

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE
ARIZONA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

by

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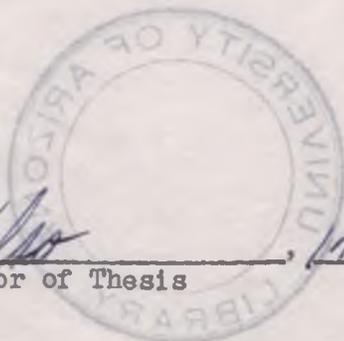
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CHAPTER I

AEA HISTORY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT, 1892-1939

Voluntary professional associations have become since 1900 an increasingly effective factor in governmental activities on the local, state, and national levels in the United States. The increasing complexity of societal relationships has led to the expansion of governmental regulation of society. This in turn has given rise to specific interest groups which are stimulated to protect their common interests against threatened regulatory action or to promote the common interests of their members by working for beneficial legislation.

Such organizations may become an integral part of the political pattern of government. They perform a definite representative function in politics, as geographical representation in a diversified society becomes more and more unsatisfactory to various interest groups. Party platforms reflect the demands of important interest groups. Party candidates often strive to secure their approval. Direct and indirect pressure is brought upon legislative bodies. In those states with provision for direct legislation, the initiative and referendum are often used when the legislature fails to satisfy an organization. Private groups establish continuous relationships with government administrative agencies in efforts to secure amenable officials and favorable regulations.

1. Dayton David McKean, Party and Pressure Politics (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949), 567.

Professional associations do not arise solely to secure through politics a high degree of economic protection. They are equally interested in fostering a professional spirit through such devices as annual meetings and scholarly publications. These associations, however, have assumed a political role of considerable importance. Their main activities usually center around attempts to control entrance to the profession by licensing, to police the profession, and to influence the making and administration of laws affecting the economic security and well-being of the members. This kind of program is carried out, for example, by the National Education Association, the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association, the American Dental Association, the American Veterinary Medical Association, and the American Institute of Architects.

Educators were among the first of the professional public service groups to recognize the advantages of organization. In Arizona, teachers and administrators formed an association in 1892.² From that year until the present, the association has proposed bills for the benefit of the group and ostensibly for the public interest. The teachers' association gained its first unqualified political success in November, 1940, when it sponsored an initiative, approved by the voters, increasing state aid to public schools.³ The law provided for an increase from \$25 to \$65 for common schools and from \$25 to \$95 for high schools per-

2. The Arizona Teachers Association. For original constitution see "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1907-1926" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), n.p.

3. The law amended Section 1088, Revised Code of 1928. See E. D. Ring (ed.), School Laws of Arizona for 1941. 1941, 45-46.

capita per annum. Since its success in this campaign, the association has become a more important political factor as a result of increased membership, more adequate finances, and more unified organization.

The first teachers' organization in Arizona necessarily had few members, because educational facilities for the small and scattered population in the territory developed slowly. In 1863, when Arizona became a territory, the only school in the area was one maintained by the mission fathers at San Xavier del Bac. Schools were established in Prescott in 1865 and in Ehrenberg and Phoenix in 1872. By 1879, eighteen public schools were in operation. The United States Census for 1890 lists, in a total territorial population of 59,620,⁴ 9,019⁵ public, private, and parochial school pupils, and 217 teachers.

The Arizona Teachers Association was formed in 1892, with E. L. Stormont as president. The association adopted a constitution providing for a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and executive committee. Activities of the group until 1907 have, in the main, been left unrecorded. However, four facts, listed below, suggest that the political efforts of the association were ineffective and for the most part a secondary interest, at least until the decade of the 1930's. The primary purpose of the organization was to foster academic interests through annual meetings.

Lack of political power may be partially attributed to the domination of the association until 1937 by school administrative officers.

4. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Population, I. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 10.

5. Ibid., II, 51.

Of the twenty-nine presidents who served from 1907 to 1936, twenty were city or county school superintendents. Two were high school principals. The remainder included a president of the University of Arizona, a university registrar, a university education professor, a university dean, a Tempe College president, a teacher training school superintendent, and a training school director.⁶ Classroom teachers, who later formed the large and potent force through which political action could be taken, took a very small part in the association proceedings because they were afraid to express their views in the presence of the administrative group at the annual meetings.⁷ Lack of classroom teacher support of the association meant that the financial assets of the group were too small to carry on extensive campaigns in behalf of desired legislation.⁸ Annual dues were commonly one dollar per person.

A third reason for the early emphasis on non-political teaching problems was that the annual conventions were always held in conjunction with the County Institute meetings, in which teachers met solely for academic discussion. Because territorial and state legislatures appropriated money for the county institutes, the Arizona Teachers Association met with the institute so that expenses could be shared and partially met by use of institute funds. In 1924, for example, the Arizona State Education Association and the Pima County Institute held

6. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1935-1936" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 56-58.

7. Personal interview with Miss Lois Rogers, Associate Executive Secretary, Arizona Education Association, December 26, 1950. Phoenix, Arizona.

8. "Treasurer's Cash Book, Territorial Teachers' Association" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), n.p.

a joint meeting. The state advanced \$290 for the costs of the institute.⁹ There are no records of such joint meetings after 1929.

Finally, political activity was limited because there did not exist until 1939 an incorporated state body with permanent offices and full time employees who could coordinate the program of the local teachers' groups, the state association, and a strong national group.

The early teachers' association was not a strong pressure group, but it did express political opinions through resolutions adopted at annual conventions, some personal contact between members of the association's legislative committee and state legislators, and occasional editorial comments and articles in professional journals. At the Arizona Teachers Association annual meeting in 1907, the group passed resolutions favoring the admission of Arizona as a prohibition state; a bill for free textbooks; state aid for high schools; and a twelve-month period as a basis for fixing teachers' salaries. The association demanded that the superintendent of public instruction be replaced. In 1908, the ATA resolved to table permanently the last mentioned resolution and expunge the record of it from the minutes, since the "purpose of this organization is solely for the advancement of the Educational interests of the Territory of Arizona and...the introduction of personal or political matters into the organization is considered subversive [sic] of this advancement...."¹⁰

The association seemed to renounce any interest in politics by this statement, but in 1908 the group directed its law committee to prepare

9. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1907-1926," n.p.

10. Ibid., 28.

measures for the next state legislature. One bill proposed state aid to high schools, and a second provided for increases in county superintendents' salaries.

The first teachers' journal in Arizona, published in 1910, called for changes in school law, a higher salary for the office of superintendent of public instruction, and adoption of new courses of study for city grade schools and country schools. A subsequent issue notes that a committee of the Teachers Association recommended revisions of the school law setting up standards of certification and salary increases for state and county superintendents. The report recommended that no teacher be employed for less than \$75 per month or for fewer than seven months. The article reprinting the report closed with this admonition: "Let everyone who is interested in the schools and their improvement get behind the committee and talk the matter up with the representatives in the Legislature before they go to Phoenix."¹¹

Typical early resolutions of the association were those adopted at the annual convention in 1916. They proposed revision of the state course of study, appointive state and county superintendents, a state survey of educational facilities, publication of the minutes of state board of education proceedings, and a permanent common school levy of \$500,000. The resolutions recommended improvement of school library facilities and establishment of a state educational council to define policy, bring about legislative and constitutional changes, and promote professional spirit.¹²

11. "Revision of the School Law," Arizona Journal of Education, I (June, 1910), 32-33.

12. University of Arizona, Proceedings of the Arizona State Teachers Association, 1916, Bulletin #52, Educational Series #1 (1916), 9-11.

One resolution of the 1920 association convention indicated the group's increasing interest in effectively influencing school legislation. The resolution called for formation of a committee of three to call on legislators and to publicize legislation helpful to teachers. Another resolution repeated the demand for increased state school funds.

In 1924 members reorganized their group and renamed it the Arizona State Education Association. The newly-adopted constitution provided for northern, southern, central, and eastern districts. Annual district dues were one dollar. Twenty-five cents was kept by the district and 75 cents went to the state organization. The president of each district was an ex officio member of the state executive committee. This constitution provided for a delegate assembly, which met for the first time in 1925.

The teachers by 1924 were more active politically. Their legislative committee cooperated with a group appointed by Governor G. W. P. Hunt from the state board of education to consider school bills. The Arizona Republican noted that "appointment of such a committee is a customary procedure before the meeting of the legislature. It frequently serves as an advisory board to legislative committees to which educational bills have been submitted."¹³

The first suggestion of cooperation with interests outside the field of education came in 1928. In March, 1928, M. J. G. Dougherty, a Mesa lawyer, wrote the ASEA and asked for cooperation of the association's social service committee with the American Legion, the Daughters

13. The Arizona Republican, November 30, 1924, 3.

of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Reserve Officers Association, and the American Legion Auxiliary.¹⁴ Dougherty suggested the groups consider common objectives and work together to achieve them. He did not outline a specific program which these groups would support. ASEA records fail to indicate either the association's attitude toward proposed cooperation or whether such cooperation was given. The ASEA now had a total membership of 2,575.¹⁵ Nine committees carried on association work. The law committee, which was the largest (fifteen members), had prepared bills to reorganize the state department of education, to revise the state pension law, and to provide a survey to determine needed care of mentally ill children. The bills either were not introduced or failed to pass the 1929 state legislature.

At the 1930 convention, a constitutional amendment changed the organization title to Arizona Education Association. Another amendment provided for an executive committee composed of association officers and six elective members, three to be selected each year. The law committee presented plans to work for a teachers' retirement measure in the 1931 legislative session. John D. Loper, superintendent of Phoenix schools, was authorized in January, 1931, to employ "Judge Struckmeyer" at a cost not to exceed \$500, to represent the AEA before the legislature.¹⁶ This is the first account in AEA records of employment of a paid lobbyist.

14. Letter from M. J. G. Dougherty to Arizona State Education Association, March 16, 1928.

15. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1928-29" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 21.

16. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1931-32" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 57.

The retirement bill, however, failed to pass.

The executive committee met in September, before the 1930 convention, and discussed the problems of school taxes. AEA President I. D. Payne of Tempe suggested that the State Taxpayers Association be informed of the causes of increased taxation for school purposes during the past ten years. The AEA committee on school costs and finance recommended that the association secretary seek cooperation of the State Taxpayers Association and other groups in the solution of tax problems. The report suggested that the taxpayers group might accept an AEA representative on their executive committee. The State Taxpayers Association was probably not amenable to this idea, for there is no record of their active cooperation with the AEA. By 1932, however, the two groups were on the same side of the "political fence" in opposing an initiative measure which will be discussed below.

The teachers' association made sweeping changes in its organization in 1932. A new constitution discontinued the district offices. It provided for a central association led by a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. Secretarial duties were increased and the secretary was paid a \$240 annual salary. The secretary now kept minutes of all association conventions, committee meetings, and delegate assembly meetings. He recorded memberships, attendance, and dues, received the association funds, signed vouchers, and reported at the annual meetings. Nolan D. Pulliam, who later became state superintendent of schools (1946) was elected secretary.

The year which marked the organizational "streamlining" of the association also marked its first successful participation in an election campaign opposing initiative measures. The AEA joined with other interest

groups to fight two proposals to limit state and county expenditures, on grounds that they might result in lower school levies. The bills (ballot numbers 100-101 and 102-103), provided that state and county expenditures for "each or either" of the years included in the biennial period be limited to the sum expended from legislative appropriations or other sources in the fiscal year 1916-1917.¹⁷ Total state expenditures in the base year were estimated to be \$3,200,826.78. Certain sums could be added proportionate to the population increase since 1917. A sum equal to one half of the money collected from taxes on gasoline or petroleum products in the preceding fiscal year could be added to the state total. The measures reflected the nation-wide depression conditions of 1932.

The AEA was not alone in its fight against the proposed constitutional amendments. The Arizona Daily Star, the Phoenix Evening Gazette, (editorially) the "Arizona League," and the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers also opposed 100-101 and 102-103. While AEA membership totaled 2,306, there is no indication that the teachers and administrators represented by this number were welded into a strong and active force to fight the initiative. The association, however, never before had put up such determined resistance to any measures, and undoubtedly contributed to the defeat of both initiatives.

AEA records show that the campaign against the measures was conducted mainly through arguments in publicity pamphlets, circulars, and newspaper advertising. Campaign expenses totaled \$1,151.96.¹⁸ Or

17. State of Arizona Initiative and Referendum Publicity Pamphlet 1932, 4-5.

18. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1932-1933" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 29.

this amount, the only itemized expenditures are \$59.40 for publicity pamphlets and \$80.28 for circulars.

In the initiative and referendum publicity pamphlet issued by the state, the negative argument to 100-101 was signed by N. D. Pulliam, secretary of the Arizona Education Association. The article pointed out that taxes should be levied where the wealth lies and distributed where the children reside. The bill would deny to the public schools the support formerly received from the state. The financial burden would be shifted from the state to local school districts. This would lead to inequality of school support.

Support for the expenditure limitation measures came from a group bearing the title "The Committee of 100." This committee bought advertising space in The Arizona Daily Star and the Arizona Republic prior to and on election day. Their advertisements were almost always larger than those of the AEA and other opposition groups. The Arizona Daily Star and the Arizona Republic carried advertisements signed by "The Committee of 100" on October 29. On November 6 the opposition struck back with a full page advertisement in the Star. The advertisement, urging defeat of the measures, was titled "Truth About 100 & 102 Revealed By State Taxpayers Association of Arizona." This suggests that the taxpayers association opposed the initiatives. The advertisement was signed by the "Pima County Chapter of the Arizona League (For Sane Economy in Public Expenditures)." George H. Todd was listed as president, J. J. O'Dowd, vice-president, and Charles A. Carson, Jr., secretary-treasurer.

19. Ibid.

20. The Arizona Daily Star, November 6, 1932, 10.

The AEA cooperated with the "Arizona League" in publicity against the initiatives. The Star on November 7 carried an advertisement titled "Don't be Fooled with Hand Bills and Ads Put Out by the Maricopa Majority (52) of the Committee of 100 and Their Claim of Tax Reduction." This advertisement was signed by the Pima County Chapter of the "Arizona League," the Arizona Education Association, and the Tucson Chamber of Commerce, Inc. ²¹ The Arizona Republic carried an advertisement on November 7 signed by the AEA only.

The mimeographed letter was used in this campaign as another method of influencing opinion. It is impossible to ascertain how widely such letters circulated, but AEA files contain one which was addressed to members of Arizona school boards, and presumably sent to them. The letter was signed by the state superintendent of public instruction. It took note of the proposed amendments and recommended that the reader vote ²² against them, since they endangered state aid for schools.

The success of the AEA, the "Arizona League," and other groups is recorded in the election results. The measure limiting state expenditures was defeated by a vote of 51,441 to 37,453. The measure limiting county ²³ expenditures was defeated by a vote of 49,934 to 37,229.

While the AEA directed most of its energies and resources into the campaign against the initiatives, it did take a stand on other issues in 1932. At its annual delegate assembly, the group adopted a resolution which favored graduated income taxes on all incomes over \$1,000 per annum,

21. Ibid., November 7, 1932, 3.

22. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1932-1933," n.p.

23. Acts Resolutions and Memorials of the Regular Session Eleventh Legislature of the State of Arizona 1933, 606-607.

including incomes of public servants and officials. The association favored a general sales tax, with provision that such a tax would relieve the general property tax burden in proportion to the amount derived from the sales tax.

Another resolution recommended that measures be taken to protect the permanent school fund, depleted by losses on farm land loans, some of which were not repaid. This fund, provided for in the Arizona constitution, is derived in part from the sale of public school lands. Other sources include all estates or distributive shares of estates that may escheat to the state, all unclaimed shares and dividends of any corporations incorporated under Arizona laws, and all gifts or bequests made to the state for general educational purposes. The income derived from the investment of the fund, and from rental of school lands, is apportioned annually to the counties in proportion to the number of school pupils in residence.

Mr. Horace Kincaid of Tolleson, Arizona, reported to the AEA that farm loans from the permanent school fund amounted to \$2,024,049.56. By July 1, 1932, \$938,997.22 had been repaid. The balance outstanding was \$1,040,052.44. Kincaid recommended that the AEA appoint a committee to spend funds, investigate, and hire accountants to secure data which could be presented to the legislature along with a plan to conserve the permanent school fund. The association sent a petition to the legislature asking for investigation of the fund and adoption of proper accounting methods. The petition asked the legislature to acknowledge indebtedness by joint resolution and create a public school

redemption fund to retire certificates of indebtedness as they came due.

Such actions indicated that the AEA in 1932 was attempting to deal with important school financing problems which might become acute as the nation-wide depression progressed. AEA members probably anticipated that, since the expenditure limitation measures had failed, pressure groups interested in lower taxes would attempt to cut public expenditures for school purposes in the 1933 legislature.

Such a struggle did arise in 1933 among representatives of the United Verde Copper Company, the Maricopa County Taxpayers Association, and the AEA. The AEA lost the fight when a bill, introduced as Senate Bill 60, was passed by the legislature and approved as House Bill 253 by the governor on March 17, 1933. The bill provided for a reduction of the state levy for common and high school education, based on per capita average daily attendance, from \$25 to \$20.

The original law providing for a state levy based on per capita average daily attendance was not passed until 1921. From 1912, the year of statehood, until 1921, state appropriations for education were made by laws providing for the annual levying and collection of a high enough tax to raise the sum of \$500,000. This sum was increased to \$750,000 in 1919. Levies were made on taxable property in the state and paid into the state treasury as a special "State Common School Fund." All school moneys due each county were paid by the state treasurer. The law also provided for a county levy for school purposes.

The county superintendents furnished the boards of supervisors with estimates of the minimum amount of school funds needed for the ensuing year. Each superintendent multiplied \$35 by the sum representing average daily attendance in the county for the previous year. The minimum set for each district was \$1,000. Ten per cent of the estimate was added to form a reserve fund. The county board of supervisors annually levied a county school tax to raise the estimated sum. In addition, the board levied a district tax on property of any district in which an additional amount had been asked for.

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Senate Bill 83, approved March 22, 1921, amended the 1912 law. The new bill provided for an annual tax, sufficient to raise a sum of not less than \$25 per capita based on average daily attendance in the common and high schools of the state. The levy was made on taxable property and paid into the state treasury as a special fund for school purposes. The state board of education apportioned the money to counties, pro-rating it on average daily attendance. Under this law, the per capita estimate made by the county superintendent for the county levy was raised from a \$35 minimum to \$45. An \$80 per capita maximum estimate was set. The Fifth Arizona Legislature, in special session during 1922, provided that the sum based on the \$25 per capita levy be appropriated in the general appropriation bill for common and high schools during each fiscal year. This law was in effect when the Eleventh Legislature met in 1933.

The AEA executive committee met on December 17, 1932, to discuss final plans concerning the program it would present to the Eleventh

Legislature. John D. Loper, superintendent of Phoenix public schools, pointed out that the association would face two problems in the legislature: (1) attempts to put school budgets under the direct control of county boards of supervisors, and (2) attempts to decrease the \$25 per capita school levy. The AEA, still largely controlled by administrators, wished to keep the preparation of budgets with the county superintendents of schools. Too, a lower per capita levy meant less money to meet all school needs, including administrative and instructional costs.

The AEA law committee made its first move by preparing a school tax bill which John Loper submitted to the House education committee, with the request that it be introduced as a committee measure. That group declined, and Senator W. B. Kelly, Democrat of Greenlee county, introduced the draft as S. B. 60 into the Senate on January 25. The bill provided for a \$25 per capita levy. It went to the Senate education committee, and there representatives of the AEA appeared to plead for the bill. These association members were John Loper, Mrs. Constance F. Smith, Pima county school superintendent, and C. E. Rose, Tucson city schools superintendent. AEA arguments before the Senate committee failed. The education committee lowered the state levy to \$20 and put budget making into the hands of the county boards of supervisors. The bill came out of committee on February 18, and was re-referred back to the same committee.

In the meantime, Mrs. Smith issued a call for a special meeting of the Pima county school trustees for February 15. School trustees and two civic organizations, the Amphitheater and the Wrightstown-

Tanque Verde clubs, attended the meeting. C. E. Rose, returning from another education committee hearing held the previous day, met the group and spoke against the bill. The school trustees assured the AEA members that they would individually oppose S. B. 60. After this meeting, Mrs. Smith returned to Phoenix and appeared before the education committee again on Saturday, February 18.

