

REDS AT THE BLACKBOARD: COMMUNISM, CIVIL RIGHTS, AND THE NEW YORK CITY TEACHERS UNION

by Clarence Taylor

Chapter 10: Crusading for Civil Rights

In a letter to the February 1, 2007 edition of the *New York Teacher*, Phyllis Murray, a member of the New York State Teachers Union, wrote: “As we prepare to celebrate Black History Month in February, we must not forget that Black history is American history. Therefore, it is incumbent upon educators and all people of good will to work toward infusing this history into all American history textbooks, all American historical societies and all chronological accounts of American history.”ⁱ This call for the inclusion of black history in the American experience was not a new one among teachers. Fifty years earlier the New York City Teachers Union diligently fought for the inclusion of the history of black Americans in New York City schools. In fact, the promotion of Black History became an important component of the agenda of the union.

By the end of 1950 the New York City Teachers Union was in the worst position ever in its forty-four year history. Thanks to the Timone Resolution it could no longer operate as a collective bargaining agency for New York City public school teachers; it could not represent faculty in grievances or hold meetings in the public school buildings. Moreover, the New York City Board of Education’s purge of TU members continued. After 1935 the TU claimed that it became the largest Teachers’ Union in the city. However, there was no doubt that the purges led to its membership dramatically declining due to the board’s campaign to eliminate it. Indeed, its status and identity as a labor union was severely damaged.

Despite its inability to represent teachers officially, the New York City Teachers’ Union did not fold in 1950. In fact, it would continue to exist for another fourteen years. To its credit, during the period of rapid decline in membership in the 1950s and 1960s, the union refused to move to the margins but instead remade itself into a politically connected pressure organization fighting for several causes. The issue that received the greatest attention from the union was civil rights. As the school integration battle heated up in New York and civil rights leaders and organizations fought to eliminate segregated schools in the city, the TU carved out a space for itself as an important ally in the civil rights struggle. It became one of the most outspoken advocates for racial equality in the city and the nation.

Recently, some scholars have made a distinction between the civil rights struggles of the 1930s and 1940s and those of the 1950s and 1960s, arguing that the earlier battles were led by popular front labor organizations and members of the left, especially the American Communist Party. On the other hand, a number of civil rights groups, such as the NAACP, sought legal remedies, while religiously based organizations of the black working and middle classes fought for integration of schools, black enfranchisement and public accommodation by using a number of tactics, including non-violent resistance. “Historians see the civil rights movement in the 1940s,” historian Anthony Badger asserts, “as different from the movement in the 1950s and ‘60s; it was a class-based movement, powered by leftist and biracial trade unions and focused more on economic rights than legalistic civil rights. This era of the civil rights movement, however, was brought to a halt by McCarthyism. The civil rights movement that emerged after 1955 was a church-based, cross-class movement that stressed legalistic civil rights.”

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The TU’s story after 1950 throws into question the argument that popular front unionism was eradicated during the civil rights struggles of the cold war period. Despite the decimation of the left and popular front unions that championed civil rights by anti-Communist forces, the TU did not back away from the struggle for racial equality. Instead it devoted most of its energy to the civil rights crusade. While it could not directly address the Board of Education as a legal representative of teachers, it became a key supporter of the civil rights struggle in New York City by becoming an important pressure organization attempting to force the school agency to end racial discrimination. The TU’s civil rights campaign could not be waged as part of the collective bargaining agreement since it no longer had that authority to negotiate. Instead it turned to the strategy of creating a popular

front, organizing community, civil rights, labor and progressive politicians. No doubt, the TU's World War II formulation of racism as unpatriotic because it caused disunity in a time when unity was needed to defeat fascism would no longer suffice; however, it still maintained that racism was a threat to American democracy. Racism, the union claimed, distorted the contributions African Americans, Hispanics and other nationally oppressed groups made to the democratic project.

Arguing that racial equality and democracy were essential for education, the TU launched a campaign in which New York City schools became an arena of civil rights struggle. The TU's civil rights crusade in the city was waged on three fronts: it campaigned to rid the school system of biased and racist textbooks; it fought to force the Board of Education to hire more black teachers; and it promoted black history.

Indeed, the TU went beyond the liberal consensus that called for equal opportunity and an end to employment discrimination. The union made a case for why it was important that steps be taken to hire blacks. Moreover, it did not rely on electoral politics or legislative advocacy. Instead, it adopted mass organizing to place pressure on the board and other agencies to implement changes. Its tactic of exposing of the school agency's policies and practices as opposed to its pronouncements, was a way to embarrass board officials and convince its "natural" allies to take action. The union was able to gain recognition and support for its campaign due in large part to a liberal consensus on civil rights in the late 1940s and 1950s.

The National Civil Rights Campaign

Long before the passage of the Timone Resolution, the Teachers' Union gave its full support to the national struggle for racial equality. The union circulated a petition issued by the Bronx Chapter of the NAACP demanding that Bronx District Attorney Samuel J. Foley not extradite James Wilson back to South Carolina to serve on a chain gang. In January of 1951 the Executive Committee voted to give the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund a check for \$25 to help support its efforts to end school segregation. It also sent money to the "Committee of 100," a group of prominent individuals—including authors Lillian Smith and Archibald MacLeish, A. Philip Randolph, philosopher Sidney Hook and theologian Reinhold Niebuhr—attempting to raise money for the NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. The Committee's stated goal was to create an "America of justice and equality for our Negro Citizens." The group wanted to raise \$100,000 so it could send experienced men and women into southern localities to quell the racial violence that had erupted over attempts at school integration. The cadre of experienced people consisted of southerners and northerners, black and white.ⁱⁱⁱ

One of the most horrendous acts of southern injustice was the murder of 14 year old Emmett Till in 1955. The Chicago native, who had traveled to Mississippi to visit his uncle, was accused of whistling at a white woman while he was in grocery store. Roy Bryant, the husband of the woman, Carolyn Bryant, and his half-brother, J.W. Milam kidnapped Till, tortured and mutilated him. They tied his body to a cotton gin and dumped it into the Tallahatchie River. In an effort to win justice for Till the Teachers' Union sent a letter to the Department of Justice protesting his murder and demanding that the department get involved. Assistant Attorney General of the Criminal Division Warren Olney III and Arthur B. Caldwell, Chief of the Civil Rights Section, acknowledged Lucille Spence's letter concerning what they called the "alleged kidnapping" and killing of Emmett Till. But they rejected the request, writing: "Available information indicates that the alleged kidnapping and killing of Till were acts of private individuals and that he was not transported across state lines." Maintaining that the offences involved were violations of Mississippi, not federal law, the Department of Justice claimed it had "no jurisdiction or authority to take any action in connection therewith." Still, the union's effort was not insignificant. The fact that the Justice Department felt compelled to respond to the union suggested that the government was receiving pressure to address the murder.^{iv}

Even though it was losing members and carrying on a costly battle to end the McCarthy era purges, the TU continued to support national efforts. The union donated one hundred dollars which it had pledged at the Civil Rights Rally at Madison Square Garden on May 24, 1956 to the NAACP. The donations, Russell told Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, came from members and friends of the union.^v

One of the crucial battles in the South was the effort to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the 1957. After Little Rock School Board voted to integrate, nine African American students were chosen. Governor Orval Faubus ordered the National Guard to stop the nine children from entering the school, thus violating federal law (Brown decision) and a mob of angry whites camped outside the school. Eventually, President Eisenhower deployed members of the 101st Airborne Division to the school, assuring the safe entrance of the black students to Central High.^{vi} The Executive Board of the TU sent greetings to Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas state conference of the NAACP and advisor to the Little Rock Nine and the students, noting its admiration for their “unflinching fight for freedom and equality.” Lederman, Russell and Spence, who sent the letter, told the freedom fighters that the union took pride in its record of battling bias and bigotry and was a fierce advocate of school integration in schools in the “North as well as the South.”^{vii}

Besides donating money and writing letters, the Teachers Union became active in national civil rights campaigns. In the fall of 1958 Lucille Spence and Jeanne Walton sent a letter to “selected” union members informing them of the Youth March for October 25 in Washington D.C. As late as early October, the union had not decided to charter a bus or to encourage children of its members to use the busses of the organizing committee; it did ask members to send their reservations. However, by October 10, the union had decided to sponsor a bus in the name of the Teachers Center for the Youth March, sending a check of a check for \$25.00 as a deposit. Russell sent Bayard Rustin the balance for the bus seven days later.^{viii}

Even in its last few months of existence, the union managed to champion civil rights. In the 1963 Birmingham, Alabama campaign led by Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference gained national attention. Russell wrote to President Kennedy expressing the TU’s outrage at the use of police dogs, high pressure water hoses and electric prods “intended for herding reluctant cattle into slaughtering pens” by police against hundreds of school children. She protested that the children had been arrested and held in overcrowded jails because they participated with “their elders” in civil rights demonstrations. Russell called upon the President to use all his powers to assure that “constitutional rights and human dignity of our Negro Citizens” in the South as well as in the North would be respected. Russell sent copies of the letter to Wilkins, King and Fred Shuttlesworth. The union also issued a press release urging all its members to join the picket lines organized by the NAACP in each borough to “protest the atrocities” in Birmingham. Although there is no indication King or Shuttlesworth responded to Russell, John A. Morsell, assistant to Roy Wilkins, sent a letter of thanks to the legislative representative for both, sharing her letter to Kennedy and the press release with Wilkins. “It is indeed heartening to have this evidence of concern and moral support from citizens of good will.”^{ix}

