You Can Get Greater Value from Fewer Tax Dollars,'" *NEA Journal* 35, 5 (September, 1946): 331; Research Department, "Prices

well-balanced ladies and gentlemen” of Topeka Kansas best typified the NEA approach. The all-inclusive Topeka Teacher Association and the Kansas Education Association worked “harmoniously with the superintendent and public-spirited Board of Education” to generate community support for increasing teachers’ salaries.⁴⁰⁷ These stakeholders created a personnel program that made Topeka’s schools a “safe and pleasant place for good people to work” and its enviable reputation among “professional workers” for “courageous and fair” policies had helped it to avoid the teacher shortage effecting school districts across the nation. Finally, the active participation of Topeka teachers meant they were “not expected to be the ‘third sex’ socially,” instead it was “known that a teacher can ‘be comfortable and count for something’ when he lives in the beautiful capital city of Kansas.”⁴⁰⁸ The NEA hoped to replicate these results throughout the United States.

A primary strategy was to focus on a teacher’s role in consumer education. They argued that a teacher who could only “do so only if his life is an example.”⁴⁰⁹ In a series of articles in the *NEA Journal* during 1946, Fred Wilhelms, the associate director of the Consumer Education Study from the NEA-affiliated National Association of Secondary School Principals, introduced the goals of consumer education and the roles of teachers.

and Salaries,” *NEA Journal* 35, 9 (December, 1946): 586; Mildred Sanderson Fenner, “Our Affiliated Local Associations: Professional Methods Win Lancaster Salary Campaign,” *NEA Journal* 37, 2 (February, 1947): 110-113; F.L. Schlagle and Willard E. Givens, “Inflation, Price Controls, and the Schools,” *NEA Journal* 35, 3 (March, 1946): 160; These praises continued into the 1950s at the state and national levels. The Washington Education Association (WEA) claimed Washington teachers’ median salaries were among the highest in the nation and the median raises of \$400 negotiated by the WEA in 1953 were significantly higher than the national median raise of \$170. (Washington Education Association, *Annual Teacher’s Salary Study* (Seattle, WA: Washington Education Association, January, 29, 1954).) The NEA also pointed out that local and state associations got raises for teachers through “excellent cooperation” between teachers, the press, administrators, policymakers, NEA departments, and civic group from Rumford, Maine to Cleveland, Ohio to Portland, Oregon. (“How We Got Our Salary Increases: A symposium - Teacher Welfare,” *NEA Journal* 45, 6 (September, 1956): 371-372.)

⁴⁰⁷ Ashby (September, 1946), 288-289; The TTA membership consisted of “every teacher, supervisor, and administrator, both white and colored.”

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 290.

⁴⁰⁹ Fred T. Wilhelms, “Some Earmarks of Good Consumer Teaching,” *NEA Journal* 35, 7 (October, 1946), 397.

He argued that every teacher was a teacher of consumerism. Every teacher had a responsibility “to contribute in his peculiar way to the total education of each young person toward that full, rich living which is the end product of wise consuming.”⁴¹⁰ The purpose was to develop a desire for good living in students so their consumption contributed to rising the standard of living for themselves and their fellow citizens.

Wilhelms featured Mrs. Wood as the ultimate Cold War role model for wise consumerism in three articles.⁴¹¹ Mrs. Wood was a pleasant, self-assured, white-haired, practical consumer education teacher. She was joined in conversations by Mr. James, the “youthful” principal, and Miss Dixon, the “pretty” first-year teacher, on why consumer education was so essential to students and teachers. All three of these educators replicated and extended the ascending “good” teacher representations. Mrs. Wood was the wise old schoolmarm who devoted her life to the consumer education of her students and helping her colleagues understand their roles as consumers. However, she did not forsake a “normal” life to be a dedicated teacher or accept that teaching was its own reward. She was married, collaborated with other educators, and believed teaching needed to provide a professional salary. Mrs. Wood argued that educating students to be wise consumers and teachers to be role models of consumerism was “only half the answer, because you and all teachers simply *must* have more money.”⁴¹² Mr. James and Miss Dixon expressed similar sentiments. Miss Dixon was “discouraged” by not being able to lead “the sort of

⁴¹⁰ Wilhelms (October, 1946), 396.

⁴¹¹ Fred T. Wilhelms, “Teachers are Consumers, Too and They Can Learn to be Good Ones,” *NEA Journal* 35, 1 (January, 1946): 32-33. (Based on *The Modern American Consumer*, a unit published by the Consumer Education Study); Fred T. Wilhelms, “Advertising: Help or Hindrance to Smart Consuming,” *NEA Journal* 35, 2 (February, 1946): 88-89; Fred T. Wilhelms, “Teachers Need Facts When They Buy and Labels are an Important Source,” *NEA Journal* 35, 3 (March, 1946): 134-135. (Based on *Using Standards and Labels*; a unit for High School students, by Fred T. Wilhelms).

⁴¹² Wilhelms (January, 1946): 32.

life you associate with the word ‘professional.’” Miss Dixon was not primarily concerned with finding a husband to rescue her from the drudgery of teaching. She was an aspiring professional seeking to carve a career in the classroom, which she hoped would provide her a middle class consumer lifestyle. Mr. James was “hitting the same stonewall” even with the “bigger checks” as an administrator as he faced mounting costs of “setting up a home” and starting a family.⁴¹³ Mr. James was not an obstacle to the “good” teachers trying to do their job. He was a conscientious professional seeking advice from his peers on how to provide for his family as the head of the household and breadwinner. All three were working towards being consumer role models: as a competent teacher passing on practical knowledge about wise consumption and as “one who has been personally inoculated with the intelligent-buying bug.”⁴¹⁴

At the core of consumer education was inculcating students with the values of Cohen’s “purchaser consumers.” For Mrs. Wood, the end result for consumer education was to help students to “decide what they want, then to equip them with the practical competence to get it.” These goals were central to understanding modern life. First, the American economy had “become pretty much a *money* economy” that required good money management and “smart buysmanship.” Second, the consumer had “a stake in the size of the [whole economic] output; as a democratic citizen you’re one of the mangers whose decisions count. So you’d better decide to be competent practical economist.”⁴¹⁵ Students needed to learn how to consume wisely not only served to provide them with a

⁴¹³ Wilhelms (January, 1946), 32.

⁴¹⁴ G. Edward Damos, “Consumer Education Has a Recognized Place in Most Highschool Curriculum Today,” *NEA Journal* 41, 8 (November, 1952): 494.

⁴¹⁵ Wilhelms (January, 1946), 32.

satisfactory life, but also served the general good by stimulating economic growth.⁴¹⁶ In other words, wise consumer decisions were key to the proper functioning of the economy. Thus, public schools and teachers were fundamental to sustained prosperity.

The NEA stressed how public schools and their teachers strengthened consumerism at the local, state, and national levels. In January 1946, Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary of the NEA (1935-1952), set the NEA's tone on teachers' salaries:

John Q. [Public] tends to forget that teachers are consumers. The bulk of their salaries is returned almost immediately to the national economy thru purchases of food, clothing, shelter, and the other necessities. Increases in teachers' salaries put more money into circulation.⁴¹⁷

The NEA invited America's leading industrialists, such as Charles Luckman, President of Lever Brothers, and Frank W. Abrams, the chairman of board for Standard Oil, to support their position that "education must be bought and paid for" since it helped to make America the land of opportunity and was essential to America's continual prosperity.⁴¹⁸ In 1950, Forest Rozzell, chairman of the NEA Legislative Commission and director of Field Services of the Arkansas Education Association, stated that education was essential to a strong economy, since an "educated person wants more of the good things of life. He

⁴¹⁶ Central to developing this practical competence was for students to fully understand their future roles as husbands and wives. In 1947, Stewart B. Hamblen, Applied Economics consultant to American Association for Teaching and Curriculum, highlighted curriculum in New Hampshire, Minnesota, and Mississippi schools that focused on being positive forces in helping the American people realize "their highest potential standard of living." In 1949, Dora S. Lewis, chairman of Hunter College's Department of Home Economics, asserted: "Economic security is essential to the maintenance of stable family living... to provide the necessities, for some luxuries that make for refinement in living, and for social protection against emergencies and depends upon, in part, on intelligent consumption. In 1952, G. Edward Damos, the director of field services for the National Association of Secondary School Principals, claimed "more schools are teaching consumers how to be intelligent customers, with emphasis on knowing how to ask intelligent questions." For students to be wise consumers, they needed to develop their economic literacy. After all, the economy depended upon the consumer for intelligent "participation in the everyday activities of a modern economy." (Stewart B. Hamblen, "Teaching Them to Live: Fourth in a Special Series on the Sloan Experiment in Applied Economics," *NEA Journal* 36, 5 (May, 1947): 296-297; Dora S. Lewis, "Good Family Living is a Concern of the School," *NEA Journal* 38, 1 (January, 1949): 32; Damos (November, 1952): 494; Lee and Jones (April, 1957): 248.

⁴¹⁷ Willard E. Givens, "Education: An Investment," *NEA Journal* 35, 1 (January, 1946): 25.)

⁴¹⁸ Charles Luckman, "Let's Build for Tomorrow," *NEA Journal* 36, 3 (March, 1947): 194; Frank W. Abrams, "More Important than Dallas," *NEA Journal* 40, 6 (September, 1951): 344.

wants more, earns more, spends more, produces more.”⁴¹⁹ In 1955, Dr. Harold Clark, Professor of Education at Teachers’ College Columbia University, claimed Americans’ high standard of living depended “to a very large degree upon the audacity and complexity of the whole educational system.”⁴²⁰ If Americans wanted a powerful economy, then they needed to fund public schools so they could offer professional salaries to teachers. Adequate funding would assure the most capable people would gladly join the profession and the best educators would remain in the classroom to teach the growing number of Baby Boomers. These representations of education’s essential role in American prosperity reinforced the political and cultural consensus that citizens’ consumerism provided for the general good by pursuing the good life through mass consumption. They also formed the basis of the NEA’s economic arguments for their successful lobbying for federal aid to public schools in 1958 and 1965.

Teachers’ Salaries as a Profitable Investment, 1957-1965

The second use of consumerism discourse by the AFT and NEA was to re-brand the funding of public schools and the raising of teachers’ salaries to professional levels as profitable investments. Both organizations challenged the popular representations of self-sacrificing “good” teachers, who valued teaching as its own reward, and championed, instead, the popular representation of the hard-working “hero” teacher, who deserved greater financial rewards for excelling at the difficult tasks faced in modern classrooms. The AFT and NEA argued that increasing spending on public schools was an investment

⁴¹⁹ Forest Rozzell, “Why I Believe in Federal Aid: TO ME, the Irrefutable Arguments for Federal Aid make its Eventual Passage Inevitable,” *NEA Journal* 39, 7 (October, 1950): 502; Rozzell worked as a teacher, principal, and superintendent. He also served as the Executive Secretary for the Arkansas Education Association.

⁴²⁰ Harold F. Clark, “Education and the American Economy in 1960,” *NEA Journal* 44, 5 (May, 1955): 294.

in America's people, economy, and future. Both groups asserted that teachers' talents and competence determined the quality of education. Therefore, increasing teachers' salaries was the best use of additional funding.

Again, their differing organizational identities and goals kept the AFT and NEA from working together. The AFT focused its organizational and discursive efforts on securing collective bargaining rights for teachers at the local and state levels as the primary means to improve teacher salaries and their professional status. AFT leaders claimed that, all too often, the NEA, school boards, and administrators defined professionalism in negative terms, maintaining that "true" professionals did not join labor unions, pledge their allegiance to special interest groups, demand extra pay for extra duty, or agitate for better pay.⁴²¹ By contrast, the AFT argued that teacher-only unions with their successes in improving and protecting teachers' economic interests were the only path to professionalism in America's consumer-oriented society. The NEA focused its organizational and discursive efforts on attaining federal aid to public schools, thus freeing up school districts' budgets to increase teachers' salaries. In contrast, the NEA argued that unionism was antithetical to professionalism. They claimed collective bargaining, across-the-board raises, and striking were mostly ineffective, often illegal, and ultimately self-defeating to teacher professionalism. In the end, union tactics created bitter conflicts among educators and any short-sighted economic gains made by unions in the long run harmed the public welfare. The NEA concluded that professional unity among all educators was the only true path to teacher professionalism.

⁴²¹ Kansas City Federation of Teachers Local 691, "What is Professionalism: An Editorial," *The Kansas City Teacher* 5,2 (December 1961). Located in the Mary Herrick Files Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

AFT leaders claimed that competitive salaries for teachers would confirm the professional status of teaching. In his Presidential Address at the Ohio Federation of Teachers' 1957 convention, Raymond Peck argued that an increase in "teachers' salaries will boost teachers in the eyes of the community."⁴²² In 1958, Joseph Jablonower of New York City Teachers Guild Local 5 stated that higher salaries served as "the stamp of public approval," which assured the teachers "a higher status" in their communities. Better salaries would also keep the most capable individuals, who were "satisfied, happy, and gladly" taught, in the classrooms instead of chasing the more lucrative economic rewards offered by administrative positions.⁴²³ With the best teachers remaining in classrooms rather than moving to district offices, the quality of education would improve greatly and teaching would more likely be valued as a profession.

The AFT argued that competitive salaries boosted teachers' dignity as human beings, recognized their roles as family providers, and enhanced their professional prestige as instructional experts. In 1960, AFT President Carl Megel declared in "our American society salary is an inescapable measure of the desirability of any job." Teachers struggling to pay for the "barest livelihood essentials." They were "deprived of status and prestige" in the communities where they lived and the nation they served. This disregard for teachers' economic security led to the growing frustration and "deep

⁴²² Raymond Peck, "President's Address: More Effective Teaching?" *Ohio Federation of Teachers Convention Minutes* (March 1-2, 1957). Located in the Raymond Peck Files Box 3, Folder 11 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴²³ Joseph Jablonower, "Selection of Administrators and Supervisors," in *Speech at 17th Conference of American Association of Examiners and Administrators of Educational Personnel* (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers, October 11, 1958), 2-3. Located in the Joseph Jablonower Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

dissatisfaction” felt by teachers across the United States.⁴²⁴ In the build-up to the New York City teachers’ strike in 1961, the Teachers Guild summarized these sentiments:

Teachers, like other people, have family responsibilities, children to bring up, older dependents to support. Like most of us, they want prestige, and whether we approve or not, prestige in our present society is frequently correlated with the size of income, should teachers then, because they are professionals, be criticized because they seek a decent income with its advantages?⁴²⁵

These AFT proclamations challenged popular representations of “good” teachers of people who sacrificed any semblance of a personal life outside the classroom to pursue their calling. Instead, the AFT stressed teachers’ desire for better salaries as a reflection of the vital public service they delivered their communities, a responsibility as married people to provide for their families, and, when achieved, as a confirmation of their professional status.

The AFT supported collective bargaining was the way to achieve professional salaries for teachers. While the NRLA guaranteed private sector employees the right to bargain collectively, laws in most states either ignored or prohibited collective bargaining rights for public employees, including teachers, until the 1960s. In the 1940s and 1950s, the AFT locals that were officially recognized as bargaining units relied on the school boards’ goodwill to operate as a representative for teachers. The AFT wanted collective bargaining to be recognized by local and state officials as a legal right.⁴²⁶ In 1959, the

⁴²⁴ “Teachers’ Stoppage in Perspective,” *Teachers’ Guild Bulletin* (1960-61). Located in the Joseph Jablonower Files Box 3, Folder 10 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; “Welcome Dr. Theobald,” *Teachers’ Guild Bulletin*, December, 1958. Located in the Joseph Jablonower Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴²⁵ “Teachers’ Stoppage in Perspective,”; James Hemsley, “The Teacher and the Administrator,” *The Colorado Teacher*, May 25, 1961, 3. Located in AFT President’s Office File Box 70, Folder 21 the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Carl Megel and George S. Ruether, Jr., *Current Fears of Teachers* (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, July 1960), 1. Located in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴²⁶ “Collective Bargaining Bill in the Hooper,” *Illinois Union Teacher*, March 1, 1953, 1-2; Mary P. Wheeler, “Teachers’ Unions and Collective Bargaining,” *Chicago Union Teacher* 12, 4, February 1947, 6-7; In 1960, Wisconsin was the first state to pass collective bargaining legislation for public employees, including teachers. During 1960s and

AFT maintained that the “abyss between the teacher and the administrator” precluded them from finding “common ground” on improving teachers’ salaries and America’s public schools.⁴²⁷ This situation would persist unless every AFT local had “a written collective bargaining agreement with the board of education.”⁴²⁸ The UFT’s victory as the bargaining unit for New York City teachers in 1961 opened the door for the AFT to champion the cause of collective bargaining nationally as teachers across the United States clamored for their own collective bargaining elections.⁴²⁹

Between 1960 and 1962, during the UFT’s battle, the AFT represented collective bargaining as the only path to confirmation of teachers’ professionalism by local and state authorities. In 1960, John Ligtenberg, the general counsel to the AFT, argued that collective bargaining was a “just, wise, ethical, and professional procedure” that will “benefit the teaching profession.” It counteracted the undemocratic, arbitrary power of school officials by promoting “a free and open discussion of all relevant factors, with full disclosure of truth about district finances” among educators.⁴³⁰ In 1961, Hollywood Federation of Teachers Local 1021 reminded readers that the AFT took “a strong stand on raising teachers’ salaries” to reflect their education attainment, to match teaching experience, and to compare favorably with other professionals’ salaries by supporting

1970s, several other states enacted similar collective bargaining laws. (Lance Compa, “An Overview of Collective Bargaining in the United States,” in *El Derecho a la Negociación Colectiva: Monografías de Temas Laborales*, edited by J. G. Hernández (Seville, Spain: Consejo Andaluz de Relaciones Laborales, 2014), 93-94, 97; Accessed from Digital Commons at Cornell University International Labor Relations School on October 4, 2015 at [http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1925&context=articles.](http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1925&context=articles))

⁴²⁷ Carl Megel and Paul G. Ward, *Personal Relations for Teachers* (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers, 1959), 3.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴²⁹ “AFT, NEA Clash,” *The Iowa Union Teacher*, January, 1962. Located in the Carl Megel Files Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; James T. Copper (transcriber), *Oral History of Albert Shanker on Formation of UFT* (1990). Located in the Albert Shanker File Box 10 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴³⁰ John Ligtenberg, *Right of Teachers to Bargain Collectively* (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers, 1960), 2, 4-5. Located in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

collective bargaining between “competent, intelligent educators.”⁴³¹ At the 1962 AFT Convention in Detroit, leaders proclaimed a new era of collective bargaining had dawned for the teaching profession. Megel argued that collective bargaining had given teachers the much needed autonomy to determine their salaries and working conditions.⁴³² UFT President Charles Cogen (1960-1964) argued that AFT was fighting for a new image for American teachers as “self-confident and militant,” fighting for their economic interests, “but at the same time, responsible and proud” professionals providing perhaps the most important public service in Cold War America.⁴³³ These representations fit the dynamic popular representations of tough-minded, dedicated, married, and professional “hero” teachers who fought for “his” students right to learn and “his” right to teach. AFT arguments for collective bargaining presumed that teachers were competent professionals who would not settle for anything less than salaries that reflected their training, experience, duties, and service. The main obstacle was teachers’ troubling allegiance to the NEA, a group that was “too slow, too conservative, and much too remote” due to its administrator-oriented philosophy.⁴³⁴

As the AFT won collective bargaining elections in large metropolitan areas,

⁴³¹ United Teachers of Los Angeles Local 1021, *A Guide for Better Teaching, A Plan for Better Living* (Hollywood CA: United Teachers of Los Angeles Local 1021, 1961), 3-4.

⁴³² Carl J. Megel, “President’s Address,” in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (August 21, 1962), 43. Located in the Mary Herrick File Box 4 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴³³ Charles Cogen, “Collective Bargaining Negotiations,” in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 20-24, 1962), 116. Located in the Mary Herrick File Box 4 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴³⁴ Walter Davis, “Guest Speaker,” in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 20-24, 1962), 71; Leona Miller, “Collective Bargaining: Dangerous? Immoral?” *The Tri-County Teacher* (Oxnard, CA: AFT Locals 1081 and 1271, January 1965): 2; Dr. Henry Herriman, “Guest Speaker,” in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 20-24, 1962). Located in the Mary Herrick Files Box 4 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; William Simons, *Letter to Constance L. Melaro, C/O Dumbarton College Upton Street NW Washington, D.C.* (December 16, 1965). Located in the William Simons Files Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

which more than doubled their membership in the early 1960s, AFT leaders ramped up its attacks on the NEA as a “vicious company union” compromised by its “dual role” of advocating for administrators and teachers.⁴³⁵ They maintained that collective bargaining and unions offered teachers “a logical, practical, and meaningful way to develop more professionalism among teachers” and sped up the progress towards a wider acceptance of teacher professionalism by giving teachers a strong collective voice in determining their salaries.⁴³⁶ In 1963, the New Mexico Federation of Teachers claimed that the NEA’s “administrator-controlled leadership” was its greatest failing in an era marked by growing teacher militancy.⁴³⁷ While the AFT was making substantial economic gains for teachers, the NEA pursued “collective begging” from “autocratic” administrators.⁴³⁸ In 1964, Cogen argued that despite NEA’s new rhetoric about teacher welfare, they still favored the political interests of administrators over the economic needs of teachers. With the NEA, “teachers depended on public relations, research, lobbying, and paternalism” which resulted in slow progress towards teacher professionalism, especially in terms of public prestige and adequate salaries.⁴³⁹ Cogen concluded that the AFT’s focus on “teacher unity” to obtain competitive salaries, rather than the NEA’s calls for teachers’ cooperation with the education hierarchy, was the only path toward teacher

⁴³⁵ Charles Cogen, “Greater Status for Teachers: Collective Bargaining: The AFT Way,” *Conference on Collective Negotiation Rhode Island College* (June 4, 1964), 5. Located in the Howard Hursey File Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Davis Walter Davis (August 20-24, 1962), 71-72; Herriman (August 20-24, 1962); Stanley Elam, “Teacher Unions Rift without Differences,” *The Nation* 201, 12, October, 1965, 248; Stinnett, 491; Stanley Elam, “Organizing Teachers,” *Weekly Bulletin* 22, 13, December 13, 1965. Located in the Mary Wheeler Files Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Ohio Federation of Teacher, “The Union and Professionalism,” *Link* 1, 1 (October, 1965). Located in the Howard Hursey File Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Simons, (December 16, 1965).

⁴³⁶ Cogen (August 20-24, 1962), 5; Charles Cogen, “Unionism and Professionalism.” (October 22, 1964). Located in the AFT President’s Office, Part 1 File Box 39, File 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴³⁷ “A Tale of Twin Failures for NEA,” *New Mexico Union Teacher* 3, 13, August 29, 1963. Located in the Howard Hursey Files Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴³⁸ *A Guide for Better Teaching, A Plan for Better Living* (1961), 3-4.

⁴³⁹ Cogen (June 4, 1964), 5.

professionalism.⁴⁴⁰

The AFT re-branded teacher unionism as teacher professionalism. Given that professionalism in America's consumer-oriented society was primarily determined by salaries, they suggested that collective bargaining rights for teacher-only unions was the "only foundation which teaching as a true profession can be built."⁴⁴¹ From 1960 to 1965, the AFT gained significant ground in membership due mostly to winning collective bargaining elections. AFT locals and state federations used collective bargaining to secure single salary schedules, equal pay for equal work, and extra pay for optional extra-curricular duties. In California and New York, state federations negotiated salary schedules adjusted to cost of living increases. California teachers had a legally defined roles in making and administering salary policies.⁴⁴² As a result, teacher salaries in these states were highest in the nation, moving teachers into the upper middle class incomes.⁴⁴³ These victories reinforced and extended the AFT's re-branding and re-presentations of union teachers as professionals who earned a comfortable middle class standard of living.⁴⁴⁴ They also helped the AFT's teacher-only membership grow from 37,000 in

⁴⁴⁰ Cogen (June 4, 1964), 1.

⁴⁴¹ Ohio Federation of Teacher (October, 1965). Located in the Howard Hursey File Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University. Also see, Peck (March 1-2, 1957); Elam (December 13, 1965).

⁴⁴² Miller (January 1965), 2.

⁴⁴³ Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 101; U.S. Census Bureau (1967), 1.

⁴⁴⁴ Education scholars and union leaders validated the AFT's claims about teacher unionism and collective bargaining. In 1964, Myron Lieberman was "a well-known advocate for rigorous standards and greater professionalism in American education." During the Baby Boom era, Lieberman taught high school in St. Paul (1948-49), taught at the University of Illinois (1949-52), taught at the University of Oklahoma (1953-56), chaired the Department of Education at Yeshiva University (1956-59), directed the Educational Research Council of Greater Cleveland (1960), taught at Rhode Island College (1963-69), and served as a collective bargaining consultant for the AFT. He argued that a "teacher cannot be fully professional without collective bargaining!" One teacher could not improve the economic or professional status on his or her own. They needed the collective power of teacher unions to effective agents of change. For teachers to ignore the power of collective bargaining was to ignore a teacher's professional responsibility. (Frederik Ohles, Shirley M. Ohles, and John G. Ramsay, *Biographical Dictionary of Modern American Educators* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 204; Myron Lieberman, "Is Collective Bargaining Professional?" *The Highway Called Professionalism* (1964), 1. Located in the Mary Wheeler Files Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Myron Lieberman, "Teachers Organizations," *The Clearing House*, 34, 6 (1960): 348; Lieberman (1956), 10.); In 1964

1939, to 42,000 in 1947, to 82,000 in 1963, and to more than 200,000 in 1970.⁴⁴⁵

For the NEA, teacher professionalism was directly determined by the social and economic status of the public schools they served. From the 1920s, the NEA sought to bolster local and state funding with federal aid for public schools, though these efforts were suspended during the 1930s and World War II. With a period of sustained prosperity starting in 1946, and given new life with the launch of Sputnik in 1957, the NEA intensified its lobbying efforts to procure federal aid. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, a group of young, militant, urban, male secondary school teachers, frustrated by the conservative NEA leadership and the successes of the AFT in large cities, began to agitate for prioritizing teacher welfare issues. With increased organizational power allotted to the Department of Classroom Teachers and the Representative Assembly, these teachers gained larger roles in the NEA leadership. The NEA responded by re-focusing its lobbying efforts for federal aid as the best way to secure salary increases.⁴⁴⁶

The NEA argued that adequately funded public schools assured Americans would continue to benefit from the nation's potent consumer economy. First, larger school budgets meant higher teacher salaries, which could help attract the brightest college graduates to teaching and retain capable professionals in the classroom. Second, the quality of education would improve greatly with more qualified teachers. Third, better

Walter Ruether, President of the United Auto Workers (1946-1970), challenged the "double talk about professionalism" regarding teachers. Teachers were expected serve a "higher moral purpose," but they were "denied compensation comparable to what other professionals can get" that require similar training. In receiving the "short end of salaries" teacher subsidized school budgets. Ruether concluded that collective action was "vital to the future of American teacher, the labor movement, and society." (Walter Ruether, Jr., "Guest Speaker: Labor Leader," in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 20-24, 1962), 147-149. Located in the Mary Herrick File Box 4 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.
⁴⁴⁵ Don Cameron, *The Inside Story of the Teacher Revolution in American* (Toronto: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 65; Donley, Jr., 30, 34, 75.; Schultz, Jr., 81; Wesley 384.)
⁴⁴⁶ Cameron, 23, 64, 68; Urban (2000), 171.

public schools would provide more intelligent consumers and productive citizens for the nation. In 1957, the Division of Public Relations of the Texas State Teachers Association reasoned that “money builds schools, hires teachers, encourages bright college graduates to enter the profession.”⁴⁴⁷ Even more importantly, the money consumed by public schools paid serious dividends given the “direct relationship between education level and earning power and, therefore, buying power in our total American economy.”⁴⁴⁸ In other words, public schools were the engine of the consumer economy driving America’s prosperity. However, the engine would not continue to function properly if the American public did not direct more of its total income toward public education and if they refused to pressure their representatives to approve federal aid for public schools.

The NEA reminded the American public and the federal government that they could afford to and should pay for education. Americans’ standard of living had been growing rapidly for more than a decade and their consumer options abounded beyond imagination. American citizens spent more and more of their paychecks on new cars, television, hi-fis, and a galaxy of household appliances that made their lives more comfortable and enjoyable. Thus, John Q. Public had the financial means to invest in teachers’ salaries for capable individuals to teach their children and their neighbor’s children. Meanwhile, the federal government spent liberally on military equipment, highway systems, and subsidies to agriculture, industry, and housing.⁴⁴⁹ While these expenditures supported economic growth, public schools contributed to increased

⁴⁴⁷ Texas State Teachers Association, Division of Public Relations, *Education: An Investment in the Future* (Austin, TX: Texas State Teachers Association, Division of Public Relations, 1957), 2.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁴⁹ “Can America Afford Better Schools,” *NEA Journal* 48, 2 (February, 1959): 61; Hazel Davis. “The Case for Professional Salaries,” *NEA Journal* 47, 7 (October, 1958): 484-485; John K. Norton. “Our Current Economy Can and Must Support Higher Salaries for Teachers,” *NEA Journal* 46, 9 (December, 1957): 568.

production for all industries, efficient management for all businesses, and intelligent consumption for all Americans. The NEA warned that politicians seemed disinclined to spend more on public schools or its teachers.⁴⁵⁰ A major obstacle was that “this rich nation does not look upon teaching as a profession which deserves an income even approaching those prevailing in other professions.”⁴⁵¹ The NEA sought to overcome this reluctance and perception by re-branding public school funding as an essential investment in the economy and teachers’ salaries as the best means to improve education quality.

While most of the NEA discourse during the lobbying for the NDEA focused on teachers’ roles in supporting America’s position as leader of the free world, NEA leaders also highlighted how public schools and teachers contributed to strengthening America’s consumer economy. In 1957, Dr. John K. Norton, chair of Educational Administration at the Teachers College, Columbia University, argued that financing schools was “problem of policy, not of resources” for politicians and “a matter of choice, not of ability” for the American public.⁴⁵² After all, “education is one of the indispensable foundations our economy.” And “fully qualified teachers” were the most productive workers of all since they laid “the foundation of all progress, economic as well as moral and spiritual.”⁴⁵³ This representation of “productive” teachers by the NEA challenged the “bad” teacher tropes of social misfits and economic outsiders undeserving of suitable remuneration for their services. The NEA represented teachers as central to the proper functioning of the

⁴⁵⁰ Davis (October, 1958), 484.

⁴⁵¹ Norton (December, 1957), 570

⁴⁵² Ibid, 568.

⁴⁵³ Ibid, 569.

economy, because they taught the movers and shakers who would drive America's prosperity how to be wise shoppers, engaged consumer citizens, and effective producers. These teachers were "heroes," instilling in their students the economic values and skills that made the American economy the most productive in all of human history.

Following the passage of the NDEA in 1958, the NEA focused on extending the limited federal categorical aid. In 1959, Dr. Walter Weller, chair of Economics at the University of Minnesota, argued that the value of education exceeded the investment in education both as "a consumer good and producer good." Education was "economically important as a means of enlarging our capacity to enjoy the fruits of our labor or as an investment in productivity and enlarged income." After all, education was an investment in "brain power," the source of innovation, and the "most important commodity" in winning the economic, political, and military battles of the Cold War.⁴⁵⁴ Education was the "commodity" the American public needed to consume in greater portions if they wanted their prosperity and country to continue to thrive.

As the NEA entered the 1960s with President John F. Kennedy, a reliable federal aid advocate, they sought to re-brand public education spending, especially on teachers' salaries, as the best possible investment for Americans' tax dollars. Between 1959 and 1962, the NEA Research Division concluded that teaching was "priced too low" to attract and keep a substantial number of highly qualified individuals away from other more profitable occupations.⁴⁵⁵ In 1959, Sam Lambert, director of the Research Division,

⁴⁵⁴ Walter W. Weller, "Economic Outlook for Education" *NEA Journal* 48, 9 (December, 1959): 48.

⁴⁵⁵ Research Division, "Financial Incentives for Teachers: Analysis of Professional Earnings Shows that Teaching is Priced Too Low," *NEA Research Bulletin*, 37 (1959): 48; Research Division, "Teachers Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1959" *NEA Research Report 1959-R6*, (April, 1959): 6; NEA Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers in 1960-61," *NEA Research Report 1961-R1*, (January, 1961): 5; Research Division, "Teachers Supply and

stated that higher teachers' salaries was "the price the nation must pay to secure and keep professional people in the teaching profession."⁴⁵⁶ In 1961, William Carr, Executive Secretary of the NEA from 1955 to 1967, claimed that public apathy about teachers' salaries derived in part from the popular representations of "good" teachers, who were "born and not paid."⁴⁵⁷ Sam Lambert, Director of NEA's Research Division, argued that the American public ought to be buying a much better brand of education.⁴⁵⁸ That better brand started with directing more of the national income into schools and investing more of school budgets into adequate salaries for teachers. Lambert concluded that salaries:

more than any other factor, determines the relative strength or weakness of any occupational group to attract and to hold competent persons. The financial reward offer in teaching thus becomes a most critical issue.⁴⁵⁹

If Americans wanted quality public education led by capable, knowledgeable, and dedicated professional teachers, then they needed to invest their tax dollars in their local school districts, as well as persuade their elected representatives in state capitols and in Washington, D.C. to dedicate more funding for public schools.

For the NEA, increased fiscal support for public schools needed to be attained through professional methods, such as institutional cooperation, community outreach, research studies, political lobbying, and bipartisan compromises. The NEA found union

Demand in Public Schools, 1961: Fourteenth Annual Survey," *NEA Research Report 1961-R9*. (April, 1961): 17; Research Division, "Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1962," *NEA Research Report 1962-R8* (1962): 6.
⁴⁵⁶ Sam M. Lambert, "Introduction to Economic Status of Teachers in 1958-59," *NEA Research Report 1959-R3* (May, 1959): 5.

⁴⁵⁷ William G. Carr, "NEA Salary School" *A Report Fourth National School Teachers Salary Scheduling of the NEA September 26-29, 1961* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association April, 1962): 25

⁴⁵⁸ Sam M. Lambert, "Investing in Quality Education (September 27, 1961)," in *A Report Fourth National School Teachers Salary Scheduling of the NEA September 26-29, 1961* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association April, 1962), 34;

⁴⁵⁹ Sam M. Lambert, "Introduction to the Economic Status of Teachers, 1962-63," *NEA Research Report 1963-R9*, (August, 1963): 4; Sam M. Lambert, "Introduction to the Economic Status of Teachers, 1963-64," *NEA Research Report 1964-R7* (August, 1964): 4. Sam M. Lambert, "Introduction to the Economic Status of Teachers, 1964-65," *NEA Research Report 1965-R7* (August, 1965): 4.

tactics counterproductive. Collective bargaining might have its place in industry, but it did not fit the needs of professionals in the school system. Foundational to the NEA worldview was that teachers, administrators, and policymakers were equally concerned with the efficiency of the school system. Lambert argued that teachers had “the ultimate aim of providing the best possible education for all the people. It is a professional calling and a public trust. Boards of Education have the same aim and share this trust.”⁴⁶⁰ Teachers needed to seek consensus with other educators on how to serve the children of the nation. For the NEA, this meant “professional negotiations” instead of collective bargaining and “professional sanctions” instead of strikes.

Following the UFT victory in 1961, the NEA focused more of its efforts on the countering the AFT’s membership gains. NEA leaders passed resolutions approving professional negotiations in 1961 and professional sanctions in 1962 to preserve the dignity, standards, and unity of the teaching profession.⁴⁶¹ Both “professional” measures functioned like the “unprofessional” union strategies of collective bargaining and strikes. By 1963 the NEA established twenty professional agreements in seven states. In Birmingham Michigan, a suburb of Detroit, the Michigan Education Association with help from NEA lawyers negotiated a three-year contract with better salaries, including a

⁴⁶⁰ Sam M. Lambert, “Introduction to the Professional Negotiation with School Boards: A Legal Analysis and Review,” *NEA Research Report 1965-R3* (1965): 4. For NEA arguments against union tactics, especially collective bargaining see, Thomas Carskadon, “The Way It Works No. 4: Collective Bargaining and You,” *NEA Journal* 35, 5 (September, 1946): 302; Pauline Kealher and Phillip Jackson, “How We Got Our Salary Increases: A symposium - Teacher Welfare,” *NEA Journal* 45, 6 (September, 1956): 371-372; Walters (April, 1962), 47-48; Maratha L. Ware, “Negotiations with School Boards,” in *A Report Fourth National School Teachers Salary Scheduling of the NEA September 26-29, 1961* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association Research Department April, 1962), 20; *The Determinant of Public Policy Economic Muscle or Reasoned Accommodation* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association Research Department April, 1964), 9-13; “Professional Negotiation with School Boards: A Legal Analysis and Review,” *NEA Research Report 1965-R3* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association Research Department, 1965): 5-11.

⁴⁶¹ Donley, Jr., 62-67; Schultz, Jr., 120, 159-160; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 381.