Talbot T. Smith, Arizona Daily Star columnist (and husband of AEA representative Constance F. Smith), commented on the lobbying which went on that day:

Representatives of Yavapai county mining companies [sic] were here working for it today. The law committee of the State Teacher's association, of which John D. Loper, Phoenix superintendent, is chairman, held a meeting at noon. Mrs. Dorothy Sykes and Mrs. Constance F. Smith, Gila and Pima county superintendents, are here in opposition to it and the debate is plenty warm. Senator W. B. Kelly of Graham county has written a substitute bill which takes care of some of the objections made by Pima county, but it retains the principle that the supervisors, not the school trustees should make the budget. It is understood the mining people have still a third draft of the bill.²⁷

Smith's next column, datelined February 20, continued the story of lobbying:

Two United Verde copper men, two representatives of the Maricopa county taxpayers association and three school "barons" met with the Senate education committee this afternoon to announce they had reached a "compromise" on the rewritten senate bill 60... The compromise, C. R. Kuzell of the United Verde said, consisted of an agreement by the school men that they would approve of cutting the total state and county per capita to \$55, leaving all added costs to local levies, if the mining men and Maricopans would agree to abandon the principle that the supervisors should have the final say over district school budgets. The committee took no action, but Chairman W. B. Kelly made it plain that for himself he did not think much of the compromise. He is insistent on supervisor control.

27. The Arizona Daily Star, February 20, 1933, 1.

The meeting was called hurriedly. The compromisers, after a meeting Sunday in the office of John D. Loper, superintendent of Phoenix schools, had asked Kelly to permit them to appear Wednesday, but he set the meeting date for 1 o'clock today. At the meeting were a number of school men, their spokesmen being Loper, Herman Hendrix, state superintendent, and E. W. Montgomery, superintendent of the Phoenix high school district. The United Verde was represented by Kuzell, who spoke for the Emergency Relief committee, and H. V. Cornick. For the Maricopa Taxpayers were Frank Brophy and George Mickle. The school men were all members of the law committee of the State Teachers' Association.

The amendments to the bill really constitute a substitute for the substitute proposed by Kelly after numerous defects were found in the original sixty. There was considerable discussion as to what the bill did mean, and it was finally decided that supervisors would be able to change any individual item in any district budget. Tom Collins, who is not a member of the committee, joined with Kelly in advocating supervisor control. The final words were by Loper to the effect that "we agree to the \$55 but only on condition that there be no supervisor control."²⁸

The bill went to the committee of the whole on February 27, and on March 7 the committee reported amendments and "do pass." The per capita levy was \$20, and the county maximum levy was \$60. The boards of supervisors were to direct budget making. On March 11 another amendment returned the budget making power to the school superintendents.

While Senate Bill 60 was being debated in committee rooms of the capitol, the AEA was active on another front. In an attempt to stir up active opposition to the bill among some 2,306 AEA members, AEA secretary Harold W. Smith sent out "several thousand circular letters, bulleting [sic] and personal letters" to teachers and administrators.²⁹

The struggle over the state per capita levy and school budget making was carried on also in the House, where Representative Jesse A. Udall of

28. The Arizona Daily Star, February 21, 1933, 1, 12.

29. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1933-34" (Office of the Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 75.

Graham county introduced H. B. 253 on March 4. This bill was rushed through committees. Two days later it was read for the third time, approved, and sent to the Senate. There is no available record of the bill's provisions. On March 11, H. B. 253 was read in the Senate for the second time. The Senate amended it by striking out everything after the title and substituting the entire text of S. B. 60. S. B. 60, as mentioned above, now provided that school superintendents make the school budgets. Talbot Smith commented on the Senate action in his column of March 12:

New battle lines have been drawn on this issue today. The senate struck out the clauses providing that supervisors should make the district budgets and substituted the county school superintendent. It took some eight or nine amendments to do this. They were written by Herman Hendrix, state superintendent, John D. Loper, superintendent of Phoenix schools, and Paul Keefe, representing the United Verde Mining company. Hendrix has been working for the amended bill, E. W. Montgomery of Phoenix high school and C. E. Rose of Tucson against it all day.³⁰

The House did not concur in the Senate amendments, and a conference committee was appointed from each branch of the legislature. On March 13 the House committee said it could not agree, and a new committee was appointed which reached agreement with the Senate group. The final action by the legislature indicated that the groups most interested in the bill, the mining and taxpayer interests and the AEA, had secured a compromise measure. H. B. 253 provided for a \$20 per capita state levy, with budgets to be made by county superintendents. The county levy was lowered from a \$45 minimum to \$30, and from an \$80 maximum to \$45.³¹

30. The Arizona Daily Star, March 12, 1933, 1, 8.

31. Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Regular Session Eleventh Legislature of the State of Arizona 1933, 239-250.

These provisions did not satisfy AEA leaders. They foresaw the need of uniting the association for a new attempt to obtain beneficial legislation in the next legislative session. The delegate assembly in 1934 adopted resolutions that the AEA and all state teachers actively participate in government;³² that they oppose retrenchment in services and salary cuts; that they demand adequate financial support for schools, a teacher retirement system, and supplemental sources of revenue to reduce the general property tax for state purposes.

The law committee reported that the Eleventh Legislature had very nearly repealed the pension law, and that the association officers had been advised by legislators to devise a new plan. The AEA hired an actuary, Mr. George Buck of New York City, in April, 1934. Buck received \$2,000 for his services. He drew up a plan which provided for permissive retirement at 60 years and compulsory retirement at 65. There was no requirement as to the number of years of service at retirement. Contributions would be based on a retirement allowance of one-half the average annual salary for the last ten years of service. About one-half of the sum would be paid by the state and the rest was to come from an annuity purchased by the teacher's own contributions, with accumulated interest. The plan also provided for a disability allowance and death benefits.

The AEA planned to introduce the retirement measure into the 1935 legislature. However, the initial cost to the state for the first year was estimated to be \$265,109,³³ and the law committee, convinced the

32. By "government" the delegate assembly probably meant legislative processes.

33. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1934-1935" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 69-72.

bill would fail, did not introduce it. The Twelfth Legislature did pass four bills favored by the Association. House Bill 66, providing state aid to public junior colleges, and House Bill 140, providing for school district libraries, were not part of the association program, but were supported by the AEA. The teachers organization successfully sponsored Senate Bill 73, which provided that teachers and administrative officers in public schools take an oath of allegiance required for public officers.

The AEA gained a qualified success with the passage of House Bill 100. This bill raised the levy for common and high schools to the former \$25 level, but lowered the maximum county per capita estimates.

House Bill 100 was prepared by the AEA and supported by the P.T.A., the Women's Clubs, and the American Legion.

The battle over House Bill 100 kept the legislature in session for six days after the date originally set for adjournment. The bill was introduced into the House on February 8 by Representatives M. G. Pratt, C. T. Thompson, and Harry J. Sullivan of Maricopa county. It fixed the state levy for common and high school education at \$30 per capita. The bill was amended on February 27 on motion of W. G. Rosenbaum so that the per capita levy would be paid from excise tax revenues. Two days later, The Arizona Daily Star remarked editorially:

At the present time the per capita tax is \$20 per pupil per average daily attendance. The school barons want it raised to \$30 and are asking for that figure with the hope that they will get a compromise figure of \$25. In this struggle the school men are supported by those counties which benefit from such a raise.³⁴

34. The Arizona Daily Star, March 1, 1935, 6.

The Star ignored the excise tax portion of the bill, and opposed the raise in the per capita levy.

Commenting on the situation in the House at this time, John H. Rapp, Pima county representative (and chairman of the House judiciary committee) said:

W. G. Rosenbaum was an employee of and spokesman for the Ray Consolidated Copper company, which was part of the Kennecott Copper company. He was behind the \$30 per capita levy as long as the sales tax clause was attached. Rosenbaum sprang the tax amendment clause on the House, and handled the whole bill. He tried to put it through in a hurry. I was sympathetic to the school people, and tried to get in touch with C. E. Rose, to get his opinion. He was not in the state. The bill went to the Senate, but people began to wake up. House members began to see that the sales tax idea was wrong.³⁵

The bill went to the Senate on February 28. There an amendment lowered the per capita levy to \$22.50. The House did not concur in the amendment, and House and Senate conference committees were appointed. Adjournment of the legislature was set for March 14, but by that date a deadlock had developed. Talbot T. Smith noted in his Arizona Daily Star column on March 15 that:

The legislative jam that prevented adjournment is not a matter of quantity, but quality. The senate refuses to bring out the sales tax bill and the \$30 per capita tax bill until the house acts on the highway department code. Conversely, the house will not act on the highway code until the senate enacts an intangibles tax law, which is a bit hard to solve because there is no parliamentary procedure by which the intangibles, twice killed, can again be resurrected except by the house.³⁶

35. Interview with John H. Rapp, Pima county representative 1930-1936, 1941-1942. June 27, 1951, Tucson, Arizona.

36. The Arizona Daily Star, March 15, 1935, 1.

There are no records of the steps taken by the AEA at this point. However, the American Legion, the Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Parent-Teachers Association supported the AEA legislative program, according to the association's 1936 law committee report. C. E. Rose, representing the AEA, went to the capitol to observe the progress of school legislation during the closing days of the session. The outcome of the issue was that a \$25 per capita levy was passed, and "last minute trading by conferees put the burden of the per capita apportionment back on the general fund rather than the sales tax...." ³⁷ The county per capita estimate was lowered from a \$30 minimum to \$25, and ³⁸ from a \$45 maximum to \$40.

The AEA was not completely satisfied with House Bill 100, and made new plans to raise the per capita levy. In 1936, the association spent ³⁹ \$1,716.60 on an initiative measure providing for the increase. The funds probably were paid to workers circulating the petitions. The measure was not voted on in the 1936 general election. Opponents filed suit for a permanent injunction to restrain state and county officials from placing the measure on the ballot, on grounds that publicity pamphlets had not been distributed to voters as required by law. A. J. Griffin and Wiley Fitzgerald, both of Yuma, brought the suits before Superior Court Judge Marlin T. Phelps of Maricopa county. Phelps granted

37. The Arizona Daily Star, March 22, 1935, 1.

38. Acts, Resolutions and Memorials of the Regular Session, Twelfth Legislature of the State of Arizona (1935), 448-451.

39. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1936-1937" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 71.

Griffin's plea for injunction, and the Arizona Supreme Court upheld the decision. Phelps dismissed Fitzgerald's case after the Supreme Court decision was handed down.

Blocked in this direction, the AEA next made efforts to win support of legislators and public groups for their 1937 legislative program. Eight members of the association law committee met on December 18, 1936, with thirteen legislators to discuss proposed bills for the next legislative session. The thirteen included Senator Frank T. Pomeroy and Representatives Bridgie Porter, William Gillett, Harry Sullivan, J. Melvin Goodson, Eli C. Shelton, Jack Cummard, Charles Mender-son, Lindsay Johnson, William Peterson, W. W. Mitchell, and J. Irvin Burk. The legislators and AEA members discussed a teacher retirement law, a bill on state lands (amending Section 2947, Revised Code of 1928), and an amendment to Section 2640, Revised Code of 1928, relating to the investment of permanent funds of the state and imposing certain duties on the state land commission.

The law committee also drew up broader legislative objectives and presented them during the year to the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers, women's clubs, and the American Legion. The committee reported that all these groups approved its program. An increased state per capita levy was the first objective of the new program. The AEA wanted payments to counties raised to \$40 for elementary schools and \$60 for high schools. They wanted the county to supplement this with a guaranteed minimum of \$15 and a maximum of \$35 per capita for elementary and high schools. Not less than 75 per cent of the state and county funds thus apportioned should be used for administrative and instructional costs.

Among other AEA goals were regulation of dance halls and liquor,

inclusion of kindergarten in the regular county apportionment, mandatory administrative certificates for county school superintendents, aid to mentally handicapped children, a teacher retirement law, recodification of all school and health laws, and provision for a permissive levy of no more than 50 cents for the purchase of sites and erection of school buildings. The last involved a district vote if the levy exceeded ten cents.

Administration of the permanent school fund was another important problem. The previously mentioned Kincaid report of 1932 laid the groundwork for further investigation. An AEA committee, with A. N. Lindstrom as chairman and W. H. Harless as secretary, made the following recommendations: (1) the governor should appoint the state land commissioner, (2) the commissioner should appoint all assistants in his department, (3) future investments of the permanent school fund should be limited to safe and satisfactory bonds, (4) such investments should be approved by either the state board of education or the superintendent of public instruction, (5) the state examiner should make an annual audit of funds and publicize them, (6) net losses of the permanent fund should be established, and these losses should be replaced either by legislative appropriation or by issuance of certificates of indebtedness bearing a reasonable rate of interest.

These were the AEA goals in the 1937 legislature. Although the association made a strong effort to gain support of legislators and public groups, the program failed. Many of the measures were never introduced. Those introduced died in committee or on the calendar. These included:

- H. B. #94 Appropriation for Arizona Children's Colony. Died in committee.
- H. B. #114 State and county levy for common and high schools, introduced by Frank Skinner (Graham) and F. Carson (Pima). Died in committee.
- H. B. #155 Licensing of public dance halls. Introduced by Mrs. Porter (Maricopa). Died on calendar.
- H. B. #212 Teachers' pension and retirement system. Introduced by Wisdom (Pima) and Johnson (Maricopa). Died in committee.

Some reasons for the failure of the AEA might be advanced. First, the AEA probably spread its energies over too wide an area. The association might have been more successful had it concentrated all its resources on securing the passage of one important bill, such as the state school levy bill. Second, a schism developed in the AEA itself on the retirement law. The law committee and the teacher retirement committee disagreed on the subject of introducing the bill. The latter group reported that some AEA executive officers seemed to feel that the bill should have been introduced only if the pension law already enacted were repealed or revised. This group, in other words, stood for the status quo. Others wanted a new bill. Lack of coordinated effort behind the retirement measure weakened chances for passage. A third possible reason for the AEA's lack of success is suggested by John Rapp. He maintains that in 1936 the large copper interests had determined to capture control of the House. Their power, according to Rapp, had always been strong in the Senate. Rapp holds that the copper interests did see most of the candidates they supported elected in 1936. These people stood firmly

40. Interview with John H. Rapp, June 27, 1951, Tucson, Arizona.

against "expensive" school legislation. Other factors contributing to the failure may be found in the body of public opinion (created by depression conditions), opposed to increased public spending in Arizona; and finally to the relative inexperience of AEA members in lining up support for their programs.

It is possible that these failures gave impetus to organizational changes made in the association in late 1937 and early 1938. At the delegate convention in November, 1937, the classroom teachers, who made up the bulk of AEA membership, organized as a separate department of the National Education Association. The new affiliation bound teachers together in a cohesive group which could be stimulated to political action. Teachers never before had taken leadership in the AEA. By forming their own organization they gained power, and by 1940 took over direction of the AEA from the administrators. As a result the association took on new vitality and gained political power, as it could now work through a group of actively participating teachers throughout the state.

Another move which increased political effectiveness was the provision of February, 1938, for a full-time executive secretary. The question arose at the delegate assembly in 1937, and, according to newspaper reports, was hotly debated. Three attempts to force a vote ended in a deadlock, and the assembly adjourned without making a decision. The assembly met again the following year and voted to appoint N. D. Pulliam to the position. Establishment of this office meant that AEA activities could be coordinated and sustained throughout the year.

During Pulliam's first year as full-time executive secretary in 1938, the AEA worked to defeat a proposed amendment which provided tax exemption

for homes valued up to \$5,000. Other special-interest, civic, and public employee groups joined the association in fighting the initiative, ballot numbers 104-105. The AEA law committee met on July 23, 1938, with representatives of the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Maricopa County Taxpayers League, the Arizona Cattle Growers Association, the City of Phoenix, and the Arizona State Tax Commission, to plan an organized campaign against the measure.

In October, the AEA paid \$100 to the Young Democrats club (probably of Phoenix) to distribute 50,000 copies of a publication which carried a strong argument against the homestead exemption bill. ⁴¹ Representatives of aforementioned interest groups met on October 15 to form a central working committee and to plan a campaign against the measure. The group decided to supply information for use by public speakers, and to use newspaper display advertising, news releases, cartoons, handbills, billboard advertisements, and radio addresses to gain public opposition to the bill. They sought to raise \$2,000 to \$3,000 by subscription to cover publicity costs. ⁴² The AEA spent \$250.95 on the campaign.

The organizations opposing 104-105 sought to keep it off the ballot by obtaining an injunction on grounds that there were insufficient signatures on the petitions initiating the proposal. The Maricopa County Superior Court denied the petition for an injunction. The publicity campaign against the measure proceeded as planned and probably was a factor in the defeat of the measure.

41. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1938-1939" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 55.

42. Ibid., 78.

While defeat of the homestead exemption measure removed the threat of a sudden decrease in the state income, many interest groups still called for lower taxes. Other organizations, such as the AEA, opposed any decrease in state services. Leading an attempt to reconcile these views, the AEA sponsored a public meeting on November 30, 1938, for consideration of plans to revise the system of ad valorem taxation in Arizona. The group agreed to ask the legislature to study the cost of government with reductions in view. Organizations represented were the Arizona Municipal League, the Federation of Women's Clubs of Arizona, the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Arizona Farm Bureau Federation, the Arizona State Taxpayers Association, the Arizona State Tax Commission, the State Department of Education, and the Maricopa County Medical Association. Others were the Arizona Small Mine Operators Association, the Arizona Citrus Growers Exchange, the Arizona Milk Producers Association, the Salt River Valley Water Users Association, the Arizona Association of Tax Assessors, the Maricopa County Farm Bureau, and the Arizona Association of Pharmacists.

With the tax problem still largely unsettled, AEA leaders turned to a consideration of the 1939 legislative program. The law committee prepared nine bills, the most important one being the teacher retirement law. Others provided for increased qualifications and powers for county school superintendents, a 50-cent building fund law, clarification of the recall law, and continuing teacher contracts. The AEA planned to concentrate its efforts to get passage of the retirement law.

During 1938, the association publicized the retirement issue by sending copies of an analysis of the bill to schools, legislators, and

AEA members. The AEA distributed 1,000 copies of a booklet and 2,000 copies of question and answer forms at the 1938 delegate assembly. Charts and graphs were prepared for use in addressing groups.

Despite these efforts, the teachers' group failed to secure passage of the retirement bill. William H. Harless, AEA law committee chairman, reported on February 14, 1939, that he had appeared before the House appropriations, ways and means, education, and judiciary committees, and the education committee of the Senate. Legislators demanded reduction in the initial cost of the program to the state, Harless said. The Senate approved S. B. 92, which was the AEA retirement bill in slightly amended form, and sent it to the House. (The House bill, 139, died in committee.) In his report to the 1939 delegate assembly, Harless noted:

It should be said...that when the opinion was generally accepted, that if the retirement measure [S. B. 92] came to a vote in the House of Representatives it would be given a strong majority vote, that tremendous pressure was brought on President Clark, Executive Secretary Pulliam and your chairman to commit the Association to certain legislative policies. The pressure finally took the form of a threat to accede to the demands or we should lose the retirement measure. We could not comply because it would have been going beyond the limits of our authority. It is sufficient to say here that when the House calendar appeared Monday, the last day of the session, instead of being at the top of the calendar where it was left on Saturday, the retirement measure was at the bottom below two highly controversial measures.⁴³

Harless also reported that the bill was defeated because of some opposition in AEA ranks. The association's legislative program in general failed. Of the eight bills sponsored only one, prescribing a

43. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1939" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 108.

penalty for loitering about a school or molesting a school child, passed.

This lack of success in 1939 was sharply reversed the following year. Several factors combined to stimulate the emergence of the AEA as an important political entity. First, nation-wide economic conditions were improving by 1940. Second, the teachers' association, which was incorporated in 1939, had a full-time executive secretary, permanent headquarters, and a membership totalling 3,843.⁴⁴ Third, AEA leaders had gained experience in seeing bills through the legislature, arousing members to action, and sponsoring initiative measures. The group was well prepared to launch the expensive and extensive initiative campaign in 1940, which resulted in its first unqualified success at the polls.

44. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1940" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 30.

CHAPTER II

THE AEA AND THE NEA - THEIR ORGANIZATION AND INTERRELATION

From 1939 until the present, the AEA's political effectiveness has been increased through organizational changes and close identification of AEA interests with those of the National Education Association. During this period, direction of AEA affairs came to be centered primarily in the executive secretary's office. Local teachers' groups grew in number and importance. The executive secretary established continuous relations with these groups and stimulated them to carry out AEA political programs at the local level.