Civil Rights in New York City: The Textbook Campaign

The Teachers’ Union linked the New York City struggle for racial equality to the southern wing of civil rights movement. In a letter to Roy Wilkins noting the TU’s financial contribution to the NAACP, Russell asserted that the TU had a long history of fighting bigotry in the New York City school system and would continue to cooperate in every way in the fight against de facto segregation. In 1963 it contributed money to CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, as well as the campaign to integrate Junior High School 275.^x

One of the TU’s most important initiatives was the attempt to remove racist textbooks from the public schools. The drive to eliminate biased textbooks goes back to the 1930s, when African-American historians W.E.B. Du Bois and Carter G. Woodson brought to the nation’s attention the derogatory images of people of African origins. In his monumental work on Reconstruction, Du Bois analyzed how high school textbooks portrayed this period in history, noting that they either ignored the subject or depicted it as a tragic era. Adopting the historian William Dunning’s argument, authors of high school textbooks portrayed the period as one where white northerners and incompetent blacks gained political power, only to prove that they were incapable of governing. Reconstruction governments were depicted as bent on punishing white southerners. Carter G. Woodson also provided an analysis of the racism in American history textbooks in the March 1939 issue of the

New York Teacher News. He noted that, despite the fact that several texts were filled with racist depictions of people of African origins the books were selected by board officials for use in the classroom. The union's campaign to ban biased textbooks was reinvigorated by its effort to end the Board of Education's ban on books such as Howard Fast's *Citizen Tom Paine*, Laura Hobson's *Gentlemen's Agreement*, and the *Nation Magazine*. The union consistently raised questions to the board and public about why certain books that demeaned races and cultures were allowed to remain in schools, while politically progressive material was banned. It was this question—and the union's broader commitment in fighting bigotry – that stirred it to challenge the board's hypocrisy.^{xi}

Before the TU became involved in the battle to eliminate biased textbooks from the schools, others had taken the lead. The struggle against racist textbooks was part of the larger attempt, launched by Rachel DuBois and proponents of intercultural education, to promote positive images of blacks, immigrants and other ethnic and racial groups. DuBois had emphasized the importance of teaching children about the cultural contributions of immigrants and African Americans in large part to foster the self-esteem of those groups. In 1939 the NAACP published a pamphlet entitled "Anti-Negro Propaganda in School Textbooks." In 1944 a delegation of black leaders met with Board of Education officials to discuss the racist portrayal of blacks in books used by children in the public schools. The delegation, which included Councilman Benjamin Davis and the publisher of the *Amsterdam News*, argued that books that praised the Ku Klux Klan for removing blacks from state governments during Reconstruction could have originated from the United States' fascist enemies. Thus it would be incorrect to argue that the TU initiated the textbook campaign.^{xii}

The TU's textbook campaign was undoubtedly broader than the NAACP's and those of African American leaders: it included an analysis of pernicious images of Jews, immigrants, colonial subjects and labor. Borrowing the methods and arguments of the NAACP, the TU issued a pamphlet entitled "The Children's Textbooks" identifying in April 1948 several books used by New York City schools that made children "prey to anti-Semitism, Jim Crow and racism." Recapitulating its World War II campaign against racism, the TU contended that the books led to division among people, promoting war and fascism.^{xiii}

The Teachers' Union accused the board of taking action on the "flimsiest of pretext" to ban *Citizen Tom Paine*, *Focus Magazine*, and *Gentlemen's Agreement* while ignoring prejudicial material in of history and geography texts, readers and other books. "The Children's Textbooks" was divided into four areas, documenting bias expressed towards blacks, recently arrived immigrant groups, "the peoples patronizingly called 'natives'" from colonized areas and "near colonial areas of the world," and the laboring class. The pamphlet provided ample examples of bias against these groups. In *My Country: The Men Who Made it* a textbook used in schools, author William H. Mace maintained that "some Negroes thought that freedom meant no work. They caused much trouble in the South, for sometimes they went about the country in gangs, begging, stealing, threatening people and creating disorder." In another textbook, "*American History*" by David S. Muzzey, the author went as far as to claim that white southerners saw the vagrancy laws as a necessity to protect themselves "against the deeds of crimes and violence to which a large wandering unemployed body of Negroes might be tempted." Similar language was used to describe other groups. For example, in, *Foreign Lands and Peoples*, J. Russell Smith wrote that "people of Indo-China are not very fond of jobs where they have to work all the time." The union also targeted school superintendent William Jansen's co-authored book, *Our Neighbors in America & Europe*. "Thousands of Mexicans," the authors wrote, "have had little or no schooling and are so easily led by others that as a result Mexico has had several revolutions." Undoubtedly, the passage depicted Mexicans as ignorant, gullible and unable to make choices in their best interest.^{xiv} Parents, the TU suggested, should set up textbook committees that would examine books, lead discussions among parents and teachers, and send delegations to the board and publishers. Organizations should write to the board and publishers urging them to withdraw books "marred by discriminatory attitudes" and omit the offensive passages in future editions. Parents should also reach out to concerned groups, such as the NAACP, the American Jewish Congress and the TU for assistance.^{xv}

The TU group that took the lead in the textbook campaign was the Harlem Committee, a racially diverse group that had since its inception in 1935 challenged racial stereotypes in books as a threat to democracy. In 1950, when the purges were well underway, the Harlem Committee of the TU, under the leadership of Norman London, issued a more comprehensive analysis entitled, "Bias and Prejudice in Textbooks in Use in New York

City Schools.” The twenty-six page pamphlet grew out of a 1949 study conducted by London and the Harlem Committee and was first published in the *New York Daily Compass*. The document was in part a study but also a political commentary on how African Americans, other people of color and immigrants were depicted in textbooks, approved by the Board of Education and the Board of Superintendents. Many of them were authored by board officials. These books frequently used vicious racist representations of people of color and the foreign born.

The committee made a distinction between censorship, which it did not support, and the elimination of “racist stereotypes, distortion of historical and scientific fact, and bias.” The latter was a violation of the democratic rights assured to all Americans. The objective was to challenge racist images, which helped reinforce a sense of inferiority and distorted the truth about the role of blacks in American history. The union wanted to introduce the “study of Negro history not as a mere gesture one week out of the year but as a basic phase of the development of American culture and traditions.”^{xvi}

The various sections in “Bias and Prejudice” explored how textbooks treated blacks, “Colonial Peoples” and other “minority groups.” Millions of school children were presented a distorted image of blacks as, for example, “carefree, lazy, banjo strumming, watermelon – eating” slaves suited for the peculiar institution. *Our United States*, approved by the Board of Superintendents for use, contained the following sentence: “It was often a happy life for the slaves. They had no cares except to do their work well.” Another text for sixth graders, authored by former assistant superintendent James J. Reynolds, contained a reproduction of a painting of an African American playing a banjo with the question in a caption, “How do you know these Negroes lived a happy, care-free life?” School textbooks presented the treatment of slaves as benign and free of brutality. A passage in *United States in the Making*, by Canfield, Wilder, et al, noted that “slaves of the South were considerably treated... They were in most cases, adequately fed and cared for and they submitted in general to their lot without protest. They probably did not work any harder than the northern hired man, and at least they had fewer worries than un-employment and the insecurity of old age.”^{xvii} The Harlem Committee saw such passages as evidence of a systematic effort by school officials to deny the cruelty of slavery and present the treatment of blacks in the antebellum period as paternalistic. “Bias and Prejudice” noted that school textbooks either distorted or ignored black resistance. Thus, Nat Turner was described as “ignorant,” “illiterate” and “a religious fanatic.” This benign image of slavery was symptomatic of a larger problem of institutional racism in the North. The very institutions that were supposed to educate children were perpetuating lies by demeaning a large portion of the student body. The racist texts endorsed by the Boards of Superintendents and Education were promoting white supremacy and black inferiority.

The black image fared no better in the section on Reconstruction in textbooks, which adopted William Dunning’s view that blacks were unable to govern when provided political power in the South, leading to a period of massive corruption and chaos. In fact, some of the textbooks approved by school officials contained passages that defended the Ku Klux Klan. In their eighth-grade text, entitled *The Treasure Chest of Literature*, editors Edward J. Kehoe and Charles G. Eichel, who were both school principals, and Ignus O. Hornstein, assistant director of evening schools, included a piece by Thomas Nelson Page in what the TU characterized as an apologia for the Ku Klux Klan. They wrote: “The degradation and suffering of the old leaders of the South were pitiful. Deprived of their homes, bankrupt, terrorized by the Negroes and Carpetbaggers,” they finally organized, for the protection of their families; the famous Ku Klux Klan, which although wrong in principle and contrary to law, gave them some relief from their suffering. The blatantly racist passage portrayed freedmen and freedwomen as the cause of violence in the South, while the Klan was depicted as nothing more than a group of innocent southerners defending themselves against black attacks. A passage in *Our Country*, by Yarbrough, Bruner and Hancox, accused the United States Congress of passing “a number of harsh laws to punish the South,” including one law disfranchising white men and giving the vote to freedmen. Another of these laws sent northern troops to police southern whites. “To make matters worse for the South, some of the soldiers were Negroes.” One assistant superintendent assigned to the High School division, William Hamm, who co-authored the text *The American Story*, expressed admiration for the Klan. In 1867 hundreds of local Klan groups united in the Invisible Empire of the South, under the leadership of General Nathan Forest as its Grand Wizard. “Its purposes were patriotic, but its methods cannot be defended... Unruly Negroes were whipped.”^{xviii}

Although the major focus of “Bias and Prejudice” was on how blacks were portrayed in texts, the work also included a small section on other “Minority Groups.” Mexicans, Latin Americans and the “foreign born” in the United States were portrayed in texts approved by the school system in degrading fashion. Branon and Gayney in *Social Geography* contended: “Nicaragua and Guatemala are very much alike in that about 85 per cent of the populations is Indian or lower class Spanish of mixed race. These people are quarrelsome and therefore lacking in progress.” In another textbook the author claimed that many foreign born “did not even learn to speak English. Some people do not make good American citizens.” Jansen and Allen’s work contended that Mexican farmers “are not greatly interested in their work and seem satisfied as long as they have enough to eat.” “Bias and Prejudice” also noted that no attention was paid to Jewish contributions to American society in most of the history texts approved by the boards.^{xix}

“Bias and Prejudice” proved the pervasiveness of racism in the system. School leaders in New York were the ones perpetrating the racist stereotypes. The union cited *A History of My Country*, co-authored by acting chair of the Board of Examiners David S. Muzzey, which depicted emancipated blacks as simpletons and slavery as a benevolent institution, arguing that once slavery was removed the blacks reverted to savagery. One passage in a sixth-grade textbook, *Reading for Appreciation* compiled by former Associate Superintendent of Schools, William E. Grady (who would later have a school named after him) and Paul Klapper, read: “At night Whitney loved to hear the Negroes singing the old plantation airs as they sat in front of their cabins picking seeds from the vegetable wool... There were, however, the holiday times when banjos were brought out and all the evening was given over to merry making – to singing and dancing and a feast of watermelon and roasted corn.”