15% pay raise, as well as extra pay for extra-curricular duties and in-service training.⁴⁶² In 1964, the NEA invoked sanctions on Utah and Oklahoma after their governors vetoed school funding bills. NEA teachers refused to sign their contracts and NEA leaders advised teachers not to apply for jobs in either state. In both cases, the state governments increased state funding and the NEA lifted the sanctions.⁴⁶³ The NEA also created the Urban Project, which focused on city membership drives and salary consultant services in effort to make inroads into AFT strongholds.⁴⁶⁴ The NEA's lobbying and "negotiations" helped to increase its membership, which included administrators and non-teaching staff, from about 200,000 in 1941 to 700,000 in 1958 to 860,000 in 1966.⁴⁶⁵

Conclusion

By 1965, the combined efforts of the AFT and NEA were relatively successful in securing greater financial rewards for teachers. The increase of teachers' salaries in the 1960s stayed just ahead of the cost of living.⁴⁶⁶ The increase in salaries helped to alleviate the teacher shortage in terms of sheer numbers, even though elementary schools and certain subjects, such as science, mathematics, and foreign language failed to attract the needed supply of teachers to meet the demand.⁴⁶⁷ Higher teacher salaries and abatement of the teacher shortage, which paralleled the demographic shift to married men and women, helped to stabilize the teaching profession. While teachers continued to receive

⁴⁶² Cameron, 45-48; Donley, Jr, 76.

⁴⁶³ Brown, 66; Donley, Jr, 80-87; Schultz, Jr., 139, 157, 164.

⁴⁶⁴ Donley, Jr, 75.

⁴⁶⁵ Ted Bass and Arnold W. Wolport, *Teaching in California: Revised Edition* (San Francisco, CA: Chandler Publishing Co., 1963), 81.

⁴⁶⁶ Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers, 1960-61," (January, 1961): 5; Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers, 1963-64," (April, 1964): 4; Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers, 1964-65," (1965): 4.

⁴⁶⁷ Research Division, "Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1962," (1962): 122; Maul, (November, 1963): 41-42; Research Division, (1964): 122. Research Division, "Teacher Supply and Demand in Public Schools, 1965," (1965): 4.

lower salaries than other professionals with similar training and social services, the AFT and NEA helped make teaching a middle class profession in terms of pay.⁴⁶⁸

Political leaders validated the claims of the AFT and NEA on behalf of teachers' economic status. In January 1962, President Kennedy praised the AFT's efforts "to improve professional teaching standards and assume more adequate reward for classroom teachers."⁴⁶⁹ Kennedy also echoed the NEA's claims about public schools as profitable investment in his Special Message on Education to Congress on February 6, 1962:

...education is the mainspring of our economic and social progress-it is the highest expression of achievement in our society, ennobling and enriching human life. In short, it is at the same time the most profitable investment society can make and the richest reward it can confer.⁴⁷⁰

Furthermore, Kennedy lamented that teachers' salaries were still not high enough to attract and retain all the capable teachers the public schools needed. In fact, "there is no other sector of our national economy do we find such a glaring discrepancy between the importance of one's work to society and the financial reward society offers."⁴⁷¹ In February 1964, President Johnson called for "a renewed and continuing national commitment to education as the key to our nation's social and technological and economic and moral progress."⁴⁷² Liberal Democrats like Kennedy and Johnson argued that if public schools and teachers were going to make substantial contributions to American prosperity, then their budgets and salaries must reflect their importance to the economy.

⁴⁶⁸ Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers in 1960-61," (January, 1961): 5; Research Division (April, 1964), 4; Research Division, "Economic Status of Teachers in 1964-65," (1965), 4; Sedlak and Schlossman (1986), 107.

⁴⁶⁹ United Teachers of Los Angeles Local 1021, "President Kennedy Congratulates AFT," *The Union Teacher* 15,1 (January 1962). Located in the Mary Herrick Files Box 4 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁴⁷⁰ Harold M. Groves, "The First Kennedy Budget and Education," *NEA Journal* 51, 3 (March, 1962): 13.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid*, 13.

⁴⁷² Edith Green, "Much More Remains to be Done," *NEA Journal* 53, 2 (February, 1964): 16.

Federal legislation confirmed the NEA's and AFT's claims about the importance of public schools and teachers to strengthening America's economy. The categorical aid of the NDEA allocated a portion of the half billion dollars in total funding to improve science, mathematics, and foreign language instruction in public schools; vocational education in scientific and technological fields; testing, guidance, and counseling to help identify and encourage gifted students; and experimentation with educational media. While the NDEA made more of an impact on the budgets of higher education institutions, it did set an important precedent for expanding the role of the federal government in the public schools. The passage of the ESEA in 1965 helped meet this goal. ESEA's three and half billion dollars in funding for over three hundred programs was available to virtually every school district in the nation. The influx of federal tax dollars helped public schools enlarge the budgets considerably, which in turn allowed them to meet the salary demands of the AFT and NEA.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷³ The reauthorization and amendments to the ESEA in the 1970s and 1980s increased the federal government role in funding in America's public schools. From 1975 to 1979, the federal government allocated \$12 billion dollars to public schools which increased overall federal authorizations for education by 23%.

Chapter 3: Democracy and Teacher Professionalism

Since the founding of the country, the promotion of American democracy has consistently been used as a rationale for the establishment, maintenance, and expansion of public schools. Advocates heralded free, universal, nonsectarian public schools as essential instilling citizens with republican virtue and democratic habits.⁴⁷⁴ The Cold War made this ideal role of public schools an imperative. Communism threatened the survival of democracy at home and abroad. Education for Cold War citizenship was promoted as the answer. In 1949, *Christian Science Monitor* editors Millicent Taylor and Tully Nettleson proposed to counter the ideological threat of communism with “education for freedom.”⁴⁷⁵ After the *Brown* decisions (1954, 1955), public education took center stage in the political drama surrounding desegregation. Massive resistance to integration by Southern states led to public school closures and the firing of teachers. Their representatives in Congress blocked federal aid to education bills. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), along with other Great Society legislation and federal court decisions, authorized rigorous enforcement

⁴⁷⁴ Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 48-49; Lawrence A. Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), 34-35; Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Genius of American Education* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), 7; Lawrence A. Cremin, *Traditions of American Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 145; Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783- 1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), ix, 18, 43; Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876-1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 96, 172, 179, 185, 384; Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association, Part X* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 3, 44-45, 68, 135, 197, 209, 282, 496-497, 499-504, 531-541, 544-547, 559-565, 571-576, 584-591; John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1944, 1966), 7-9; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), x, 77-81, 135; Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2006), 231-234; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, edited by Eduardo Nolla Translated from the French by James T. Schleifer (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, Inc., 1835, 2010), 497; Paul Theobald, *Call School: Rural Education in the Middle West to 1918* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995), 3, 83.

⁴⁷⁵ Quoted from Roy K. Wilson, “Focus on Education,” *NEA Journal* 38, 1 (January, 1949): 45.

and funding requirements that helped to diminish state-sanctioned massive resistance, led to more integration of public schools, and protected teachers from political retaliations.

Both AFT and NEA used the political and cultural concerns over the preservation of democracy to represent teachers as knowledgeable, experienced experts in citizenship education. Both organizations argued that teachers' pedagogical experience, training, and skills were an crucial public service. They confronted representations of "good" teachers as apolitical public servants whose political lives and citizenship status were subject to restrictions dictated by administrators and/or the community. AFT and NEA leaders focused on two interrelated issues to challenge these representations and to lay claim to teachers' professionalism. From 1946 to 1955, they advocated for teachers' rights as American citizens. Both organizations focused their claims on teachers' public service in instilling democratic habits and principles through citizenship education.⁴⁷⁶ To fulfill this role, they argued that teachers must have the same rights as other citizens. From 1956 to 1965, AFT and NEA leaders championed teachers to be politically active. They maintained that teachers provided role models how to be democratic citizens for their students. To be proper role models in classrooms and true professionals in their communities, teachers needed to participate in the political system both individually and collectively at all levels of government. In doing so, teachers insured their civil rights were recognized, the integrity of public schools was protected, and the education needs of students were met.

⁴⁷⁶ San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61, "California Legislature Congratulates Union, Senate Resolution 214 on June 27, 1957," *The Federation Reporter* 6, 1 (October 1957).

The AFT and NEA disagreed over the support for and approaches to integration of school systems, school staffs, and teachers' organizations. This disagreement reflected a larger difference between the organizations' approach to teachers' rights and political activism. The AFT took a more liberal position on civil rights.⁴⁷⁷ From 1947 to 1952, the AFT sought to eliminate segregated locals within their organization. By 1955, they joined civil rights activists in calling for the immediate integration of public schools, teaching staffs, and professional groups. AFT leaders promoted their liberal stance on civil rights both to recruit teachers and to attack the conservative, "administrator-dominated" NEA's failure to support civil rights.⁴⁷⁸ The NEA with its large Southern membership and extensive network of political allies in Washington, D.C., endorsed a gradualist approach to desegregation. From 1946 to 1963, NEA leaders and publications largely ignored the external and internal debates over desegregation of public schools and their affiliates. NEA leaders argued the best means to resolve the desegregation debate was to focus efforts at the local level where concerned citizens would cooperate with the proper authorities to ensure the orderly application of the law. In 1964, after years of debate and a change in leadership, the NEA adopted a pro-integration policy for its organization, teaching staffs, and public schools.⁴⁷⁹

Democracy, Race, and Public Education

Democracy, race, and public education have been linked since the founding of the United States. Public education was envisioned as a primary means to sustain the

⁴⁷⁷ William Edward Eaton, *American Federation of Teachers, 1916-1961: A History of the Movement* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 181; Wayne Urban, *Gender, Race, and NEA: Professionalism and its Limitations* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2000) 212.

⁴⁷⁸ Schultz, Jr. 104; Marjorie Murphy, *Blackboard Unions: The AFT and NEA, 1900-1980* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 204.

⁴⁷⁹ Schultz, Jr., 71, 115, 125, 202.

American republic. Many of the Founders, including John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Benjamin Rush, George Washington, and Noah Webster, argued that the education of the common people was key to preventing governmental tyranny, securing personal liberty, creating a virtuous citizenry, and building a durable republic.⁴⁸⁰ Their vision of a locally funded and administered education system in every district or ward was limited to white children at the primary, or grammar, school level. The Founders' primary goals for public education were twofold: (1) the diffusion of basic skills, scientific knowledge, and democratic ethics to enable (white) Americans to be virtuous republican citizens, and (2) expanding the talent pool from which political leaders (white men) could be drawn, the Jeffersonian "natural aristocracy" was determined by merit.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸⁰ John Adams, "Letter from John Adams to John Jebb, London, September 10, 1785," in *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: With a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations*, edited by Charles Francis Adams (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1854), 540; Benjamin A. Barber, "Education and Democracy: Summary and Comment," in *Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen*, edited by James Gilreath (Washington, D C: Library of Congress, 1999), 136; James Carpenter, "Thomas Jefferson and the Ideology of Democratic Schooling," *Democracy and Education* 21, 2 (2013), 2-4, 6, 9; Center on Education Policy, *Public Schools and the Original Federal Land Grant Program* (Washington, D.C.: Center on Education Policy, April 2011), 1, 5; Cremin (1980), 148; Division of Federal Relations, *It's Older than the Constitution* (Washington, D C: National Education Association, 1965). Joseph J. Ellis, *American Creation: Triumphs and Tragedies at the Founding of the Republic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 241-242; Thomas Jefferson, "Diffusion of Knowledge Bill," (1779); Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* (1782); Thomas Jefferson, "Letter from Thomas Jefferson to James Madison," (1787); Thomas Jefferson, "Sixth Annual Message," (December 2, 1806), Thomas Jefferson, "Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell," (1814); Thomas Jefferson, "Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell," (1818); Thomas Jefferson, "Letter from Thomas Jefferson to William Jarvis," (1820). All Thomas Jefferson references downloaded from Eyler Robert Coates, Sr., "39. Educating the People," *Thomas Jefferson on Politics & Government*. Accessed on July 24, 2013 from <http://fanguardian.org/Subjects/Politics/thomasjefferson/jeff1350.htm>; James Madison, "Letter from James Madison to George Thompson, (June 30, 1825)," in *James Madison Papers, 1723 to 1859: Series 1, General Correspondence, 1723 to 1859*. Accessed on July 24, 2013 from *Library of Congress* at <https://www.loc.gov/item/mjm019029/>; R. B. Marston, "S181 and the 79th Congress," *NEA Journal* 35, 5 (September, 1946), 305; Carl J. Megel and Dr. George S. Rueter, Jr., *Current Fears of Teachers* (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers, July 1, 1960), 2; Peter Onuf, *The Minds of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2007), 173; Merrill D. Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1984), 459; Dagobert D. Runes, *The Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush*. New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1947), 87; Benjamin Rush, "Letter from Benjamin Rush to John Adams," (July 21, 1789) in *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, edited by L. H. Butterfield (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, for the American Philosophical Society, 1951), 522; Jennings L. Wagoner Jr., *Jefferson and Education*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 27; Noah Webster, "On the Education of Youth in America," in *A Collection of Essays and Fugitive Writings: On Moral, Historical, Political, and Literary Subjects* (1788), 3, 5, 23, 25.

⁴⁸¹ Carpenter, 4, 6, 10; Cremin (1980), 148; Thomas Jefferson, *Diffusion of Knowledge Bill*, 1779; Thomas Jefferson, *1st Inaugural Address*, 1801; Peterson, 1984, 459; Michael Schudson, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1998), 71; Webster, 5, 23, 25.

As the United States expanded its empire westward in the 1770s and throughout the 1800s, the federal government acted on and expanded the Founders' vision for public education. Congress utilized federal land grants and conditions for statehood to support public schools.⁴⁸² In the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Congress of the Confederation designated specific sections in every township for public schools and established funding through the lease or sale of federally granted lands for the maintenance of public schools in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes regions. The rationale for public schools replicated the Founders' faith in education to solve social problems, create a cohesive society, and strengthen republican institutions.⁴⁸³ Article 3 of the Northwest Ordinance stated: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."⁴⁸⁴ Both ordinances became constitutional law and templates for the various Enabling Acts that set conditions for statehood from Ohio in 1803 through Alaska in 1959.⁴⁸⁵ Due to these legislative actions, 30 states received a total of 77,630,000 acres of federal lands used for the establishment and maintenance of public

⁴⁸² Kern Alexander and M. David Alexander, "The Role of the Federal Government," in *American Public School Law, Sixth Edition*, edited by Kern Alexander and M. David Alexander (Belmont, CA: Thomson West, 2005), 62-97; Center on Education Policy, *Public Schools and the Original Federal Land Grant Program* (2011), 3; Jack Jennings, *Get the Federal Government Out of Education? That Wasn't the Founding Fathers' Vision* (Washington, D.C.: Center on Education Policy, April 2011), 3; J. A. Souder and S. K. Fairfax, *State Trust Lands: History, Management, and Sustainable Use* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 1.

⁴⁸³ Division of Federal Relations (1965); Carpenter, 10; Kaestle (1983), 81, 222; Ira Katznelson and Margaret Weir, *Schooling for All: Class, Race, and the Decline of the Democratic Ideal* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 34-36; William J. Reese, *America's Public Schools: From the Common School to "No Child Left Behind,"* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 11; Michael J. Stuedeman, "Horace Mann, 'The Necessity of Education in a Republican Government' (Fall 1839)," *Voices of Democracy* 8 (2013), 17.

⁴⁸⁴ "Transcript of Northwest Ordinance (1787)." Accessed from *Our Documents* on July 24, 2013 <https://ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=8&page=transcript>.

⁴⁸⁵ Center on Education Policy (2011), 10; The language in the Enabling Acts regarding education became more proscriptive over time, shifting from maintenance of schools to support for schools to the use and benefit of common schools. The authority for allocating land and funding to public schools moved from local districts to county seats to state governments to account for population needs or accessibility of material resources in specific states. (Center on Education Policy (2011), 11; Onuf, 1997, xvii; Tyack, et al (1987), 39.)

schools.⁴⁸⁶ In the long term, the resulting model of federal, state, and local collaboration on educational policies and funding laid the foundation for more expansive federal aid programs offered by the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA).⁴⁸⁷ In the short term, the land grant stipulations supported the expansion of common schools beyond the Northeast.

By 1800, a growing number of Americans saw public education as a right, favored using public funds to support schools, and pushed politicians to provide federal aid to establish their state school systems.⁴⁸⁸ Between the 1820s and 1850s, educators and social reformers in the Midwest and Northeast began to consolidate rural district schools and urban charity schools into a centralized system of common schools that was open to all white children, regulated by state supervisors, and supported by state funds. By 1850, public schools were common in small towns and large cities.⁴⁸⁹ These attitudinal and structural shifts coincided with extensive social, economic, and political changes during the early 1800s. These changes included the large influx of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, the spread of industrialization and urbanization in the Northern states, the emergence of two national political parties supported by local political machines, the increasingly bitter sectional factions over slavery, and the expansion of voting rights to all white men. For many people, these changes provoked anxiety about the future of American democracy. Social reformers envisioned public schools as the

⁴⁸⁶ Tyack, et al (1987), 22, 37.

⁴⁸⁷ Center on Education Policy, (2011), 17; Jennings, 7.

⁴⁸⁸ Center on Education Policy, (2011), 2; Katznelson and Weir, 29; Reese, 12; David Tyack, Thomas James and Aaron Benavot, *Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785- 1954* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 14, 33-38, 138-144;

⁴⁸⁹ Kaestle (1983), 13, 57, 62-63; Carl F. Kaestle and Maris A. Vinovskis, *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 180, 225-231; Katz (1987), 13; Katznelson and Weir, 33; Reese, 10-13; Julie M. Walsh, *The Intellectual Origins of Mass Parties and Mass Schools in the Jacksonian Period: Creating a Conformed Citizenry* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 156-157, 160, 175-176.

crucial institutions to limit partisan excesses, develop cohesive social mores, and produce virtuous citizens and leaders.⁴⁹⁰

With the emerging consensus around education, common school proponents, such as Catherine Beecher, Horace Bushnell, James Carter, Henry Barnard, and Horace Mann, utilized the discourses about the fate of republicanism in the United States to advocate for tax-supported, non-sectarian, universal, and free public schools across the United States. These advocates argued that the very survival of the American republic depended on the expansion of public education to all (white) children. They saw a state-supervised and locally-administrated system of common schools was the most effective way to create a virtuous citizenry needed to sustain public institutions and unify Americans around a collective national identity.⁴⁹¹ In 1840, Horace Mann, a nationally recognized advocate for common schools, proclaimed: “Schoolhouses are the Republican line of

⁴⁹⁰ Bailyn, 19, 38, 41; Cremin (1980), 50, 69-70, 75, 80-81, 141; David Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 63-66; Kaestle (1983), 81; Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 6-16; Katznelson and Weir, 29-30; Horace Mann, “End Poverty Through Education: From Twelfth Annual Report (1848),” in *Horace Mann on the Crisis in Education*, edited by Louis Filler (Yellow Springs, OH: Antioch Press, 1965), 124; Massachusetts Department of Education, *Horace Mann Centennial: 1837-1937, Suggestions for Suitable Commemoration by the Schools of Massachusetts of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Board of Education in Massachusetts, and the Election of Horace Mann as its First Secretary* (Boston, MA: Walter A. Smith Company, 1937), 19-22; Jennifer R. Mercieca, *Founding Fictions* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 18; Jonathan Messerli, *Horace Mann: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 303, 405; Steven Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 3-15; Michael William Pfau, “Time, Tropes, and Textuality: Reading Republicanism in Charles Sumner's ‘Crime Against Kansas.’” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 6 (2003): 386; Reese, 12-15, 25-27; Steudeman, 3; Bob Pepperman Taylor, *Horace Mann's Troubling Legacy: The Education of Democratic Citizens* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 11; Walsh, 156-161, 175-191; Robert B. Westbrook, “Public Schooling and American Democracy,” in *Democracy, Education, and the Schools*, edited by Roger Soder (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996), 128-130.

⁴⁹¹ Bailyn, 48-49; Cremin (1957), 65-87; Cremin (1980), 148; Curti, 4, 107, 122, 158, 167; Gutek, (1986), 95; Kaestle (1983), 77-79; Katz (1987), 24-57, 96-97; Katznelson and Weir, 50-51; Bruce A. Kimball, *The ‘True’ Professional Ideal in America: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), 190; Edith Nye MacMullen, *In the Cause of True Education: Henry Barnard and the 19th Century School Reform* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991) 73, 152; Paul Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the 19th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1975) 50-56; Messerli, 67, 324, 342; Reese, 10-13, 21-28, 66; Steudeman, 2.

fortifications.”⁴⁹² To ensure the survival of the republic and the success of democracy, proponents envisioned a public school system designed to inculcate citizens with a desire to fulfill their civic responsibility, to develop the habits of self-governance at an early age, to disrupt the spread of false knowledge by political partisans and confidence men, and to solve the an array of social problems. This vision of education prioritized character development, personal responsibility, and citizenship training over the acquisition of academic knowledge.⁴⁹³ To ensure this system would function, proponents argued they needed virtuous education leaders to supervise the system and republican role models to teach the next generation how to be worthwhile citizens.

Common school proponents saw education as a neutral process, it could be used for evil or virtuous ends. They insisted the righteousness and effectiveness of common schools depended on respected experts to administrate the system and properly trained teachers in the classroom.⁴⁹⁴ Horace Mann and Henry Bernard led the reformers’ campaign to professionalize education by creating teacher associations, developing professional literature, establishing professorships of education, and formalizing teacher training in publicly funded state normal schools.⁴⁹⁵ Mann saw normal schools as a means

⁴⁹² Horace Mann, “Fourth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education: Schoolhouses,” in *The Common School Journal, Volume 3*, edited by Horace Mann (Boston, MA: Marsh, Capen, Lyon and Webb, 1841), 271.

⁴⁹³ Katz (1987), 16, 23; Katznelson and Weir, 30, 50; Horace Mann, “The Necessity of Education in a Republican Government (1839),” in *Lectures on Education* (Boston, MA: Ide and Dutton, 1855), 123-125, 162. Accessed July 24, 2015 from *The Internet Archive* at <https://archive.org/stream/lecturesoneduca05manngoog#page/n6/mode/2up>; Howe, 160-162; Messerli, 350-352, 361-362; Reese, 13; Steudeman, 11, 14, 16-17; David Tyack, “Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling,” *Harvard Educational Review* 46 (August 1976): 367; Walsh, 146; Walsh, 187; Westbrook (1996), 130.

⁴⁹⁴ Howe, 159-161; Reese, 32-33; Steudeman, 11; Walsh, 179-183

⁴⁹⁵ Elhers, 61-62; Herbst, 140, 214; William R. Johnson, “Teachers and Teacher Training in the 20th Century,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 242-245; Horace Mann, “Special Preparation, a Pre-Requisite to Teaching (1838),” in *Lectures on Education* (Boston, MA: Ide and Dutton, 1855), 77, 112-113; Horace Mann, “An Historical View of Education: Showing Its Dignity and Its Degradation (1841),” in *Lectures on Education* (Boston, MA: Ide and Dutton, 1855), 224, 245, 257; Reese, 29; Micheal W. Sedlak, “‘Let Us Go and Buy a School Master:’ Historical

to improve the quality and range of instruction in common schools by diffusing “both the art and science of teaching more widely through our community than they have been diffused before.”⁴⁹⁶ Reformers preferred the teacher-centered simultaneous instruction, in which the teacher directs learning for all students in a graded classroom. In this model, the teacher was the authoritative educational expert and definitive role model for all students. The “good” teacher built lessons around students’ interests, developed affective bonds with students, governed the classroom even-handedly, and served as a lasting guide how to be a virtuous individual.⁴⁹⁷ Administrators, mostly upper class men who were well-respected members of the community, assumed paternal roles with students and teachers. They hired, disciplined, and dismissed teachers; monitored teaching methods; advised on classroom management; and selected instructional materials.⁴⁹⁸ This republican ideal for public schools and educators articulated by common school proponents prevailed as the central theory on education into the twentieth century.⁴⁹⁹

These early 1800s reformers’ vision of public schools was restricted by race and gender. All white children were expected to go to primary schools, usually up to third grade, to learn literacy and numeracy. Only white males were expected to continue to more advanced educational levels based on scholastic merit or their families’ ability to

Perspective on the Hiring of Teachers,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 257; Steudeman, 7; Wayne Urban, “Teacher Activism,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 191; Walsh, 179-180.

⁴⁹⁶ Horace Mann, “Special Preparation, a Pre-Requisite to Teaching (1838),” (1855), 112.

⁴⁹⁷ James Fraser, “Agents of Democracy: Urban Elementary-School Teachers and the Conditions of Teaching,” in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 120-121; Howe, 159-160, 163; Kaestle and Foner, 173-176; Reese, 32; Walsh; 181-187.

⁴⁹⁸ Robert B. Downs, *Henry Barnard* (Boston, MA: Twayne, 1977), 86-87; Kaestle and Foner, 125; Walsh, 180-181.

⁴⁹⁹ Cremin (1980), 136; Ellwood P. Cubberly, *Public Education in the United States: A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1934), 226; Howe, 158-167; Katz (1987), 12; Reese, 10, 21-28, 34-36; Steudeman, 1-2.

pay for school. White females were expected to learn basic skills in primary schools so they could fulfill their socially approved roles as republican mothers, which included serving as their children's first teacher. In the early 1800s, female social reformers gradually extend the opportunities for upper and middle class white women mainly through the establishment of secondary education institutions for girls. They argued that educated women were needed to fulfill their civic duty as selfless teachers of morality to their families. These institutions and their rationale were central to the burgeoning acceptance of women as primary school teachers during the expansion of common schools between 1820s and 1860s in Northern and Midwestern states.⁵⁰⁰

Before the Civil War, the education of African Americans was extremely limited. In the South, teaching slaves to read or write was severely prohibited and punishable by law. After a series of slave insurrections in the 1830s, the fines and punishments for educating slaves increased significantly. Pro-slavery ideology fostered strong anti-North attitudes which muted support for a common school system for white children due in part to its association with Yankee culture.⁵⁰¹ In the North, a system of de facto segregation emerged. Before the 1820s, the education of free African Americans was primarily confined to privately funded missionary and philanthropic efforts.⁵⁰² In the 1830s and

⁵⁰⁰ Richard M. Bernard and Maris A. Vinovskis, "The Female Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts," *Journal of Social History*, 10 (1977): 332-345; Daniel Calhoun, *The Intelligence of a People* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 188, 195, 204; Carpenter, 5, 7-8; Howe, 166-167; Kaestle and Vinovskis, 154-156; Katz (1987), 12; Michael Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968, 2011), 56-58; Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1-2, 25, 103-104, 217, 231-234; Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 185-231; Jon Kukla, *Mr. Jefferson's Women*. New York: Vintage Books, 2007, 143; Peterson 1984, 375, 922-923; Ramon Sanchez, "Jefferson, the Founder of the Ideology of Democratic Education," *Journal of Education* 155, 3 (1973): 45-55; Walsh, 160, 178; Webster, 23, 27-29.

⁵⁰¹ Kaestle (1983), 205-212; Reese, 14.

⁵⁰² Kaestle (1983), 172-174; Reese, 10; Walsh, 178.

1840s, these schools were absorbed into the common school system on a separate and unequal basis. Across the Northern states, African Americans who fought for an integrated common school system faced fierce resistance. In the 1840s and 1850s, Massachusetts, the leader in common schools, contested, upheld, and outlawed school segregation. However, politicians helped local communities continue the practice of de facto segregation.⁵⁰³ Education reforms reflected larger cultural and political trends and laws defining whiteness as a prerequisite for full citizenship and racial minorities as anti-citizens, who were unfit for freedom.⁵⁰⁴ By the late 1850s, the exclusion or separation of African Americans in the North and Midwest, Asian Americans in the far West, and Hispanic Americans in the Southwest from public schools was the norm.

During the Reconstruction era (1865-1877), Republicans led the drive to form a more perfect and equal democracy. They ratified the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments that abolished slavery, broadened the definition of citizenship, required equal protection under the law, and prohibited racial discrimination in the voting rights of male citizens. They also passed two civil rights acts to protect the economic rights of African Americans. These amendments and acts redefined full citizenship status to include all native born and naturalized men and positioned the federal government as the protector of civil rights. Republicans turned to free public education as a primary

⁵⁰³ Kaestle (1983), 179; Katznelson and Weir, 178-179; Walsh, 160, 178-179; *Roberts v. City of Boston* (1849) upheld school segregation and was later cited as a precedent in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In 1855, the legislature outlawed school segregation. (Robert J. Cottrol, Raymond T. Diamond, and Leland B. Ware. *Brown v. Board of Education: Caste, Culture, and the Constitution* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2003), 28.)

⁵⁰⁴ Barbara Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, edited by J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 158, 164; Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Pantheon Book, 1998), 17-19, 51-59; Kaestle (1983), 88, 91-92; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York, Harper & Row, 1988), 26; David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of American Working Class, Revised Edition* (London: Verso, 1991, 2007), 35, 57, 140.

means to incorporate millions of newly freed men and women into American democracy. Between 1865 and 1872, the Freedman's Bureau established free public schools, colleges, and normal schools for freed African American children and adults to help them with the transition from slavery to citizenship. The Bureau rented buildings, supplied textbooks, transported teachers, supervised schools, and offered military protection for students and teachers. Northern aid societies, missionary groups, and African American organizations recruited, supplied and funded three thousand teachers for more than 1,000 schools in the South.⁵⁰⁵

The promise of a more equal democracy during Reconstruction was undermined by the violent resistance of white vigilantes, key Supreme Court decisions, the political maneuverings of the Democratic Party, and frustration among Americans outside the South with the slow process of change. By 1871, Southern state constitutions required establishing and maintaining a tax-funded, universal, free public school system. These states merged the Bureau schools into their systems on a separate and unequal basis, as

⁵⁰⁵ Fields, 162-164; Hale, 3-5; James McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 3, 15-20, 128-130, 143-145, 156-158, 175-182; Most teachers were white Southerners with about one-sixth of all white teachers coming from Northern and Midwestern states. A third of the teachers were African Americans, mostly from southern states. Among all Southern teachers, men outnumbered women, while Northern women outnumbered men by more than two to one. African Americans and women remained in teaching longer than their white and male colleagues. African American teachers were the most dedicated to uplifting their race, building a kinship with their students, and securing political equality for their communities, students, and themselves. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 secured economic rights of all citizens and invalidated Black Codes enacted by white Southern legislators. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 outlawed racial discrimination in public accommodation. (James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988) 9-13, 22-28, 34-36, 110-115; Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), xi-xiv; 23-31, 54-57, 121-122, 179, 184; Ronald E. Butchart, "Freedmen's Education during Reconstruction," in *New Georgia Encyclopedia* (April 13, 2016) at <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/freedmens-education-during-reconstruction>; Adam Fairclough, *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 17-67; Foner (1988), 9, 25-26, 40-46, 52-54, 60-67; Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 3-9, 45-49, 62-65, 114-126, 167-169, 186-189; Linda M. Perkins, "The History of Blacks in Teaching," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 344-350; David Tyack and Robert Lowe, "The Constitutional Moment: Reconstruction and Black Education in the South," *American Journal of Education* 94, 2 (1986): 236-256.)

chronically underfunded and understaffed “colored” schools. In 1873 and 1875, the Supreme Court undermined the Fourteenth Amendment by finding that civil rights fell under the states’ control and declaring the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional.⁵⁰⁶ These decisions contributed to the increase of the racial segregation of public schools. Reconstruction officially ended with the Compromise of 1877, crafted by Southern Democrats and agreed to by weary Republicans, with the withdrawal of federal troops. Southern states created and preserved a dual system of citizenship and schools, providing separate and unequal civil rights and public schools for “coloreds” into the 1960s.⁵⁰⁷

During the Progressive era (1880s-1920s), growing numbers of pressure groups, social reformers, and government bureaucrats sought to eliminate the corruption of political machines. Liberal progressives pushed for direct democracy to ensure that all white citizens would control the destiny of the nation.⁵⁰⁸ From 1880s to the 1900s, the Progressive movement gained strength by pursuing local and state reforms. Liberal progressives empowered voters and applied scientific management methods to local,

⁵⁰⁶ In 1873, the Supreme Court undermined the enforcement of the 14th Amendment in the *Slaughterhouse Cases*. The majority opinion asserted that citizens’ rights fell under the states’ control rather than the federal government. In 1875, the Court in the *Civil Rights Cases* found the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. The majority opinion stated the 14th Amendment did not prohibit racial discrimination by private individual and businesses. Both decisions increased the racial segregation of public schools throughout the South

⁵⁰⁷ Cremin (1980), 212-215; Fields, 164-167; Tera W. Hunter, *To Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 40-43; Katznelson and Weir, 190-193; T. Jackson Lears, *The Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America* (New York: Harper, 2010), 3-4; T. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 12-14; McPherson, 81-86; C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), 169–171, 200-202.

⁵⁰⁸ Alan Dawley, *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution* (Princeton, N.J.; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3-4; Stephan J. Diner, “Linking Politics and People: The Historiography of the Progressive Era,” *OAH Magazine of History*, 13, 3 (1999): 7; Nancy Schrom Dye, “Historiography: Where Have all the Progressives Gone?” *OAH Magazine of History*, 1, 3/4, The Progressive Era, (1986): 11; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, 1988), xiii-xiv; Robert D. Johnston, “Re-democratizing the Progressive Era: The Politics of Progressive Era Political Historiography,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, 1 (1986), 70-72; Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 2; Daniel T. Rodgers, “In Search of Progressivism,” *Reviews in American History* 10, 4 (1982): 114, 250-254, 269; Daniel Joseph Singal, “Beyond Consensus: Richard Hofstadter and American Historiography,” *The American Historical Review* 89, 4 (1984): 979; Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 1.

state, and national governance. They added recall, initiative, and referendum provisions to state constitutions and mandated public primaries for political parties. They restructured government by empowering centralized bureaucracies run by the impartial experts dedicated to civil service and the common good. These experts had great latitude to administer policies and manage resources.⁵⁰⁹ In the 1900s, reformers began to apply these measures at the national level with the result that Progressivism became the dominant political ideology and helped to shape the policies of New Deal.⁵¹⁰

Progressives turned to public schools and teachers to ensure that their democratic reforms would be embraced, lived, and sustained. The rapid expansion of public schools across the United States replicated the progressive bureaucratic approach. Between the 1880s and 1920s, school districts were consolidated and administration was centralized under state boards of education and superintendents. Many teachers, relegated to the lowest rungs of the bureaucracy, resisted these reforms by joining teachers' councils and unions. They campaigned for more democratic governance of public schools and official recognition of teachers' rights as citizens. In 1916, politically active teachers and unionists, including African Americans, seeking greater political clout formed AFT under

⁵⁰⁹ John M. Allswang, *The Initiative and Referendum in California, 1898–1998* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 8-31; Maureen Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivisms, 1890s–1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 9-10, 181-194; Alan Ware, *The American Direct Primary: Party Institutionalization and Transformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2-18, 131-160.

⁵¹⁰ National reforms included the Sixteenth Amendment (1913) allowing Congress to levy an income tax, the 17th Amendment (1913) requiring the direct election of Senators, the Eighteenth Amendment (1919) prohibiting the production, transport, and sale of alcohol, and the Nineteenth Amendment (1920) establishing the “right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.” (“19th Amendment to the Constitution,” *The Constitution: Amendments 11-27*. Accessed from National Archives on July 12 2014 at <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/amendments-11-27>; Richard F. Hamm, *Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment: Temperance Reform, Legal Culture, and the Polity, 1880–1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 228; Christopher Hoebeker, *The Road to Mass Democracy: Original Intent and the Seventeenth Amendment* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Transaction Publishers, 1995), 18; David E. Kyvig, *Explicit and Authentic Acts: Amending the U.S. Constitution, 1776–1995* (Lawrence, KS: Kansas University Press, 1996), 208–14; David M. Kennedy, “Overview: The Progressive Era,” *Historian* 37 (1975): 453; Lears (2010), 195-200; Lears (1981), 20-37; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xi-xii; Rodgers (1982), 3, 118-119; Wiebe, 169-170, 207-208, 295.)

the slogan “Democracy in Education, Education for Democracy.” While teachers made some real gains in tenure, pensions, and salary, by the mid-1920s, administrators with the help of the NEA solidified their control over public school systems. They reigned in or dismissed politically active union teachers, and helped to craft a popular representation of public schools as nonpolitical institutions, with school administrators as educational experts above the rancor of partisan politics, and teachers as apolitical public servants.⁵¹¹

For progressives, the effectiveness of direct democracy depended on the quality of citizenship education.⁵¹² Education historian Kathryn Wegner argued that reformers saw “citizenship as accessible through education,” defined “citizenship as participatory,” and expanded access to citizenship and “democratic politics” for all white Americans and immigrants.⁵¹³ Progressive educators such as Jane Addams, George Counts, John L. Childs, John Dewey, Harold Rugg, and Walter Lippman argued that public schools should help reform American society and democracy by teaching students how to be informed, active, and conscientious citizens. They claimed the best way to achieve this result was to redefine teaching practices around a child-centered pedagogy based in an empirically-tested and socially aware curriculum that focused on developing critical

⁵¹¹ Fraser, 128-137, 150; Urban (1989), 192-195.