After incorporation in 1939, the AEA began active participation in the extensive program of the National Education Association, a powerful teachers' interest group organized in 1857. NEA-AEA cooperation had several important results. First, morale of AEA members was heightened by identification with a nation-wide movement. Second, AEA programs began to reflect the goals of the national organization. Third, the NEA provided the state association with quantities of materials publicizing its program. Distributed to teachers, these materials helped arouse them to political action.

The NEA has a large active membership, which stood at 453,797 as of May 1, 1950.¹ It has a firm financial position, with total assets

1. National Education Association of the United States, NEA Handbook 1950-51 (Washington, 1950), 48.

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of \$2,650,919.12. The NEA carries on an extensive and effective program for the protection of the teachers' economic status. These developments have arisen as the result of almost one hundred years of participation by the national organization in the field of educational affairs. NEA history extends back to the founding of the National Teachers Association in Philadelphia in 1857, as the result of a movement led by the presidents of ten state teachers associations. In 1870, the National Association of School Superintendents and the American Normal School Association united with the NTA to form the NEA. The NEA was incorporated under laws of the District of Columbia in 1866. In 1892, the NEA entered the field of investigation and research, and in 1903 began an active program of teacher welfare. Growth of the association made necessary the formation in 1920 of a representative assembly composed of delegates from local and state education associations. In 1944 the association began a five-year program of unification, expansion, and development. Two years later, this was absorbed into a new five-year program, to run until 1951.

NEA organization is based on the individual memberships in each state. Members come together in local education associations, such as the Tucson Education Association in Arizona. By paying annual group affiliation dues of five dollars, the group may elect one delegate and one alternate to the NEA representative assembly for each 100 of its active NEA members, or major fraction thereof. The state teachers' association, such as the AEA, may affiliate by payment of annual dues of ten dollars. Each state

2. National Education Association of the United States, Financial Report for Fiscal Year Ended May 31, 1950 (Washington, 1950), 12.

association may elect one delegate and one alternate to the representative assembly for each 100 of its active NEA members or major fraction thereof up to 500 such active members. Thereafter, one delegate and one alternate are elected for each 500 members or major fraction thereof. Affiliation also entitles the local and state groups to receive all publications of the NEA. In Arizona, twenty-six local teachers' organizations and the state association are affiliated with the NEA. All but two affiliations, that of the Tucson Education Association in 1921, and that of the AEA, occurred either in or since 1939. This fact indicates that NEA influence in Arizona groups was probably weak until the incorporation of the AEA in 1939.

State directors are elected for three-year terms by the NEA representative assembly from nominees submitted by the various state delegations. The state director's name is usually recommended to the state delegate assembly by the state executive secretary, as is done in the AEA. The state delegate assembly votes to submit the name to the NEA representative assembly, where an affirmative vote is automatically given. State directors are official representatives of the NEA within their states, and are "depended upon for leadership in the promotion of Association policies and activities." In Arizona, the state director is a member of the AEA executive committee, with full voting powers.

Growth of the NEA since its inception has been to a large extent through absorption by the larger organization of small subject matter groups. Such groups become departments of the NEA and often set up full-

3. National Education Association of the United States, NEA Handbook 1950-51 (Washington, 1950), 230.

time executive secretary offices in the NEA headquarters building. They have their own constitutions, officers, meetings, and publications. NEA membership, however, is prerequisite to membership in a department. The departments, such as classroom teachers or elementary school principals, hold annual meetings and conduct research. They disseminate information through various journals and news bulletins to local, state, and regional units of the departments.

NEA organization, particularly for dissemination of policy recommendations, has an important effect on the organization of state associations and on policy formulation by the state groups. In 1943, an affiliation plan was set forth by the national to unify membership in the local, state, and national, and thus make transmission of policy recommendations more effective. In 1944, the AEA subscribed to the new plan whereby any Arizona local might, by a vote of its membership, enter into a unification agreement with the state and national organizations. By 1950, twenty-five of the sixty-five local Arizona groups affiliated with the AEA had subscribed to the plan. All three units agreed to accept as members only those individuals who joined all three organizations on payment of a single fee which was fixed, collected, and distributed by the local association. The AEA delegate assembly adopted a plan in 1947 which did not include the locals. The agreement stipulated that the AEA and NEA would accept no individuals who did not become members of both groups. The new plan effectively forced the state-wide membership of the AEA into membership with the NEA. By May 31, 1950, NEA membership from Arizona was 4,365. Membership in the AEA was 4,394.⁴

4. Ibid., 49. The twenty-nine AEA members who are not NEA members may possibly be AEA non-voting associate members or non-voting student members.

The unification of membership simplified the transmission of NEA policy recommendations from the national through the state organization and down to the locals. Furthermore, the desires of local and state groups which were now strongly represented in the NEA also contributed to the formulation of policy in the national group.

The present aims of the national group were laid down in a five-year program adopted by the NEA assembly July 5, 1946. The NEA planned to build a large membership with active local and state associations operating under a unified dues plan. Unified committees, with chairmen of local and state committees serving as advisory members to corresponding national committees, were to be established. The NEA planned to work for a strong, adequately staffed state department of education in each state. The national program called for higher salaries for teachers, effective tenure legislation, cumulative sabbatical and sick leave, reasonable class size, equitable distribution of teaching load, and equalization and expansion of educational opportunity, including state and national financing. It planned for efficient units of school administration and educational opportunity for each child regardless of race, color, creed, or residence. The program also called for a wholesome community environment for each child and an effective United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

By 1947, this program was adopted by the delegate assembly of the AEA. The organization by which the program is carried through parallels closely, although not entirely, that of the national. The broad basis of the AEA is founded on its statewide membership of individuals engaged in teaching or other educational service. The members pay as dues to

the state association a sum equal to one-half of one per cent of their annual salary. Since the AEA-NEA agreement in 1947, five dollars is taken from the amount paid by each member and transmitted by the AEA executive secretary to the NEA. AEA members annually elect a president, vice-president, treasurer, and representatives to the state delegate assembly. One delegate is elected from membership of the association for every twenty members or major fraction thereof. Each separate Arizona school or school system in which there are eleven or more AEA members is a basic election unit. Schools with fewer than eleven AEA members may pool membership and combine with other schools in a county into an election unit. The delegate assembly is the legislative body of the AEA. It determines the policies and other activities of the group and has power to authorize expenditure of funds.

This representative group elects six delegates at large to serve for two-year terms on the executive committee. The terms are staggered so that three new delegates are elected to the board each year. Other members of the executive committee are AEA officers, the NEA state director, the president of the department of classroom teachers, and the president of the Arizona Association of School Administrators. The executive committee arranges annual meetings, fills all vacancies in office between meetings of the delegate assembly, and acts as an interim committee for determining policy, approving bills, and having general management of association affairs. It acts as a commission on professional ethics for the AEA. The executive committee prepares and adopts the AEA budget annually on advice of the executive secretary, who is appointed by the commission.

Annual membership dues form the main source of AEA income. Minor funds come from AEA convention profits, usually about \$1,000, and from NEA contributions to the united dues drive. The NEA does not contribute funds for AEA legislative campaigns. Other income sources include small fees for services rendered by the AEA, and the annual profit, usually near \$600, of the AEA monthly journal. Any savings made by the organization go into a permanent fund, which is used to finance state-wide legislative campaigns.

The executive secretary, who makes budget recommendations, occupies a powerful position in the AEA. This officer keeps minutes of all meetings of the association, the executive committee, the delegate assembly, and all committees of which he is ex-officio secretary or secretary by appointment. He executes policies adopted by the delegate assembly and the executive committee. He directs a headquarters staff which handles accounts, membership, and group insurance. The executive secretary recommends the name of the state director to be nominated by the delegate assembly. He annually suggests to the NEA executive committee and president the names of AEA members for commissions and committees.

He keeps in touch with and aids in directing the work of the sixteen AEA standing committees through a headquarters staff member on each committee. The executive secretary also maintains records of membership, attendance of members, dues, and receipt and disbursement of all moneys. His office is the center of lines of communication between the state, local, and national associations.

Six standing committees have been provided by the constitution, and ten others have been created by action of the delegate assembly. Com-

mittees are composed of five to nine persons, who are appointed by the president. The committees conduct research and prepare policy recommendations to be presented to the delegate assembly. The committees deal with such subjects of general professional interest as tax and finance, public lands, retirement, federal legislation, law, and professional standards.

A cooperative relationship is maintained through the executive secretary's office with thirty-five allied organizations in state-wide subject matter fields. For example, the executive secretary provides informational services for such groups as the State Library Association, and organizations of music educators and language teachers. The secretary stores records for the groups in the headquarters office. The executive committee is currently attempting to work out a policy for bringing these organizations into close working relationships with the AEA. The groups would then correspond to the departments in the NEA organization.

Three groups which are not a part of the AEA governmental hierarchy, and yet are an integral part of the AEA itself, are the local classroom teachers associations, the local school administrators associations, and the local education associations. Each of these organizations, by having one member who is also a member of the AEA, is automatically eligible to affiliate with the AEA. Affiliation may or may not be under the unified dues plan. Such affiliation primarily makes a local eligible to receive information services of the AEA headquarters and the monthly publication, the Arizona Teacher-Parent. In Arizona, sixty-five such locals are affiliated with the AEA. The bulk of local members are usually AEA and NEA

members. Even those groups not officially connected with the AEA have representation on the executive committee, through the state department of classroom teachers and the Arizona Association of School Administrators.

In Arizona, the state department of classroom teachers has been organized since November, 1937. Local classroom teachers associations send delegates to the state group. There is no direct connection up to this point between the department of classroom teachers and the AEA, except through dual membership. The fact of dual membership, however, is most important, because 95 per cent of the membership of the AEA consists of classroom teachers.⁵ The state department of classroom teachers has a delegate on the AEA executive committee, and annually receives funds from the AEA budget. The state department sends delegates to regional meetings, which elect officers to the NEA department of classroom teachers. Therefore, the Arizona state department is represented both in the AEA, on its executive committee, and in the NEA.

Exactly the same organization characterizes the Arizona Association of School Administrators, which is made up of locals, has a representative on the AEA executive committee, sends delegates to regional meetings, and elects officers of the NEA department.

The third type local, the education association, has a membership comprised of both administrators and classroom teachers. It has no direct representation on the AEA executive committee, and no state-wide organization. A typical example is the Tucson Education Association. This group has some representation on the AEA executive committee, as

5. Interview with Miss Lois Rogers, December 26, 1950, Phoenix, Arizona.

its members usually are also members of the state department of classroom teachers or the Arizona Association of School Administrators, each of which has a delegate on the committee. It obtains information services from the AEA executive secretary by AEA affiliation.

Local groups and the AEA are adapted by organization both to receive and to implement policy recommendations formed at the national level, and also to take part in policy making. This is achieved by continuous interchange of information along six main lines. First, delegates are elected to the NEA representative assembly from the three types of Arizona locals. Second, delegates are elected to the NEA assembly by the AEA. Third, an AEA member serves a three-year term on the NEA board of directors. Fourth, the classroom teachers and school administrators' locals elect officers to corresponding NEA departments. Fifth, AEA members are appointed on suggestion of the executive secretary to NEA commissions and committees. Sixth, continuous cooperation exists between the NEA executive secretary and the AEA executive secretary, through exchange of research bulletins, news releases, and letters. The AEA secretary distributes these materials to the AEA executive committee, the delegate assembly, and the locals.

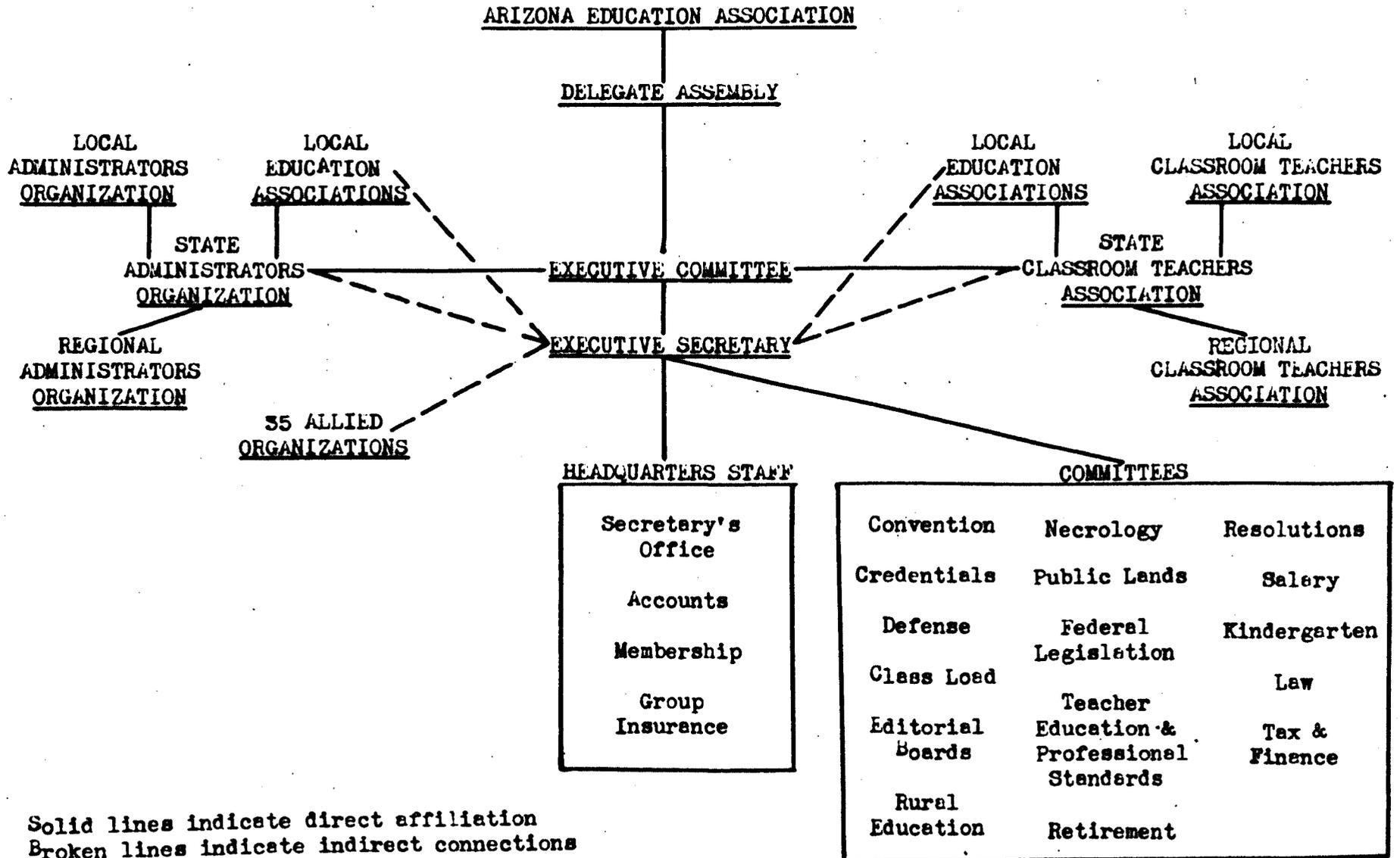
TABLE I

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, AEA, 1892-1950*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Membership</u>
1892	70
1917	235
1924	1441
1925	2580
1927	2322
1928	2575
1931	2891
1932	2306
1933	2832
1934	3053
1935	3239
1936	3497
1937	3739
1938	3637
1939	3843
1941	3960
1942	4052
1943	3012
1945	3245
1946	3271
1947	3766
1948	3751
1949	4084
1950	4394

*Sources: "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1924-1950"; NEA Handbook, 1945, 1946, 1949-50, 1950-51; NEA Handbook and Manual, 1947, 1948-49.

PLATE I. AEA ORGANIZATION



Solid lines indicate direct affiliation
 Broken lines indicate indirect connections

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER III

THE STATE SCHOOL LEVY ISSUE, 1940-1941

The Arizona Education Association gained its first unqualified political success as a result of the 1940 general election campaign, when the association successfully sponsored an initiative measure increasing the state contribution to school support. On November 5, Arizona voters approved the initiative, ballot number 306, by a vote of 58,149 to 41,215. The election results culminated nearly a year's work by AEA members on behalf of the bill. The motion to prepare and sponsor the measure was approved by the association's delegate assembly at the annual state-wide convention in November, 1939.

The initiative carried the following provisions: (1) the legislature should appropriate not less than \$65 for common school education and not less than \$95 for high school education per capita per annum, based on the average daily attendance of common and high schools. The sum, a continuing annual appropriation, was the total to be raised by state taxation for the support of common and high school education; (2) if the legislature failed to make the appropriation, the state board of equalization, when determining the annual tax levy for state purposes, should include a sum sufficient to meet the minimum requirements of the initiative measure; (3) not more than 25 per cent of all state moneys apportioned to common and high schools might be used for other than administrative and in-

1. Acts, Memorials and Resolutions Regular Session, Fifteenth Legislature 1941, 401.

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structional costs.

The Arizona Education Association justified the 1940 campaign for a larger state per capita levy on several grounds. The state income had increased between 1935 and 1940, but the state per capita levy remained at the level authorized in 1935. The schools, therefore, according to the association, did not receive a "fair share" of the state tax dollar. An inflationary period beginning in 1940 reduced the purchasing power of the dollar. An increase in school population, coupled with demands for more services, led to rising school costs. Since the state did not increase its contribution to school support, the burden fell upon counties and school districts. Wealthy counties with small school populations provided adequate school facilities, while maintaining a low property tax rate. Counties with less taxable property and large school populations had to levy higher taxes to provide school support.

The AEA announced that the principal purpose of initiative measure 306 was to secure equalization of the tax burden for school support. The association traditionally supported the doctrine of taxing wealth where it was and distributing tax money where it was needed. The teachers' group sought, as an ultimate goal, the guarantee that all school districts within the state should receive adequate school support on a continuing basis.

Groups opposing 306 accused the AEA of sponsoring the bill solely to obtain salary increases for teachers. Association spokesmen denied this, although it was true that most teachers had received no pay raises since

2. Ibid., 400-401.

3
1932. Many teachers worked actively for the initiative because they hoped it would bring higher salaries.

The teachers' association probably used the initiative method for two reasons. First, the AEA had tried to raise the state school levy in previous years by sponsoring appropriate bills in the legislature. These bills usually were amended or failed to pass, as a result of the opposition of powerful interest groups to measures leading to higher state property taxes. (These interest groups will be discussed below.) The AEA could by-pass the obstacle in the legislature by submitting the school levy issue to the electorate. Second, any AEA bill which was passed during one legislative session might be amended or repealed by the next legislature. An initiative measure cannot be amended except by another vote by the electorate.

The AEA's campaign to secure increased state school support consisted of three separate phases. The first phase involved placing the initiative measure on the general election ballot. The second came with the general election campaign, and the third arose when the Fifteenth Legislature revised the 1935 law to conform to the initiative provisions. Threats to the success of the AEA movement developed at each of these stages.

Opposition to 306 came primarily from the copper corporations, the railroads, and the State Taxpayers Association, according to AEA president Alice Vail.⁴ Membership of the State Taxpayers Association included representatives of both mines and railroads. The Yavapai County Taxpayers Association, the Arizona Small Mine Operators Association, "The Arizona

3. Interview with Miss Alice Vail, AEA president, 1940.

4. Interview with Miss Alice Vail, August, 1951.

Educational Protective Association," and "The Citizens Tax Committee" also worked against the measure.

The mining and railroad corporations were traditionally opposed to tax proposals which might increase their tax payments. The state school fund took money from counties with a larger per cent of corporate property - property owned by mines, railroad, telephone and telegraph companies - and distributed it in counties with a larger number of children. In none of the seven counties which from 1924 to 1932 received more from the school fund than they put into it, was located more than 50 per cent of the taxable property owned by railroads, public utilities, or mines. The seven other counties which contributed more to the school fund contained from 52 to 73 per cent of the corporate property.

There is no record available of the extent to which the copper corporations contributed to the battle against 306 during the 1940 election campaign. Alice Vail, leader of the initiative campaign, maintains that the corporations spent large sums to fight the measure. Talbot T. Smith, however, has said that, while mining companies objected to the manner in which money was raised for school support, "the mines protested this only mildly. It was recognized that Arizona's school situation was unique. The children never were where the money was." If the corporations opposed 306 before and during the election, they did not do so openly. However, there is some evidence (discussed below) which indicates that the corporations did attempt to invalidate the measure in the 1941 legislative session.