Of all the school officials noted in “Bias and Prejudice,” William Jansen received the most attention. The Jansen administration was responsible for the controversial banning of *Gentlemen’s Agreement*, *Citizen Tom Paine*, *Focus*, the *Nation Magazine* and other publications. Under Jansen TU members were being fired, forced to resign or forced to retire because of their political affiliation, and the TU itself was facing a ban from the school system. The union had reason to claim it was under attack was because of its challenge to the school agency. “Bias and Prejudice” was not merely a fact-finding report but a political document designed to weaken Jansen’s position and bolster the image of the union.

The Superintendent’s thirteen geography books, ranging from the fourth to the eighth grade and all on the Board of Education’s approved list, were filled with racist and ethnocentric notions. “Because the native people of Africa, most of whom belong to the Negro race,” Jansen asserted, “are very backward, the greater part of the Continent has come under the control of European nations since its opening up began.” In another text co-authored by Jansen entitled *The Distant Lands*, a line appears referring to Ethiopians as “backward and of mixed race.” The Harlem Committee also noted Jansen’s embrace of imperial rulers. In *The Distant Lands*, the authors contended “British have done more to develop the cotton manufacturing industry in India, especially by building and equipping modern mills and factories.” Jansen and co-author Allen wrote in *Our Own Lands*, “[s]ince Puerto Rico has been our possession, we have aided the people in building good roads, establishing schools and hiring good teachers, and living in a more healthful way.”^{xx} The committee concluded that the highest ranking administrators, including the Superintendent, were not impartial when it came to judging the contents of textbooks. The board refused to eliminate racist texts because they themselves were biased, and racism operated “likewise in the victimization of teachers (particularly leaders of the Teachers’ Union) who have fought against the policy of the Board of Education in regard to intercultural education, the banning of books and numerous instances of undemocratic practices of Dr. Jansen and his subordinates.”

Not willing to just cite passages that the union asserted displayed bias, the committee provided a stinging critique of Jansen’s approach: “We are certain that this smug comment by our Superintendent would fail to impress our Puerto Rican children and their parents, for they know first hand the heart-breaking living conditions of the people of Puerto Rico.” The TU cited reports, including a survey conducted by the Institute of Field Studies – Teachers College, Columbia University, noting that for “almost all dietary constituents the findings indicate that the majority of the people of the Island is living in the danger zone of clinical deficiency.”^{xxi}

The images of blacks, Puerto Ricans and colonized people in the textbooks endorsed the view that they were intellectually inferior beings. The union was challenging these efforts by the school system and exposing the

board's insensitivity, which was having a detrimental impact on black children. This civil rights effort was just as important as the right to vote because it attempted to stop the systematic psychological destruction of children. According to the Committee, biased textbooks fostered "profound prejudices in the very young." The images of "shiftless, irresponsible, chicken-stealing Negroes" was instilled in the "minds of impressionable children." The Harlem Committee cited in one section of "Bias and Prejudice" a mother at a Harlem conference who said that her child looked at his first grade reader and asked her "where am I" in his first grade reader. However, the Harlem Committee did not define its major objective as psychological change; instead it used the political argument. The textbooks were promoting white supremacy and thus undermined principles of American democracy of equal opportunity and fair play. These books were in violation of major principles of equality. Moreover, the language of the biased texts distorted historical and scientific truths, contradicting the findings of such prominent scholars as Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson, and John Hope Franklin.

To pressure the board, the union distributed copies of "Bias and Prejudice" throughout the school system, to trade unionists, the press and civil rights groups. The union also handed out a leaflet offering a copy of the pamphlet for fifteen cents. According to the advertisement, the pamphlet was a "detailed study of textbooks approved by the Board of Superintendents for use of our children." Using a provocative tone, the TU claimed that people would find "shocking proof" of the board's textbook policy which allowed "disgraceful insults" against minorities and immigrants, ignoring their contribution to the country's democratic heritage. The TU clearly won a major public battle in its struggle with Board of Education. It received public attention by raising the question of how leaders who were responsible for such ugly depictions of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and other groups could impartially judge the appropriateness of textbooks. School officials provided no plausible rebuttal. How could they promote Brotherhood Week and democracy at the same time the Board's top administrator was guilty of advancing racist propaganda in his own publications?^{xxii}

To further pressure the board, the Union sent copies of "Bias and Prejudice" to Jansen and all of the board members except Timone in April 1950, informing them that the TU had written to the publishers of the texts cited in the work, encouraging them to delete or revise the objectionable passages. The letter to Jansen told him that it was his responsibility to "make certain that books which hinder the development of a truly American outlook on the subject of minority groups are not permitted in our classrooms."^{xxiii}

The Teachers' Union employed several strategies in its textbook campaign. One strategy was using the public arena to persuade the board to eliminate biased textbooks. At a July 20, 1950 Board of Education meeting Norman London, chair of the Harlem Committee, spoke about the treatment of racial, religious and national minorities in texts on the approved list of the Boards of Superintendents and Education. London cited examples of racist and prejudicial phrases and argued that the books did not point out the contributions of these various groups. In response President Moss asked London to send to Andrew Clauson, chair of the Instructional Affairs Committee, materials for this claim. In addition, the community and parent leaders issued an open statement expressing their concern. Despite criticism from the NAACP, the American Council on Education and the TU's "Bias and Prejudice" the Boards of Superintendents and Education did not remove most of the books. Lederman remarked that while, officials have frequently made declarations of the importance of teaching brotherhood and interracial understanding but the presence of biased and anti-democratic texts in the hands of our children belie" the statements of the school officials.^{xxiv}

Another strategy was to reach out to teachers. In January 1951 the TU issued a "Guide for Research in Bias in Books," asking teachers to give the title and publisher, author and illustrator of the books they found biased, along with a brief summary of the work and description of the characters, indicating their sex, economic class and race, creed or national origin. The guide requested the reviewer to point out stereotypes, "e.g. Negro maids or porters," and raised the issue of gender stereotypes focusing on activities "typically associated with male or female" and only women and girls portrayed in inferior roles." Reviewers were to note if dialect was used and when colloquial expressions were used to designate racial, national, religious or economic groups. One important result of the campaign was raising the consciousness of teachers, who often paid little or no attention to images in text books and were now asked to scrutinize these works to see how people were portrayed. The TU's campaign helped move to the forefront the role of negative images and why removing them was important in the fight for equality.^{xxv}

Impact of the Textbook Campaign

The Board of Education did not directly respond to the union. It never acknowledged the existence of “Bias and Prejudice” because its official policy forbade it from doing so. But it was clear that the union had publicly embarrassed school administrators. In a policy statement the board interpreted the “May 17th decision of the Supreme Court as a legal and moral reaffirmation of our fundamental educational principles.” However, while top school system officials were claiming racial liberalism and their support for Brown it was revealed they were feeding children books with racist and offensive depictions of blacks, Latinos, Italians, and other groups. When the school integration campaign started in the 1950s, administrators claimed no deliberate attempt to segregate children based on race, pointing instead to neighborhood patterns. They maintained the façade that there was no attempt to deliberately racially segregate children. When it came to the issue of biased texts, however, there was no feasible explanation for allowing children to be subjected to such material. Although the Teachers’ Union had lost the right to bargain collectively and function as a “legitimate” representative of teachers, it clearly defined its role as an adversary of the board. By functioning as a pressure organization, it found a means to fight to change board policies. By becoming a leading force in the textbook campaign, the union gained credibility and a certain prestige which would have been denied to it as a voluntary teacher organization. Just as important, it found a way of promoting its brand of unionism which connected the concerns of the union with those of parents and civic organizations.^{xxvi}

The union’s effort was gained support from political, civic and labor groups.. The Schools Council of Bedford-Stuyvesant and Williamsburg joined the TU in its campaign to force the board to remove racist textbooks from the approved book list. Ada B. Jackson, President of the Council, requested a meeting with Jansen so they could discuss “anti-Negro teaching in our city’s schools.” When she received no response she wrote to him on January 25, urging the superintendent to consider the recall and revision of every textbook that violated the principles of Negro History Week, the Bill of Rights Week and Brotherhood Month, all celebrated in the month of February. She took a swipe at Jansen by noting that his own geography textbook series stressed the superiority of whites and the inferiority of blacks. “White superiority concepts are repeated again and again and again so that these are drilled into the minds of the children.” The books also omitted important facts on culture which “bring out the basic equality of peoples,” as well as omitting information on segregation and the exploitation of people Jackson said.^{xxvii}