⁵¹² Kathleen Knight Abowitz and Deron Boyles, “Private Interests or Public Goods: Dewey, Rugg, and their Contemporary Allies on Corporate Involvement in Educational Reform Initiatives,” *Philosophy of Education* (2000): 137; Cremin (1980), 153-158; Flanagan, 19-24, 54-55; Johnston, 833-51; William J. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grassroots Movements during the Progressive Era* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002), 2; George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican-American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 99-107; Kathryn L. Wegner, “Progressive Reformers and the Democratic Origins of Citizenship Education in the United States during the First World War,” *History of Education* 42, 6 (2013): 713-714, 717.

⁵¹³ Alex Carey, *Taking the Risk Out of Democracy: Propaganda in the U.S. and Australia* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1995), 45; Higham, 242-246, 259; Wegner, 715.

thinking skills.⁵¹⁴ In *Democracy and Education* (1916), John Dewey envisioned democracy as “more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience.” The aim of education was to give students with “continued capacity for growth” by teaching them the “habits of mind” to function within “flexible forms of associated life” as individuals striving to fulfill personal interests and as members of society working for the common good.⁵¹⁵ The ideal teacher served as a guide for students as they engaged in an authentic and free inquiry into socially relevant issues. The goal was to empower students to act as citizens for the public good.⁵¹⁶ By the 1920s, progressivism emerged as the dominant education philosophy in the United States, AFT, and NEA. It remained dominant until the 1980s despite withering attacks against progressive ideals and practices in the 1950s.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁴ Abowitz and Boyles, 134; Cremin (1980), 157-196; Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge, 1995, 2004), 27-64, 130-160; Walter C. Parker (editor), *Educating the Democratic Mind* (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), 5;

⁵¹⁵ Palmer, Joy, Liora Bresler, and David Edward Cooper (editors), *Fifty Major Thinkers on Education (From Confucius to Dewey)*. (New York: Routledge, 2002), 177-178; Dewey (1916), 68, 87, 99; Reinhold Niebuhr, “The Pathos of Liberalism,” in *John Dewey: The Political Writings*, edited by Debra Morris and Ian Shapiro (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1993), 153-57; Westbrook, 108-109, 313; Arthur Zilversmit, *Changing Schools: Progressive Education Theory and Practice, 1930-1960* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 88-89.

⁵¹⁶ Abowitz and Boyles, 137; Cremin (1980), 178-179, 228-235; Joel Spring, *Conflict of Interest: The Politics of American Education* (New York: Longman, 1993), 135.

⁵¹⁷ Lawrence Cremin, “What Happened to Progressive Education?” *Teachers College Record* 61, 1 (1959): 23-29; Cremin (1980), 225-226; Adam Golub, “John Dewey vs. the Terrible Miss Dove: Frances Gray Patton’s Postwar Schoolmarm and the Cultural Work of Nostalgia,” *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy* 23, 1 (2012): 42; Resse (1986), xxii; Tyack (1971), 7-8; A nationwide, systematic approach to a progressive citizen education took hold as part of the campaign for military preparedness during the World War I era (1914-1918). The Division of Immigrant Education within the Bureau of Education and the Bureau of Naturalization within the Department of Labor funded, produced, and distributed the first standardized citizenship curricula, instruction materials, and textbooks. The curriculum focused on students attaining knowledge of the US government and the Constitution, inculcating them with a pluralistic patriotism, understanding their rights, duties, and participation of citizens, and promoting the American ideals of liberty and justice. The teacher functioned primarily as a role model for students on how to be active citizen. These programs helped to standardize citizenship education in most public schools as part of the history, civics, and social studies curriculum from the 1920s to the 1950s. (Cremin (1980), 197, 236-246; Robert M. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives’ Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 13-19; Matthew D. Davis, “Democratic Schooling: Toward a Renewed End-in-View,” *Education and Culture* 13, 2 (1996): 30-32; John I. Goodlad, “Democracy, Education, and Community,” in *Democracy, Education, and the Schools*, edited by Roger Soder, (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1995), 89; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns in American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1965) 242; Jeffrey Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism: Americanization Education and European Immigrants* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard

From the 1880s through the 1920s, these progressive ideals for direct democracy and citizenship education were limited by widespread racism. African Americans were disenfranchised and segregated. Asian Americans were either denied legal citizenship or tolerated as partial citizens. Hispanic Americans were redefined as nonwhite and as second-class citizens. Native Americans were designated as dependent non-citizens until 1924. Their limits on citizenship were supported by state and federal legislation, Supreme Court decisions, state-sanctioned white vigilantism, Social Darwinism, and increasingly strong nativist resentment directed toward non-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America.⁵¹⁸ Whiteness became the political, legal, cultural, and scientific claim to and confirmation of one's citizenship. The prescribed inferiority of the "colored" races justified their exclusion from citizenship.⁵¹⁹

University Press, 2010), 57; Parker, 5; Bessie Louis Peirce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 71, 77–82; Wegner, 720-727.)

⁵¹⁸ Edwin Amenta, *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 310, 329; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 38-40, 71-75, 105-107; Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 121-123; Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 40-44, 61-63, 204-213; Hale, 199-238; Hunter, 125-129; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Author Hill & Wang 2000), 47-53, 75-82, 143-160, 180-181, 192-218, 235-235; Higham, 117-122, 135-136, 150-155, 235-246; Gary Gerstle, "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans," *Journal of American History* 84, 2 (1997): 524-558; Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy During the Progressive Era* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 110, 125; Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 1-12, 76-93, 100-101, 229-234, 269-274; George Sánchez (1993), 94-106; Wegner, 715-717.

⁵¹⁹ Hale, 7-8, 23, 83-84, 281-285; Roediger, 59, 177-180; In 1896, the Supreme Court utilized the prominent racist logic of the era to uphold the constitutionality of racial segregation in American society and schools, the Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the separate but equal doctrine. In the majority opinion, Justice Brown claimed that segregation was a "reasonable regulation" designed for the preservation of "good order." He argued that 14th Amendment did not abolish racial distinctions or demand social equality. "If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane." (Henry Billings Brown, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (May 18, 1896), 544, 550, 551-552; Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press 1995), 20, 226; Hale, 23, 48; Hunter, 295-298; Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 180.). Between 1899 and 1927, the Court applied the separate but equal doctrine to public education upholding states' rights to allocate school funds unequally, prohibit interracial instruction, and define "nonwhite" students. In *Cumming v.*

Between 1880s and 1920s, Southern legislatures institutionalized de jure racial segregation and white Southerners crafted a national culture of segregation that enshrined white supremacy as the social norm. “Colored” people who tried to exercise their civil rights or crossed racial boundaries faced assault, dismissal, harassment, intimidation, imprisonment, and murder by public officials, vigilante groups, and individual citizens. Minority communities worked together to protect their citizens. In the 1910s and 1920s, large numbers of African Americans migrated to the North and Midwest to escape this oppressive racism. Outside the South, a system of de facto segregation was built on racial discrimination in housing, employment, and schools. This system was reinforced by state legislation, court decisions, residential zoning, and police harassment.

One of the most effective civil rights groups was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Founded in 1909, the group focused initially on running publicity campaigns to stop lynching, organizing demonstrations, protests, and voter registration drives, lobbying state legislatures and Congress, and using lawsuits to end segregation. In the mid-1930s, the NAACP shifted its legal strategy to attack the separate but equal doctrine in public education, focusing on graduate schools, secondary education, and equalization of teachers’ salaries. By 1941, they won about half of their cases, but failed to overturn *Plessy*. However, these cases set valuable precedents for the

Richmond County Board of Education (1899), the Court sanctioned separate and unequal public schools. Justice Harlan, the lone dissenter in *Plessy*, concluded public education “maintained by state taxation is a matter belonging to the respective states” and the designated boards of education had the primary authority to allocate tax dollars to public schools. (C. Ellen Connally, “Justice Harlan’s ‘Great Betrayal?’: A Reconsideration of *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*,” *Journal of Supreme Court History* 25, 1 (2000): 72–92; John Marshall Harlan, *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*, 175 U.S. 528 (December 18, 1899), 175.); In *Berea College v. Kentucky* (1908), the Court upheld a Kentucky law forbidding interracial instruction at all schools and colleges. (David Josiah Brewer, *Berea College v. Kentucky*, 211 U.S. 45 (November 9, 1908), 69-70.); In *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927), the Court’s unanimous decision declared states could exclude students “of the Mongolian or yellow race” from attending white-only schools and direct them to “attend the colored public schools” in their districts or they could choose to attend private schools. (William Howard Taft, *Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U.S. 78 (November 21, 1927), 81, 83.)

Brown decisions (1954, 1955) that outlawed de jure segregation and empowered federal courts to supervise the desegregation of public schools across the United States.⁵²⁰

Before the *Brown* decision, minority communities, students, and educators were relegated to underfunded, understaffed, and overcrowded “colored” schools located in inadequate and poorly maintained buildings. The schools were staffed by underpaid, undertrained, and overworked educators supplied with racist, outdated, used, and incomplete instructional materials. White superintendents and boards of education seeking to cut costs for “colored” schools also shortened school terms and limited access to secondary schools. Minority communities, organizations, and educators worked together to overcome these obstacles. They built schools, supplied instructional materials, publicized the deplorable conditions at their schools, and negotiated with the all-white educational bureaucracy to improve school buildings, instructional materials, curricular offerings, and teacher quality.⁵²¹ Despite these efforts, separate and unequal conditions persisted into the 1960s as Southern states resisted attempts by the federal government to enforce the *Brown* decisions while Northern and Western states struggled to find politically viable solutions to uproot entrenched de facto segregation practices.

⁵²⁰ Cremin (1980), 197; Fairclough, 144-152, 231-238; Gilmore, 14-21, 33-35, 56-58, 80-81, 117-130, 138-151; Hale, xi, 41-47, 83, 199-238; Hunter, 99-100, 229, 295; Donna Jordan-Taylor, “African American Educators Misconstrued,” *The Journal of African American History* 95, 1 (2010): 92; Katznelson and Weir, 194-203; Perkins, 361-362; George J. Sanchez, 253-260; Charles Wollenberg, *All Deliberate Speed: Segregation and Exclusion in California Schools, 1855-1975* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 25-27.

⁵²¹ Rubén Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 11-34; Fairclough, 102-105, 121-138, 174-178, 253-271, 273-287; Michael Fultz, “African American Teachers in the South, 1890–1940: “Powerlessness and the Ironies of Expectations and Protest,” *History of Education Quarterly* 35 (1995): 419; Gilmore, 157-165; Jordan-Taylor, 96-97; Katznelson and Weir, 190-193; David L. Kirp, *Just Schools: The Idea of Racial Equality in American Education* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 18-19; Perkins, 350-354; Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), 19, 51-56, 75; Walker, 1-6, 18-23, 28-39, 44-65, 87-90, 149-161, 178-179, 200-206, 215-219.

The Great Depression (1929-1941) and World War II (1941-1945) created new challenges for democracy, public education, and institutional racism in American society. The collapse of free enterprise corporate capitalism threatened to undermine American democracy. Democrats led by President Roosevelt pursued New Deal policies designed to strengthen capitalism and democracy through government regulation and management. While progressives sought to form a more perfect direct democracy, New Deal liberals focused on securing economic rights and financial security for consumer citizens to form a more perfect industrial democracy. They established an array of regulatory agencies to alleviate underlying social issues, such as the Social Security Administration, National Labor Relations Bureau, and Consumer Advocacy Board. New Dealers were sympathetic to the plight of racial minorities and civil right activists, but they prioritized economic rights and social welfare rather than political rights and social justice. Nonetheless, civil rights activists challenged racism at home utilizing the wartime discourses of building an arsenal for democracy and turning public school into citadels of democracy. The most prominent example was the Double V campaign led by African American newspapers that sought victory against fascism abroad and against racism at home. These efforts helped minorities build political alliances with white liberals and craft an inclusive American identity. They gained legal support from the federal government outlawing racial discrimination in war industry and inspired the postwar civil rights movement. Due to New Dealers' focus on economic rights and the demands of fighting a global war, however, despite valiant efforts of civil rights activists, racial segregation and discrimination continued to plague the United State into the Baby Boom era.⁵²²

⁵²² Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York:

The New Deal and World War II eras were a boon for progressive liberalism in public education. Progressive educators led by George S. Counts of the Teachers College at Columbia University prompted the education theory and practices of social reconstructionism. They argued that public schools should be centers for enacting social reform. Liberal politicians and educators found this ideal appealing. New Dealers saw reconstructionists as key political allies in achieving their social and economic agendas. Administrators, who implemented reconstructionist principles, saw its association with the leading educational thinkers as a means to claim and be affirmed as educational experts themselves. Many public schools expanded their curricular and extra-curricular

Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 23-33, 42, 83, 97, 100; Lizbeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990; 2008), 218, 227-230, 240-246, 252-260, 267-279, 283-285; Kathleen Donahue, *Freedom from Want: American Liberalism and the Idea of the Consumer* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 6, 192-199, 215-221, 241-252, 262-274; Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "What Was Black America's Double War?" *The African Americans: Many Rivers to Cross* (Washington, D.C.: WETA, 2013) Accessed on July 21, 2014 from PBS at <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/what-was-black-americas-double-war/>; Gary Gerstle, "The Protean Character of American Liberalism," *American Historical Review* 99, 4 (1994): 1044-1047, 1068-1073; Gary Gerstle, *Working-class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914-1960* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989) 163-187; Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, 4 (2005): 1234-1263; Alonzo L. Hamby, *Liberalism and its Challengers: From F.D.R. to Bush* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), xii, 4, 22-32, 48-49; Rawn James Jr., *The Double V: How Wars, Protest, and Harry Truman Desegregated America's Military* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 137-143; Sheryl Kroen, "Historiography Review: A Political History of the Consumer," *The Historical Journal*, 47, 3 (2004): 271; Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck, "Introduction," in *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, edited by Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5; Gerald D. Nash, *The Crucial Era: The Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1998), 2-6, 14-20, 38-64, 74-95, 173-186; Haley D. O'Shaughnessy, "The Double Victory Campaign and the Black Press: A Conservative Approach to 'Victory' at Home and Abroad," *Inquiries* 7, 2 (2015) Accessed on July 21, 2014 at <http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/1001/the-double-victory-campaign-and-the-black-press-a-conservative-approach-to-victory-at-home-and-abroad>; Joanna Perrillo, *Uncivil Rights: Teachers, Unions, and Race in the Battle for School Equity* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 33-34; Douglas C. Rossinow, *Visions of Progress: The Left-Liberal Tradition in America* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); George J. Sanchez, 209-210, 229; Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933-1956* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 87; Lawrence P. Scott and William M. Womack, *Double V: The Civil Right Struggle of the Tuskegee Airmen* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan University Press, 1994), 136; Thomas Sugrue, "Hillburn, Hattiesburg, and Hitler: Wartime Activists Think Globally and Act Locally," in *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, edited by Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 90; Ronald Takaki, *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 2000), 38-40; Clarence Taylor, "Patriotism Crosses the Color Line: African Americans in World War II," *History Now* 14 (New York: Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 2007) Accessed on July 21, 2014 at <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/world-war-ii/essays/patriotism-crosses-color-line-african-americans-world-war-ii>; Neil A. Wynn, *The African American Experience during World War II* (Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2010), 40.

offerings, including courses in life adjustment, civics, history, and social studies. Social reconstructionist Harold Rugg's *Man and His Changing World* (1929) was a best-seller social studies' textbook during the 1930s and 1940s. Leading social reconstructionists were also active members and national leaders in the AFT and NEA. The widespread acceptance of social reconstructionism in the education community, teacher groups, and political arena helped education departments to secure a valued place in universities and to position their professors as preeminent experts in the science of education.⁵²³

Social reconstructionists argued that teachers had to be politically active. In *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (1932), Counts called on teachers to "increase sufficiently their stock of courage, intelligence and vision" to "become a social force of some magnitude."⁵²⁴ Reconstructionists wanted teachers to be expert role models for a rational citizenship in a pluralistic democracy. The goal was for students to learn how to be active citizens who would remake the United States into a more equal, just, and free society. Teachers who embraced social reconstructionism saw its practices and message as helpful in overcoming popular representations of teachers as political neutrals.

Reconstructionist practices positioned teachers as democratic partners with administrators in curriculum development and as dedicated experts in citizenship instruction. They

⁵²³ Abowitz and Boyles, 131-132; Zoe Burkholder, "'A War of Ideas': The Rise of Conservative Teachers in Wartime New York City, 1938-1946," *History of Education Quarterly* 55, 2 (2015): 222; Jackie M. Blount, *Fit to Teach: Same-Sex Desire, Gender, and School Work in the Twentieth Century* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005); 59-79; Cremin (1980), 187-196, 229-235; Cremin (1964), 228-273; Diana D'Amico, "'An Old Order Is Passing': The Rise of Applied Learning in University-Based Teacher Education during the Great Depression," *History of Education Quarterly* 55, 3 (2015): 329-341; Ronald K. Goodenow, "The Progressive Educator, Race and Ethnicity in the Depression Years: An Overview," *History of Education Quarterly* 15, 4 (1975): 365-394; Katznelson and Weir, 150-177; Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 151-178; Perrillo, 16, 20, 28; Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: A History of New York City Public Schools, Revised Edition* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, 2000), 233-40; Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms* (New York: Touchstone Press, 2000), 202-237; David Tyack, Robert Lowe, and Elizabeth Hansot, *Public Schools in Hard Times: The Great Depression and Recent Years* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); Zilversmit, 37-89;

⁵²⁴ George S. Counts, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* (New York: Arno Press, 1932, 1969), 4, 28.

provided a vital public service by helping to enact social reforms. However, in the economic turmoil of the Depression and the patriotic fervor of war, public school teachers, especially politically active ones, did not fare as well as the professors and administrators in establishing their professionalism.⁵²⁵

While some teachers, especially those in large metropolitan areas, had the support of progressive-minded administrators, most teachers still faced constraints on their political expression. “Good” teachers were expected to be apolitical public servants who represented patriotism, tradition, and stability rather than radical social change or political activism. In the turmoil of the Depression and world war, teaching was stable work. An oversupply of teachers in both eras meant those who did not fit the “good” image were vulnerable to being dismissed. Leadership trends in the NEA and AFT hampered their efforts to support and expand the political rights of teachers. While the AFT made substantial membership gains beginning in 1935, internal leadership battles during the 1930s and early 1940s limited its political effectiveness and ability to protect teachers. The NEA, whose leadership was controlled by administrators, prioritized maintaining the integrity of public schools in the face of dramatic budget cuts over safeguarding the civil rights of teachers. Although, the NEA did create the National Committee for the Defense for Democracy through Education (NCDDE) in 1942 to uphold tenure laws, protect teachers from unjust dismissal, and defend public education from right-wing, anticommunist ideological attacks. During World War II, the AFT and

⁵²⁵ Abowitz and Boyles, 136-137; Cremin (1980), 191-194; Davis, 32.

NEA were committed to the war effort and put aside demands regarding teachers' rights. By 1946, most teachers remained second-class citizens by law and custom.⁵²⁶

In the Baby Boom era (1946-1964), American democracy seemed imperiled from the creep of communism across the globe and internal strife over how to insure a more perfect union. Conservatives and liberals, anticommunists and segregationists, each fashioned their own answers to strengthen American democracy. Each political faction saw public schools as the central institution and teachers as primary agents to realize their vision.⁵²⁷ One of the most significant events of the Baby Boom era in determining one's political allegiance was the *Brown* decisions in 1954 and 1955 that outlawed racial segregation and positioned the federal government as the protector of civil rights.

Conservatives in the Republican Party, led by the moderate Dwight Eisenhower (1953-1959) and the right-wing Barry Goldwater (1964-1968), believed individualism was the foundation of democracy. They campaigned for limiting the policing powers of government and expanding personal liberties by dismantling the New Deal welfare state. They feared liberalism led to undemocratic socialist practices. Eisenhower conservatives supported federal aid for school construction only. Eisenhower conservatives also took a

⁵²⁶ Robert J. Brown, *Teachers and Power: The Struggle of the AFT* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), 41-56; Burkholder, 218-221, 228-230; Don Cameron, *The Inside Story of the Teacher Revolution in America* (Toronto: Scarecrow Education, 2005), 28-31, 37-38; Stephan Cole, *The Unionization of Teachers: A Case Study of the UFT* (New York: Praeger Publications, 1969), 3-6, 12-14, 22-29, 71-73, 162; D'Amico, 319, 329, 338; Marshall O. Donley, Jr., *Power to the Teacher: How American Educators Became Militant* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1976), 23, 30-35; William Edward Eaton, *American Federation of Teachers, 1916-1961: A History of the Movement* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 38-60, 79-120, 170-171; Major Murphy, *Blackboard Unions: The AFT and NEA, 1900-1980* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 131-150, 177-180; Nash, 151-155; Perrillo, 30-46; Edgar B. Wesley, *NEA The First 100 Years: The Building of the Teaching Profession* (New York: Brothers Publishing, 1957), 334.

⁵²⁷ June Melby Benowitz, "Reading, Writing and Radicalism: Right-Wing Women and Education in the Post-War Years," *History of Education Quarterly* 49, 1 (2009): 91; Taylor Caldwell, *The Devil's Advocate* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1952), 30; Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 76-78; Cuban, 384-387; Davis, 29-30; Golub, 44; Goodlad, 89; Hartman, 5; Augustus G. Rudd, "Education for the New Social Order: Tragic Results Now Apparent," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 14, 23 (September 15, 1948): 683-684.

laissez-faire approach to civil rights and integration. Eisenhower intervened only after the overwhelmingly critical national and international press coverage of segregationists' open contempt for law and order during token integration of Little Rock's Central High School in 1957. In 1958, spurred into action by the launch of Sputnik on October 4, 1957, Congress passed the first federal-aid-to-education bill, National Defense and Education Act (NDEA), that directed funding to math, science, and foreign language instruction mainly in higher education. Conservatives worried that federal intervention in local desegregation efforts and broad federal aid packages would lead to federal control of public schools.⁵²⁸

From 1947 to 1955, anticommunists led by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, Joseph McCarthy (Republican, Wisconsin), Pat McCarran (Democrat, Nevada), and Harold Velde (Republican, Illinois), rose to political dominance with the help of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats. They believed communist agents had infiltrated American institutions, including public schools, and must be exposed immediately. They claimed that liberals were too weak or naïve to stop the Soviet infiltration, that civil rights activists were communist agents, that federal aid to education was a socialist plot, and that progressive educators were propagandists for collectivism. While anticommunism

⁵²⁸ Marston, (1946), 305; Paul D. West, "The Prospect for Federal Aid to Education - Lost Cause or Live Issue," *NEA Journal* 43, 5 (May, 1954), 296-297; Irving F. Pearson, "School Construction Heads the List: NEA's Program for Federal Legislative Action in 1956," *NEA Journal* 45, 1 (January, 1956): 45-46; Charles M. Holloway, "Highlights of NEA Federal Legislative Policy, 1956-57," *NEA Journal* 45, 7 (October, 1956): 439; Research Division, "Education...The Most Important Subject: President Eisenhower Urges Federal Help for Schools at the NEA Centennial Birthday Party in Washington, D.C.," *NEA Journal* 46, 5 (May, 1957): 361-363; Paul S. Boyer, *Promises to Keep: The United States Since World War II* (New York: Hron Mufflin, 1999), 98-104, 152-156; Dudziak, 14-16; James Duran, "The Beginnings of Ambivalence: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Federal Aid to Education Issue, 1949-1953," *Kansas History* 13, 3 (1990): 166-177; James C. Duram, "'A Good Growl: The Eisenhower Cabinet's January 16, 1959, Discussion of Federal Aid to Education,'" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 8, 3 (1978): 434-444; Fultz, 29; Hamby, 94-95, 121-139; Don T. Martin, "Eisenhower and the Politics of Federal Aid to Education: The Watershed Years, 1953-1961," *Midwest History of Education Journal* 25, 1 (1998): 7-12; States' Impact on Federal Education Policy Project, *Federal Education Policy and the States, 1945-2005: A Brief Synopsis* (Albany, NY: New York State Archives, January 2006, revised November 2009), 8-12.

lost its dominant political position beginning in 1955, its basic tenets remained an important element in conservative politics.⁵²⁹ In the 1960s, a grassroots conservative movement of anticommunists, segregationists, anti-tax groups, and evangelicals coalesced around their frustration with Eisenhower conservatives, the 1964 Goldwater presidential campaign, and distrust of liberalism. They advocated that public schools to return to teaching the three Rs, Protestant values, American exceptionalism, and republican virtue.⁵³⁰

Southern Democrats, or Dixiecrats, fought with the national party over its support for racial integration and civil rights. They crusaded for strengthening states' rights to protect individuals' freedom of association and sustain local control over public schools. They feared liberals outside the South would dominate the Democratic Party leaving them politically irrelevant and racial integration would destroy their powerful all-white political base in the South. In response to the *Brown II* (1955) order to integrate public schools "at all deliberate speed," Dixiecrats pursued a policy of massive resistance. At the local and state level, they refused to follow court orders, delayed desegregation plans, instituted token integration, closed public schools, offered tuition grants to white students to attend private schools, buoyed white flight to suburbs with discriminatory zoning laws,

⁵²⁹ Critchlow, 5-9, 35; Stuart J. Foster, *Red Alert!: Educators Confront the Red Scare in American Public Schools, 1947-1954* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 9, 21, 53, 73-76; Hamby, 88-90, 110-114.

⁵³⁰ Legislative Committee, "The Roadblock to Federal Aid," *NEA Journal* 38, 7 (October, 1949): 494-495; James L. McCaskill, "The Children Lose Again," *NEA Journal* 46, 5 (September, 1957): 395-396; Mary Jo Tregilgas. "I'm for Federal Support of Education Because I Believe in Local Control of Education," *NEA Journal* 48, 1 (January, 1959): 67; Research Department, "Who is Opposed to Federal Grants?" *NEA Research Bulletin* (December, 1959): 99-101; Division of Press and Radio Relations. "Summary and Digest of Broadcast Opinion on Federal Aid to Education and Related Matters from the Period July 31-August 6, 1961," *Excerpt* 22 (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August 15, 1961); Critchlow, 110-119; Gary Donaldson, *Liberalism's Last Hurrah: The Presidential Campaign of 1964* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), 20, 152-179; Barry Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative* (Shepherdsville, KY, Victor Publishing Company, 1960); Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and Other Essays* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965, 2004), 94, 114-123.

and fired teachers affiliated with civil rights organizations or supportive of integration. In Congress, Southern Democrats allied with conservative Republicans blocked federal aid to public schools on grounds of avoiding federal control of education. In 1964, Southern Democrats felt betrayed over the passage of the Civil Rights Act. Between 1964 and 1972, white Southerners joined the Republican Party in ever larger numbers.⁵³¹

Liberals in the Democratic Party, led by Harry Truman (1945-1952), John Kennedy (1960-1963), and Lyndon Johnson (1963-1968), supported a pluralistic view of democracy. They campaigned for empowering governmental agencies to protect the civil rights of all citizens. Liberals argued that the denial of full citizenship to any American undermined the constitutional rule of law that was the basis of American democracy. They pursued a civil rights agenda beginning with Truman's desegregation of the military in 1948, accelerated by Kennedy's New Frontier programs, and culminating with Johnson's maneuvering to pass the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965. Liberals also pursued an expansive federal aid program to education to mitigate the costs of the expanding Baby Boom population and to create an enlightened citizenry for a pluralistic democracy. They championed intercultural education, expansion of civics programs, and the end of racial segregation in public schools.⁵³²

⁵³¹ Boyer, 152-161; Cremin (1980), 256-272; Hale, 288-295; Kruse (2012), 7-11, 131-134, 161-164, 205-208, 219-222, 242-258; Perrillo, 122; Marston, (1946), 305; Jonathon Zimmerman, "Brown-ing the American Textbook: History, Psychology, and the Origins of Modern Multiculturalism," *History of Education Quarterly* 44, 1 (2004): 56-58.

⁵³² Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination* (New York: Viking Press, 1950); Sam M. Lambert. "How to Answer Certain Questions on Federal Support for Education," *NEA Journal* 49, 2 (February, 1960), 52-54; J.L. McCaskill, "Public-Opinion Poll Shows that the Public Favors Federal Support," *NEA Journal* 49, 8 (November, 1960), 16; Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960); "Senate: Federal Assistance in the Construction and Operation of Schools in Federally Impacted Areas - S 293," *Congressional Record* 107, 138 (August 11, 1961); "Following are excerpts from speech delivered by Senator Wayne Morse (D- OR) at Philadelphia, PA. August 14, 1961," *Congressional Record* 107, 139 (August 14, 1961); *Special Report NEA Division of Federal Relations* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August 18, 1961); Division of Federal Relations, *Chronology - Education Legislation 1st Session - 87th Congress* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August 18, 1961); Division of Press and Radio Relations. "Summary and Digest

This liberal agenda was constantly challenged, constrained, and blocked by Southern Democrats allied with conservative Republicans.⁵³³ Liberals finally overcame this resistance with inclusion of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act and the passage of the ESEA. Title VI authorized the Department of Justice (DOJ) to investigate incidents of racial discrimination in public schools and initiate desegregation lawsuits. Title VI also allowed the Health, Education, and Welfare Agency (HEW) to withhold federal ESEA funds from segregated public school systems. Consequently, the integration of students into Southern public schools rose from 2% in 1965 to 24% by 1968. The integration of teaching staffs would have to wait until the mid 1970s as the Johnson administration, DOJ, and HEW prioritized integration of students over the massive displacement of African American teachers and the increasing racial segregation of teaching staffs.⁵³⁴

of Broadcast Opinion on Federal Aid to Education and Related Matters from the Period August 7-13, 1961,” *Excerpt* 23 (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1961); Groves (March, 1962), 12-13; Howard G. Sackett. “An Ambitious Program for the 88th Congress,” *NEA Journal* 52, 2 (February 1963): 36-39; Edith Green. “Much More Remains to be Done,” *NEA Journal* 53, 2 (February, 1964): 16-17; Robert H. Wyatt, “Next Steps in Federal Aid,” *NEA Journal* 53, 3 (March, 1964): 35-36; Boyer, 34-35, 132-133, 170-171; Cuban, 383; Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 2000, 2012), 3-14, 23-26, 250-252; Hamby, 54-71, 183-190; States’ Impact on Federal Education Policy Project, 13-15; Howard Zinn, *Postwar America: 1945-1971* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Inc., 1973), 103-104, 149.

⁵³³ The situation was further complicated by Northern civil rights advocates in Congress, led by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (Democrat, NY 1945–1971), who attached an anti-discrimination clause to federal aid bills that prevented funds being spent on segregated facilities or organizations. The clause became known as the Powell Amendment and often was the major reason Southern Democrats blocked federal aid bills. (Evelyn A. Casey. “An Active Legislative Year,” *NEA Journal* 45, 5 (May, 1956): 310-311; McCaskill, (September, 1957), 395-396; Division of Federal Relations (August 18, 1961); Legislative Committee, *Selected Questions from Open Meeting of Legislative Commission, Atlantic City, NJ, June 27, 1962: Answers by Senator Wayne Morse* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, June 27, 1962); John M. Lumley, “Education Thwarted in 87th Congress,” *NEA Journal* 51, 8 (November, 1962): 26-27; James W. Guthrie, “A Political Case History: Passage of the ESEA,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 49, 6 (February 1968): 302-303.)

⁵³⁴ Dr. Kenneth Clark, *Memo Regrading Planning Session for the White House Conference “To Fulfill These Rights,”* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, December, 1965); National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, Department of Classroom Teachers, and Urban Services Division. *A Proposal for Conferences on Teacher Desegregation* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, March 1965); 7; Division of Federal Relations. *Special Report on the Elementary-Secondary Education Act* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, April 10, 1965); “We’ve Got it Started: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is only the beginning...” *NEA Journal* 54, 6 (September, 1965): 33-39; Dionne Danna, “Northern Desegregation: A Tale of Two Cities,” *History of Education Quarterly* 51, 1 (2011): 77, 80-82, 85-86, 101-103; Erica Frankenberg and Kendra Taylor, “ESEA and the Civil Rights Act: An Interbranch Approach to Furthering Desegregation,” *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 1, 3 (2015): 32-33, 37-40; Fultz, 22, 31-34; Guthrie (1968), 302; Samuel Halperin. “ESEA Ten Years Later,” *Educational Researcher*

Teachers as First Class American Citizens, 1946-1954

Beginning in 1946, the AFT and NEA began to push back against decades-old restrictions on teachers' citizenship rights. The chronic shortage of teachers, the rise of anticommunist attacks on public schools and their teachers, and the growing power of teachers' organizations provided both motivations and means for teachers to ensure their civil rights were protected. The AFT and NEA argued that the recognition of teachers' civil rights meant that they could fulfill the vital public service of inculcating their students with democratic habits and values. They claimed communities' disrespect for teachers' rights as citizens meant fewer qualified people would enter the classroom and more quality teachers would leave. The NEA took a moderate path advocating for teachers' rights outside the classroom, but advising teachers to steer clear of partisan politics in their communities. They recognized the right of communities and school officials to monitor teachers' politics in the classroom, but discouraged them from censoring teachers' political beliefs in their private lives. The AFT took a liberal stance on teachers' rights. They fought for teachers' rights in and out of the classroom. They argued that intrusive community members and authoritarian school administrators hampered teachers' ability to perform their public service of educating future citizens.

The NEA's cautious approach limited their advocacy for teachers' civil rights. In 1946, Raleigh Schorling, professor of education at the University of Michigan, called for teachers' "*right to those personal liberties which other respectable citizens assume for*

4, 8 (September 1975): 5; Jack Jennings, "An Education Agenda for the Congress and the New Administration," in *The Future of the Federal Role in Elementary and Secondary Education* (Washington, D.C.: Center on Education Policy, April 2011), 11, 23; Harvey Kantor, "Education, Social Reform, and the State: ESEA and Federal Education Policy in the 1960s," *American Journal of Education* 100 (1991): 63-64; States' Impact on Federal Education Policy Project, 14-22.

themselves as a matter of course.” He suggested that capable individuals rejected teaching careers because of “the petty restrictions and prohibitions” that communities inflicted on teachers. While the community had a legitimate interest in the “decency and idealism of its teachers,” it had no right to scrutinize their politics as long as teachers kept them out of the classroom. No professionals should put up with these “trivialities.” These policies deprived their children of teachers who provided “strong leadership for the high ideals” of democracy. By insuring teachers had the rights enjoyed by other citizens, Americans would improve the quality of citizenship education by ensuring talented citizens would enter teaching and remain in classrooms. By improving citizenship education, Americans ensured there would be an enlightened citizenry into the future.⁵³⁵

The NEA saw teachers’ citizenship rights primarily as a pedagogical issue. They argued that every teacher should be a teacher of citizenship and that citizenship education should permeate every school activity. In January 1951, the *NEA Journal* ran a special feature on citizenship education. Stanley Dimond, director of Detroit’s citizenship education study and professor of education at University of Michigan, reminded readers what was at stake: “Today teaching democracy is recognized by many as essential for survival.” In divided world, students needed every teacher to serve as a role model and a knowledgeable instructor of democracy. Every teacher helped by “aiding in the satisfaction of basic human needs” of each student and developing the skills for “rational

⁵³⁵ “X Marks a Spot,” *NEA Journal* 35, 1 (January, 1946): 18; “Our Affiliated State Association: Teacher Recruiting in New Mexico,” *NEA Journal* 36, 3 (March, 1947): 216; Carl Ormond Williams, “Training for Democracy thru Institutes on Professional and Public Relations,” *NEA Journal* 38, 3 (March, 1949): 207.

inquiry” into important problems.⁵³⁶ Having all teachers teaching democracy would ensure the survival and vitality of democracy for the next generation of Americans.

The premise the public schools and their teachers were central to the survival of democracy was driven home again and again in the pages of the *NEA Journal*. In December 1952, Roland Crary, on leave from Teachers College at Columbia University to serve in the Federal Civil Defense Administration, argued that America’s public schools were “democracy’s first line of defense” against totalitarian practices in the American political arena and the “lack of faith in the future, apathy and indifference” from its own citizens. To properly defend democracy, Americans needed to protect and extend teachers’ civil rights in the classroom. Teachers must be first-class citizens so they could help students believe in the vitality of democracy, understand the basic soundness of the American political system, and be “critically aware of weak spots and political malpractice without succumbing to cynicism or distrust.”⁵³⁷ In other words, recognition of teachers’ civil rights allowed teachers to perform their primary public service, building better democratic citizens for America’s future political success.

The NEA’s arguments for teachers’ rights as citizens formed the basis for their lobbying for federal aid for education. They argued that federal aid was a necessity to preserve American democracy into the future by equalizing educational opportunities for all Americans and to attract the most able young people into teaching by improving

⁵³⁶ Stanley Dimond, “Special Feature on Citizenship: Those Citizenship Clichés Restore Their Vital Urges,” *NEA Journal* 40, 1 (January 1951): 10-11. Also see, Anna Lord Strauss, “Dare Teachers Be Good Citizens,” *NEA Journal* 39, 1 (January 1950): 9; Benjamin C. Willis, “Teaching American Citizenship is the Job of Every Teacher,” *NEA Journal* 43, 2 (February 1954).