The movement for a larger state levy began in November, 1939. At this

5. Warren Aldrich Roberts, State Taxation of Metallic Deposits (Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. LXXVII), 270.

6. Letter from Talbot T. Smith to the author, August 27, 1951.

time the AEA delegate assembly approved a resolution providing for sponsorship of the initiative at the 1940 general election. AEA officers, convinced that "vested interests and other large taxpayers in the wealthier counties..."⁷ would organize to fight the measure, appointed some of the association's most experienced lobbyists to a special initiative committee. Two committee members, C. E. Rose, Tucson, and E. W. Montgomery, Phoenix, had worked for a decade seeking support for AEA measures in the legislature. One AEA local affiliate, the Tucson Education Association, appointed its own initiative committee.

The first problem before the AEA initiative committee was to obtain the petition signatures needed to put the measure on the November general election ballot. The committee organized a campaign based on three publicity mediums - the mails, newspapers, and public speakers. Sufficient petitions to carry 30,000 signatures were mailed to teachers and Parent-Teacher association members. Some petitions were circulated by paid solicitors. The AEA sent letters containing reply envelopes, for contributions or petition requests, to each association member. Delegate assembly members received follow-up letters requesting donations. E. M. Andres, initiative committee chairman, reported the receipt of contributions totalling \$200 on March 30, 1940.⁸ In January, school principals and superintendents received charts showing graphically the need for 306. The AEA mailed mimeographed notices to school teachers urging them to vote. The initiative committee also used publicity leaflets and mimeographed question and answer

7. C. E. Rose, "Initiative 306 Should Be Passed," The Arizona Teacher-Parent, September, 1940, 12.

8. "Proceedings of Arizona Education Association, 1940" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 49.

forms.

Association speakers explained the initiative to groups of teachers, to parent-teacher associations, and to organizations such as the Phoenix Civic Welfare League. The AEA prepared editorials and publicity articles, some of which were printed in the Phoenix Examiner, the Arizona Chronicle,⁹ the Arizona Republic, the Arizona Teacher, and the Municipal Journal. As a result of intensive campaigning, the association secured more than 22,000¹⁰ petition signatures. On July 1, AEA representatives filed the state per capita levy measure with the Arizona secretary of state.

The first threat to the initiative measure came soon after the AEA started to obtain petition signatures. The Arizona Farm Bureau Federation sponsored a tax limitation amendment which might have interfered with the operation of 306. The AEA legislative committee met on February 3, 1940, analyzed the tax limitation proposal, and referred it to the association's attorney for review. The attorney prepared a protective clause to prevent interference either with 306 or the school support laws in effect at the time. The legislative committee reached a compromise with the Farm Bureau Federation, and that group inserted the protective clause into the tax limitation amendment.¹¹ The Arizona Education Association did not oppose the tax limitation measure, although it had conducted a fight against a similar¹² measure, backed by the mines, in 1932.

Another threat to the passage of 306 was revealed when The Arizona

9. Ibid., 49.

10. Ibid., 75.

11. The Arizona Teacher-Parent, December, 1940, 33.

12. Roberts, op. cit., 271.

Daily Star made the first of many severe editorial attacks on the measure in March.

With the right of the people of Arizona to look to the schools for help in the development of good citizenship, a new program of legislation fostered by the Arizona Educational association, made up of the teachers in our schools, and also by the P.T.A.s, made up of children's parents, comes as a distinct shock. Almost unbelievably the organization of teachers and the organization of parents are fostering an initiative measure which in itself is bad government....

Every school teacher and the head of PTA in the state have recently received letters inclosing an initiative petition authorizing a new law which would require the legislature to provide all monies for common and high schools by a state tax levy in place of the present plan whereby the state furnishes a portion with the district furnishing the balance.

.....
Why is this new legislation being proposed?

The school barons of the state who control the Arizona Educational association instead of boldly standing up and fighting another bad measure the home exemption bill and thereby setting an example of how those who favor good government should act, are pussyfooting in cowardly fashion and attempting to save their own skins. And to do it they are using the vast school machinery of the entire state, and deliberately duping the parents who make up the PTAs.¹³

The most serious move to block the state levy measure came after the AEA filed the initiative with the secretary of state. W. R. Whitman, of Yuma, brought suit on August 9 in the Maricopa County Superior Court against Harry M. Moore, secretary of state, seeking to enjoin him from placing the education initiative on the ballot.¹⁴ Whitman charged that some of the signatures were illegally placed on the petitions, and that the petitions, therefore, lacked the required number of signatures. Judge Arthur La Prade appointed a special master to check the names, but, pending

13. The Arizona Daily Star, March 14, 1940, 6.

14. Alice Vail believes that the copper corporations paid for Whitman's costs in this case.

the report, did not stop the measure from being placed on the ballot. The special master completed his investigation on January 27, 1941. Several thousand signatures were disqualified as invalid, but there were still enough to comply with constitutional requirements. Judgment was made in favor of Moore, and Whitman took the case on appeal to the Arizona Supreme Court. The Supreme Court handed down a decision in favor of Moore in May, 1942.¹⁵

The Arizona Education Association paid \$750 to a Phoenix attorney, Charles A. Carson, to defend Moore in the Supreme Court.¹⁶ The firm of Moeur and Moeur, and Mr. M. L. Ollerton represented Whitman. The suit was significant for two reasons. First, it might have kept the state levy initiative off the general election ballot. Second, the case had an important bearing on the subsequent action of the Fifteenth Legislature. The final outcome of the suit was uncertain when the legislature was convened in 1941. Those legislators opposed to the increased state levy made this fact an important issue in fighting bills designed to bring the 1935 law into harmony with the initiative.

The AEA, anticipating strong opposition to the initiative measure, sought support from other interest groups as early as November, 1939. At the 1939 annual convention, the delegate assembly agreed to support the Small Mine Operators Association in its efforts to prevent reduction or removal of the existing copper tariff. The mine operators' group ignored the AEA resolution, and, some months later, announced its opposition to

15. 59 Ariz. 211.

16. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1941" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 95.

306. In April, 1940, the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers unani-
mously pledged active support to the initiative measure. The United
Veterans Association, the Arizona School Trustees Association, and the
Phoenix Central Labor Council had endorsed the measure by November, 1940.
The AEA received support from the Arizona Republic, the Southwestern Labor
Record, and the Arizona Labor Journal.

While AEA leaders contacted interest groups for approval of 306, the
association's initiative committee laid plans for an active election cam-
paign. The committee made use of printed matter, public speakers, and
newspaper and radio advertising. The campaign costs, as reported on
November 1, 1941, totaled \$6,400.26.¹⁷ Sources of the sum included cash
contributions of \$3,683.77.¹⁸ The remainder came from the AEA treasury.¹⁹
A summary of initiative expenses, as of November 2, 1940, follows:

Printing, paper, cuts, and pamphlets	\$1,073.27
Postage, mailing, messenger	630.06
Paid solicitors (securing signatures, publicity campaign)	905.87
Legal costs	617.50
Newspaper, magazine, and publicity pamphlet advertisements	665.65
Radio broadcasts	768.90
Telephone and telegraph	55.22
Miscellaneous	324.47
	<u>\$5,040.94</u>
Unpaid bills and attorney's fees	477.50
	<u>\$5,518.44</u>

The AEA publicity campaign for the general election was similar to
the one designed to secure petition signatures. The association sent

17. As of November 1, 1941. Ibid., 93.

18. Ibid.

19. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1940," 82.

letters requesting support of 306 to every AEA member. Teachers individually sent postcards, provided by the association, to their friends. Handbills were printed and distributed. The teachers' group issued a small four-page pamphlet headlined "Save Your Schools, and Reduce Your Taxes." Public speakers were sent to nearly every county to lead discussions before teachers and parent-teacher association members. Other publicity methods included automobile bumper strips carrying brief slogans; recordings of statements by civic and educational leaders which were broadcast by sound truck at public gatherings; and outdoor display advertising.

The Arizona Daily Star, strongly opposed to the initiative, issued a choleric report of other publicity methods in October, 1940.

During the past week principals of the various Tucson schools have called on the PTA room mothers and requested these mothers to see the parent of every child in respective rooms and explain to them how the schools must be "saved" by adopting the school amendment on the November ballot. The principals, of course, have acted upon order of the superintendent of public schools. The latter, although a mere hired hand, has without any published authority from the school board, taken it upon himself to issue these political orders to the principals and to carry on a personal ballyhoo campaign. In addition at every meeting of the various PTA's, speakers carry on this frightening campaign about "saving" the schools without the other side being presented at all. Thus the school barons crack the whip, the principals and the teachers jump, while the innocent mothers of the PTAs accept the forthcoming messages as the Gospel. The school boards elected by the people remain silent and amount to so many rubber stamps skilfully used by the school barons.²⁰

In the same editorial, the Star noted that the entire school personnel of the state had been regimented into a "gigantic political machine, out to get money for its members, using school organizations for political purposes with all of the energy of Tammany Hall."²¹

20. The Arizona Daily Star, October 23, 1940, 6.

21. Ibid.

To combat the Star opposition and to reach the general public, the AEA released editorial material and articles supporting 306 to Phoenix and Tucson newspapers. On October 17, the Southwestern Labor Record carried an editorial by Alice Vail urging support of the initiative measure. On the same day, an article in the Arizona Labor Journal called for passage of 306. The Arizona Republic carried an advertisement six columns wide and one-third page in depth on November 1. Signed by the AEA, the advertisement warned, "Don't Be Deceived By False Figures - Initiative 306 Will Lower Taxes For At Least 90% Of The Individual Real Property Owners in Arizona - Do Your Own Figuring."²²

The AEA published an affirmative argument for 306 in the initiative and referendum publicity pamphlet issued by the secretary of state. The negative argument in the pamphlet was signed by the "Arizona Educational Protective Association." It carried the names J. H. Fairbanks, Morenci,²³ and Viola M. Johnson, Naco.

During the final days of the campaign, the teachers' group bought advertising space in The Arizona Daily Star, the Arizona Republic, and the Arizona Labor Journal. On November 3, the Star carried a half-page advertisement, signed by the Tucson Education Association, and headlined "VOTE 306 - YES."²⁴ Statements in the advertisement were signed by Jack Mulcahy of the Mulcahy Lumber Company; Andrew P. Martin, president of the Martin Drug Company; and by John J. Durkin, editor of the Southwestern Labor Record. In the center of the advertisement appeared a facsimile of a tele-

22. Arizona Republic, November 1, 1940, 9.

23. State of Arizona Initiative and Referendum Publicity Pamphlet 1940, 41-42.

24. The Arizona Daily Star, November 3, 1940, 4.

gram from California's Governor, Culbert L. Olson, to Alice Vail. The telegram endorsed a similar increased state school support plan for California.

The AEA used radio as another publicity medium during the campaign. Andrew Martin spoke in favor of 306 for fifteen minutes on October 27, over station KVOA. Local newspapers carried advertisements of the speech. Alice Vail made a state-wide radio address over KVOA on November 3. The Arizona Labor Journal reported on October 31 that John R. Sandige, past president of the Phoenix Realty Board, "made a radio talk this week in support of 306."²⁵ The education association also used twenty-five-word "spot" radio announcements.

Probably one of the AEA's most effective means of publicity was its own journal. In 1939 the delegate assembly had approved a plan to publish an organ jointly with the Arizona Congress of Teachers and Parents. The first issue of The Arizona Teacher-Parent appeared in September, 1940. The publication reached 13,000 teachers and parents, an increase of about 9,000 over the circulation figures of the old AEA journal.²⁶ The Arizona Teacher-Parent carried articles supporting 306 by C. E. Rose, Edward M. Andres, and Mrs. W. W. Sherwood, president of the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers.

The journal invited legislative and gubernatorial candidates for the primary elections to submit policy statements to the Teacher-Parent. Among those who accepted the offer were thirty-two legislative candidates from Pima, Maricopa, and Yavapai counties and ten state Senate candidates from Gila, Pima, Maricopa, Yavapai, and Navajo counties.²⁷ Five gubernatorial candi-

25. Arizona Labor Journal, October 31, 1940, 6.

26. The Arizona Teacher-Parent, September, 1940, 8.

27. Ibid., 20-21.

dates submitted statements. Twelve of the lower house candidates and two of the senate aspirants favored increased state participation in school support. Of the gubernatorial contestants, only Ernest Carlton announced a policy favorable to the AEA initiative. The fact that forty-seven candidates submitted statements to the teachers' journal, and that forty bought advertisements in the same issue, indicates the political importance of the teacher-parent interest group in 1940.

While the AEA worked for the success of 306 at the polls, opposition forces carried on a publicity campaign to defeat the bill. The Arizona Daily Star, the Tucson Daily Citizen, and the weekly Arizona Record of Globe attacked 306 editorially. The Star carried editorials and news articles against the measure on October 22, October 23, October 27, November 1, and November 2. Two days before the election, the Star published an advertisement against 306, signed by the "Citizens' Tax Committee." Officers listed were Henry Dalton, chairman; S. W. Seaney, secretary-treasurer; Charles M. Taylor, Gus Vasquez, H. S. Corbett, William Spaid, Fred Ronstadt, all of Tucson; and C. S. Brown and L. M. Barker, Ajo.

Another opposition group advertised in the Arizona Republic on November 1. The advertisement, titled "DANGER," announced that to meet the increased state levy payments, the state would have to raise \$4,095,860 over the 1940 tax returns. The state tax rate would increase from 86 cents per \$100 to \$1.90. This advertisement was signed by S. W. Seaney, Tucson;

28. The Arizona Daily Star, November 3, 1940, 3.

29. Arizona Republic, November 1, 1940, 6.

30. The bill actually increased the state apportionment to counties from \$2,001,425 in 1940 to \$6,130,255 in 1941. The tax rate per \$100 valuation was raised from 0.860 in 1940 to 1.67 in 1941. See Fifteenth Biennial Report of the State Tax Commission of Arizona 1940, 140, 145; and Sixteenth Biennial Report of the State Tax Commission of Arizona 1942, 168, 173.

J. H. Fairbanks, Morenci; J. E. Carlson, Jr., Douglas; A. M. Crawford,³¹
 Prescott; Earl Slipher, Flagstaff; and E. H. Orth, Phoenix.

The groups hostile to 306 failed to organize and carry out a publicity campaign which compared favorably with that of the AEA, from the standpoint of intensity and scope. The education association had devoted more money, effort, and time to the 1940 campaign than ever before in its political history. This fact, coupled with returning national prosperity, led to the passage of initiative measure 306 by a large majority of votes on November 5.

The Arizona Daily Star acknowledged the teachers' victory, and paid a left-handed compliment to the effectiveness of their pressure group activities, in an editorial which declared:

A strong and effectively organized lobby that reached into every neighborhood of the state succeeded in putting over the proposition to increase state aid to public education. Every school teacher and parent teacher association in the state worked feverishly in support of this amendment. Again the educational organization of the state proved what a power it is. Playing upon the natural sympathies of the voters towards education, this educational lobby presents a classic example of how servants of the state can take care of their own pocketbooks which are filled by the taxpayers of the state.....³²

By winning the election campaign, the AEA had successfully passed through the second phase of its struggle to increase the state per capita school levy. The association next entered the third and final phase of the controversy. This involved revision of the 1935 law to conform with the initiative provisions.

31. S. W. Seaney was Pima County director of the Arizona Tax Research Association; A. M. Crawford was an officer of the Yavapai County Taxpayers Association; E. H. Orth was secretary of the State Taxpayers Association.

32. The Arizona Daily Star, November 8, 1940, 24.

AEA leaders anticipated that the groups which had failed to defeat the initiative would attempt to alter provisions or invalidate the measure during the Fifteenth Legislature. A legislative battle developed in 1941 over House Bill 126, the state per capita levy bill. The fight kept the legislature in session for four days past the normal adjournment date. Other bills, introduced to repeal the initiative and to embarrass the teachers' association, failed. These were House Bill 25, repeal of the state levy initiative, introduced by E. L. Jameson, Mohave county; Senate Bill 34, repeal of the state levy initiative, introduced by Norman Fain, Yavapai county; and House Bill 24, the "little Hatch Act," introduced by Robert H. Forbes,³³ Pima county; C. T. Thompson, Maricopa county; E. L. Jameson, Mohave county; and Don Udall, Navajo county. The last bill prohibited certain political activities on the part of public employees and officers. Its main purpose was to prevent public school teachers from engaging in politics.

The Arizona Education Association prepared identical bills, House Bill 126 and Senate Bill 27, to bring the existing school levy law into agreement with the provisions of 306. The Senate bill, introduced on January 16 by William Kimball, Pima county, died in committee. The House bill, introduced by the education committee, was read for the first time on February 3. It directed that there be appropriated in the general appropriation act during each fiscal year not less than \$65 per capita for common school and \$95 per capita for high school education, based on average daily attendance. The bill completely suspended the county levy for

33. Robert Humphrey Forbes was Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of Arizona, from 1915 to 1918. He has served as a Pima County representative in the lower house of the state legislature continuously since 1939.

common and high schools, thus shifting the burden of school support to the state.

On February 4, House Bill 126 was read a second time and referred to appropriate committees. No strong opposition developed openly in the House. Nolan Pulliam, executive secretary of the AEA, and Dr. R. J. Hannelly, AEA president, appeared before the education committee to plead for the bill. No representatives of groups which had opposed the initiative appeared to argue against H. B. 126. However, by 1940, corporations and taxpayers groups relied less on representatives who appeared before legislative committees. The corporations were represented by attorneys or former legislators who met with members of the legislature in downtown law offices and hotels. For example, Nolan Pulliam reports:

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In addition to the hearings, however, there were a number of informal conferences, in some of which only Dr. Forbes and I participated. Our attorney, Mr. Charles Carson, and I jointly met with representatives of those who opposed the measure. It is my judgment, based upon the identity of the attorneys who participated in these conferences, which concerned adjustments in the bill which would be acceptable to both the opponent and the proponent, that both the mines and the railroads joined in opposing the measure.³⁵

The main attempts to nullify the state levy initiative came when H. B. 126 went to the Senate. Representative Robert H. Forbes, long opposed to the education association, agrees with AEA leaders that the Senate battle was stimulated by the copper corporations. Forbes holds that the mines controlled the Senate, but not the House.

House Bill 126 went to the Senate on March 7. The Senate education

34. See Arizona Fax, February 14, 1941, 4; also, letter from Nolan Pulliam to the author, September 17, 1951.

35. Letter from Nolan Pulliam to author, September 17, 1951.

committee, composed of H. H. Baker, A. R. Edwards, William Kimball, James Babbitt, and Marvin E. Smith, reported the bill out of committee without recommendation, and sent it to the committee of the whole. At this point, a deadlock between the Senate and the House began. The general appropriation bill, House Bill 190, was under consideration in the House. The Senate had amended the section providing for the \$65-\$95 annual school appropriation, so that it hinged on the results of the initiative case, *Whitman v. Moore*, pending in the Arizona Supreme Court. The Senate amendment provided that the state school levy was to be restored to \$25 if the 306 initiative measure were invalidated by the court. The House not only refused to approve this proposal, but demanded that the Senate approve House Bill 126, which specified that the provisions of 306 be carried out, regardless of the court decision. Some of the forces behind the deadlock were described by a Phoenix publication, Arizona Fax, which reported:

Late this week the 15th Legislature snarled into what seemed a hopeless deadlock over the issue of whether or not a majority of the voters would make the laws of the state or whether the big copper companies would thwart the will of the people.

It has long been no secret that the biggest issue in the 15th legislative session was that of school apportionment. The electorate having voted the "\$65-\$95 school apportionment" at the last general election, it was assumed that the big copper companies would turn heaven and earth to upset any measure that would equalize the burden of school costs.

It has also been no secret in education circles that just so long as the cost of education was split between the state, county and school districts, the big copper companies were escaping their just portion of the costs of education.