Albert Pezzati, the 1940 American Labor Party candidate for the New York State Senate and former member of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Executive Board, sent a letter to the Superintendent and board members registering an “emphatic protest” of the biased textbooks approved by the school system. He accused the board of being a “party to the pollution of the minds that you are supposed to nurture.” Invoking the impact of such texts on American democracy, Pezzati asserted that as a citizen of New York, he did not want his child to “unlearn” the decent virtues she learned at home by being subjugated to racist literature. Leon Straus, Executive Secretary of the Fur Dressers and Dyers Union notified Jansen that several locals representing 7,500 union members adopted a unanimous resolution calling on the Board of Education to remove the biased textbooks from its approved list. Straus contended that his union was “aware of the fact that the circulation of these books helps to plant in the minds of our children the seeds of bigotry and intolerance which should not be countenanced in a democratic school system.” This argument emphasized the notion that such literature challenged a democratic society because it instilled anti-democratic views in the nation’s future leaders.^{xxviii}

By March the union had won a major victory. At a March 22 board meeting Charles Bensley requested evidence that textbooks approved by the board were racist. Despite the board’s policy, the union had forced it to respond to accusations. The union issued a press release on April 3, noting that it had sent him and other members copies of materials on racial and religious prejudice in texts, including books that were on the 1950-1951 approval list.^{xxix} The union also met with success in its fight against anti-Semitic texts on the board’s approval list. In early May 1951 the union cited the inclusion of a transparently anti-Semitic play, *The King’s English*, by Herbert Bates. The one-act play included a “cannibal chieftain” and a person of Jewish heritage who

spoke with a heavy Yiddish dialect, mispronouncing English words and mixing Yiddish in his sentences (go back and see what else the union asserted about this play).^{xxx} The *New York Daily Compass* reported on May 29 that the textbook committee of the board had dropped *The King's English*, clearly a major victory for the Teachers Union.^{xxx} The board's Committee on Instructional Affairs studied the problem and in 1952 announced the removal of eight of the offensive books from its approved list. By April, the union's Anti-Discrimination Committee claimed that many books listed in "Bias and Prejudice" and others later noted by the union had been removed from the approved list.^{xxxii} Most likely, the civil rights campaign in the city and the nation was the catalyst that persuaded board members the racist text should be dropped.^{xxxiii} The union's campaign helped galvanize organizations and individuals to put pressure on the board to eliminate some of the most blatantly racist textbooks. The campaign also demonstrated to the larger public that the TU was still an important force in the struggle for educational reform. Through the textbook campaign it found a means of pushing its brand of unionism, connecting the plight of teachers to the communities they served.

Although the major emphasis of the union's campaign was on race, religion and ethnicity, labor was also included in its effort. In January 1952, Lederman reached out to trade unionists, informing them of the "vicious anti-labor" publication *T-Model Tommy* which was on the 1951-1952 board's approval list for High Schools. The hero in the book, Tommy, is a strike-breaker, portrayed in a positive light while strikers are depicted as "disreputable characters." Lederman contended that the book failed to discuss what caused workers to strike; the images only re-enforced anti-labor and anti-union sentiments. Well aware that the board would ignore any request it made without a highly organized campaign, the union reached out to its fellow unionists.^{xxxiv} As part of the drive to remove *T-Model Tommy* from the public schools Lederman issued a letter which was made public directly to Jansen, urging him to remove the anti-labor book. New York City, the union leader told Jansen, had a reputation as a "trade union city" and many of the parents of children who attended public schools of the city were trade unionists. *T-Model Tommy* was an insult to these parents. Lederman used the same argument the union used in calling for the ban of textbooks that contained racist, anti-Semitic and anti-immigrant passages: the biased view of strikers was damaging American democracy.^{xxxv}

The TU managed to gain some union support in the *T-Model Tommy* effort. Hyman Gordon, President of the Paper, Bag, Novelty, Mounting, Finishing and Display Workers Local # 107 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers protested to Jansen about the "vicious anti-labor book," which characterized strikers as "tough law-breakers and thugs," while a strikebreaker, *T-Model Tommy* was portrayed as "100% American." He requested that Jansen "stop this spread of poison which infects the minds of our children." Victor Teich, President of UERWA-Local 1227 expressed concern and requested meeting with the school leader to discuss the matter. Pheter A. Geis, recording secretary of Automobile Lodge # 447 of the I.A. of M, sent a letter to Betty Hawley Donnelly of the Board of Education complaining that the book portrayed workers in a "ridiculously unfavorable light" and urged her to use her influence to have the anti-union propaganda removed from the approval list.^{xxxvi} On February 20, Ethel F. Huggard, Associate Superintendent and chair of the Committee on Textbooks and Supplies for the Board of Education, acknowledged Victor Teich's complaint about *T-Model Tommy* and notified him that the publishers of the anti-labor publication had offered to withdraw the book from the approved list; the Board of Superintendents approved the publisher's request.^{xxxvii} Neither the Board of Education nor Jansen contacted the Teachers' Union. Such a move would have been a tacit acknowledgment of the pivotal role the union played in the crusade. To his credit, Victor Teich called attention to the TU's contribution in a letter to Huggard: "It was the vigilance of the Teachers Union, an affiliate of the United Public Workers, which brought this book to our attention, and we are fortunate in that there are teachers in the school system who are sufficiently alert to this sort of ant-labor divisive material."^{xxxviii}

The successful effort to remove T-Model Tommy was part of the TU's larger civil rights struggle. The union broadened its campaign to rid schools of negative literature that shaped children's opinion about the working class. While the campaign to eliminate racist textbooks was a continued effort to connect the TU's plight to the black and Latino communities, the T-Tommy fight helped the union keep its identity as a fighter for the working class. Both efforts reflected its vision of American democracy. The civil rights campaign in New York City involved, to a large degree, members of the working class. Derogatory images of these workers were part of an effort to create views of people who did not deserve full citizenship, thus impeding democracy.

Although the Board of Education would not remove most of the offensive textbooks until the 1960s, the Teachers' Union protracted campaign has to be given credit for raising people's consciousness. It was the union's relentless campaign that threw into question the board's public support for Brown and its support for racial equality. While board officials publicly professed their support for the cold war liberal consensus, the Teachers' Union and civil rights organizations highlighted the school agency's failure to live up to its obligation by eliminating books that degraded children. The union's consistent effort during the 1950s in noting the differences between the board's official statement and its actual practice helped pressure school officials to eliminate some of the most offensive texts.

Promoting Black History

As part of the push for racial equality the Teachers Union campaigned for what it labeled Negro History. The teaching of Negro history in institutions of learning had been advocated by scholars and activists before the TU's efforts. One of the most prominent figures who championed the study of Negro history was the African-American historian Carter G. Woodson. Woodson's who received a doctorate in history from Harvard in 1912, became the director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) in 1915 and editor of the ASNLH's journal in 1916. Woodson argued that the researching, writing and teaching of black history could be used to oppose the myths of black inferiority propagated by white America. Negro history could also help to bolster black esteem, which was constantly under attack by the dissemination of racist lies. These lies, according to Woodson were harmful to the wellbeing of the country whose intrinsic promise was life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Woodson also invoked the psychological argument by claiming that the study of black history would be psychological protection for black children against white racism. ^{xxxix}

Using Woodson's arguments, the Teachers Union connected the promotion of black history to its text book campaign by contending that it was not enough to remove negative images. Black history was necessary for corrective purposes. The textbooks used by children had distorted the record of people of African origins so it was necessary to remedy the history. By letting students know the contributions blacks made to America and the world, black history could undue the damage caused by racism. Teachers more than any other professional group were in a position to address the distortions and myths that students heard and correct the record because of their role as educators. History for the TU was a means of documenting the systemic racism in how America failed to live up to its promises of democracy. The historical record was a corrective because it challenged views of inherent inferiority of blacks by providing evidence that the reason for the conditions of black Americans were structural. History also was a means of proving the heroic effort on the part of blacks, labor and other ordinary people to challenge inequality. History moreover, revealed lessons of how people struggled to eradicate inequality. Once people were introduced to the truth it would act as a stimulus for action.

The TU used a number of methods to promote black history, ranging from the creation and distribution of pamphlets for teachers to use in the classroom to sponsoring events featuring scholars on African-American history. As in the textbook campaign the Harlem Committee took the lead in the Negro History campaign. The Committee created and distributed to New York City school teachers literature on the accomplishment of African Americans. The committee's effort of disseminating information on black history reflected its belief that if teachers had the information they would incorporate in their teaching. The material included bibliographies of books on Negro history, blacks in art, literature, science and in labor. In addition, the *New York Teacher* published articles on prominent black figures.^{xl}

By the post-World War II period the TU and its Harlem Committee issued "kits" and material offering an alternative view of the past and the role blacks played. One such period was the American Reconstruction era. Greatly influenced by W.E.B. Du Bois' 1935 work, *Black Reconstruction*, the Harlem Committee's pamphlet on Reconstruction contended that it was one of the most crucial periods in America history. The period was a promising one for race relations in the South and for American democracy. However, the period failed to achieve true democracy. Instead poverty and prejudice triumphed in the South. ^{xli}