⁵³⁷ Roland W. Crary, “Citizenship Education for a Continuing Crisis,” *NEA Journal* 41, 9 (December 1952): 422-423. Also see, “X Marks a Spot,” 18. “Bipartisan Committee to Promo Federal Aid: Members of the United States Human Rights Volunteer to Advance Cause of Education,” *NEA Journal* 35, 3 (March, 1946): 127; Charles Harris, “Stop Cheating Your Children,” *NEA Journal* 35, 9 (December, 1946): 587.

working conditions in public schools.⁵³⁸ R. B. Marston, director of the NEA's Federal Relations Division, claimed the failure to pass federal aid legislation meant the "denial of millions of young people of a chance to mature into citizens qualified to shape the country's future."⁵³⁹ A significant part of NEA lobbying efforts was the teacher citizen cooperating with education stakeholders and political groups to build a viable consensus for federal aid legislation. The NEA leaders encouraged teachers to inform themselves on federal aid issues, write letters to politicians and lay leaders in support of federal aid bills, and work with their local, state, and national teacher associations to bolster public opinion in favor of federal aid.⁵⁴⁰ The NEA's version of the teacher citizen was twofold. Outside the classroom, teacher citizens were to seek cooperation, compromise, and consensus-building to improve public schools. They should avoid partisan politics that damaged their professional impartiality. In the classroom, teachers were to be role models for impressionable young minds by acting as and teaching how to be responsible democratic citizens.

The AFT advocated more directly for teachers' rights than the NEA. In part, the AFT replicated to the labor union movement's turbulent involvement with politics in the postwar years. Unions faced an emergent free market ideology from politically influential

⁵³⁸ R.B. Marston, "Our Senators and Congressmen Speak on Federal Aid," *NEA Journal* 35, 7 (October, 1946): 408; John K Norton, "The Five Compelling Reasons for Federal Aid," *NEA Journal* 36, 2 (February, 1947): 75; R. B. Marston, "S472 Should Be Enacted," *NEA Journal* 36, 3 (March, 1947): 181; J. Easton Parratt, "The Outlook for Federal Aid," *NEA Journal* 38, 2 (February, 1949): 93; Carol Burke, "Our Educational Crisis," *NEA Journal* 38, 5 (May, 1949): 270-271; Edgar Fuller, "How to Avoid Federal Control of Education," *NEA Journal* 38, 5 (May, 1949): 362-363; "Education and Congress: Finished and Unfinished Business," *NEA Journal* 39, 9 (December, 1950): 659.

⁵³⁹ R. B. Marston, "Federal Aid with State Control S246 is the Answer," *NEA Journal* 38, 8 (November, 1949): 571. Also see, Willard E. Givens, "Federal Aid - Have You Written your Congressman," *NEA Journal* 38, 8 (November, 1949): 542; Rozzell (October, 1950), 502;

⁵⁴⁰ Willard E. Givens, "Federal Aid Can Be Achieved in the Present Congress if Sufficient Support is Mobilized. You can Help," *NEA Journal* 37, 2 (February, 1948): 83; Joy Elmer Morgan, "All Out for Federal Aid," *NEA Journal* 38, 2 (February, 1949): 91; Marston, (November, 1949), 571; Givens (November, 1949), 542; "They Say... Some Ways to answer Certain Arguments against Federal Aid to Education," *NEA Journal* 39, 7 (October, 1950): 503.

business leaders and powerful fiscal conservatives within the Republican Party. This alliance turned their ideology into political action. In 1947, Congress considered over 250 union-related bills.⁵⁴¹ Raymond Peck, who served the Ohio Federation of Teachers as President, Treasurer, and lobbyist (1937-1968), argued that these “vicious anti-labor bills” were crafted to “decrease organized labor power,” which had been “the greatest force of democracy in United States.”⁵⁴² Congress eventually passed the business-friendly Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, overriding a veto by President Truman. The Act banned unions from making political contributions, strikes that threatened national security, secondary boycotts, excessive dues, and admitting communists to their ranks.⁵⁴³ “After passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the number of union victories in NLRB elections declined.”⁵⁴⁴ These bills hampered union organizing, reputation, and rights across the United States. AFT leaders recognized that if unionism was going to viable path to teacher professionalism then the AFT needed to protect teachers’ rights as citizens.

Beginning in 1950, the AFT went on the offensive against the representations of political teachers as public enemies. They argued that teachers needed to be visible and active citizens in their communities. AFT publications and speakers highlighted the benefits of the teachers as active citizens to their communities, states, and the nation. Editors at *The Detroit Teacher* stated: “A political schoolteacher is actually a public benefactor.” Indeed, one of the teacher’s first duties was to be active citizens. Democracy

⁵⁴¹ Art Preis, *Labor’s Giant Step: The First Twenty Years of the CIO* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1964).

⁵⁴² Raymond Peck. “Secretary-Treasurer Report,” *Ohio Federation of Teachers Convention Minutes*, edited by Raymond Peck (May 16, 1947). Located in the Raymond Peck Files Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁵⁴³ “1947 Taft-Hartley Substantive Provisions.” Accessed from *National Labor Relations Bureau* on October 30, 2012 at <http://www.nlr.gov/who-we-are/our-history/1947-taft-hartley-substantive-provisions>.

⁵⁴⁴ “1959 Landrum-Griffin Act.” Accessed from *National Labor Relations Bureau* on October 30, 2012 at <http://www.nlr.gov/who-we-are/our-history/1959-landrum-griffin-act>.

demanded “more honest people,” like teachers, “to take up politics.”⁵⁴⁵ Since teachers held important positions in local communities, they had a special responsibility to inject themselves into local, state, and national politics to influence matters of public education and good government.⁵⁴⁶ By being visible American citizens, teachers satisfied their vital public service as role models of active democratic citizenship for their students.

While the NEA’s “Bill of Rights for Teachers” focused almost exclusively on working conditions, the AFT’s “Bill of Rights” in 1951 prioritized civil rights in and out of the classroom.⁵⁴⁷ To ensure every teacher a “life of dignity equal to the high standard service that is justly demanded” by the profession, they must have the rights to think freely. They also had to “express themselves openly and without fear” including “ideas contrary to the majority,” assemble peacefully, “be free from politicalized influence or public clamor,” join the professional organization of their choice, adequate compensation, advanced educational materials, due process, to bargain collectively, and “take part in social, civic, and political affairs.” The fate of the public schools and the nation rested on the status of teachers’ rights as citizens: “These rights are based upon the proposition that the culture of a people can rise only as its teachers improve. A teaching force accorded the highest possible professional dignity is the surest guarantee that the

⁵⁴⁵ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, “Committee Urges Teachers to be Politically Active,” *The Detroit Teacher* 8, 5, January 16, 1950, 8. Located in the Helen Bowers File Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁵⁴⁶ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, “Politics Promote Community Spirit,” *The Detroit Teacher* 8, 6, February 13, 1950, 11. Located in the Helen Bowers File Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University. Also See, Raymond Peck, “Address of the President,” in *Ohio Federation of Teachers Convention Minutes*, edited by Raymond Peck (May 21-22, 1954). Located in the Raymond Peck File Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Arthur Stewart, *Speech on Political Activity of Teachers* (San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61, 1954), Located in the San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61 File Box 8 Folder 6 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁵⁴⁷ Schorling’s 1946 “Bill of Rights for Teachers” included the rights to personal liberties enjoyed by all citizens, smaller class size, planning time, 45-hour week, “helpful and constructive supervision,” adequate compensation, proper instructional materials, appropriate facilities, in-service training, internships, and participation in curriculum and policy matters. (Raleigh Schorling, “An Evolving Bill of Right for Teachers,” *NEA Journal* 35, 8 (November, 1946): 479.)

blessings of liberty will be preserved.”⁵⁴⁸ The AFT’s vision for the teacher citizen was expansive. Its leaders argued that since education questions were political questions, every teacher’s ethical responsibility was to ensure their civil rights were not be limited. In doing so, teachers assured that they could perform their public service as citizenship instructors freely and effectively.

Teachers as Political Actors, 1955-1965

Teachers faced political reprisals from anticommunists into the mid 1950s and from segregationists following the *Brown II* decision in 1955. The NEA and AFT shifted their focus to attacking restrictions on teachers’ political activity and countering the popular representations of teachers as apolitical public servants. This position challenged several decades of community expectations and administrative dictates that teachers should remain neutral, if not silent on political issues, in and out of the classroom. A “good” teacher upheld the “traditional norms and values of the community,” but did “not to participate in civil affairs.”⁵⁴⁹ The NEA and AFT reminded teachers that public schools had been, were currently, and would continue to be combative political issues. The South’s massive resistance to integration made it nearly impossible to ignore the political nature of public education. Both organizations hoped to move teachers from passive instructors of democracy in classrooms to active agents of democracy in their

⁵⁴⁸ Carl J. Megel, *Memorandum to Members of the Executive Council Regarding a Bill of Rights for Teachers* (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 3, 1953), 1-2. Located in the AFT President’s Office, Part 1 File Box 5 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University. These rights were updated in the late 1950s and 1960s, to include provisions for anti-discrimination and democratic working conditions. (*AFT Report on Legislation Part 2* (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers 1958). Located in the AFT President’s Office, Part 1 File Box 5 Folder10 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Raymond Peck, “Organizing Committee,” *1962 Ohio Federation of Teachers Convention Minutes*, edited by Raymond Peck (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers 1962). Located in the Raymond Peck File in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.)

⁵⁴⁹ Charles R. Monroe, “Teacher Training and a Professional Living” *The American Teacher* 46, 2, December 1961. Located in the AFT President’s Office, Part 1 File Box 70 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

classrooms, communities, states, and nation. Teachers gradually accepted this new role in politics, becoming more active in extending and protecting their own and their students' civil rights during the late 1950s and into the 1960s.

A hidden discourse surrounding gender and politics runs beneath the rhetoric used by AFT and NEA leaders to argue for the political engagement of teachers. Teaching had been and continued to be a profession dominated by women. A significant part of the apolitical image of teachers before World War II was the fact that young, single women filled up to 90% of the teaching positions and the attitude persisted in American society that women, despite winning the right to vote, were unfit for the rough-and-tumble world of politicians, a profession dominated by men: "Politics is dirty business and nice people, teachers particularly, had better not get embroiled."⁵⁵⁰ The AFT and NEA addressed this issue on two fronts. First, they presented a form of political involvement that was acceptable for women as active participants. They assured teachers that politics was the business of every citizen, especially highly educated professionals who served the common good. And the more citizens involved themselves in politics the cleaner and more responsive to the people it would become. Even worse, if teachers shunned politics the dirtier it would become.⁵⁵¹ Second, they purposefully used male pronouns to refer to individual teachers engaged in political actions or use the more generic terms teacher to avoid association of political activism with women.

The NEA took a cautious approach to political activism for teachers. The best example is a 1955 *NEA Journal* article by Dr. Earl James McGarth, former United States

⁵⁵⁰ Citizenship Committee, "Politics + You Equals Better Government," *NEA Journal* 48, 8 (November 1959): 1.

⁵⁵¹ Citizenship Committee, "Every Teacher ... An Active Political Citizen: Register, Study, Vote," *NEA Journal* 49, 4 (April 1960): 1.

Commissioner of Education (1949–1953), President of University of Missouri Kansas City, and the chairman of NEA’s Commission on International Education. He argued that teachers needed to organize their profession for nonpartisan political action “to improve the status and condition of education.” Teachers should channel their political activity through professional associations, like those nearly every other occupation had “formed for the advancement of their own interests.” Teachers, however, should avoid working “within the political party machinery.”⁵⁵² McGarth’s article represented a shift for the NEA. It acknowledged fears of overzealous teachers bringing partisan politics into the classrooms, while offering a less threatening, well-trodden path of occupational advocacy by professional organizations. McGarth was clear that politics and education are linked. Thus, teachers needed to interject themselves collectively into the world of politics.

By 1957, the NEA’s cautious approach to political activism began to shift to an endorsement of partisan political activities in support of public education. The launch of Sputnik and the campaign for the NDEA served as a catalyst for this shift in the NEA’s approach. Beginning in 1957 and running through 1965, the *NEA Journal* began a series on teacher-politicians that highlighted educators who successfully ran for office, including city councilmen, mayors, city attorneys, and state legislators, as well as their activities in civic organizations and the NEA. These teachers were meant to be examples for their colleagues to follow into the politics.⁵⁵³ In 1958, William Carr, the Executive

⁵⁵² Earl James McGarth, “Education and Political Action,” *NEA Journal* 44, 6 (September 1955): 347-348. Also see, Florence H. Price, “Federal Relations are Part of Your Job,” *NEA Journal* 46, 1 (January 1957): 27.

⁵⁵³ Elmon S. Ousley, the 1963 National Teacher of the Year from Bellevue, Washington, argued it was an absolute necessary for teachers need to take an active interest in politics if they expected “to receive proper respect and to win essential support for education.” As president of the Bellevue Education Association (BEA), Ousley “set an example for other teachers to follow through his participation in political affairs” by setting up a political program in which the BEA interviewed candidates for the state legislature, actively supported candidates friendly to education regardless of

Secretary of the NEA (1955-1967), encouraged teachers to “claim their full civic rights and accept their full civic obligations.” When teachers did not have firsthand civic knowledge to build their lessons upon, their “communities are penalized” and “effective democratic government is impaired.” As long as the teacher did not use the classroom as a forum for partisan political beliefs, a teacher should register to vote, study the issues, vote regularly, express opinions outside the classroom, “and, if he wishes, participate in the proper activities of his political parties and serve as a candidate for public office.”⁵⁵⁴ By 1959, the NEA listened to its increasingly militant teachers in the Representative Assembly that in order to be respected as true professionals in the classroom they needed to be politically active at the local, state, and national levels.

Frustrated by the NDEA’s limited categorical funding for K-12 public schools and by Southern Democrats’ blocking federal aid bills, the NEA exhorted their members to go all-out for the cause of public education. The NEA called on its members to embrace their “job of helping citizens understanding what is really happening to education. Millions of children are suffering... the situation calls for sensible action without further debate.”⁵⁵⁵ It called on its local associations to distribute reprints of NEA materials from business offices to local media, engage PTA and other civic organizations in discussion, and organize speaker’s bureaus to build support for local taxes, as well as state and federal aid to education. The Citizens Committee called for every teacher to

political party, collected funds, distributed information, and worked door to door to secure favorable vote for educational issues and candidates, and paid for a legislative liaison who held monthly and weekly meetings with state legislators on behalf the BEA. Mr. Ousley was the leader the NEA wanted for its affiliates, a well-respect professional who understand the necessity for political action to benefit teachers and children. (Eula May Taylor, “Teacher Influence in Politics,” *NEA Journal* 53, 1 (January 1964): 64.)

⁵⁵⁴ William G. Carr, “Teacher Citizen,” *NEA Journal* 47, 1 (January 1958): 34; Also see, Andrea Crockett Briney. “Teacher Citizenship in Tennessee,” *NEA Journal* 47, 8 (November 1958): 579; Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association (November 1959): 1-2.

⁵⁵⁵ “Never underestimate YOUR Power,” *NEA Journal* 49, 1 (January, 1960): 32.

register to vote, inform himself on the issues, study the candidates and their records, vote regularly, seek to make his influence felt through the avenues open to him within the framework of the law, enjoy the privilege of participating in the political party of his choice, and privilege of running for public office if he so chooses.⁵⁵⁶ However, the NEA's version of teachers' activism did not extend to the Civil Rights movement or the desegregation of schools.

The NEA tended to sidestep issues of race and segregation throughout most of the Baby Boom era. Before *Brown*, the NEA issued general statements about assuring equal educational opportunities, eliminating prejudice, and endorsing intercultural education. These assertions did not directly address legal racial segregation or extralegal racial violence.⁵⁵⁷ The NEA met the momentous 1954 *Brown* decision with a single article that

⁵⁵⁶ Citizenship Committee (April 1960), 1. The NEA found allies for its new position in the media and on Capitol Hill. In 1962, Palmer Hoyt, the editor and publisher of *Denver Post*, argued that to improve public schools, Americans must overcome their unrealistic prejudices against political active teachers and "recognize the importance of teachers' participation in politics." Among professionals only the teachers were expected to be "a political mute." Hoyt concluded the only way to improve our educational system was for "teachers everywhere return to a real status of community leadership." In 1963, Francis Keppel, the United States Commissioner of Education (1962–1965) agreed. "As individuals and as citizens, teachers have both the right and the responsibility to learn the facts and issues involved, and to make their views and opinions known." (Palmer Hoyt, "The Teacher: A Political Mute," *NEA Journal* 51, 6 (September 1962): 25; Francis Keppel, "Guest Editorial: Rights and the Responsibility," *NEA Journal* 52, 7 (October 1963): 15.)

⁵⁵⁷ The resolution platforms of the National Education Association along with NEA Journal articles are interesting examples of this approach. The 1947 Platform included a section on "Education and Minority Group." The NEA stated "the existence of democracy will be seriously affected if group prejudices and antagonisms get out of control or if the causes of such prejudices and antagonisms are not removed or reduced." In 1947, while extolling the virtues of intercultural education, the *NEA Journal* comes a bit closer to identifying the problem but still veers away from direct naming of the situation. Here prejudices and antagonisms are a direct challenges to and even a responsibility for education. "Achieving democracy in racial and cultural relations, including right *and* privileges for all, must be shared by members of dominant and minority groups alike. The denial of democracy to any group of people in this country may result eventually in its denial to all the American people." here is never a mention of racial segregation with when NEA Journal articles address a racially separated school district and the Joint Committee of the NEA and American Teachers Association (ATA). In the February 1950 article, "By Their Own Bootstraps: A Success Story of how a Negro Community Improved Itself by Improving its Schools," G. S. Ivory, the Superintendent of the Oak Grove School District in Arkansas that is the focus of the article, commending the school district as "a truly powerful force in the democratic life of the community it serves — a monument to the years of hard work of the leaders of the district" without one reference to or mention of the legally enforced segregation of students. ("Resolutions Adopted at Buffalo," in *NEA Handbook 1946-1947* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August 1946), 159. The Platform of the National Education Association," in *NEA Handbook 1947-1948* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association August 1947), 153-157; "Charting Intercultural Education," *NEA Journal* 36, 2 (February, 1947): 135; G.

did not comment on or critique the decision. After a brief introduction, the decision was reprinted in full. The most interesting element in the reprint was the NEA decision to highlight one paragraph that does not directly reference the outlawing of racial segregation in the public schools, but does replicate the NEA's position on education's role in society: "**education is perhaps the most important function of local and state government**" because of the "**importance of education to our democratic society...It is the very foundation of good citizenship.**"⁵⁵⁸ By 1955, the NEA found itself at odds with civil rights leaders over federal aid. Evelyn A. Casey, chairman of NEA Legislative Commission, sharply criticized Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr.'s "so-called anti-segregation amendment" that denied federal funds to states which had not begun to integrate their schools. Casey argued that integration was "to be decided by the courts" making Powell's "amendment unnecessary and contrary to the Supreme Court's rulings."⁵⁵⁹ The NEA's 1957 legislative program for the 85th Congress stated "legislation to enforce compliance with the decision of the United States Supreme Court on the issue of segregation in the public schools contradicts the principle of federal aid without federal control."⁵⁶⁰ In effect, the NEA allied itself with the Southern Democrats who sought to block any legislation that required or enforced the integration of schools.

When the NEA finally addressed racial segregation and civil rights in 1963, they remained tentative. In April, the *NEA Journal* featured a "Symposium on Desegregation." The articles focused on politicians, administrators, teachers, and communities that

S. Ivory, "By Their Own Bootstraps: A Success Story of how a Negro Community Improved Itself by Improving its Schools," *NEA Journal* 39, 2 (February 1950): 133.)

⁵⁵⁸ Walter N. Ridley, "Joint Action Toward Unity," *NEA Journal* 41, 8 (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association (November 1952): 531. Words in bold are from the original text.

⁵⁵⁹ Casey (1955), 310-311.

⁵⁶⁰ Irving F. Pearson, "NEA Legislative Program for the 85th Congress," *NEA Journal* 46, 2 (February 1957): 108.

worked together to solve the problems of desegregation. The only harsh words spoken were delivered by W. A. Bass, the Superintendent of Nashville City Schools, who declared the only “unrest” in a city “full of tension” was caused by “disruptive” nonresidents “led by impassioned rabble-rousers.”⁵⁶¹ Even when confronted by the school closures to avoid integration, the NEA refused to attack segregationists. They focused on the obligation of states to maintain public schools: “The survival of democracy requires that every state maintain a system of free public education and safeguard the education of all.”⁵⁶² In twenty articles published by the NEA between 1963 and 1965, there is only one direct reference to segregation and it is a quote from the Equal Opportunity Commission on de facto segregation: “Segregation on ground of race is bad.”⁵⁶³ Between 1966 and 1973, the NEA gradually desegregated their organization and took a liberal stance on civil rights.

The AFT actively supported the Civil Rights movement and the integration of public schools. They envisioned a politically progressive path for teachers by actively working toward an integrated union, profession, school system, and democracy. Between 1947 and 1952, the AFT banned new locals that were segregated and wrote amicus briefs in support of public school desegregation cases.⁵⁶⁴ Following the *Brown* decisions, they

⁵⁶¹ W.A. Bass, “Symposium on Desegregation: In Nashville Schools,” *NEA Journal* 52, 4 (April 1963): 49.

⁵⁶² “A Fundamental Principle is Involved,” *NEA Journal* 53, 1 (January 1963): 16.

⁵⁶³ National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, Department of Classroom Teachers, and Urban Services Division (March 1965), 7; For details on NEA publications see Micheal J. Schultz, Jr. *The National Education Association and the Black Teacher: The Integration of a Professional Organization* (Carol Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1970), 136-146, 150-165.

⁵⁶⁴ The AFT also published articles that argued for an extensive civil rights program. *American Teacher* editors “prominently and regularly” featured articles by Dick Parrish, a New York City teacher and the Chairman of the Human Relations Committee, who sided with the civil rights activists and called for end to segregation. In 1949, the Washington Teachers Union supported the integration of public schools and the teacher staff. They argued schools should provide “fair education opportunity for all children” and “fair employment opportunity for all teachers.”⁵⁶⁴ They asked that “all personnel actions” should be directed towards “establishing and maintaining integrated schools” and for an associate superintendent to be assigned full time to integration. The Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231 (DFT)

passed resolutions calling for the immediate integration of teacher organizations, public schools, and teaching staffs. Between 1955 and 1958, the union suspended and expelled several locals after they refused to integrate, including one of the oldest and largest locals in Atlanta. Beginning in 1959, AFT leaders and members joined civil rights activists on the front lines. They staffed summer schools in Virginia's Prince Edwards County when the Board of Supervisors closed its public schools to avoid integration between 1959 and 1964, joined Freedom Riders in their efforts to desegregate interstate travel in 1961, marched on Washington, D.C. for Jobs and Freedom in 1963, worked in freedom schools to support voter registration drives during the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964, faced police brutality on the March from Selma to Montgomery in 1964, and publicly lobbied for the Civil Right Act from 1961 until its passage in 1964.⁵⁶⁵

The AFT attacked the South's massive resistance to integration as undemocratic attempt to circumvent the rule of law. At the 1958 Convention, Selma Borchardt, the AFT's national lobbyist, argued that segregationists' "open defiance of the law" was

cited integration as necessary component to improving public schools and American democracy. (Murphy, 207; "Letter from Washington Teachers' Union Local 27 to Subcommittee on District of Columbia of House Appropriations for Planning, Should Public Schools Integrating Takes Place in D.C.?" (Seattle, WA: Washington Teachers' Union Local 27, February 4, 1949). Located in the William Simons Files Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, "Democracy Result of Neglect, Says Dr. Howard Lane" *The Detroit Teacher* 9, 8, April 18, 1951. Located in the Helen Bowers Files Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Megel and Rueter, Jr., (July 1, 1960), 5-6; Executive Council of the California State Federation of Teachers, "Statement on Southern Crisis," *The Oakland Teacher* 16, 2, October 1958. Located in the Oakland Federation of Teachers Local 771 File Box 3 Folder 6 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61, "Is Citizenship Unprofessional," *The Federation Reporter* 8, 6, March, 1960. Located in the San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61 File Box 8, Folder 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Judge George Edwards, "Guest Speaker," in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 1962). Located in the Helen Bowers Files Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.)

⁵⁶⁵ Murphy, 197, 207; Eugene Kelley, *Freedom Schools* (1965). Located in the Howard Hursey Files Box 2 Folder 19 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Dick Hixson, "On the Move: It's Time to Take a Stand," *The Massachusetts Teacher* 23, 7, April 30, 1965. Located in the Anthony Kaiser File Box 11 Folder 11 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; National Conference on Negro History, "Racism in Education: Correcting America's Image of the Past," (December 8-10, 1966). Located in the William Simmons File Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

dangerous for American democracy. She urged teachers to “call on the President of the United States to establish schools on federal property and call upon public schools to be open for all entitled to attend.”⁵⁶⁶ The AFT passed resolutions affirming support for the *Brown* decisions stating that “racial segregation violated constitution,” and the “democratic principle of equality of educational opportunity.” It asked communities, the President, and Congress to take actions immediately to end segregation.⁵⁶⁷ Integration also offered the AFT an opportunity to differentiate itself from NEA.

The AFT painted the NEA as unwilling “to do the right thing.”⁵⁶⁸ The NEA did not support legal challenges to segregation or political activism for integration. Instead, they relied on the “fair play and goodwill of the American people” and solutions based on “citizens working together for the common good.”⁵⁶⁹ NEA leaders failed to take sides on the *Brown* decision until 1961, when they passed a resolution that “mildly endorsed the Supreme Court decision on desegregation.”⁵⁷⁰ AFT leaders attacked the NEA’s “slow and unenthusiastic” approach to integration. Carl Megel denounced the Virginia Education Association inaction on Prince Edward County as “prejudicial and un-American.”⁵⁷¹ The New Mexico Federation of Teachers characterized the hypocrisy of preaching desegregation while maintaining segregation within its organization as the “modus

⁵⁶⁶ Selma Borchardt, “Integration,” in *AFT 42nd Convention Minutes*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL; American Federation of Teachers, August 25-29, 1958), 35. Located in the Mary Herrick Files Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁵⁶⁷ American Federation of Teachers, “Resolutions,” in *AFT 42nd Convention Minutes*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL; American Federation of Teachers, August 25-29, 1958), 93. Located in the Mary Herrick Files Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁵⁶⁸ Murphy (1990), 200.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 202.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 204.

⁵⁷¹ Foster, (2000), 45; Murphy (1990), 207; Cyrus C. Perry, “Are Teachers Citizens?” *NEA Journal* 38, 1 (November, 1949): 622; Stewart (1954); Jennie L. Davis, “NEA and Teacher Welfare: Defense of Teachers,” *NEA Journal* 44, 9 (December 1955): 564; William G. Carr, “Fit to Teach— Fit to Teach,” *NEA Journal* 54, 4 (April 1965): 11.

operandi for NEA.”⁵⁷² AFT leaders saw the NEA stance as a recruiting tool. California teacher Sidney Watson Jr. claimed he grew disenchanted with the NEA and joined the AFT due in part to their stance on integration. He criticized the “callous disregard of NEA” in their support for “Goldwater’s argument for states’ rights.” He concluded that teachers’ “professional responsibilities compel him to join support for the Civil Rights Bill.”⁵⁷³ These attacks on the NEA “cowardice” proved successful. AFT membership climbed steadily from the mid-1950s to 1965, in part, to their liberal stance on integration.

Conclusion

The AFT and NEA both fought against the restrictions on teachers’ citizenship and political rights throughout the Baby Boom era.⁵⁷⁴ At the national level, their lobbying efforts contributed to the 1949 amendment to the Hatch Act that excluded teachers from its prohibition on political management or campaigns by public employees; the passage of the NDEA in 1958 that affirmed the public service teachers provided for the defense of democracy through science, mathematics, and foreign language instruction and nurturing gifted students; Title VI of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 that enabled the Department of Justice to investigate and sue public school systems that refused to integrate; and ESEA in 1965 that affirmed the teachers’ service in strengthening democracy through a wide

⁵⁷² New Mexico Federation of Teachers, “A Tale of Twin Failures for NEA,” *New Mexico Union Teacher* (August 29, 1963). Located in the Howard Hursey Files Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁵⁷³ Sidney Watson Jr., “Why I Joined the AFT,” (June 1964). Located in the William Simons Files Box 7 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁵⁷⁴ Blount (2004), 80. Graves, 84.

range of programs to eradicate poverty.⁵⁷⁵ The AFT and NEA also took action on the local and state levels. As the wave of anti-communism crested in the mid 1950s, liberal Democrats ascended to power in the early 1960s. Collective bargaining became common for teachers in the 1960s and 1970s, and the AFT and NEA negotiated with school districts to remove or ignore restrictions on teachers' citizenship and political activity. During the 1960s, teachers accepted a more active political role in their communities, states, and the nation. Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, teachers utilized strikes, sanctions, demonstrations, boycotts, and protests to confront racial discrimination in public schools and to fight back against restrictive policies. Teachers also held political office and participated in political campaigns. By 1968, most teachers saw almost complete relaxation of school policies regarding their political lives.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁵ Lee W. Anderson, *Congress and the Classroom: From the Cold War to 'No Child Left Behind'* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007). Wayne Urban, *More Than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2010).

⁵⁷⁶ Marjorie Murphy, 258-266; T. M. Stinnett, *Professional Problems of Teachers Third Edition* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 268

Chapter 4: Americanism and Teacher Professionalism

The politics of anticommunism infiltrated every aspect of American life in the late 1940s and early 1950s.⁵⁷⁷ Conservative politicians and right-wing activists made threats from communists seem ubiquitous. In foreign affairs, anticommunists represented the alien political ideology, imperialist foreign policy, and growing nuclear arsenal of the Soviet Union as a constant reminder that the American way of life was threatened by an international communist conspiracy. In domestic policy, anticommunists focused their attention on communist agents seeking to corrupt the nation's morale, especially that of the youth, and to infiltrate the government at all levels.⁵⁷⁸ In many ways, Americanism became synonymous with anticommunism. To be a true American meant to disavow all associations with socialism, communism, and collectivism. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Americanism took on a more positive connotation as anticommunists lost their dominant position on the American political culture. Americanism came to be associated with individual freedoms, free enterprise capitalism, and democratic government.

With the Baby Boom reality of constantly enlarging school populations of impressionable young Americans and the Cold War discourse on the importance of education to the survival of the American way of life, the teaching profession came under suspicion of communist influence or, worst yet, infiltration. Teachers, in their central function of preserving, venerating, and passing on American heritage to their students, were seen as key contributors to and possible saboteurs of the American way of life. Teachers were charged with producing new generations of cold warriors ready to defeat

⁵⁷⁷ Stuart J. Foster, *Red Alert! Educators Confront the "Red Scare" in American Public Schools, 1947-1954* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 1; Boyer, 135-140.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

communism at home and abroad. However, many Americans feared communists and their sympathizers had infiltrated the teaching ranks in order to indoctrinate their students in communist dogma and thus undermine the American way of life.⁵⁷⁹ These fears were fanned by stories in the national media, investigations led by conservative politicians, pressure tactics of right-wing groups, and policies of school boards. Between 1947 and 1955, legislation authorizing loyalty investigations into teachers' lives and requiring loyalty oaths for teachers became more common. The increased media attention and governmental oversight contributed to a climate of repression and intimidation for teachers across the nation. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, teachers with the support of liberal politicians and organizations fought back against anticommunist critics. By 1965, teachers gained more control over educational policies and practices through the AFT's collective bargaining agreements and the NEA's lobbying efforts to extend tenure laws.

During this period, teachers gained recognition of their important role due to the Baby Boom and Cold War imperatives to inoculate students against communism while inspiring an appreciation for Americanism. The AFT and NEA used this discourse on Americanism to represent teachers as staunch anticommunists, loyal Americans, and patriotic defenders of the American way of life. While both groups accepted the underlying assumptions of anticommunism that the teaching ranks had been infiltrated by communists, they found anticommunists' claims to be greatly exaggerated and the pressure tactics employed by anticommunists unethical.⁵⁸⁰ The NEA focused on an institutional and national approach. Through the National Commission on the Defense of

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid, 16.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid, 136.

Democracy through Education (NCDDE), the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom (CTAF), and the Committee on Professional Ethics (CPE), the NEA represented itself as the objective arbiter for criticism of public education in order to maintain an “image of neutrality” for the teaching profession.⁵⁸¹ The answer to anticommunist critics was disseminating unbiased information, passing tenure legislation, and codifying teachers’ ethics.⁵⁸² The AFT represented themselves instead as “liberal leaders of democracy.”⁵⁸³ Their leadership focused its efforts on establishing strong locals. The AFT, having endured anti-labor legislation in the 1940s and 1950s, saw no need to cultivate relationships with conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats who dominated anticommunist politics. They used their opposition to these “enemies” of teachers and public schools to bolster their organizational identity as the staunchest advocate and defender of teachers. The AFT presented the path of union solidarity and collective bargaining as the best approach for dealing with anticommunist politics.

In these two approaches, teachers had a choice between the moderate, institutional approach of the NEA that stressed professional unity, and the liberal, confrontational approach of the AFT that emphasized professional strength. Regardless of the path, teachers benefited from the responses by the NEA and AFT. The key professional issue was occupational autonomy over entry into, proper conduct within, and dismissal from the profession. Beginning in 1946, the AFT and NEA challenged representations of “good” teachers as compliant public servants who served at the will of the community.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid, 176.

⁵⁸² “Teachers at the Bar,” *NEA Journal* 35, 5 (May, 1946): 241; “Standing Committees: Tenure and Academic Freedom,” in *NEA Handbook 1946-1947*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association (August 1946), 78-79.

⁵⁸³ Major Murphy. *Blackboard Unions: The AFT and NEA, 1900-1980* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 176.

The NEA portrayed “good” teachers as equal partners with administrators, policymakers, and communities to guarantee free inquiry for students and academic freedom for teachers. The AFT embraced “hero” teacher representations that rose to prominence after 1955. They represented teachers as dedicated pedagogues who negotiated with stakeholders to protect their academic freedom from interference by enemies of public schools and by educational bureaucrats. Together, the AFT and NEA redefined teachers as experts in preserving, venerating, and passing along the Americanism to millions of school children. They crafted a convincing rationale to support structural efforts to secure a degree of professional autonomy for teachers and win political support for these efforts.

The Red Menace in American Classrooms

Since the beginning of public education in the United States, communities consistently maintained the right to pry into the lives of teachers for the sake of their children and the future of the nation. In 1953, the widely known writer and lecturer on philosophy of education from Ohio State University H. Gordon Hullfish declared: “The American educator has always had to conduct his life under the watchful eyes of the community.”⁵⁸⁴ Education historian Karen Graves claims that teachers were fired, forced to resign, and had their credentials revoked based on “conduct not related to their job” and what “society deemed questionable character.”⁵⁸⁵ Legal scholar Michael Sletcher contends that the Red Scare of 1919-1920 and the reaction of political conservatives to the rise of populist politics during the Great Depression added concerns about loyalty to the public oversight of teachers. Patriotic societies, most prominently the Daughters (and

⁵⁸⁴ H. Gordon Hullfish, “Keeping Our Schools Free,” *Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 199* (September 1953), 7.

⁵⁸⁵ Karen Graves, *And They were Wonderful Teachers: Florida's Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 147.

Sons) of the American Revolution, lobbied state legislatures “to pass a teachers’ loyalty bill.”⁵⁸⁶ Four states passed such legislation. In the midst of political unrest at the height of the Great Depression between 1934 and 1935, loyalty oath proponents found more sympathetic legislators. Patriotic societies, most prominently the American Legion, the Catholic Church, and the “Anti-Red Crusade” by the Hearst press, convinced twenty-two states to pass legislation that required teachers to take an affirmative oath of allegiance to the federal and state constitutions and governments as a condition of employment.⁵⁸⁷ After World War II, the demands for more stringent loyalty legislation intensified. By 1946, twenty-six states had passed similar laws.

According to education historian Stuart J. Foster in *Red Alert!* (2000), in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the call for more stringent loyalty legislation reflected the prevailing belief among the American public that there was a “very real and dangerous communist threat within and outside the United States.”⁵⁸⁸ Many Americans felt their way of life was actively being challenged by the Soviet Union and being betrayed by internal subversives loyal to Moscow.⁵⁸⁹ Bad news from abroad and at home, including the tightening of the Iron Curtain in Eastern Europe (1946-1949), the imprisonment of the Hollywood Ten for contempt charges of the House Un-American Activities Committee (1947), the fall of China to Communists (1949), the Russian acquisition of the atom bomb (1949), Senator McCarthy’s list of card carrying communists in the State Department (1950), the Korean War (1950-1953), and the atomic espionage of Alger

⁵⁸⁶ Michael Sletcher, “The Loyalty of Educators and Public Employees: Opposition to Loyalty Oaths in Twentieth-Century Massachusetts and the U.S. Supreme Court,” *Massachusetts Historical Review* 12 (2010): 38.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵⁸⁸ Foster, 183.