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Midway in the legislative session it was hinted that a possible increase in the sales tax would be advanced in an effort to make up the difference the copper companies will have to pay under the new set up, but bigwigs discounted such a movement and suggested that if any direct effort were to be made it must be in the form of an income tax in the lower salary brackets, one that would catch most of the

school teachers. But all solutions were of too direct a method of procedure and at last it was agreed by the copper moguls to stake their future on a court decision, it having always been their policy when not being able to rule the people's representatives to successfully rely on a favorable court interpretation of the laws. Thus the general appropriation bill was passed by the senate to hinge on a favorable court decision and guesses were two to one that the "big boys" knew of the safety of their decision.³⁶

Arizona Fax noted in the same article that while the cattlemen were dominant in the Senate, they "continually fought for copper."³⁷

Faced with a deadlock over the state per capita levy, the Senate made a new move to change the provisions specified in initiative measure 306 and embodied in H. B. 126. On March 14, the Senate amended House Bill 126 by striking out everything after the title and substituting the text of Senate Bill 159. This bill, introduced on February 17 by Senator James E. Babbitt, Coconino county, was designed to nullify the terms of the state levy initiative.

The bill in effect provided for only a \$25 per capita state levy for both common and high schools, based on average daily attendance. Any remainder in the state school fund was to be "apportioned amongst said counties in the ratio in which the amount of state ad valorem property taxes collected in each such county during the preceding fiscal year bears to the total amount of state ad valorem property taxes collected in all of said counties during such year."³⁸

John H. Rapp, member of the House education committee in 1941, reports

36. Arizona Fax, March 14, 1941, 3.

37. Ibid.

38. Senate Bill 159. State of Arizona, Fifteenth Legislature, Regular Session, 3 (copy of bill in University of Arizona library).

that S. B. 159 was drawn up for the Santa Fe Railroad and the Kennecott
39
Copper company by the late Harry Fennemore, their chief counsel.

Fennemore was a well-known lobbyist for these interests and a leader of the State Taxpayers Association. There is little doubt that Senate Bill 159 was a weapon used by groups which opposed the increased state school levy. While Nolan Pulliam has not directly named Fennemore as the author of this bill, he has said:

I have no doubt that the corporation lobbyists were responsible for the Senate's attempt to "scuttle" House Bill 126. I recall very distinctly, the evening before the measure was actually passed that an agreement was reached between the attorneys of the opponents on the one hand and Mr. Carson and myself representing the AEA.⁴⁰

After House Bill 126 was amended to include the provisions of Senate Bill 159, the Senate approved the measure and sent it to the House. The House promptly rejected the amendment and appointed Representatives Rosenbaum, Lockwood, and Forbes to a conference committee. Final action on the bill was delayed by the legislature until March 17.

In the meantime, the Arizona Education Association became the target for attacks by a number of aroused legislators. In explaining his vote on the amended H. B. 126 on March 15, Senator d'Autremont, Pima county, said;

I will vote yes on H B. 126 as amended....but I will enter a protest against the undemocratic and questionable manner and methods and means used by the so-called school leaders of the state to secure the passage of the initiative measure.....⁴¹

39. Interview with John H. Rapp, August, 1951.

40. Letter from Nolan Pulliam to the author, September 17, 1951.

41. The Arizona Daily Star, March 16, 1941, 10.

Senators Coxon, Pinal county, Kimball, Pima county, and Fain, Yavapai county, asked that their names be joined to d'Autremont's protest.

Senator J. Hubert Smith, Mohave county, said, "these school leaders are riding for a fall and I hope that it comes soon."⁴²

Representative Forbes, who had conscientiously guided H. B. 126 through the House, delivered a diatribe against the AEA. Forbes made his speech during discussion of the "little Hatch Act," House Bill 24. On September 17, two days later, Senator J. Hubert Smith read the speech and asked that it be inserted in the journal. Forbes's address indicated that the AEA had become both powerful in politics and anathema to some legislators.

I refer to the Arizona Teachers Association machine, and let me explain what that machine amounts to. It applies to our own locality, down in Pima County, as is well understood and the leaders and administrators of the teaching organization issue orders from time to time and those orders percolate down through the teaching personnell. They reach the P.T.A.'s, they reach the families of the pupils who appear in classrooms. I have been told that letters are sent out through pupils to parents, telling them how to vote on measures of importance to teachers.....Now a machine must have money to operate on and it has come to my knowledge that assessments are levied, from time to time, on the teaching personnel, of our part of the state, as well as in other parts, advising that subscriptions reach the proper parties, and finally, into the treasury of the organization. (There are 3,700 teachers in Arizona.) I am reliably told that this amounted to nearly \$5.00 per capita and in one school, the Dunbar Negro school in Tucson, the assessment was paid in full. Now for what is this money spent?....Now what is being done with the money collected? We have recent propaganda distributed widely through the state. Here is an example. This poster came from a telephone pole in North Phoenix. You recognize it. You have seen these posters everywhere. The same were in Tucson. I have blacked out names of individuals as I do not wish to attack any single person.....I am unable to find a cartoon, showing a county school house with planks nailed over the door meaning: "this will happen unless 306 be passed." I wrote letters to all 14 county superintendents in the state and got 11 replies. All said not one school was closed for lack of funds, during 10 depression years. Not one school out of the 347 in the state was closed for want of funds. This propaganda

is political chicane and political trickery. Many misleading advertisements were published: "save your schools." (?).... when the vote on the initiative was counted, 58,149 to 41,215, questions arose, going so far as to the validity of the signatures on the initiative petitions. The signatures needed were 10 per cent of electoral vote 11,719. Petitions bore 21,230 names. Seriously questioned by court 10,013, leaving them 520 short, on legal signatures....Dates changed, a technical forgery, makes these petitions of shady character. Costs of these weapons of operation \$9000.00, derived from assessments levied on teachers all over the state. I distinguish between the teaching rank and file, and leadership of this organization. The teachers are engrossed in their work and are worthy. The executives of the Arizona Education Association, the barons and their agents, intelligent, well organized, administratively disciplined, clothed in the prestige of an honorable profession, using the leverage of parent-child sentiment, selfish in objective, unscrupulous in method, contemptuous in channels of legislation, questionably supported in initiative activities, these educational racketeers have brought the state to the verge of financial chaos and a condition of doubt, as to which way to turn to make provision for the public schools. It has been said that 306 was to be used for teachers salary raises, therefore to carry the raises through, come orders to which teachers must submit. It is indeed time for us to decide whether we are to be governed by these scheming educational racketeers, or by the due processes of the law, as laid down for our guidance.⁴³

Resentment displayed by legislators toward the AEA and moves to nullify initiative 306 did not stop passage of an increased state levy. On March 15, a House-Senate joint conference committee agreed to delete the \$25 per capita "escape clause" from the general appropriation bill. The amended House Bill 190 was passed by the House on March 15, and by the Senate on March 17.

On March 17 the Senate appointed James E. Babbitt, H. H. d'Autremont, and Benjamin Blake to confer with the House conferees on H. B. 126. The joint conference committee compromised on the school levy issue by drawing up an amendment which guaranteed that the \$65-\$95 apportionment plan would be carried out for the following two years. The problem of making the in-

43. Journal of the Senate Fifteenth Legislature of the State of Arizona 1941 (The Sims Printing Co., Phoenix: 1941), 605-606.

creased state levy permanent was left to the Sixteenth Legislature. The amended House Bill 126 provided that the state school fund should consist of all the money appropriated by the general appropriation act, and all income and money dedicated by the enabling act and the state constitution to common and high school education. The county levy was suspended, provided that the state apportionment did not fall below the \$65-\$95 per capita per annum. In this event, the county was directed to levy a school tax of not more than \$40 per capita.

Final victory for the Arizona Education Association came in May, 1942, when the Arizona Supreme Court decided that initiative measure 306 had been legally placed on the 1940 general election ballot. The success of the state school support campaign indicated that the Arizona Education Association and their allies, the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers, had attained a prominent position in Arizona politics. This achievement spurred both groups to renewed efforts on behalf of teachers and schools. Even before the Supreme Court decision was made, The Arizona Teacher-Parent, in discussing school support, said:

The next logical step will be the adoption of a plan of apportionment which takes into account the various factors, such as size of school, transportation, etc., which are directly related to the per capita cost of the educational program offered by each local school district. A committee charged with the function of developing such an apportionment plan has been appointed by President R. J. Hannelly, and is now engaged in the performance of this task.⁴⁴

44. The Arizona Teacher-Parent, April, 1941, 23.

CHAPTER IV

THE WIDENING SCOPE OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY, 1943-1947

During the period 1943 to 1947, the AEA made significant advances in widening its scope of political activity, gaining state legislation benefiting teachers, and in using new techniques to secure such legislation. These advances resulted from a combination of factors. Conditions in general tended to create a body of public opinion favorable to "education" legislation. United States' participation in World War II not only brought increased national prosperity, but also resulted in a shortage of qualified teachers. Thus, the teachers were in a more favorable position to make demands of the state legislature. Equally important, the AEA rapidly expanded its political pressure activities, during and after 1942. As a consequence, two major AEA bills and several minor measures were passed during the period. The 1943 legislature approved a teacher retirement bill which the association had unsuccessfully sponsored since 1937. A 1947 bill increased the school per capita apportionment from \$65 for common schools and \$95 for high schools to \$115 for both.

The first major achievement of this period - the teachers' retirement act - came after the AEA had tried in three successive legislative sessions to replace the existing pension law. The existing law provided for permissive teacher retirement at the age of sixty, with an annual pension of \$600¹ to be paid in monthly installments. To be eligible, a teacher must have served an aggregate of thirty or more years in public schools, fifteen of

1. Arizona Code 1939, IV (Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Co., 1940), 512.

them in Arizona public schools. The law provided for retirement after twenty years' service in Arizona public schools, with the same pension, in cases of physical or mental disability. AEA leaders held that this law was unsound, and feared that, as the number of retiring teachers increased, legislative appropriations to meet mounting pension costs might not be forthcoming.

To replace this measure, the AEA prepared for the Sixteenth Legislature (1943) a bill which provided for joint contributions to a pension fund by the teacher and his county.² Teacher contributions were to range from 4.20 per cent to 8.13 per cent of the annual salary, while the county was to contribute approximately 2.56 per cent of the annual school payroll. The new pension fund to be created required no state contributions. Until the accrued liability of the old pension law had been met, however, appropriations of \$115,000 a year for the first biennium and for each biennium thereafter were to come from the state school fund. The bill provided for permissive retirement at sixty years of age and compulsory retirement at sixty-five. Annual benefits to teachers included all the following: (1) benefits payable from the teacher's own accumulated contributions, (2) six dollars a year for each year of service under the new law, and (3) 1/280th of his average annual salary times the number of years of service under the new law. Money for the last two items would come from funds established by the county's contribution. The AEA law directed that the retirement system be administered by a board of five members appointed by the governor from a slate prepared by the state board of education.

The campaign for this bill in the Sixteenth Legislature was marked by

2. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1942" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 275.

new developments in the AEA's use of political pressure methods. For the first time in its history, according to available records, the association actively cooperated with representatives of mining and railroad interest groups, to secure their approval of the bill before it reached the legislature.³ The AEA executive committee appointed a three-man "core" committee to consult with mining and railroad representatives. The "core" committee was given carte blanche to make any compromise which would ensure support of the retirement law in the legislature.

A second important innovation was a bulletin issued by the AEA executive secretary to keep members informed of the progress of the retirement bill. Through the bulletin, and by telegraph and telephone, the executive secretary for the first time attempted to regulate the flow of messages from the retirement bill's supporters to state legislators.⁴ In a third new move, the AEA collected a special file of reports on legislators' opinions of "education" bills.⁵

Preliminary plans for the retirement campaign were formulated at an AEA executive committee meeting on November 21, 1942.⁶ E. W. Montgomery, chairman of the association's legislative and retirement committees, was appointed to head the campaign. He directed the work of the central retirement organization, consisting of eight legislative committee members, seven retirement committee members, fourteen county chairmen, and twenty local association presidents.⁷ At the November 21 meeting, the executive

3. Ibid., 280.

4. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1943," 169, 172-178.

5. Ibid., 170.

6. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1942," 226.

7. Ibid., 276.

committee discussed means of financing the movement and methods of arous-
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 ing teachers to whole-hearted support of the retirement bill.

To plan the first major step of the campaign, the AEA's legislative
 and retirement committees met at the Adams Hotel, Phoenix, on December 19,
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 1942. The group discussed changes in the retirement bill which might win
 the support of other interest groups. Representatives of the Arizona Fed-
 eration of Women's Clubs, the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers,
 and the Arizona Education Council attended the meeting. While they appar-
 ently took no part in discussion of the retirement bill, the groups they
 represented later endorsed the measure.

The main problem at this meeting was to decide whether the district
 should assume the employer's contribution under the proposed retirement
 law. As presented to the Fifteenth Legislature, the bill provided that
 payments be made by the county. The AEA leaders preferred state contribu-
 tions, but had agreed in 1941 that "the Retirement Bill would have little
 chance if the State were required to make the normal contribution, espe-
 cially in view of the fact that the \$65-\$95 Initiative Measure had just
 10
 been passed."

11
 Walter Maxwell, AEA executive secretary, reported opposition to county
 payments among legislators who felt that the 1941 state school apportionment
 initiative was designed to eliminate county sources of educational funds.

8. Ibid., 226.

9. Ibid., 279.

10. Ibid., 280.

11. Walter Maxwell was employed as AEA executive secretary in June,
 1942, to replace Nolan Pulliam, called to war duty.

Maxwell maintained that "enemies of the Retirement Bill might argue that the Association was using it as an opening wedge to re-open county funds to the schools."¹²

Association leaders feared that a provision laying the burden of retirement payments on the school district would result in reduction of teachers' salaries. The group agreed that:

....it would be necessary for representatives of the Association to meet with those representing railroad and mining interests and develop plans for the Retirement Bill after a thorough discussion of these points. The approval of the railroad and mining interests would be necessary to the passage of the Bill.¹³

E. W. Montgomery, Walter Maxwell, and AEA president Howard M. Soule were appointed as a "core" committee to contact interest groups. This trio could make decisions on the retirement law's provisions in the light of information gained from such contacts. The "core" committee planned to argue that the existing pension act was unsound and costly, that the state should make the normal contribution, and that a county contribution would be considered only as a compromise.

In the meetings with mine and railroad representatives, the "core" committee secured agreement to the county payment plan, and made some other concessions to these interest groups. The state was to meet its accrued liability from the state school fund. Provisions automatically placing the AEA executive secretary on the Retirement System board of trustees, and giving the AEA executive committee the right to make nominations of two members of the board of trustees, were deleted.¹⁴

12. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1942," 280.

13. Ibid.

14. The Arizona Teacher-Parent, January, 1943, 22.

Agreements between the AEA and the other interest groups were announced in The Arizona Teacher-Parent magazine in January. In the meantime, organization for the campaign developed rapidly. The AEA made available articles explaining retirement to campaign workers. Study groups and dinners attended by state legislators were held. Legislators received letters from the AEA executive secretary asking for support of the retirement bill in the coming legislative session. In December, 1942, county chairmen were urged to appoint "lieutenants and school chairmen" for the campaign, and were told to expect a "steady flow of communications" from the AEA office. Teachers sent small campaign contributions to association headquarters. For example, a total of \$103 came from the Hayden High School, Bisbee High School, Bisbee elementary schools, and Winslow public schools. Total campaign costs amounted to more than \$1,000.

On January 4, 1943, the AEA office sent seventy-five letters enclosing two copies of a one-page check list to campaign workers. Each recipient was instructed to contact legislators and record their opinions of the retirement bill. The check list was titled "Stand of Legislators on Teachers Retirement." One half of the page contained spaces for names of senators and representatives, and spaces in which the campaign worker could indicate whether or not legislators had been contacted and agreed to support the bill. The second half of the check list page contained columns labeled "Seems to Me to Be - Thoroughly "Sold," Lukewarm, Undecided, Opposed."

15. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1942," 288.

16. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1943," 80.

17. Ibid., 9.

18. Ibid., 170.

19. Ibid., 171.

The AEA's careful execution of campaign plans continued throughout the 1943 legislative session. The retirement bill, Senate Bill 33, was introduced in the Senate on January 18 by James Minotto, member of the board of directors of the State Taxpayers Association, and William F. Kimball, Pima county lawyer. On the following day, the AEA executive secretary began direction of what was, for the teachers' organization, a new political pressure technique. Through the use of mimeographed bulletins mailed to retirement organization workers, and by telephone and telegraph, the executive secretary instructed workers when, where, and how to contact legislators during critical periods in the bill's progress. The first bulletin, dated January 19, was mailed to thirty-five campaign leaders. Besides suggesting the forms which letters to legislators might take, the bulletin advised:

....Also, it would be better if it did not appear that those writing the letters were "inspired." As I see it, it would be better to have only a few letters from each school or school district; all letters should be original; retirement campaign stationery should be used sparingly.....

....It is also suggested that this communication from Association Headquarters not be referred to in contacting those who may be interested in writing letters.²⁰

When Senate Bill 33 was in the hands of the Senate Judiciary committee, AEA headquarters issued a second bulletin. It reported rumors were circulating in the capital that teachers were divided on the question of retirement. The bulletin suggested:

....that you telegraph your representatives in the House and Senate immediately....informing them of the number of teachers you repre-

20. Ibid., 169.

sent in your area and their stand on Teachers Retirement. Since the majority of Legislators will not yet have heard the rumor that many teachers are not interested in the Retirement Bill, it would probably be better not to refer to it.

....it is especially important at this stage of the game that we offend no one. I know from contacts with numerous Legislators that in almost every instance they have a good regard for the teachers they represent. Let's press our point politely and tactfully - but let's press it!²¹

Senate Bill 33 was reported out of the Judiciary Committee with a recommendation of "do pass" on February 8. Meanwhile, the AEA "core" committee worked for the bill at the capital. Mr. Montgomery of the "core" committee represented the teachers' group at judiciary committee hearings on January 27. On the same day, 125 copies of a third retirement bulletin were mailed to workers. This bulletin noted:

"Retirement Bulletin No. 2" was an urgent request that you send communications assuring legislators that Arizona Teachers were wholeheartedly behind Senate Bill 33. Some members of the Retirement Organization were sent telegrams; some were mailed the mimeographed "Bulletin No. 2." This was because we wanted a flow of communications to legislators to start as soon as possible and continue for several days.

The response from all over the state was impressive. A number of legislators have commented in our presence on the number of telegrams and letters received.

We were apparently successful in spiking - conclusively - the rumor that Arizona Teachers were not solidly behind the Retirement Bill. Now, it appears, we shall better serve our Bill if we withhold communications to legislators for the time being....it should not appear that we are "working" on them.²²

When the Senate judiciary committee reported out the retirement bill, the AEA executive secretary issued 150 copies of a fourth retirement bulletin.

21. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1942," 276.

22. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1943," 172.

tin. According to this bulletin, the AEA policy of controlled and directed pressure had been successful and would be continued. Since the retirement bill was slated next for discussion by the committee of the whole, each county chairman was to "write a very friendly letter, today, to his senator or senators."²³ The bulletin indicated that the executive secretary, Walter Maxwell, had already telephoned some of the county chairmen, and asked them to write letters. AEA headquarters, in this manner, could regulate effectively the flow of communications to the legislators.

Senate Bill 33 was held in the committee of the whole from February 8 until February 23, when it was reported out with amendments, and "do pass." Two days later, when the bill came up for the second reading, strong opposition developed in the Senate "cattle bloc." This group included Senators Norman Fain, Yavapai; Ralph Cowan, Cochise; Steve Bixby, Gila; James Heron, Gila; and Bert Colter, Apache. This bloc supported a move, described by Senator James Minotto as a "death sentence," to refer S. B. 33 back to a standing committee.²⁴ The motion failed, and on February 27, the bill passed after the third reading.

Anticipating favorable Senate action, AEA headquarters issued a fifth retirement bulletin on February 24. It described Senate amendments to S. B. 33 and warned:

....Assuming that our Bill will pass in the Senate,....our greatest danger is that the session will end before our Bill has been passed in the House. We believe that it is now time therefore, for the teachers of the state to begin an extensive campaign of correspondence in behalf of the Bill. Within a day or two after the receipt of this bulletin, hundreds of letters from teachers all over the state should daily be laid on the desks of the House.

23. Ibid., 173.

24. The Arizona Daily Star, February 26, 1943, 1.

All should be written in a friendly spirit, but each letter should emphasize the fact that the teachers of Arizona want their Bill voted upon before the end of the Sixteenth Legislature - that whether the Bill is passed or defeated, it should be brought on the floor and be given a chance to pass.²⁵

The AEA legislative and retirement committees met on February 27, approved Senate amendments to the retirement bill, and laid plans to secure passage in the House. This meeting was one of three held by the joint-committees in Phoenix during the legislative session. These groups worked in conjunction with the "core" committee members who contacted legislators at the capitol and appeared before legislative committees considering the bill.