The pamphlet listed what it labeled as distortions and “Truths” of Reconstruction. One distortion by historians, the committee asserted, was the notion that the South should have been left to solve its situation after the war and the Reconstruction Act of 1867 was a vindictive measure with the political purpose of keeping the Republican Party in power. Unmistakably, the committee used a Marxist analysis when it contended the “southern ruling class” attempted to restore white supremacy and subjugate blacks. The establishment of the black codes, the 1865 election of Congressional members of the Confederacy, violence waged against blacks, and southern state legislatures’ rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment all proved the South’s attempt to reestablish white rule. Other distortions in the pamphlet included the uncritical positive portrayal of Andrew Johnson, the accusation that actions of Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner were motivated by revenge, and that Reconstruction governments in the South were corrupted and dominated by “Carpetbaggers,” “scalawags,” and ignorant blacks. One of the most notorious distortions by historians was the argument that the Ku Klux Klan was only created in response to the excesses of blacks.^{xlii} The committee provided teachers a large body of information gathered from the Du Bois’ *Black Reconstruction*, John Hope Franklin’s *From Slavery to Freedom*, E. Franklin Frazier’s *Negro in the United States*, and Carter G. Woodson’s *The Negro in Our History*, all giving ample evidence on black agency, the work of the Freedmen’s Bureau, and the accomplishments of Reconstruction state governments as a corrective.^{xliii}

The Harlem Committee used the same approach in its kit on “The Negro in the American Revolution,” dispelling the myth that blacks had no role in the fight for the independence of the nation. It noted that 5,000 blacks participated in the struggle for American independence motivated by the promise of liberty and equality. Black soldiers fought alongside whites and distinguished themselves in some of the key battles of the war, including Bunker Hill. Blacks also presented a number of petitions to colonial legislatures requesting their freedom and, in Massachusetts, sued for their freedom. “Negro Slavery in the United States” was another study guide created by the committee and passed out to teachers. Relying on Herbert Aptheker’s *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States, 1526-1860*, Joseph C. Carroll’s *Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865*, Shirley Graham’s *There was Once a Slave* and other works on slavery, the committee addressed the myths of docile slaves satisfied with their plight and a benevolent slave system. Familiar with the recent shift in the literature from the “benevolence” of the institution to the victimization of slavery, the Harlem Committee’s guide depicted the system as “moral and cultural degradation.” Slaves lived under conditions that robbed them of their culture, and destroyed their families. They were subjected to corporal punishment, forced to work long grueling hours, and provided minimum food and clothing. But the guide on slavery also went beyond victimization and focused on slave resistance, including slave revolts.^{xliiv}

The Teachers Union used Negro History Week to promote black history in the schools. Negro History Week, dedicated to the study of black history was first established by historian Carter G. Woodson in 1926, and held in the second week of February because Frederick Douglass’ birthday was February 14 and Abraham Lincoln’s was February 12. The Union headlined black history in February by issuing a special supplement in its organ, *New York Teacher News*. Supplements prepared by the TU’s Anti-Discrimination Committee appeared in the paper the week of Lincoln’s birthday and included excerpts from works by African American poets, novelists, historians and social scientists, as well as book reviews and a section entitled “What’s Your Quotient?” Other material for teachers and parents concerning children’s books on African Americans were also made available. The objective of the union was to assist teachers in their effort to include black history in their lessons. The members of the Anti-Discrimination Committee believed black history was being neglected in the classroom because teachers just did not have enough material. By providing the supplements they tried to convince their colleagues that teaching black history was a sure way of countering bigoted textbooks used in the public schools.

In one issue of the supplement, Lucille Spence in an article entitled “The Struggle for Integration,” argued that “our struggle has been not to get separate courses or to have one Negro History Week, but to get the placing of the history and contributions of the Negro in every level of social studies, literature and science wherever it naturally comes.” The union, Spence asserted, was “keeping with the struggle” of the NAACP’s fight to eradicate school segregation. Spence called for the writing of Negro History into courses to “engender pride for the Negro child and appreciation for the white child.” Thus the union emphasized the psychological merits of an integrated society on both black and white children. The “Negroes of the Year” column in the supplement provided synopses of the lives of prominent African Americans such as Mary Church Terrell, Thurgood Marshall and

Judge Louis Flagg, Jr., the first black elected to a judgeship in Brooklyn.^{xlv} The supplement also had a photo and listed the members of the NAACP's Defense Fund who were handling the Brown case before the Supreme Court, and addressed the most pertinent civil rights issues facing the nation. The 1957 supplement, for instance, focused on civil rights in the South and contained a section called "Unsung Heroes in [the] Current Struggle," a photo of Martin Luther King Jr., and a quote from a December 3, 1956 address he gave at the First Annual Institute on Non-Violence and Social Change. There was a salute to the Little Rock Nine and a piece on the bravery of the men and women in the forefront of the movement, such as Daisy Bates, Roy Wilkins, Thurgood Marshall and A. Philip Randolph.^{xlvi}

Although the material in the supplement on Negro history was geared for social studies classes, some of the pieces could be used in other disciplines, especially science classes, such as the extensive article "Scientists and Scholars Demolish the Myth of Negro Inferiority." In another supplement there appeared a lengthy article on the African American physician Charles Drew who worked in the field of blood transfusion. In the same issue a column entitled "Great Negro Scientists" outlined the accomplishments of Benjamin Banneker and George Washington Carver, among others.^{xlvi}

This pioneering attempt to get the board to move away from an older historiography brought to the forefront the most recent trends on black history. For example, the nine-page study guide entitled "The Negro in New York, 1625-1865" contained material about blacks from the Colonial period to the Civil War, using victimization, contribution and resistance approaches. The study described the repressive features of slavery under the British but also highlighted black resistance by including the 1712 slave revolt. The role of heroic whites in the black freedom struggle was an important theme in TU guides. For instance, when examining the Draft Riots of 1863, the union noted that the "homes of anti-slavery white people" as well as blacks were destroyed. In an article entitled "Historic Places," the TU noted that John Brown's home was opened to the public and a memorial statue for the famous abolitionist erected. Although the union constructed the history of the militant abolitionist movement as an interracial one, it placed greater emphasis on the agency of blacks. All four of the abolitionists discussed in a piece entitled "Abolitionist Movement," were black. The fact that two of the four abolitionists, Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, were women indicated the union's effort to also address the issue of gender. A separate article, "Abolition and Women's Rights," focused on black and white women in the anti-slavery movement and how their efforts led to the women's rights movement.

The union's efforts won praise from civil rights leaders and activists, civic organizations, and parents. Vivian Kuch, Secretary of the Far Rockaway branch of the NAACP, asked the TU to send a copy of its materials on Negro history to Minnie Caldwell, chair of the Education Committee, because the civil rights organization wished to use it in its community. D. McDonald, secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, thanked Lederman for the article "Negroes of the Year-1962," which featured Martin Luther King Jr., and told the union president that King, who was out of the country, would learn of the thoughtful gesture. Author Dorothy Sterling expressed gratitude to the TU for the supplement and for the "discerning" review of her book. The union had to turn down one person's request for numerous copies of the Negro History Week Supplement because supply had almost been depleted. In 1963 the union notified people who in the past had requested large quantities that they should place their orders by return mail and that it was charging close to \$15 for 1000 copies.^{xlvi}

Increasing the Number of Black Teachers

Outside of the school integration campaign in the 1950s and 1960s, no other crusade drew as much controversy as the effort to persuade the Board of Education to increase the number of black teachers in the system. By the late 1940s the Teachers' Union was working to expose the problem: a lack of black teachers in the system and the deliberate concentration of the few black teachers in schools in predominantly black areas. It pushed what would be later be called affirmative action, linking what it saw as a trade unionist's obligation to a large segment of the American working class.

Less than four years before the United States Supreme Court's Brown v. Board of Education decision and five years before Kenneth Clark's accusation that the New York City Board of Education was maintaining

segregated and unequal schools, the Teachers' Union addressed segregation in the teaching staff. Relying on classroom teachers, the union's Committee Against Discrimination distributed a survey to union members, asking them to document the racial makeup of their faculty. The survey asked for the name of the school, total number of teachers, the number of substitutes, the number of blacks who had a regular license and the number who had a substitute license. While the survey was an imprecise means of determining the racial makeup of the schools, the Board of Education kept no records on the racial composition of its teaching staff, so the union's effort was the first attempt to gain insight into hiring in the school system. Lederman issued a letter on October 24, 1949 announcing the "brief" on the employment of blacks in the school system and the discriminatory treatment of black applicants for teaching licenses by the Board of Examiners, Lederman said.^{xlix}

The survey, examined twenty schools in Harlem, the Lower East Side, Bedford-Stuyvesant and the South Bronx. It reported that the number of black teachers in the schools had decreased from 96 to 90 while the number of teachers overall had gone from 1073 in 1948 to 1107 in 1949. Even the number of black teachers with substitute licenses decreased from 44 to 23.ⁱ

The union maintained that one reason for the decrease was that the board had revoked licenses of qualified teachers who had given years of service to the system. Because of the wartime need for teachers, a number of people who were able to pass an oral English examination were issued emergency licenses. Many of these teachers were black and were given satisfactory ratings for their job performance. They worked in mostly poor black areas and were allowed to continue their services right after the war. But in January 1949 the board decided to lay off teachers citing, budgetary concerns. The first to be fired were those with the emergency license. The Teachers' Union, along with parents and school administrators, protested the announced firings, forcing the school officials to delay their action and allowing the teachers to work until June 1949. However, shortly after the school term ended in 1949 the licenses were cancelled.ⁱⁱ

The TU called on the board to issue a regular substitute license to teachers with the emergency licenses who had received satisfactory ratings. This was one way of increasing the number of blacks in the school system. However, because it did not want to confine blacks to secondary status, the TU asked that black teachers be provided opportunities to qualify for regular appointments. The teachers who had lost their emergency licenses faced several hurdles, including the board's delay in offering exams for regular licenses and its failure to grade exams for those who had taken them. The Teachers' Union demanded an end to discrimination against qualified black teachers by validating the cancelled licenses. The union's plan identified a group already functioning satisfactorily in the system and pressured the board to recognize the importance of a racially diverse professional staff.^{lii}