⁵⁸⁹ Foster, 8; N. William Newsom, “Teacher Loyalty Oaths and Related Issues,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 32, 3 (1954): 179.

Hiss (1950) and the Rosenbergs (1951), provoked fears and anxieties in the hearts and minds of many Americans. From 1947 to 1955, anticommunists used this palpable sense of fear to push their political agendas. Foster claims that few institutions or individuals “saw the practical wisdom of challenging dominant anticommunist orthodoxy.”⁵⁹⁰ Liberal Democrats and moderate Republicans, who despised anticommunists’ practices, accepted the basic assumption that communism was a relentless, evil, and alien ideology dedicated to destroying the American way of life. As a result of their political opportunism, anticommunists successfully equated their attacks with defending Americanism.⁵⁹¹

Anticommunists used their dominant political position to lobby state and federal governments for loyalty legislation and investigations. In their roles as molders of young minds, teachers became prime targets. Education historian Marjorie Murphy argues that, partly in response to more than one hundred teachers’ strikes for salary increases and better work conditions between 1946 and 1949, “tax conscious and the old patriotic coalitions pressured state legislatures” to pass or revise loyalty legislation as a means to remove militant teachers from schools.⁵⁹² According to political historian Donald Critchlow, quoting a 1955 report on grassroots conservative activism, there were 185 conservative or anticommunist organizations and 135 publications with the primary objective of fighting communism in all its forms.⁵⁹³

Foster identified three categories of critics. The first category was patriotic groups or organizations, such as, the Daughters (and Sons) of the American Revolution, the John

⁵⁹⁰ Foster, 195.

⁵⁹¹ Boyer, 94; Foster, 14-15.

⁵⁹² Murphy (1990), 184.

⁵⁹³ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman’s Crusade* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 70.

Birch Society, and the American Legion. These “vigilantes” or “super-patriots” focused on eradicating the “gullibility” of liberal educational policy and “Communist-inspired progressive education” from public schools.⁵⁹⁴ The second category was business and tax associations that sought to lower or eliminate the tax-based financial support for public schools. They believed that teachers “explicitly denounced American ideals and free enterprise while promoting socialism and communism in classroom practices.”⁵⁹⁵ The third category was politicians and political groups who accused the teaching profession of subversive and un-American activities.⁵⁹⁶ The majority of anticommunists and their allies came from either the Republican Party or Southern Democrats seeking to lower taxes, dismantle New Deal reforms, and limit government’s policing powers, mainly in terms of racial integration. Anticommunist groups collaborated with each other. They distributed one each other’s literature, spoke at each other’s events, and raised money for each other’s operations. Together, these anticommunist critics convinced the American public, school officials, and politicians of the need to insure the loyalty of America’s teachers.

On March 27, 1947, the federal government set a template for the states to follow. President Truman issued Executive Order 9835 creating the Federal Loyalty-Security Program. The program gave loyalty review boards the power to investigate and fire federal employees when “reasonable grounds” existed to believe that they were disloyal.⁵⁹⁷ From 1947 to 1956, more and more state governments crafted new or

⁵⁹⁴ Foster, 74.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid, 54.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid, 52.

⁵⁹⁷ Robert H. Ferrell, *Harry S. Truman: A Life* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1994) 301; The criteria for dismissal were expanded in 1951 and again in 1953. Between 1948 and 1958, the FBI ran initial reviews of 4.5 million government employees and, on an annual basis, another 500,000 applicants for government positions. It conducted 27,000 field investigations. Some 2700 employees were dismissed between 1947 and 1956. Thousands more

amended loyalty legislation.⁵⁹⁸ Loyalty laws concerning public employees, including teachers, increased from twenty-six to forty-two states and more than 2000 local jurisdictions, as well as, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and U.S. possessions.⁵⁹⁹ Loyalty oaths now included a negative declaration, or “a nondisloyalty oath,” that the teacher “is not, has not been, and will not knowingly become a member of” or connected with any subversive organizations that advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States.⁶⁰⁰ These laws also authorized legislators to conduct investigations into subversive influences in schools. Teachers who refused to answer questions faced dismissal and criminal penalties for contempt. Teachers could also be charged with perjury if the committees concluded they willfully made false statements. The Feinberg Law in New York State is a prime example of the newer loyalty legislation.

The Feinberg Law was passed in March 1949 by the New York legislature in order to purge communists and their sympathizers from the public service, especially from the teaching ranks. It prohibited employment of persons preaching the forceful overthrow of the government.⁶⁰¹ School authorities were required to designate officials to report on the loyalty of all teachers. Teachers were also required to submit to loyalty

resigned “voluntarily” before the program’s demise in the early 1960s. None of the discharged cases led to discovery of espionage. (Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945-1954* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 254-255.)

⁵⁹⁸ Newsom 174-175; J. K. Roach, “Loyalty Oaths for Teachers?” *The Clearing House* 34, 2 (1959): 105.

⁵⁹⁹ Sletcher, 36, 47, 54. M. J. Heale, *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 185; Douglas Honig and Laura Brenner, *On Freedom's Frontier: The First Fifty Years of the American Civil Liberties Union in Washington State* (Seattle, WA: American Civil Liberties Union, 1987), 25. Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1986), 116; Newsom, 174. As of 1958 “reliable, and cautious, estimates revealed” that loyalty oath requirements affected the employment of over thirteen and a half million Americans, or “1 in 5” employed persons. Professionals, industry workers, and government employees were “dependent upon their ability to meet some type of loyalty criteria” and “about 11,500 persons” had failed or refused to meet the requirement, or “1 in 2,500” employed persons. (Arval A. Morris, “Academic Freedom and Loyalty Oaths,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 28, 3 (1963): 496-497.)

⁶⁰⁰ Roach (October 1959), 105.

⁶⁰¹ “N.Y. Courts Ponder Feinberg Law Act Would Bar Teachers Belonging to Groups on Subversive List,” *The Harvard Crimson*, June 20, 1950, 1.

tests. Any refusal to cooperate with school officials constituted “prima facie evidence of disqualification for appointment to or retention of any office or position in the school system.”⁶⁰² The AFT, NEA, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) objected to the law by staging protests and pursuing legal challenges. They argued the “jammed through legislation” undermined “basic American principles.”⁶⁰³ In *Adler v. Board of Education of City of New York* (1952), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of loyalty oaths. In the majority opinion, Justice Sherman Minton stated “school authorities have the right and the duty to screen the officials, teachers and employees as to their fitness to maintain the integrity of the schools as a part of ordered society.” Minton concluded that government employment was a privilege and not a right.⁶⁰⁴

From 1953 to 1965, the Supreme Court heard several cases regarding the constitutionality and limitations of loyalty oaths and investigations. With the appointment of Earl Warren as Chief Justice in 1953, the Court favored the rights of the individual over the power of the state.⁶⁰⁵ Between 1956 and 1960, court decisions that limited the scope of loyalty laws focused primarily on due process, or the right to a fair and impartial hearing.⁶⁰⁶ They did, however, confirm the states’ right to dismiss public employees who refused to answer questions from investigation committees.⁶⁰⁷ According to *The Yale Law Journal*, “the next step in the extension of due process came with the application” of the vagueness and overbreadth doctrines. Between 1959 and 1964, the court stated that

⁶⁰² *The Harvard Crimson*, June 20, 1950, 1.

⁶⁰³ “School Board Get Red Ban Protests,” *New York Times*, September 16, 1949.

⁶⁰⁴ Morris 505; Newsom 177.

⁶⁰⁵ Sletcher, 49.

⁶⁰⁶ See *Slochower v. Board of Higher Education* (1956), *Speiser v. Randall* (1958), and *Nostrand v. Little* (1960) in “Notes and Comments: Loyalty Oaths,” *The Yale Law Journal* 77, 4 (1968): 747-748.

⁶⁰⁷ See *Beilan v. Board of Education, School District of Philadelphia* (1958) in William W. Brickman, “Academic Freedom: Past and Present,” *Journal of Thought* 3, 3 (July 1968): 157.

the negative loyalty oaths were too ambiguous and overreaching to be enforceable.⁶⁰⁸ In 1959, the court also constrained loyalty investigations by declaring that they must be “carefully limited in its scope to communism, and did not aim at academic freedom.”⁶⁰⁹ As a result of these decisions and legal support from the NEA, AFT, and ACLU, more than a thousand teacher dismissal cases dealing with “unAmerican” or “subversive” conduct in the classroom went to court from 1947 to 1965.⁶¹⁰ Despite the limitations imposed by the courts, their affirmation of the constitutionality of loyalty oaths and investigative powers of legislatures meant that teachers faced scrutiny of their political beliefs, professional lives, and private affairs from federal, state, and local officials.

Loyalty investigations signified grave threats to teachers in terms of the publicity they generated and the power of legislators to subpoena teachers and their personnel records. From 1947 to 1955, FBI agents, congressmen, state legislators, and school administrators launched numerous investigations into teachers’ professional, political, and personal lives in order to uncover communists in public schools.⁶¹¹ Tens of thousands of teachers faced invasive loyalty checks across the nation. In 1947, the California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities (1941-1970) compelled the Los Angeles Board of Education to submit all 30,000 teachers to loyalty checks.⁶¹² By 1949, Murphy argued that “growing fears of subversives in the classroom” sparked a “red hunt”

⁶⁰⁸ See *Sweezy v. New Hampshire* (1957) *Cramp v. Board of Public Instruction of Orange County, Florida* (1960) and *Baggett v. Bullitt* (1964) in “Notes and Comments: Loyalty Oaths.” (1968), 749-750.

⁶⁰⁹ See *Barenblatt v. United States* (1959), in Morris, 494.

⁶¹⁰ John Lightenberg, *Amicus Curiae Ray Elbert Parker v. Maryland* No. 11.297 US Court of Appeals 4th Circuit (1965), 1. Located in the AFT President’s Office Part 1 File Box 18 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁶¹¹ Blount (2004); Foster (2000); Graves (2009); Seth Rosenfeld, *The FBI’s War on Student Radicals and Reagan’s Rise to Power* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2012); Schrecker (1998).

⁶¹² Foster, 1. California Legislature, *Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 1948: Communist Front Organizations* (Sacramento, CA: The California Senate, 1948), 13-14. Accessed on April 12, 2015 from <https://archive.org/details/reportofsenatefa00calirich>.

for communist teachers.⁶¹³ Congressional investigations of public schools reached their height following the 1952 election, when Republicans gained control of Congress largely on the strength of grassroots organizing focused on anticommunism.⁶¹⁴ Between 1952 and 1953, three congressional committees held hearings in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, New York City, Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles.⁶¹⁵ In 1952, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS, 1951-1977) found that “there are yet many hundreds of teachers, who are Communists,” and who “radiate an influence much greater than their proportionate numbers.”⁶¹⁶ While the committees had no legal authority over educational policies or employment practices, their chairmen understood their power derived from public exposure. They could identify and question teachers with ties to communism. Once exposed, committee members believed these teachers would be dismissed or decertified by state or local authorities.⁶¹⁷ All three committee chairmen “understood the enormous political capital” and celebrity to be gained in anticommunist politics. Foster argues that McCarran, McCarthy, and Velde were regularly “quoted in the national press— radio stations clamored for their bombastic statements, and television

⁶¹³ Murphy (1990), 175.

⁶¹⁴ Critchlow, 39. Foster, 86.

⁶¹⁵ The three committees were House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC, 1938-1975) led by Harold Velde (R, Illinois), the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS, 1951-1977) led by Pat McCarran (D, Nevada) and William E. Jenner (R, Indiana), and the Senate Committee on Government Operation (SCGO) led by Joseph McCarthy (R, Wisconsin). With the help of the FBI, SISS emerged as Congress’s most powerful anti-communist body, surpassing both Senator McCarthy and the HUAC. SISS developed an alliance with the head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover. The FBI acted as an investigative and propagandist for SISS. As Michael J. Ybarra describes the FBI was “investigating suspects and furnishing leads, while the committee would launder information for the bureau, publicly pillorying suspected subversives against whom a court case could not be made.” (Christopher John Gerard, “A Program of Cooperation:” *The FBI, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Communist Issue, 1950-1956* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1993), i; Michael J. Ybarra, *Washington Gone Crazy: Senator Pat McCarran and the Great American Communist Hunt* (Hanover, NH: Steerforth Press, 2004), 547.)

⁶¹⁶ “Internal Security Investigation,” *Congressional Quarterly Almanac 1953, Ninth Edition, 08-316-08-324* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1954). Accessed on December 12, 2015 from <http://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/cqal53-1368926>.

⁶¹⁷ Foster, 89-90. Schrecker (1986), 9; Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 103.

networks eagerly covered their dramatic Congressional investigations.”⁶¹⁸ Metropolitan newspapers, such as, *New York Times*, covered the drama of uncovering “Red” teachers. National magazines, such as, *Time*, *Life*, *McCall’s*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier’s*, and *The Atlantic Monthly*, ran regular articles and special features on educational issues, including anticommunist criticism and loyalty investigations. Some articles were critical of teachers’ lack of Americanism while others defended teachers.⁶¹⁹

As a result of highly publicized congressional investigations, as well as state and local loyalty investigations, Foster argues that teachers worked under a “debilitating shadow of repression and mistrust.”⁶²⁰ In classrooms across the nation, teachers became “more cautious in action and conservative in methods.” As a result of the loyalty investigations between 1947 and 1955, hundreds of teachers were dismissed, including 380 teachers in New York City.⁶²¹ Historian Randall B. Woods noted that during this period, “an estimated 600 public school teachers and 150 college professors lost their employment, most because they had taken the Fifth Amendment before congressional or state committees—an action that essentially amounted to ending one’s teaching or academic career.”⁶²² Thousands more teachers were intimidated into naming names, silence, self-censorship, or resigning.⁶²³ As a result of these actions, many teachers lived

⁶¹⁸ Foster, 87.

⁶¹⁹ An example of an article critical of teachers’ Americanism see, “Editorial: If More Educators had Tackled Red Threat, There’d be no Hysteria Now,” *Saturday Evening Press*, April 15, 1952, 12. The editor argued that some teaching staffs, especially in large cities, have been infiltrated by foreign conspiracy to promote Communism and educators had not done enough to stop it. For an example of articles supportive of teachers and critical of anticommunist see, Arthur Morse, “Who’s Trying to Ruin our Schools,” *McCall’s*, October 1952, 26-27, 94, 102, 108. Morse identifies Allen Zoll as a leader in the attack on modern education who uses claims of communist infiltration into the public schools by disloyal teachers to push his political agenda to lower taxes.

⁶²⁰ Foster, 81.

⁶²¹ *Ibid*, 179.

⁶²² Randall B. Woods, *Quest for Identity: America Since 1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 37.

⁶²³ Foster, 145

in a state of constant anxiety fearing unwarranted dismissals, diminished status in their local communities, and loss of their professional integrity.

Beginning in 1954, anticommunism's dominant position in American politics began to fade. Foster argued that a series of events led to the decline: "McCarthy had been censured by the U.S. Senate, the Korean war had ended, the Rosenbergs had been executed, the Republicans controlled the White House, and Stalin was dead."⁶²⁴ The national press criticized the practices and motivations of leading anticommunists. On March 9, 1954, Edward Morrow broadcasted a *See It Now* special titled "A Report on Senator Joseph McCarthy" using the Senator's own words to criticize and contradict his claims and practices. Tens of thousands of positive responses flooded CBS, running 15 to 1 in favor of Murrow's criticism of McCarthy and his anticommunist supporters.⁶²⁵ In May 1954, Eric Sevareid, CBS' chief Washington, D.C. correspondent, speaking at the 1954 Convention of American Association of School Administrators (AASA), argued that anticommunism was in large part anti-intellectual and far more dangerous than any communist conspirators: "In the name of patriotism, these ugly forces seek, perhaps unwittingly, to destroy the essence of what the first American patriots fought to implant in their new land of liberty."⁶²⁶ Critchlow claims that liberal politicians effectively attacked anticommunists as dangerous extremists. They argued anticommunists' tactics and beliefs were more closely related to Nazism and totalitarianism than to American democratic values.⁶²⁷ Republican politicians distanced themselves from the more extreme

⁶²⁴ Foster, 179.

⁶²⁵ A.M. Sperber, *Murrow, His Life and Times* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 403–404; Boyer, 104; Val Adams, "Praise Pours in on Murrow Show," *New York Times*, March 11, 1954, 19.

⁶²⁶ Eric Sevareid, "Courage Versus Fear," *NEA Journal* 43, 5 (May 1954): 28.

⁶²⁷ Critchlow, 89-90.

anticommunist critics, such as, John Birch Society. They shifted their campaigns' focus to the importance of national security through building a strong military with first-strike capabilities.⁶²⁸ As a result of these changes in the political culture, 1955 to 1957 marked a respite in the intense anticommunist criticism directed at public schools and teachers. It also allowed the AFT and NEA to solidify political support for greater teacher autonomy.

After the launch of Sputnik on October 4, 1957, a new wave of anticommunist politics surfaced. However, anticommunists faced a more determined and organized opposition at the state and federal levels. Investigative committees found their efforts to uncover communists challenged by the Supreme Court, civil rights attorneys, and student activists. The Supreme Court under Earl Warren curtailed investigative committees' powers to punish witnesses. The court overturned contempt citations by HUAC and state committees, upheld the right of witnesses to refuse to testify, and reversed fourteen Smith Act convictions.⁶²⁹ These decisions meant that the anticommunists' most effective tactics were now unavailable to them. Teachers now had viable legal recourses to challenge and repel attacks by anticommunists. On the federal level, loyalty oaths and investigations came under attack by liberal political leaders.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, liberals supported by the NEA and AFT started to challenge the validity of loyalty oaths. In 1959, Senator John F. Kennedy called for the elimination of Title X, Section 1001(f) of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) that required loyalty oaths for students, researchers, and educators who received federal aid. Recipients had to swear that they did not advocate the overthrow of the U.S.

⁶²⁸ Critchlow, 107.

⁶²⁹ See *Watkins v. U.S.*; *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*; and *Yates v. U.S* as described in Sletcher, 49; Heale, 195–196.

government and had never belonged to a subversive organization.⁶³⁰ Kennedy described the loyalty oath requirement as “superfluous at best and discriminatory and subversive of the purpose of the Act at worst.”⁶³¹ Between 1959 and 1962, representatives from 153 education associations, student organizations, and universities protested the loyalty oath requirement. The loyalty oath section of the NDEA was repealed in 1962.⁶³² Supreme Court decisions, press criticism, and political attacks on anticommunists proved to be effective tools for teachers and others challenging state and federal loyalty investigations.

The declining power of anticommunists and loyalty legislation was exemplified by Florida’s attempt to investigate teachers. In 1956, the Florida Legislature Investigating Committee (FLIC) began to investigate un-American activities in public schools and universities. The FLIC’s primary purpose was to impede integration efforts by connecting civil rights organizations to communism.⁶³³ From 1956 to 1959, the FLIC relied on the usual anticommunist tactics of coercion, circumstantial evidence, guilt by association, hearsay, and intimidation. Civil rights lawyers and university professors turned the hearings into a forum to present their political agendas of equal rights and academic freedom.⁶³⁴ The NAACP slowed the FLIC’s anticommunist attacks with a series of court cases which ended with the Supreme Court overturning contempt charges in 1963.⁶³⁵

These successful challenges to the FLIC were replicated in other states as teachers used

⁶³⁰ Sletcher, 47; Heale 208; Richard H. Pells, *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 289; “Barden Defends School Oath Law,” *New York Times* (February 20, 1959); “Educators Oppose Loyalty Oath Law,” *New York Times*, April 30, 1959.

⁶³¹ John F. Kennedy, “The Loyalty Oath: An Obstacle to Better Education,” *AAUP Bulletin* 45, 1 (March 1959): 2.

⁶³² Wayne Urban, *More than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 187-189.

⁶³³ Graves, 1-2.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 52-54.

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*, xi, 71.

legal precedents to impede anticommunists and public forums to challenge repeal their attacks on teachers' professional autonomy.⁶³⁶

Anticommunists also failed to maintain public and media support. In 1959 and 1960, student activists held demonstrations that forced HUAC to postpone its hearings on public education in San Francisco. The reporting of protests was sympathetic to the students' concerns and criticized HUAC responses. HUAC produced the film *Operation Abolition* (1960) to discredit the student protesters. They contended that communist agitators initiated the protests in an effort to destroy the committee. The film was popular reaching an estimated 15 million people.⁶³⁷ The AFT, NEA, and others denounced the film as "full of distortions," anticommunist propaganda, and the "bias of its creators."⁶³⁸ In January 1962, HUAC chairman Walter admitted to the *US News and World Reports* that their film was contrived to represent demonstrators as communists.⁶³⁹ This incident coincided a larger shift in the political culture away from the anticommunists' politics of fear toward the liberal emphasis on civil rights. Kennedy's New Frontier and Johnson's Great Society programs helped to redefine Americanism as egalitarianism, or the

⁶³⁶ By 1959, the FLIC shifted the target of its investigation to the problem of "homosexuality spreading through state educational institutions." Graves, xii.

⁶³⁷ "The Investigation: Operation Abolition," *Time Magazine*, March 17, 1961.

⁶³⁸ "Film Review of *Operation Abolition* by HUAC" (1961). Located in the AFT President's Department Box 62, File 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; The National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education. "Operation Abolition: A Film Review," *Defense Bulletin* 89 (June 1961): 4. Reprinted from *ALA Bulletin*, May 1961: Also see two films produced to deconstruct HUAC "distortions" in *Operation Abolition*. The ACLU of Northern California, *Operation Correction* (1961) and Impact Films. *Autopsy on Operation Abolition* (1961) which were widely circulated on college campus in 1961 and used in campus discussion groups which were important bases for the growing student political activist movement. (Arthur Reading, *Radical Legacies: Twentieth-Century Public Intellectuals in the United States* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 217.). Greenberg concludes both films were effective in swaying the audience to accept their conclusions, but audiences seeing both films sways viewers to the beliefs of *Operation Correction*. (B.S. Greenberg, "Operation Abolition vs. Operation Correction," *Audio Visual Communication Review*, 11, 3 (1963): 40-46.).

⁶³⁹ J.E. Barr, "The School, The Teacher, and the Far Right," *CTA Journal* (San Francisco, CA: California Teachers Association, October 1962): 13.

assurance of equal opportunity for all Americans regardless of race, religion, or creed.⁶⁴⁰ Consistent criticism from the media and unabashed denouncements from prominent liberal politicians, activists, and organizations began a steady decline in HUAC's power beginning in the late 1950s and continued as the 1960s progressed.⁶⁴¹ On January 14, 1975, HUAC, called Internal Security Committee since 1969, was terminated.

Teachers as Anti-Communists, 1940-1947

Between 1947 and 1954, teachers and public schools made several concessions to anticommunists regarding regulations and procedures for hiring and firing teachers. The AFT and NEA strove to maintain a modicum of professional autonomy by establishing due process protections for teachers. To garner support these measures, the AFT and NEA represented teachers and their organizations as staunch anti-communists. Before, during, and after World War II, the AFT and NEA took proactive approaches regarding anticommunism to bolster the status of the teaching profession. They argued that teachers understood the threat of communist influence in the public schools. The AFT focused on building strong locals to repel anticommunist attacks. Leaders proclaimed that the AFT locals were and continued to be liberal leaders in combating communism in the teaching profession. The NEA took an institutional approach by establishing national commissions and committees dedicated to protecting teachers from unwarranted attacks and informing the public of the true motivations of anticommunist critics.

The professional organizations reiterated that if teachers were to be accepted as professionals then they needed to be able to police themselves by creating and enforcing

⁶⁴⁰ Critchlow, 92.

⁶⁴¹ Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 121-125.

policies for admission into and proper conduct within the profession. The first step was to remind the public and politicians that these organizations were on the forefront of anticommunist crusades. The AFT represented itself as leader in the fight against communism and union teachers as stalwart anticommunists. In 1949, Sidney Hook, philosophy chairman at NYU, declared that the AFT was one of the first groups in the United States to ban and expel communists.⁶⁴² At the height of anticommunist attacks in 1953, AFT President Carl Megel reminded teachers and the public of the AFT's long-standing, "unequivocal opposition to communism" and "communists' maneuvers" within the teaching profession.⁶⁴³ "Already in 1940 and 1941, long before the nation as a whole was aware of the dangers of communism, the AFT faced the issue squarely and took decisive action to thwart the attempts made by communist to gain a foothold in the AFT."⁶⁴⁴ The AFT passed resolutions banning communists from membership and expelled local affiliates, such as, the New York Teachers Union, that refused to comply with the ban. After all, because of the "important influence which teachers exert on the minds of their students, it was to be expected that the Communist would try, as one of their first steps, to gain control of a teacher organization as active and effective as was the AFT."⁶⁴⁵ The Detroit Federation of Teachers, Local 231, proclaimed their pride that the AFT was "one of first organizations that faced the communist problem."⁶⁴⁶ In this recitation of the AFT's anticommunist history, the AFT was showing that union teachers

⁶⁴² Sidney Hook, "What Shall We Do About Communist Teachers," *Saturday Evening Press*, September 10, 1949, 33.

⁶⁴³ "Teacher Union Head History Quiz" *Idaho Sunday Journal*, March 13, 1953. Located in the Carl J. Megel File Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁶⁴⁴ Carl J. Megel, *AFT Action on Communism* (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers, April 1953), 1.

⁶⁴⁵ Megel (April 1953), 1.

⁶⁴⁶ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, "DFT Resolution Against Communism Passed by AFT," *The Detroit Teacher* 11, 1, September 3, 1952, 1. Located in the Helen Bowers File Box 8 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

were not only aware of the threat communist posed to public schools and the teaching profession, but also that they had taken proactive steps through the AFT to curtail any influence communists could exert over the minds of impressionable young people. In other words, the teaching profession had and would continue to police itself.

The NEA focused instead on an institutional approach to anticommunism at the onset of World War II. In 1941, the NEA set up the Defense Commission to defend teachers and to gain support for public schools.⁶⁴⁷ It conducted investigations of cases with national significance in which educators were unfairly dismissed or under attack. They organized regional and national educator-lay person conferences that helped to build relationships with powerful community and national business and political leaders. They co-sponsored American Education Week with the Department of Justice and the American Legion, which brought national attention to the contributions of public schools and teachers made to the preservation of the American way of life.⁶⁴⁸ The Commission also orchestrated robust public relations campaigns. They published reports of investigations, pamphlets on dealing with criticism, information toolkits for school districts under attack. With the National School Public Relations Association (NSPRA), the Commission produced articles for NEA publications, metropolitan newspapers and national magazines, as well as providing content for radio and television coverage of public schools and teachers.⁶⁴⁹ The NEA believed that once the public knew the facts as presented in objective and rational manner they would side with the public schools and

⁶⁴⁷ Foster, 39.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid, 40-50.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid, 151-152.

teachers.⁶⁵⁰ Finally, the Commission also worked with the CTAF to lobby state legislatures to pass strong tenure laws. They recommended tenure laws be applied statewide; include a reasonable probation period for new teachers; limit dismissal to certain specified violations; incorporate detailed procedural guarantees against unfair dismissals, salary reductions, or reassignments; and provide assurance of continuous contracts for teachers who proved their competence. In short, the Defense Commission sought the freedom to teach without unwarranted censorship.⁶⁵¹ The work of the Defense Commission and CTAF efforts helped increase tenure laws from 5 states in 1938 to 32 states in 1955 covering 81% of teachers.⁶⁵²

The NEA's Commission on Professional Ethics (CPE) focused on setting ethical standards for setting up cooperative relationships among educators, administrators, and the community. Their approach was highlighted in their 1946 Code of Ethics. They prescribed that each teacher should avoid "partisan politics, sectarian religious views, or selfish propaganda" and "should be loyal to the school system, the state, and the nation, but should exercise his right to give constructive criticisms" while his "personal conduct should not needlessly offend the accepted pattern of behavior of the community in which he serves."⁶⁵³ This representation of a nonpartisan teacher dedicated to the common good and to community service reflects a pre-World War II ideal. It also asserted a new,

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid, 154.

⁶⁵¹See examples of strong tenure laws recommendations in Earl A. Johnson, "The Ruth Amen Case," *NEA Journal* 47, 5 (May 1958): 339; Richard Kennan, "Dismissal Procedures: Fair or Fearful?" *NEA Journal* 37, 9 (December 1948): 577; William R. Stover, "The WHAT and WHY of Tenure," *NEA Journal* 50, 3 (March 1961): 47-48. Specified violations leading to dismissal include: "immoral or unprofessional conduct, criminal syndication, dishonesty, incompetency, unfitness for service, physical or mental condition, persistent violation of refusal to obey, felony, or crime of moral turpitude" and "Refusal to answer questions" from by school boards and investigating committees of state and national governments about membership in subversive organizations. (Bass and Wolport (1963), 53.)

⁶⁵² Foster, 51.

⁶⁵³ National Education Association, "Code of Ethics for the Teaching Profession," in *NEA Handbook 1946-1947* (Washington D.C.: National Education Association, August 1946): 150.

more engaged professionalism for postwar teachers. Teachers had the right to be critical evaluators in order to improve schools. They had the responsibility to work collaboratively with administrators and communities to establish acceptable professional behaviors for teachers in and out of the classroom.

The NEA also addressed the issue of communists in the classroom and in professional organizations. The NEA wanted to avoid any association with communism. After many years of debate and compromise within the NEA regarding the fitness of communist to be members of professional organizations or public school teachers, the NEA decided to ban communists. At the 1949 annual convention, and reaffirmed in 1957 and 1961, the NEA passed a ban on communists: “Members of the Communist party bar themselves from the teaching profession. Communists may not join the National Education Association, nor should they be permitted to teach in American schools.”⁶⁵⁴ This resolution made it difficult for the NEA to support any teacher accused and suspected of being a communist once investigations began.⁶⁵⁵

The association of unionism with communism was difficult for the AFT to counter. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, many teachers were fearful of being perceived as communist agents, dupes, or fellow travelers avoided union membership. The NEA took advantage of these concerns to recruit teachers. NEA leaders avoided any association with militancy or labor activism.⁶⁵⁶ The NEA opposed union tactics, such as collective bargaining and strikes, as unprofessional activities and unions as

⁶⁵⁴ National Education Association. “Platform and Resolutions Atlantic City March 1957,” in *NEA Handbook, 1961-62* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1961), 49-55.

⁶⁵⁵ Foster, 188-189.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 193.

unprofessional association for teachers. The AFT countered NEA's criticism of unions and teachers' reluctance to join unions by arguing that the NEA was dominated by administrators who were more concerned with political compromises than meeting teachers' needs. These factors made it difficult for the AFT and the NEA to work together to oppose anticommunist attacks on teachers and the teaching profession. Yet, their efforts to re-present teachers as anticommunist stalwarts were well received by teachers and the public. These efforts placed teachers squarely in accord with the dominant political culture, in which any threat of communist infiltration needed to be eliminated immediately. The representation also helped their organizations and members to navigate and survive the height of anticommunist attacks. The next step was to convince the public of teachers' unwavering loyalty to the American way of life as an essential component of their professional ethics.

Teachers as Loyal Americans, 1947-1957

As anticommunism reached its height between 1947 and 1955, teachers and their organizations cautiously navigated criticism directed at them. As Foster argues, few people in the AFT or NEA were "prepared to stand and fight."⁶⁵⁷ Both organizations were much more prepared to defend teachers with their words than with their actions.⁶⁵⁸ They shied away from defending teachers suspected or accused of having communist ties. In 1952, an AFT resolved that the "union will not defend a teacher whose actions are subject to communist or other totalitarian control."⁶⁵⁹ Both organizations also advised teachers to cooperate with investigations and to take loyalty oaths. They did highlight the

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid, 19.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid, 194.

⁶⁵⁹ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231 (September 3, 1952), 1.

undeniable loyalty of the vast majority of teachers to the American way of life. After all, teachers dedicated their lives to educating generations of young people how to be good citizens who would uphold and defend Americanism.

The primary objective of the AFT and NEA during this period was to counter the negative effect of loyalty legislation on the autonomy of the teaching profession. Both argued that loyalty legislation meant non-educators and non-teachers could control who was admitted to and retained in the teaching profession. One of the core elements of professionalism was the autonomy over who trains for, gets to join, and remains in an occupation. If teachers surrendered the power to define who was a suitable teacher and who was a 'undesirable' teacher, then they would surrender a vital claim to teacher professionalism. The AFT and NEA represented loyalty investigations and oaths as inefficient, undemocratic, and unnecessary. They claimed that loyalty requirements only punished conscientious teachers who asserted their civil rights, while communists would readily comply with the rules to avoid detection. The AFT took an assertive discursive approach to represent teachers as community leaders in the fight against communism. Its primary strategy was to attack the motivation of anticommunists and the destructive nature of loyalty legislation. The NEA took a more measured discursive approach. They represented teachers as partners with the community. They relied on public relations and building alliances to neutralize anticommunists' attacks and loyalty requirements.

The assertive nature of the AFT discourse reflected their call for teachers to be leaders in the fight against communism and against unethical critics who helped to create a repressive climate for teachers. In 1955, Megel argued it was not enough for unions to expel communists and for teachers to denounce communism. Teachers needed to take the

lead in erasing communist influence from American society and “in securing better education for our students to advance democracy and combat communism.”⁶⁶⁰ After all, according to the AFT, teachers were the experts in the duties and responsibilities of American citizens. They also worked day-in and day-out to preserve and transmit the values embedded in the American heritage. These skills and experience made teachers the best available role models in their classrooms and communities for the vitality of the American way of life. According to the AFT, loyalty legislation represented a major obstacle for teachers assuming their proper roles as community leaders.

AFT leaders argued that loyalty legislations were undemocratic attempts by anticommunists to counter professional gains made in tenure laws, salary schedules, collective bargaining, and teachers’ rights. While the AFT had no issue with dismissing teachers for being members of the communist party or for advocating communism, they were concerned with the vague nature of loyalty requirements. In 1950, John Eklund declared: “A truly patriotic and democratic teacher must stand for something not just declare what he is **not**.” After all, the function of teaching was “to build for better citizenship” and “to serve the basic tenets of democracy.” Teachers could not live up to this function if they allowed “fear and prejudice” to enter the classroom.⁶⁶¹ In the same year, the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, Local 61 (SFFT) questioned loyalty laws:

Is there a clear depiction? Does a teacher have to testify against himself?
Are teachers guilty of association? How do loyalty oaths affect tenure,
academic freedom, and teachers’ workload? Does the present situation

⁶⁶⁰ Megel (March 3, 1955).

⁶⁶¹ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, “Eklund says Oaths are Negative,” *The Detroit Teacher* 9, 4, December 11, 1950, 3. Located in the Helen Bowers File Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

require legislation? What about the precept that an individual is innocent before presume guilty?⁶⁶²

To AFT leaders, these laws seemed designed by anticommunist groups, right-wing politicians, or school officials to dismiss union teachers they deemed unsatisfactory or troublesome despite their performance in the classroom. It was doubtful any oath or investigation made anyone loyal. Instead, as Hullfish noted, these oaths and investigations were used as weapons against what anticommunist considered non-conformist teachers.⁶⁶³ The AFT's primary solution was to use collective bargaining to clarify the requirements for hiring teachers, promotion, and specific reasons for dismissal. To bolster their negotiating positions, the AFT attacked leading anticommunist leaders, organizations, and institutions as petty tyrants who denigrated the American values of justice, liberty, and equality.

AFT leaders claimed that the attackers' loyalty that was truly in question. AFT leaders argued that the "true" purpose behind these attacks was to oppose taxes for public schools and impose the attackers' illiberal versions of Americanism on students. In 1951, *The Detroit Teacher* claimed that teachers were attacked "by paid slanderers."⁶⁶⁴ In 1952, Dr. John W. Nason, President of Swathmore College (1940-1953), observed that teachers were being "intimidated by 'pressure groups' seeking to impose their views on the nation's educational system." He reminded *The Detroit Teacher's* readers that the "overwhelming majority of teachers are loyal, courteous citizens," and declared that the imposition of "loyalty oaths on them is disgraceful." This intimidation of teachers had an

⁶⁶² San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61, "Study of State Loyalty Oaths Leads to Many Questions," *Special Membership Meeting* (October 12, 1950). Located in the San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61 Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁶⁶³ Hullfish (1953), 12.

⁶⁶⁴ "Schools under Attack," *The Detroit Teacher*, September 5, 1951, 11.

adverse effect on both the children and the profession. “When teachers are intimidated the children suffer. You get few good student going into the profession.”⁶⁶⁵ In 1953, Megel affirmed: “There is no more loyal group than teachers. To single out teachers or any other group of society, is intolerable discrimination.”⁶⁶⁶ In other words, there was no need for loyalty oaths or investigations into the teaching profession. AFT leaders purposely represented teachers as conscientious professionals fighting to preserve cherished American liberal values of individual freedoms against the selfish desires of dictatorial individuals seeking to impose their illiberal version Americanism on both the teaching profession and the children they taught.