On March 1, the senate sent the retirement bill to the House, where it moved smoothly through routine channels until the final week of the legislative session. Some of the factors involved in the favorable reception of the bill included: (1) support from the Arizona Tax Research Association, the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers, the State Federation of Labor, and the Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs, (2) support from Governor Sidney P. Osborn, (3) the position of Representative Maxine Brubaker, Maricopa, a member of the AEA retirement committee, as chairman of the House education committee, (4) management of the bill for the AEA by W. G. Rosenbaum, Gila, dean of the House, and (5) the continued use by the AEA of the retirement bulletins.

Senate Bill 33 was read for the second time on March 2. Within a week, the judiciary, education, and appropriation committees reported favorably on the bill, and on March 9 it was placed on the calendar. At

25. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1943," 174-175.

this point, Governor Sidney P. Osborn called Senate President Paul C. Keefe and Speaker of the House O. L. McDaniel to his office "to remind them that considerable legislation is still pending in which he is vitally interested."²⁶ This legislation included the teacher retirement measure. In its report of the meeting, The Arizona Daily Star noted that the bill, "which still brings in floods of telegrams and letters to legislators desks," had been a part of the Democratic platform during the 1942 general election.²⁷ The Star reported rumors that failure of the bill would have reverberations at the next election.

Swift passage of S. B. 33 by the House was delayed by House discussion of a controversial measure proposing conditional ratification of the Colorado River compact. A motion by W. H. Chester, Maricopa, to advance the teacher retirement act to the head of the calendar failed on March 11. However, W. G. Rosenbaum, floor leader, aided the retirement cause by securing consent to a "gentleman's agreement" to shorten the debates. Two days later, the House passed the retirement bill after technical amendments were made by the committee of the whole. The bill went back to the Senate, where it was approved. Governor Osborn signed it on March 19.

The AEA's successful campaign was capped by the appointment of two of the association's members to the retirement system board of trustees. Governor Osborn named E. W. Montgomery, leader of the retirement campaign, as the board's chairman. Miss Georgie Hunter, an active AEA member from Jerome, became vice-chairman. Edwin C. Pendleton, appointed executive secretary of the system, was a member of the AEA's department of classroom

26. The Arizona Daily Star, March 10, 1943, 1.

27. Ibid., 4.

teachers. All board of trustee appointments were made "after consultation with the President of the Department of Classroom Teachers [of the NEA] and the President of the Association on the qualifications of those nominated for Board positions by the State Board of Education."²⁸

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The retirement law was designed to take effect on June 13, 1943, and the retirement system was to be inaugurated on July 1, 1943. Activation of the law was delayed by the state auditor, Ana Frohmiller, who rejected claims for pension payments and salaries for the system's officers. Test cases brought in the Arizona Supreme Court by the Arizona Teachers' Retirement System against the state auditor resulted in decisions favorable to the former. Bill Turnbow, columnist for the Phoenix Gazette, reported the court's decision on one case and commented:

Arizona school teachers are being classed in political circles as a potent vote casting group for the 1944 elections.

Evidence of their formidability came a few months ago when they lobbied the 16th legislature into enacting the new teachers' retirement law.

Since then the teachers have a high rating with officials - politically speaking - and have been commanding a great deal of attention whenever one of their problems pops up in statehouse quarters.

This was proven the other day when a question developed as to whether retired teachers could draw their full pensions for June.

Attn. Gen. Joe Conway ruled they were entitled to the full \$50, instead of \$20 as they were paid under a belief that the legislature made no provision for payment of more.

But the attorney general's ruling didn't clarify the situa-

28. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1943," 74.

29. Acts, Memorials and Resolutions of the Regular Session Sixteenth Legislature of the State of Arizona 1943, 136-158.

tion. However, the Arizona Supreme Court was beginning its annual recess. Normally, it could not get to the case until it reconvened in the fall.

The high tribunal was tipped off, a few days after it recessed, that a suit on the teachers' pension was impending. It set up a special docket to receive the case and within a few days after taking it under advisement, the court handed down a decision favorable to the teachers. Chief Justice A. G. McAlister authored the ruling, concurred in by Justice R. C. Stanford.

But the supreme court decision didn't end the backstage aspects of the affair. The other day, Attorney General Conway wrote the teachers a letter, concluding with the statement: "If I can serve you further in any matter do not hesitate to call me." The attorney general, master in the arts of politics, wasn't overlooking any possible political bets. His name will be on the ballot somewhere next year.³⁰

For two years following the successful 1943 campaign, teachers generally failed to receive the "attention....in statehouse quarters" predicted by Turnbow. In 1944, the AEA made plans to sponsor a teachers' tenure measure and a series of bills "streamlining" the 1943 retirement law. While the association directed most of its efforts in the 1945 regular session of the legislature to secure passage of the tenure bill, all of the teachers' measures failed.

The association conducted its tenure campaign along traditional AEA lines. Tenure pamphlets were printed and distributed in 1944. Members of the AEA legislative and continuing contract committees explained the bill to an estimated total of 2,000 persons directly or indirectly connected with the teaching profession. ³¹ Groups addressed included the Maricopa County Trustees Association, the AEA Department of Administrators, presidents of local teachers' organizations, parent-teacher gatherings, and classroom

30. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1943," 77.

31. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1944," 19.

teacher meetings.

The AEA executive secretary on December 18, 1944, mailed 150 forms to campaign workers for reports of conferences with legislators. Legislative bulletins kept members informed of the progress of AEA bills, but the bulletins were not used in 1945 to direct a concentrated pressure campaign. AEA files contain only one letter, to the seven regional campaign managers, directing them to write legislators. It pointed out that only a limited number of teachers had a sufficient grasp of the tenure bill to undertake correspondence. The letter noted:

It is of the utmost importance that a steady flow of communications begins to reach your legislators. I am asking that Senators David P. Kimball, Norman Fain, Charles S. Goff, William F. Kimball, and John G. Babbitt begin to receive from their home communities not fewer than four - nor more than eight - letters per day. Since we do not wish to burden these men, it is suggested that no teachers write oftener than once a week.

For those in areas not represented on the Senate Committee on Education let me suggest that you see to it that each Senator on the Committee receives about one letter a week from some member of the teaching profession in your area.....

It certainly would not be unreasonable for a teacher vitally concerned with the Bill to write the same legislator at least once every week or ten days, but more frequent correspondence with the same man is probably undesirable.³²

A steering committee, composed of J. I. Stewart, chairman of the legislative committee, Alex Frazier, AEA president, and Walter Maxwell, campaigned for the two identical tenure bills, H. B. 183 and S. B. 27, in the legislature. The bills failed, mainly because a serious division of opinion within the association developed on the measure. Many administrators opposed the proposed tenure law. The measure provided for establishment of a

32. Ibid., 113.

Teachers' Contract Commission to hear dismissal cases, and administrators feared a loss of authority over firing teachers. When the AEA executive committee decided to sponsor the bill, despite objections, administrators were alienated from the association. They united with board of education members and school boards of trustees to fight the measures. As a result S. B. 27 and H. B. 183 both died in committee.

The failure of the teachers' 1945 legislative program stimulated the AEA to widen further its field of political activity. Traditionally, the association had refused to endorse candidates for office or to aid in their election. The AEA executive committee agreed to abandon this stand at a meeting held on September 22, 1945. J. I. Stewart, in reporting the results of the 1945 legislative campaign, recommended that "an effort should be made to lend political aid to our friends in the Legislature and, especially, to elect to the Legislature some teachers who have a vital interest in progressive teacher legislation." ³³ His suggestions were approved, and the AEA made preparations to take an active part in the 1946 primary and general elections.

The significance of the association's efforts to effect the election of legislators friendly to the AEA lay not in their intensity or scope, but in the fact that the AEA decided to engage in this type of political activity at all. The teachers' association had always maintained that it was a non-political organization. (Records show, however, that while the AEA had not endorsed political candidates, it had taken stands on specific political issues.) Association leaders, gaining political education through years of legislative contacts, realized that the association had to endorse candidates

33. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1945," 44..

in order to compete on an equal basis with other interest groups. Their first efforts in this direction, however, were restricted in scope and not notably successful.

J. I. Stewart became head of the new AEA political action committee, and on April 25 the group met in Phoenix to plan for the 1946 elections. The committee drafted a model letter to which members were instructed to refer in writing to legislative candidates. The committee planned to stimulate teachers to register and vote. Record cards designed to indicate which teachers were registered to vote were distributed to schools. Association headquarters also sent out postal cards bearing a printed request for an absentee ballot.

Teachers in the Salt River valley and Tucson areas received mimeographed lists of candidates for the state legislature who "seem to be deserving of special consideration....."³⁴ The list contained names of all legislative office seekers in these areas, but names of AEA-endorsed candidates appeared in capital letters. An attached memorandum explained the meaning of the capitalized names, and warned that the lists should be distributed to teachers only. According to this list, Senate candidates supported by the association included D. P. Kimball, Fred G. Holmes, and Maxine Brubaker. Of the House aspirants, the AEA endorsed L. S. Norton, R. S. Hart (a teacher), Walter Righetta, F. W. Timmerman, Murray Jacquemin, Charles S. Stough, Jack Cummard, F. V. Brown (a teacher), R. D. Searles, Lorna Lockwood, W. W. Franklin, and Chet Whelan. Seven of these legislative candidates won their seats in the 1946 general election. They were Kimball, Hart, Timmerman, Cummard, Searles, Lockwood, and Franklin, all from Maricopa

34. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1946," 57.

county. AEA endorsement of these candidates may be considered perhaps as one factor in their success at the polls.

While the political action committee directed the association's 1946 election campaign, the AEA's legislative committee formulated a program for the Eighteenth Legislature. This "Educational Bill of Rights" consisted of four main proposals: (1) an increase in the state school per capita apportionment, (2) a tenure law, (3) reorganization of the state board of education, and (4) appointment, rather than election, of the state superintendent of public instruction. Other bills called for increased county retirement contributions, liberalization of the retirement law, and a minimum guaranteed annual salary of \$2,400 for all Arizona public school teachers.

The AEA announced that the main purpose behind increasing the state school apportionment was to raise teachers' salaries. The movement for higher salaries had been gathering force since 1943, when the National Education Association started a nation-wide drive to better teachers' pay. The NEA "War and Peace Fund" campaign penetrated national, state, and local teachers' associations and led to close cooperation between the NEA and the AEA. Arizona teachers were asked to contribute two dollars each to meet the state fund quota of \$2,600.³⁵ By February 1, 1944, teachers had given \$1,879.50 to the NEA drive.³⁶ In the same year, the AEA began a new program which provided for membership in a local group, the AEA, and the NEA, on payment of a single membership fee. Locals adopting the plan agreed to limit membership to those who joined all three organizations. In conducting the "War and Peace Fund" drive, the NEA sent the AEA pamphlets, handbills, and

35. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1943," 193.

36. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1944," 94.

articles portraying the plight of underpaid teachers. These materials were disseminated among Arizona teachers, and helped to create enthusiastic support for the AEA's 1947 measure proposing an increased state school apportionment.

In preparation for the 1947 legislative campaign, a new AEA "core" committee contacted interest groups to secure their support of the "Educational Bill of Rights." Committee members were Charles A. Carson, legislative chairman, Francis Feeney, AEA president, and Walter Maxwell. A report presented to the association's executive committee on January 11 noted:

These three had been conferring with various people and trying to get bills into shape for introduction.

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The bills have had to be revised in the light of legal opinion. Meetings have been held with Mr. McKenzie of Southern Pacific, and he has promised to be frank in reporting his company's opinion. This opinion should be indicative of that of Phelps Dodge, Santa Fe, etc.³⁷

At the January 11 meeting, AEA leaders discussed campaign strategy. They planned appointment of leaders to spearhead local action, and decided that:

Representatives of the Association should stay in the background after the legislators get to Phoenix. Service clubs, PTA groups and other organizations should be asked for specific endorsements.

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Community leaders should talk to legislators rather than having the teachers talk to legislators.

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Mr. Feeney made a report of activities in Mesa where key men were meeting to explain the program and get pressure on senators.³⁸

37. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1947," 69.

38. Ibid., 70.

The association emphasized personal contact and extensive publicity in the 1947 campaign. Local presidents were urged to seek teacher support of the legislative program. AEA headquarters distributed forms to record the results of interviews with legislators. Leaders were advised to promote the "Educational Bill of Rights" by holding local meetings, explaining bills to key people in the community, and soliciting active support from the parent-teacher groups, labor and veterans' organizations, service clubs, and chambers of commerce. Local campaign workers were directed to talk to newspaper editors and to seek the support of school boards because they "frequently have great prestige with legislators."³⁹ AEA headquarters distributed 4,500 charts explaining the measure increasing state aid. Four thousand copies of a brochure, "What's Happening to Arizona Schools," were prepared. These were distributed to legislators and businessmen in the state.

Teachers asked for and received public support for their program in several local communities. In Prescott, according to association records, twenty-five business and professional leaders worked for the program and formed a committee to contact legislators. Association representatives addressed a county parent-teachers meeting in Inspiration and gatherings of the Lions Club and the Rotary Club in Tempe. The combined Women's Clubs of Tempe met and endorsed the program. In Alhambra, the parent-teachers association and the school board sponsored a public meeting attended by 250 people. Safford was the scene of a public rally for the legislative program, and, in Mesa, business and professional men attended a dinner sponsored by the school board. At the dinner, committees were formed to work for increased state school support.

39. Ibid., 27.

While the teachers' organization conducted an intensive publicity campaign for its program, association records show no indications that legislative bulletins were used to direct and control pressure on the legislature. Possibly there was the feeling that this technique irked legislators and branded the AEA solely as a pressure group. At any rate, the apparent cessation of this practice, when considered in conjunction with the new policy that "representatives of the Association should stay in the background," suggests that the AEA was beginning to retreat from open political pressure activities. However, association members continued to work for the AEA program in the legislature.

The AEA "core" committee's primary goal was to secure passage of the increased school apportionment measure, House Bill 34. As introduced to the House on January 21, 1947, the bill provided that the state increase its school support per pupil in average daily attendance from \$65 for common schools and \$95 for high schools to \$115 for both. Similar apportionments were to be made for kindergartens and junior colleges. Another provision was designed to limit the number of pupils in each classroom to thirty. This measure was introduced by the House education committee, whose chairman, Representative Robert S. Hart, had been one of the AEA's teacher candidates in the 1946 elections.

House Bill 34 was read for the second time on January 22, and referred to the judiciary, appropriations, and education committees. On the same day, the education committee held hearings attended by AEA leaders, and reported out the bill with a "do pass." Although the judiciary committee reported the bill constitutional and in proper form, the appropriations committee recommended that H. B. 34 be returned for consideration of the

House. On January 29, it was sent back to the education committee and also was referred to the committee on county and county affairs.

The House conducted open hearings on the bill on February 5. Those who appeared to speak for H. B. 34 included Charles A. Carson, Dr. Nolan Pulliam, state superintendent of public instruction, Francis Feeney, and Mrs. Florence Ryan, president of the Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers. Three days later, The Arizona Daily Star commented:

While no opposition was voiced at a hearing held by the house education and county and county affairs committees Wednesday, sponsors of the measure were fully aware that objections do exist, and that the increase cannot become effective without something of a fight.⁴⁰

On the same day the Star reported:

Although the legislature was in week-end recess today, there was under way an attempt between the large taxpayers of the state and representatives of the educational system to reach a compromise on proposed increases in state school apportionment of funds. Representatives of the large taxpayers, including mining interests, are reported to have admitted the need for additional school funds, but hope to avoid having the entire burden placed on them in the form of a greatly increased state rate.⁴¹

Representative W. G. Rosenbaum, strongly opposed to H. B. 34 as framed by the AEA, introduced an amendment which eliminated apportionments to kindergartens and junior colleges. His amendment called for apportionments of \$85 for common schools and \$100 for high schools. The increases over the sums provided by law in effect were to be paid by the county. The Rosenbaum amendment was defeated by a 27 to 27 vote in the House committee of the

40. The Arizona Daily Star, February 8, 1947, 1.

41. Ibid.

42

whole on February 28. (According to House rules, an amendment which receives a tie vote automatically fails.)

After the vote on the Rosenbaum amendment, "it was apparent that H. B. 34 could not be passed without some compromise. Mr. Hamilton Catlin therefore introduced the 'Catlin Amendment' which had been previously checked and okayed by AEA attorneys." ⁴³ The amendment, introduced March 3, provided for \$115 per capita school apportionment for both common and high schools. Of the \$115 total for each pupil, the county would contribute \$20. Contributions to kindergartens and junior colleges were eliminated. The amended bill did not provide for limitation of the number of pupils in each classroom.

Although the Catlin amendment to H. B. 34 had AEA approval, supporters of the original H. B. 34 conducted a filibuster to prevent a House vote on the bill on March 3. The Arizona Daily Star reported that Representative Frank G. Robles sought to talk for six hours, since five other members had yielded their allotted one-hour periods to him. After a three-hour discussion, the House voted to sustain the chairman of the committee of the whole on his ruling that each member could speak only one hour. According to the Star:

Representatives who joined the filibuster against the bill said frankly they were talking to the gallery, since they had no hope of changing their colleague's opinions. But at the height of the filibuster they were talking to exactly 19 people, some of them winter visitors.

Although the longest talks during the filibuster were made by Representatives Robles, Sidney Kartus of Maricopa and, to a lesser extent, Wing F. Ong and Claire Phelps of Maricopa, the fight against

42. Ibid., March 1, 1947, 1.

43. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1947," 100.

the bill was directed almost single handedly by Rep. Raymond R. Earhart of Santa Cruz with his insistence that the amendments were designed entirely for the relief of "10 large corporations."⁴⁴

The filibuster merely served to postpone the vote on H. B. 34 until the evening of March 3, when the bill was passed and sent to the Senate. In that chamber, two major amendments to the bill were defeated. The first, proposed by Senator John Babbitt, Coconino, provided that the county pay all of the proposed increase in school apportionment. The second amendment, introduced by Senator Dan Angius, Cochise, reduced the apportionment from \$115 to \$95 and placed the entire burden on the state. On March 14, House Bill 34, slightly altered, was returned to the lower chamber. One change made the bill an emergency measure, to become operative at once. An addition to the bill permitted the abolition of school district lines within counties, to achieve uniform rates and education standards throughout any county which desired to take such action.

When the Senate returned the bill to the House, Representative W. G. Rosenbaum led an unsuccessful movement to reject the amendment providing for permissive abolition of school district lines. After a Senate-House joint conference committee recommended the measure virtually as it came from the Senate, both bodies passed the bill. It was signed by Governor Osborn on March 24, 1947.

While AEA leaders had concentrated their main efforts on passage of H. B. 34 in the Eighteenth Legislature, they guided other bills through the session with similar success. Senate Bill 24 increased the county contribution to the retirement fund from 2.56 per cent to 5.03 per cent of

44. The Arizona Daily Star, March 4, 1947, 1.

the annual school payroll. House Bill 64 liberalized provisions of the retirement law and provided full retirement credit for the years teachers spent in military service during World War II. House Bill 32 provided a \$33,000 appropriation for the retirement system. The AEA failed to secure passage of the tenure measure, H. B. 304, and the bills providing a \$2,400 minimum annual salary for Arizona public school teachers. These were to be goals of the next AEA legislative program.

CHAPTER V

THE AEA'S 1950 CAMPAIGN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT 102

The most recent development in the AEA's struggle for increased state school support came in the 1950 general election campaign, when the association sponsored a constitutional amendment to raise the state per capita apportionment to public schools from \$95 to \$150. Although the teachers' campaign failed, it was significant for three reasons: (1) the AEA for the first time in its history conducted its campaign through a temporary "front" organization, the "Arizona Citizens Committee for the Equalization of School Taxes,"¹ (2) the campaign evoked the most bitter opposition in the AEA's experience, and (3) it was the most intensive and costly election campaign ever conducted by the association.²

The AEA's amendment, ballot number 102, directed the legislature to make an annual appropriation of \$150 for each pupil in average daily attendance at state kindergartens, common, or high schools.³ Twenty dollars of this amount was to be put in a state school district equalization fund. The fund would be apportioned quarterly to school districts according to an equalization formula to be devised by the legislature. The amendment provided that, should the legislature fail to appropriate the \$150 per pupil, "then a sum sufficient to make up that minimum amount is hereby appropriated for said schools for that year, and the state board of equaliza-

1. Interview with James Sidel, AEA statistician, January 30, 1952, Tucson, Arizona.

2. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950" (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 49.