The survey became the union's major instrument in determining the racial make up of the teaching staff of New York City. A broader 1951 survey—conducted by Mildred Flacks, a teacher at P.S. 35, Brooklyn and secretary of the Bedford-Stuyvesant-Williamsburg School Council, Dorothy Rand, a teacher at P.S. 170 and member of the Harlem Committee and Arthur Newman, teacher at Samuel Gompers High School and chair of the Better Schools of the South-East Bronx—appraised one-third of the city's 35,000 teachers. There were only 257 blacks among the 10, 200 surveyed and only 150 of them had regular appointments; 82 were substitutes. The others were clerks and laboratory assistants. The TU contended that in a city where there were more than 750,000 blacks making up 10 percent of the population, blacks made up 2-½ percent of the teaching staff. Fifty-seven of the seventy-six academic and vocational schools included in the survey had a combined teaching faculty of 7,385. However, there were only seventy-six black teachers or 0.1 percent in the fifty-seven schools. Nineteen of there were substitutes, twelve were clerks and two were laboratory assistants, leaving a grand total of forty-three blacks as regular appointed teachers. More alarming is the fact that twenty-eight of the fifty-seven high schools had no black faculty as of September 1951. A complete survey, the union conjectured, would probably show that the percentage of black teachers was lower than 2-½ percent, since the 1951 survey returns were from schools known to have black teachers. The survey also revealed that there were only 175 black teachers, of a combined faculty of 2,756 in the fifty-four elementary junior high schools examined. Only 107 of the 175 had regular appointments while sixty three were substitutes, four were clerks and one was a substitute clerk. To make matters worse, 92 percent of the black teachers in the elementary and junior high schools surveyed were teaching in the predominantly black communities of Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and South-East Bronx.^{liiiiv}

The union argued that, even if the student body were predominantly white, black or mixed, “the absence of Negro teachers on the faculty undermines the concept of democracy and equality that our schools should offer the children, not merely by precept, but more especially by practice.” Thus, the dearth of black teachers in the system had a devastating impact on both white and black children. The board, the union charged, had a “conscious policy of assigning Negro teachers to schools” in predominantly black areas. While it claimed that its survey revealed a “consistent pattern of discrimination” against blacks, it acknowledged that the lack of black teachers could also be caused by “basic social and economic factors.” Nonetheless, the school system was guilty of not addressing the horrible conditions for blacks. Instead of providing the special services so urgently needed by students in predominantly black schools, the board did nothing: “Thus, at the very outset, the Negro children of New York City, forced by poverty and Jim-Crow housing restrictions to live in ghetto slums, are condemned to physical, social and cultural deprivations. Because of these by-products of their political and economic second-class citizenship, the city owes our Negro youngsters an abundance of the services and training our schools can supply. The sad fact is, however, that schools in these depressed areas are most deficient in the very facilities required for such compensation.”^{lv}

The solution was to provide Harlem and other black communities with “better schools, smaller classes, an extensive remedial program, more recreation centers and playgrounds, and expanded health, nutrition and guidance services.” The union’s mixture of remedies addressed what it saw as cultural deprivations and systemic racism. It called on the board to take affirmative steps to increase the number of black teachers by encouraging black students to prepare for teaching careers, and inviting black college students and those in teacher training institutions throughout the nation to apply for positions in New York City. The Board of Examiners should implement new procedures to assure the employment of black teachers rather than creating measures that would eliminate them from the system.^{lvi}

The Teachers’ Union argued not only that the exclusion of black teachers hindered democracy but also that the inclusion of blacks would help foster a color-blind society. The “experience of being instructed by a Negro teacher and having all the normal teacher-pupil relationships and other forms of contact with Negro teachers in a school would be extremely valuable in achieving an important aim of our educational system—the inculcation of respect for the worth and dignity of all people, regardless of race, color or creed.” In a resolution adopted by its membership, the TU immediately called for a committee to recommend measures to increase the number of black teachers. The Board should initiate a system of assigning black teachers to city schools to “strengthen the concept of democracy and equality that schools should offer children, both Negro and white, not merely by precept, but more especially by practice.”^{lvii}

The union’s survey drew public attention. In late February William P. Viall, an associate in the Teacher Certification program of the State Education Department, sent Lederman a letter telling him that he was in “real sympathy with the purpose in attempting to place more Negroes” in the New York schools. Noting that a commission was being formed to administer a recruitment plan, he asked if the TU could send a copy of its survey to the new Commissioner of Education. Frederick J. Moffitt, Executive Assistant of the State Department of Education, told the union on November 19, 1951, that he was referring its letter to Frederick H. Bair, Administrator for the Education Practices Act.. State Commissioner of Education Lewis A. Wilson said that he read with a “great deal of interest” the TU’s letter on recruiting black teachers in the public schools and offered to send the TU more detailed information in regard to the Board of Regents proposed program on teacher recruitment and training. Lederman also received letters from many individuals expressing their support for the union’s recommendation to establish a special committee to consider ways of increasing the number of black teachers in the school system.^{lviii} Despite the Timone Resolution, the union was playing a crucial role in the civil rights movement in New York. In fact, it became the major player in the fight to increase the number of black teachers. United States Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. declared that the union’s findings were “astounding” and he “heartily agreed that this situation should be corrected as quickly as possible.” Thus, one of the nation’s leading civil rights and political figures publicly supported the union’s efforts.

Clearly embarrassed and offended by the TU’s efforts, board officials responded to the union’s accusations. Expressing his irritation with the union, Jacob Greenberg, Associate Superintendent, defended the board’s record of hiring by invoking a color-blind non-discriminatory argument: “We do not know how many

Negroes we have in our public school system when we make appointments. We have no knowledge of the race, color, or religion of the candidates.” Contending that candidates were appointed from the eligible list promulgated by the Board of Examiners, Greenberg cited his and James Marshall’s earlier action trying to convince a “number of Negro teachers” to prepare for “higher licenses” in the system. As a counterattack, Greenberg demanded that, if the union had proof of discrimination in appointment of teachers but failed to present it, it was “guilty of racial discrimination. Anyone who charges discrimination where none exists is equally guilty of racial discrimination.”^{lix}

The TU’s fight to increase the number of black teachers in the system was a major priority, and it went to great lengths to assure its success. Besides surveys, the union reached out to professional, labor, civic and community support for its campaign. For example, when the union heard that the state was forming a special committee to address the teacher shortage in New York, Lederman sent a letter to William Hagerty, President of Teachers College of the State University of New York in New Paltz, expressing interest. Although the committee’s purpose was to address the teacher shortage problem, the union leader pointed out that the state could take advantage of the problem to confront the issue of the lack of black teachers. Lederman told Hagerty that there were plenty of qualified black teachers who, when faced with obstacles in obtaining employment, left the state for positions elsewhere. There were many potential black candidates who could enter the teacher training program and other qualified black teachers who could be attracted from outside New York. The newly formed committee could solve the teacher shortage and increase the number of black teachers in the state. Thus, the union did not just point its finger at the Board of Education but attempted to use any venue at its disposal to work for the hiring of black teachers.^{lx}

On April 1, Norman London, Morris Seltzer, a teacher and member of the Bedford-Stuyvesant and Williamsburg School Council, and Lucille Spence were among the delegates of the Teachers’ Union who met with Joseph Cohen and other officials of the Division of Teacher Training and Teachers Education to discuss the union’s “Study of Employment of Negro Teachers.” The participants discussed the problem of the small number of black teachers in the system, which they saw as the responsibility of agencies that recruit, train and place teachers. The union delegation suggested that publicity on the teacher training program be provided to the black press. Cohen agreed to consider the problem of the shortage of black teachers and provide the chairs of the departments of education at the various city colleges with copies of the TU’s survey.^{lxi}

Proof of the union’s dedication to the effort can be seen in the longevity of the campaign. In the late winter of 1953, 3 ½ years after its first preliminary survey, Bernard Kesselman, chair of the Harlem Committee wrote to Herbert L. Wright, Youth Secretary of the NAACP, telling him that he had read a February *Amsterdam News* article reporting that the Youth Division of the civil rights organization had renewed its campaign for increasing the number of professors at colleges and universities. Kesselman asserted that the TU had long been concerned with the small proportion of black faculty, a “serious shortcoming in the democratic education of the children,” citing the 1951 study and several conferences with leading figures of the State Department of Education. Kesselman charged that the New York City Board of Education still refused to acknowledge the seriousness of the problem. The problem was even worse in the colleges, and Kesselman offered the union’s cooperation in the campaign the Youth Division was undertaking.^{lxii}

The TU also offered assistance to blacks attempting to find jobs as New York City school teachers. In early spring of 1953 the Teachers Union established a counseling service for prospective black teachers, as a component of its campaign to increase the number of black teachers in the school system. The union members who were experienced teachers were willing to offer their services to help support black applicants attempting to secure teaching licenses. Specifically, the union promised to help black applicants prepare for the written tests and provide speech diagnosis, since a major argument used by the Board of Examiners for rejecting black applicants was their poor performance on the oral examination. It also promised to help them meet eligibility requirements, assist them in appealing unfavorable ratings and help place them in vacancies.^{lxiii}

While the psychological impact of the black teacher shortage was noted by the Teachers Union, before the Brown decision its major argument was cast in political terms. It focused on the distribution of black faculty, accusing the board of placing black teachers in predominantly black areas. In the fall of 1953 Lederman called to