Beginning in 1952, AFT locals and national leaders took strong stances against HUAC and McCarthyism. Again, the AFT focused its attacks on the motivations and practices. In 1952, *The Detroit Teacher* called the accusations by HUAC of “200 communist teachers in Detroit schools...an injustice to teachers.”⁶⁶⁷ They argued that AFT must push for due process protections for teachers.⁶⁶⁸ In 1953, Megel was “gravely concerned” over HUAC inquiries and abhorred the “techniques used by congressional committees investigating the loyalty of teachers.”⁶⁶⁹ At the 36th AFT Conference in 1953, the AFT passed several resolutions condemning McCarthyism and outlining legal protection for teachers. The resolutions called for procedural safeguards guaranteeing the constitutional due process rights for witnesses and for a Congressional investigation into

⁶⁶⁵ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, “Dr. John W. Nason Cites ‘Intimidation.’” *The Detroit Teacher* 10, 7, March 12, 1952, 9. Located in the Helen Bowers File Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁶⁶⁶ Megel (March 11, 1953).

⁶⁶⁷ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, “False Suspicion,” *The Detroit Teacher* 10, 6, February 11, 1952, 2. Located in the Helen Bowers File Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

⁶⁶⁹ Megel (March 13, 1953).

the bigotry, suspicion, and fear employed by Senator McCarthy and the members of HUAC.⁶⁷⁰ Following McCarthy's censure in 1954 and death in 1957, the AFT continued to attack HUAC as a undemocratic legislative body, calling for its abolition 1963.⁶⁷¹ By demanding political accountability for McCarthy, HUAC, and anticommunists on the grounds of protecting due process for teachers, the AFT positioned itself and union teachers as a liberal force in the political culture.

The NEA took a more measured approach to anticommunists. Its leaders represented the NEA as an objective, neutral, and judicious arbiter of the truth. They wanted to get the facts out to the public through sound reporting. The goal was to build support from the public for teachers so the two groups could work cooperatively toward a common cause.⁶⁷² Through their national commission and committees, the NEA observed critics, compiled dossiers, and published reports on anticommunist activists. In 1947, the

⁶⁷⁰ Resolution 5 called for "procedural safeguards guaranteeing rights to witness before Congress," including the rights to council, to inspect adversarial testimony, to cross-exam witness, to present witness with evidence for own defense, and forbidding adverse evidence or testimony except for concurring rebuttal. Resolution 12 affirmed "the security of the nation against communists and fascists can properly be maintained with due regard for rights and liberties guaranteed to all Americans" and called upon "Congress to conduct an inquiry for the purpose of eliminating abuses and injustices of McCarthyism." American Federation of Teachers' Resolution 35 charged HUAC with exaggerating the extent of communist conspiracy that "implicated innocent men and women" and decried the "dismissal of competent educators." (American Federation of Teachers, *Resolutions from 36th AFT Conference* (August 17-21, 1953), 3, 6. Located in the Carl Megel File Box 4 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.)

⁶⁷¹ At the AFT 43rd Convention (1959), two more resolutions passed that addressed HUAC investigations contributing to the "increasing climate of fear and intimidation" that harmed the profession and teachers. Resolution 49 "Academic Freedom and HUAC" stated "the freedom from fear is an indispensable condition for effective teaching in a democracy" and the "real threat to democratic education" is the fear that "the house committee inspires." It also condemned "the undemocratic and prejudicial procedures" used by HUAC investigations as a serious disruption to American education. Resolution 27 "Democratic Process" charged HUAC with conducting "trials of witnesses accused of no crime." (American Federation of Teachers (August 17-21, 1953), 2-3.) Between 1959 and 1961, HUAC investigations in San Francisco faced angry protests from university students, challenges by ACLU to validity of HUAC evidence, and hostile witnesses who publicly denounced the committee. The AFT joined the criticism wholeheartedly. (San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61, "A Question on Division of Politics" *The Federation Reporter* 8, 1 (September 1959). Located in the San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61 File Box 8 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.) Maurice Englander, the Second Vice President of the California Federation of Teachers (CFT), praised San Francisco teachers who defied and refused to obey the committee. These brave teachers brought to light the "shabby legacy of McCarthy era." (Maurice Englander, "Arbitrary Ruling Ends a Career: Case Number 200," *The California Teacher* 13, 1 (September-October 1960). Located in the AFT President's Office Part 1 File Box 70 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.)

⁶⁷² The National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, *An Educated People Moves Freedom Forward: Safeguarding the Advance* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1957), 1-6.

NEA understood that teachers were vulnerable to sensationalistic criticism that could provoke community fears and new legislation.⁶⁷³ To counter the destructive nature of anticommunist criticism, the NEA argued that the “organized profession must make itself heard... It is the privilege and the duty of every teacher to keep himself informed, watchful, and interested in the state legislation program.”⁶⁷⁴ The Defense Commission took the lead within the NEA in refuting anticommunist criticism.

By 1953, the NEA felt a strong, well-funded Defense Commission would help the teaching profession police itself, keep teachers informed, and arouse the public to help schools fight off unfounded attacks. While admitting the possibility of a few subversive teachers, the NEA contended that it was their job, as a professional organization, to deal with them.⁶⁷⁵ Richard Kennan, chairman of the Defenses Commission, reminded the public that it was the teaching profession’s job “to investigate alleged subversive teaching and to expose any teacher whose attention is focus to be inimical to the best interest of our country.”⁶⁷⁶ It was the teaching profession’s job to take “deliberate, forthright steps to challenge untrue statements and false propaganda” that was “increasingly becoming the stock in trade of the enemies of public education” who were “accusing teachers and the teaching profession of being Communistic or un-American.” Kennan reminded teachers that the Commission’s major emphasis was “not on the defense of teachers as its was on defense of democracy thru education.” After all, “it was far greater importance to establish a reputation of integrity in defending only the right rather than defending

⁶⁷³ Madaline Kinter Remmers, “The Legal Status of the Public-School Teacher,” *NEA Journal* 36, 4 (April, 1947): 303.

⁶⁷⁴ Remmers (1947), 304.

⁶⁷⁵ Foster, 9.

⁶⁷⁶ Robert Kennan, *Does the Teaching Profession need a Stronger Defense Commission?: A Report of Stewardship* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1953), 5.

educators whether right or wrong.”⁶⁷⁷ While praising the Defense Commission for protecting teachers against anticommunists, they also reminded teachers that they needed to be seen to act like good Americans if they wanted NEA support.

An important NEA strategy was to build alliances among educators and community leaders to help mitigate anticommunists attacks. The Defense Commission sought to cooperate with laypersons to cut through the confusion, fear, and suspicion created by anticommunists so that “our American Way of Life is to be maintained and advanced in the years ahead.”⁶⁷⁸ In 1954, the Defense Commission sponsored a series of regional educator-layperson conferences titled, “*Public Education in a Dangerous Era.*” Part of the impetus of these conferences was to “emphasize the fact that public education itself is being threatened.” While acknowledging the need to be “on guard against the Communists and against Communist activities designed to damage or destroy us,” NEA alleged that many of the attacks initiated by anticommunists were “aimed deliberately at the destruction of the whole or part of our American system of public education.”⁶⁷⁹ Robert A. Skaife, Field Secretary for the Defense Commission, argued that these authors were “self-appointed protectors of the public interest have succeeded in creating a climate of hysteria” that resembled the nascent stage of totalitarianism.⁶⁸⁰ If teachers and the

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid, 22-23.

⁶⁷⁸ Richard Barnes Kennan, “Public Education in a Dangerous Era from the Viewpoint of a Member of the Teaching Profession,” in *Proceedings of Oklahoma Conference on Public Education in a Dangerous Era* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1954), 11.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid, 5-6.

⁶⁸⁰ Robert A. Skaife, “Public Education at the Crossroads,” in *Proceedings of Oklahoma Conference on Public Education in a Dangerous Era* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1954), 12.

NEA did not counter these arguments from a noisy minority with indisputable facts, constructive criticism, and professional vigor, then Americanism could be in trouble.⁶⁸¹

Again, the NEA offered a measured response to anticommunists' attacks on teachers. While decrying the climate of fear provoked by anticommunist critics, the NEA accepted the underlying assumptions that schools were staffed by a few communists who needed to be removed and the inculcation of patriotism was a central function of teaching that needed to be emphasized.⁶⁸² They also reminded politicians, critics, and the public that a free, universal, nonsectarian system of public schools was what keep Americans free, strong, and safe. For schools to function properly they needed professional teachers who understood threat of communism and knew how to convey American democratic values. Yet they stopped short of the AFT's demands of political accountability for anticommunist critics. While the NEA devoted a considerable amount of their energy countering these critics, the most powerful anticommunists (Senators McCarthy of SCGO, McCarren of SISS, Velde of HUAC, and FBI chief Hoover) were virtually absent in their reports.⁶⁸³ The NEA's institutional focus on building political alliances to facilitate their lobbying efforts may explain this absence. If the NEA wanted the

⁶⁸¹ Mrs. Joe Hurt, "Group One," in *Proceedings of Oklahoma Conference on Public Education in a Dangerous Era* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1954), 18.

⁶⁸² During *Public Education in a Dangerous Era* conferences, the NEA identified two prominent and repeated solutions to anticommunist attacks. One solution was "a greater stress be placed on the teaching of an appreciation of the American Heritage." It was important that teachers instill in American students, seemingly trapped in "an air of cynicism, even disillusionment," with love of freedom and of country" primarily through social science courses and patriotism-inducing activities. (Standifer Keas, "Group Two," in *Proceedings of Oklahoma Conference on Public Education in a Dangerous Era* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1954), 19; Rabbi L. Elliot, "Group II: The Schools and Our Fundamental Freedom," in *Proceedings of First National Conference on Public Education in a Dangerous Era* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1955), 17.)

⁶⁸³ This editorial and research pattern continue throughout the second half of the Baby Boom Era (1957-1964). The FBI, HUAC, or SISS were mentioned in reference to incorporating their publications into instructional materials in the public schools. They also published a guest editorial by J. Edgar Hoover in February 1962 on dangers of communism and an "uninformed citizenry" to the American enterprise. (J. Edgar Hoover, "Guest Editorial: A Two Edged Sword," *NEA Journal* 51, 2 (February 1962): 31.)

government to respect the role of public schools and educators played in preserving the American way of life, then the NEA needed to respect legislators' and government agents' legitimate exercise of their institutional power. With the NEA's prominent lobbying position in Washington, D.C. and state capitals, its leaders saw little benefit to criticizing elected officials who were pursuing the constitutional duties of their offices. The NEA positioned itself in the center of the American political culture.

Teachers as Defenders of the American Way of Life, 1957-1965

Between 1957 and 1965, successful challenges to anticommunists demonstrated to the AFT and NEA that they no longer needed to surrender the professional autonomy of the teachers they represented. In fact, they had powerful political allies both groups could rely on to defend the teaching profession from unwarranted attacks. Following the launch of Sputnik on October 4, 1957, and between the signing into law of the NDEA on September 2, 1958, and the ESEA on April 11, 1965, the AFT and NEA had a national platform to lay claim to and confirm teachers' professional autonomy. Public schools and teachers were alternatively blamed for following behind the Soviets and presented as the solution to catching up and surpassing the Soviets. The AFT and NEA shifted from the earlier defensive representations of teachers as loyal anticommunists toward more affirmative representations of teachers as patriotic defenders of the American way of life. Both organizations sought to eradicate anticommunists' power in public schools and to expand teachers' professional autonomy over employment, pedagogy, instruction, and curriculum. The NEA concentrated on lobbying state legislatures for stronger tenure laws for educators. The AFT focused on collective bargaining agreements with local school districts to secure due process protections for teachers. Both organizations promoted

academic freedom as essential to securing teachers' professional autonomy and strengthening the American way of life.⁶⁸⁴

Academic freedom was the consistent theme in NEA publications and policies during the Baby Boom era.⁶⁸⁵ Before 1957, the NEA position on academic freedom was tempered by the dominance of anticommunism. Many teachers were wary of engaging with controversial, unpopular topics or employing innovative pedagogy. They turned to self-censorship to avoid criticism and dismissal.⁶⁸⁶ While the NEA promoted academic freedom, they conceded that the "opinions and customs of the community" limited their claims for autonomy over instruction and curriculum.⁶⁸⁷ They reminded teachers that

⁶⁸⁴ In the "1940 Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure," the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), an affiliate of the NEA, crafted a widely recognized statement on academic freedom applicable to university professors and K-12 teachers. They argued that the "common good depends upon the free search for truth and its free exposition." They defined academic freedom as a teachers' right to: (1) "full freedom in research and in the publication;" (2) "freedom in the classroom in discussing their subject, but they should be careful not to introduce into their teaching controversial matter which has no relation to their subject;" (3) be "free from institutional censorship or discipline" when "they speak or write as citizens," but that professors and teachers must insure that "at all times be accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint, should show respect for the opinions of others, and should make every effort to indicate that they are not speaking for the institution." The AAUP concluded that tenure was the best means to achieve academic freedom. They defined tenure as written agreement that the "precise terms and conditions" of employment and due process provisions for termination of tenure. (American Association of University Professors, "1940 Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure." (1940), 14-15. Accessed on May 3, 2014 from *American Association of University Professors.org* at <https://www.aaup.org/file/1940%20Statement.pdf>.)

⁶⁸⁵ In their 1946 platform regarding teachers, the NEA stated academic freedom was "a public safeguard" and "the surest guarantee of orderly change and progress." The first three planks dealt directly with the rising tide of criticism facing teachers at the onset of the Baby Boom era: "[1] The teacher's conduct should be subject only to such controls as those to which other responsible citizens are subjected. [2] Teachers should have the privilege of presenting all points of view without the danger of reprisal by school administrations or by pressure groups in the community. [3] Teachers should have the right of protection from intimidation thru fear of loss of position, reduction of salary, loss of opportunities for advancement, or deprivation of their usual assignments, responsibilities, and authorities. (National Education Association, "Platform," in *NEA Handbook 1946-1947* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August 1946), 154.)

⁶⁸⁶ Foster, 1, 99.

⁶⁸⁷ In 1948, the NEA's Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom recognized that academic freedom often depended on community outreach and the professionalism of teachers: "Building community attitudes that provide a climate of justice, tolerance, and fair play favorable for freedom in teaching is a positive duty of educational leaders. Public understanding can grow under careful planning. Ultimately academic freedom depends upon the skill, preparation, ethics, scholarship, and good judgment of the individual teachers. The history of every profession has been colored with persecution so long as the profession contained incompetent and irresponsible practitioners. Through technical knowledge, research, scientific attitudes, and human understanding a profession builds prestige and public confidence. No teacher is entitled to academic freedom simply because he is a teacher, but he does deserve freedom when he possesses the recognized skills and capacities of his profession. A wise teacher respects the opinions and customs of the community; he seeks to lead, not to push, the people toward high social goals and behavior; he deserves public confidence because he deals ethically with the public. (Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom (1948),

academic freedom did not mean one could “parade pet prejudices” or “push partisan or doctrinal ideas.”⁶⁸⁸ No teacher or self-appointed critic had the right to impose their version of Americanism on his or her students. If teachers wanted to be professionals, then they needed to work with community leaders and be sensitive to local sensibilities. Teachers had to account for the political sensibilities of school officials who had the power to hire and fire them. Finally, teachers had to develop public confidence in their technical expertise and professional ethics by demonstrating an inclination to cooperate respectfully with all the stakeholders in the public schools.⁶⁸⁹ The NEA reminded teachers they were only one part of a larger cooperative system.

After 1957, the NEA joined the AFT in promoting a dynamic version of academic freedom.⁶⁹⁰ Both groups agreed that academic freedom was essential to the survival of the American way of life. The AFT argued that teachers’ academic freedom needed to be protected from political machinations of anticommunists and businessmen politicians on school boards. In 1958, Robert Butler of AFT Local 771 in Oakland California, represented teachers as public intellectuals dedicated to the “spirit of liberalism.” The ideal of the “Teacher-Intellectual” was a creator who made learning flourish, taught “young people what the possibilities of life are,” and led “his” students “out of the chaos

23.) The NEA’s 1952 Code of Ethics kept the prohibition on partisan politics and expectations of loyalties. “The teaching profession occupies a position of public trust” which requires “friendly, cooperative, and constructive” relationships. A teacher’s obligations included maintaining “an objective point of view” and working “to improve education in the community and to strengthen the community’s moral, spiritual, and intellectual life,” (“New NEA Code of Ethics: A Guide for Teachers,” *NEA Journal* 41, 6 (September 1952): 372.)

⁶⁸⁸ Hullfish (1953), 3-4.

⁶⁸⁹ Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom (1948), 23; “New NEA Code of Ethics: A Guide for Teachers,” (1952), 372.

⁶⁹⁰ The National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, “Attacks on Schools and Problem of Concern for Teachers,” *NEA State of the Nation Bulletin No. 2* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, March 1955): 1; The National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, “Attacks on Schools and Problem of Concern for Teachers,” *NEA State of the Nation Bulletin No. 4* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, March 1957): 1.

of ignorance.” The public schools needed “his voice” and “his active guidance” in the creation of curricular content, instruction materials, and employment policies.⁶⁹¹ The AFT’s case for academic freedom focused on teachers’ roles in and out of the classroom. They argued that only a teacher-only union with collective bargaining rights could effectively protect teachers’ academic freedom from calculating politicians, dictatorial administrators, and anticommunist critics. Using legally binding collective bargaining agreements, the AFT could mandate administrative support and legal recourse to counter the unfair charges lobbed at teachers by anticommunist critics of academic freedom.

The NEA championed teaching controversial issues, especially teaching about communism, as necessary for a proper democratic education for the Cold War. In the January 1957 *California Teachers Association (CTA) Journal*, the CTA’s Commission on Educational Policy argued that life in the Cold War demanded “an ability constantly to deal with the controversial; therefore, the school must offer experiences to assist students in learning to handle issues intelligently.” The teacher was “the most important member of the school staff in the actual handling of controversial issues.” The key tasks for the teacher were to select age-appropriate topics, provide impartial materials that covered all points of view, allow students to practice freely discussing the issues, and ultimately “to help students arrive at conclusion in the light of all available evidence.” For the CTA, this was a matter of academic freedom since the “freedom of the student to learn is dependent

⁶⁹¹ Robert Butler, “Intellectual Freedom...Can it Be Yours?: The School Board and the Intellectual,” *The Oakland Teacher* 16, 2, October 1958, 1; Also see, Vincent O’Connell, “Teaching in the Labor Movement,” in *AFT 42nd Convention Minutes*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 25-29, 1958), 64-65. Located in the Mary Herrick File Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

upon the freedom of his teacher to teach.”⁶⁹² The NEA’s case for academic freedom remained focused on teachers’ roles in the classroom. They wanted teachers to pursue this professional goal by cooperating with administrators and policymakers while remaining free from interference from cynical non-educators.

For the AFT and NEA, the individual freedoms at the center of the American way of life and guaranteed by the Bill of Rights were best preserved by encouraging free inquiry for all students and protecting the academic freedom of teachers. Given the dire state of the world, students needed professionals who could bring a critical-analytical approach to teaching. With expert guidance from professional teachers, these students would understand their responsibilities as citizens in defending America from communist influence and infiltration. To make their case for free inquiry and academic freedom, the NEA joined the AFT to go on the offensive against anticommunist critics. They worked to discredit anticommunist critics as extremists and propagandists. They saw the unethical tactics and hyperbolic rhetoric of anticommunists as destructive to academic freedom. They stressed the “Machiavellian” tactics used by anticommunist groups, such as emotional appeals, idle gossip, smear campaigns, witch hunts, and unrelenting harassment to undermine the public trust in public schools, to abuse educators central to the success of schools, and to bully teachers into eschewing their professional duties.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹² Commission on Educational Policy of the California Teachers Association, “Controversial Issues in the Public Schools,” *CTA Journal* (San Francisco, CA: California Teachers Association, January 1957): 16-18.

⁶⁹³ C. Winfield Scott, “Criticism of Schools Continue: Here are Some Ways to Deal with Them,” *NEA Journal* 46, 5 (May 1957): 340-341; Theodore H. Copeland, “Let’s Declare Open Season on Grippers,” *NEA Journal* 46, 5 (September 1957): 400; Earl H. Hanson, “Uses and Misuses of Criticism,” *NEA Journal* 48, 7 (October 1959): 35-36; Frank W. Hubbard, “You Never Stand Alone: Suggestions for Meeting the Attacks on Education,” *NEA Journal* 47, 3 (March 1958): 400; Robert Lewis Shayon, “Let the Debate Be Honest!” *NEA Journal* 48, 2 (February 1959): 16-18; Stephen M. Corey, “The Growing Edge,” *NEA Journal* 48, 3 (March 1959): 48-50; Long Beach Federation of Teachers Local 1263, “Shades of Sherlock! More Straight Thinking, No Redism or Deadism” *The Long Beach Teacher* (1962). Located in the Mary Herrick Files in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Jennelle Moorhead, “Guest Editorial:

The AFT portrayed anticommunists as anti-union and anti-tax “super-patriots.” They deliberately created a climate of fear to discredit teachers’ professional autonomy, undermine the support for public schools, and characterize teacher unions as communist fronts.⁶⁹⁴ In doing so, they besmirched the groups and individuals fighting hardest “to provide the strongest spirit of Americanism in schools.”⁶⁹⁵ AFT leaders maintained that anticommunists’ “extreme ideologies” were “incompatible with our American way of life.”⁶⁹⁶ They also condemned their tactics and ideas as fundamentally undemocratic and prejudicial. The AFT identified HUAC as the primary culprit in damaging the status and autonomy of the teaching profession. Teachers’ academic freedom needed to be protected from the arbitrary whims of ultraconservative extremists and from cowardice of weak-willed administrators if the public schools and its teachers were to preserve and extend the American way of life for future generations.⁶⁹⁷

The NEA and their allies declared that anticommunists wanted to impose their own version of Americanism. Jack Nelson, journalist at the *Atlanta Constitution* and coauthor of *The Censors and the Schools*, claimed that between 1958 and 1963 ultraconservative groups carried out concentrated campaigns in state legislatures to

The Danger of Extremism,” *NEA Journal* 54, 6 (September 1965): 17; *For the Teacher: Special Risks, Special Reasons* (Oakland, CA: Oakland-Alameda Federation of Teachers Local 771, 1965), 1-2. Located in the San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61 File Box 9 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁶⁹⁴ O’Connell, 64; Mary Herrick, *AFT 43rd Convention Report of Committee on Professional Rights of Teachers* (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers, 1959), 1-2. Located in the Mary Herrick files in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; “A Question on Division of Politics,” (1959); Monroe (1961); The Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, “John Birch Society Expunges Church Association,” *The Detroit Teacher* 21, 4 December 1961, 4. Located in the AFT President’s Office Files Box 70, Folder 27 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Long Beach Federation of Teachers, Local 1263 (January 1962); Megel, (August 21, 1962), 54.

⁶⁹⁵ United Teachers of Los Angeles Local 1021, “AFT Accepts Retraction Committee Head Expresses,” *The Union Teacher* 14, 3 January 1962. Located in the Mary Herrick Files in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁶⁹⁶ *For the Teacher* (1965), 5.

⁶⁹⁷ Herrick (1959), 3; Englander, September-October 1960); American Federation of Teachers, “Film Reviews of *Operation Abolition* by HUAC.” (February 1961). Located in the AFT President’s Office Files Box 1, Folder 13 and Box 62, Folder 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University; Herriman (August 22, 1962); Oakland-Alameda local 771 (1965), 2-4.

censor textbooks and fire “progressive revolutionaries.” These propagandists argued that the United States was “losing the Cold War, largely because distorted history texts have indoctrinated students with un-American ideas” that paralleled “the Communist line.”⁶⁹⁸ In 1965, Jennelle Moorhead, President of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, claimed that these anticommunist extremists were “dangerous foes” to free public schools and a free nation. These foes were intolerant of the cultural and political diversity that was “the lifeblood of democracy and freedom.” They wanted to insure loyalty by compulsion and indoctrinate students in the “deadening conformity” to their own sterile ideas by stamping out dissent rather than support a nonsectarian public education based on the “freedom to teach and to learn” that liberated students’ minds and promoted “independent thinking.”⁶⁹⁹

The AFT and NEA challenged the legitimacy of their educational criticism and undermined their claims for political power. The NEA utilized loaded terms, such as indoctrination, propaganda, extremism, and demagoguery, to define anticommunism because of their popular association with totalitarianism, fascism, and communism. NEA leaders argued that these propagandists and extremists associated everything they hated or feared with communism and demanded teaching “love of God and Country” above all

⁶⁹⁸ Jack Nelson, “Special Feature on Censorship of Textbooks: What is the Problem?” *NEA Journal* 53, 3 (March 1964): 19-20. Also See, Mark Van Doren, “Education for Survival IV: Freedom to Use the Mind,” *NEA Journal* 49, 7 (October 1960): 10-12; Arthur I. Gates, “Johnny Reads Better Today Than He did Twenty Years Ago,” *NEA Journal* 50, 6 (September 1961): 21-22; H. Harry Giles, “Education for Survival: Intellectual Freedom,” *NEA Journal* 50, 3 (March 1961): 10-12; Ruth W. Gregory, “The Bookshelf: Readings on Book Selection and Intellectual Freedom,” *NEA Journal* 51, 2 (February 1962): 32; Donald L. Ayres, “Special Feature on Censorship of Textbooks: What Can the Teacher Do?” *NEA Journal* 53, 3 (March 1964): 24; Owen Love, “Special Feature on Censorship of Textbooks: Legal Safeguards for Teachers,” *NEA Journal* 53, 3 (March 1964): 26; Richard H. Rovere, “Editorial: The Patriotic Dissenters,” *NEA Journal* 54, 2 (February 1965): 31; Moorhead, (September 1965): 17; Cecil Driver, “All for One, One for All,” *NEA Journal* 54, 8 (November 1965): 43.

⁶⁹⁹ Giles, 11; Moorhead, 17;

else.⁷⁰⁰ In doing so, they were helping communists' efforts to destroy Americanism by replicating Soviet counter-dissident controls and undermining educators' "commitment to a free society—to individual dignity, to personal liberty, to equality of opportunity."⁷⁰¹ To bolster their counterattacks on anticommunists, the NEA promoted teachers' constructive roles in creating public schools that reinforced a truer version of Americanism.

In contrast to anticommunist extremists, the NEA and AFT represented teachers as neutral arbiters of truth. Teaching students to distinguish between propaganda and facts was a Cold War priority. Central to nurturing this ability was safeguarding academic freedom for teachers and free inquiry for students. At the AFT's 43rd Convention in 1958, they resolved that "freedom for fear and intimidation" were indispensable conditions" for effective teaching in a democracy."⁷⁰² The AFT's solution was securing job security for all teachers through tenure, collective bargaining, and freedom to select a professional organization.⁷⁰³ In 1961, Roland Upton, superintendent of Olympia, Washington, claimed that teachers could "assure survival of the American way, as well as the fundamental beliefs on which it is founded" if they were "free to teach the truth," presented the facts objectively, and scorned the "mere flag waving" of "demagogues."⁷⁰⁴ The NEA argued that teachers must be able to help their students become critical readers of propaganda and astute interpreters of its deceptive meanings. In 1962, D. W. Tieszen, Dean of Central Missouri College and member of the Joint Committee of the American Legion and the NEA, called for teachers to engage in a "factual, straightforward analysis" of the

⁷⁰⁰ Nelson, 20, 21. Also see, Roland H. Upton, "We Hold These Truths," *NEA Journal* 50, 4 (April 1961): 26.

⁷⁰¹ Education Policies Commission, "The Central Purpose of American Education," *NEA Journal* 50, 6 (September 1961): 13. Also See, Giles, 11.

⁷⁰² Herrick (1959), 2. Also see, Herriman, 96; Megel and Rueter, (July 1, 1960), 2-8.

⁷⁰³ Megel and Rueter, Jr., 8.

⁷⁰⁴ Upton, 26. Also see, John W. Studebaker, "Contrasts in Education," *NEA Journal* 37, 4 (April 1948): 420.

history and doctrines of communism as the best way to expose its inherent fallacies.

“Among people free to think for themselves, nothing is so effective as simple truth.”⁷⁰⁵

The representation of teachers as impartial experts had three purposes. First, AFT and NEA leaders wanted to present teachers and anticommunists as diametrically opposed. Anticommunists were self-important rabble-rousers who wanted to impose their dogmatic version of Americanism on the public schools. Teachers were committed professionals devoted to helping students to learn how to expose harmful propaganda and to uncover the truth. Second, they sought to portray teachers as experts in choosing, applying, and evaluating subject matter, curricular content, and teaching methods. This expertise served as the primary rationale to expand teachers’ professional autonomy, to pass stringer tenure laws that protected teachers’ academic freedom, and to dispute non-educators’ claims for control over the teaching profession. Third, as liberalism came to dominate American politics in the early 1960s, the NEA’s dynamic stance against anticommunism and for academic freedom placed them at the center of the political culture once again and affirmed the AFT’s long-standing liberal political positions.

Conclusion

The early part of the Baby Boom era (1946-1957) was marked by the efforts of the AFT and NEA to defend teachers’ professional autonomy against the intrusive politics of anticommunism. Anticommunists’ dominance made professional autonomy one of the most pressing issue facing teachers during this period. If teachers were intimidated into self-censorship or leaving the profession, then teachers would lose their

⁷⁰⁵ D. W. Tieszen, “Guidelines for Teaching About Communism,” *NEA Journal* 51, 8 (November 1962): 12; Also see Giles, 12; William E. Goldman, “Teaching about Communism Needed not be ‘Loaded.’” *CTA Journal* (San Francisco, CA: California Teacher Association, October 1963): 225.

fight for greater autonomy. Both organizations sought to shift from the popular representations of “good” teachers as compliant public servants and towards their own representations of teachers as loyal American professionals who could be trusted to police their colleagues. They also worked to establish official policies that assured due process protections for teachers. In the second half of the Baby Boom era (1957-1965), the NEA and AFT represented teachers as defenders of American freedoms to mitigate the adverse effects of loyalty requirements on the professional status of teachers. Teachers were portrayed as capable experts who understood the dangers inherent in communism and who objectively taught their students the benefits intrinsic to the American way of life. As experts, they needed decision-making power in developing policies and practices regarding employment, curriculum, instruction, and teaching methods.

Beginning in 1959, teachers gradually gained greater professional autonomy. Liberal politicians, civil liberty organizations, and federal courts limited legislatures’ investigative powers and enforcement of loyalty oaths. The AFT and NEA made significant inroads in expanding teachers’ professional autonomy. Following significant gains in membership and victories in collective bargaining elections in the late 1950s and early 1960s, AFT locals negotiated legally binding employment policies and grievance procedures which protected teachers’ due process rights. These agreements also gave teachers more control over curricular content, instructional materials, and pedagogical methods. The NEA secured greater professional autonomy for educators by lobbying for stronger tenure laws. These laws were drafted to protect educators from unwarranted intrusion into their classrooms, unfair dismissals based on non-professional factors, and

political reprisals from enemies of the public schools. By 1965, their lobbying helped to secure stronger tenure laws in most states outside the South.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁶ Many southern states repealed tenure laws and passed “right-to-work” legislation as part of the Massive Resistance strategy to forestall the racial integration of public schools. Southern school state board of educations and local school boards used these repeals to harass, transfer, and fire teachers who were members or supporters of civil rights organizations. (Cremin (1989), 259-272; Kruse (2012), 131-160; Perrillo, 82-115.)

Chapter 5: World Leadership and Teacher Professionalism

The specter of the Soviet Union not only sparked fears of communist infiltration into American society, it also represented a grave challenge to American leadership in the world. The political, economic, and ideological competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for world leadership captured everyone's attention. The nuclear arms race and the space race made the world seemingly a smaller and more dangerous place than ever before. The fate of human civilization seemed to hang in the balance. American politicians, journalists, and scholars depicted a free, universal, nonsectarian public school system as the principal democratic institution to achieve international cooperation, national security, and technological progress.

Presidential administrations from Truman to Johnson argued for the centrality of public schools in maintaining and extending America's world leadership.⁷⁰⁷ The United States-led Allied occupation forces in Japan (1946-1952) and Germany (1946-1949) instituted American education policies and practices as a primary method to instill democratic values and habits.⁷⁰⁸ In 1956 and 1957, United Nations Educational,

⁷⁰⁷ Presidents made several statements about the importance of public education and teachers to U.S. world leadership. In November 1946, President Truman declared education was "the surest way I know of creating the warm international friendship that are highly important to sound political and economic arrangements among governments. By starting now, we can, in time, find thru education 'the moral equivalent of war.'" He also praised teachers' organizations for "building of that bulwark of a lasting peace." (William G. Carr, "The Endicott Conference," *NEA Journal* 35, 8 (November 1946): 477); In 1960, President Kennedy argued federal aid to public schools was an issue of national survival. The Soviets have spent at least two and one half times more of their national income indication than we have, and estimates indicate that within a few years they will have three time as many scientists and engineers," (John F. Kennedy, "Kennedy Says..." *NEA Journal* 49, 7 (October 1960): 10; In 1964, President Johnson passed federal aid legislation proclaiming education as the key to "social and technological and economic and moral progress." Edith Green, "Much More Remains to be Done," *NEA Journal* 53, 2 (February 1964): 16.)

⁷⁰⁸ For Japan see, Kenneth Noble, "'A More Meaningful Democracy than We Ourselves Possess: Charles S. Johnson and the Education Mission to Japan, 1945-1952,'" *History of Education Quarterly* 54, 4 (November 2014): 406; Ruriko Kumano, "Anticommunism and Academic Freedom: Walter C. Eells and the 'Red Purge' in Occupied Japan," *History of Education Quarterly* 50, 4 (November 2010): 515; Fredrick M. Hunter, "NEA, Dynamic Force of Our Free Society," *NEA Journal* 41, 6 (September 1952): 506; For Germany see, Brian M. Puaca, "Navigating the Waves of Change: Political Education and Democratic School Reform in Postwar West Berlin," *History of Education Quarterly* 48, 2 (November 2008): 246-248.

Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) coordinated with United States' agencies and American education experts to facilitate the extension of primary education in Latin America.⁷⁰⁹ In 1957, President Eisenhower declared: "Our schools are more important than Nike batteries, more necessary than our radar warning nets, and more powerful even than the energy of the atom."⁷¹⁰ The media pointed to the importance of public education in defending democracy and defeating communism. In 1946, Benjamin Fine, the education editor of *New York Times*, stated the outcome of "the worldwide struggle between democracy and communism as a way of life" would be "determined by education" and victory would be secured by teachers not soldiers.⁷¹¹ Education leaders echoed these political sentiments and media commentaries on public education. In 1963, Francis Keppel, the U.S. Commissioner of Education (1961-1965), claimed public education was important "because it is essential to our way of life and to survival as a

⁷⁰⁹ National Commission for UNESCO of the U.S. Department of State, "Part II: Education," in *Report of the Progress Committee* (1956-1957), 15. Located in the Carl Meigel File Box 1, Folder 1 at the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷¹⁰ Research Division, "Education... The Most Important Subject: President Eisenhower Urges Federal Help for Schools at the NEA Centennial Birthday Party in Washington, D.C." *NEA Journal* 46, 5 (May, 1957): 362.

⁷¹¹ This sentiment was echoed by Fine and other journalists, especially following the launch of Sputnik in October 1957: In 1956, Fine warned readers about the dangers of ignoring education and teachers. With the Soviet Union greatly outspending the U.S. in education and teachers' pay, they were "outstripping" the U.S. in nurturing gifted students and "producing scientist and engineers" critical to winning the Cold War. (Benjamin Fine, "Year in Education: Problems of Schools and Colleges," *New York Times*, January 1, 1956.). In 1960, Bruce Catton, well-regarded American historian and journalist, bemoaned the fact that too many people in the world live with "the denial of democracy" reinforced through "constant repression and cruelty." The solutions were essentially educative and "will come out of what we are and what we think and what we value." (Bruce Catton, "Individual Responsibility," *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors* 21, 4 (June, 1960): 2.). In 1961, Ralph McGill, Pulitzer Prize-winning syndicated columnist and executive editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, claimed the future of the U.S. and "western civilization" was "in the hands of educators. It is the teachers who shall give the future its leaders, its scientists, engineers, doctors, scholars" who impact "all aspects of our lives." (Ralph McGill, "Education: The Key to the Future" *The American Teacher* 45, 4 (October 1961). Located at the AFT Archive at Wayne State University in the AFT President's Office Files, Box 70, Folder 2.); In 1962, Max Lerner, a liberal syndicated columnist for the *New York Post*, in his book *Education and a Radical Humanism* argued "the crucial race is this not the weapons race, but the intelligence race. The ultimate problem, setting the educational task today, is how to keep the world from becoming either an ant society or a charnel house of radiated ashes."⁷¹¹ (Don Robinson. "Max Lerner Appraises the Education Crisis: And Other Reviews of Current Books on Schools and Teaching," *CTA Journal* 58, 7 (San Francisco, CA: California Teacher Association, October 1962): 35.)

nation in the atomic age.”⁷¹² AFT and NEA leaders recognized the potential of the Cold War world leadership discourse on public schools to bolster teacher professionalism.