3. State of Arizona Initiative and Referendum Publicity Pamphlet 1950 (no imprint), 4-5.

tion when determining the tax levy for state purposes for that year shall include a sum sufficient to make up said minimum requirement." The same procedure would be followed if the legislature failed to provide an equalization fund. In addition to the state appropriation, the amendment called for a \$20 per capita county contribution to school support.

The AEA announced that the main purpose of "102" was to shift the growing tax load from local school districts to the state. Local school district costs were rising as a result of increased population and post-World War II inflation. While the state government, according to the AEA, should have been paying at least one-half of public school expenses, it met only 36 per cent of the costs. Local taxpayers paid 55 per cent, and 9 per cent came from miscellaneous sources. This meant that "the poorer school districts....those with low amounts of assessed valuation per child, must have very high tax rates to provide their children a fair amount of school opportunity."

Amendment 102 was designed ostensibly to resolve the school support problem. Its main purpose, however, was to protect school apportionments against the threat posed by a tax limitation amendment intended for the 1950 general election ballot. The so-called "Blizzard Bill," apparently supported by "the small independent grocers," limited the property tax rate for all public purposes combined (except for special district levies and bond interest and redemption), to \$3.00 per \$100 of assessed valuation. One dollar of

4. Ibid., 5.

5. Agnes M. Allen, "The Need Is Urgent," A.E.A. Newsletter, October, 1950, 4.

6. Ibid.

7. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950," 26.

8. Arizona Taxpayers Magazine, April-May-June, 1949, 4.

this amount would go to the state, 75 cents to the county, 75 cents to the special school district, and 50 cents to the city. The measure abolished the ad valorem property tax on inventories of merchandise, but did not provide for the replacement of the public revenue which would be lost if the amendment were passed.

Circulation of the tax limitation initiative petitions stimulated AEA leaders to prepare a measure which would: (1) increase state school support, (2) guarantee state apportionments against decreases by providing that state school funds be made a first lien on the taxable income and revenue of the state, and (3) shift the tax burden from local school districts to the state.

The AEA's executive committee made the first plans for such an initiative measure at a meeting in Phoenix on November 17, 1949. The committee agreed "that the proposed Constitutional Amendment to place limitations upon ad valorem taxes...might represent a serious threat to the future of public education in Arizona....,"⁹ and that "there were urgent reasons why the AEA should spur itself into immediate action in the area of school finance."¹⁰

The association's delegate assembly, meeting on November 18 and 19, 1949, instructed the executive committee to formulate a program of action. On February 11, a special delegate assembly met, approved plans to sponsor an initiative amendment at the next general election, and directed executive committee members to use "whatever funds they see fit to follow through on this program."¹¹ The committee might also "spend AEA funds to combat any

9. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1949," 125.

10. Ibid.

11. Walter Maxwell, "On Our AEA Way," Arizona Teacher-Parent, Spring, 1950, 8.

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bill endangering education." AEA records show that the delegate assembly thus officially endorsed the initiative campaign, although opponents later implied that AEA leaders conducted the campaign without members' approval.

In a calculated political move, the AEA was responsible for the introduction of a bill with similar objectives to the initiative into a special session of the legislature, convened on February 20. Association leaders apparently anticipated the bill's failure. However, they were able later to answer criticisms of their initiative campaign by pointing out that the legislature had refused to act favorably on the school support problem. The bill, House Bill 58, passed the House by a vote of 40 to 16, with two members absent. Sent to the Senate, it died in committee.

AEA leaders, meanwhile, began to develop their campaign organization. At an executive committee meeting on March 4, Executive Secretary Walter Maxwell reported that he had:

....made a trip to San Francisco to discuss Initiative campaign methods with members of the staff of the California Teachers Association. Mr. Dix Price had also made a trip to Sacramento, to confer with Mr. Al Lentz, the attorney primarily responsible for the drafting of the 1946 California Initiative.

Mr. Lynn Laney, an outstanding attorney, had displayed enthusiasm for the AEA Initiative and had agreed to work upon the measure. The draft which these attorneys had prepared had been carefully checked by Mr. Lentz and other attorneys. Mr. Maxwell reported in San Francisco he had the opportunity of conferring at length with Harold Kinsley, Harry Fosdick and Robert McKay - public relations and field secretaries of the California Association. Many of the recommendations which they made came from Mr. Clem Whitaker who is employed by the American Medical Association at a fee of \$100,000 per year. Among other suggestions it had been strongly recommended that no serious effort to get votes be made earlier than five weeks before election.¹³

12. Ibid.

13. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950," 21-22.

On Maxwell's recommendation, the teachers' group employed Tom Rippey to direct publicity, and Mrs. Florence Zimmer, former manager of KRUX, Glendale radio station, as campaign field representative. According to Maxwell, Mrs. Zimmer "was one of two people who raised money in Maricopa County for the Republican party during the last election campaign."¹⁴

The AEA next sought to gain the support of other interest groups for the initiative. The Arizona Congress of Parents and Teachers, claiming a membership of 39,304, endorsed the measure at its state convention in April.¹⁵ Approval also came from the Arizona State Federation of Labor, the Young Democrats of Arizona, and the "Arizona Legislative League." The last named group consisted of representatives of ten Arizona unions and labor councils, the AEA, the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, Spanish-American organizations, and the state Townsend Plan association. Two Arizona legislators, Senator Sam J. Head, Yavapai, and Representative Kel Fox, Yavapai, endorsed the initiative.

The AEA's drive to obtain initiative petition signatures opened on March 11, when 100 association members met in Phoenix to hear an analysis of the measure and receive instructions on local campaigning. A goal of 50,000 signatures was set, with a quota of twelve signatures per AEA member. Petitions were circulated by teachers, "school board members, P.T.A. leaders and many other interested citizens....."¹⁶ On May 19, the association filed more than 3,500 petitions bearing 52,339 signatures with the secretary of state.¹⁷

14. Ibid., 27.

15. A.E.A. Newsletter, April-May, 1950, 1.

16. Ibid.

17. A.E.A. Newsletter, October, 1950, 2.

Meanwhile, the AEA faced growing opposition to Amendment 102.

According to James Sidel, AEA statistician, association leaders believed moves to defeat "102" were financed by the Arizona Tax Research Association, the Santa Fe and Southern Pacific Railroads, Phelps Dodge corporation, and the Kennecott Copper company. ¹⁸ Opposition of the Arizona Tax Research Association is verified by articles in that association's Newsletter. ¹⁹ There is no evidence available to show the stand of the railroads and copper companies. However, these groups did oppose the AEA's 1941 legislative battle for an increased state school levy. If the railroads and mines took part in the 1950 campaign, they did so through two temporary "front" organizations, the "Arizona School Taxpayers League" and the "Arizona School Protective Association." While the latter did not appear until September, 1950, the former worked against "102" in the early phases of the campaign. The chairman of the "Arizona School Taxpayers League" was Nat Dysart, a director of the Arizona Tax Research Association.

Early opposition to the AEA came in the form of: (1) the proposals by the "Arizona School Taxpayers League" of initiative measures designed to lessen the political power of teachers and to cripple "102," and (2) passage by the legislature, in its second special session, of the so-called ²⁰ "Ironside Bill," which might have lost votes for "102." This measure was vetoed by Governor Dan E. Garvey. One threat to the AEA's school support program, the "Blizzard Bill," failed to materialize. The tax limitation initiative never appeared on the general election ballot.

18. Interview with James Sidel, January, 1952.

19. Newsletter, March-April, 1950, 5-6; May-June, 1950, 1-2; September-October, 1950, 1, 3, 5.

20. See pp. 97-99.

Circulation of petitions for the two measures sponsored by the "Arizona School Taxpayers League" started on April 30, 1950. One, ballot numbers 304-305, proposed to increase the state sales tax from 2 per cent to 3 per cent, and to use the increase for the state school apportionment fund. The bill, if passed, would take effect only if Amendment 102 also passed.

The second measure, ballot numbers 104-105, provided that all seven members of the state board of education be appointed by the governor with advice and consent of the Senate, and that no one employed in the public school system could serve on the board.

The A.E.A. Newsletter, reporting the circulation of petitions, said:

Very little is known about the organization sponsoring the new Initiatives, the "Arizona School Taxpayers League." It is apparently well financed. Its funds are presumed to come largely from some of the larger business interests of the State, since it has made no general appeal for money.

The petition carriers of the "League" were sought by advertisements in Phoenix newspapers. These solicitors were being paid 25¢ for each name obtained for both petitions. At this rate it will cost the "League" about \$7,500 just to get its two measures on the ballot.²¹

The AEA executive committee, meeting on May 12, agreed to take no stand on the sales tax measure, fearing it might "kill our own Initiative if we took sides on the matter...."²² They decided to ridicule the state board of education initiative, rather than to issue a "fighting statement which would make it possible for enemies of the AEA to say that 'the educators' were afraid they might lose control of the State Board."²³

21. A.E.A. Newsletter, April-May, 1950, 2.

22. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950," 34.

23. Ibid., 35.

Proposals presented in the state legislature's second special session, held from April 10 to April 15, also threatened the AEA's initiative measure. Two identical bills, House Bill 8 and Senate Bill 3, provided that the state auditor prepare estimates of the amount which proposed initiatives might cost the state in a five-year period. All such estimates (later cut down to one-year estimates) were to be published in initiative and referendum publicity pamphlets. The pamphlets also were to carry the attorney general's analysis of the measures and his opinion as to their constitutionality. House Bill 8 died in committee, but Senate Bill 3, introduced by Senate President Fred J. Fritz, was approved by the legislature on April 15. According to AEA records, Fritz introduced the bill upon the request of Fred Ironside, a Phoenix attorney.

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Two days after the "Ironside Bill" was introduced in the Senate, Walter Maxwell wrote AEA executive committee members, and suggested the bill be opposed:

But let me point out how the Ironsides proposal fits neatly into the pattern of opposition that is being developed by those who are opposed to the AEA Initiative. First, the last special session of the Legislature took action to put all Referred measures on the ballot at a special election to be held in conjunction with the primary election next September 12. This will mean that all of the measures which are of concern to business (such as the constitutional amendment regarding oil leases) and of primary concern to the Governor and the Legislature (four-year terms of office) will be voted upon by the people about 60 days before the general election on November 7, when the people will vote on the AEA Initiative and other Initiative proposals placed on the ballot by petitions.

Second, Mr. Ironsides is an outstanding attorney on constitutional law. His firm was successful in breaking the Civil Service Act adopted by vote of the people at the last general election. He is the attorney who said that he could not work on the AEA Initiative because it "might run counter to the interests of clients." Third,

shortly after our petition campaign was launched, Mr. Ironsides brought forth the suggestion that the Legislature adopt a law which would "add to the information available to those voting on Initiative measures." And, finally, the Governor was somehow persuaded to include this proposal in his call for the special session of the Legislature which is now in progress.

.

The State Auditor has always been an ally of the most powerful and conservative interests in Arizona. If the Ironsides proposal is adopted by action of the Legislature at its current special session, the Auditor will most willingly provide a generous estimate of what adoption of the AEA Initiative (as well as other Initiatives) will cost the taxpayers.

.

The fact that there has been resistance to Mr. Ironsides' proposals has caused writers for certain of our daily papers to charge that the AEA is the source of all such resistance because it is afraid to have the voting public know how much its Initiative will cost.²⁵

One charge of AEA opposition to the "Ironside Bill" appeared in The Arizona Republic column, "Our Amazing Arizona," on April 18. It was later reprinted in the Arizona Tax Research Association's Newsletter. The Arizona Republic noted:

The stubborn and brazen opposition to this proposal by the so-called school lobby indicates certain interests do not choose to operate openly.

It is shocking proof they can't be trusted with the confidence of the voters whom they could mislead by withholding important information as to what their demands and desires will cost.....

With the disgusting gall they have displayed they should have little difficulty convincing themselves and trying to convince others that all who resent their high handed effrontery are unworthy of doing other than buying their pigs-in-a-poke.

The legislature performed outstanding and just service by rapping these disciples of deceit across their grasping knuckles.

Their audacity should result in even closer scrutiny of all their demands and desires from the cost standpoint.

Their unbusinesslike disregard for the cost of anything, and

25. Ibid., 193-194.

their demonstrated willingness to conceal the price tag from the taxpayers who must pay the bill is an indictment of their trustworthiness.

.
Education is a vital cog in our national existence and is worthy of protection, preservation, and expansion.

It is also worthy of protection from the back-lash of the brazen, dictatorial, and brash gall of its administrators or their representatives as well as from unreasonable taxpayers who would welcome the return of the sad extreme when education was not adequately financed.²⁶

Walter Maxwell wrote Governor Garvey on April 19, requesting that he veto Senate Bill 3, since its only purpose was to defeat the AEA initiative. He noted that, according to a Phoenix paper, Ironside had not seen the AEA measure until April 14. Maxwell continued:

The facts are that Mr. Ironside certainly had knowledge of the content of this organization's initiative proposal. He had this knowledge long before this organization began circulation of initiative petitions. Mr. Dix W. Price, an attorney representing the Arizona Education Association, conferred with Mr. Ironside on the content of our initiative proposal as early as February.

.
True, Mr. Ironside may not have actually seen the text of the AEA initiative petition until last Friday, but he well knew its content.²⁷

Eight days after Maxwell's letter was written, Governor Garvey vetoed Senate Bill 3. Garvey noted that the bill would have become effective on July 14, 1950. The measure provided that the state auditor's and attorney general's reports were to be made by July 28, 1950. This two-week period did not give state officials time to prepare their reports,

26. The Arizona Republic, April 18, 1950, quoted in Newsletter, May-June, 1950, 2.

27. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950," 199.

28

Garvey said.

With the threat of the "Ironside Bill" removed, AEA leaders turned their attention toward the 1950 general election campaign. Early in April, Maxwell had presented to the executive committee a proposed campaign budget totaling \$40,000. Items included were:

Init - 100	Printing - Art Work - Films	\$4,000.00
Init - 200	Salaries	6,500.00
Init - 300	Payroll Taxes	300.00
Init - 400	Fees (Legal - Consultative - Etc.)	3,000.00
Init - 500	Rental of Office Furniture and Equipment	200.00
Init - 600	Office Supplies	750.00
Init - 700	Office Rent	300.00
Init - 800	Advertising	14,000.00
Init - 900	Travel Expense	1,000.00
Init -1000	Postage and Express	600.00
Init -1100	Telephone and Telegraph	850.00
Init -1200	Meetings	2,500.00
1201	Special Delegate Assembly of Feb. 11, 1950	
1202	"Kick Off" Meeting of Mar. 11, 1950	
1203	Other	
Init -1300	Contingency	6,000.00
		<u>\$40,000.00</u>

AEA records show that actual costs totaled \$32,809, the largest sum ever expended by the association in any legislative or election campaign.

Campaign funds came from the sale of bonds in which the AEA had invested some of its money. There was no drive to obtain contributions from teachers, and attempts to obtain money from other sources failed. Early in April, Walter Maxwell had informed the executive committee:

....the California association had received contributions from miscellaneous sources and suggested that a similar procedure might be followed in Arizona. Specifically, he reported having

28. Journal of the House of Representatives Second Special Session Nineteenth Legislature of the State of Arizona 1950, 93.

29. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950," 185.

30. Ibid., 49.

talked with four outstanding businessmen about the possibility of raising some \$7500 to aid in this campaign. These gentlemen were willing to take over the task, provided that their names were in no way connected with the campaign.³¹

These plans were impeded by publicity against the AEA which arose during the legislature's consideration of the "Ironside Bill." In May, Maxwell reported that "despite the unqualified pledge of cooperation from one Phoenix firm of four partners that had previously been made, efforts to secure contributions for the Initiative campaign did not materialize...."³²

The AEA executive committee formulated election campaign policy, which was carried out by the committees on tax and finance, legislation, and special finance. The executive committee, anticipating that opposition forces would brand the initiative a "salary grab," decided in May to conduct the campaign primarily through a citizens' group which would not be connected publicly with the AEA. The AEA directed its committee on tax and finance to organize such a group, and in July, the "Arizona Citizens Committee for Equalization of School Taxes" was formed. Officers included Louis A. Myers, Phoenix accountant; Fred W. Fickett, Tucson attorney; Mrs. Gus Lopez, Tucson housewife; Elmer Vickers, Arizona State Federation of Labor official; Sam J. Head, state senator from Prescott; H. Clifford Dobson, Mesa; Bert Hawkins, Winslow; James F. Byrne, Yuma; and Mrs. Spurling Saunders, Phoenix. Dix W. Price, AEA attorney, became the committee's secretary-treasurer.

The citizens' committee organized local groups to work for Amendment 102, and loaned its name to campaign advertising. A survey of three lead-

31. Ibid., 27.

32. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950," 52.

ing Arizona daily papers, The Phoenix Gazette, The Arizona Republic, and The Arizona Daily Star, reveals that throughout the entire campaign, all but two advertisements for Amendment 102 were signed by the "Arizona Citizens Committee for Equalization of School Taxes." Of the two exceptions, one advertisement was signed by the AEA and the other by local teachers' associations in Tucson.

The AEA's election campaign developed along three main lines: (1) local publicity by public speakers, personal contact with voters and use of pamphlets, postal cards, letters, handbills, small window placards, and automobile bumper strips, (2) state-wide radio publicity, and (3) state-wide newspaper advertisements.

The association formed a "Speakers Bureau," which arranged for public addresses throughout the state by educators and civic leaders. AEA leaders toured the state during the last four weeks of the campaign, addressing meetings of school groups, chambers of commerce, civic and veterans groups, and political party organizations. Walter Maxwell, Miss Lois Rogers, AEA associate executive secretary, E. L. Brooks, campaign field representative, and Charles A. Carson, chairman of the association's special finance committee, were among the most active "Speakers Bureau" members.

To plan participation of groups at the local level, the AEA on October 7 called a meeting of 200 administrators, classroom teachers, citizen committee members, and P.T.A. representatives. Emphasis was to "be placed on the fact that every member has a job to do. Everyone must do his share." ³³ The October issue of The Arizona Teacher-Parent summarized campaign plans which were probably discussed at this meeting. The AEA announced it would

33. The Arizona Teacher-Parent, October, 1950, 9.

issue to workers 10,000 copies of a handbook containing the text of the initiative measure, copies of endorsements, and mimeographed sheets containing answers to common queries about the measure. Teachers were urged to join with P.T.A. members and other "102" supporters in campaign organizations. The AEA ordered 225,000 leaflets to be distributed by teachers to every person who had signed the initiative petitions, as well as to friends and neighbors. Workers made a "door-to-door" campaign for "102," and by November 1, AEA headquarters reported:

In communities throughout the state, teachers and PTA groups are laying specific plans to "Get Out the Vote." In many districts the teachers and their fellow workers are getting thousands of postal cards ready to mail out this Friday evening at a late hour.

All such postal cards should be individually written and personally signed. The cards of each writer should bear a slightly different message from that of any other teacher or parent sending out cards.³⁴

According to the same report, some local committees planned intensive telephone campaigns on the two days preceding the election. On election day, AEA members served as poll-watchers in the Phoenix area.

Campaign workers mailed 25,000 postal cards to voters, in order to attract audiences for the AEA's series of radio broadcasts for "102." The programs, titled "Our Children Are Our Future," were carried over the Arizona Broadcasting System on October 9, October 16, October 23, October 30, and November 6.³⁵ The October 9 program featured addresses by Fred W. Fickett, Sam J. Head, Mrs. Spurling Saunders, and Louis A. Myers. Fred R. Stofft, Tucson, spoke for Amendment 102 on the October 23 broadcast.

34. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950," 241.

35. A.E.A. Newsletter, October, 1950, 3.

The AEA programs were carried, at an approximate cost of \$1,000, over radio stations KAWT, Bisbee-Douglas; KWJB, Globe-Miami; KTAR, Phoenix; KYCA, Prescott; KGIU, Safford; and KVOA, Tucson.

The AEA made its major bid for public support through the medium of newspaper advertisements. The newspaper campaign started three weeks before the November 7 election, when the association placed advertisements in selected publications in an effort to get state-wide coverage. The development of the newspaper campaign probably was one factor accounting for the defeat of the AEA initiative. First, groups opposed to Amendment 102 apparently advertised more widely than the AEA. Second, opposition groups used "scare" advertisements, and made attacks on the association and its leaders. The AEA confined its advertising to analyses of Amendment 102 and maintained a "dignified silence" in regard to the attacks. Third, the opposition published advertisements which listed the daily salaries of teachers in every school district of the state. The AEA was unprepared for this move, and failed to make an aggressive counter attack.