Jansen's attention an October 4 forum on racial discrimination in the schools organized by the Flushing branch of the NAACP. All participants, educators and lay people, agreed that black teachers should be distributed more evenly through the city's schools, rather than segregated schools whose student body was predominantly black. Participants also said that white students needed to have experience with black teachers "as a means of breaking down" bias and promoting interracial mutuality, a democratic value. The unfair distribution of black teachers, Lederman insisted, denied children "a most effective, easy and natural opportunity to experience democracy in action in the very important area of race relations, since having Negro teachers would undoubtedly be an important factor in the realization of a basic goal of education – the inculcation of respect for people of all races and colors."^{lxiv}

Lederman blamed the shortage of black teachers in the system, in part, on the concentration of black teachers in schools located in predominantly black neighborhoods. Although increasing their numbers would result in more blacks in schools located in white neighborhoods, the TU president argued, a more balanced distribution throughout the system could be accomplished in a very short time. He recommended "conscious and organized programs" to help educate principals and other administrators in predominantly white areas on the importance of hiring black teachers. The transfer request of black teachers to schools in predominantly white areas should be given special consideration, and black teachers with substitute licenses should be encouraged to look for jobs in schools in white neighborhoods. To bring pressure on the board to implement the union's recommendation, Lederman issued a press release announcing his letter to Jansen and the union's recommendations.^{lxv}

The union's dedication to increasing the number of black teachers in the school system was again made clear when, in April 1955, it released the results of its second large survey of black employment in the schools. The situation was no better than it had been four years earlier. This survey was larger than the 1951 one, involving 245 schools with 14,130 regularly appointed teachers and 2,416 substitutes. There were only 312 regularly appointed and 232 substitute black teachers among the over 16,000 teachers included in the survey. The percentage of regularly appointed black teachers was 1.9 %. In the sixty-three academic and vocational high schools in the survey, blacks made up close to ninety percent of the teaching staff, and twenty-nine of the sixty-three high schools reported not having any black teachers. The situation was also dismal in 89 of the 182 elementary and junior high schools, which reported having no black teachers. The numbers were indeed disgraceful in a city with close to one million black residents, nor had the geographical distribution of black teachers improved by 1955. Eighty-seven percent of black teachers in the system were still located in schools in predominantly black areas.^{lxvi}

The Supreme Court's 1954 decision in the Brown case reinforced the Teachers' Union argument that hiring black teachers was a democratic issue of interracial mutuality. In its June 1955 program to increase the number of black teachers, the union asserted: the "present teacher employment situation in New York City constitutes an injustice not only to Negroes but also to the white children of the city, since they are largely deprived of the valuable experience in practical democracy of having a Negro teacher. Too often the sole experience these children have with Negroes is to see them as domestic workers and in other similar positions. Television, radio and movies help perpetuate the stereotype Negro." Hence, a diverse teaching staff was key to overcoming this undemocratic practice. Realizing that integration of the student body might lead to the firing of black teachers who were employed in a segregated system, the union suggested that the board launch a recruitment drive to attract those black teachers to the system. The union once again called on the board to place advertisements in teacher publications, emphasizing that the school agency was eager to hire new teachers regardless of race, color or creed. To assure that the ads reached black readers, the union once again suggested that the *Journal of Negro History*, *Negro History Bulletin* and the *Crisis*, as well as other black publications, carry the ads. The board should also send representatives to historically black colleges and universities, and it should initiate a teacher training program encouraging students in the schools to seek a career in education.^{lxvii}

Another way to challenge the racist tracking of black students was to change the old pattern, which was to encourage large numbers of black students to opt for vocational high schools. Instead, the board should create a program that would help direct black youth to select academic careers, raising the "educational level" of black students so they could compensate for "cultural, economic, and social deprivation." The union's program

emphasized that the lack of black teachers was due in part to the poverty of black culture and social deficits, but also fell on institutional racism. The union called for a study of the practices of the Board of Examiners. How did its policies eliminate qualified black candidates? The union pointed to the institution's major role in excluding blacks from the system. The Board of Examiners "restrictive standards" in speech bar many black applicants "who have displayed in practice excellent teaching ability." The union also hammered away at the board for concentrating black teachers in ghetto schools.^{lxviii} While the plan was far-reaching and innovative, the 1951 and 1955 surveys completely ignored Hispanic teachers. Although the number of Hispanic students was increasing, especially with immigration from Puerto Rico, the union failed to mention them. One reason for this neglect was that blacks far outnumbered Hispanics in the city, but there was also a tradition at work. Like the Communist party, the union members had focused on black oppression for decades, because blacks faced the worse form of endemic racism and class exploitation in America. The long history of slavery, Jim Crow, ghettoization and institutional racism had placed people of African origins in a special category of oppressed, working-class people.

The union demonstrated not only resolve but creativity in its efforts. In a September 1955 letter to Charles Silver, Lederman cited an article in the August 20 *Amsterdam News* reporting that eighty-six black teachers had lost their jobs since desegregation began in Oklahoma and suggested that the board take advantage of the situation by recruiting those teachers. Lederman noted the obstacles to hiring out of state, such as travel for examinations and relocation. However, many teachers in the system at one time faced these same problems. An announcement to the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, asking teachers to apply to the New York school system, would help the board to address its problem as well as rebuke the "unconscionable racists who have misused the U.S. Supreme Court decision against segregated schools to cause teachers to lose their positions." Board authorities could thus contribute toward the eradication of the "most shameful blot on our American democratic traditions." Doubting Silver would respond, the union president sent a copy of the letter to the Oklahoma Association of Negro Teachers, inviting the association to send him suggestions for any other action the TU could take to assist it to help the fired teachers.

The Teachers Union had brought to the attention of school officials a problem few had bothered to recognize; the disregard that states forced to integrate had for black teachers. The American Civil Liberties Union reported, in its December 24, 1956 weekly bulletin, that hundreds of black teachers from the border states had been fired during the last year, due to integration of the public schools. Although most were placed in other positions, over 300 black teachers who lost their jobs in Oklahoma, or about one-sixth of the 1,697 black teachers in the state, were unemployed. These Oklahoma teachers were fired in part, because the state closed 112 black schools due to desegregation. A handful of black teachers were able to find positions in integrated schools. According to the ACLU, Missouri had 125 black educators teaching in integrated schools. In Kentucky there were 115 blacks who taught in integrated schools and Maryland, and Delaware each had 100 black teachers in integrated schools. However, the vast majority of black teachers were in segregated schools.^{lxix}

Lederman connected the southern struggle to the northern one, suggesting how the board could help in the fight for racial justice in the South and at the same time, ameliorate the racial problem in the New York City school system. Comparing the textbook campaign to the push to hire black teachers, there is no doubt that providing evidence of racist and biased images was easier than demonstrating that the board practiced racial discrimination in its hiring. However, The TU's surveys made the city aware of the disparity that existed in the professional staff in a city with a significant black population. Moreover, its suggestions—reaching out to institutions that trained teachers, providing teachers who had received satisfactory evaluations with emergency licenses and reach out to teachers who lost their jobs due to the closing of black schools in other states—demonstrated the school leadership's failure to take the problem seriously. The campaign to help create a more integrated workforce distinguished the TU from other teacher unions. For many in the civil rights community, the Teachers' Union was a valued ally.^{lxx}

Shifting the Focus

Before the Supreme Court handed down its decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the TU's principal civil rights push dealt with textbooks, black history and black teacher employment. However, it would be a mistake to assume that it did not pay attention to the segregation of the student body. Three weeks before the Supreme Court handed down its *Brown* decision, the union issued its program for integration, which was divided into several areas: building, staffing, integration and zoning, pupil achievement and high schools. Each section spelled out the major problems and suggested remedies. The union called for an emergency program on building construction and renovation of schools in black neighborhoods where the oldest, most overcrowded and most dilapidated buildings in the city existed. The schools should have play space, school libraries, and science rooms. Besides the renovating of segregated schools, the TU advocated acquiring sites in "fringe areas," where black and whites resided, making it easier to zone children to those schools. Revising zoning practices would also quicken the pace of school integration. School officials should work with New York City's housing and planning bodies to end residential segregation, which was "an important factor in causing school segregation." The union was not the first organization to draw attention to the horrible conditions in the schools of New York City's black communities. The Harlem Committee in the 1930s and the Bedford-Stuyvesant-Williamsburg Schools Council, formed in 1943 and consisting of members of the Teachers' Union, parents and civic leaders, advocated full-day instruction, replacement of old dilapidated structures with new buildings, hot lunches for students, and health and welfare facilities.^{lxxi}

The union noted that seventy percent of New York City's elementary schools were segregated, having either ninety percent or more black and Latino or ninety percent or more "continental white" student bodies. The TU advised the board to look at the studies of the NYU Research Center on fringe area districts and to be flexible about district lines, not simply adopting the ones created by realty holders. A manual of suggestions for its administrators and teachers could provide guidance on the best ways of integrating schools and classrooms. The union's boldest suggestion was that the board should "mandate that there be no all-white or all-Negro classes in schools with mixed populations."^{lxxii}

Integration did not just mean that black students should occupy the same school building. The union's program insisted that the board's manual direct administrators to assure that black children in integrated schools would not be the victims of discrimination, when it came to selecting monitors, messengers, guards, actors in plays, and other positions. Hall and classroom pictures should include black as well as white heroes, social studies bulletins should be racially inclusive, schools should have meaningful Negro History Week programs, and black and Puerto Rican speakers should be part of assembly programs. Thus, every aspect of the schools and learning should be racially integrated. The union called for a study of the relationship between segregation and the practice of grouping pupils according to IQ or ability within a school and within the individual classroom. High school district lines should be drawn for the purpose of integration, and black children should not be channeled to vocational schools.