The AFT and NEA capitalized on the positive roles attributed to American teachers in helping to secure America’s world leadership as contributors to and exemplars of world peace, national security, and political freedom. The key professional issue was claiming and gaining affirmation for teachers’ technical expertise. The AFT and NEA challenged the popular representations of natural-born teachers. They promoted teachers as well-trained experts in pedagogy, instruction, and curriculum. From 1946 to 1957, the NEA and AFT represented teachers as key contributors to world peace and national security. A teacher’s role was to develop intercultural understanding in students, who in turn would preserve and extend America’s world leadership. From the launch of Sputnik in October 1957 through the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 (NDEA) and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 (ESEA), the NEA and AFT consistently represented teachers as pedagogical and curricular experts who insured the survival of humankind by instilling the skills and desire for international

⁷¹² Francis Keppel, “Guest Editorial: Rights and the Responsibility,” *NEA Journal* 52, 7 (October 1963): 15. Educational leaders and scholars pointed to the importance of public education in the atomic age. In 1948, leading education theorist and researchers from Teachers’ College at Columbia University, John L. Childs, George S. Counts, and Floyd W. Reeves argued education that imbued American youth “with the ideals of democracy” would not only “determine the success or failure of our national defense” and America’s moral world leadership but it could determine the “survival of a human race.” (John L. Childs, George S. Counts, and Floyd W. Reeves, “To Provide for the Common Defense,” (1948). Located at the AFT Archive at Wayne State University in the AFT President’s Office Files, Box 68, Folder 1.). In 1957, Lawrence Derthick, U.S. Commissioner of Education (1956-1961), argued, “more education is essential” in a world “awakening to the existence of new and limitless frontiers” in this “era of growth and achievement that will overshadow all that has gone before.” (Lawrance Derthick, “The Stolen Years,” *School Life* (November 1957), 1.); In 1960, Edgar Morphet, Chief of School Finance for the United States Office of Education and Professor of Education at the University of California at Berkeley (1949-1962), argued public schools could be “designed to promote enlightenment and progress for all or to perpetuate ignorance and misery for many.” (Edgar Morphet, “What Should We Do About the Critics?,” in *Answering the Critics of Education NEA Convention Los Angeles, California* (Washington D.C.: National Education Association, June 30, 1960), 1.)

cooperation in their students while they simultaneously strengthened the United States' position in the ideological battle against Soviets.

The NEA took the lead in representing teachers as Cold War role models to the American public and politicians, as well as to the world's diplomats and educators. NEA representatives worked closely with officials in the Departments of State and Defense, Congressional leaders, the United Nations (UN), UNESCO, the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession (WCOTP), and other international agencies engaged in spreading democracy through education.⁷¹³ The NEA's goals were to help facilitate the worldwide institutionalization of free, universal, nonsectarian public education and to help improve the professional status of teachers around the world. The AFT focused its discourse about America's world leadership to represent teachers as educational experts on world peace, national security, democratic values, and human freedom. They sought to bolster teachers' morale as publicly recognized educational experts central to establishing America's moral leadership for the world. In these two approaches, teachers had a choice between the internationalist NEA, which emphasized professional unity across borders, and the nationalist AFT, which emphasized the technical expertise of American teachers. Together, they forged a world-minded professional identity for teachers as experts in inculcating a democratic way of life to millions of school children in America and the world.

⁷¹³ Following the AFL lead, the AFT joined the explicitly anti-communist International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions (IFFTU) but AFT did not play a major role in the administration or promotion of the organization. The IFFTU remained a smaller organization than the WCOTP until the mid-1970s. By 1976 the IFFTU represented unions with only 2.3 million members while the WCOTP represented unions with more than 20 million members. (United Nations Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, *Quadrennial Reports on the Activities of Non-Governmental Organizations* (March 20–31, 1995).)

Teachers from the Atomic Age to the Space Race

In terms of American world leadership and public education, the Baby Boom era (1946-1964) can be divided into two interrelated periods: the Atomic Age (August 6, 1945 to October 4, 1957) and the early Space Age (October 4, 1957 to April 9, 1965). In 1946, Raymond Swing, an acclaimed news commentator for ABC and NBC, announced the birth of a new age: “On August 6, 1945, the first day of the Atomic Age, the face of the world changed.”⁷¹⁴ Education in the Atomic Age was marked by concerns about world peace and national security. Teachers were expected to produce world-minded students who understood the need for international cooperation, the power of atomic energy, and the dangers of Soviet imperialism. On October 4, 1957, the successful launch and orbit of Sputnik shocked Americans. It marked the start of the Space Age. Many Americans feared that the United States had fallen hopelessly behind the Soviets. Education in the Space Age was marked by demands for scientific and technological advances. Teachers were expected to produce intellectually sophisticated students who could out-produce and overcome Soviet engineers, scientists, and propagandists.

The connective tissue between these two periods was the political, ideological, economic, and military competition between the United States and the Soviet Union.⁷¹⁵ The world seemed divided into two armed and irreconcilable camps. In the economic realm, free enterprise capitalists fought centrally planning communists. In the political sphere, democratic governments fought totalitarian regimes. In classrooms, freedom-

⁷¹⁴ Raymond Swing, “Time Grows Short,” *NEA Journal* 35, 6 (September 1946): 285.

⁷¹⁵ Robert M. Hutchins, “The Atomic Bomb Versus Civilization,” *NEA Journal* 35, 3 (March 1946): 116; Frances McClure, *Schools and Civil Defense: Administration, Protection, Instruction* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1964), 21.

loving teachers fought state-controlled propagandists to win over the next generation of cold warriors. The United States took the lead to contain initially, consistently resist, and eventually repel Soviet communism. American foreign policy included covert operations, economic aid, political alliances, and military interventions.⁷¹⁶ The United States also supported public education initiatives intended to instill democratic habits and combat the advances of Communist propaganda. The U.S. Department of State and the International Education Relations branch of the U.S. Office of Education (IER) worked closely with UNESCO's and Ford Foundation's education initiatives, sponsored teacher and student exchanges, developed vocational education projects in developing countries, and expanded the overseas American Schools program.⁷¹⁷ In 1961, the Peace Corps was established to contribute to the "worldwide struggle for freedom." Between 1961 and 2001, more than 70,000 teachers participated in Peace Corps activities.⁷¹⁸ At the center of these programs was the belief that the American system of free, universal, nonsectarian, and compulsory public school system would be embraced by the world and would then serve as a means to establishing democratic practices around the world.

⁷¹⁶ Major political alliances and military interventions included Truman Doctrine in 1947, NATO in 1949, the Korean War 1950-1953, SEATO in 1954, and the Vietnam War 1954-1973; NATO included Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In 1952, Greece and Turkey joined NATO followed by West Germany in 1955. SEATO was signed by Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Major covert operations included CIA sponsored coups in Iran 1953, Guatemala 1954, Indonesia 1957, Congo 1960, Dominican Republic, 1961, South Vietnam, 1963, and Brazil, 1964; Major Economic aid programs included Marshall Plan 1948-1951, Food for Peace programs 1954-1966, and The Alliance for Progress 1961-1973.

⁷¹⁷ Volker R. Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shephard Stone Between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 148; Jonathon Zimmerman, *Innocent Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 70. In 1961, the Fulbright-Hays Act established the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, and the Foreign Assistance Act created the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), both of which could give limited grants-in-aid to K-12 efforts. The U.S. Department of State established its Office of Overseas Schools (OOS) in 1964. ("Dependent Schools (DoDDS), Independent Schools, State Department Schools, Types of Schools," *Education Encyclopedia* Accessed on October 14, 2015 from <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1762/American-Overseas-Schools.html>.)

⁷¹⁸ Zimmerman (2006), 98, 16.

American political and educational leaders portrayed education as a vehicle to cope with the anxieties and to realize the boundless possibilities of the Atomic Age. The destructiveness of the atomic bomb frightened people around the world, provoking fears of an imminent nuclear apocalypse. Yet, the seemingly unlimited potential of atomic energy intrigued people, promising an abundance of cheap energy to fuel worldwide prosperity. In 1947, W. W. Waymack, editor of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune* and member of the newly formed Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), stated that atomic energy defined a new reality: “The blinding flash and the gigantic mushroom over Hiroshima announced the march of man, for good and for indescribable evil, into another ‘new world.’”⁷¹⁹ This new world seemed more precarious on October 1, 1949, when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb, ending the United States’ monopoly on nuclear weapons.⁷²⁰ The escalating nuclear arms race accompanied by the hyperbolic rhetoric and robust geopolitical maneuverings between the Soviet Union and the United States were constant reminders that the very survival of humankind was endangered.

Educators struggled to turn the discourse about the importance of education in the Atomic Age into action. Faced with massive increases in enrollments and inadequate funding sources, most public schools faced overcrowded classrooms, outdated materials, teacher shortages, and inadequate facilities. The AFT and NEA lobbied for federal aid to public education as a long-range means to raise teachers’ salaries in order to attract better candidates to teaching and to provide for school construction to replace overcrowded, outdated facilities. Their quest for federal aid over several decades had been “fervent,

⁷¹⁹ W. W. Waymack, “A Letter to Judith and Dickie,” *NEA Journal* 36, 3 (March 1947): 234.

⁷²⁰ Britain (1952), France (1960), and China (1964) would eventually join the nuclear arms race.

persistent, and punctuated by setbacks.”⁷²¹ The path to federal aid was blocked by two political blocs from the 1940s to the 1950s. Conservative Republicans opposed federal aid as an unnecessary expenditure that would result in federal control of public schools. Southern Democrats opposed federal aid that excluded segregated facilities or extended the federal government’s power into state and local governmental affairs.⁷²² Despite these obstacles, federal aid to education remained an important political issue.

The moderate Eisenhower administration preferred balancing the budget and avoiding large domestic expenditures to participating in contentious federal aid battles. However, the administration understood that growing concerns over public education needed to be addressed at the federal level. In 1955, they sponsored 4,000 nationwide conferences on education culminating in the White House Conference on Education. The NEA viewed the conferences as an opportunity to build a political base to push for federal educational legislation to meet their long-range goals of improving public schools and its teachers’ professional status. The administration saw the conferences as a means to garner political support for their 1956 school construction bill, which would provide a temporary stimulus to school districts. However, the bill failed to pass, due to the inclusion of the Powell Amendment, the lack of meaningful support from Republican leadership, and the lobbying efforts of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers.⁷²³ While the defeat of yet another federal aid to public education bill was frustrating for the AFT and NEA, the conferences strengthened

⁷²¹ Wayne J. Urban, *More than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 108.

⁷²² James W. Guthrie, “A Political Case History: Passage of the ESEA,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 49, 6 (February 1968): 302-303.

⁷²³ Urban (2010), 108-113.

professional solidarity among teachers and established wider support in national political circles for federal aid. These developments would prove useful when the Soviets' displays of technological superiority in the next few years shocked the American public.

The year 1957 was a pivotal year in terms of world affairs and education. On August 26, Russia launched the Vostok rocket, the world's first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). On October 4, Russia launched Sputnik into orbit, the world's first artificial satellite. On November 7, a report from a special committee reviewing the nation's defense indicated that the United States was falling far behind the Soviets in missile capabilities and urged a vigorous campaign to build fallout shelters to protect American citizens.⁷²⁴ On November 15, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev claimed that the Soviet Union had missile superiority over the United States and challenged America to a missile "shooting match" to prove his assertion.⁷²⁵ These events, reports, and declarations renewed the fear of imminent annihilation in the minds of American people.

Many Americans turned to public schools and their teachers for an explanation. In December 1957, Arthur F. Corey, executive secretary of the California Teachers Association (CTA), acknowledged that Americans were "shocked and angry. The forced acceptance of recent Russian achievements has been a traumatic experience to many of us.... We shudder to think that a culture whose values and ideology we hate and fear has been able to produce such competence."⁷²⁶ Many critics sought a scapegoat and the public schools seemed an apt target. Nathan Kravetz, principal of Walgrove Avenue

⁷²⁴ Paul S. Boyer, *Promises to Keep: The United States Since World War II* (New York: Hron Mufflin, 1999), 163.

⁷²⁵ Henry Shapiro, "Khrushchev Invites U.S. to Shooting Match," *Milwaukee Journal*, November 15, 1957.

⁷²⁶ Arthur F. Corey, "Sputnik and American Education," *CTA Journal* 53, 9 (San Francisco, CA: California Teacher Association, December 1957): 5.

School in Los Angeles, maintained that “Sputniks streak through the sky as America surveys its unsuccessful rockets inducts confusion. . . . and the average citizen, noting an apparent void in U.S. talents, looks askance at the schools.”⁷²⁷ In January 1958, CTA President Jack D. Rees argued that Sputnik represented an enormous challenge to teachers: “Russian satellites, whirling through space around our planet, bespeak a menace to the people of the United States and place an historically unprecedented responsibility upon the school teachers of our country.”⁷²⁸ Rees reassured his readers that American teachers were and would remain willing to accept this heavy responsibility.

Sputnik also sparked a heated debate over the leadership, direction, personnel, and funding of public education. Education historian Sevan G. Terzian claims that Sputnik intensified the prevalent political belief that scientific knowledge and technological innovation was essential to maintaining America’s world leadership.⁷²⁹ Carl Kaestle and Marshall Smith observed that Sputnik fueled a growing alarm about the inferiority of American education in comparison to the Soviet accomplishments.⁷³⁰ Wayne Urban in *More Than Science and Sputnik* (2010) argued that “all participants used the Cold War climate that Sputnik caused to create a near panic about American education to proffer their own versions of educational improvement, many of which had little to do with national defense or the Cold War.”⁷³¹

⁷²⁷ Nathan Kravetz, “U.S.A and U.S.S.R: Mathematics and More,” *CTA Journal* 53, 9 (San Francisco, CA: California Teacher Association December 1957): 14.

⁷²⁸ Jack D. Rees, “Sputnik and the Schools,” *CTA Journal* 54, 1 (San Francisco, CA: California Teacher Association, January 1958): 11.

⁷²⁹ Sevan G. Terzian, *Science Education and Citizenship: Fairs, Clubs, and Talent Searches for American Youth, 1918–1958* (New York: Palsgrave MacMillan, 2013), 2-3, 130-143.

⁷³⁰ Carl Kaestle and Marshall Smith, “The Federal Role in Elementary and Secondary Education, 1940-1980,” *Harvard Educational Review* 52, 4 (November 1982): 38.

⁷³¹ Urban (2010), 4.

Liberal critics, like U.S. historian Arthur Bestor, decried the lack of intellectual rigor in the public schools. They worried that too many gifted children, “our potential leaders, discoverers, and creators,” were left to “develop their own skills in their own way and on their own initiative.”⁷³² Conservative critics, like John W. Gardner, president of Carnegie Corporation, complained that a penchant for the fads-and-frills of progressive education had replaced the intellectual discipline of the traditional reading, writing and arithmetic, or the Three Rs, education. These critics feared that the child-centered emphasis of progressive education made students too soft to win the global struggle against communism.⁷³³ American students needed to master “conventional academic subjects as traditionally organized and taught” in order to become tough-minded cold warriors.⁷³⁴ Urban argues that K-12 educators also made “strategic use of science for nonscience educational reform,” including increasing educational opportunities for all American children and improving their long-range professional goals.⁷³⁵

NEA and AFT leaders responded to these criticisms by reminding the American public that they had repeatedly warned them that underfunded public schools staffed by unheralded, overworked, and underpaid teachers could result in the Soviets achieving their Cold War “objectives in the classroom instead of on battlefields.”⁷³⁶ Public schools “simply had not been permitted fully to succeed.” Educators argued that the only answer to Sputnik was “a broad, high-quality program of education which develops all kinds of

⁷³² Research Division, “Ten Criticisms of Public Education,” *NEA Research Bulletin* 35, 4 (December 1957): 162.

⁷³³ Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 5; K. A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (New York: Routledge, 2005), vii.

⁷³⁴ Harold C. Hand, “Answering the Critics of the School Program,” in *NEA Convention, St Louis, Missouri* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association July 2, 1959), 2.

⁷³⁵ Urban (2010), xi-xii.

⁷³⁶ Corey (December 1957), 5.

human talent.”⁷³⁷ After all, “[m]oney spent on teachers and on the materials of teaching will produce results in training the scientific minds of tomorrow.”⁷³⁸ The AFT and NEA reminded politicians and the public that the condition of American schools and the treatment of teachers was a tragedy given the dire consequences of the United States losing the Cold War. And the United States needed to match, if not surpass the time, energy, and money the Soviet Union spent on their school system. Raymond Peck, a Columbus, Ohio Junior high school teacher who served the Ohio Federation of Teachers as President, Treasurer, and Legislative Lobbyist, as well as a Vice President of American Federation of Teachers, remarked that the percentage of national income spent on public education had been steadily declining in the United States since the 1930s, resulting in Russia spending twice as much on education as Americans did in 1958.⁷³⁹ In December 1957, the editors of the NEA Research Division report, “Ten Criticisms of Public Education,” noted that the recent international crisis had “accelerated concern for human resources and emphasized a need for early identification, training, and utilization of gifted minds.”⁷⁴⁰ They concluded that despite the so-called “deficiencies and woeful conditions of education in America” public schools enrolled more students in science, mathematics, and foreign languages in a greater variety of courses taught by dedicated professionals than they had ever done before. Schools and teachers were also working hard at identifying and encouraging gifted students to pursue their intellectual interests. What schools and teachers needed most was “the active support and encouragement” of

⁷³⁷ Corey (December 1957), 5.

⁷³⁸ Kravetz (December 1957), 14.

⁷³⁹ Raymond Peck, “Educational Campaign Strategy of a Private in the Rear Rank,” in *Ohio Federation of Teachers Convention Minutes*, edited by Raymond Peck (May 15, 1958), 1. Located in the Raymond Peck Files Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁴⁰ Research Division (December 1957), 174.

parents, local authorities, state agencies, and the federal government so they could keep improving at “one of the most necessary and exacting jobs in the land.”⁷⁴¹ These arguments were used by AFT and NEA lobbyists, as well as their political allies, as a new federal-aid-to-public-education bill emphasizing the connection between public education and national defense was introduced in 85th Congress.

Working closely with Representative Carl Elliot (Democrat, Alabama 1949-1965), Senator Lister Hill (Democrat, Alabama 1938-1969), and Elliott Richardson (Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare 1957-1959), AFT and NEA lobbyists contributed to the passage of the NDEA on September 2, 1958.⁷⁴² It was a categorical aid bill as opposed to the general aid bill the AFT and NEA advocated.⁷⁴³ In ten titles, the bill allocated funds to specific programs and/or purposes, including fellowships, student loans, language arts centers, and science information service. For K-12 education, the bill allocated funds for improving science, mathematics, and foreign language instruction; testing, guidance, and counseling to help identify and encourage gifted students; vocational education in scientific and technological fields; and experimentation with educational media. Urban argues the NDEA was a compromise that privileged the conservative ideology of intellectual merit over the liberal politics of educational equity.⁷⁴⁴ However, it did set a precedent for federal involvement in

⁷⁴¹ Research Division (December 1957), 175.

⁷⁴² Urban (2010) 1.

⁷⁴³ Carl Kaestle, “Federal Aid to Education Since World War II: Purposes and Politics,” in *The Future of the Federal Role in Elementary and Secondary Education*, edited by Jack Jennings (Washington, D.C.: Center for Education Policy, 2001), 19.

⁷⁴⁴ Urban (2010) 4-5.

educational policies and practices that political liberals and education associations would use to extend educational opportunities during the 1960s.⁷⁴⁵

The AFT and NEA were disappointed by the narrowly focused categorical aid. They continued to lobby for general federal aid to improve teachers' salaries and working conditions. These lobbying efforts were bolstered by continuing Cold War competition for world leadership and in the space race between the Soviet Union and United States. In the political, military, and ideological realms, from Cuba to Czechoslovakia to the Congo to Vietnam, communists seemed to be on the march to victory. In the scientific and technological fields, the Soviets bested the United States as Yuri Gagarin became the first person to orbit the Earth on April 12, 1961. Americans were embarrassed that the Russians had surpassed them once more in the space race. Education again was blamed. And again, the AFT and NEA struck back at critics.

AFT and NEA leaders argued that the public schools were the primary American institution where the United States' world leadership was strengthened, democratic habits were formed, international cooperation was advanced, and a free society was nurtured. Appropriately funded schools with experienced and well-paid teachers were necessary if democracy was to survive in the United States and remain the model for the world to follow. The AFT and NEA argued that federal aid designed to improve teachers' salaries and working conditions was needed in order to attract more career-minded, well-educated, and professional individuals, who were truly qualified to prepare American children for the scientific and humanistic realities of the Cold War. Conservative

⁷⁴⁵ Lee W. Anderson, *Congress and the Classroom: From the Cold War to "No Child Left Behind"* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 564; Guthrie (1968), 302; Kantor 60; Urban (2010) 203-207.

Republicans and southern Democrats blocked the passage of federal aid bills in efforts to balance the budget, limit federal power, and forestall school integration. This time, teachers had robust support for federal aid in the media, Congress, and the White House.

Federal aid advocates focused their arguments on the role of education in meeting Cold War imperatives. In 1958, Senator William Proxmire (Democrat, Wisconsin 1957-1989) claimed the United States “must win the battle of the blackboards” to prevail in the Cold War. He argued the failure to educate America’s children would be tragic for the American way of life and would “decrease American leadership in the struggle for freedom with Soviet Union.” The solution was to push for federal aid to “answer to the challenges of Soviet Russia.”⁷⁴⁶ In his 1961 Education Message to Congress, President Kennedy proclaimed federal aid to public education was “probably the most important piece of domestic legislation.”⁷⁴⁷ He argued that adequately funding schools would provide America with much needed supply of dedicated citizens, thoughtful leaders, inventive scientists, and skilled engineers to help the United States overcome the advances made by the Soviet Union. Editors from major newspapers supported the education bill. The editors of the *Saint Louis Dispatch* stated, “the strengthening of education is fully as vital as the strengthening of our armed forces.”⁷⁴⁸ The editors of the *Atlanta Constitution* concluded that, “Education in this era is defense.”⁷⁴⁹ In 1962, Dr. Harold Hunt, Professor of Education at Harvard University, stated that education was key

⁷⁴⁶ William Proxmire, “Guest Speaker,” in *AFT 42nd Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 21, 1958), 107. Located in the Mary Herrick File in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁴⁷ Division of Federal Relations, *Special Report NEA Division of Federal Relations* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August 18, 1961), 1.

⁷⁴⁸ Division of Press and Radio Relations, *Opinion on National School Aid, I* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, August 16, 1961), 1.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

to winning the ideological battles of the Cold War. In a world with “more believing and active communists” and “more people under communist dictators,” the ideological struggle to gain “possession of men’s minds” between the Soviets and Americans “will ultimately shape the world.”⁷⁵⁰ AFT and NEA leaders argued that the United States needed to improve education if it was to fulfill its destiny as a world leader “in the battle between freedom and totalitarianism.”⁷⁵¹ Following the assassination of Kennedy on November 22, 1963 and Lyndon Johnson’s overwhelming victory in the 1964 election, the political climate shifted in favor of a more expansive version of federal aid to public education.⁷⁵²

With Johnson as President, a proud former teacher, the AFT and NEA had a powerful ally in the White House. Public education was central to Johnson’s “Great Society efforts to promote economic and social welfare.”⁷⁵³ He also felt an obligation to continue Kennedy’s agenda, including federal aid to public education, while developing his own identity as President.⁷⁵⁴ Johnson envisioned the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) as the “keystone of the Great Society’s expansion of federal education activity,”⁷⁵⁵ Three obstacles remained in the administration’s path: Southern segregationists, conservative Republicans, and Catholic proponents for federal aid to private schools. Johnson invoked “remarkable cohesion and support among non-

⁷⁵⁰ Dr. Harold C. Hunt, “Principal Speaker: Teacher’s Teacher,” in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 20-24, 1962), 7. Located in the Mary Herrick File Box 4 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁵¹ Raymond Peck, “Opening Statement,” in *Merit Rating Conference*, edited by Mary Herrick (March 17, 1962), 2. Located in the Mary Herrick File Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁵² Guthrie (1968), 304.

⁷⁵³ Bethany Rogers, “‘Better’ People, Better Teaching: The Vision of the National Teacher Corps, 1965–1968,” *History of Education Quarterly* 49, 3 (November 2009): 352.

⁷⁵⁴ Harvey Kantor, “Education, Social Reform, and the State: ESEA and Federal Education Policy in the 1960s,” *American Journal of Education*, 100, 1 (November 1991): 52.

⁷⁵⁵ Norman C. Thomas, *Education in National Politics* (New York: David McKay, 1975), 274.

Southern Democrats” to override Southern Democrats’ objections to federal aid. He also built alliances among Republicans and Catholic proponents to work out compromises on federal control and funding for private schools.⁷⁵⁶ The AFT, NEA, and other education leaders and lobbyists worked with the administration, the U.S. Office of Education, and congressmen on behalf of the ESEA.⁷⁵⁷ On April 11, 1965, Johnson signed the ESEA into law proclaiming “No law I have signed or will ever sign means more to the future of America.”⁷⁵⁸ The law increased federal aid from \$500,000,000 under the NDEA to \$3,500,000,000 and expanded federal education programs from twenty under the NDEA to over three hundred.⁷⁵⁹ Together the NDEA and ESEA formalized the federal government’s role in American public schools, creating a new paradigm in which K-12 education moved from being primarily a local concern to assuming an important national and international issue.⁷⁶⁰ Each piece of legislation, especially the ESEA, conferred a specific professional stature upon teachers as educational experts in inculcating an appreciation and desire for a democratic way of life in millions of school children in the United States and the world.

Teachers for World Peace, 1946-1949

In the early years of the Atomic Age (1945-1949), the AFT and NEA argued that teachers had a professional responsibility to promote world peace. Beginning in 1945, both organizations pushed for world peace through the UN and UNESCO. Following the horrors and the devastation of World War II, the leaders of the AFT and NEA focused

⁷⁵⁶ Guthrie (1968), 303-305.

⁷⁵⁷ Kantor, 50.

⁷⁵⁸ Samuel Halperin, “ESEA Ten Years Later,” *Educational Researcher* 4, 8 (September 1975): 5.

⁷⁵⁹ Kantor, 48.

⁷⁶⁰ Anderson, 564; Halperin, 5; Kantor, 60; Urban (2010), 208.

their discourses on the role of public schools and teachers in developing an appreciation for intercultural relations and international cooperation. They argued that an international education, led by world-minded professional teachers, was the best possible path to winning the ideological conflict between democracy and communism at the heart of the Cold War. The world's peoples would be won over to the democratic way of life in the classrooms, not on the battlefields. By exporting the American system of education and teaching methods through UN and UNESCO programs, the United States would ensure world peace by ensuring democracy's victory over communism.

The NEA embraced an internationalist approach to teacher professionalism. Wayne Urban posited that, under the leadership of Willard Givens (1935-1952) and William Carr (1952-1967), the NEA focused a great deal of its attention and energies on the international scene.⁷⁶¹ In the immediate aftermath of WWII, NEA leaders and their allies argued that public education and teachers were a significant factor in establishing or defeating totalitarian governments. The NEA represented teachers as ardent democrats who understood the obstacle that the Soviets' desire for world domination presented to world peace. Soviet communism relied on instilling a totalitarian mindset that subsumed individuals' rights and liberties to the demands of the state. The NEA reminded the international audience that teachers had toiled for more than a century instilling the values and habits of a democratic way of life in generations of children. Their collective experience and knowledge positioned American teachers as experts in preserving and

⁷⁶¹ Wayne Urban, *Gender, Race, and NEA: Professionalism and its Limitations* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2000), 144.

expanding democracy. They also reminded the American public and politicians of the dangers of indoctrination into a totalitarian mindset to the prospects of world peace.

NEA leaders and allies argued that the horrors of World War II were born in the classrooms of Nazi Germany. In 1946, Bishop Oxnam reminded readers of the *NEA Journal* what was at stake in educating the world for peace: “The men who were the beasts of Belsen were trained in the schools of Belsen.”⁷⁶² The illustration accompanying Willard E. Givens’ 1947 *Annual Report of the Profession to the Public*, highlighted the different kind of societies promoted by American and totalitarian educational system (See Figure 1). In the upper left corner, two students work together in a chemistry laboratory with the title: “This Kind of Education.” In the lower right corner, columns of Nazi Youth march with the title: “NOT This Kind.”⁷⁶³ Givens proclaimed that teachers belonged on the side of world peace: “The objective of international cooperation in education is to eliminate the kind of education that can lead only to war, and substitute for it the kind of education that leads to peace.”⁷⁶⁴ NEA leaders argued that the educational experience of Nazi Germany was applicable to the battle of ideas between the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1949, Daniel F. Prescott, Director of Child Study Institute at the University of Maryland, claimed that the educational goal of totalitarian governments was to control the thoughts and behaviors of students, teachers, and administrators. After all, “the experience in Germany with educators under Nazi regime

⁷⁶² G. Bromley Oxnam, “A Date with the World,” *NEA Journal* 35, 8 (November 1946): 473.

⁷⁶³ Willard E. Givens, *Our Schools: Annual Report of the Profession to the Public, Volume 3* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1947), 8.

⁷⁶⁴ Givens (1947), 8.

EDUCATION AND THE PEOPLE'S PEACE



This Kind of Education . . .

EDUCATION has a place at the peace table. For the first time in the history of the world, there is an opportunity to create and maintain a people's peace. In building the structure of a new world organization, the statesmen of the United Nations at San Francisco clearly recognized that no international machinery for dealing with economic, political, military and legal matters can work properly unless the peoples of the world learn how to make it work. Provisions for education and cultural cooperation were therefore incorporated in both the Economic and Social Council and in the trusteeship system of the United Nations Organization.

This striking victory for education in the peace did not happen by accident. Thousands of educators and other citizens had grimly determined that this time education should not have the courteous "brush off" it received in 1919 by the Committee drafting the Covenant of the League of Nations. The organized teaching profession, through the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, spearheaded the struggle for an international recognition of education. The Commission was vigorously and ably supported by all types of lay organizations and by public-spirited individuals. The necessary forces were organized, untiring, and resolute.

The role of education at the peace table is vital. Preparation for war and preparation for peace are deeply rooted in education. Americans are not a war-like people, largely because our schools have not glorified war. They have not taught youth that this country was hated by any other nation.

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They have not taught that our national interests were threatened by those of any other nation, that neighboring nations were our enemies, and that we have not taught that the individual citizen should make his nation powerful among others. In fact, a government exists for the well-being of its citizens. American schools have taught that our real enemies are disease and poverty, ignorance and crime, and that the glory of our nation is in their defeat.

The objective of international cooperation in education is to eliminate the kind of education that can lead only to war, and substitute the kind of education that leads to peace.

The stipulation of the United Nations that the international trusteeship is to promote the social and educational advancement of the territories is of special importance. Half the people of the world cannot read or write their own language. Many of the illiterate live in under-privileged areas likely to be placed in trusteeship. From their present conditions of ignorance can come no contribution to a world peace. The safety of the world depends upon intelligent cooperation made possible by universal education.



. . . NOT this Kind

Figure 13: Willard E. Givens, *Our Schools: Annual Report of the Profession to the Public, Volume 3* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1947), 8.

for fifteen years” showed us that thoughts and behaviors could be controlled.⁷⁶⁵

For the leadership of the NEA, this experience meant education for intercultural understanding and international cooperation had to be a main task for teachers in the Cold War. In 1949, Helen Dwight Reed, Chief of the European Section of the Division of International Education Relations of the United States’ Office of Education, said: “Nazi distortion of the educational processes of a highly civilized and educated people, with appalling consequences for the lives of millions around the globe, can leave no doubt about the international significance of education.”⁷⁶⁶ This distortion was being replicated by the communist propagandists in the Soviet Union and their satellites. For the NEA, the reach of communist propaganda meant education for democracy was an imperative in the United States and around the world. NEA discourse about the dangers of totalitarian education gave American teachers a positive role to play in the ideological battles against communism. As experts in instilling democratic attitudes, values, and habits, American teachers could serve as role models or consultants for international organizations seeking to replicate American educational practices abroad. Teachers from the smallest rural schoolhouses to the largest urban schools affected the prospects for world peace and international cooperation by instilling a love for humanity in their students, the future leaders and citizens of the world.

To accomplish these goals, the AFT and NEA allied themselves with the political agenda of the UN and the educational missions of UNESCO. Both groups presented the

⁷⁶⁵ Daniel F. Prescott, “World History in a World Society,” *NEA Journal* 39, 1 (January 1950): 32. (Adapted from *The National Principal*, October 1949).

⁷⁶⁶ Helen Dwight Reed, “The Teacher and International Understanding,” *Educational Leadership* (November, 1949): 122.

UN's primary goal as achieving world peace through international cooperation and UNESCO as a primary agency to reach this goal through education. For the NEA, this was a hands-on endeavor. The NEA presented itself as a partner with the UN and UNESCO. They heralded their influence and participation in shaping the UN Charter and the UNESCO's constitution, especially the inclusion of the human right to education.⁷⁶⁷ The *NEA Journal* ran a monthly series, "Our United Nations," to keep teachers informed on how to carry out their "heavy responsibility as citizens and as teachers in developing a concept of world organization among the American people."⁷⁶⁸ Beginning in 1946 and continuing into the 1950s, the NEA cooperated with NBC to promote United Nations Week, "in order to stress the world's need for unity and understanding in the building of an enduring peace."⁷⁶⁹ For the AFT, this stance was primarily symbolic. They argued that teachers had a distinct obligation to promote peace. The UN and the UNESCO were the most important agencies for building understanding among the world's peoples and promoting world peace. The AFT and NEA sought to bolster teachers' professional status by representing them as educational ambassadors.

Part of the NEA approach was to convince teachers to support and teach about the UN and UNESCO. Throughout 1946 and 1947, these organizations were popular topics in the *NEA Journal*. Several articles addressed NEA resolutions calling for the systemic

⁷⁶⁷ In April 1945, several NEA leaders were invited by the State Department to serve as consultants to the U.S. delegation during the writing of the UN Charter. Education was mentioned explicitly nine times in the final text. In November 1945, NEA participated in the London Conference that drew up the UNESCO Constitution and supported its passage by the U.S. Congress via testimony in the House and Senate Committees on Foreign Relations. NEA representatives then participated in the first official meeting of UNESCO in Paris in 1947, helping to shape its objectives and projects. (National Education Association, "Part V UNSECO: NEA Participation in UNESCO," in *NEA Handbook 1950-1951* (August 1950), 361-362).

⁷⁶⁸ "Our United Nations," *NEA Journal* 35, 3 (March 1946): 144.

⁷⁶⁹ National Broadcasting Company, "The NBC University of the Air: The National Education Association Will Observe NBC's United Nations Week," *NEA Journal* 35, 4 (April, 1946): A-62.

study of the UN and UNESCO as part of citizenship education and attention be given to how these organizations would affect peace in the world.⁷⁷⁰ The articles stressed the role of these organizations in ensuring the collective security of the free world, maintaining the peace so dearly paid for during World War II, and preserving the basic tenets of individual freedom that served as the foundation of Western civilization. As the first paragraph in the UNESCO Constitution states, “since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenders of peace must be constructed.”⁷⁷¹ The NEA argued that teachers had a central role to play in the success of the UNESCO reaching its goal of establishing a peaceful world community of nations. Teachers thus had a serious obligation to disavow the “poison of aggressive nationalism injected into children’s minds as dangerous for world stability as the manufacture of armaments” and help UNESCO in “encouraging universal brotherhood and in building a peaceful federation in a world where man is fearless and free.”⁷⁷²

The *NEA Journal* highlighted also statewide and local efforts to educate students and the community on the role of the UN and UNESCO. In 1947, editors highlighted the efforts of Middletown (Ohio) High School. Confronted by fear, suspicion, and talk among the citizens of a third world war, teachers developed a program that engaged war veterans, students, and the community in discussions sessions and informational meetings. Students produced editorials and radio skits on atomic energy and the

⁷⁷⁰ National Education Association, “Goals for the Victory Action Program of the United Education Associations,” in *NEA Handbook 1946-1947* (Washington D.C.: National Education Association, August, 1946), 33.

⁷⁷¹ L.L. Kandel, “National Education in an International World,” *NEA Journal* 35, 4 (April 1946): 175; “Part V UNESCO: Preamble to the Unesco Constitution,” 360.

⁷⁷² Kandel (April 1946), 175; Mabel E. Eldridge, “Middletown Works for Peace,” *NEA Journal* 36, 4 (April 1947): 274.

prevention of another war.⁷⁷³ By advocating for the UN's and UNESCO's missions, the NEA represented internationalism as an antidote to war and teachers as agents of peace. Its alliance with the UN and UNESCO was a means to internationalize the teaching profession in a dangerous world. They represented teachers as key actors in building a world community based on human brotherhood.