The teachers' group confined itself almost exclusively to the use of two advertisements. Both were signed by the "Arizona Citizens Committee for Equalization of School Taxes." One, headlined "Protect Your Home - Your Schools, Vote 102 Yes," made use of cartoons to explain the amendment. The advertisement pointed out that since 1940, 241,000 new people had entered Arizona, bringing 51,392 children. This gave rise to a need for 1,713 new classrooms. The advertisement reported that "new buildings had to be built....and they have to be PAID FOR by the local school taxpayer....." It also noted:

36. Arizona Broadcasting System rates for 1951, quoted by KVOA radio station, Tucson.

37. The Phoenix Gazette, October 18, 1950, Section 3, 7.

In the school year 1941-42 the LOCAL TAXPAYER paid less than 1/3 the total cost of running the schools - and STATE TAXES paid most of the rest.

NOW almost twice as much is paid by the local taxpayer.... In the school year 1949-50 local taxpayers paid 55% and the STATE paid just 36% of the total cost of running your schools!"³⁸

The second widely used AEA advertisement carried the picture of a civic leader, and the title "I'm voting 102-Yes!" For example, an advertisement three columns wide and five inches long appeared in The Phoenix Gazette on October 31. It featured a picture of William E. Stanford, Maricopa County tax assessor, and carried his statement that "amendment 102 will reduce property taxes. More people will contribute to the support of the state school system."³⁹

Analysis of Amendment 102 advertisements in The Phoenix Gazette indicated that the AEA campaign began with a "Protect Your Home" advertisement on October 18. Other advertisements appeared on October 27, October 28, October 30, and October 31. In the final week before the election, the association's campaign was intensified. The AEA had two advertisements published on November 1, two on November 2, one on November 3, two on November 4, and two on November 6. This campaign was duplicated in other daily papers in Tucson and Phoenix. The teachers' organization also bought advertising space in the Arizona Sun, Chandler Arizonan, Sunnyslope Journal, Arizona Labor Journal, Yuma Sun and Sentinel, the Douglas Dispatch, and the Bisbee Review.

In its campaign, the AEA contended with extensive, effective, and apparently highly-organized opposition. The Phoenix Gazette and The Ari-

38. Ibid.

39. The Phoenix Gazette, October 31, 1950, 17.

zona Republic opposed Amendment 102 and also urged their readers to defeat all ballot measures. The Arizona Daily Star favored two of the ballot measures, but called for defeat of Amendment 102. However, the most serious threat to the state school support initiative came from a temporary organization, the "Arizona School Protective League," which maintained that Amendment 102 was a teachers' "salary grab." (The "Arizona School Taxpayers League," sponsor of the sales tax and board of education initiatives, took no active part in the election campaign.)

According to AEA leaders, the "Arizona School Protective League" was financed by the large corporate interests of the state. Its list of officers included Otto Schopp, acting chairman, H. T. Gallagher, George M. Hill, G. R. Lane, Wilson J. Nicholas, and E. J. Smith, all of Phoenix. The association's address was listed as Room 201, 30 West Monroe Street, Phoenix.

The organization's activities were first reported in Arizona Plain Talk, a Phoenix weekly newspaper, on September 29. An article noted that the paper had received a letter from the "Arizona School Protective League." Arizona Plain Talk commented:

The letter purported to be a warning to us that something was wrong with our school taxes, and....that school teachers' salaries are "terribly high."

Attached to the "personalized" letter was a four-page, three-color pamphlet which could have cost a Phelps-Dodge size pay-roll to produce (and probably did). It started out in a big lettered statement which said this: "You Are Being Asked To Increase The School Costs in Arizona \$7,000,000 and Being Told Someone Else Will Pay The Bill."

By the time we'd gotten that far we knew the smooth sounding organization was just a front name for a typically "phony" political hatchet-gang intent on mutilating or destroying the work of legitimate Parent-Teacher organizations and other sincere citizens.....

We sincerely believe that "Arizona School Protective Association" is about as much interested in protecting our schools as our tomcat is interested in the welfare of a certain family of mice in our basement.⁴⁰

On the day after this article appeared, the "Arizona School Protective League" made its first major move in the campaign to defeat Amendment 102. It sponsored an advertisement in The Phoenix Gazette which listed salaries of teachers in the Phoenix area. Two days later, a similar advertisement, listing Pima county public school teachers' salaries, appeared in The Arizona Daily Star. The advertisement stated:

The National Education Association, with which the Arizona Education Association is affiliated, has for several years carried on a national propaganda campaign leading citizens to believe that all school teachers are poorly paid. This propaganda has been carried by Radio, Newspapers, Magazine articles, Billboards - every means available to smart publicity men.

ARIZONA TEACHERS ARE WELL PAID.

Here is a list of Salaries paid Teachers in Pima County in 1949-50.⁴¹

The salaries listed were computed on the basis of wages paid for each day school was in session. Vacations, holidays, and sick leaves were not included. The lowest daily wage quoted was \$13.71. The highest wage listed, \$68.97, was that of Mr. Robert Morrow.⁴² While Morrow was superintendent of the Tucson city school system, the advertisement did not indicate this fact. Morrow's name, and the names of all other school administrators, were included in the "list of salaries paid Teachers." The advertisement

40. Arizona Plain Talk, September 29, 1950, 1.

41. The Arizona Daily Star, October 2, 1950, 8.

42. Ibid.

urged readers to vote "103-no" and to "save this salary list and check its accuracy with the teachers who call at your home supporting this measure."⁴³

Similar advertisements appeared in the Bisbee Review, October 8; Prescott Courier, October 9; Nogales Herald, The Daily Tribune (Mesa), and the Arizona Sun (Flagstaff), October 10; Buckeye Valley News, Kingman Mohave-Miner, and the Globe Record, October 12; the Prescott Messenger, Casa Grande Dispatch, Clifton Copper Era, Tombstone Epitaph, Nogales International, Independent News (St. Johns), Glendale News, and the Chandler Arizonan⁴⁴ on October 13.

AEA leaders, unprepared for the "Arizona School Protective Association's" attack, failed to respond until October 28, when they published an open letter to Arizona voters in The Phoenix Gazette and The Arizona Daily Star. The letter noted that Arizona teachers had reacted with "restraint and dignity" to the "callous attack."⁴⁵ It listed organizations which had endorsed Amendment 102, repeated the campaign argument that "102" would reduce local property tax rates, and maintained that "102" would not guarantee or increase any teacher's salary.

Meanwhile, the "Arizona School Protective Association" continued its attack on the AEA and Amendment 102. The Arizona Daily Star carried an advertisement on October 16 one-half page wide and a full page in length. It stated that teachers had not fully studied the school support problem, and implied that AEA leaders had "hood-winked" members into pro-

43. The Arizona Daily Star, October 2, 1950, 8.

44. "AEA Newsclippings," II (Office of Arizona Education Association, Phoenix, Arizona), 1950, n.p.

45. The Phoenix Gazette, October 28, 1950, 2.

posing the initiative. The advertisement reported:

Teachers, as a group, have a firm realization and appreciation of the benefits derived [sig] from a constitutional form of government. In their daily conduct in their classrooms they teach and extol the merit of constitutional government. Most of the teachers were surprised to learn that Walter Maxwell and the small group of leaders in their Arizona Education Association had prepared and arranged for the teachers to circulate a measure which would grant them special privilege over the rights of their fellow citizens in Arizona.

.
It is indeed unfortunate that the teachers have been brought so squarely into a political measure of this kind.....

In all probability in the future the school teachers will take more interest in the affairs of the Arizona Education Association, and such increased interest will most assuredly bring about a saner and more responsible policy in the activities of that group. Many of the teachers were frightened by the leadership of the Arizona Education Association into believing that the so-called Blazzard Bill, which never was filed, would cut their salaries, and the constitutional amendment they proposed was in defense of the So-called Blazzard Bill. When the Blazzard Bill was not filed, the Arizona Education Association, having set its plans, made no modification in them, and proceeded on the proposition of obtaining preferences for school teachers by amending the Arizona Constitution without the knowledge, consent or approval of a great number of the Arizona teachers.⁴⁶

An "Arizona School Protective Association" advertisement published three days later compared average daily wages of Phoenix elementary school teachers (\$27.33) with average daily wages of skilled war workers (\$12.00), graduate trained nurses (\$10.00), stenographers (\$9.00), clerks (\$7.00), and waitresses (\$5.05).⁴⁷ The advertisement did not cite sources used to obtain these wage averages.

Other advertisements published by the AEA's opponents were headlined "Beware of the Boogie Man! He Will Be Insulting Your Intelligence By

46. The Arizona Daily Star, October 16, 1950, 5.

47. The Phoenix Gazette, October 19, 1950, 12.

Attempting To Confuse You Before Election Day"; "Are You Ready To Pay Additional Taxes To Meet The \$8,045,525.00 Additional Money For School Teachers"; "You Can't Trust The Future To 'Mis-Leaders' of the Past"; and "Defeat Special Class Legislation and Really Protect The Constitution of Arizona."⁴⁸

A second technique used to defeat the AEA's school support measure was reported by C. A. Carson in a notice to teachers dated November 1. He pointed out that paid solicitors in Tucson were "calling at the doors to inform people to vote No on 103, because all 102 will do is increase the taxes and give the teachers more money."⁴⁹

Policies adopted by The Phoenix Gazette, The Arizona Republic, and The Arizona Daily Star also threatened to defeat Amendment 102. The Gazette and Republic urged readers to vote "no" on all ballot measures. The Star did not call for defeat of all measures, but printed editorials and articles opposing the AEA initiative.

There is no evidence that The Gazette and The Republic cooperated with the "Arizona School Protective Association." However, their editorial policies aided the association in its fight against the AEA. Walter Maxwell, early in April, had warned AEA executive committee members that the movement for a straight "no" vote on all measures would be a threat to Amendment 102. He noted:

....the pattern of the opposition is obvious. I should say that they have already started a carefully planned campaign to defeat all Initiatives on the ballot on November 7 - now that their own

48. The Phoenix Gazette, October 21, 1950, 2, 16; October 31, 1950, 15; The Arizona Republic, November 5, 1950, Section 3, 3.

49. "Enclosure," Amendment 102 Publicity Pamphlet, November 1, 1950, n.p.

proposals have been scheduled for September 12. As soon as September 12 is passed, they can launch an intensive campaign to create a "No" vote on all proposals on the ballot for November 7. Having a good chance to defeat all of the proposals, it should be possible for them to raise a sizable war chest.⁵⁰

The Arizona Republic announced its campaign policy in a front page editorial headlined "Vote It Straight 'No!'" on October 1. Three days later, The Phoenix Gazette announced a similar stand. Editorials explained that the thirteen ballot measures were too complicated for the average voter to comprehend, and that they represented only special interest group aims. Furthermore, should all thirteen measures pass, there would be "a 50-per-cent increase in the cost of operating the state, drastic changes in the very kind of state in which they live, and new departures in a variety of public functions....."⁵¹ The Gazette and Republic also singled out Amendment 102 for special editorials. These maintained that the measure was a mandatory increase of at least eight million dollars in state school support, and that the legislature would be forced to make large school appropriations, although economic conditions in the state might change.

The Arizona Daily Star's campaign against "102" was based primarily on the argument that the initiative deprived the legislature of the right to base education appropriations on actual need, and that it would freeze into the constitution a floor on educational appropriations.

The Star also published a series of articles by Lester N. Inskip on the ballot proposal. Amendment 102 was the only ballot measure accorded this treatment by the newspaper. Since The Star's general tenor was un-

50. "Proceedings, Arizona Education Association, 1950," 194.

51. The Arizona Republic, October 22, 1950, 6.

favorable to Amendment 102, the Inskeep articles were probably designed to defeat the initiative. The articles purported to show that the legislature had consistently increased appropriations to schools in proportion to their growth and increased expenses; that the pay of Arizona public school teachers had risen an average of 133 per cent since the 1940-1941 school year, largely through greater legislative appropriations; and that the AEA's initiative would result in higher local property tax rates.

The "vote straight 'no'" campaign, combined with the "Arizona School Protective Association's" activities and the AEA's failure to counteract them, led to an AEA defeat at the polls on November 7. Amendment 102 lost in each of Arizona's thirteen counties. The total votes were "103-no," 100,286; "102-yes," 65,263. The "vote straight 'no'" supporters saw the failure of all thirteen ballot measures.

The reaction of AEA leaders to the campaign's failure was revealed in an Arizona Teacher-Parent editorial in December, 1950. It did not specifically mention the 1950 campaign, the "Arizona School Protective League," or the drive to defeat all ballot measures. However, the editorial clearly applied to the recent campaign. It said:

....The moral value of the goal sought sets the moral climate for the methods used in achieving the goals.

We should not be surprised, therefore, to find selfish groups in convenient alliances promoting or resisting change with the use of such tactics as these:

- (1) Assigning motives to the opposition which have no basis in fact.
- (2) Throwing red herring into public argument which have nothing to do with the real issues and which are intended to confuse the unwary.

52. 1951 Session Laws State of Arizona (no imprint), 749.

- (3) Concocting and publicising falsehoods which because many people are uninformed, are accepted as true.
- (4) Making personal attacks upon people who represent the opposition.
- (5) Circulating false rumors.
- (6) Appealing to the worst in man - his hatreds, selfishness, and bigotry.
- (7) Exploiting people's fears and civic apathy.⁵³

The editorial maintained that organizations and institutions are created to establish, preserve, or change the social order, and that they are the practical machinery of social action. It continued:

Once such an organization of people launches out into a campaign for change which is opposed by powerful, articulate and unscrupulous interests, the membership of the organization must be aware that it faces the possibility of costly failure and public misunderstanding and hostility.

But for the membership to become disillusioned and cynical through failure to the extent that the organization loses faith in organization, it accomplishes the weakness which its enemies have hoped for and will fully exploit.⁵⁴

Despite the 1950 election campaign failure, the AEA delegate assembly in December adopted a motion reaffirming its faith in the principles of equalization of school opportunity and school taxes. The assembly agreed to continue efforts to have these aims embodied in law, and to "support and cooperate with any groups - Parent-Teacher organizations, school trustees, citizens' committees, state legislators, or any other group of interested citizens which may sponsor such equalization legislation."⁵⁵

53. Arizona Teacher-Parent, December, 1950, 5.

54. Ibid., 33.

55. A.E.A. Newsletter, December, 1950, 1.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the AEA's history from 1892 to 1950 indicates that the association has grown from a professional organization primarily concerned with non-political affairs into one of the strongest pressure groups in the state. Several factors have contributed to this development.

(1) Nation-wide depression conditions in 1932 stimulated the AEA to its first participation in a general election. Participation, however, was limited to action on ballot proposals. AEA leaders, while lacking unified, organized association support, joined with other interest groups to oppose successfully two proposed initiative measures limiting state and county expenditures. Before 1932, the AEA attempted to voice its opinions primarily by contact with state legislators. These contacts were not particularly effective.

(2) The organization of classroom teachers as a separate department of the National Education Association in 1937 also influenced the AEA's political development. Before 1937, classroom teachers had taken little part in formation of AEA policy. They were afraid to express their views in the presence of the administrative group (which comprised the AEA leadership) at the annual meetings. After forming their own organizations, which soon affiliated with the AEA, teachers took over association leadership. A more aggressive political policy, designed to secure benefits for the AEA majority (teachers), resulted.

(3) Within a year after the classroom teachers organized, the AEA

for the first time employed a full-time executive secretary who coordinated and sustained association activities throughout the year. This gave tremendous impetus to the political effectiveness of the group. The executive secretary's office became the organization's center for direction of political activities. Here new political policies, strategies, and techniques were developed, and here AEA lobbyists made their headquarters.

(4) Among personalities influencing the association's political development, that of Walter Maxwell is foremost. Employed as executive secretary in 1942, he became the association's most aggressive political leader. He prevailed upon the more conservative executive committee members gradually to widen the scope of AEA political activities and to adopt new political techniques. Largely as a result of Maxwell's influence, policy-making is now centered in the hands of the executive secretary and the executive committee. The delegate assembly is generally a passive body which, after some discussion, automatically approves programs laid before it.

(5) The AEA's program of political action has been strengthened by cooperation with other interest groups. Cooperation existed to some extent during the 1932 election campaign, but it did not become an important factor until 1940. At this time, the AEA gained support for its initiative campaign from labor and the Arizona Congress of Teachers and Parents. The liaison has continued to the present, and brings to the association greatly increased citizen support.

(6) Identification of AEA aims with those of the NEA has affected the state association's political growth. While affiliation with the NEA apparently started in 1912, the interests of the national and state associations were not closely aligned until 1944. In that year, the AEA adopted the "unified dues plan," whereby members paid local, state, and national

dues in a single fee. Locals subscribed voluntarily to this plan. As a consequence, by 1950 all but twenty-nine of the 4,394 AEA members were also NEA members. Identification with the national association has heightened morale in the state organization. Too, the NEA has made available publicity material (distributed to teachers by the AEA), which helps arouse teachers to political action.

(7) Finally, the AEA's financial position has improved between 1944 and 1950 as a result of increased membership and higher dues. The organization spent \$6,400.26 in its 1940 initiative campaign, and as a consequence was unable to meet its operating expenses for the next three years. In 1950, the AEA spent \$32,809 for its initiative campaign and remained debt-free.

The AEA's growth of political activity has come mainly in the last twenty years. Prior to 1932, the association expressed its opinions through resolutions, personal contact with legislators, and formation of legislative programs. The association was not an effective pressure group. The 1932 campaign was important primarily because it marked the beginning of intensified AEA participation in politics. Association leaders were inexperienced in organizing and conducting an election campaign. An unimaginative publicity program was carried on through newspaper advertising and use of printed matter. In 1940, alert association leaders publicized their initiative measure by radio, newspaper, personal contact with voters, a variety of printed matter, letters and postcards to teachers and other voters, sound truck, public speakers, release of editorial material and articles, and through the organization of local committees.

After Walter Maxwell became executive secretary in 1942, the AEA rapidly widened its scope of activity. For the first time, the association gained

support for its legislative program from normally opposition groups (the mines and railroads). Under Maxwell's guidance, association leaders learned to compromise occasionally with large taxpaying interests. Maxwell, in 1943, devised the scheme of using "legislative bulletins" to direct and control pressure on legislators. Through these bulletins, teachers were told when, where, and how to contact legislators, as AEA bills progressed through the House and Senate. In the same year, AEA members contacted legislators and gathered a special file of opinions on "education" bills. Thus, the association could anticipate the approximate number of votes it might rally for its measures in the legislature.

The AEA in 1945 widened its political action program actively to support the election of legislative candidates sympathetic to AEA measures. Maxwell has urged the association to contribute to candidates' campaign funds, but as yet the AEA refuses to take this step. Apparently many AEA members are reluctant to admit that the association has an important political function, and feel that teachers should not take part in "politics." Too, opposition groups have branded the AEA as a "selfish interest group," concerned only with the welfare of teachers, rather than of the state as a whole. To avoid such publicity, and in deference to its more conservative members, the AEA since 1947 has attempted to stay in the background and to work for its measures through service organizations, labor, and parent-teacher groups. This movement came to a climax in 1950 when the association conducted its initiative campaign almost entirely through a temporary "front" organization, the "Citizens Committee for Equalization of School Taxes." So long as opposition groups continue to attack the AEA on grounds that its measures are detrimental to the state as a whole, the association will probably continue to work through "front" organizations.

The main issue stimulating the AEA to political action has been the question of state financial aid for public education. Other interests include protection of the permanent school fund, retirement, tenure, method of selection and composition of the state board of education. Too, the association is concerned with matters pertaining directly to improvement of the quality and quantity of public school education.

In almost all matters involving increased state spending, the AEA is opposed by groups which are the most sensitive to increased state property taxes - mines, railroads, and other large taxpaying interests. They work against AEA measures through the Arizona Tax Research Association, the State Taxpayers Association, and through temporary "front" organizations.

It seems clear that the Arizona Education Association, now one of the most effective pressure groups in the state, will continue to work for its programs in the state legislature and at the polls. To overcome the ever-increasing opposition to AEA goals, the association probably will continue to expand its efforts in the field of political affairs.

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