What is evident in the TU's language before *Brown* was that it did not accuse the board of carrying out a program to segregate children. This was also true right after the *Brown* decision was handed down. In a press release the TU called the *Brown* decision a "history-making landmark, not only in education but in American democracy." The eradication of the separate but equal doctrine created the means for the elimination of segregation which had one "irreparable damage not only to the education of children, but also to the fabric of our entire society." According to the union segregation existed in New York City and in the school system not because of law but because of custom. It urged the school superintendent and the board to take special measures to remove racist textbooks from its approved list of books, to hire more black teachers and to end segregation of the few black teachers in the system.^{lxxiii}

The May 29 edition of *New York Teacher News* reiterated eliminating racist textbooks from the approved list, and sought a solution to the near exclusion of regularly appointed black teachers that denied children in the city the democratic experience of having a Negro as a teacher. However, it also called for the elimination of "Jim Crow practices in housing," which led to segregated schools, pointing its finger to problems beyond the control of the board. In fact, the *New York Teacher News* did not charge the board or question the neighborhood school concept.^{lxxiv}

After the Brown decision the union did not immediately accuse the board of racially segregating the student body by policy. Civil rights activists and scholars however, were not afraid to point their finger directly at the board's policies. In April, just before the Supreme Court decision, the Intergroup Committee of New York Public Schools charged that the board subjected black children to an inferior education in segregated schools in Harlem and elsewhere. A month later Dr. Kenneth Clark, speaking before the National Urban League in 1954, charged that black children attending schools in predominantly black communities received an inferior education and blamed institutional racism. Segregation, Clark maintained, not only resulted in an inferior education but reinforced a sense of inferiority in black children. Segregation deprived black and Latino children of access to academic and other specialized high schools. It was the board, according to Clark, that deprived black and Puerto Rican children of the "ability to compete successfully with others." Such criticism eventually led the school agency to ask the Public Education Association to investigate the allegation of Jim Crow practices in the school system.^{lxxv} The findings of the study were disturbing. It found forty-two racially segregated schools (a student body that was ninety percent or more black and Puerto Rican).

Activists began to challenge the board with direct action. One of the earliest protests right after Brown was at Yorkville Vocational High School Annex, located at York Avenue and 78th Street. Close to ninety-five percent of the student body was black and Puerto Rican, and parents demanded that the board take action to integrate the student body. The board defended itself by arguing that segregation was caused by discriminatory housing patterns and there was nothing it could do to alleviate the situation. While the board evoked the neighborhood school concept, defending the notion that children should go to schools in their neighborhood, in the Yorkville case, the students were coming from outside the neighborhood to attend.^{lxxvi}

The Teachers Union took up the cause of the parents. In a June 11 letter to Jansen, Lederman wrote that the black and Latino children at the end of their school day at Yorkville made a mass exodus to their neighborhood. "For all practical purposes, the effect of this situation is to create a school which is as effectively segregated as one which is so by virtue of a Jim Crow law." Lederman's use of the phrase Jim Crow law indicated the difference from his May 24th news release, where the segregation of children was not mentioned. His letter also differed from the *Teacher News* article which blamed housing patterns rather than the board's deliberate policy for segregation of the student body. Once parents and civil rights activists took action to integrate the schools, the union's tone shifted to a more militant one. The union, in fact, would become a leading advocate for student integration. The TU now joined activists and accused the school system of purposely segregating children. Lederman stressed it was imperative that Jansen not allow it to continue and immediately adopt measures to remedy the situation before September. Although students actually selected Yorkville because of its nursing program, once they arrived at the school, they were given a placement examination; some students would be sent to the annex and given no pre-nursing courses. The students at the annex received only three years worth of course work, instead of the complete four years. After their third year their education "terminated." Although the students supposedly "graduated," they did not receive a high school diploma at the annex. Among the courses they were forced to take at the annex were, home nursing and home-making. To make matters worse, students were shifted from one program to the next because of teacher staffing. Students were not provided with English courses, which were mandated by State Education law, music, art or mathematics. Due to programming, students were forced to take courses they had taken earlier and passed. There was no remedial program for students who were classified as "retarded in their educational achievement."^{lxxvii}

Lederman raised the point that while the board bragged about building new schools, it allowed these substandard conditions to continue at Yorkville and other vocational schools where the student body was predominantly black and Latino. Yorkville was even worse than other schools in the black and Latino communities: narrow corridors created a potential disaster in case of a fire, there was only one lavatory and one water fountain for the two-story building, and the school did not have a lunchroom, gymnasium or lockers. The school library, a "small room containing three book cases," was only opened on Thursdays. Students attended the library only with their English class, and only one class at a time could occupy the small room. The physical conditions, Lederman declared, were clearly "scandalous," comparable to "Jim Crow schools in the South." Ridiculing the Board's claim that New York City "demonstrated that we can have good schools without segregating Negro and white children," the TU president argued that black children attending the city's public schools were not provided equal education.^{lxxviii}

Jansen's response only confirmed for many the superintendent's racial insensitivity. The top official of the board refused to even entertain the idea that the school system was unfairly treating people of color. Lederman informed the *Amsterdam News* in June that the Superintendent attempted to whitewash school conditions in Harlem by making the "ludicrous" statement that there was a "better teaching staff in Harlem than elsewhere in the city." Such a statement, Lederman claimed, flew in the face of reality, since twenty-five percent of the teachers in the junior high schools of that area were substitutes, the highest percentage in the city. To add to the problem, the board had a policy of assigning newly appointed teachers to Harlem. The fact that in 1953 over 200 teachers, mostly assigned to Harlem, failed to show up at their schools due to intolerable school conditions demonstrated the discriminatory way school officials treated the predominantly black community.^{lxxix}

Adding insult to injury, Jansen made the ridiculous claim that the board did "not provide Harlem with segregation," attributing the problem to "natural segregation." Blasting Jansen, the TU president declared that anyone who believed people chose to live in slum dwellings was ignorant or suffered from "stupidity that is almost incredible." Jansen asserted that the board had "discriminated in favor of Negro boys and girls" by allowing them to attend any high school in the city, a choice not offered to other students. But there was not one academic high school in the community and only one vocational high school, for girls, already scheduled to close (Wadleigh). Lederman asked a fundamental question: why were so many black children attending vocational high schools and so few enrolled in academic high schools?^{lxxx}

Conclusion

Scholar Lauri Johnson asserts that the Timone Resolution had a chilling impact on the Teachers' Union: "Although the Teachers Union would continue to publish their Black History supplement and advocate for school integration until the union disbanded in the early 1960s, the Timone Resolution marked the beginning of a protracted and costly battle by union activists to defend their livelihoods and their sense of direction as an organization. Without official status as a union, they were often refused even the right to hold meetings with teachers in schools."^{lxxxi} Although Johnson's assertion is correct as far as it goes this is not the complete story. The Teachers' Union became a potent force for civil rights, especially from the early 1950s until its folding. Despite the fact that it was purged from both the AFL and the later the CIO, the TU won recognition from labor, civil rights, civic and parent organizations as a strong voice for social justice. It joined with parents and civil rights groups in helping bring to the public's attention the racial disparities and discriminatory practices and policies of the Board of Education. The union helped forge a united front in fighting for the elimination of racist depictions of blacks in the textbooks that countless children used on a daily basis in the classrooms of the New York City public school system. With its surveys and other methods, the union led the fight to increase the number of black teachers in the school system. In fact, its method of surveying the number of black teachers in the system would be adopted by the many civil rights activists fighting for school integration.

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- ⁱⁱ John Badger, "Different Perspectives on the Civil Rights Movement," in *History Now*.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Petition to Keep Wilson off the Chain Gang (n.d.), Box 44, Folder 16; Spence to National Association of the Advancement of Colored People's Legal Defense and Educational Fund Inc., January 22, 1954; Smith to Teachers Union, February 5, 1954, Box 44, Folder 16; Smith to Dear Friend, October 12, 1954; Chambers to Teachers Union of the City of N.Y., November 16, 1954. Box 44, Folder 16.
- ^{iv} Russell to Lewis, January 6, 1956; Olney III and Caldwell to Spence, November 16, 1955.
- ^v Russell to Wilkins, June 1, 1956, Box 44, Folder 17.
- ^{vi} Melba Pattillo Beals, *Warriors Don't Cry: A Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock's Central High School*; John Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line: Black Activism in Little Rock Arkansas* (University of Florida Press, 2002
- ^{vii} Lederman, Russell, and Spence to Bates and the Little Rock Nine, June 13, 1958.
- ^{viii} Spence and Walton to Colleagues, October 2, 1958, Box 45, Folder 12; Russell to Rustin, October 17, 1958, Box 45, Folder 6.
- ^{ix} Russell to Kennedy, May 8, 1963 Box 44, Folder 4; Press Release, May 8, 1963, Box 44, Folder 4; Morsell to Russell, May 17, 1963, Box 44, Folder 4.
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- ^{xi} Zitron, p.101;
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- ^{xxiii} Lederman to Jansen, April 19, 1950, Box 44, Folder 3.
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- ^{xxvi} Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), p.252.
- ^{xxvii} Jackson to Jansen, January 30, 1950, Box 2, Folder 5.
- ^{xxviii} Pezzati to Board of Education, April 5, 1951, Box 2, Folder 5; Straus to Jansen, April 19, 1951, Box 2, Folder 5..
- ^{xxix} Press Release, April 3, 1951.
- ^{xxx} TU, "A Biased Textbook", May 8, 1951, Box 44, Folder 3
- ^{xxxi} Lederman to Sir, Jun 1, 1951, Box 2, Folder 5.
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- ^{xxxiii} Robert Michael Harris, *Teachers and Blacks*, p. 109.
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- ^{xxxvi} Gordon to Dear Sir, January 30, 1952; Teich to Jansen, February 6, 1952; Geis to Hawley, February 13, 1953, Box 2, Folder 6.
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- ^{lii} Ibid.
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