While the NEA focused much of its energies on the international scene, the AFT focused on how international organizations could help American teachers serve their students. The AFT saw the UN and UNESCO as valuable examples of organizations working toward world peace and international cooperation. AFT leaders argued that one of teachers' main tasks was promoting world peace through education. Raymond Peck claimed that teachers, as educated professionals, could "point the way to peace or better yet lead the way."⁷⁷⁴ He reminded teachers that the key to successfully facing the future for the Baby Boom generation was the development of human relationships: "We live in the most savage period of the history of mankind measured in terms of destruction and killing. We are growing children in an atmosphere of violence, threat, fear, and dread."⁷⁷⁵ Peck concluded that if Americans wanted to "build democratic citizens" in the United States and around the world, then teachers needed to instruct their students on how to love and to revitalize their neighborliness.⁷⁷⁶ For the AFT, peace could best be achieved in classrooms where teachers built understanding for and across the many world cultures

⁷⁷³ Eldridge (April 1947), 274-275.

⁷⁷⁴ Raymond Peck, "Report of Sectary-Treasurer," in *Ohio Federation of Teachers Convention Minutes*, edited by Raymond Peck (May 21, 1949). Located in the Raymond Peck File Box 3 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁷⁵ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, "Democracy Result of Neglect, Says Dr. Howard Lane," *The Detroit Teacher* 9, 8 (April 18, 1951). Located in the Helen Bowers File in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

among their students. Teachers needed to focus their lessons not only on instilling basic skills, but, more importantly, on developing an appreciation for the people of the world.

From 1949 to 1955, due in part to the Soviet Union's territorial gains and nuclear capability, as well as the rise of anticommunist politics at home, the tone and direction of the AFT's and NEA's advocacy for the UN and UNESCO shifted from a focus on promoting world peace to their roles in creating international stability through the expansion of democracy. Anticommunists claimed that the UN and UNESCO were socialist fronts seeking to subsume the sovereignty of the United States under a single world government.⁷⁷⁷ The teaching of and advocacy for the UN and UNESCO made targets of teachers and their organizations. Instead of advocacy, the NEA now promoted a purely factual approach that emphasized the political and educational functions of both organizations.⁷⁷⁸ The goal was to help students understand their duties as world-minded citizens. The NEA argued that to be a good American citizen, one also needed to be a citizen of the world.⁷⁷⁹ In a world divided by competing ideologies, American citizens needed to understand the world. By teaching about the UN and UNESCO, students could develop an international point of view that would "increase their understanding of the people of the world, the need for international cooperation, a concern for today's world problems, and become more loyal citizen of America and the world."⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁷ Richard Barnes Kennan, "Public Education in a Dangerous Era from the Viewpoint of a Member of the Teaching Profession," in *Houston, Texas: A Study of Factors Related to Educational Unrest in a Large School System* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1954), 9.

⁷⁷⁸ Arthur Larson, "What to Teach about the United Nations," *NEA Journal* 53, 1 (January 1964): 26.

⁷⁷⁹ Roland W. Crary, "Citizenship Education for a Continuing Crisis," *NEA Journal* 41, 9 (December 1952): 422. Citizenship Committee. *By Each Generation* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1965).

⁷⁸⁰ Katherine Scrivener, "To Help You Teaching about the UN," *NEA Journal* 40, 9 (December 1951): 663.

The AFT emphasized the UN's and UNESCO's defense of democracy. In 1956, Megel stated that the UNESCO's purpose was "peace and security" through collaboration in "education, science, and culture." The support of UN and UNESCO was "an act of faith in the truth that a free exchange of ideas provided" and the spread of literacy would bring more justice to more people around the world.⁷⁸¹ The spread of free, universal, nonsectarian, and compulsory public education led by world-minded, professional teachers would then serve as a basis for establishing the desire for the democratic rule of law in the world's peoples. This shift in emphasis regarding the UN and UNSECO marked a shift in the AFT's and NEA's discursive strategy from teachers as global ambassadors for world peace to front line soldiers in the battle of Cold War ideologies.

Teachers and National Security, 1949-1957

Beginning in 1949, the AFT and NEA shifted their focus to the role of public schools and teachers in bolstering the United States' national security. Their leaders argued that in an interdependent world national security meant spreading democratic values and individual freedoms throughout the world. Both groups saw public education as the most effective means to attain this goal and charged teachers with this new responsibility. In terms of national security, both organizations represented teachers as the disseminators of truth and freedom. NEA leaders argued that teachers needed to inculcate in their students with a world-minded patriotism that accepted the United States' role as leaders of the free world. The AFT focused their arguments on public schools and their teachers as the ultimate defense against the spread of communism. Both

⁷⁸¹ Carl Megel, "What UNESCO Means to Me Personally and What is Means to the AFT." (1956). Located in the Carl Megel File Box 1 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

organizations utilized this discourse to argue for federal aid. Together, the AFT and NEA crafted a viable rationale for the NDEA by connecting national security to public education and teachers.

What kind of teacher could help secure victory over communism? In 1951, Dr. Frederick M. Hunter, a former NEA President, asserted that given “the imminence of a world struggle” teachers needed to be spokesmen, guardians, and defenders of freedom. He claimed teachers must “teach patriotism and world-mindedness at one and the same time thruout the schools” in order to be “a spearhead of defense” against Soviet tyranny and aggression. After all, “our patriotism has come to mean that our own welfare as a free nation depends upon all nations being free.”⁷⁸² This assertion would form the basis for the NEA argument for federal aid based on national security. The NEA turned to powerful allies to make their case. In February 1954, the *NEA Journal* published George C. Marshall’s Plan for Education. Marshall argued that education free of bias or prejudice offered “a last clear chance to begin the build up the strength of the democracies” around the world. Since qualified and dedicated teachers determined the success or failure of public education and democracy, Marshall campaigned for federal aid to education that included professional salaries to attract and retain the best teachers. Americans and the world depended “in large measure on the impartiality of those who teach. Their approach must be on a scientific basis in order to present the true facts.”⁷⁸³ These scientific, nonpartisan, and rational teachers were needed to help defeat the propaganda poisoning the minds of people in other countries against U.S. world leadership.

⁷⁸² Frederick M. Hunter, “Spokesmen for Freedom,” *NEA Journal* 40, 4 (April 1951): 264.

⁷⁸³ George C. Marshall, “A Marshall Plan in Education,” *NEA Journal* 43, 2 (February 1954): 82.

The atomic bomb “revolutionized” social thought and teaching in the first half of the Baby Boom era (1946-1957).⁷⁸⁴ The AFT and NEA placed teachers on the front lines of the ideological battle between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both argued that ignorance, prejudice, and deprivation left many of the world’s people vulnerable to being swayed by communist propaganda: “Communism and other totalitarian evils insinuate their virulence into weary spirits and tired minds.”⁷⁸⁵ Both groups envisioned American education as a bulwark of freedom against Soviet aggression and totalitarianism.⁷⁸⁶ Both represented teachers as spokespersons, guardians, and defenders of the basic values of Western civilization and a democratic way of life. Both asserted the professionalism of teachers as impartial and objective experts. The AFT and NEA declared that these educational experts would help to defeat communism through a logical and scientific approach that would give their students the necessary skills to discredit communist propaganda. They would instill in their students a desire for democracy that would inoculate them from the aims of propagandists. The launching of Sputnik on October 24, 1957 significantly disputed this narrative of teachers, however.

Teaching an Interdependent World about Survival, 1957-1965

Following Sputnik, public education moved to the forefront of the national political debate. Several critics argued that the overwhelming influence of progressive educational theories had left public schools and teachers too soft to supply the United States with morally and intellectually tough cold warriors. The media exclaimed that the

⁷⁸⁴ Frances P. Delaney, “The Social Studies Teacher in the Postwar World,” *NEA Journal* 36, 3 (March 1947): 184.

⁷⁸⁵ Crary (December 1952), 422.

⁷⁸⁶ Willard E. Givens, “Education is a Top Priority in Both War and Peace,” *NEA Journal* 40, 2 (February 1951): 125. William F. Russell, “Guest Editorial: Salute to the NEA,” *NEA Journal* 44 (September 1955): 329.

Space Age was here and “conceded that the Soviet Union had won some points” in the ideological Cold War to win over people’s minds.⁷⁸⁷ Education proponents in Congress saw an opening to pass federal aid to public education. The AFT and NEA saw Sputnik as an opportunity to further their professional agendas for public education and teachers. Both groups lobbied for federal aid as an investment in maintaining America’s world leadership. A primary strategy was to define public schools as essential Cold War institutions and to represent teachers as education experts. Teachers were charge with producing cold warriors ready and willing to face of aggressive Soviet imperialism. The AFT and NEA argued that well-funded public schools with well-paid, well-trained, and properly utilized teachers served as an important check on the Soviets, which was putting their ‘schools ahead of almost everything else in its mad rush for world domination.’⁷⁸⁸

The signing into law of the NDEA in September 2, 1958 marked a turning point in American education and teacher professionalism. To AFT and NEA leaders the federal government was now a vested partner in pursuit of excellence in public education. The NDEA positioned teachers as key actors in national defense. As in the Atomic Age, teachers continued to contribute to the stability of American democracy by instilling in their students a proper appreciation for their rights and responsibilities as world-minded citizens. Teachers also continued to contribute to national security by instilling an intelligent patriotism in America’s youth that developed a deep attachment to all human beings in the world around them.

⁷⁸⁷ Paul Dickson, *Sputnik: The Shock of the Century* (New York: Walker & Co., 2001), 24-25.

⁷⁸⁸ Finis E. Engelman, “Education: Global Priority,” *NEA Journal* 45, 8 (November, 1957): 537.

The Space Age brought a new imperative to America's classrooms, the survival of humankind. Hans Rosenhaupt, director of Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, proclaimed humanity's survival in the age of nuclear weapons deliverable by ICBMs and vicious lies disseminated by communist propaganda would be determined in the classrooms of America.⁷⁸⁹ Thus, the AFT and NEA had a new weapon in their discursive arsenal. NEA leaders continued their internationalist approach. They focused on the role of the teachers and public schools in securing the defense and survival of democracy abroad. They represented teachers as tough-minded realists who understood humanity's survival depended on comprehending the interdependent aspects of national and international affairs. AFT leaders continued their nationalist focus. They focused on American teachers' expertise in developing skills for human relations. They represented teachers as conscientious world citizens who understood humanity's survival depended on comprehending the common ideals that bound humanity together.

For the NEA, a professional teacher displayed an awareness of the international machinery intended to maintain peace, an absence of prejudices, an acknowledgment of the cost and consequences of past and future war, and a will to "develop in students a sense of world community."⁷⁹⁰ In other words, proper Cold War role models for the Space Age were teachers who embraced scientific objectivity and universal human values. In 1964, Milton Schwebel, professor of education at New York University, argued that students needed teachers who led by example and whose instruction stressed "the need for an objective and analytical approach to the problems of nuclear cold war."

⁷⁸⁹ Hans Rosenhaupt, "Education for Survival VII: Waging Peace in the Schools," *NEA Journal* 49, 7 (November 1960): 14.

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

To accomplish this new task, teachers should be sincerely interested in students' views about war, survival, and peace; encourage students to develop an understanding of worldwide issues and finding constructive action to engage in; and calmly identify himself (and the nation) with the settlement of conflict through peaceful means.⁷⁹¹

Overall, teachers needed to develop a logical, fact-based approach to teaching the dangers of nuclear war and the possibilities of peace, so that their students could think clearly and act decisively on the life-and-death issues that confronted them now and in the future.

In Schwebel's proposal, we see a capsulation of NEA approach to representing teachers as world-minded professionals throughout the Baby Boom era. Schwebel recalled the optimism following World War II, in which teachers carved out a key role in promoting world peace by promoting international cooperation. He reminded teachers of the need to balance education for national security and United States' world leadership in international conflicts. In confronting the dangers and promise of the Space Age, he defined teachers' roles as objective arbiters of truth. In this representation of teachers as rational technicians, educational scientists, and world-minded humanists, teachers were depicted as contributing directly to human survival in a dangerous, interdependent world.

While acknowledging the need to keep up with technological and scientific advances, AFT leaders and their allies focused most of their attention on the teaching of human relations. They argued that without the ability to negotiate and work with people from different cultures, the survival of humankind would be imperiled. To survive in the Space Age, the people of the world needed to understand each other. Teachers must help their students understand what people from diverse cultures valued and which values they

⁷⁹¹ Milton Schwebel, "Students, Teachers, and the Bomb," *NEA Journal* 53, 1 (January 1964): 48.

had in common with Americans. In doing so, teachers contributed to the building of a world community based on mutual respect. They also helped make the world safer.

At the 42nd AFT Convention in 1958, human relations was the primary topic of discussion. Assistant Milwaukee City Attorney Albert Saltzstein argued that while it was important for teachers to continue their educations to keep abreast with the speed and advancement of science, it was more important to teach an understanding of basic values: truth, justice, and the democratic system.⁷⁹² Alphonse Gion, Administrative Assistant to the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Relations, claimed "all local, national, and international problems stemmed mainly from the inability of people to understand one another... winning the peace rather than the war is learning to understand."⁷⁹³ The Detroit Federation of Teachers argued that teachers needed to place "more emphasis on the intangibles of life. There is a common bond between all peoples—we are all human beings."⁷⁹⁴ AFT leaders saw building an appreciation for cultural diversity and the human family as a primary task for teachers. Teachers should develop lessons that helped their students to build a functional understanding of world cultures and the desire to treat all human beings as equals. By doing so, teachers helped their students develop the habits and attitudes they needed to overcome the gravest threat facing humanity, nuclear war.

For the AFT, a primary obstacle to America's world leadership and thus world peace was the proliferation of nuclear weapons. As part of the National Civil Defense

⁷⁹² Arthur Saltzstein, "Two Challenges Facing Education Worlds," in *AFT 42nd Convention Minutes*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 25-29, 1958), 1. Located in the Mary Herrick File Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁹³ Alphonse Gion, "Democratic Human Relations Luncheon," in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 21, 1962), 38. Located in the Mary Herrick File in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁹⁴ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, "Sacrifices Hard Won Gains: Gallant Miss Sharp Joins Peace Corps," *The Detroit Teacher* 21, 1, September 1961. Located in the AFT President's Office, Part 1 File Box 70 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

Education Program developed by the Department of Defense in 1950, teachers were expected to prepare their students for the possibility of a nuclear attack. The Detroit Federation of Teachers claimed that “[m]ost teachers grimly accepted the necessary for air-raid precautions,” understanding that they have “a responsibility of helping pupils face the prospects of danger without panic or distorted fears which might develop into lifelong neuroses.”⁷⁹⁵ However, many teachers found the need for civil defense drills and the presence of fallout shelters in schools were disturbing reminders of what was at stake. In this grim reality, AFT leaders sought to eliminate the possibility of a nuclear attack.

AFT leaders knew nuclear disarmament would be a difficult fight. Nuclear weapons and the Space Age were intertwined with the United States’ competition with the Soviet Union for international prestige and power. AFT leaders sided with worldwide peace and nuclear disarmament movements that began to organize in earnest after 1954. In 1958, the AFT passed resolutions urging nations to end nuclear bomb testing and to immediately stop “all nuclear weapon manufacturing and testing.”⁷⁹⁶ The AFT reminded teachers they had a key role to play in regards to averting nuclear war. At the 46th AFT Convention in 1962, Resolution 13 heralded the United States’ participation in the Geneva Conference and called for the United States to abstain from the sale of nuclear weapons, to work toward nuclear disarmament, and to halt nuclear tests.⁷⁹⁷ The AFT also supported teachers who took conscientious stands against nuclear war. In 1962, the New

⁷⁹⁵ Detroit Federation of Teachers Local 231, “School Prepare for Problems of War,” *The Detroit Teacher* 9, 2, October 16, 1950. Located in the Helen Bowers File in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁹⁶ American Federation of Teachers, “Resolutions,” in *AFT 42nd Convention Minutes*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago, IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 25-29, 1958), 91. Located in the Mary Herrick File Box 2 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

⁷⁹⁷ American Federation of Teachers, “Resolutions,” in *AFT 46th Convention Proceedings Detroit Michigan*, edited by Mary Herrick (Chicago IL: American Federation of Teachers, August 21, 1962), 116. Located in the Mary Herrick File in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

York City AFT affiliate, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), supported substitute teacher and Air Force veteran James Council, who was suspended for refusing to participate in civil defense drills: “Mr. Council has said that nuclear war could only lead to annihilation and that he could not take part in shelter exercises that were an ‘acknowledged farce.’” Thousands of teachers signed a petition asking for Council’s reinstatement.⁷⁹⁸ Despite the legal and moral support, Council’s suspension was upheld by the courts.⁷⁹⁹

As with their official support for integration and denouncement of McCarthyism, the AFT’s stance on nuclear weapons positioned the organization and the union teachers they represented as a liberal voice in the American political culture and the international scene. For the AFT, teacher professionalism was determined by what they did in the classroom and what they stood for outside the classroom. As professionals, teachers held positions of authority in their communities, the nation, and the world. Their actions influenced the attitudes and values of the next generation of cold warriors. This meant teachers had an obligation not only to be aware of international politics, but also to take thoughtful stances as members of the teaching profession and as world citizens.

Conclusion

By utilizing discourses about United States’ world leadership, the AFT and NEA turned teacher professionalism into Cold War imperatives. Both organizations purposely tied the fate of the free world to the daily work of teachers in classrooms across the nation and the world. They also connected it to the discourses on consumerism,

⁷⁹⁸ “Teacher Backed on Shelter Stand,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1962.

⁷⁹⁹ James McCaffrey, “Teacher’s Ouster Upheld by Court: Sub Refused to Join Defense Drill,” *New York Times*, October 24, 1963.

democracy, and Americanism. AFT and NEA leaders used the precarious world situation to bring light to issues that affected teachers, such as antiquated school funding methods; booming student populations; overcrowded classrooms; inadequately trained or inexperienced teachers; increasingly tired and harried experienced teachers; the uneven contest for talent between the teaching profession and other employers; unprofessional teachers' salaries; undemocratic denial of teachers' civil rights; unwarranted attacks on academic freedom; and the need for federal aid. If the United States wanted to lead the world away from the dangers of communism and totalitarianism toward the promise of capitalism and democracy, Americans needed to invest in their teachers toiling on the front lines.

Both the AFT and the NEA received support for their claims from prominent national and international leaders. In 1961, Ralph McGill, Pulitzer Prize winning editor and publisher of the *Atlanta Constitution*, reasoned:

The future of our country and of what we call western civilization is in the hands of educators. It is the teachers who shall give the future its leaders, its scientists, engineers, doctors, scholars...The education we seek is the motivation of truly civilized man...to enable men to value wisdom [and] objective scientific research...to inspire us to seek an equitable and honorable institutional understanding, knowing full well that it is the surest alternative is nuclear war.⁸⁰⁰

In 1962, U Thant, the Secretary-General of the UN and former teacher, echoed the sentiments of the AFT and NEA on teachers' role in international cooperation. He declared that "teachers everywhere have as important a role to play as politicians or diplomats" in solving the international tensions facing the world. Teachers needed to

⁸⁰⁰ Ralph McGill, "Education: The Key to the Future," *The American Teacher* 45, 4, October 1961. Located in the AFT President's Office Part 1 File Box 70 in the AFT Archive at Wayne State University.

move beyond mere words. They needed to exemplify the “virtues of democratic ideals and the dignity of man” by eschewing prejudices and embracing the commonality of civilized men.⁸⁰¹ For both professional organizations, the worldly professional teacher was a logical, tough-minded realist. “He” knew that the survival of the world and a sustainable world community must be based on the common ideals that bound humanity together.

By 1965, the federal government and leading scientists confirmed the AFT’s and NEA’s claims about teachers’ technical expertise. Using NDEA grants to the National Science Foundation, renowned scientists from leading universities developed new instructional programs, curricular materials, and textbooks for physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, and other scientific fields.⁸⁰² In the 1960s and 1970s, the Peace Corps hired more and more teachers. They envisioned teachers as cold warriors in the classroom and defenders of the free world in newly independent countries. Teachers were expected to promote American democracy to stem the reach of global communism.⁸⁰³ Both these efforts recognize teachers’ current abilities or their ability to develop technical expertise. They also recognized the urgency of the situation teachers assisted humanity to face.

⁸⁰¹ U Thant, “Guest Editorial: The Teacher in this Age of Revolution,” *NEA Journal* 51, 1 (January 1962): 31.

⁸⁰² Paul DeHart Hurd, “Teaching Science in a Changing Society,” *CTA Journal* 57, 5 (San Francisco, CA: California Teacher Association, May 1961): 14-15, 26; John L. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2002); Kim Tolley, *The Science Education of American Girls: A Historical Perspective* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003), 202.

⁸⁰³ Zimmerman (2006), 198-201.

Conclusion: Teachers as Cold War Role Models

The historical shift from the AFT and NEA claiming that teachers were serious professionals who contributed to the winning of the Cold War to the confirmation of teacher professionalism by the federal government took concerted, persistent campaigns by both organizations. The NEA took a more moderate and, at times, conservative approach. They emphasized cooperation among teachers and administrators to present a united front in the pursuit of professional salaries, service, autonomy, and expertise. They argued that improving the quality and standing of public education would improve the professional status of teachers. This approach reflected the NEA's aspiration to be recognized as the professional organization for all educators, as the AMA was for doctors and the ABA was for attorneys. The AFT took a more confrontational and avowedly liberal approach. They emphasized developing strong locals and securing collective bargaining rights to bolster teachers' power in making decisions about their working conditions, compensation, curriculum, and pedagogy. They argued that teachers needed an exclusive organization to protect their interests which often conflicted with the bureaucratic concerns of administrators. Together, the AFT and NEA represented teachers as intelligent consumers, well-trained experts on democracy, capable custodians of professional ethics, and world-minded education technicians. In other words, they were Cold War role models.

From 1946 to 1955, the AFT and NEA were predominantly on the defensive. They faced a variety of challenges that combined to diminish the professionalism of teachers. The sustained nationwide teacher shortages led schools to hire under-qualified, inexperienced teachers and retain some older, rote-and-recite teachers to meet the

demands of escalating student population. Poor working conditions, inadequate facilities, and insufficient compensation contributed to high rates of teacher turnover that made teaching appear to be a temporary occupation. With the anticommunists' political dominance, the teaching profession came under suspicion of communist influence and infiltration. Increasing media coverage of seemingly intractable problems facing public schools, teaching looked like inescapable drudgery. Popular cultural representations of overwhelmed, bumbling, or burned-out teachers recycled older stereotypes of "bad" teachers as social misfits. "Good" teachers faced uncaring colleagues and onerous administrators who thwarted their attempts to provide the best possible education for their students. Together these factors helped to create instability within the teaching ranks.

The AFT and NEA sought opportunities to claim teacher professionalism. The demographic shift from single to married teachers helped to turn teaching into an opportunity for a long-term career. Both groups used this shift to represent teachers as family-oriented consumers who needed a middle class income to participate in and contribute to the postwar prosperity. As anticommunists began to lose their dominant position in 1954, the AFT and NEA represented teachers as loyal professionals dedicated to instilling in their students a love for individual freedoms, consumer capitalism, and democratic governance. *Brown I* decision in 1954 placed public schools at the center of desegregation battles. Both organizations represented teachers' public service as vital to extending the blessings of democracy to all Americans. Finally, a new popular representation of the "hero" teacher began to ascend with the cinematic release of *Blackboard Jungle* in 1955. "Hero" teachers were tough, dedicated family men who were willing to fight anyone standing in the way of the proper education of America's youth.

These “hero” teachers embodied the professionalism championed by the AFT and NEA. They were ethical, knowledgeable, and skilled pedagogical experts who acted in the best interests of the students and communities they served. These changes provided cultural spaces for the AFT and NEA to create a more dynamic version of teachers as cold war role models.

From 1956 to 1965, the AFT and NEA went on the offensive. Two events helped propel the AFT and NEA in this new direction. First, the Supreme Court’s *Brown II* decision in 1955 placed teachers into the center of civil rights movement. The massive resistance to school integration by Southern states jeopardized teachers’ claims to professional autonomy and vital public service. Southern states closed schools, diverted taxes to private schools, and fired teachers who supported integration or belonged to civil rights organizations. The second event was the launch of Sputnik in 1957, which pushed public schools and teachers into the middle of Cold War politics. Sputnik sparked a heated debate over the leadership, direction, personnel, and funding of public education. Many Americans feared that the United States had fallen behind the Soviets and turned to public schools to assign blame and to find a solution. Teachers were now expected to produce intellectually sophisticated students who could out-produce Soviet engineers and scientists, and outmaneuver communist propagandists.

The AFT and NEA purposely engaged with the consequences of these events to create a more dynamic representation of teachers as proper Cold War role models. They saw *Brown II* and Sputnik as opportunities to further the professional agenda for teachers. Both organizations represented teachers as crucial actors in securing economic prosperity both as consumers and educators, as vital defenders of the American way of life against

both right-wing extremists and communist propagandists, as specially-trained experts in democracy in and out of the classroom, and as rational education technicians insuring America's world leadership and democracy's eventual victory over totalitarianism. The NEA's chief aim was to secure federal aid to education. NEA lobbyists helped to pass the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). The funds from these bills supplemented school budgets freeing money to improve teachers' salaries and to pay for in-service teacher training. The AFT focused on securing collective bargaining rights. As collective bargaining became more common in the 1960s, teachers negotiated stronger tenure protections, due process rights in grievance procedures, academic freedom safeguards, and salary schedules, as well as benefit packages, that helped move them into middle class tax brackets. These collectively bargained contracts granted teachers far greater autonomy over their professional lives, especially in regards to salaries, employment practices, school policies, instruction methods, and curricular content.

As a result of their efforts, the AFT and NEA gained allies for their claims of teacher professionalism. Presidents, politicians, scholars, journalists, and activists joined in claiming teachers provided a vital public service in preserving and strengthening the economic, political, and social life of the United States and the world.⁸⁰⁴ Perhaps the

⁸⁰⁴ Henry A. Wallace, "The Challenge of Education," *NEA Journal* 35, 1 (January 1946): 39. (Reprinted editorial from *Publishers' Weekly*, September 29, 1945); "President Truman recommends Federal Aid for Public Schools: Makes a Strong Statement to Congress in Annual Message January 21, 1946," *NEA Journal* 35, 3 (March 1946): 125; Honorable Robert A. Taft, "The Sound Basis for Federal Aid to Education," *NEA Journal* 36, 5 (May 1947): 361-363; "President's Message Urge Federal Aid," *NEA Journal* 37, 2 (February, 1948): 82; Earl J. McGarth, "Education is the Road to Freedom," *NEA Journal* 38, 1 (January 1949): 45; "President Truman Urges Prompt Action on Federal Aid," *NEA Journal* 38, 5 (May 1949): 94; Henry Steele Commager, "Editorial: Our Schools Have Kept Us Free," *Life* 29, 16 (October 16, 1950): 46; "Bipartisan Support for School Construction," *NEA Journal* 45, 2 (February 1956): 75; "Following are excerpts from speech delivered by Senator Wayne Morse (D- OR) at Philadelphia, PA. August 14, 1961," *Congressional Record* 107, 139 (August 14, 1961), 14643-14645; Harold M. Groves, "The First Kennedy

loudest voice affirming teacher' professionalism to come from Lyndon B. Johnson. Upon signing ESEA on April 11, 1965, Johnson echoed many teacher groups' claims. He recalled Americans' faith in free, universal, and nonsectarian public schools as the guardians of democracy: "From our very beginnings as a nation, we have felt a fierce commitment to the ideal of education for everyone. It fixed itself into our democratic creed." He remarked that the ESEA's enactment "began a new day of greatness in American society." As a "former son of a tenant farmer," as "a former teacher," and as President of the United States, Johnson knew that "education is the only valid passport from poverty" and best way to rekindle "the revolution of the spirit against the tyranny of ignorance." Johnson identified teachers as the key actors in making this vision a reality. The key was "bringing new teaching techniques into the nation's classrooms" and putting new books into the hands of children as soon as possible so teachers could "bridge the gap between helplessness and hope."⁸⁰⁵

By 1965, the claims for teacher professionalism made by the AFT and NEA had been affirmed. Collective bargaining turned teaching into a middle class profession and teacher unionism into a viable path to professionalism. While teachers continued to lag beyond other professionals in terms of salaries, in the 1970s and 1980s teachers saw significant increases in their incomes relative to manufacturing and white-collar jobs. From 1966 to 1975, the AFT and NEA discussed the possibility of a merger. In 1973, the

Budget and Education," *NEA Journal* 51, 3 (March 1962): 12-13; Edith Green, "Much More Remains to be Done," *NEA Journal* 53, 2 (February 1964): 16-17.

⁸⁰⁵ "Johnson's Remarks on Signing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, April 11, 1965." Accessed on May 13, 2013 from *Lyndon B. Johnson Library* at <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/lyndon-baines-johnson/timeline/johnsons-remarks-on-signing-the-elementary-and-secondary-education-act>.

NEA officially became a union.⁸⁰⁶ Local, state, and federal governments established policies and enacted laws that ensured teachers' civil rights, required fair employment practices, and extended tenure protections. By 1968, over 85% of all teachers had tenure protections. By the mid-1970s, court victories and the enforcement of fair employment laws increased the number of minority teachers in public schools. These policies and laws would remain the norm until the mid 1980s.⁸⁰⁷

Federal courts affirmed the necessity for academic freedom in a democratic society and to teachers' performance of their public service by overturning restrictions on teachers' political activism.⁸⁰⁸ Federal aid bills formalized the federal government's role in public education, creating a new paradigm in which public schools moved from being

⁸⁰⁶ Robert J. Brown, *Teachers and Power: The Struggle of the AFT* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), 65-68; Susan B. Carter, "Incentives and Rewards to Teaching," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 49, 54, 58. William Edward Eaton, *American Federation of Teachers, 1916-1961: A History of the Movement* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 196-198; Charles Taylor Kerchner and Krista D. Kaufman, "Lurching toward Professionalism: The Saga of Teacher Unionism," *The Elementary School Journal* 96, 1 (1995): 107-110; Charles Taylor Kerchner and Douglas E. Mitchell, *The Changing Idea of Teachers' Union* (Philadelphia, PA: The Falmer Press, 1988), 4-19, 220-231; Major Murphy, *Blackboard Unions: The AFT and NEA, 1900-1980* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 205; Marshall O. Donley, Jr., *Power to the Teacher: How American Educators Became Militant* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1976), 160-173; Joseph B. Shedd and Samuel B. Bacharach, *Tangled Hierarchies: Teachers as Professionals and the Management of Schools* (San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass Publishers, 1991), 176; T. M. Stinnett, *Professional Problems of Teachers. Third Edition* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 501-507; Wayne Urban, *Gender, Race, and NEA: Professionalism and its Limitations* (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2000), 171; Wayne Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., *American Education: A History, Fourth Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 381.

⁸⁰⁷ In 1920, only five states had tenure protections for teachers. In 1930, 33% of teachers were covered by tenure laws. (Stinnett, (1968), 207; Ted Bass and Arnold W. Wolport, *Teaching in California: Revised Edition* (San Francisco, CA: Chandler Publishing Co., 1963), 52-54; Michael Fultz, "Displacement of Black Educators Post-Brown: Overview and History," *History of Education Quarterly* 44, 1 (Spring 2004): 36; Kerchner and Kaufman, 112; Shedd and Bacharach, 42; Wayne Urban, "Teacher Activism," in *American Teachers: Historians of a Profession at Work*, edited by Donald Warren (Washington, D.C.: American Education Research Association, 1989), 202.)

⁸⁰⁸ In *Pickering v. Board of Education*, The Supreme Court ruled that a teacher could not be fired for political comments or activism on matters of public concern that are substantially accurate: "On such a question free and open debate is vital to informed decision-making by the electorate. Teachers are, as a class, the members of a community most likely to have informed and definite opinions as to how funds allotted to the operation of the schools should be spent. Accordingly, it is essential that they be able to speak out freely on such questions without fear of retaliatory dismissal." (*Pickering v. Board of Education of Township High School District*, 205, Will County No. 510, June 3, 1968, 390-391. Accessed on May 24, 2013 at <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/391/563/case.html>; Kenneth T. Henson, "Teacher Professionalism, Rights, and Responsibilities," *The High School Journal* 61, 6 (1978): 282; For information on teachers' rights and academic freedom see, Bass and Wolport, (1963), 55-60; Urban and Wagoner, Jr., 383-384.)

primarily a local concern to becoming an important national and international issue. The NDEA affirmed that teaching required technical expertise and contributed to national security by funding teacher training programs to promote innovative pedagogy in math, science, and foreign languages. The ESEA recognized the public service offered by teachers in creating a freer, equal, strong, and prosperous American democracy by funding programs to equalize educational opportunities.

By 1965, the Cold War discourses the AFT and NEA utilized to claim teacher professionalism began to change. Second wave feminists challenged the patriarchal consumer ideal of the father/husband breadwinner and the dutiful housewife/mother. Between 1972 and 1982 feminists lobbied state legislatures to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to protect and extend women's economic rights. The challenges to "conventional" domesticity and the ERA campaign sparked an intense backlash from conservative Republicans led by Phyllis Schlafly.⁸⁰⁹ An interesting extension of this study would be to examine teachers' engagements with second wave feminism. Into the 1970s and 1980s, the teaching profession continued to be dominated by married women. How did the AFT and NEA engage with feminists' claims for all women's economic rights, financial independence, and professional compensation? Did they utilize the discourses for and against the ERA to promote teachers' professionalism?

Black Power activists challenged the ideal of a pluralistic democracy, the entrenchment of de facto segregation, and the professional autonomy of teachers. From 1965 to 1969, African Americans disillusioned with police brutality, de facto segregation,

⁸⁰⁹ Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 212-214.

and racial discrimination rioted in Watts, Cleveland, Omaha, Newark, Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore. In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, suburban communities across the United States defended de facto segregation from the federal interference and liberal race solutions. Beginning in 1974, the Supreme Court altered the legacy of *Brown* in favor of suburban political interests.⁸¹⁰ African Americans also grew frustrated with decaying schools staffed by unqualified, indifferent, or bigoted teachers. In 1968, the decentralized school board led by black power activists in New York City's predominantly African American neighborhood of Ocean Hill–Brownsville fought for community control over the curriculum, buildings, and staffing of their schools. The UFT, one of the most active supporters of the civil rights movement, led a teachers' strike to protect their hard-fought autonomy over teacher transfers and placement.⁸¹¹ While the Ocean Hill–Brownsville UFT strike has been extensively studied, an examination of how the AFT and NEA navigated the increasingly militancy of the civil rights activists, the political battles over dismantling de facto segregation, and the corresponding grassroots conservative political movement could be fruitful. How did they engage with these disparate discourses about the true meaning of the Americanism? Did their engagement contribute to Republican attacks on teacher unions in the 1980s?

⁸¹⁰ In *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973) in which the Supreme Court found that education is not a fundamental right and that the Constitution did not require equal education expenditures within a state. In *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974) the Court disallowed metropolitan desegregation plans that combined city and suburban school districts. In *Warth v. Selden* (1975) the Court approved exclusively suburban zoning laws. (Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 252-258; Murphy, 246-248.)

⁸¹¹ Gwen Bergner, "Black Children, White Preference: *Brown v. Board*, the Doll Tests, and the Politics of Self-Esteem," *American Quarterly* 61, 2 (2009): 309-312; Perrillo, 138-139; Murphy, 239-246. Michael J. Schultz, Jr., *The National Education Association and the Black Teacher: The Integration of a Professional Organization* (Carol Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1970), 193.

The escalating war in Vietnam challenged United States' claim to moral world leadership. In the 1960s and 1970s, the New Left emerged in the United States and Europe. A broad range of activist and intellectual movements coalesced around scathing critiques of American Exceptionalism, ban on nuclear weapons, antiwar protests, environmentalism, and various civil rights movements. In 1968, large-scale strikes, protests, and rebellions led by workers and students erupted in major cities including Berlin, London, Madrid, Paris, Prague, Rome, Warsaw, Tokyo, Kingston, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Berkeley, Chicago, and New York. The United States financed various international programs to spread a colorblind liberal internationalism and to counter criticism from the New Left, Soviet propaganda, and anti-colonial leaders. The State Department sponsored a variety of cultural exchange tours to promote the vitality of the American way of life. In 1960s and 1970s, the Peace Corps set up schools staffed by American teachers around the world. These schools emphasized health, physical, and vocational education. Anti-imperialists and nationalists criticized the Peace Corps as a “neo-colonial tool of American imperialism” and teachers as “agents of imperialism.”⁸¹² As young people in the United States and around the world challenged “conventional” understandings of democracy, capitalism, and America’s world leadership, how did the NEA and AFT respond? What roles did they assign teachers in negotiating New Left activism and United States efforts to have the world emulate the American way of life?

By 1965, the AFT and NEA had successfully created Cold War role models.

Most teachers were married, middle class consumers with families. Their public service

⁸¹² Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 3, 25, 222, 257-260; Jonathon Zimmerman, *Innocent Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 75-76, 204-205.

to democracy and world leadership was embodied in the mission and programs of the NDEA and ESEA. Collectively bargained contracts expand teachers' autonomy over their working lives. Legal protections for teachers' civil rights, political activism, academic freedom, and tenure was commonplace and commonly practiced by teachers.

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